

## SEDERI

SOCIEDAD ESPAÑOLA DE ESTUDIOS RENACENTISTAS INGLESES

The specific aim of the Spanish Society for English Renaissance Studies is to promote, stimulate and give impulse in Spain to the study and research of 16th and 17th century English language, literature and history, and their relationship with their Spanish counterparts, in all aspects: linguistic, literary and cultural.

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## Editors' Foreword

SEDERI 10th includes contributions by SEDERI members and a peer-reviewed selection of the papers presented during the 10th International Conference of the Spanish Society for English Renaissance Studies which took place in Salamanca 15th-17th March 1999. The conference was dedicated to the memory of the late Professor Patricia Shaw as is the present volume.

Of the twenty-three papers in this tenth issue of the *Year Book of the Spanish Association for English Renaissance Studies*, three correspond to the plenary lectures delivered at the annual conference of the association by Professors Norman F. Blake, Ton Hoenselaars and Keith Whitlock. Their contributions admirably introduce the traditional three sections in which our Journal is divided: Topics in Renaissance English, Topics in Literature and Criticism, and Shakespeare. The appendix contains our President's inestimable effort towards compiling a thorough Bibliography of English Renaissance Studies in Spain up to 1995. The Members of the Editorial Board have ensured that all the contributions to the present volume maintain the high standards of quality of previous issues of our journal.

Our deeply felt gratitude must be expressed to the President of SEDERI, Dr. F. Javier Sánchez Escribano, to the General Editor, Professor Santiago F. y González-Corugedo, and to the Treasurer, Dr. Andrew Monnickendam, for their patience, prompt answers and unfailing support to our numerous queries in the months prior to the conference and those in which the present volume has gone through its laborious editing process.

Our heartfelt thanks go to our "dream-team" of undergraduates who so efficiently managed the information desk and helped delegates in every which way possible: Juan Jurado Torresquesana, Antonio Toca Caso, David González Mediano, Francisco González García, Beatriz malmierca Palacios and Sonia Casado García.

We happily acknowledge our debt to the following institutions which contributed financially and in other ways to the Conference: The University of Salamanca, which granted us the use of the beautiful old university quarters as a venue for the conference; the Department of English Philology, which supported all our efforts in the long process prior to the actual conference and also during it; the Ministry of Education and Culture, thanks to whose generous financial help, Reference CO97-0543, the conference could take place and this 10th issue of SEDERI is in your hands; the British Council, in his continuing efforts to support English cultural studies in Spain, also helped us financially, our special thanks to their director in Salamanca, Professor Román Alvarez Rodríguez; Banco Santander and Caja Duero for their sponsorship; Chus Delgado Viajes for their efficient handling of all matters relating to travelling and lodging arrangements.

The organization of a Conference and the editing of of a volume such as this is always an arduous task. In this case, the final results, our gathering in Salamanca, and the high standard of the contributions in the present issue have made it all really worthwhile. Thank you and may we meet again at the next SEDERI conference.

María Fuencisla García-Bermejo Giner  
Gudelia Rodríguez Sánchez  
Javier Sánchez Díez

# The Study of Shakespeare's Language: Its Implications for Editors, Critics and Translators

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I have on one or two previous occasions spoken and written about the problem of Shakespeare's language in so far as it seems not to figure prominently in the way modern editors present Shakespeare's plays (Blake 1996 & 1997). Earlier editors, from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, were often concerned with 'correcting' his language in that they tried where possible to choose a reading from the quartos or First Folio which was the least incorrect by their standards or, where that was not an option, to correct what was in the First Folio by what was found in one of the later folios or by introducing an emendation.<sup>1</sup> Their interest in the language hardly went further than that. As notions of correctness have receded and as most modern editors have little knowledge or appreciation of the language of Shakespeare's time, comments about his language have become less and less frequent in twentieth-century editions. In this paper I will consider the implications of this state of affairs by reviewing some modern editions of *Macbeth*. The ones I will consider are those by Muir 1951, Brooke 1990 and Braunmuller 1997 as well as the text in the Oxford Complete Shakespeare by Wells and Taylor 1986. I have also used the dual English-Spanish version edited by Manuel Angel Conejero 1996. I shall first consider some passages in detail and then draw from this discussion some more general points.

Let us take first the short opening scene with the three witches. In examining the language of this passage I wish also to evaluate how far the emendations which have been made are justified and what aspects of the scene's language might need more explanation than they receive in these editions. The text in the First Folio, which is the base text used by modern editors in the absence of any quarto, reads:

1. When shall we three meet again?  
In Thunder, Lightning, or in Raine?
2. When the Hurley-burley's done,  
When the Battaile's lost, and wonne.
3. That will be ere the set of Sunne.(5)

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<sup>1</sup> As for example Pope 1728 does in his edition.

1. Where the place?
2. Vpon the Heath.
3. There to meet with *Macbeth*.
1. I come, *Gray-Malkin*.
- All. *Paddock* calls anon: faire is foule, and foule is faire, (10)
- Houer through the fogge and filthie ayre. *Exeunt*.<sup>2</sup> (11)

The editors here represent the text more or less as it is found in the Folio. Although the spelling and punctuation are modernised, editors tend to keep the Folio's punctuation where they can, and in this respect Braunmuller 1997 is the most conservative. The most striking feature of the passage is that the last two lines of the scene in the Folio are completely recast. They appear in Braunmuller's 1997 edition as

SECOND WITCH Paddock calls.           10  
 THIRD WITCH Anon.  
 ALL Fair is foul, and foul is fair,  
 Hover through the fog and filthy air.<sup>13</sup> (1997:103)

The lines which are given to all the witches in the Folio are split up to give some extra short lines to the second and third witches - a point to which I shall return.

A quick look at the editors' collations and notes yields the following results. The collations have almost no comments on punctuation. Muir 1951:3 alone notes that the omission of the question mark at the end of the first line by Hanmer 'is superfluous'. As for changes to the text Muir 1951 records that both Hanmer and Capell emend the *or* in line 2 to *and*, though he makes no comment upon the emendation. All note the rearrangement of the final lines in the scene. The notes, for their part, are principally devoted to the explication of words; there is nothing on syntax. One word whose meaning all editors comment on at some length is *Hurley-burley*, though their glosses are slightly different. Muir 1951:3 glosses 'uproar, tumult, confusion, especially the tumult of sedition or insurrection' and adds various parallels and ends with the suggestion by Knights that the word and the following line 'suggest the kind of metaphysical pitch-and-toss which is about to be played with good and evil'. Braunmuller 1997: 102 has the same gloss, but adds 'Reduplications with suffixed -y are common in English ..., but the see-saw childishness is here appropriate to the sisters' obscurely ominous way of speaking and the teetering confusion of opposites to follow'. Brooke 1990:95 glosses 'commotion, confusion - originally used of noble fighting, but in the sixteenth century commonly confined to the confusion of civil war'. The editors cannot agree on the connotations of this word which vary from metaphysical implications through former noble strife to childish ominousness. The word *paddock* is glossed as 'toad' by all of them, though some add the concept of a 'familiar'. *Gray-Malkin* is noted to be the name of a cat, another witch's familiar. Muir 1951 has no other glosses. Brooke 1990:95 simply notes that *anon* means 'immediately (the looser

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<sup>2</sup> For quotations from the First Folio I have used the 1996 Norton Facsimile: *The First Folio of Shakespeare*.

sense “soon” did also occur in Shakespeare’s time)’. Braunmuller 1997 glosses rather more words. *Battaile* is ‘conflict ... could also mean “body ... of troops ... composing an entire army, or one of its main divisions” (OED *Battle sb* 8a) a meaning appropriate to the slaughter soon described’. *Heath* is ‘wilderness, uninhabited and uncultivated ground’ (Braunmuller 1997:102) and *filthie* is ‘murky, thick’ (Braunmuller 1997:103). Otherwise the comments are largely about proverbial language and the concepts of witches and their familiars.

As for the re-arrangement of the final two lines in the Folio only Brooke 1990: 217 provides an explanation for the change. The justification he offers, based on the proposals made by Hunter following Singer, is that in the last two lines the words from *faire is foule* must be understood to form a couplet and should be edited as such and that the Folio’s *Padock calls anon* should be divided into two lines to maintain the rhythm of the three witches each speaking in turn. This arrangement is designed then to provide three conversational turns consisting of first, second and third witches. But how one is to understand the meaning of the text generated by this new arrangement and why the re-arrangement of the lines should be considered superior to that in the Folio are not commented on, let alone explained, by the editors.

It follows from their silence about the rest of the language in this scene that the editors assume the meaning is so straightforward that no comment is necessary and that readers whether in school or university should have no problem in understanding what is meant and in appreciating how the whole passage hangs together. I wonder whether many native English speakers would find this passage as easy to comprehend as the editors seem to imply, and in Spain both students and translators may well have difficulty in making sense of the scene as edited in these editions. No modern editor goes so far to claim that because the supernatural is involved the witches may not make sense, although Braunmuller 1997:102 notes their ‘obscurely ominous way of speaking and the teetering confusion of opposites’. In his translation Conejero 1996: 57 adds as a note to lines 10-11: ‘La traducción de las intervenciones de las tres brujas en esta escena es, probablemente, poco literal en el sentido clásico del término’. Nevertheless, I shall argue that their language can make sense, if understood properly.

The first thing to note is that some editors make ‘Vpon the Heath.’ the second half of a line which starts with ‘Where the place?’<sup>3</sup> This is done to make *Heath* rhyme with *Macbeth* (although the rhymes *Heath/-beth* were not true then and are not now) so that these two lines form a couplet parallel to the first couplet (lines 1-2 rhyming *again/Raine*), though the next three lines form a rhyming triplet (lines 3-5 rhyming *done/wonne/Sunne*). The last line of this proposed editorial couplet (*There to meet with Macbeth*) has only six syllables and so does not conform to the four-stress lines of the other couplets. The words at the end of the scene from *faire is foule* are also edited as a free-standing four-stress couplet. This arrangement makes the rhythm of Folio’s lines 9-10, coming between the early couplet/triplet and the last couplet, different from the rest of the scene since they

<sup>3</sup> The result is that the lineation in the various editions differs.

have neither the stress nor the rhyming patterns found elsewhere. Hence the attempt to force these intermediate lines into the pattern of first, second and third witches speaking in turn is undermined by the change in poetic structure and rhythm and calls the widely accepted emendation into question.

The question marks at the end of the first two lines suggest, as edited elsewhere, that there are two questions: when the witches will meet again and whether the meeting should be in thunder, in lightning or in rain. But thunder, lightning and rain tend to come together rather than separately and the stage direction for this scene in the Folio reads *Thunder and Lightning*. So one can appreciate why early editors wanted to change *or* to *and*. Possibly editors accept the view that there is little difference in meaning between *or* and *and* here and Shakespeare simply chose the one which fitted in with the harmony of the lines. There is indeed some evidence for this view (See Blake 1983: Ch. 6), though readers might have welcomed some guidance on the matter. This might then be thought to fit in with the next couplet where the sense of *lost, and wonne* is somewhat superfluous, since if one side wins the other must lose. Keeping the two question marks in lines 1 and 2 means there are apparently two questions rather than one, and the second question is elliptical. At the same time the next two lines are kept as two clauses separated only by a comma, although each clause is a complete sentence in itself. This does not seem to conform to modern punctuation which is the editorial aim. Retaining the original punctuation here may not be the most sensible option for an editor to follow who is introducing modern punctuation.

The first line to call for more detailed linguistic comment than it receives is line 8 'There to meet with *Macbeth*'. Since they make no comment, editors presumably take *meet with* to mean the same as *meet*, which normally indicates some prearranged meeting, as is true of *meet* in line 1. That is not the case here. The witches are going to waylay Macbeth without his prior knowledge and by taking him unawares to test him. The phrasal verb *meet with* has the sense 'to attack, waylay' (cf. OED **Meet** v. 11c 'To encounter (an enemy)') and that must be the sense intended here. The phrasal verb is used elsewhere in Shakespeare in this sense as in 'The King with mighty and quick-raised power | Meets with Lord Harry' [i.e. Hotspur] (*1 Henry 4* 4.4.12-13). It continues the sense of conflict which is referred to in the battle and introduces a new struggle just when the previous one had been *lost, and wonne*. The witches arrange to *meet* one another, but they will *meet with* Macbeth.

The First Witch asks where the next meeting is to be and she is answered by the other two witches who give her the place and the purpose of the meeting. The First Witch then says in the Folio 'I come, *Gray-Malkin*' (9). This sentence is reproduced by the editors without comment apart from their explanations of the cat's name. What precisely does this sentence mean? As it stands, the comma and the name *Gray-Malkin*, which appears to be a form of address, indicate that this sentence is said to someone other than the other two witches, namely to Greymalkin (or Grimalkin). But Greymalkin, the assumed familiar of this witch, is

not present and is not included in any stage direction (original or editorial) and it is unusual to say the least that this witch should address her response to her familiar rather than to the other witches with whom she is talking. Presumably the phrase *I come* means 'I will be there, I am coming' and, if so, it should be addressed to the other two witches to confirm the First Witch's presence at the next meeting. The solution, that Greymalkin is the name of one of the other witches, does not seem credible, has never been proposed and would create a further problem in understanding who *Paddock* is in the following line. It is surprising that editors do not face this difficulty, unless there is a simple solution which has escaped me. But, as this brief analysis shows, pragmatically this sentence does not fit in with what has gone before or what is to come. Hence the First Witch's reply may need to be adjusted textually to make it suitable for this conversational exchange. One way of doing so without too much difficulty would be to re-arrange the punctuation. Instead of having the comma after *come*, it might be better to put it after *I*, which is the spelling also used for *Ay*, meaning 'yes', in the Folio, as in *Macbeth* 2.2.26. The sense would then be 'Yes (i.e. I agree with the suggested meeting and its purpose), and accompany me Greymalkin', presumably either to the meeting with Macbeth or to an immediate departure since the next meeting of the witches has now been arranged. This would provide an adequate response to the information the other witches had given her, because she accepts place and purpose, and it also introduces the familiars which are presumably designed to underline the evil nature of the witches. The presence of Greymalkin at the meeting with Macbeth would emphasise its wicked purpose. It is not difficult to imagine a compositor thinking that 'I, come' should be read as 'I come.'. A further possibility is to replace the comma of the Folio with a full stop. Then the 'I come.' would be a reply to the other witches to indicate her agreement to be present at the next meeting, and 'Greymalkin' would be a form of address presumably to get the cat to be ready to depart and would form a new conversational exchange. This second possibility is less attractive as it leaves this form of address up in the air because its conversational purpose is unclear, though it can be paralleled in Shakespeare.

The next speech which in the Folio is given to all the witches starts '*Paddock calls anon*' (10). It is clearly a single sentence with normal structure of subject-transitive verb-object (or possibly subject-transitive/intransitive verb-adverb). Modern editors, as we have seen, divide it into two sentences '*Paddock calls*' and '*Anon*' which they allocate to separate witches. Apart from the comment in Brooke 1990 that *anon* means 'immediately', no editor offers any explanation of the meaning of the words used or how the lines hang together with the rest of the passage. One is left to assume that the Second Witch says that her familiar, i.e. Paddock, is calling, and the Third Witch responds to Paddock's call by shouting 'Immediately', meaning presumably that she or her fellow witch will come to Paddock immediately. Why Paddock is calling and why the Third Witch should answer Paddock's call, as Paddock is the Second Witch's familiar, are left unexplained. One begins to fear that editors believe witches talk nonsense. But the sentence as it stands in the Folio does make sense and can fit in with the rest of the passage. *Call* is both a transitive and intransitive verb and, as the former, takes an

object which is often what is called out (OED **Call** v. 3). One way of making sense of these words is to take *call* as a transitive verb whose object is the final couplet starting *faire is foule*. But as there is no reason Paddock should utter this couplet immediately, this interpretation seems unsatisfactory. The reading ‘Paddock calls anon’ can also be understood to mean ‘Paddock calls out “At your service”’. *Anon* is the cry which servants and others say when they are summoned, and the best known example is in *1 Henry IV* where Prince Hal and Poins tease Francis, the tapster, by summoning him from different sides and, as he is uncertain which way to turn, he keeps shouting ‘Anon’. The *Oxford English Dictionary* makes it clear that servants often used this word as recognition that they were being summoned and a sign that they were ready to serve whoever was calling (OED **Anon** adv. 6). In *Macbeth* when the porter at the end of his monologue says ‘Anon, anon, I pray you remember the Porter’ (2.3.16-17), he means ‘At your service and don’t forget the porter’. If the sense is ‘Paddock calls out “At your service”’, it is possible to see how it fits into the passage. After the First Witch agrees to the meeting and tells her familiar to accompany her, the witches then hear Paddock calling out that he would also be willing to participate with Greymalkin in this new wickedness. Paddock does not want to be left out, if Greymalkin is going to be there. Presumably Paddock is off-stage. I see no reason why this sentence should not be said by all the witches, if the shout comes from off-stage for that indicates that the witches all have their familiars in tow, though it could be said by just one of them.

The last couplet calls for little comment, except possibly for the word *Houer*. No editor comments on this word, its form or meaning. I assume they understand it to be a verb and, given its position, it presumably is in the imperative form, though it could be taken to be a present tense form with the subject ‘we’ or ‘they’ understood. If it is an imperative, to whom is it addressed? Are the witches talking to themselves? If it is a present tense of the verb is the subject really ‘we’, or in light of the previous line with the mixing of foul and fair, is it both fair and foul which hover in the bad air? OED *Hover* v1 3 recognises the meaning ‘To continue in a state of suspense or indecision, to waver as in an indeterminate or irresolute state’, which might apply to *Macbeth* at a later stage, but hardly now. In any case this solution does not help to explain how the grammar works. There is also a noun *hover* found from 1513 to 1883 with the meaning ‘The act or condition of remaining in suspense’ (OED *Hover* sb. 2). As OED says this word has a Northern tone, it may be appropriate here. However, this noun like the verb suggests a state of stasis, whereas the following preposition *through* suggests some movement. But *through* might be understood in the sense ‘so as to penetrate every part or district of; throughout, everywhere in’ (OED *Through* prep. B.I.3). The witches’ plans and evil intentions (that potent mixing of benefit with wickedness) are in a state of suspended animation throughout the fog and murky atmosphere until they can be realised in the projected meeting with *Macbeth* on the heath. The general connotation of *houer* is clearly less than favourable, and may be related to the unfavourable adjectival form *hovering* in ‘a hovering temporizer’ (*Winter’s Tale* 1.2.302) said of Camillo by Leontes, and *through* indicates its pervasiveness. I understand these last two lines to mean: ‘Evil and good are inextricably mixed in a

suspended state throughout the fog and putrid atmosphere'. Conejero translates these lines as:

Lo bello es feo y feo lo que es bello;  
la niebla, el aire impuro atravesemos. (1996:57),

where *atavesemos* is the imperative, for Spanish forces a choice among the different persons and here the choice is first plural. How the latter line hangs together with the previous one is not clear since they are separated by a semi-colon.

There is one final difficulty, namely how the final couplet beginning *faire is foule* hangs together with the statement 'Paddock calls anon' or the rest of the scene. Most commentators make no comment on this and presumably accept that it is a kind of final charm which the witches intone at the end of the scene, which would be a different way of concluding their wickedness similar to 'Peace, the Charme's wound vp' at 1.3. 35. As it is said by all the witches, this makes sense. It would in that case refer forward to what they are going to tell Macbeth and Banquo, which is apparently good news, but it conceals the seeds for wicked action to achieve the result predicted. But it might also refer to the presence of Greymalkin and Paddock at the coming meeting, who could be presented as both 'fair' and 'foul' - attractive to look at, at least in the case of Greymalkin, but wicked underneath.

While I cannot prove that the meaning I offer for these lines is correct, I do claim that I have tried to make sense of the lines in a way which readers and translators can grasp. Equally I have focussed on what I consider to be one of the most important tasks an editor has to face, namely to elucidate the meaning of the text he or she is presenting to the wider public. In doing that I have had to make certain assumptions and minor changes in punctuation. But in making changes or emendations I have explained why a change needs to be made and how it could be justified. Otherwise, I have kept to the text as presented in the Folio. I do not think we need to take the more drastic decision that the witches make little sense and that, therefore, the scenes in which they appear must have been written by someone other than Shakespeare. As Conejero 1996: 55 notes: 'Esta escena [Act 1 Sc.1], en la que aparecen por vez primera las tres brujas, breve y sin función dramática aparente, ha sido considerada espúrea por parte de un sector de la crítica'. For me it has a very clear function, but one needs to understand the language to appreciate that function.

Let us turn now to the second appearance of the witches at the beginning of Act 1, scene 3, though I do not reproduce the whole scene in which they appear. The witches are preparing for their meeting with Macbeth and Banquo. During this preparation the following exchange occurs:

1. Her Husband's to Aleppo gone, Master o'th' *Tiger*: (6)  
But in a Syue Ile thither sayle,  
And like a Rat without a tayle,  
Ile doe, Ile doe, and Ile doe.
2. Ile giue thee a Winde. (10)
1. Th'art kinde.

3. And I another.

1. I my selfe haue all the other,  
 And the very Ports they blow,  
 All the Quarters that they know,(15)  
 I'th'Shipman's card.  
 Ile dreyne him drie as Hay:  
 Sleepe shall neyther Night nor Day  
 Hang vpon his Pent-house Lid:  
 He shall liue a man forbid:(20)

The First Witch has been complaining about a sailor's wife and the punishment the witch will exact upon her husband. One problem in this passage is the meaning of line 9 'Ile doe, Ile doe, and Ile doe'. Comment by editors on this line is not frequent. Braunmuller 1997:110 translates *doe* as 'act; fornicate', though the two glosses are hardly in the same semantic field. He adds that witches are often associated with 'female sexual desire'. This appears to relate the witch's *doe* with the modern colloquial *do* meaning 'to have sexual intercourse'. Muir 1951:12 notes that other commentators relate *Ile doe* to the witch being like a rat and suggest that she will gnaw through some part of the ship such as the rudder to make the ship drift helplessly or to sink it. Neither of these suggestions seems satisfactory. At this time *do* can mean 'to have sexual intercourse', but this sense seems inappropriate here as the Second Witch responds to this statement by the First Witch by saying 'Ile giue thee a Winde'. For the First Witch to intend to act as a succubus has no relevance to the Second Witch's offer of a wind. Wind and sexual intercourse have no necessary relation. Even if the ship is damaged by the gnawing of a witch-like rat, the wind would not be appropriate since the sinking of the ship or its rudderless wandering would be sufficient turmoil without a wind. The sense may be no more than 'act, carry out (some enterprise)' (OED *Do* v.1 20) The First Witch will initiate some action, though what is not made clear till later. Her *do* probably means no more than 'I'll set to work vigorously [on the captain by assailing him with contrary winds]'. In Shakespeare repetition is often used for emphasis. The other witches clearly understand that the captain will be afflicted with storms which will make his journey hazardous and involve his constant attention. Hence the offer of winds by the other two witches, and then the claim by the First Witch to have all the other winds. It would appear that the witches have no power to sink the ship (cf. 1.3.23), but they do have the power to inflict as much trouble as they want upon the captain short of his actual death. The three witches have control over all the winds with which the First Witch will punish the captain for his wife's behaviour towards her.

This notion is introduced by lines 13-16, which have caused editors considerable uncertainty as to their meaning. Modern editors tend to follow the punctuation of the Folio, although Muir 1951 has a semi-colon at the end of line 13 and some omit the comma at the end of line 15. It might, in fact, be better to have a full stop at the end of line 13, since this line ties in with what the other witches have said before a new topic is introduced, namely what the winds will be used for. The next line reads 'And the very Ports they blow', in which *And* and *very* act as

intensifiers to underline what is said. This suggests a heavy stop at the end of the previous line is appropriate. It might be better to have no further punctuation in these four lines. The question is what they mean. First, there is the problem of the syntax. Is *the very Ports* the object of *blow* or does it form part of the subject with *they*, as has been suggested? Then, there is the meaning of *Ports*, usually assumed to be ‘harbour or refuge for ships’, but it is difficult to fit this in since the ship is at sea away from all harbours.

would suggest a meaning as follows. Line 13 is complete in itself and merely indicates that the First Witch has control over all the other winds. The *they* in the next line must refer to the winds. It is difficult to understand *Ports* as an object of *blow*, for the meaning would be difficult, to say the least, and commentators have not come forward with any reasonable interpretation. It is possible to take *All the Quarters* as the object of *blow*, meaning that the winds blow all the quarters of the compass (*i'th'Ship-mans Card*), i.e. they blow from all angles and so disorient the captain who cannot control his ship or steer it in the preferred direction. *Card* from the end of the sixteenth century could mean both ‘compass’ and ‘map, especially for sailors’ (OED *Card sb.2* 4 & 5). The captain is left to wallow with his ship helplessly in the sea. This leaves *all the Ports* to be explained. I cannot accept that this has anything to do with harbours, for the captain is at sea and it appears that to find land is not an option for him. *Port*, in addition to ‘harbour’, can mean ‘an opening of some kind’ and thus it refers to gates and also to the holes in the side of ships, through which guns could be pointed and which let in air (OED *Port sb.3* 2). If this is taken as an object in a literal sense then it would mean that the winds blow through the holes in the side of the ship and so help to prevent the ship from being steered properly. This seems less probable than a figurative meaning, in which *Ports* could refer to the holes in the clouds through which the winds were represented as blowing by cartographers of the time (*i'th'Ship-mans Card*). This would compare the situation with a map in which the winds, personified as human heads with full cheeks, are blowing from different corners so as to represent the ship as buffeted by winds from all directions. To understand the phrase this way means assuming that a preposition such as *at* is understood before *all the Ports*.<sup>4</sup> It would be possible, though I find it unnecessary, to assume that *at* had been omitted by the compositor as it followed *And*, as both are short words beginning with *a*. Understood in the way I have suggested the lines would mean: ‘Indeed, at the openings [in the sky] the winds blow every direction known to them in the mariner’s compass’.

The result is, as the rest of the speech suggests, that the captain is unable to rest, for he is busy trying to control the ship and steer it in the right direction. Consequently, he becomes exhausted and loses weight and his temper. Though the witches cannot destroy him directly, they can torment him to the limits of his endurance. All of this I take to be an image of the way the witches plan to treat Macbeth. He will be blown hither and thither by the various emotional winds working in conflicting directions so that, for example, duty will be in conflict with

<sup>4</sup> See for example, Franz 1924: 542.

ambition, loyalty with greed for power. The witches cannot destroy Macbeth directly, but they can tempt and torment him so that he ultimately destroys himself. It is perhaps not inappropriate, therefore, that just before the entrance of Macbeth and Banquo, the First Witch should intone at lines 26-27:

Here I haue a Pilots Thumbe,  
Wrackt, as homeward he did come.

The stage has been set for the main drama. Before we leave this particular passage, we need to remember that winds are often linked with the pains of hell in Shakespeare. When Othello realises his crime in murdering Desdemona he exclaims:

Blow me about in windes, roast me in Sulphure,  
Wash me in steepe-downe gulfes of Liquid fire. (5.2.286-87)

In *Measure for Measure* when Claudio is trying to get Isabella to save him from death, he refers to what we might expect in the other life including

To be imprison'd in the viewlesse windes  
And blowne with restlesse violence round about  
The pendant world: (3.1.124-26),

though his list of possible torments contains fiery floods and thick-ribbed ice. It is clear that Shakespeare saw wind as one of the torments which humans faced in this world and the next. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the witches should use it as an instrument of punishment.

In considering these two passages, I have suggested that editors do not always explain what the lines in the play mean and certainly do not provide sufficient help for readers and translators to understand the text fully, because their interest in and knowledge of the language are incomplete. Most comments which they include are limited to the meaning of individual words. In more recent editions, this often means providing a reference to the OED or simply stating that the OED does not have an appropriate meaning. Even if the meanings given by editors are correct, they rarely comment on other possible meanings and never show how the word and its meaning fit in with the passage as a whole. Comments on syntax and pragmatics hardly ever appear, and even if they do they refer to Abbott's 1890 grammar as though that were sufficient. It may be useful in the rest of this paper to look at some points in language to highlight some difficulties which could be given more attention by editors and commentators.

Editors' views on the punctuation found in the Folio or the quartos are often patronising or dismissive, though this attitude is less marked than it was. Emendations to the Folio's punctuation are not always noted in the collations, for many think it is arbitrary. Braunmuller 1997, the most recent editor, tries to keep the Folio punctuation where he can, perhaps sometimes too much so, for he does not always explain how one is to understand it. And one has to accept that modern punctuation follows different principles from those in the early seventeenth century. I think it is right to start from the original punctuation, not because it is

Shakespeare's but because it is closer to Shakespeare than we are, although we must accept that modernising the spelling has implications for the original punctuation.

There are times when modern editors are too quick to disregard the punctuation in the Folio. At 3.1.42-45 the Folio reads:

Let euery man be master of his time,  
Till seuen at Night, to make societie  
The sweeter welcome:  
We will keepe our selfe till Supper time alone:

Editors here assume that the final clause is closely related to the previous one and so replace the colon after *welcome* with a comma and insert a heavy stop after *Night*. Braummuller 1997: 162 notes that the Folio 'is repunctuated because "it is solitude which gives a zest to society, not being master of one's time" (Clarendon, following Theobald)'. While one may agree with this sentiment, the implication of the text of everyone being master of his own time is that each will spend it as he wishes without being at the beck and call of others. For the nobles this period of doing what one wants to will make the communal activities of the evening more acceptable. In the Folio there is a sharp break before the final line which needs to be kept. It is only Macbeth who will keep himself to himself, and this syntactic break underlines that for his part he may not find having company as agreeable as the others will.

At 5.3.19-21 when the English army is closing in on Macbeth's castle and he has been told by a servant of their number, the Folio has him exclaim:

Take thy face hence. *Seyton*, I am sick at hart,  
When I behold: *Seyton*, I say, this push  
Will cheere me euer, or dis-eate me now.

Modern editors follow in punctuating it in this way:

MACBETH Take thy face hence! [*Exit Servant*] *Seyton*! - I am sick at heart,  
When I behold - *Seyton*, I say! - this push  
Will cheer me ever or disseat me now.

Here *When I behold* is taken as an incomplete sentence and *I say* is addressed to *Seyton* who is off-stage. But *behold* may here be understood to be an intransitive verb meaning 'look around' (OED *Behold* v. 8) and *I say* might introduce the following clause. The call to *Seyton* would then be the same in both instances. The sense would be: 'I am sick at heart when I look around. *Seyton*. I assert that this coming attack will either make or break me'. This interpretation helps to give more point to the passage, for it contrasts his anguish with his defiance more directly.

It is important to realise that punctuation has a direct impact on our understanding of syntax. Two types of example may illustrate this point. The first is the relation between punctuation and the occurrence of *and*. In Act 1 Scene 3 lines 13-14, I suggested that the comma found in the Folio at the end of line 13 should be changed into a full stop, because the First Witch is moving on to a rather

different topic at the beginning of line 14. This may appear strange to some because line 14 begins with *And* and that, as a co-ordinating conjunction, is usually thought to link what is following to what has just gone before. Hence editors often find it more acceptable to join sentences beginning with *And* to the previous one. But it is a word which can also be used as an adverb and its restriction to a merely co-ordinate function is something imposed upon it by the grammarians from the eighteenth-century onwards who introduced their views of correctness into the language.<sup>5</sup> But even today the word is used colloquially as an adverb usually with some kind of intensive function, as in a sentence like ‘And he’s ever so nice’. This usage is recognised by Franz 1924 and Abbott 1890, but we need to go even further than they did. In 1.3.14 I suggested it acted with *very* as an intensive, and the meaning of *and* as ‘indeed’ reinforces *very* to indicate the figurative meaning of *Ports* here. There are many other examples of this use of *and* in *Macbeth*. Often it is used with another adverb or a conjunction. In dictionaries this use is not recognised and groups like *and if* or *and so* are simply glossed as ‘if’ and ‘so’. Take for example 3.1.39-40 where Macbeth is wishing Banquo a safe journey, at the same time as he is plotting how to kill him and his son. Macbeth lets him go with

I wish your Horses swift, and sure of foot:  
And so I doe commend you to their backs.

The colon at the end of the first line suggests a heavy stop. In the next one the *And so* and *doe* suggest a different tone for the line than mere politeness. The excess of politeness and the heavy emphasis reveal a deeper meaning and Macbeth’s real attitude to their journey.

A good example of the use of *and* as a discourse marker rather than as a conjunction is provided at 3.4.100-103 where *and* has no grammatical function in the sentence and has been included for a different reason. The text here reads:

Approach thou like the rugged Russian Beare,  
The arm’d Rhinoceros, or the th’Hircan Tiger,  
Take any shape but that, and my firme Nerues  
Shall neuer tremble.

In this passage the verbs *Approach* and *Take* are understood as implying a conditional sentence ‘If you approach, ...if you take...’ as so often with the inversion of subject and verb. Although in principle it might be possible to interpret these verbs as imperatives, that construction makes no sense in the passage. The meaning must be ‘If you approach me in these shapes, my nerves would never give way’ and in such a sentence *and* has no place grammatically, though one can understand how it is used to emphasise the strength of purpose he would show under those conditions as compared to the terror he feels when Banquo appears to him as a ghost. The *and* reinforces *firme* in the passage.

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<sup>5</sup> See Franz 1924: 590 and Abbott 1890: 95.

An example where the *And* follows a full stop in the Folio occurs at 4.1.147-148. Macbeth has been visiting the witches to find out what else might happen in future and he learns of the dangers posed by Macduff. He decides that actions must follow thoughts without any break, and so he says:

And euen now  
To Crown my thoughts with Acts: be it thoght & done:

So he decides to kill Macduff and his people immediately. The use of *And* strengthens the sense of *euen now* to underline this decision.

At other places in the text *and* may not be in a separate sentence, though its meaning is still to be understood as adding emotional colour to the language. At 1.4.54-55 Duncan comments to Banquo on Macbeth's excellence by saying:

True, worthy *Banquo*: he is full so valiant,  
And in his commendations, I am fed:

Once again *and* is used with other discourse markers, like *True* and *full so*. It emphasises what is coming rather than acting as a mere co-ordinator. So it might be more appropriate to have a heavy stop at the end of the first line to let *And* have the sense 'Indeed'. In the following scene (1.5) where Lady Macbeth is reading her husband's letter, it opens

*They met me in the day of successe: and I haue learn'd by the perfect'st report, they haue more in them, then mortall knowledge.*

Once more we see *and* preceded by a colon and introducing a different thought from that which has gone before. The sense 'Indeed' seems once more to be the most appropriate here. In all these examples, editors might be well advised to think about the meaning of *and* and the implications it has for their punctuation. In many cases to let it follow a comma does not do justice to its force or its grammatical category.

The second is the relation between punctuation and causality. This is a difficult topic because causality may be implied even though it is not signalled through the punctuation. Once more this is an example where the use of conjunctions has been regulated by the grammarians from the eighteenth century onwards. In this case grammarians have encouraged us to make clear that causality is shown through the use of an appropriate conjunction such as *because*, *since* or *for*. But this regulation has had little impact on the colloquial language so that someone might shout 'Watch out; he's got a gun' rather than 'Watch out, because he's got a gun'. The causality is implied. It can be argued that this implication is not always clear so that some passages may be understood as two related clauses without causality. Two sentences like 'It's stopped raining. Let's go out.' might be taken as a statement and a wish which were not closely linked, though most hearers would probably interpret a close connection between the two. An example of the difficulty which can arise for the editor can be seen at 1.3.106-7 where Macbeth, on hearing news of his becoming Thane of Cawdor, says to Ross:

The *Thane* of Cawdor liues:

Why doe you dresse me in borrowed Robes?

Here most editors put a full stop after the Folio's *liues* with its colon. But the sense must surely be 'Since the Thane of Cawdor is still alive, why do you address me with his title?'. Many readers might not understand the close connection between these two clauses if editors use a full stop at the end of the first one.

An understanding of this relationship may help to clarify some passages which commentators have had difficulty explaining. At 1.4.44-46 Macbeth, as he is about to leave Duncan to advise his wife of Duncan's imminent arrival, says:

The Rest is Labor, which is not vs'd for you:  
 'Ile be my selfe the Herbenger, and make ioyfull  
 The hearing of my Wife, with your approach:

Braunmuller 1997:121 comments on these lines in this way: 'This involuted language conveys polite deference rather than any easily paraphrasable sense: Macbeth stresses that 'you' (Duncan, his importance and his favour to Macbeth) give meaning to whatever 'we' (Macbeth, Lady Macbeth, and presumably their retainers) do, however others may judge our actions'. Braunmuller 1997 has a semi-colon at the end of the first line, and this is characteristic of many editions. The heavy stop makes the link between the two parts of the sentence less clear. There is a causal relationship between them. The sense is: 'Because any leisure not spent in serving you is like painful work, I will [keep myself fully occupied] by being the messenger to gladden my wife with the news that you are coming'. This interpretation not only makes sense without implying a convoluted apology, but it also indicates that the punctuation at the end of line 13 should be no more than a comma to make sure readers grasp the connection between the clauses.

Another example occurs at 3.4.117-118 during the banquet scene and the appearance of Banquo's ghost. At this point Lady Macbeth speaks to the guests and urges them not to pay too much attention to Macbeth's behaviour and not to excite him by questioning him.

I pray you speake not: he growes worse & worse  
 Question enrages him:

In these lines Braunmuller 1997 has a semi-colon after *not* and a full stop after *worse*. He has no direct comment on the meaning of the passage, though he offers a gloss for *Question* 'Questioning, interrogation' (Braunmuller 1997: 182). Muir 1951 also has heavy stops at these two places, as does Wells/Taylor 1986, but Brooke 1990 has a comma at the end of line 117. No editor comments on how these lines are to be understood. The heavy stops are not helpful to people trying to understand the meaning since there must be a close relationship among these clauses, which is mainly causal. The sense is: 'Please do not speak to him since he grows more and more angry when people question him'.

In one instance causality and the use of *and* are found together, and the *and* helps to create the intensity of emotion. When Lady Macduff is talking to her son in a nervously bantering way, she says to him:

Sirra, your Fathers dead,  
And what will you do now? (4.2.30-31)

Most editors follow the Folio in having a comma after *dead*, though Muir 1951 has a colon. None of them suggest how the passage is to be understood or what the significance of the comma is. The sense has to be understood through the *And* acting as a discourse marker to emphasise the question, which depends upon the first clause in a causal manner. One can understand it like this: ‘Young man, since your father is dead, what indeed are you going to do now [you are fatherless]?’ Once again *and* reinforces an adverb like *now* in a clause.

Further features of the language of the play, which need some comment, include the heavy use of ellipsis. I have already suggested that the line ‘And the very Ports they blow’ contains the omission of a preposition before *the*, which could be *at*. Elsewhere in the witches’ speeches there are many examples of ellipsis, though more often of a verb, especially a part of the verb ‘to be’. In the opening scene the phrases *Where the place?* and *Vpon the Heath* are highly elliptical. Indeed, *Where the place* is unusual in that a sentence like ‘Where is the place?’ which might be thought to be the right expansion sounds forced in Modern English and unnatural even in Elizabethan English. Even an expansion like ‘The place is upon the heath’ is somewhat clumsy. These sentences are elliptical in a way which makes their expansion difficult to recognise. *There to meet with Macbeth* falls into the same pattern. We have also seen that in the final couplet of this scene, there is a problem with *Houer* which might be interpreted as a noun with the verb omitted. This omission, if it is one, leads to some ambiguity in the resulting sentence.

There are many other examples of ellipsis. In the second meeting of the witches, in a passage I did not consider before, we find:

Wearie Seu’nights, nine times nine,  
Shall he dwindle, peake, and pine: (1.3.21-22).

Here one may understand the omission of a preposition like *for* or *during* in front of the *Wearie Seu’nights*, though omissions of this kind were not unusual. A similar ellipsis of preposition is found in *Listning their feare* (2.2.31), where a missing *to* is needed. Another interesting example is:

Is execution done on *Cawdor*?  
Or not those in Commission yet return’d? (1.4.1-2)

Here modern editors put the *Or not* at the end of the first line and they replace that line’s question mark with a comma. To arrange the text that way suggests a reading ‘Is execution done on Cawdor or not? Have those on the commission returned yet?’

In Elizabethan times verbs of motion like *return* could take a part of the verb ‘to be’ in compound tenses and so the *Is* of the first sentence could be thought to extend to the second, though a plural would be more normal with *those*. In that case the sense would be ‘Is execution done on Cawdor? Or are those of the Commission not yet returned?’ Generally speaking, one can say that ellipsis is a

familiar feature of this play and so its occurrence in difficult passages may well be one solution that should be actively considered.

There are instances where editors insert or imply stage directions which have a particular implication for the pragmatics of the passage. At 1.4.33-43 Duncan is speaking first to Banquo and then to the assembled court. This speech ends without any break or stage direction in the Folio with the sentence:

From hence to Envernes,  
And binde vs further to you. (1.4.42-43)

Here Braunmuller 1997 and Wells/Taylor 1986 insert the stage direction [*To Macbeth*], though other editors have nothing or simply a dash to suggest a change of addressee. Braunmuller 1997:121 justifies his insertion with 'Keighley is apparently the first editor to have realised that "you" (43) stipulated a change of those addressed'. But one may question whether this interpretation is justified. In the first place Duncan addresses Macbeth with *thou/thee* forms in this scene and consequently *you* is hardly likely to refer to Macbeth alone. Secondly, Duncan previously addresses 'you whose places are the nearest' [i.e. the nobles in the court] with the news that Malcolm will be Prince of Cumberland and there seems no reason why he should not wish to bind himself even more closely to these people in future. There is no need to think of a change of addressee here and even less to claim that the use of *you* justifies this assumed change of addressee. The editorial stage direction is unnecessary. Later, when Macbeth has left, Duncan addresses Banquo with the words:

True, worthy *Banquo*: he is full so valiant, (1.4.54),

where the *he* refers to Macbeth. Braunmuller 1997:122 notes 'Duncan agrees with Banquo's (unheard) remark. Macbeth is just as brave ... as Banquo has said'. This indicates that Braunmuller 1997 believes *True* must introduce a response to some other remark and cannot be used to initiate a speech exchange. But *true* like *truly* is used adverbially with the sense 'indeed, in truth' to refer to what is to come and without any necessary antecedent. There is no need to assume that Banquo has made a statement praising Macbeth, and one should remember that the nobles do not usually initiate speech exchanges.

There is an interrelationship between pragmatics and punctuation as well. In this same scene Duncan announces that in future his son Malcolm will be Prince of Cumberland. This naturally sends a signal to Macbeth that he is further away from the throne than ever. The Folio here reads:

The Prince of Cumberland: that is a step,  
On which I must fall downe, or else o're-leape (1.4.48-49)

and this is essentially what many editors have except for the omission of the comma after *step*. though some replace the colon with a dash. None comments on it. The Folio does not italicise this title either here or earlier in the scene. But it must surely be a title, for it is the creation of this position as signified by the title which distresses Macbeth. It would surely be better to have the title either in

inverted commas or italics and followed by a comma. It is not unusual in Shakespeare and Elizabethan English to find the subject (in this case *The Prince of Cumberland*) followed by a personal or demonstrative pronoun (in this case *that*). The punctuation should make the sense clearer to the reader.

There is the interesting question of what grammatical category a word may occupy in Shakespeare's text. This question was raised earlier in relation to the word *houer* in 1.1.11. This arises from the expansion of vocabulary through functional shift in this period before seventeenth and eighteenth century grammarians tried to restrict this exuberance of lexical invention. One line which has always caused editors a problem is *Shipwrecking Stormes, and direfull Thunders*: (1.2.26) because the clause apparently has no main verb. Editors have responded either by inserting a verb like *break* at the end of the line or by assuming that a verb like *come* is understood from the following line. Either of these solutions is possible, but a third might be considered. The word *storm* usually occurs in the singular rather than the plural, and *thunder* frequently occurs as a verb. The nouns *storm* and *thunder* do not appear to be collocates for they rarely occur together in the same immediate sentence or clause. The common pattern of adjective + noun + *and* + adjective may apply here so that *Thunders* could be understood as a verb in the singular instead of the plural as not infrequently at this time. The sense would then be 'Shipwrecking and direful storms thunder'; or if one assumes that, because *storm* usually occurs in the singular, it was here originally a singular and the compositor set it as a plural because of *Thunders*, then the sense would then be 'A shipwrecking and direful storm thunders'. Either reading would both create the necessary verb and provide a more dynamic clause to echo the parallel *Discomfort swells*. A similar feature may be found in 1.4.33-34 which in the Folio reads:

My plenteous Ioyes,  
Wanton in fulnesse, seeke to hide themselues.

Here *Wanton* is always understood to be an adjective, but perhaps it might be better thought of as a verb. It makes the *Ioyes* more dynamic and this action is more easily related to the verb *seeke*, which makes *Ioyes* have a personified feel. It was not unusual to omit the conjunction *and* when actions were listed in sequence.

In the second scene with the witches I commented on the line *Ile doe, Ile doe, and Ile doe* in the sense 'I will act'. In this connection it is worth noting how commonly *do* occurs in the play in the sense of 'to act, to commit murder'. I quote just a few examples of this verb, usually spoken by Macbeth or Lady Macbeth.

(a) If it were done, when 'tis done, then 'twere well,  
It were done quickly: (1.7.1-2)

(b) Why then 'tis time to doo't: (5.1.30-31)

(c) What's done, cannot be vndone. (5.1.57-58).

Of course, *doe* in 1.3.9 is spoken by the First Witch, but I would suggest that it may anticipate the frequent use of the verb in its various parts by Macbeth and

his wife later in the play. It provides a further gloss to the meaning of *doe* in the witch's mouth.

There are a number of other words whose connotations could be stressed. In describing the battle Ross notes that the Norwegian banners *fanne our people cold* (1.2.50). Editors do not comment on this expression. But the common meaning of *fan* at this time was 'to winnow' (OED *Fan* v. 1) and that has relevance for any battle. Equally, the sense of *cold* was often 'depressing, dispiriting' (OED *Cold* a. 9) and that may also be invoked here. A word which might need further looking at is *dis-eate* in the passage quoted earlier (5.3.21) in a different connection. This word is normally modernised as *disseat* 'to unseat', though many editors and lexicographers are somewhat unhappy with this reading. I wonder whether its context should not be given greater weight than it usually is. It is contrasted with *cheere*, which when glossed 'comfort, cheer, gladden' some think may refer to 'chair' as a pun with 'seat'. I would rather think that it is more concerned with good cheer and has the sense 'to feast' with good cheer (OED *Cheer* v. 5). This contrasts naturally with *dis-eate* with the meaning 'to gobble up entirely' (cf. OED *Dis-* prefix 5 with an intensive sense). The coming battle will either lead to Macbeth enjoying life to the full again or else it will lead to his being turned into food for the crows, as it were.

Other words which might need further comment are the phrasal verbs like *meet with* found in 1.1.8 and commented on above. Such verbs often have a subtle difference in meaning compared with the simple verbs on which they are based. When Lady Macbeth says to her husband *Onely looke vp cleare* (1.5.69), the verb *looke vp* means 'to have a cheerful expression, to look glad' (OED *Look*, v. 2) and so strengthens the meaning of *cleare*. At 1.7.79-80 when Macbeth says *I am settled, and bend vp Each corporall Agent*, Braunmuller 1997: 137 glosses *bend vp* as 'brace, tighten, prepare to act'. It might help readers if editors noted that this phrasal verb is used of making bow-strings taut for that underlines the nervous tautness which Macbeth has achieved at this point (OED *Bend* v. 3). It helps to prepare us for his actions in the murder scenes. At 5.3.50 Macbeth commands *Seyton, send out*, though editors have no gloss for this phrasal verb. It has the sense 'to proclaim' (OED *Send*, v. 30) and is usually transitive. It could be understood to mean 'Seyton, issue proclamations' and would be a sign of Macbeth's final defiance. Similarly at 5.5.1 he commands *Hang out our Banners on the outward walls*, but there is never any comment on *Hang out*. But this phrasal verb is used for hanging out signs, which are not always grand, such as urinals and bedding (OED *Hang* v. 26b), and it may be slightly illusory in its defiance because his banners may be equated with these other signs. At 5.9.2 Siward notes that *Some must go off*, where Braunmuller 1997: 236 glosses *go off* as 'die'. The gloss is accurate as far as it goes, though *go off* usually embodies the sense of suddenness, and here the sense is 'be killed' rather than just 'die' (OED *Go* v. 83).

In this paper I have tried to emphasise how much there is still yet to discover about Shakespeare's meaning. Unfortunately modern editions focus too much on the plays' theatrical and cultural background and insufficiently on the language and

its meaning. Until editors pay more attention to the language, readers and translators of Shakespeare will continue to find much of the text puzzling or incomprehensible. Indeed, it is a feature of the Spanish translation I have considered how the translators rely heavily on English editions and rarely make their own proposals as to how the text should be edited and understood, although they are Shakespearian scholars. The translation varies from the 'established' text only when the translators fail to make much sense of what they find in the English edition they are using. Both translators and editors deserve more help from editors of such series as the ones I have considered than they currently receive.

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# Lexical Ambiguity and Wordplay in Shakespeare

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

The title of the present article is "Lexical Ambiguity and Wordplay in Shakespeare", but the word 'ambiguity' is in itself an instance of vague meaning. For this reason, I will begin by making clear what I mean by lexical ambiguity. Ambiguity can be applied to different levels of the language, so three different kinds can be traditionally distinguished:

- a) Syntactic ambiguity: when a sentence can be analysed in several distinct ways, so 'he hit the man with the umbrella', where the sequence 'with the umbrella' is a prepositional phrase that can either modify 'the man' (so, 'the man with the umbrella' stands for 'the man carrying the umbrella') or it can be an adjunct meaning the instrument with which the man was hit.
- b) Grammatical ambiguity: when a word can be interpreted as belonging to two different grammar categories or, within the same part of speech, it can be understood as conveying different grammatical features. For instance, the verb *upset*, being alike in its present and past forms, can be realised as present or past tense in a sentences like 'his comments upset her'.
- c) Lexical ambiguity: when the words have two or more possible meanings. Su posits 'pure lexical ambiguity derives mainly from two sources: polysemy and homonymy' (Su 1994: 32).

I will concentrate mainly on the last type of ambiguity, lexical ambiguity, and highlight how Shakespeare uses this device to play on words. It will be seen how this ambiguity can be obtained by means of the sources mentioned by Su, but there are others that turn out to be equally effective, that is to say, antonymy, synonymy, paronymy, etc.

## 2. REASONS FOR PUNNING

Before attempting a classification of the linguistic mechanisms used by Shakespeare to achieve a humorous effect, I would like to focus on the reasons that can explain the use of this kind of playing upon words. Why did writers like Shakespeare wish to pun, what are the reason for it? There are different factors that can account for this desire:

- 1) First of all, it was a common procedure in Elizabethan writers. From his very first plays Shakespeare exhibits a close knowledge of rhetorical devices, which were

usually included in the textbooks of the period, even if this type of humour was despised later by scholars like Samuel Johnson who claimed a quibble was to Shakespeare 'the fatal Cleopatra for which he lost the world and was content to lose it'. Despite these opinions, it is nowadays recognised as a major poetic device, which is comparable in its effectiveness with the use of recurrent or clustered images (Mahood 1988: 11).

Other reasons adduced by Mahood for the use of punning are:

2) The fact that 'Shakespeare plays with verbal meanings, not because the rethoricians approve of wordplay, but because his imagination as a poet works through puns, or because his characters are placed in situations where it is natural for them to pun, or because puns help to clarify the particular view of life that he seeks to present in a particular play. Shakespeare quibbles as a poet, as a dramatist, and as a dramatic poet; and these divisions, though in part arbitrary, give us three means of approaching to the functions of his word play' (Mahood 1988: 20-21).

3) Thirdly, 'another psychological function of word play which everyone has witnessed or experienced is its use to gain relief from a state of emotional tension' (Mahood 1988: 32). The same view has been followed by other scholars like Hussey (1982: 140-141), who comments on the momentary relief from tension which is provided by punning in the play scene. In this respect Shakespeare notoriously puns in the gravest circumstances. Thus when Mercutio is bleeding to death and says

Ask for me tomorrow and you shall find me a grave man  
(*Romeo and Juliet*: III.i.103-104)<sup>1</sup>:

The author is playing upon *grave* meaning 'important' or more recently 'serious', and *grave* as a noun, a synonym for *tomb*.

Although critics generally deal with puns by relating them to characters' attitudes, the inclination to pun does not seem a feature of character; Lady Macbeth cannot be considered a funny woman, and she puns as she plots using paronymous words (*guild-guilt*):

If he do bleed  
I'll gild the faces of the grooms withal;  
For it must seem their guilt (II. ii. 56-58)

A very similar pun based on the homophony between *gilt* and *guilt* is used in *Henry V*:

Have for the gilt of France, - O guilt indeed!  
Confirm'd conspiracy with fearful France  
And by their hands this grace of kings must die. (II.Prologue.26-28)

4) The final reason adduced by Mahood (1988: 41) lies in the fact that 'the vital wordplay in Shakespeare's writing is that between the characters and their creator, between the primary meanings of words in the context of a person's speech and

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<sup>1</sup> References to Shakespeare's plays and sonnets are quoted from Craig's edition (1919).

their secondary meanings as part of the play's underlying pattern of thought. The chief function of the pun is to connect subject and object, inner force with outer form, the poetic vision with the characters in action that are its theatrical embodiment. The play's the thing -not the elusive mind of the playwright nor the illusory minds of his characters.

Wordplay is one of the most effective means towards the ironic interplay between character and may be anticipatory or retrospective, may imply a difference of values between what the speaker is allowed to say for himself and what the writer and his audience think, or it may simply intensify or widen the speaker's meaning to give it significance beyond the moment of speech'.

Finally we can well quote Ewbank (1986: 51), who summarises some of the above mentioned opinions: 'Shakespeare's interest in the arts of language is as practical, as much directed towards function, as that of rhetoricians. His ultimate interest, after all, is to persuade us, the audience, of the human realities of thought and feeling in his plays'.

### 3. KINDS OF PUNS

Regarding the kind of puns that are found in Shakespeare's plays, they are the usual ones at the time. Elizabethan manuals on Rhetoric usually distinguished two main categories of deviation from plain language: *tropes*, like metaphor, hyperbole, pun, metonymy, etc. and *figures*. Rather than concentrate on Rhetoric, this article aims at analysing the linguistic devices used by the author; however, as they are both intertwined, we will refer to some rhetorical figures which are achieved by means of different linguistic mechanisms.

One of the most common types of wordplay is that derived from the use of homonymous and polysemous words. To the first kind, homonymy, belong those lexical items that having a different origin show graphic and phonetic identity. However, it is not always easy to state whether the words had a common or a different origin as sometimes the past history of the word cannot be traced back. So it is difficult to distinguish between polysemous and homonymous words.

The dividing line between polysemy and homonymy cannot always be easily drawn. In fact, when we look a word up in a dictionary is sometimes classified as one entry and some other dictionary may classify it as two different entries. In this way, homonyms can be the result of the splitting up of two different meanings of a given polysemous word. That's what happened in the case of *flower*, spelled with *-ower*, and *flour* with *-our*. They were originally two meanings of the same item (*flower*) which got specialised to such an extent that nowadays nobody would doubt in considering them as two lexical items.

However we can leave out the semantic implications of the subject and concentrate on the uses that Shakespeare makes of these particular devices. By means of homonyms and polysemous lexical units Shakespeare uses a more narrowly defined figure, ANTANACLASIS, which consists of the repetition of a word used in two different meanings, as when Proculeus reproached his son with waiting for his death and the son replied that he was not waiting for it, Proculeus retorted, 'Well then, I ask you to wait for it'. In this sentence *wait for* acquires the double meaning of 1) 'Look forward to it' and 2) 'Lie in wait'.

A compact instance of antanaclasis comes from *Henry V* (V.i.92) ‘To England will I steal, and there I’ll steal’, where the word *steal* has the double meaning of 1) ‘to go, move, depart secretly’ and 2) ‘to take something away from someone’. A similar example is that in *Twelfth Night* (II.iv.73): ‘Give me now leave to leave thee’ where *leave* has the meaning of ‘permission’ as a noun, and ‘depart’ as a verb; another case can be found in *Hamlet* with the word *matter*, which can interpreted as ‘subject, topic’ or ‘problem, concern’, when Polonius asks Hamlet:

POLONIUS: What do you read, my lord?  
 HAMLET: Words, words, words  
 POLONIUS: What is the matter, my lord?  
 HAMLET: Between who?  
 POLONIUS: I mean, the matter that you read,  
 my lord. (II.ii.195-200)

Very closely linked to this, is DILOGY, which is the use of an ambiguous or equivocal word or expression. This is mainly achieved by means of homonymy. Some clear instances of homonymy are found in the sonnet 135, where all the possible meanings of *will* are present in the passage: *Will* as a noun meaning ‘desire, wish, capacity to do something, determination’; as a verb with the same meaning and as an auxiliary to indicate future tense; as a short or pet name for William,

Whoever hath her wish, thou hast thy Will,  
 And Will to boot, and Will in over-plus;  
 More than enough am I that vex thee still,  
 To thy sweet will making addition thus.  
 Wilt thou, whose will is large and spacious,  
 Not one vouchsafe to hide my will in thine?  
 Shall will in others seem right gracious,  
 And in my will no fair acceptance shine?  
 The sea, all water, yet receives rain still,  
 And in abundance addeth to his store;  
 So thou, being rich in Will, add to thy Will  
 One will of mine, to make thy large Will more.  
 Let no unkind ‘No’ fair beseechers kill;  
 Think all but one, and me in that one Will

A similar pun is created by playing upon the words *lie* in *Richard II*:

That lie shall lie so heavy on my sword  
 That it shall render vengeance and revenge,  
 Till thou, the lie - giver and that lie do lie  
 In earth as quiet as thy father’s skull. (IV.i.66-69)

But perhaps the richest example of this form of wordplay is to be found in Cleopatra’s speech as she takes the asp from the basket:

Come thou mortal wretch.  
 With thy sharpe teeth this knot intrinsicate  
 Of life at once untie (V.ii.305-307)



Just to conclude it needs to be said that this article gathers just a few examples of the multiple instances of punning found in Shakespeare, attained by these and other devices, like homophony, for example, which has been hardly mentioned. It should also be highlighted the fact that Shakespeare makes use of these and other linguistic mechanisms from his very early plays and though, some of the puns are clearly dated, as not all ages and cultures respond to wordplay as people in Shakesperean times did, many other puns still help to keep the audience's attention and to achieve the desired humorous effect.

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## Gender, Grammar and Poetry: Early 17<sup>th</sup>-Century Miscellanies in the Light of Historical Sociolinguistics

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Professor Patricia Shaw *in memoriam*:

"Hwanon sculon cuman wise lareowas?"

The term "assigned gender" has been defined as the use of gender sensitive pronouns and collocations ("he/she, mother, king, who") with nouns other than those of human males and females (Guzmán 1989: 7). This is, at least, the very simplified rule you learn with your first steps in English. A little afterwards, depending on your tender age and/or the kind of method employed by your teacher, you are immediately provided with a list of exceptions. These, again, is more or less complete depending on your level: you start with just a few and the most frequent: a favourite pet, or ships. Then you read literary texts, and here you are introduced to "personification" as the reason for all the funny usages you encounter. You may be lucky and feel satisfied with this. Or you may not, and have the uncomfortable feeling that there are "too many exceptions" and "particular cases". Or, even worse, you may be a student of English philology from a queer University where History of the English Language is properly taught. You will then find out that things happened to be almost the other way round in Old English (henceforth OE). There was such thing as grammatical gender, being an overt concordance category, with word shape as the basic criteria for the grouping of nouns under three labels: "masculine" "femenine" and "neuter" - which did not need to coincide with the extra-linguistic distribution into "male", "female", "neither". According to received wisdom, grammatical gender disappeared almost completely by the end of the Middle English (henceforth ME) period, once the complexity of OE morphology had been drastically reduced. From then onwards, any usage as the one described above has been assumed to belong to the province of "elevated style" -poetry for instance.

More detailed and finer analyses have detected in assigned gender a wider variety of roles, apart from the above mentioned. Among these, its functioning as an attitudinal marker on the part of the speaker seems to me crucial in a right understanding of the whole subject, since its role as style indicator could be really subsumed under the first. And here what I have very loosely (and maybe too daringly) termed as "historical linguistic attitudes" come very much to the point. We need to go back to OE gender system to explain this.

The correlation between losses in inflection and the disappearance of grammatical gender as described above is, again, an over-simplified view of things. What disappeared was, for the most part, overt marking within the noun phrase (NP henceforth): but there was no reason for, say, a “stone” not to keep its original ascription to the group of “masculines” ... unless there was another possibility already in OE. This was really the case, since generally anaphoric reference outside the NP tended to correlate with extra-linguistic reality. That is, there was already another set of criteria for gender classification present in the language, ready to be used in the new morphosyntactic situation. This, however, does not necessarily imply, in my view, the complete abandonment of the old groupings; they were there, in the shape of “habits”, also ready to be employed in non-neutral texts, when assigned gender was required as style indicator, attitudinal marker or pure rhetorical trope. This paper will not be focused on these pragmatical functions or on textual typology. Rather, I will concentrate on a very small area of the whole scenario: the preservation (or non-preservation) of those “linguistic habits” regarding gender assignment in a very specific text type.

I intend to explore this usage in poetry, and more particularly, in the miscellanies circulating in the first decades of the 17th-c in England. The paper offers just a bite of a wider project, in which trends in gender assignment will be traced in an ampler and sufficiently representative corpus of the miscellanies written, copied, or published in England during the 17th and 18th centuries.

Here I report my first findings (and also the problems encountered) on just three miscellanies: *The Stoughton Manuscript* (1636); *The Harmony of the Muses* (1654) and *Witts Recreations* (from which the third part, devoted to proverbs has been excluded, for reasons of corpus consistence) (1640) (TSM, THOTM and WR, respectively, henceforth). They are very easily available through the facsimiles published by Scolar Press. I have chosen miscellanies for two intimately connected reasons. Firstly, because as Colin Gibson, the editor of the facsimile of WR, points out (xv) “minor poetry and occasional verse” (...) “constituted popular reading in the period”. We also know that many of the poems were song-lyrics; it is therefore likely that by contributing powerfully to the shaping of popular taste, they also helped to root literary traditions, among them, “linguistic habits regarding gender assignments”<sup>1</sup>.

Secondly, because of the nature of their diffusion. As Mary Hobbs, the editor to TSM, points out in her introduction (ix):

Early 17th-c poets did not as a rule publish their poems, but they were circulated in mss, lent to friends & often by them lent to others, who copied all or some of the poems into their own verse miscellanies. They were commonly kept over many years by students, lawyers, and the more literate of courtiers and country gentlemen. They were frequently left to their descendants, who in turn sometimes added to the collections.

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<sup>1</sup>Work along this line of thought is being carried out by Laura Mandell and Rita Railey from the Universities of Miami and Santa Barbara, though their collection of miscellanies starts in the 18th century. Websites: <http://miavx1.muohio.edu/~mandellc> and <http://humanitas.ucsb.edu/users/raley>.

I am of the opinion that the peculiar features of this textual transmission make miscellanies, in principle, inviting to historical socio-linguistics<sup>2</sup>. The applicability of sociolinguistic patterns of research to past stages of the language has often been questioned. However, if we are ready to accept that languages are cultural artifacts and that, consequently, language change cannot be properly explained without language variation, it seems plausible that historical sociolinguistics may have some answers to certain questions: at least, regarding paths of diffusion of novelties, preservation of old features, etc.

My work with these miscellanies focuses on language usage, and, more particularly, on one that, judging from the history of English language and literature, has been subject to certain changes. My concern here will be, just to highlight probably the best-known instance, the change or preservation of the assigned gender of nouns such as "sun, moon, death, love".

Received wisdom points at the historical and cultural circumstances of Western Europe as the explanation for many of these: the classical antiquity and its permanence in myths, rhetorical norms, etc, from very early in English, etc. For my research I wanted to concentrate on historiography in small case, as it were, and therefore, I selected the concept of "social networks". This is an application to linguistic research of a former concept by Barnes made by Lesley and James Milroy. It is based in the fact that people "interact meaningfully as individuals, in addition to forming parts of structured, functional institutions such as classes, castes or occupational groups" (Milroy 1992 [1987]: 45-46).

The assumption is that linguistic features "navigate" along the knots and ropes tying up these networks. Researchers like Ingrid Tieken deduce from this that linguistic change can be assumed to sail the same waters and, therefore, can be detected and mapped. She has applied this set of procedures especially to 18<sup>th</sup>-c English, rather successfully in my opinion, even with the caveat that many sources of evidence are absent for past stages of the language<sup>3</sup>. The first step in the research will be to investigate whether some kind of social network can be identified in connection with these miscellanies. And there are many clues pointing in this direction in the three works I have used for this paper.

The textual transmission has already been mentioned. If we turn our attention to the authors, we realise that they belong to what could be called the "Oxford circle". Most of them are associated to that University, Westminster School and the Inns of Court, and the books circulated mainly among these circles. We obviously lack the space to trace detailed connections, and surely many nouns from the list of contributors will ring bells to most "connaisseurs" of the period. I will highlight just some of them:

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<sup>2</sup> Research in this area is relatively recent and many of its issues and findings have been the subject of much fruitful debate in publications, but above all, and most interestingly from my point of view, in sessions, workshops, lectures, etc in such important conferences as ESSE 1997 in Hungary and 10 ICEHL 1998 in Manchester. These were attended by leading specialists - both in sociolinguistics and historical linguistics, and, of course the combination of the two, such as Peter Trudgill, Norman Blake, the research team in Helsinki, Lesley and James Milroy or Ingrid Tieken.

<sup>3</sup>This, in principle, should not prevent us from applying the model: partial pictures are the only possibility for many language stages, no matter the theoretical model for research we employ. But see Tieken: 1996 for detailed discussion.

\* Henry King, whose poems form the second part of TSM, and whose habits of commissioning scribes to get careful copies of these works leads us to think that he personally knew many of the poets in the manuscripts.

\* TWR is dedicated to Francis Newport, future Earl of Bradford, educated at Christ Church, Oxford, where, and I quote from the editor's Preface "many of the known contributors to the miscellany had themselves received an education. Newport would have been well acquainted with the tradition of witty writing and might be expected to appreciate such a dedication".

\* Robert Chamberlain, the possible compiler of THOTM, belonged to the Exeter College, Oxford, and is the author or compiler of various collections of witty epigrams, poems and jests, etc. His presence at Oxford would have given him access to the manuscript verse miscellanies circulating there.

These miscellanies are just three in a very popular tradition well rooted in this "Oxford circle", and clear connections can be established with many other manuscripts and printed books of similar characteristics circulating at the time. Mary Hobbs' preface to the SM is crucial in my view in order to consider this "circle" as a candidate for social network analysis:

Collation of the wide range of poems covered by SM -wherever they occur, even if in apparently corrupt versions- has, moreover, revealed an interesting pattern among contemporary mss of shared titles, errors and peculiar readings which makes it possible to group together, not only mss as a whole, but also sections of related poems within them (sometimes surprisingly late). The chief categories into which these fall are topical poems and elegies connected with school or university, poems associated with the Inns of Court, and song lyrics. These various groups reveal how relatively small and inter-related were the contemporary circles in which mss of this type were copied and circulated.

There is, of course, in my agenda, much work to be done, mainly in the tracing of historical data and relationships, as to field work, on the one hand. From there, reflection and subsequent refining as to the theoretical problems which may arise, most probably in what relates to the standard definition of "social network"; the size and structure of the groups mapped in the field work; and the kind of works (miscellanies) employed as our Ariadne's thread. But this does not belong here. I would like to go back to "subjects" in Hobbs' quotation, as turning point in order to deal with the third issue of this paper: assigned gender and "linguistic habits", taken as one of the linguistic features navigating the lines of the (possible) network.

What I have done here is gathering a number of data out of a first reading of the three miscellanies. It is obvious that they need refinement, and this will come once a vital part of the research project is performed: the computerization of the texts. This is a preliminary approach, though given the number of poems (846: 132 in TSM; 630 in WR & 84 in THOTM) and the variety of authors in these three miscellanies (90, approximately, though only a small part are well known poets) I suspect the main trends might not be too deviated. 136 instances of assigned gender (as defined at the beginning of this paper) are not too many especially if we compare it with the abundance of examples in the following century, (notorious for his favouring the trope of personification).

Before I go on with the analysis of the data, I feel I should mention something which may cause difficulties in the judging of some cases: the neuter possessive “its” is first recorded in 1598, and spread rapidly. However, “his” for neuter reference can be found (for instance in the *King James Bible*) as a minority usage until about 1670 (Barber 1981[1976]: 206). In my examples, I must admit I have come across certain cases which seemed arguable to me, or even clearly pointing out to neuter: for instance, quotation (1):

(1) *Upon a Discourtesie*  
*Head* akes with casting fancies in *his* mold,  
*Hand* shakes with setting of these fancies down  
*Hart* quacks to think that love shud wax so cold  
 And each part takes my wrong to be *his* own  
 (THOTM, p. 95; vv.-10)

Though this is perhaps the most doubtful, there are a few more cases in which the sole sign is the possessive adjective or pronoun “his”. I have not counted capital letters for the noun, since this is a consistent pattern in the three miscellanies for every substantive, irrespective of their stylistic status, i.e. personified images. My choice was to keep them, at least as symptoms, and with all possible caveats, because they appear in a period of clear change towards the adoption of the new form “its”. This is clearly shown by its presence in a significant number of instances (some by the same author of a questionable example) and in the language of poetry, “intentionally divergent from the general usage” (Görlach 1991[1978]: 35).

These 136 examples refer to 68 different nouns of which 50 appear with just one example; 7 nouns appear twice, and 6 nouns appear three times. Only 5 nouns appear more than 6 times: “love, sun, death, nature, earth”. This should not be surprising, given the kind of subjects in our miscellanies: the main theme of TSM and THOTM is love, treated in a variety of ways. Other “topoi” include occupations, real characters, including historical characters and their passings-away (therefore death), friendship, music, “contemptus mundi”, and, not surprisingly, literature, language and books. Fig.1 shows detailed figures:

“Love” is, with 19 instances, the most frequent: with just a couple of exceptions, the assigned gender is masculine. “Sun” follows it, with 12 instances, all of them, masculine. Besides, these instances are in general the longest and contain the clearest personifications and the most clearly shaped images in this respect. And, (surprise, surprise), they are embodied by the classical divinities Cupid and Phoebus Apollo, whose names frequently appear in the poems; cf. quotations (2) & (3):

(2) I saw faire Flora take the aire,  
 When *Phoebus* shn’d and it was faire;  
 The heavens to allay the heat,  
 Sent drops of raine, which gently beat  
 The *sun* retires, asham’d to see  
 That *he* was barr’d from killing thee  
 Then *Boreas* took such high disdain,  
 That soon *he* dri’d those drops again;  
 A cunning plot and most divine!  
 Thus to mix *his* breath with thine.  
 (Humphrey Hyde, *On his Mrs.*, WR, 126)

1. love	2 F	17 M	19	37. greif (grief)	M
2. sun		M	12	38. ground	F
3. death	3	6 M	9	39. head	M
4. nature	M		8	40. heart	M
5. earth	F		6	41. history	F
6. fortune	F		3	42. hope	F
7. mind	F		3	43. hypocrisy	F
8. nightingale (philomel)	F		3	44. ice	F
9. phoenix	F		3	45. invention	F
10. soul	F		3	46. land (conquest)	F
11. world	F		3	47. March	M
12. horse (steed)		M	2	48. marigould	F
13. May	F	M	2	49. Mayne	M
14. moon	F		2	50. meteor	M
15. music	F		2	51. opus	M
16. reason	F		2	52. phantasy	F
17. rose	F		2	53. Rome	F
18. vertue	F		2	54. rumour	F
19. age	F			55. ship	M
20. appetite		M		56. sin	F
21. ape		M		57. snake	M
22. bay	F			58. spite	F
23. bee	F			59. spirit	M
24. beer	F			60. stone	M
25. Boreas		M		61. time	F
26. Brook		M		62. tongue	F
27. cedar		M		63. tree	F
28. crow	F			64. week	F
29. country	F			65. winter	F
30. eagle		M		66. worm	F
31. ermine		M		67. usus	M
31. ewe	F				
faith	F				
fame	F				
34. fly	F				
35. gander		M			
36. greatness	F				

Fig. 1: Table of nouns with assigned gender in the miscellanies

(3) *Love* is a *boy*, and subject to the rod  
Some say, but lovers say *he* is a *god*;  
I think that *love* is neither *god* nor *boy*,  
but a mad-braines imaginary toy.  
(*On Cupid*, WR, 350)

(4) The **Sun** had run **his** race, and now began  
**His** Steeds to water in the Western Seas  
(*To Her* again, THOTM, p.91; vv.1-2)

If we go back to the grammatical genders of “lufu” and “sunne” in OE (or, for all that matters, though it does not have many examples in our collection, “mona”) we find that they are exactly the opposite: feminine in the first two, masculine in the third. This should not be especially meaningful, if we just take into account the general lines of evolution of the grammatical category of gender and that those words are referred to by “it” in neutral styles. The trouble is, one, that they are not just words, but very frequent “topoi” in the literary tradition; two, that other “topoi” such as “earth”, “death” (to limit ourselves to the five most frequent in our corpus) did preserve that original gender, i.e. might be in accordance with those “linguistic habits” I have mentioned before. The examples themselves provide hints to explain this.

The English cultural world has been such that the influence of the classical world has prevailed over any other -with more strength in the Renaissance, but certainly coming from the Middle Ages, and not only via French literature. And the classical world has embodied Love”, “Sun”, “Moon” “Earth” in a mythology where they are gods and goddesses with clearcut features among which sexual roles and archetypes are not the minor feature; cf. quotations number (5) & (6):

(5) The *Lustfull Sun ingendereth* with the *earth*,  
 And *she*, as fruitfull, yeelds a happy birth  
 Of plants, of herbs, of flowers; [...❁]  
 ...  
 The false *Moon* hath *her* changes; [...❁]  
 (*A sonnet*, THOTM, p. 5; vv. 5-7; v. 11)

(6) Mark how the bashfull *Morne* in *Vaine*,  
 Doth court the amorous *Marigould*;  
 With sighing blasts, and weeping raine;  
 Yet *shee* refuseth to vnfold.  
 But when the *Planett of the Day*  
 Approacheth with *his* powerfull ray;  
 Then *shee* spreads, then *shee* receaues  
*His* warmer Beames into *her* *Virgin* Leaues.  
 (TSM, p.94; vv1-8)

These gods are, in my opinion, too powerful competitors in the English cultural scenario we are all familiar with for ancient images to prevail over them, when the genders were different. This is not the case with “Earth” where image shaping was probably easier; similarly, with abstract nouns of the type “virtue”, “reason”, “music”, “fame”, “phantasy”, “fortune”. We are not yet in the 18th-c, where personification is particularly abundant in the case of these abstract nouns, especially in what concerns vices, virtues, etc. This is evident from the fact that, though they constitute the most numerous group, with well-known exceptions we have just one quotation for each, at most two or three. The genders (the vast majority feminine, as we would expect from cultural importations), but the tendency is starting.

These cultural importations are probably behind the genders of other groups: “Rome”, obviously, and “country”; “Nature”, and names of flowers, such as “rose”; importations which, in some cases, coincide with original genders in English, as it is the case, besides the most outstanding mentioned above, of “soul”. Connected with this, the group of the names of animals is particularly interesting:

"nightingale" (F), a most popular poetical bird, and very consistent in its assigned gender from the very famous first instance in the medieval poem *The Owl and the Nightingale*; but also "gander", "horse", "ape", "bee", "crow", "eagle", "ermine", "ewe", "fly", "snake", "worm". "Eagle" and "ermine" have preserved the gender of their parent language (French, Latin); and our instances show the original genders of the OE words. I think that these usages instantiate what I referred to as "linguistic habits": I am of the opinion that "it" -reference with nouns of animals was not very frequent in OE: and certainly it is not in subsequent periods of the language. Leaving apart those nouns which refer specifically to males or females ("gander") whose pronominal reference makes them to a certain degree independent of pragmatic factors, "it" is really the exception with certain types of animals, generally also implying pragmatic choices; more frequent, on the other hand, in neutral language styles.

What I find important here, however, is that, since we are situated within the domain of the literary poetic language, "non-it" co-reference can be expected, as in many other very common pragmatic situations: and that there, the original OE genders tend to be preserved<sup>4</sup> as can be clearly shown in other poetical corpora.<sup>5</sup>

Intentionally, I have left for the end "death", the third more frequent (not surprising either; assiduous visitor in poetry, especially in a collection of epithaphs, as the second part of one of the miscellanies). Here, the original Germanic gender has been preserved for the impersonation, with very few exceptions. But the case is different, very different from the case of "Earth". As a matter of fact, "mors" is feminine in Latin and "Thanatos" is masculine in Classical Greek. What there seems to be lacking here is a "god" or a "goddess": a figure clearly identified as a man or a woman, easily available for prosopopoeia in which features relevant for sexual differences are important. Such a figure did not exist, so the Germanic archetype survived, reinforced by its continuous use as a literary "topos", very often sharing the screen with the Graeco-Roman gods, as it is shown in quotation number (7):

(7) As *Love* and *Death* once travel'd on the way,  
 They met together, and together lay  
 Both in a bed; when *Love* for all *his* heath,  
 Found in the night *Death's* coldness was so great,  
 That all *his* flames could hardly keep *him* warm,  
 Betimes **he** rose, and speedily did arm,  
*His* naked body, but through too much haste,  
 Som of *Death's* shafts he took neer *his* being placed  
 Leaving behind *him* many of *his* own,  
 Which change to *him*, being blind, is still unknown  
 Through which mistaking, and *his* want of eyes,  
 A double wrong to Nature did arise;  
 For when *Love* thinks to inflame a youthful heart

<sup>4</sup>Of course, I'm being a bit of a cheater here: I know, from other corpora and research, that this is the case.

<sup>5</sup> I will not enter here in discussions about popular vs erudite poetry though a recurrent image in my mind when dealing with this kind of subjects, I must admit, is "Mr. Stork" in the Dumbo film by Disney.

With *his* own shafts, *he* kills with *deaths* cold dart;  
(Walton Poole, *On Love and Death*, THOTM, p.16; vv. 1-15)

My point is that the history of the grammatical category of gender, very probably is, from its very origin, the result of a combination of linguistic features and cultural images. These have been interacting and reinforcing one another, and the perception and production on the part of the speakers may not be necessarily coincident, thus contributing to a multi-faced image. Whereas is an oversimplification to say that “sunne is feminine in the north countries and masculine in the sun on account of the difference in vigour” (Pei: 1967), the reality under this statement is that culture specific-metaphors and images are continuously being built and re-built around certain features (and changing, of course alongside the trails the different cultures happen to take in time). And shifts like those detected in my examples are probably symptoms of cultural histories, mutual influences, changes; in a word, of the shaping of our common European cultural world.

In spite of the highly emotional statement, or perhaps, because of it, I’m basically a linguist, and therefore I cannot avoid the temptation of connecting the things above described with what some consider “pure linguistic facts”. I’ve always wondered if all this poetic topoi and genders can be, in a way, related to a notion like Schleicher’s “Sprachbund” regarding the Western Europe linguistic area (why not if we are ready to accept the use of Latin as the lingua franca of knowledge as a plausible explanation for this?)

And turning again to sociolinguistics, if sound change diffusion is explained taking into account social factors (and social network analysis is being effectively employed as a tool in this) assigned gender seems particularly prone to exploration by this same approach. I suspect that in this respect, and employing Labov’s terms<sup>6</sup>, we should be speaking of “change from above” in the sense that these images have been imported into the culture from those people in a privileged position: simply because they could read and write and could get familiar with them. I am not speaking here, I’m afraid, only of Henry King and the rest of the Oxford circle -but also of Alfred the Great, or Aelfric, or the Beowulf poet, or Chaucer, or Gower... The classical world is not so “new” as many would want it as far as English is concerned. Perhaps the notion of “linguistic habits” should be refined and kept separate from “cultural archtypes”, at least, in the epistemological level. What, to me, happened as far as gender assignment in English is concerned in the literary language is that certain linguistic habits pervived where there was no specially powerful reason to be otherwise -whether stylistic, cultural, linguistic... in one word, pragmatic.

These miscellanies are interesting in all I have said so far, because they show an important stage in the whole story, because of the historical period in which they appeared, and because of the possibility of exploring them from a sociolinguistic approach. They are also tempting from many other points of view, of which spelling practices, evidence testing for historical morphophonology, editing issues, etc are not minor ones. But this, definitely, belongs to wider projects.

<sup>6</sup> For characterization and discussion of both this and “change from below” see MacMahon, 1994: 244-245.

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## Strategies of Rebuttal in the Spelling Reform Debate: An analysis of Richard Mulcaster's denunciation of the phonemic reformers

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Sharp exchanges, personal as well as political animosities and outright confrontation which frequently degenerated into name calling were a staple in the French spelling reform debate which, “finit en échange d’insultes” (Citton, 1989: 61). Casting aspersions on aims and objectives, reliability, patriotism and moral integrity by subtler means characterised its counterpart in England. Each Messiah, acutely conscious of his status and the possible fate awaiting him if he did not dispatch his merchandise with aplomb went all out to cajole, cosset and court public opinion. Each reformer announced himself as the possessor of truth and pushed his reforms to the detriment of others but, at the same time, rode on the back of his predecessors. The strategies used in the *First Part of the Elementarie*, Richard Mulcaster's 1582 book advocating the conservative path towards spelling reform and published amid the sound and fury of reform on phonemic principles shows the subtle but nevertheless scathing disdain with which other reformers are treated, how their efforts are discredited and the distance separating the two approaches exaggerated. In short, the strategies employed serve as a vehicle for the author's self promotion.

Mulcaster's attempts to sway the reader in his direction at the expense of his rivals are closely embedded within an apparently inoffensive narrative - the sabre beneath the velvet cloak. However, his attack is persistent and relentless, its *tour de force* being the allegory with which he prefaces his proposals. Here he describes the development of spelling in terms of the movement from tyranny to democracy until it finds stability in a system of parliamentary democracy. The close parallels established between the phonemicists and Sound's tyrannical reign identify them as enemies of the state, agents of anarchy and the linguistic equivalent of seditious rebels attempting to disrupt public and civic order. He depicts them as worshipping before the altar of the false god Sound mistaking him for the legitimate ruler, Custom.<sup>1</sup> Mulcaster exploits a terminology of rebellion and disruption. The verbs associated with this group suggest battle and violence: they “thwart”, “force”, “cross” and “hinder”, invoking the spectre of disruption and disorder which so haunted Tudor society and was evident on all levels, from the plot hatching over-ambitious gentry to the lamentable state of Ireland. The allegory is a masterpiece of the stab in the back and I have discussed it elsewhere. In this paper I wish to concentrate on the other strategies that are used to discredit the phonemic reformers and their theoretical positions.

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<sup>1</sup> The political nature of the allegory of the development of writing has been analysed in O'Neill 1997.

Firstly, Mulcaster does not mention anyone by name. Sir Thomas Smith, John Hart, William Bullokar and others of their cohort are referred to collectively as “they”. Leaving them in the cold vaults of anonymity is the first slur on their achievements. He denies them a face of their own in the same way that they had denied it to the letter. This decision was probably motivated by concerns overriding those of ideological difference, however. Sensitive to the thin line between official approbation and displeasure, he was not going to chance his arm and incur the wrath of potentially powerful people. Both Smith and Hart had been high standing diplomats<sup>2</sup> and to come out openly with a criticism of them could have boomeranged against a humble teacher trying to reach the centres of power from the edge. Mulcaster is constantly negotiating this fringe, apologising Uriah Heep style, attempting to put his own view forward without creating enemies, “it entendeth no defense, as against anemie, but a conference, as with a frind”, (92); “I will endeavor my self to perswade them as frinds, then to confute them as foes”; “tho it seme by the inscription to pretend som offence, yet it is nothing moodie at all.”<sup>3</sup> These quotations indicate that at least on the surface, Mulcaster presented himself hat in hand and this fawning, by no means unique to him, was intended both to smooth the path towards the presentation of his own reforms and make the acuity of the condemnation in the allegory more palatable. This strategy also skilfully avoids the *cul de sac* into which Bullokar so recklessly and clumsily drives. His criticism of Smith and Hart for having negatively affected public opinion on the issue does not sit happily with the crumbs of praise he periodically feels obliged to throw in their direction.

Secondly, Mulcaster directs the brunt of his criticism at the theoretical basis of phonemic reform while ingratiating himself to the personalities involved, as pointed out above. Although their efforts have proved fruitless and ill-directed, he concedes that their intentions were praiseworthy, “I allow not the mean, tho I mislike not the men, which deserve great thanks for their good will” (109). This condescending benevolence, however, cannot be taken at face value as it is severely undercut by the previous accusations of treachery, treason, sedition and anarchical tendencies levelled against them in the allegory. It is a curtsy, made out of feigned respect and rings slightly false. He reserves his *coup de grace* for bludgeoning their lack of sound theoretical foundations, consistency and rigour: they have not studied the matter for themselves but have relied blindly on inherited precepts. Mulcaster considers, like Francis Bacon was to do later, that “orderlie seking” and “sufficient observation” should dictate both methodology and theory. He finds this lacking in the phonemic reformers and, “laie[s] the hole falt upon the insufficient observer, for not seking the right in it, by a right waie” (111).

The same accusation of incompetence and lack of acquaintance with solid facts is expressed through the analogy he establishes between them and the captain of the ship who takes to sea without either knowledge of navigation or the ability to read and interpret the compass or the map. The fairly conventional image of the state as a ship which needs informed direction and collaboration in order to survive is invoked and linked to linguistic questions. By branding his rivals as inept captains, Mulcaster refers indirectly to the Laws of Oleron which stipulated that such a

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<sup>2</sup> Smith had served as ambassador to France on two occasions, 1562 - 64 and again in the 1570's. He was first Secretary from 1572 to 1576 and participated in the Irish venture from 1571 to 1576. Hart, for his part had also served as ambassador in France and held the title Chester Herald.

<sup>3</sup> All citations from the *Elementarie* are from Campagnac's 1925 edition.

leader has no binding authority and those he attempts to control have no moral or social obligation to obey. Thus by invoking the very images that they themselves had used to represent their endeavours, (Hart develops this image in *An Orthographie*) he succeeds in undercutting their authority and credibility as their plans for reform rest on the flimsy authority of the ear and no more.

The second weapon in Mulcaster's arsenal of attack is to play on the imagery and terms that figured prominently in both Hart and Bullokar's work. He takes up the gardening image, affirming that, unlike Hart who will "replant" the whole garden of orthography, his aim is less ambitious, less disruptive and confined to "reasonable prouning" (108). This is justified by his statement that what he seeks is relative perfection, "our commonlie so, and not their alwaie so" (113). The opposition of the two pronominal forms, "our" and "their" serves to identify his enterprise with the public good, dismissing the others as a splinter group.

Hart is obviously the target for criticism in the references to the imagery of disease and healing. He had donned the garb of the surgeon and doctor who would diagnose and remedy the ills of the language. His diagnosis is called into question and the similarity between the spelling reformer and the surgeon is demonstrated as being presumptuous, if not totally erroneous. Hart's medical skills like his linguistic ones, fall short of the mark. What he identifies as symptoms of infirmity are, in fact, part of the genetic idiosyncrasy of the language; apparently dysfunctional elements which, far from being manifestations of disease are indicative of health.

Mulcaster identifies three main defects in English spelling, all three - too few, too many and too diverse letters echo those described by Hart - superfluity, deficiency and usurpation. Mulcaster, however, does not elaborate them into laws as does Hart. They are briefly illustrated, incorporated into the Generall rule and accounted for in the section on Prerogative. Therefore, while there is consensus as to certain defects, the enormity and importance attributed to them differs greatly. For Hart they become the cornerstone for his reform proposals, the scaffolding or framework around which he builds up his system. Mulcaster, on the other hand accounts for them under the blanket term Prerogative where they take on a positive value and are assigned a basic and irrefutable role in language development. Defects become virtues; and weaknesses, strengths when a functional view of writing as communication replaces that of writing as a mere shadow of sound. Hence, he casts doubts on, "these pretended infirmities in our tung, whose psysiking I like not this waie" (110) and can conclude that, "the remedie itself is more dangerous then the disease" (107). The discussion of the defects of the language demonstrates that Mulcaster uses Hart's treatise as a platform from which to launch his own alternative theory so he is indebted to his predecessors in a way similar to that in which Hart and Bullokar are but in opposition rather than agreement.

A similar process of inverting the established meanings of terms which were closely associated with his rivals can be detected in the use of the adjectives "perfect" and "absolute". The former is an epithet which Bullokar overworked to the point of exhaustion. It occurs three times in the title of chapter three in *Book at Large* (1581). For Bullokar perfection meant fixity, stability and complete phonemic identity by analogy with Latin. Mulcaster challenges the meaning of the word on linguistic terms and converts it, not into an ideal but into a synonym of

death. Using Latin as an example, he argues that perfection implies lack of change. Change, as history testifies is not only inevitable but also evolutionary in a living language. No change, no life. Claims to have created a perfect spelling system are therefore either spurious or paramount to having administered the kiss of death.

Moreover, Mulcaster was one of the few to realise that Latin had never been the fully phonemic language that it was claimed to have been. When Bullokar speaks about perfection he is calling into play absolute concepts with eternal validity. Mulcaster's approach is based on the relative and the circumstantial, not the perfect and the absolute. Bullokar's proud claims that, once the perfect orthography (that is, HIS version) were established it would be beyond the reaches of the fingers of change lie in stark contrast to Mulcaster's appropriately self-defeating admission that his own contribution to normalising spelling would inevitably fall into the lap of obsolescence.

A deliberate attempt is made to avoid the terminology used by the phonemicists. Mulcaster consistently uses the term "right writing" as opposed to "correct" or "true" writing. This had a double effect. In the first place it restates his belief that writing must be guided by relative not absolute values - right does not bear the connotations of absolutism that the other terms imply. Secondly the pun on right/write makes direct reference to Hart's theory of homophones which he refused to recognise in writing. Yet again, his avoidance of the term "voice" as synonym of "letter", consistently using the word "force" reinforces his refusal to equate letter with sound. Moreover, Mulcaster refers to words as if they were characters or personages in their own right, granting them a unique physical presence and character of their own. Thus, he can criticise the introduction of new letter forms in the following way: they, "bring us in new faces, of verie strange lineaments, how well favoured to behold, I am sure I know not" (106).

The gauntlet is thrown down to what had become the slogan of the phonemic reformers, Smith's dictum, "*ut pictura, orthographia*" - a statement which defined the philosophy and aims of the phonemic group: to write as one spoke, to have as many letters as there were sounds, on the basis that letters were mirrors or reflections of phonemes. Mulcaster will have none of this as he perceives the sound and grapheme systems as belonging to two different systems. Those who would describe writing as simply the visual depiction of sound mistake representation for presentation. The function of letters is not to duplicate sound but, pertaining to the realm of art, "the truth of writing lies in likeness, not life; artifice, not nature" (110). Writing is guided by a different set of rules as it is a system closed in itself, subject to convention and consensus, and with only a tenuous and primitive link with the natural sound system. The function of the pen is "not life but likeness" (110).

The fact that the reformers were elbowing and shoving each other in a race to prove which one was best equipped to advance the glory of the country is evident from the fact that all spelling reformers were careful to place themselves on the side of the country, the majority and the common good, although Mulcaster, unlike Hart and Bullokar stops short of enlisting God. He presents his refusal to simplify as a vote of confidence in the intellectual capacity of the nation and accuses the reformers of arrogance, and of speaking down from a podium of superiority to their countrymen, "He calleth his own credite into som question, which taketh his cuntrye to be blind" (112).

He imputes sinister motives to those who challenge custom, alleging that their aims reach much further than merely altering the spelling. He obliquely suggests that they are involved in a conspiracy to overthrow, not only the newly established religion but also the laws and policies of the state. To rewrite the language in which the state "hath set down hir relligion, hir lawes, hir privat and publik dealings" (108), was, given Mulcaster's belief in the primacy of writing, paramount to treason; a covert plot aimed at destabilisation and guilty of disrespect for ones' ancestors. He goes on to suggest that, lurking beneath an apparently innocent, civic and intellectual initiative there lay a more sinister and hostile motive, "But theie will saie that theie mean not anie so main a change" (109). His objections to a new system of writing reach into territory with appeals to issues of deeper consequence that those concerning the most obvious and well-worn arguments about publishing pragmatics and cost. He insinuates that the political implications of "replanting" would not be, as Hart had hoped, a force of cohesion in a divided state but its corollary. He it is who waves the banner of order, the loyal knight at arms who upholds the monarchy in the person of Elizabeth I. He recognised the bind in which Hart found himself. While advocating stability, his proposals actually undercut the stability of the state.

Adding insult to injury, the phonemic reformers are accused of seeking to advance their particular and personal ends rather than that of the common weal. It is overweening pride that gives them the audacity to challenge the institutions of the state with, "a new right of his own conceiving" (112). By accusing them of placing the private and personal above the common good, Mulcaster uses terms which was bandied about throughout the Tudor period, especially applied to the rising mercantile and artisan classes who were treated in the most disparaging terms by social commentators and self-appointed guardians of law and order. They were seen as social pariahs or as Mulcaster, whose contempt for their ambitious, profiteering was deep, said in somewhat more vehement terms, maggots on a dunghill. Linking the phonemic spellers with a universally despised social class whose hall-mark was a disregard for the common weal was intended to place upon them the mark of Cain. What Hart terms "publycke profit", Mulcaster interprets as "private conceit". The authority of the language with all its variations and versions is above any individual prerogative, To assert otherwise is to indirectly but effectively challenge the monarchy and its authority. The connection he attempts to establish between the two groups was designed to cast the phonemic reformers in the most unfavourable light possible.

Finally, while the phonemic reformers sold their wares on the basis of ease and speed in the acquisition of knowledge and reading skills, Mulcaster firmly defends the opposite standpoint. Reading is not easy; it requires effort and practice. Moreover, he implies that those who lower the level of the discourse to accommodate the less learned are doing an injustice both to the capabilities of human understanding and to the language - a double fratricide. As opposed to Hart's claim that the time needed to learn to read could be reduced by three quarters, Mulcaster stresses the fact that it is use and practice that must acquaint the learner with spelling practices, "Familiaritie & acquaintance will cause facilitie, both in matter and words" (281). The point he is making here is that reading itself has no inherent difficulty. It is the theme and how it is dealt with that occasion problems and this argument had particular relevance as English was branching out into new areas of knowledge.

The strategies used in the *Elementarie* to elevate the status of its author, denigrate those who adopted an alternative approach and launch another initiative are designed to avoid direct confrontation. As a reformer and a public figure, Mulcaster was conscious of putting his renown on the line, of placing himself under public scrutiny. He gambled not only his ego but also his future role in circles of power on the basis of the publication and reception of his work. Like his contemporaries, he entered the market place to peddle his wares as he himself expressly admits in *Positions*, his first work on educational reform. The sometimes unscrupulous sales strategies he adopted leave nothing to be envied by modern marketing practices. Praise and condemnation are ladled out with equanimity and cancel each other out, play on words not only condemns the phonemic reformers but his own use of language demonstrates the principle that underlies the literature of the period: spelling and writing must allow a certain freedom of movement. His strongest appeal, however, is to the religious, political and economic arenas within which the movement was situated, identifying, language and spelling as issues which cannot be cordoned off from the context in which they arise. Time, it must be conceded, has borne out the validity of his approach.

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# **Epistolary Formulae in Late Middle English Commercial Correspondence: the Cely Letters.**

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## 1.- INTRODUCTION.

The extant collection of the Cely letters consists of 251 items written by members of the Cely family and other correspondents between the years 1472 and 1488. They concern mainly commercial matters connected with their positions as wool merchants at the Staples of London and Calais. Linguistically speaking, this collection of letters may be considered of great interest because of the mixed character of both their external apparatus, with a mixture of formulaic and free discourse, and their semantic content, mixing commercial affairs and domestic matters. It is with the first of these two issues that this paper is concerned. The editor of the Cely letters, Alison Hanham (1985:14) comments that “epistolary formulae persisted well into the next century, but correspondents of the Celys’ class gradually became more skilful in the use of the written language, experimented more freely, expressed themselves more easily, and drew more readily on richer resources of vocabulary.” It is my hypothesis that by isolating the formulaic language from the free discourse, that new and easier syntax and lexis can be identified. Current work on commercial language includes the compilation of the Corpus of Early English Correspondence, which is being carried out at present at the University of Helsinki, and which includes the Cely letters among many other collections. The researchers on the project have already published some material based on the work in progress, particularly in the area of historical socio-linguistics. The team agrees that the language represented in the letters has generally been assumed to represent informal or everyday M.E. but they consider my idea of excluding formulaic expressions a valid one because such expressions tend to cause problems in quantitative studies bearing in mind that they do not necessarily represent that kind of informal language. Thus, recognition of formulae within these letters seems to be a valid exercise.<sup>1</sup>

The present paper is part of a longer personal project for the study of the letters and offers a descriptive account of the formulaic expressions used by these 15th century London merchants. This report of work in progress covers only the first 50 letters, spanning over a five-year period, from 1474 to 1479, and representing both the older and the younger generations. However, I expect that results and conclusions should not vary much once the information from the remaining letters is incorporated, expanded to include nine more years. An examination of the structure of the letters shows that the majority of them can be divided into the following sections: (invocation and date) + introductory greeting + body of the letter + conclusion + signature + (post scriptum), the first and last ones being optional. Since the Cely papers are not literary texts, but rather commercial-cum-personal letters, written with

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<sup>1</sup> Personal communication

no other purpose in mind than the immediate transmission of news of either type, it is quite feasible to speculate that the main body of the letters, free from standard phraseology, reflects everyday language. Thus, my hypothesis is that the writers might have been language-aware at such points as the introductory greeting or the conclusion, using those well-known epistolary formulae, which were frequently used as models, but it could be argued that the language in the main body of the text flows naturally, in an unselfconscious way, since their main concern then is the reproduction of their own personal items of news, for which there were no exact models to follow. It is in those sections that any supposed ongoing linguistic changes can be verified, in the context of non-literary language. A secondary aim of this description is to contribute towards a comparative study which could identify any possible stylistic differences between for example commercial letters such as these and private letters proper, such as the Paston collection, of the same period

Let us now have a look at each one of the above-mentioned sections in turn, some of which are of a more limited scope than others. (Letter numbers, usually indicated in brackets after quotation, if relevant, refer to Hanhan's edition)

## 2. INVOCATION AND THE DATE.

It is not rare to find in medieval times an invocation to God before embarking on some enterprise, including the writing of a letter. Let us begin by seeing what information emerges from an examination of that part of the text which includes the opening invocation and the date at the beginning of a letter.

The commonest pattern is shown in:

(1) jhesu Mliiij lxxiiij

in which both the invocation and the complete year are included. This is present in 26 letters. There are another 4 letters including information about the year but excluding the invocation; it should be noted that such information appears in an incomplete, rather colloquial form, as in:

(2) A Lxxvj

The second most numerous group consists of 14 letters which include neither the invocation nor the year; finally 5 letters include the invocation only, as in:

(3) Jhesu

In all cases the invocation is written in Latin and the date appears in Roman numbers, following the Christian calendar and not the regnal tradition.

## 3. INTRODUCTORY GREETING.

An introductory greeting or *salutatio* is present in all the letters under examination.<sup>2</sup> Before looking at such parts of the texts, let us look first at the way in which introductory greetings are linked to the main body of the letters. This may be done in such a way that both sections run into each other, linked together in a copulative construction, as in:

<sup>2</sup> Except in item 29, which strictly speaking is not a letter but a summons to an archery match.

(4) I grete the wyll, and I haue grete marvele...

or two separate sentences may be selected for each section, as in:

(5) Ryght welbelouyd brother, I recomaunde me herttelly to yow.  
Farthermore plesse yt yow to wette that...

Both options are equally represented across these first fifty letters, but this may be due to the fact that a high proportion of them are written by Richard the elder who invariably uses the first of the two formulae. The rest of the writers tend to use the second type.

Whether the greeting is linked to the body of the text or not, the patterns which emerge from a study of the wording of the greetings show some variation both in form and content, in spite of their formulaic character. Syntactically, two patterns are recurrent. Let us look first at the less common of the two, since it offers no complications at all. This is present in 16 letters, and it is simple, monotonous and repetitive. Consider:

(6) I grete the wyll

Hardly any of the examples exhibit any syntactic variation at all; the only deviation is at the lexical level and consists of the use of the pronoun 'you' instead of 'the' on only two occasions.<sup>3</sup>

The commonest pattern, which is present in 31 letters, is linguistically appealing because of the variation it shows within the basic framework, due perhaps to personal choice according to the context of the letter and to social parameters such as addressee and message. This basic framework can be summarised as follows: vocative, (time adv), 'I recommend me' (manner adv) 'unto you' (manner adv), where the three adverbials are optional elements.

Nearly half of the letters exhibit this pattern in its plainest form<sup>4</sup>. Consider

(7) Ryght reuent syr, I recommeund me vnto yow. (40)

The main syntactic deviations concern the presence and co-existence of the optional adverbials. Thus we find that the simplest and most popular choice is the inclusion of the adverb 'heartily' after the verb 'recommend', as in:<sup>5</sup>

(8) Welbelouyd brother, I recomaund me herttelly to yow ... (3)

A second option is the combination of the first and last adverbials, as in:<sup>6</sup>

(9) Ryght whorshyppfull ffadyr, *afftyr all dew recomendassyon  
pretendyng* I recomaund me vnto yow *yn the most lowlyest  
whysse that I con or may.* (22)

<sup>3</sup> Letters 37 and 50, addressed to Richard Cely the younger and to George Cely respectively. However, nothing can be concluded concerning the addressees, since when he writes to his other son (letter 2) he uses 'the' and on all the other occasions he writes to George Cely he also uses 'the'.

<sup>4</sup> These are 14 out of 31 letters, corresponding to numbers 1, 5, 9, 18, 19, 21, 25, 28, 32, 39, 40, 42, 43, and 49.

<sup>5</sup> This is used in 6 letters, which are numbers 3, 8, 15, 34, 35 and 47. Normally, the sentences that show the inclusion of 'heartily' do not include anything else, except in letter 47, in which the adverb 'heartily' changes position in order to be included in a more flowery adverbial appended at the end of the sentence: I recomende me wnto you as harttely as I c an dewyse or thynke, ...

<sup>6</sup> Other letters exhibiting these adverbials are 41, 45 and 46.

Another common use is the inclusion of just the first adverbial, with or without an optional clause appended at the end asking after the addressee's welfare:<sup>7</sup>

(10) Honorable *and* worshipfull sir, *after all humble and due reuerence had as apparteyneth* Y recomaunde me vnto you, *desyryng to here of your prosperous welfare*, which Jhesu preserue to the accomplysshment of your hertys desire. (16)

Personal choice is at work also at the lower level of the internal structure of the vocative noun phrase itself. For the purposes of presenting syntactic variation, I have divided the phrases used into two groups, according to whether they exhibit one or two nouns at the head, and within each one of these two categories I have arranged them according to increasing level of complexity. Thus, consider the following patterns in Table 1:<sup>8</sup>

Pattern	Example
(1) Single head	
Noun	Syr
adj noun	Welbelouyd brother
adj and adj noun	Goode ande speceall ffrende
adv adj noun	Ryght whelbelouyd brothyr
adv adj and adj noun	Ryght rewerent and whorshipfull ffadyr
adv adj and adv adj noun	Ryught reurent and harttely welbelouyd brother
adv adv adj and adj adj noun	Ryught harttely welbelouyd and myn aspecyauull good brother
(2) Double head	
adj noun and noun	Reuerentt syr and brother
adv adj noun and noun	Ryght trosty syr and brother
adv adj noun and adj noun	Ryght reuerent syr and my specyall frende

Table 1. Syntactic patterns in vocative expressions. Cely letters, 1474-1479

Although the inclusion of adjectives and adverbs in the basic structure is, strictly speaking, optional, it can be argued that the prototypical pattern of a vocative phrase exhibits in the majority of cases more complex structures, the two most often used being 'adv adj noun' and 'adv adj and adj noun', which complicate even further the title of address.

<sup>7</sup> Letters containing the first adverbial only are: 33 and 44. Letters inquiring after the addressee's health only are 10 and 17. Letter 4 exhibits the final adverbial only, in a way similar to letter 22 above, this time using the form *as...as*. Letter 6 includes the command 'I beseech you to recommend me' and such recommendation is not to the addressee but to other people.

<sup>8</sup> These patterns appear in the following letters: One noun: (a) 7, 42, 49; (b) 3, 8, 28, 34; (c) 6, 16, 33; (d) 4, 15, 17, 18, 21, 22, 32, 39, 40, 43; (e) 1, 41, 44, 45, 46, 47; (f) 19; (g) 25. Two nouns: (a) 35; (b) 21; (c) 5, 9, 10.

Let us now examine the introductory greetings from a lexical standpoint. Here two issues deserve consideration: the use of the second person pronoun of address and the semantic content of the vocative expressions. Regarding the first one, it must be mentioned that Richard Cely the elder almost invariably uses the singular form 'the', whereas most of the other writers, if not all, use the plural form 'you' when greeting their addressees; this variation obeys customary rules of the time, and is thus formulaic as opposed to free personal choice. Concerning the second of the issues, it may be argued that stereotypes seem to have been at work, especially at the level of adverbs and adjectives, with little room for personal preference, which was more patent at the level of nouns, but which obviously obeyed the impositions established by the social relationships to be stated. The adverb used is invariably 'right', except in those instances where there are two adverbs, in which case the second one is 'heartly'. The adjectives used are (numbers in brackets after each example indicate number of instances) 'Well-beloved' (13), 'reverent' (12), 'worshipful' (9), 'special' (3) and 'good, faithful, honorable, trusty' and 'inteyrly' (1 each). The nouns used are: 'brother' (17), 'sir' (8), 'friend' (5), 'father' (4) and 'master' (1). Note the special use of 'brother', meaning 'comrade, colleague' among members of the Staple, also used as a term of endearment. Favourite collocations are for example 'well-beloved brother' and 'special friend'.

#### 4. INTRODUCING THE BODY OF THE TEXT.

While the actual items of news or body of the text proper are argued to reflect everyday language typical of the commercial jargon –as opposed to formulaic language– the way in which these are introduced is syntactically and semantically more rigid, although with some scope for flexibility, as we shall see.

1. The simplest way of introducing the first item of news is by means of the conjunction 'and', invariably appended to the greeting in the same sentence. This use of 'and' consistently occurs in all the letters written by Richard Cely the elder, and therefore comes after the also simple greeting 'I grete the wyll' which we have already seen above.<sup>9</sup>

(11) I grete the wyll, *and* I haue grete maruele that ye wryt not to me no letters...

2. Another way of introducing the body of the letter is by means of a non-finite clause in the gerund, which may be preceded or not by the adverb 'furthermore' and which may be appended to the introductory greeting or start a new sentence by itself, in both of which cases this subordinate clause depends on the main verb, usually 'recommend', of the previous clause. This construction does not present much syntactical variation (almost invariably gerund + indirect object + direct object that-clause, with or without the 'that' conjunction), but there is lexical variation when choosing the subordinate verb; thus, we find through the data 'informing', 'certifying', 'praying' and the periphrasis 'letting you wit'.<sup>10</sup>

(12) I recomende me wnto you as harttely as I can dewyse or thynke, *informyng you that* I haue ressauyd a letter from you

<sup>9</sup> These are letters nos. 2, 6, 11, 12, 13, 20, 23, 24, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 36, 37, 38, 48 and 50.

<sup>10</sup> 'informing' is used in letters 3, 19, 21, 25, 32, 35, 47; 'certifying' appears in letters 17 and 18; 'praying' in letters 28 (followed by 'for'), 42 (followed by 'that'), 33 ('pray you to'); the periphrasis 'letting you wit' in letter 10.

3. The most complex solution, one which is fairly productive in terms of frequency of use since it is present in 17 out of 50 letters, is based on the impersonal construction ‘please it you to know’, (cf. ModE. ‘may it please you to know’) and it shows a great deal of syntactical variation. There are also two personal constructions which are very similar to these. Let us examine these structures:

<i>Impersonal</i>
Please it you to wit Furthermore, please it you to understand Furthermore, and it please you to wit,... Furthermore please you to wit that... ... and it please your mastership please it your mastership, to have notice and knowledge that... like it you to wit...
<i>Personal</i>
Furthermore you shall understand that... Furthermore, and it please you, ye shall understand that... (mixed type)

Table 2. Structures introducing the body of the letters. Cely letters, 1474-1479.<sup>11</sup>

Of all these, impersonal constructions are more often selected than personal ones, the one under impersonal (2) being the most popular one. Lexical variation includes fluctuation between ‘wit’ and ‘understand’ and an expansion of the subject ‘you’ into a more respectful ‘your mastership’.

## 5. CONCLUSION.

A conclusion may appear tailed at the end of the main body of the letter, running together into the last sentence, or it may be an independent last section. The most clearly formulaic element in these letters is no doubt the conclusion. Over 30 letters out of 50 end in almost exactly the same way, and it should be noted that not all of them are by the same writer. About 10 letters deviate from the standard pattern in order to show a more flowery language. The rest are a shorter version of the standard type. Thus, syntactically the basic pattern is repeated letter after letter; semantically, the majority of letters have the same content, that is, there is no more news; Jesus keep you; place and date of writing, some including the year some not; finally, some letters include the fact that they were written in great haste.<sup>12</sup> A typical example is:

<sup>11</sup> Impersonal structures: (1) appears in letters nos. 1 and 34; (2) 4, 15, 22, 41, 45 and 46; (3) letter 39; (4) letter 40; (5) letter 7; (6) letter 16; (7) letter 8. Personal structures: (1) letters 44 and 49; (2) letters 5 and 9.

<sup>12</sup> Richard Cely the elder regularly uses the expression ‘in (great) haste’, and conversely this expression is almost invariably only used by him. George Cely uses it in letter 4.

(13) I wryt no more to the at thys tyme, but Jhesu kepe you. Wryt at London the xxvj day of Jencuer in grete haste. (letter 11)

It is noteworthy that the item that shows most variation is the reference to the Lord, no doubt in order to sound the more respectful the more complicated structurally this is expressed and the more semantically meaningful the terms used are. Thus we observe once again the always invariable and semantically unmarked expression used by Richard Cely the elder in all his letters as in the above 'Jesus keep you', which shows the basic message at its simplest. This clause can get more complicated, in all cases showing the following pattern:

But S have Object in (his blessed) keeping

The main syntactic deviation lies in the inclusion or not of the possessive and/or the adjective in the final PP. Major deviations are at the lexical level, in the range of nouns chosen for the subject and object slots. Thus, we observe the following nouns as subjects: 'the Trenyte', '(allmyty) God' and 'Jhesu'. For the object: 'you', 'ws all' and 'yow and (all) yowrs'.

A typical example is:

(14) No mor vnto, yow at thys tyme, *but Jhesu hawe yow and all yowrs in hys blessyd kcpyng, Amen.* Wrytt at Calles the viijth day of May, 1 xxviiij.

Finally, concerning the dating of the letters at the close, particularly the stating of the year and not just the day and month, the majority of letters which are not dated at the close had already been dated at the beginning; those which do include the year now had not done so at the beginning (except the letters written by George Cely, who thus dates his letters twice). However, there are some 10 letters which remain undated as far as the year is concerned.

## 6. SIGNATURES.

An examination of signing practices makes the following pattern evident:

Prep + ( NP or AP ) + proper name

Richard Cely the elder, for example, always signs in the coolest, simplest, unmarked way: prep + name. The same goes for a couple of other writers, but the rule in the other cases is to include some term indicating the relationship between the writer and the addressee. Thus, between brothers it is common to sign 'by your brother + name' This is also the case in John Dalton's letters, in which he always refers to himself as 'brother' of George Cely, either alleging their fellowship in the Staple, or claiming a closer relationship than other fellow members, such as William Maryon who does not use this term, but the rather more respectful 'By your own'. George Cely always closes his letters in a respectful manner towards his father, since he signs off with 'by your son', and not with just simply the name. Finally, other people who are not members of the family sign off with just their name or expressing their relation, such as 'attorney' or 'chaplain'.

In addition to this, there is lexical variation also at the level of the preposition: this can be either the English 'by' (sometimes 'be') or the Latin 'per'. The one most

often used in these letters is 'per', by Richard Cely the elder, George Cely, etc. 'By' is used by some of the writers who, perhaps, are not used to writing so often.

## 7. CONCLUSION.

To summarise, in this paper I have attempted a description of the different epistolary formulae used in the Cely letters, which exemplify late Middle English commercial jargon. The main aim was to isolate formulaic from non-formulaic passages, which would provide fresh ground for historical research, specifically in the area of sociolinguistics. A secondary aim was to pave the way for a possible contrastive study of formulaic expressions in letters of the same period but of different background, or else for the study of the diachronic evolution of such expressions.

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# English verbs of intellectual activity in the Renaissance: A cognitive approach

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

How does language, and in our particular case, the English language, refer to our intellectual abilities, activities and experiences? If language reflects the way we experience, apprehend and understand the world and ourselves, how does it help us conceptualise a rich and subjective world such as man's mental phenomena? On what terms are our mental experiences conceived? What is the origin of the lexical items that refer to them? What mechanisms have been involved in their development?

A first exploration reveals that a considerable part of the English vocabulary referring to intellectual activity was borrowed from Latin during the Renaissance. The revival of learning and the expansion of knowledge that took place at that time had a well-known effect on the English vocabulary. The growing importance of the empirical method and rational argument was reflected in the items which were introduced in the lexicon. The borrowing of a term from Latin, which was still the lingua franca of learning in Renaissance Europe, was by far the commonest strategy used in the elaboration of the English language so that it could be used in scientific discourse.

Among the exceptional number of terms of classical origin that were added to the English lexicon in the Renaissance, there were obviously terms which referred to intellectual activities. Although some of these verbs, such as *ponder*, *muse* or *comprehend*, had already been introduced in the Middle English period, other verbs such as *cogitate*, *speculate*, *meditate*, *contemplate*, or *ruminare* were new additions to the English lexicon in the 16th and 17th centuries.

A preliminary etymological study soon reveals that those verbs derive from Latin terms which originally referred to physical perception or activities. There have been, then, semantic shifts by which verbs alluding to physical actions have come to refer to mental activities. This paper explores - from a cognitive perspective - the origin of such verbs, focusing especially on the inter-domain connections between their concrete and abstract senses.

Cognitive linguistics, which views human language as part of our cognitive system, can provide new insights to the study of semantic change. What paths are followed in speakers' minds in the process of meaning change? What connections are established by the speakers between the earlier and later senses? Are there regular trends in meaning change? Are there senses which systematically give rise to other

senses? A cognitively based framework is, to my mind, highly adequate to approach these questions.

Research in cognitive linguistics has stressed the importance of metaphorical connections in human cognition and language (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999; Sweetser 1990). Metaphor permits an understanding of one kind of experience in terms of another and this is extensively reflected in language. In the same way as many everyday expressions are metaphorical, as Lakoff and Johnson have stressed, many abstract terms have their origin in metaphorical transfer. Sweetser (1990) has provided ample evidence that change operates in general from concrete to abstract domains. As we will see, the vocabulary which we use to refer to our intellectual abilities has been built up making extensive use of metaphors of which we are, however, largely unaware.

The study of the patterns of semantic change helps us to understand human cognition, since they reflect the connections that generations of speakers have established between meanings. How has the activity ‘thinking’ been conceived? What does language and especially lexical change reveal about it? In this paper I’m going to explore what specific meanings in the concrete domain give rise to the following verbs of thinking: *contemplate*, *consider*, *speculate*, *meditate*, *cogitate*, *reflect* and *ruminate*.

## CASE STUDIES

*Contemplate* has its origins in a verb of physical perception and it illustrates the pervasive tendency of verbs of physical perception to come to refer to mental perception. Introduced into English in the early sixteenth century, it derives from the past participle of *contempro* # “to look at”. This Latin verb was related to the noun *templum*, which referred to an open space for the *observation* of the augurs and the interpretation of omens. This early meaning is illustrated in the following example:

1. The day wherein God did rest and contemplate his own works.  
Bacon. *Of the advancement of learning*: I. vi.

When one looks at something attentively and thoughtfully or the object of contemplation is not something physical, but abstract, then *contemplate* comes to be used in the sense ‘view mentally’ or ‘consider’:

2. She [the soule] is able to contemplate herselfe.  
T. Bowes. *De La Primaudye’s French Academie* :II, 13.

The semantic development of the verbs *consider* or *speculate* is similar. *Consider* was borrowed from French *considérer* in the fourteenth century, and it came ultimately from Latin *considero*, which was probably a term of astrology or augury, related to *sidus*, stars forming a constellation. Its early meaning “look at closely, examine carefully” (now archaic):

3. And with inspection deep Consider’d every Creature  
Milton. *Paradise Lost*: IX. 84

was extended “to contemplate mentally”, to mental perception and activity:

4. Is man no more then this? Consider him well  
Shakespeare. *King Lear*: III.iv.107

5. This is a good lesson Us to consydure.  
Towler. *Towneley Mysteries*: 93

*Speculate* also derives from a verb of physical perception, Latin *specular*, “to watch”, “spy out”, “observe”, related to *specula*, a watchtower. In the following quotation, it has the sense “observe”, physical perception:

6. I shall never eat garlike with Diogenes in a Tub, and speculate  
the Starres without a shirt  
Shirley. *Grateful Servant*: II. i

and in the next, it is used in the sense of mental perception or activity:

7. A gluttonous stomacke causeth such a mist before the eyes of the  
soule, that shee cannot possibly speculate any spirituall matters.  
Wright. *The Passions of the mind*: IV.ii

Such metaphorical transfers are common. As Sweetser ( 1990: 32-34 ) has shown many verbs of vision have given rise to verbs of the intellect. And this is not an arbitrary fact since in human conceptual organisation and understanding of the world sight and knowledge are intimately related. We only have to think of some everyday expressions such as “I see what you mean”. Knowing is metaphorically conceptualised in terms of seeing because visual perception is the usual way we acquire most of our knowledge and the most common source of data (Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 238).

Vision can be applied not only to the intellectual domain but also to the religious, through a metaphorical connection between spiritual and physical vision. *Contemplate* and *speculate* illustrate physical sight being metaphorically mapped on to spiritual vision:

8. But retired in the Wildernesse to contemplate on the presence of  
God.  
W. Austin. *Devotionis Augustinianae flamma, or certaine  
meditations*: 194

The verb *meditate*, which was also introduced into English in the Renaissance (1580), from Latin *medita#ri* #, provides another example of a verb of intellectual ability which can have religious connotations:

9. He that accustoms himself to meditate upon the greatness of  
God.  
R. South. *Sermons preached upon several occasions*: X.i.

*Meditate*, however, does not have its origins in a verb of physical perception, since *medita#ri* #, originally referred to all kind of exercise, physical as well as intellectual, and it was later preferred to refer to intellectual activity. It is in this sense, then, that it was introduced into English.

10. And Isaac went out, to meditate in the field, at the euentide.  
*Genesis*, XXIV.63

It is worth commenting, though, that whereas many verbs of ‘sight’ come to develop a mental meaning, in the case of *meditate*, for a while, the opposite process took place: It was used with the meaning “to observe with interest”. That is a new proof of the close links between sight and intellectual activity, but at the same time it

provides a counterexample for the usual unidirectional tendency of concrete senses to become abstract:

11. He bowed his head upon his pillow, and meditated me.  
S. Richardson. *The History of Sir Charles Grandison*:  
IV.xvii

The meaning of visual perception that *contemplate* had in the Renaissance, which was similar to that of the Latin term and is still kept in, say, Spanish *contemplar*, is not the most common one in Present-day English. The prototypical meaning of *contemplate* is now “to have in view as a possibility”. Once one has a future prospect in mind, the sense of *contemplate* easily becomes “have in view as a purpose, as a possibility”, “intend”:

12. The decree contemplated a negotiation between the executive power in France and our minister there.  
A. Hamilton. *Works*: A Letter to G. Washington

The same extension of sense can be observed in *meditate*, which, as in Latin, also had the meaning “to plan by revolving in the mind”, “to plan”.

13. A creature meditating mischief.  
Goldsmith. *Natural History*: VII. 167

*Cogitate* and *reflect* are other verbs of Latin origin which show a metaphorical transfer from concrete to abstract. *Cogitate* derives from the past participle of *co#gito*: *co*, an intensive + *agito*, “to turn over”, “agitate”. Even in Latin, it was already applied to something in the mind and came to mean “to turn over in the mind”. Ideas, then, have been conceptualised as entities in motion which revolve in the mind.

14. We both day and night reuoluing in our minds did cogitate nothing more...  
J. Foxe. *Actes and Monuments of these latter and perillous dayes*: 780

The earliest meaning of *reflect* (14th c), ultimately from Latin *reflecto*, *re* + *flecto*, to ‘bend’, is “to bend”, “turn back”:

15. Not quite strait, but a little reflected upwards.  
T. Pennant. *British Zoology*: II. 353

and it has given rise to several meanings. When what is turned back is one’s thoughts, as for example in:

16. When I reflect my thought and eye upon that I have formerly written.  
Sir J. Harington. *Nugæ Antiquæ*: II. 166

the sense is extended to mean “to think of” or “meditate on”:

17. Having reflected a little on the Danger which we had escaped, we viewed the second Pyramide.  
A. Lovell. *Thevenot’s Travels into the Levant*: I.134

Whereas *cogitate* can be used transitively in philosophy to mean “to form a conception of”, when *reflect* is used in Present-Day-English with a direct object, it is usually apprehended in another of its several senses:

18. The hills reflect the sound (“cast or send back”)

19. The Walls reflected a hundred thousand Lights to me from my two Candles (“emit, give out a light, as the result of reflection”).

D. Defoe. *The Life and strange adventures of Robinson Crusoe*: I, xii

20. Two glasses where herself herself beheld

A thousand times, and now no more reflect; (“mirror”)

Shakespeare. *Venus and Adonis*: 1130

In the preceding examples, there is implicit the idea that thoughts are in movement, either going back or revolving in the mind. In the verb *to ruminate* from Latin *rumino* “to ruminate”, “to chew the cud” and “to turn over in the mind”, we can also see the metaphorical transfer of ideas in motion, being turned over. The meaning “to chew the cud”, “turn over in the mouth”:

21. And for his lips and his teeth to ruminate.

*Song of Solomon* VII. 9

has been considered similar to “turn something over and over in the mind”, hence “to meditate deeply and for a long time”:

22. I may revolve and ruminate my greefe.

Shakespeare: *The First Part of King Henry VI*: V.v.101

At the same time, *ruminate* illustrates a new conceptualisation: that of ideas as food (Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 241). That metaphor is also pervasive in our everyday language: Cf the expressions *appetite for learning* or *insatiable curiosity*.

In the same way as *contemplate* and *cogitate*, *ruminate*, when used with an object which can refer to a future prospect, came to mean “devise in the mind”, “plan”

23. To ruminate strange plots of dire revenge.

Shakespeare: *Titus Andronicus*: V.ii.6

## CONCLUSION

The verbs of thinking discussed here have their origins in verbs of physical perception or activities and by a process of metaphorical transfer they have arrived at a common meaning: think. *Cogitate* originally meant ‘to turn over’; *contemplate*, *consider* and *speculate* ‘to look at, observe’; *reflect*, ‘bend’ or ‘turn back’; *ruminate*, ‘to chew the cud’ or ‘turn over in the mouth’. Although most of these metaphorical transfers, however, had already occurred when they were introduced into English, their original meanings show the different ways speakers view this highly abstract and subjective activity or the different aspects they choose to focus on. Thus, in *contemplate*, *consider* and *speculate* physical vision has become mental perception. Although there is usually unidirectionality in the metaphorical transfers - from concrete to abstract -, *meditate*, which was introduced as a verb of ‘thinking’, came to mean physical vision, as well. *Cogitate*, *reflect* and *ruminate*, on the other hand, focus on ideas as objects moving and revolving in the mind.

Different metaphorical transfers are then involved in the examples studied: Physical perception becoming mental perception and activity (*contemplate*, *consider*, *speculate*), that is to say, thinking conceptualised as perceiving; ideas viewed in

motion going back (*reflect*) or revolving in the mind (*cogitate*) and ideas compared to food which is turned over and over in the mouth (*ruminare*). These are only some of the ways we conceptualise our mental phenomena. Other metaphorical transfers may also be involved, consider the case of *ponder*, *deliberate* or *examine*, where ideas are objects that can be weighed, or *grasp*, where ideas are objects that can be held or manipulated. In all the cases mentioned, however, we find a metaphorical conceptualization of our mental acts.

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# The Seventeenth-Century Reception of English Renaissance Drama in Europe

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## INTRODUCTION

This paper deals with the cultural exchange between the London theatre world commonly associated with Shakespeare and his contemporaries, and the Dutch theatre scene during the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries. Before discussing this matter in greater detail, it seems appropriate to consider some of the reasons that attracted my attention towards this topic in the first place. It seems no less fitting to outline what I hope to demonstrate beyond the fact that the Dutch theatre scene of the seventeenth-century was an active one, and that it still holds much that might be of interest also to drama scholars internationally.

To begin with, I ought to identify myself as what is commonly known as a Shakespearean, someone whose teaching, research, supervision, and much of his spare time is dedicated to the work and the afterlife of that extraordinary poet and playwright from Stratford. In my capacity as a Shakespearean, and a foreign one at that, I have been in a position to observe a number of vital developments in recent years. They were developments that initially excited my interest, but which, on closer inspection, called for a degree of vigilance as well. After a great deal of soul-searching, I have come to formulate not just my misgivings but also my modest suggestions to modify these tendencies.

One specific development to which I here refer concerns the emergence, with particular force during the 1990s, of a “foreign Shakespeare” school alongside the more traditional, native, Anglocentric Shakespeare industry. This decentring trend, with the focus shifting to Shakespeare as practised beyond the English omphalos, originally evolved rather slowly in translation and theatre studies during the 1970s and 80s, and at an early stage resulted, for example, in the foundation of the Japanese journal *Shakespeare Translation* (of 1974), the journal ambitiously and tellingly renamed *Shakespeare Worldwide: Translation and Adaptation* in the nineties.

A notable landmark in this growing trend towards internationalisation was Dennis Kennedy's *Foreign Shakespeare*. With the assistance of a team of international theatre historians and critics, Kennedy effectively revealed the world of Shakespeare and Shakespearean production “outside the English language” in its true diversity and splendour for the first time. Devoting attention to foreign productions of Shakespeare, Kennedy succeeded in challenging Anglocentric

standards of Shakespeare interpretation. His book is an undisputed landmark, and its impact has been enormous. It is engaging to see how this is subtly revealed by the title of Peter Holland's 1997 theatre survey entitled *English Shakespeares: Shakespeare on the English Stage in the 1990s*. Either the publisher (Cambridge University Press again), or the author, or both, felt compelled, in a rather unusual manner, prominently to stress the specific, national (English) pedigree of the material discussed. Note the repeated use of the word "English" in the title. If the provocative title of Kennedy's *Foreign Shakespeare* was determined by centuries of Anglocentric Shakespeare practice, Holland's title was shaped, preventively it would appear, by the assertiveness and popularity of a foreign Shakespeare.

The foreign Shakespeare ticket was not an invention of Kennedy's. What has become known as "foreign Shakespeare" was a sign of the times, of the decentring times, part also of the multicultural venture pursued with unprecedented passion across the academic map in recent decades. This is also borne out by the host of independent initiatives that we may identify in the field. The year 1993, the year of Kennedy's *Foreign Shakespeare*, also saw the publication of Delabastita and d'Huslt's *European Shakespeares*, followed a year later by Hattaway, Sokolova and Roper's *Shakespeare in the New Europe*. Since then, we have seen a flood of volumes like Fujita and Pronko's *Shakespeare East and West*, Gibinska and Limon's *Hamlet East-West*, Uéno's "*Hamlet*" and *Japan*, Zhang's *Shakespeare in China* or Sasayama, Mulryne and Shewring's *Shakespeare and the Japanese Stage*. We have also been treated to the International Studies in Shakespeare and His Contemporaries series, general edited for Delaware University Press by Jay Halio, and few would deny that the Shakespeare-in-Performance series published by Manchester University Press is developing an eye for foreign, meaning non-English, productions to enhance their volumes. James Loehlin's recent Manchester volume about that curiously international history play, *Henry the Fifth*, is a case in point.

Finally, in a less conspicuous manner, there have been important initiatives more effectively to co-ordinate the new international and multicultural trend. At the University of Ferrara, Mariangela Tempera has been working on an International Shakespeare project for a number of years, and her round-table session at the appropriately international ESSE conference in Glasgow (8-12 September 1995) has not been without result. Also Balz Engler, at the University of Basle, is currently co-ordinating a promising multicultural initiative, and his labour is feeding directly into the international enterprise developed by Ángel-Luis Pujante, Clara Calvo, and Keith Gregor at the University of Murcia: "400 Years of Shakespeare in Europe" (18-20 November, 1999). And when alluding to the Murcia venture, one should also mention the International Shakespeare Association's Valencia conference on "Shakespeare and the Mediterranean" (2001) as yet another manifestation of what is quickly developing from a foreign trend or movement into a tradition.

As the movement towards "foreign Shakespeare" seems to be accelerating, and as we seem to find ourselves on the eve of a consolidation phase — with ideas being transformed into organisations — it seems worth reflecting on the merits of the movement so far, focusing on the way in which the two fields in Shakespeare studies — "foreign Shakespeare" and "native Shakespeare" — have coexisted so far. Have they acknowledged each other's existence, and, if so, how has this taken place? As it happens, the co-existence of these two fields is not entirely unproblematic: one welcomes the cultural re-programming of which this dual-track Shakespeare is a manifestation, but certain misgivings remain about the interaction between them that

one might reasonably desire. One welcomes initiatives to investigate and share with others foreign Shakespeares, but not without some trepidation, not without an eye for the attendant hazards that are very real indeed, as when either native or foreign Shakespeare becomes a totally autonomous venture. In the introduction to this paper, I shall outline some of the issues that affect the relationship between the two fields of Shakespeare studies, and, in the main body of my paper, modestly suggest, with reference to early modern Dutch theatre materials, several ways in which a productive dialogue might be established, truly to call them *international* Shakespeare, rather than *native* and *foreign* Shakespeare respectively.

It nearly goes without saying that for a proper dialogue, it takes at least two participants. To do full justice to the issues raised here, I should ideally devote attention to both the responsibilities of the native, and of the foreign Shakespeare industry. However, for reasons of space, I shall limit myself to the latter, the foreign Shakespeare industry of which I consider myself an exponent, and leave for another occasion and perhaps another Shakespearean, the issue of an Anglocentric Shakespeare industry. On that occasion, one might discuss at greater length the English inability to heed the advice vis-à-vis the Low Countries as formulated by Richard Clough, the Antwerp representative of English master-merchant, Sir Thomas Gresham. At Antwerp in 1561, Clough witnessed the annual theatre competition of fifteen Chambers of Rhetoric from the Low Countries. About this impressive stage event, involving no less than twelve hundred participants, he wrote:

This was the strangest matter that ever I saw, or think that ever I shall see. [...] I would to God that some of our gentlemen and noblemen of England had seen this (I mean them that think the world is made of oatmeal), and then it would make them to think that there are other as we are, and so provide for the time to come; for they that can do this, can do more. (Quoted in Waterschoot 1996: 124.)

Few representatives of the native Shakespeare industry today —likely to be hampered by the difficult availability of source materials and by various language barriers between Britain and Europe in this case — would be able to heed Richard Clough's call.

But let us return to the “foreign” Shakespeare industry, and concentrate on its occasional drawbacks. The main problem that may be identified is that some of the work produced in this field is of little or no interest to the apparent target group, meaning colleagues from other countries. The problem defined in these terms is bound to occur in nearly every discipline, and for that reason I should perhaps stress the relevance here of the “national” or “foreign” element of the exercise. To formulate the issue in the form of a question: Why would any Shakespearean be interested to know about last year's production of, say, *Titus Andronicus* in Amsterdam, or this year's *Hamlet* in The Hague? Would it be because he or she has an interest in contemporary Dutch culture, or is it a concern with Shakespeare? I guess that the majority would agree that, for reasons of political correctness and to express a sound interest in multicultural Shakespeare, that the Shakespearean ought to be interested in both. I myself would be tempted to concur.

However, to express an interest in either — the foreign culture as well as the Shakespearean element in it — is also precariously to suggest or assume a neat correlation, a neat relation of equivalence between “native” and “foreign” Shakespeare which, on closer inspection, would really prove fictitious. When we

demonstrate an interest in this year's *Hamlet* in The Hague, or last year's *Titus* in Amsterdam, we are in the first place interested in Shakespeare, the native English playwright and poet, and only by some kind of cultural derivation (or, dare I suggest, deviation), are we also interested in foreign manifestations of Shakespeare, with the emphasis here on *foreign*. We are interested, or maintain our interest in both the native and the foreign, if the foreign, non-English practice reveals problems, energies, or meanings not generally recognised by the native industry, or if it engages in a more theoretical discussion that is international in scope and benefits both.

To secure such mutual benefits, the foreign Shakespeare industry should continually initiate and secure a productive dialogue by asking itself how the “foreign” Shakespeare in question may be made meaningful or worthwhile for the so-called “native” industry. It is true that we need not always ask ourselves this question, for example when writing the stage history of Shakespeare in our respective continental European countries, in Asia, Australia, or in Africa, with native audiences as our main target in their own languages. But as soon as we enter the international highway of Shakespeare studies, where English is the shared tongue, we ought to pursue a dialogue, and not be satisfied with merely communicating information about translations or productions in English because such material had never been translated into the English language before. Those Shakespeareans who, like myself, have attended conferences where one sat through an account of seven or eight international *Hamlets* between breakfast and lunch, will know what I mean, and sympathise, perhaps.

Various alternative types of dialogue might be pursued when studying “foreign” Shakespeare from a foreign and, in my case, Dutch perspective. As the title of my paper indicates, I shall not only be suggesting ways in which the Dutch and English Shakespeares might be made to interact; I shall also, and here I part ways with Dennis Kennedy and most other practitioners of foreign Shakespeare, adopt a historical dimension, rolling back the carpet to the early-modern period, when the exchange itself between the English and the Dutch theatre worlds was a vital component of Anglo-Dutch relations. With this historical perspective, I will discuss the earliest reception of *The Taming of the Shrew* and *Richard III* in the Low Countries around the middle of the seventeenth century.

My discussion will not be limited just to Shakespeare, if only because this might create the false impression that Dutch bardolatry was a seventeenth-century phenomenon. It is true that by the middle of the seventeenth century, we may already establish, more or less clearly, the influence in the Low Countries of *The Taming of the Shrew* and *Richard III*, but also *The Winter's Tale*, *Julius Caesar*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Titus Andronicus*, as well as the *Sonnets*. But putting too much emphasis on this particular instance of cultural transfer would blind us to such other London stage products there as *The Revenger's Tragedy*, the English *Pastor Fido* (known as the Dymock version), Christopher Marlowe's *Jew of Malta* and *Doctor Faustus*, John Mason's *The Turk*, James Shirley's *Love's Cruelty*, Thomas Tomkis' *Lingua*, or Thomas Randolph's *Amyntas*. It seems to me that if we want an international dialogue to be relevant and meaningful, we should also move beyond the Shakespearean canon to consider the work of his fellow dramatists. Later in this paper, I shall illustrate my argument with several features of Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy*, a play that was translated and adapted into Dutch more than once.

A brief sketch of the relevant historical and theatrical contexts should facilitate the discussion of the plays below. The major part of the Dutch theatre scene during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was made up of the so-called Chambers of Rhetoric.<sup>1</sup> Nearly every self-respecting town had one of these more or less private clubs of poets and would-be poets who spent their time writing and reciting heavily stylised verse, and occasionally also put on plays which were really allegorical and didactic morality plays. These Chambers of Rhetoric, annually preparing for the contest with the Chambers of other towns (like that described by Sir Thomas Gresham), gradually became more secular and professional during the period. On a number of occasions non-members would be allowed to attend the proceedings in exchange for a fee which initially went to the guardian of the poor, but which later came to benefit the Chambers too.

The professionalization of the theatre scene in the Low Countries was significantly accelerated and shaped by the English strolling players who, between the 1580s and the 1640s, especially when the plague closed the playhouses in London, would pass through the Low Countries on their way to the courts and market places of Scandinavia, Germany, Switzerland, and Austria.<sup>2</sup>

The strolling players, representing a popular theatre, arrived with a typically non-classical range of plays, plays which exerted a great appeal. Despite the obscure English language in which these plays were performed, they drew large audiences in marketplaces, larger audiences in fact than did the native, moralising drama at the Chambers of Rhetoric. The players' acrobatics (and not their verbal skills in a foreign language) have long been taken as the main explanation for their appeal. Nevertheless, as the famous example from Thomas Heywood's *Apology for Actors* suggests, the familiar biblical or mythical nature of the material dramatised would also have aided intelligibility. Heywood reports on a performance by English actors in Amsterdam where, in a situation that recalls Hamlet's *Mousetrap*, a woman in the audience, on seeing a murder performed on stage, was made to reveal her own assassination of her husband. The play, as Heywood also mentions, was on the topic of the four sons of Aymon (See Perkinson 1941: sigs. G2<sup>r</sup>-V.). But in addition to acrobatics and plot familiarity, there are also references to the impact of spoken character parts.

The confrontation between the Dutch Chambers and the strolling players was a slow and often difficult process. This may be seen from the contradictory remarks that we find in the work of a single playwright, like G. A. Bredero, who was also a member of The Eglantine chamber. He attacked the Amsterdam population's fascination with the foreign players one day, and praised the Englishmen's superior, natural acting style the next. As Bredero put it in a speech held at The Eglantine chamber:

Young ladies, rich in virtue! We are amazed that some of you have not come to see our play, but have avoided it as if it were an indecent thing, whereas, without any shame and with a passionate zeal, these same young ladies run daily after the light-footed foreigners, to whom all villainies seem to be permitted. [...] Tell me, you supporters of the

<sup>1</sup> For a survey of the theatre scene, see Worp 1904-1908 and Smits-Veldt 1991.

<sup>2</sup> On the strolling players see Chambers 1923 II: 270-94, Cohn and Creizenach 1889. See also Worp 1887: 266-300 and Worp 1904-1908, Kossmann 1915, Albach 1977 and Limon 1985. For additional information on Dutch theatre history, the reader is referred to Brandt and Hoogendoorn 1993.

foreign vagabonds, what instructive arguments have you ever heard from them? What edifying admonitions have you ever seen in them from which others might benefit? What virtuous morality have you ever discovered in them? What royal dignity have they ever shown? Oh, you bewitched people! I had hoped that your enchanted eyes would have been opened in this happy age of poetry. But what happens? Many of you people stay wilfully blind. You madmen! And must you not admit that you have heard and seen nothing but ridiculous follies, and a farrago of vulgar and indecent gibberish, and many useless wanton frivolities? I will not deny that two or three of them play rather well. But, my dear listeners, what about the rest? For the most part they only rave and rant, presenting only blood and guts, rubbish, nonsense. (Stuiveling 1970: 123, translation from the Dutch is my own)

As the exponent of a didactic tradition, Bredero fiercely attacks the immorality of the foreigners and their plays —with “blood and guts” perhaps referring to cloak-and-dagger revenge drama — but already the admission “that two or three of [the English] play rather well” is indicative of a certain ambivalence. This wavering attitude may be further brought into focus when we look at one of Bredero's 1617 comedies, *The Little Moor* (orig. *Het Moortje*), based on Terence's *Eunuch*. In *The Little Moor*, Bredero has the pleasure-loving character named Reinier elaborate on precisely the different acting styles and skills. Although the playwright conveniently hides behind his characters, it seems apparent that with the arrival of the strolling players not only did new attitudes develop with regard to acting styles, but also that the traditional function of the Dutch theatre as a place for moral instruction was challenged in a creative fashion:

I cannot stand the Rhetoricians any more; they criticise and mock us, but they are blind to their own faults. The Rhetoricians recite their lessons so gravely and stiffly, as if their bodies were lined and with staves! I prefer the English, or some other foreigners whom one hears singing and sees dancing so merrily that they reel and spin like a top. They fill their lines with life; our Rhetoricians speak what they have learnt by heart. [...] The foreigners are frivolous, whereas our people only advise good behaviour. (Bredero 1984: lines 1453-49. See also Bachrach 1970: 71-89)

In response to such foreign competition, the various municipal authorities — but especially those of Amsterdam where Bredero was active — would initially protect their own Chambers of Rhetoric and more often than not refuse the strolling players the right to perform in town. This was not the only response. One alternative was that the various Chambers themselves would collaborate with the English players who might wish to settle in the Low Countries. In the town of Leiden, this led to the foundation of the professional and multinational company known as the Batavian Comedians (See also Hoenselaars 1996: 142-47). Another alternative that may be witnessed is of Dutch actors who joined the English strolling players on their international tours. And yet another type of response in the if-you-can't-beat-them-join-them category was that the Dutch Chambers would adopt, adapt, and put on English plays themselves to secure their own popularity. This is where my current interest lies: in the textual evidence of this early-modern version of international dramatic exchange. Before I continue with that, let me first finish my survey of the

Dutch scene.

It is worth remembering that these first exchanges took shape during the early seventeenth century, and in particular during the period known as the Twelve Years' Truce, the armistice period between the Northern Provinces and Spain, lasting from 1609 until 1621. Limiting ourselves to the Amsterdam region, we see how during these years of relative prosperity, two Chambers of Rhetoric flourished, and how, in addition, also a so-called Dutch Academy was founded in 1619.<sup>3</sup> The Dutch Academy was really a kind of open university, which would, among other things, put on plays for instruction and delight to fee-paying audiences.

In 1638, the process of professionalization and commercialisation that the strolling players had helped to accelerate, reached a peak as the first Municipal Theatre of Amsterdam was inaugurated. This communal venture also marked the demise of the two Amsterdam Chambers of Rhetoric as well as the Academy. In 1638, the northern Dutch theatre had finally acquired professional status with a large indoor theatre and, until 1654, an all male company — this at a time when, ironically perhaps, the London theatres were about to be closed by the authorities. By the 1640s the exchange between the London and Amsterdam theatre worlds had already left a residue of some significance. And it was to continue, as Dutch theatre makers also carried on touring with English colleagues after the Peace of Münster (or, the Peace of Westphalia) in 1648.

#### *THE MAD WEDDING* (1654)

Abraham Sybant's 1654 comedy entitled *De Dolle Bruyloft* (or, *The Mad Wedding*), the first unchallenged translation-and-adaptation for the Dutch market of Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew*, is typical of the early years following the Peace of Münster, and it is neatly positioned between the professional theatre and the strolling player circuit. Little is known about Abraham Sybant (1627-1655), but it is beyond doubt that he was associated with several companies of English and Dutch strolling players in the Low Countries.<sup>4</sup> Among other things, he was part of a closely knit group of theatre professionals that included Adriaen van den Bergh. Adriaen van den Bergh was the first Dutch translator (in 1621) of Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy*, to which I shall have occasion to return later, but he was also the father of Adriana van den Bergh, the "first" Dutch actress on the stage of the Amsterdam Theatre in 1655, the theatre where *The Mad Wedding* was performed between November 1654 and August 1656.

Sybant's *Mad Wedding* has received considerable attention from theatre historians and translation specialists in the Low Countries, and issues such as the original play's Induction (which is absent from the Dutch version), as well as the translation of its wordplay and imagery have really been exhausted. My reason for taking it up again, however, is the conviction that a fresh reading of this Shakespeare translation, a creative reading with at least some international relevance, may be achieved if the seventeenth century Dutch text be not considered simply in the traditional manner, with an eye to the fidelity of the translation, but as a stage play in its own right, if necessary in comparison with the Shakespearean original. In fact, if

<sup>3</sup> On the Chambers of Rhetoric and the Dutch Academy, see Smits-Veldt 1996.

<sup>4</sup> For biographical information see Albach 1977 and Nassau-Sarolea 1973: 38-59.

*The Mad Wedding* be read seriously as a play by Abraham Sybant — as indeed it was taken when it first appeared — it becomes possible to position this comedy at the centre of a range of gender concerns in the early years of the Dutch Republic. The issues raised in this context, in turn, as I hope to show, prove capable of illuminating several moments in Shakespeare's original comedy. Of special interest for our purposes is Katherina's final soliloquy. Though an inventive and skilful translator, Sybant robbed Katherina's famous speech of all imagery and ambiguity, and confronted his audience with an utterance that is chilling in its conformity:

I wish my sister well in her affections,  
 But to arrive at a desirable peace  
 Obedience is a good law for you,  
 Following whatever your husband proposes.  
 Obedience never degraded a woman,  
 But obstinacy has hindered many.  
 Heaven dictates our true obedience,  
 Not that we sinfully oppose man's will:  
 Anger and wrath lead the soul to perdition.  
 One must be obedient if one wishes to inherit Heaven.  
 Be not surprised to hear me speak thus:  
 Until today I was a fool — I now speak what I know.  
 It has pleased heaven to grieve my soul  
 With the aim, from now on, to please Heaven.  
 This then is a way to satisfy Heaven,  
 My way of reconciling with my husband and friends.  
 My father, please forgive me, and you, my sister, too,  
 If sinfully I ever did you wrong.  
 And you, my worthy half, whom I with will and heart  
 Shall please, whichever way your will be drawn.  
 (*De Dolle Bruyloft*, 63, translation from the Dutch is my own.)

It has been suggested, and one understands why, that Katherina's final monologue reads like a sermon. The unmistakable patriarchal tenor, as well as the obvious references to Heaven, obedience, sin, and forgiveness place the monologue firmly within a Christian, perhaps also Calvinist framework. However, stopping at the sermon analogy, we would ignore a more specific tradition to which the speech of Shakespeare's Katherina, and certainly that of the Dutch Katherina belongs, namely the marriage counselling tradition since Erasmus.<sup>5</sup>

The marriage counselling tradition explains why Katherina's speech echoes the most widely read author on the subject in the Low Countries, Jacob Cats (some of whose writings, like the much esteemed emblem interpretations, were actually translated into English by Thomas Heywood [See Heywood 1874: VI. 308-37]). Cats's most famous marriage counselling work is his long didactic poem *Houwelick* (or *Marriage*). It was first published in 1625, and had sold no less than fifty-thousand copies when his *Complete Works* appeared in 1655. It is within the context of Jacob Cats's poetry, and of his *Marriage* poem in particular, that one had best re-appraise Katherina's monologue in Dutch, and by extension, perhaps also, the English original.

<sup>5</sup> See Carter 1974. For a broader sketch of the situation, see Deursen 1992. But compare Schama 1987.

In *Cats*, the woman speaks to the reader on behalf of her sex as follows, making obedience prevail over an independent stance:

I know how God has elevated man above us,  
How he has given his noble mind a higher nature.  
I know my shortcomings, but nevertheless  
A weak woman, too, is serviceable to man.

[Ick weet, hoe God den man heeft boven ons verheven,  
Heeft aen sijn edel breyn een hooger aert gegeven;  
Ick kenne mijn gebreck, en evenwel nochtans  
Soo is een swacke vrou oock dienstigh aen de mans.]  
(*Cats* n.d.: "Vrouwe," 179. col. 2. Translation from the Dutch is my own)

These lines from *Cats*'s didactic and influential *Marriage* poem suggest a likely subtext to Katherine's final monologue in the Dutch version of *The Taming of the Shrew*. *Cats*'s views of marriage, however, serve to gloss not only the Dutch play rather closely, but also Shakespeare's original. A case in point is the Dutch poet's flexible and tolerant view of newly weds who publicly enjoy each other's company:

It would appear that even God finds some delight  
When from a pure desire married folk will frolic.  
What is not fit in others, and cannot be approved,  
Is accepted of the married couple, without blame.

[Het schijnt, dat even God vint eenigh welgevallen,  
Wanneer uyt reyne sucht getroude lieden mallen;  
Dat elders qualick past, en niet en dient gedult,  
Wort in het echte paer geleden sonder schult.]  
(*Cats* n.d.: "Vrouwe," 176. col. 2. Translation from the Dutch is my own)

Against the background of this marriage counselling verse, one may significantly reconsider the famous "Kiss me Kate" episodes spread across Shakespeare's play, in particular those in the final act of the comedy. On the one hand, limiting ourselves to the translation, the verse creatively interacts with Dutch Katherine's embarrassment when she is asked to kiss in the street:

Petruchio: Are you ashamed of me?  
Katherina: No, far from it. But kissing here is not appropriate.  
[Petrutio: Zyt gy voor my beschaamt?  
Katrijn: Neen, ver van daar; maar hier het kussen niet betaamt.]  
(*De Dolle Bruyloft*, 62. Translation from the Dutch is my own)

On the other hand, the *Cats* verse raises the kiss, when it is actually given, to a symbolic level. Katherine acknowledges the marital bond in public, which she then enjoys with decency. Since the Dutch translation here is close to the original — Shakespeare's Katherine, too, argues that she is not ashamed of Petruchio but "ashamed to kiss" (*The Taming of the Shrew* 5.1.134)— one may wonder if the kissing-and-frolicking motif also occurred in the English marriage counselling tradition to provide an intertextual frame of reference. I have been unable to find any explicit allusions to such proceedings in the predominantly English marriage counselling material anthologized in recent years, nor in William Gouge's *Of*

*Domesticall Duties* (1622), a prose work based on original Blackfriars sermons, which Jacob Cats himself mentions as a source of his *Marriage* poem (Carter 1974: 97 n 9). Further comparative research into the combined fields of drama, gender, and the markedly international phenomenon of early-modern marriage counselling should prove an enterprise that will eventually illuminate Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew*, as well as the other versions in which we meet this comedy on the continent of Europe during the seventeenth century.

*The Taming of the Shrew* was not the only Shakespeare play to cross the Channel during the mid-seventeenth century. So did *Richard III*, a play which rather than generating a discussion of gender issues and morality, addresses European matters political. *Richard III*, together with Holinshed's *Chronicles*, Thomas More's Tudor history of the king, and Thomas Legge's Latin *Ricardus Tertius* fed into the 1651 chronicle play by Lambert van den Bosch, entitled *The Red and the White Rose. Or, Lancaster and York: A Tragicomedy* (orig. *De Roode en Witte Roos of Lankaster en Jork. Blyeindent trevrspel*).

It is curious that critics of the play, in a zealous attempt to establish the much-cherished genealogy with Shakespeare, have ignored the contemporary politico-historical relevance of the play as an autonomous history play during the early 1650s. Closer analysis reveals that Shakespeare's *Richard III* was mobilised to comment on matters of some weight when Lambert van den Bosch translated and reworked the play. These matters of state appropriately included the relations between the predominantly Protestant northern provinces and Cromwellian England, as well as the strained relations between the urban oligarchy in the northern provinces (like that of Amsterdam), and the monarchist stadholder of Orange who fitted uneasily into the young Republic.

A key to the political relevance of *The Red and the White Rose* is that, unlike Shakespeare in *Richard III*, Lambert van den Bosch begins his play not where Shakespeare does with the cessation of hostilities between the houses of Lancaster and York, but with the death of Edward the Fourth and the succession of his young son as Edward the Fifth. Shakespeare begins the play with the peacetime scheming of Richard of Gloucester, whereas the Dutch play begins with a political crisis.

One of the obvious questions that arises is why this particular moment in the history of the Wars of the Roses — the transition from the reign of Edward the Fourth to that of Edward the Fifth — should be made so much more prominent than it is in Shakespeare. As it happens, the monarch's decease as well as the succession issue in the English history play confronted a rather grave situation in the Republic in 1651. 6 November 1650 had witnessed the untimely death of stadholder William II, prince of Orange (incidentally a year after the beheading of Charles the First). At the moment of William the Second's death, his heir — the future William III of England — was still an infant of two years old, thus requiring the appointment of a regent. This temporary and alternative form of leadership was a cause of considerable concern in the Low Countries, as was the situation in England after the death of Edward the Fourth, when the future Richard the Third was granted the temporary office of protector. The anxiety in the Low Countries was certainly reasonable given what has been identified as the persistent tug-of-war between the Amsterdam nobility and gentry on the one hand, and, on the other, the weakened house of Orange, a struggle that also informs the central conflict in Joost van den Vondel's *Lucifer* of 1654 (where William the Second, with his attempt to besiege the

citizens of Amsterdam, is the obvious analogy to the eponymous archangel Lucifer).

Political misgivings do not stop here in *The Red and the White Rose*. England, as it is presented in the Dutch play, is a source of embarrassment in people's eyes, even in the eyes of the English characters. As Lord Stanley puts it at the end of a sixty-line monologue trying to account for the chaos that wrecks the nation:

although the kingdom has found again its Lord in Edward, our heads are bowed under the burden of great sins. At that time, I say, we became guilty of a crime, one which forever will remain the shame and disgrace of our State, because King Richard, the lawful prince, was destroyed by the hand of a murderer — a crime which Pomfret must still lament — and such noble blood was spilled so wantonly. *Everyone considers it a disgrace to England, that she so easily lays hands upon her legitimate Lord.*

[Maar schoon in Ed'ward't Rijk zijn Heer heeft weêr gevonden  
Blijft echter op ons hals de last van groote zonden:  
Toen, zeg ik, maakten wy ons schuldig aan een quaat,  
't Geen eeuwig dijd tot schand en smaad van onzen staat,  
Mits Koning Richard, 't geen noch Pomfret moet beklagen,  
Den wettelijken Vorst door moorders hand verslagen,  
En zulk een edel bloed zo reuk'loos wierd verplengt,  
't Geen ieder tot een blaam van Engeland gedenkt,  
Als 't een zich zelf zo licht vertast aan wettige Heeren.]  
(Campbell 1919: 103-4 italics added)

This speech, of the kind we know from the Shakespeare history plays, expresses an obvious sense of national shame over the regicide committed by the English to have Bolingbroke (as Henry the Fourth) succeed Richard the Second as king. Another look at the play in the original Dutch version of 1651, however, shows us that the phrase “legitimate Lord” in the translation by O. J. Campbell, should read “legitimate *Lords*” (for “wettige Heeren”). In this way, the final sentence comes to read: “Everyone considers it a disgrace to England, that she so easily lays hands upon her legitimate lords.” With a minor change from singular to plural, the situation in the play no longer refers to Richard the Second only; it also directly interrelates with the then very recent and traumatic puritan regicide on Charles the First in 1649, also commemorated in Vondel's *Lucifer* where it is feared that the Legions of Hell may be building a power base on English soil.

Read in its immediate political and historical contexts, *The Red and the White Rose*, on the domestic level, brings into focus how Shakespeare was mobilised to voice the young Dutch Republic's misgivings about the successor to the ambitious, monarchic stadholder, as well as the related anxiety over the threat posed by the anti-monarchic, Protestant faction in the cities. On the international level, the new Shakespearean play expresses its misgivings about the Republic's English neighbours, two years after the death of Charles the First, two years also into the puritan reign of Oliver Cromwell, which severely complicated the Republic's foreign diplomatic relations. As the plot of *The Red and the White Rose* suggests, with the familiar coronation of Henry Richmond as Henry VII of Tudor at the end of the play, Lambert van den Bosch was a supporter of the monarchist idea. Behind the united colours of the red and white roses of the play's title, one may begin to discern the famous family colour of Orange.

Just as Shakespeare set about cutting, pasting, and inventing medieval history with an eye to Tudor concerns, then, Lambert van den Bosch routinely recycled the English playwright's history including *Richard III* for *The Red and the White Rose* to comment not just on domestic politics, but also to address the issue of foreign politics vis-à-vis England, subtly using that nation's own history, its historians, and its most dazzling practitioner of the history play. A deft combination of irony and confirmation.

It is fascinating to witness how Shakespeare's *Richard III* first becomes part of European culture in the context of Anglo-Dutch politics. Among other things, it makes one aware of the curious phenomenon that the history plays dealing with the Wars of the Roses never featured so prominently in the Cavalier party when it really mattered. As a matter of fact, the Cavaliers' first full appropriation of the English history plays dates from the early 1680s, when John Crowne produced his *Henry the Sixth* (pt. 1) and *The Misery of Civil-War* (pt. 2, without the Jack Cade rebellion) for the Duke's Theatre. Ironically, of course, before the decade was out, the same stadholder who was a so-called problem child in Lambert van den Bosch's *Red and White Rose*, would succeed to the throne of England as William of Orange.

#### SHAKESPEARE'S CONTEMPORARIES

By presenting *The Taming of the Shrew* and *Richard the Third* in this way, I might be creating the false impression that Shakespeare was the period's most popular playwright in the Low Countries. Of course, he was not. For this reason I pointed out above that for an international dialogue to be relevant and meaningful, we should not limit ourselves to the Shakespearean canon, but also consider the work of his fellow dramatists. Having discussed two Shakespearean products at some length, I will briefly present one or two other examples of what the Dutch theatre scene has to offer to the English Renaissance drama specialist, if he is prepared to look for a dialogue also beyond the canon.

*The Spanish Tragedy*, Thomas Kyd's popular revenge tragedy of the early 1590s, was performed and reprinted many times, and there are multiple references to it in other works. *The Spanish Tragedy* was popular also on the Continent of Europe. One measure of the play's success is that it occurred in the German strolling-player circuit, with performances listed, for example, in Dresden in 1626. The play was also translated at a very early stage, not once, but twice within two decades, namely in 1621 and 1638. It is very likely that the subject matter of Spain and Portugal held a special appeal in Protestant countries — a topic dealt with exhaustively by Frank Ardolino (See Ardolino 1984, 1985 and 1990)— but it is no less likely that the central “revenge” theme met with continental fascination, since a number of stage plays taken over from the English belonged precisely to the revenge tradition. In addition to two versions of *The Spanish Tragedy*, there was a Dutch version of Thomas Middleton's *The Revenger's Tragedy* (1617), an anonymous *Andronicus* (1621; now lost), as well as Jan Vos's Dutch rendering of Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* (1638).

The first person in Holland to rework *The Spanish Tragedy* was Adriaen van den Bergh, the charismatic Utrecht theatre enthusiast, and the father of the “first” Dutch actress, Ariana van den Bergh. Adrian van den Bergh was also closely involved with the strolling players at Utrecht, and it is likely that they provided him

with a copy of the play by Thomas Kyd. His version of the play was a free adaptation of the English original, but it was to be used for the second version of 1638 (For a thorough comparison of the relevant texts, see Plard 1968). What has not yet been established with certainty, however, and this is merely a preliminary before discussing the larger issue, is the identity of the ultimate English source text for the 1638 version of *The Spanish Tragedy* as *Don Ieronimo*. Was it a manuscript version of the play brought to the Low Countries by the strolling players? Did the Dutch translator(s) use one of the quarto texts? It has been suggested that it concerned the 1594 and 1605 editions of *The Spanish Tragedy* (See Schoneveld 1983: Item 370). This view is untenable for several reasons that relate not to matters involving cultural or political history, but to purely bibliographical issues of several kinds.

A close reading of the 1638 quarto provides a likely answer. The Dutch text of 1638 contains the following stage direction:

*Jeronimo ontkleedt, met eene toorts ende deghen in sijn handt. (1638. Don Jeronimo, Marschalck van Spanjens Trevr-spel. Vertoont Op d'Amsterdamsche Schouwburgh, Den 12. October, 1638. Amsterdam, Ioost Hartgersz, sig. B2<sup>r</sup>.)*

This recalls the original English edition, where a comparable stage direction reads:

*Enter Hieronimo in his shirt, etc. (Kyd. The Spanish Tragedy)*

One might wonder where the anonymous Dutch translator or adapter got the additional information. Was it suggested to him by the strolling players, or by colleagues in the theatre who had contacts with them, like Adriaen van den Bergh? We cannot be certain. We can ascertain, however, that the information provided in the Dutch stage direction rather carefully reproduces the woodcut of the scene in question used for the cover of the first “illustrated” edition of *The Spanish Tragedy* in the quarto of 1615. This is likely to have been the copy of the text that travelled to the Low Countries [Plate 1].

Reading the extant Dutch play-texts against the English originals may raise questions which could even challenge the status and validity of the English text that is considered sacrosanct by most critics. To illustrate this point, I am staying with *The Spanish Tragedy* and its 1638 translation-cum-adaptation entitled *Don Jeronimo*. In particular, I would like to look at the dialogue between Lorenzo and Pedringano in Act 2, scene 1 — which in the Dutch version is a dialogue between one Don Pedro and Pedrongano.

In this particular dialogue, Lorenzo is trying to get the stupid servant and criminal Pedringano to work for him. In order to threaten him, the original 1602 English stage direction, in the margin across from Lorenzo's speech, reads:

Draw his Sword,

just as it reads, several lines later,

Offer to kill him. (Kyd. *The Spanish Tragedy*: 2.1.67-77. For an identical representation, see Cairncross 1967: 2.1.67-77)

Lorenzo threatens to kill Pedringano and achieves his goal.

This all looks simple and straightforward, but it is not. Looking at the stage

direction, a theatre director, it seems to me, is certainly entitled to ask the question: Whose sword must be drawn with which Pedringano is to be threatened? As a random check reveals, most English editors of the play recognise a problem here, and they silently produce the following emendations: “Draw his sword” of the 1602 quarto is changed into “Draws his sword,” and “Offer to kill him” of the 1602 quarto is changed into “Offers to kill him.” (See Neilson 1939: 2.1.67-77, Mulryne 1970: 2.1.67-78, Maus 1995: 2.1) No one seems to object to this silent emendation of the stage directions from what is really one from *prescriptive* stage directions into *descriptive* stage directions. By *prescriptive* stage directions, I mean those stage directions that are addressed to the player stating what is to be done at a particular moment. By *descriptive* stage directions, I mean those which describe to the reader, or to an imagined audience, what may be seen on stage in a production at a particular moment.

However, the 1638 version of the play in Dutch — with the strolling players around Adriaen van den Bergh in its line of transmission — makes us realise that the stage directions that appeared from 1602 onwards, may well be interpreted differently, but also more consistently than is generally done by editors these days. The anonymous 1638 version of *The Spanish Tragedy* (with Lorenzo's name replaced by Don Pedro), has:

Don Pedro pulls Pedrongano's dagger.

[D. Pedro trect Pedron ganos Deghen uyt (sig. A4<sup>V</sup>)].

It further translates the stage direction “Offer to kill him” into a graphic line of verse — “Speak the truth or I will chop off your head” [“En spreekte de waerheydt / of ick schend dy voort den kop” (sig. A4<sup>r</sup>)] — and then interestingly rounds off the sequence with a new stage direction later in the text:

He returns the dagger to him.

[Hy geeft hem sijn degen weer (sig. B1<sup>r</sup>)].

This detailed information changes the situation. Lorenzo (or, rather, the Dutch Don Pedro), draws not his own sword, but the sword of the stupid servant, in a gesture, it would seem, of humiliation. Moreover, Pedringano is even threatened with his own sword before receiving it back after swearing full allegiance to Don Pedro.

Given the rather stark difference in the reading of the text, one may ask the question: “Who is right”? Is it the 1638 Dutch adaptor of the play who has Don Pedro draw Pedringano's sword, or is it the modern English editor who decides to have Don Pedro—alias Lorenzo draw his own? Arguably, the question “Who is right” is unanswerable, but we must recognise that the 1638 Dutch translator—*cum*—editor — using the Van den Bergh text and the 1615 quarto — is the only consistent mediator.<sup>6</sup>

I am aware that the next step to take would be to study the other stage

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<sup>6</sup> Philip Edwards in the Revels edition, and Andrew Cairncross in the Regents Renaissance Drama Series are consistent in a different way by simply conveying the quarto's change here from descriptive stage directions to prescriptive stage directions, without any further editorial intervention, but also without remarking on the unusual quality in any way.

directions in the editions of the English play and the Dutch play. Although I do not want to go into this matter in too much detail here, it is perhaps of interest to note already that descriptive and prescriptive stage directions occur side by side throughout the two versions of *The Spanish Tragedy*, although in the modern English editions, the editorial changes tend to favour descriptive stage directions. It is too early for a solid conclusion on this matter, but it seems to me that with our recognition of the interesting contemporary interpretation of the problem in the Dutch text, no new English edition can remain silent about it any longer (like Edwards and Cairncross), or silently emend the problem (like the other editors). The matter is slight, but not without interest, and goes some way to show how the extant material by early-seventeenth-century Dutch translators may still, on occasion, break the silence, and initiate a dialogue with contemporary practitioners in the English-speaking world.

## CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have tried to raise what I consider a crucial issue in contemporary Shakespeare studies. Identifying the emergence of a “foreign” Shakespeare alongside the more traditional, “native” Shakespeare, I argued that perhaps we ought to think hard about the various ways in which these two fields might interact in a more productive manner. My main suggestion, as one representing the “foreign” Shakespeare field, was continually to seek for an explicit dialogue with the “native” industry, on the grounds that the latter will forever represent the source, and because we are interested in Shakespeare before anything else. Assuming also, less controversially, that the approach to Shakespeare should be more historically oriented, and allow more space for his immediate contemporaries, I have tried to illustrate my argument about the interaction between these two fields with reference to a number of English Renaissance plays by Shakespeare and the others, that were translated, adapted, performed, and printed in The Low Countries during the seventeenth century. I hope that my discussion of the seventeenth-century field of Dutch drama may have opened new avenues, however narrow, to the native field of English Renaissance drama, be it in terms of matters editorial or intertextual, matters of theatre history, cultural history, or political history.

Let me conclude with the following: I am well aware that representing matters in this way, that in assigning the “native” English Shakespeare industry a status markedly different from and ultimately more governing than any foreign practice, I may *seem* to be re-centring the English Shakespeare industry after years of radical, critical practice allowing the “other” and the “foreign” Shakespeare to speak as well. However, it is not my aim to turn back the clock. Instead mine is an attempt to fine-tune the various instruments with which we have come to practise Shakespeare and early-modern drama, in order to make them *truly* international. It is an attempt undertaken to guarantee the continuing success of the industry, and out of a conviction that for “foreign” Shakespeare to continue to engage in a multicultural, worldwide debate, it should, by its very nature, be searching for a form of discourse with the native English industry.

It has been my contention that — certainly as the practice of the “foreign” Shakespeare industry is developing at an unprecedented pace — we ought to beware of engendering a tendency that is perhaps best described in terms of W. B. Yeats' *widening gyre*, in terms, that is, of a widening of the distance between the falconer

(meaning here: traditional Anglocentric Shakespeare studies) and the falcon (meaning: the “foreign Shakespeares”). That process might ultimately lead to a sad situation in which we found that the centre indeed could not hold. That situation would leave us all the poorer.

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## Robert Burton's Portrait 'Philosophically, Medicinally and Historically' Supported

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“Title pages of sixteenth-and seventeenth-century books were sometimes posted up in the street as advertisements” says Philip Gaskell 1972: 183. This commercial burden must have conditioned the design, arrangement and content of those initial images and words. In the frontispiece of Robert Burton’s *The Anatomy of Melancholy* emblematic images are organised as a prefiguration not only of the treatise itself but also as presentation of the author’s interests. Icons representing the most common inducers of Melancholia establish a connection between emblematic and philosophical, medicinal and historical arguments. When viewing the title page, the portrait of the author controls the perspective and offers itself as the link between scientific and non-scientific. This paper will succinctly explore the images integrated in the frontispiece in order to show how the author’s portrait exceeds the limits of the square assigned to his face.

The insertion of the author’s portrait in Renaissance frontispieces is a solid expression of the rhetorical debate between *oratio* and *vultus*. This debate seeks to prove the superiority of either the physical image of the author or the authorial discourse itself. With the author’s portrait, with the face, frontispieces become the link between the image of the author and the text. Frontispieces occupy a peripheral position with regards to the written text. As Gerard Genette 1997 argues, these frame materials or “paratexts” constitute an integral part of a literary text, occasionally offering a reader fully articulated readings and always subtle interpretative clues. Genette 1997 maintains that a printed text’s presentation of itself (its title page, illustrations, preface, or even the author’s name) is “always the conveyor of a commentary that is authorial or more or less legitimated by the author.”

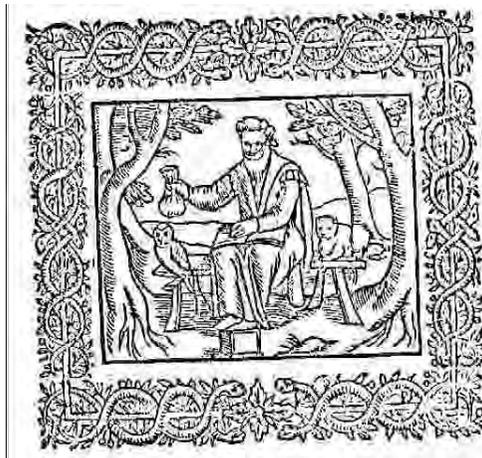
Antoine Compagnon has termed differently the text presentation. For him, title, table of content, author’s name and portrait are called perigraphy of the text. In this perigraphy or “paratext”, if you prefer to use Genette’s term, the limits of the work are defined. Steven Rendall 1988 says that the author’s portrait is not “part of the text or composition but part of its frame, and because they figure a subject that claims not only to have produced the work but also, through the immanence of individual attention, to determine—that is, to limit—its meaning” (Rendall 1988: 144). The frontispiece of *The Anatomy of Melancholy* contains a perigraphic portrait of its author. It is a frontispiece in debt with emblematics, even though we find no motto. The argument of the frontispieces is presented before the frontispiece itself so as to guide the reader not only through the images of the opposite page but also as a synthetic presentation of the anatomical method. The dissecting nature of the genre is revealed in the two first lines of the argument:

: “Ten distinct squares heere seene apart, Are joyn’d by Cutters art.” The engraver’s hand illustrates and separates each scene, each picture, and illustrating takes apart the diverse nature of melancholy as the reader is about to be informed about them. Partitions, sections, subsections, the organisation of an anatomy finds an illustrated reflection in the frontispiece.

The argument of the frontispiece tells the reader where to look first: “Old Democritus under a tree...” Under the sign of Saturn sits Democritus Abderites. In the introductory section *To the Reader*, Robert Burton traces the history of the Abderites and finishes by describing how he would laugh “at such a variety of ridiculous objects”:



Whitney’s emblem *In Vitam Humanam* (Green 1967: 14), directly imported from Alciati’s *Emblemata*, gives us a chance to appreciate how the laughter of Democritus had permeated much more than philosophical treatises. But in the frontispiece, he is pensive making, as the argument says, “Anatomy” of the creatures around him. Here the Abderites is closer to the image of Melancholia provided by Peacham 1966: 126:



Under the sign of Saturn and the illustration of Democritus Abderites finds its counterpart in Democritus Junior, Robert Burton, the author of the Anatomy.

Thus, the central axis of the frontispiece is occupied by the model upon which the author has tackled the subject of Melancholy, the title (eleventh square), Burton's portrait (tenth square) and the name of the printer (eleventh square). The vertical line, then, is formed by model, title, author and printer. Whereas the commentary about Democritus Abderites takes eight lines and can be connected to emblematic images which circulated at the time of publication, the portrait of the author double the lines and is not dependent on the iconographic knowledge of the reader, in fact presents the reader with a dilemma:

Now last to fill a place,  
Presented is the authors face;  
And in that habit which he weares,  
His image to the world appears.  
His minde no art can well expresse,  
That by his writings you may guesse.  
It was not pride, nor yet vainglory,  
(Though others doe it commonly)  
Made him doe this: if you must know,  
The printer would needs have it so.  
Then doe not frowne or scoffe at it,  
Deride not, or detract a whit.  
For surely as thou dost by him,  
He will doe the same againe.  
Then looke upon't, behold and see,  
As thou likest it, so it likes thee.

We could consider these lines the epigram to the tenth square. They are revealing beyond the question of the superiority of image versus text, of *oratio* versus *vultus*. The first six lines remind us how incomplete an evaluation based only in the visual could be: "His mind no art can well express". An echo of Duncan in Macbeth, when he says "There's is no art/ to find the mind's construction in a face" (*Macbeth* 1. IV). Perhaps this is why we have the counterpart in the Abderites, as if a literary vision of the physical could complete what the face lacks.

*Oratio* and *vultus* together again. However in this case the following lines do anatomise the author's face, they justify his presence in the frontispiece and frame it as a necessity of the literary act. The engraver, the cutter, needs to identify the face of the author. In spite of the centrality Burton's portrait enjoys, the author minimises the fact that his face is there. Burton appears as the articulator, the only axis of the discourse about melancholy in the different versions of the illness as condensed by the rest of the illustrations. Burton's face looks obliquely to the open book outside the portrait frame offering himself as an expert, he holds a closed book. As Willet states in the unillustrated emblem 24, *Sapientia humana stultitia coram Deo*, of his *Sacrorum Emblematum Centuria Una (1592)*, "an open book cannot be read by an uneducated man; a closed book cannot be read by a learned man" (Daly 1993: 272). Burton's position in the title page is a promise that the task of handling both books will be a successful one.

These portraits negotiate a triangle: Reader, author and narrative persona converge in the expectations a text, about to be read, generates. But in order to do so the work prefigured in the frontispiece must not only present a philosophical substratum for the topic of Melancholia, even if the face of the author is added it does not still suffice. In fact, the individuating factor of the portrait, *vultus*, needs again a reference to *oratio*. Even if, as Foucault points out in “What is an author? (Harari 144-160)”, the portrait individuates the person who produces the text and the function of the author, as the French philosopher defines it, drawing from the physical presence the actual ascription of a discourse to a person is completed only when the frontispiece reveals the principles upon the different versions of the disease could be recognised. Astrological signs, emblematic images, engage the viewer of the frontispiece. They promise a degree of understanding in tune with tools of representation which may be within reach and, as Peter M. Daly affirms, “recognition of meaning depends on understanding of the thing portrayed” (Daly 1979: 43).

Mario Praz has commented on the use by Burton of emblematic imagery (Praz 1989: 250-1). The scientific claim of Burton’s text is in need to absorb what culturally and historically has marked non-scientific prose and poetry up to then. Astrology partakes its space in the frontispiece with the emblem and the reunion of the two reassures the reader. The square devoted to Jealousy draws so heavily on traditionally emblematic views that Burton thinks unnecessary to explain in detail the contents:

Toth’left a landskip of Jealousye,  
Presents it selfe unto thine eye,  
A kingfisher, a swan, an Herne  
Two fighting Cocks you may discerne  
...  
Symbols are these, I say no more,  
Conceive the rest by that’s afore

In his *A Collection of Emblems, Ancient and Moderne* (1635), George Wither presents an image of two cocks facing one another, with hens and other birds in the background.



The epigram warns us about men who are like cocks: “Beware of men who, like cocks, will fight with fury and rage over a female...(Wither 1635: 71). In spite of the difficulty to discern the image today, Burton says “no more”, sure that the representation will transmit exactly what the author wants.

For the image of solitariness, the argument of the frontispiece states that “a portrature doth well expresse”. The square is in reality a version of the emblem of Melancholia by Peacham1966, shown before, and the author gives us full detail of the scene: “sleeping dogs, cat...” But above all, he prevents us from misinterpreting the scene, due to what he blames on the cutter. Melancholia should dwell in darkness and the square shows day with flying owls in the sky: “In melancholy darknesse hover,/Marke well: if’t be not as’t should be,/Blame the cutter and not me.” The literariness of the frontispiece functions as an of the text. Yet this literariness--the ability of the frontispiece to shape a reader's encounter with the narrative it prefaces--can be problematic for authors who, after all, turn the execution of the frontispiece over to a third party.

In another square Burton presents *Inamorato*, the lover, whose “lute and bookes about him lye,/ as symptomes of his vanity./ If this doe not enough disclose,/ to paint him, take thy selfe by th’nose.” We will not need to undertake the author’s suggestion to complete *Inamorato*’s picture, instead we can go back to Peacham1966 and his emblem 127, with the motto *Sanguis*, one of the four humours analysed in the anatomy:



By nature is benigne, and gentlie meeke,  
 To Musick, and all merriment a frend;  
 As seemeth by his flowers, and girlondes gay,  
 ...  
 Bold, bounteous, frend vnto the learned sort;  
 For studies fit, best louing, and belou'd,  
 Faire-spoken, bashfull, seld in anger moou'd.

Garlands, books and lute appear also in the frontispiece square respecting, thus the iconology traditionally related to the sanguine humour and offering the reader a bridge between cultural *episteme* and pseudo-scientific discourse.

Anatomy as opposed to analogy aims at taking apart a subject so that by comprehending its part the whole may come to light. However in the dividing work the clear-cut analytical task is embellished with Burton's interest in astrology along with his conviction that in order to persuade he needs to connect with the complicity of the emblem. His *vultus* surrounded by emblematic images fulfils the difficult task of connecting to the reader at the same time he claims authorial space.

Like laughing Democritus, the melancholy philosopher of Abdera with whom Burton identifies, he seems convinced of the incurable folly of mankind. His desire to observe from "some high place" seems to be related to a dark vision of the human condition. This preference for a detached observation did not imply passivity towards the world. Burton is not different from others because, as he says in the preface, "I writ of melancholy, by being busy to avoid melancholy." (12) To live quietly, though laughing like the Abderites, was not enough and the textual result of this busy business reveals a pressing need to persuade others to adopt his viewpoint; his efforts to "prove" to the reader the implacable folly of humankind in all times and places, as well as to "prove" the urgent need for a "cure", is the burden of "Democritus JR. To the reader":

My purpose and endeavour is, in the following discourse, to anatomize this humour of melancholy, through all his parts and species, as it is an habit, or an ordinary disease, and that philosophically, medicinally, to shew the causes, symptoms, and several cures of it...I know not wherein to do a more general service. (29)"

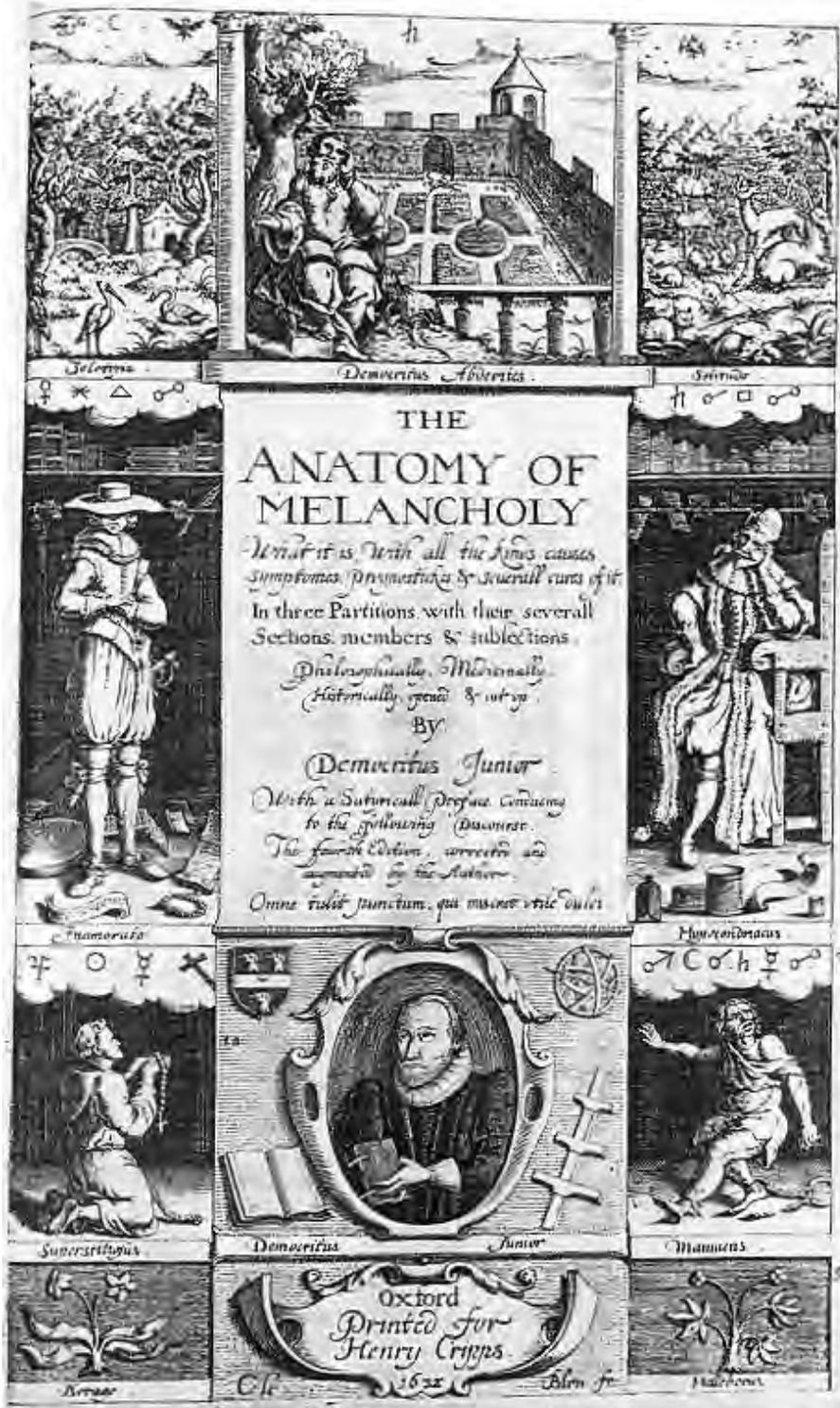
Interestingly enough the cures are also advanced in the frontispiece. Two squares represent *Borage* and *Hellebore*. *Borage* had, in Burton times, already a long-standing history as remedy for diverse diseases. *Hellebore* was medicinally used in ancient Greece against insanity, not in Burton's times (Chapple 1993: 104). The author is drawing from historical sources to suggest *Hellebore* as a metaphor for cure in general. Burton's continuous references to the plant in the preface are ironic comments regarding a cure for the pervasive madness and melancholy of his age. In fact he goes to the extend of suggesting that "there is much more need of Hellebor then tobacco" (1:25).

I would like to draw your attention to one more square of the frontispiece. If the centre of the page contains the title, name of the author and structure of the book, the square below Burton's face holds the necessary printing information, place, date, name. Flanked by *Borage* and *Hellebor*, the traditional and classical remedies respectively, the printing information stands as source of remedial consequences as well. Botany and printing together make us consider that the modernity of *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, encapsulated in the frontispiece, could perhaps be best considered in the light of the conflation between the claim of scientific status and the use of culturally loaded images, and the editorial need to attract an audience.

The concoction printed for Henry Cripps and now in the hands of the reader may prove as useful to fight melancholy as the two plants. The three remedies present themselves in paralleled position, sustaining the rest of the squares and waiting for their direct originator to open the closed book he is holding in his hands.

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## Merry Wives and Widows in Aphra Behn's Later Comedies

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As the first woman professional writer, Aphra Behn has deserved special attention in modern times. Much scholarly debate has focused so far on the politics of marriage in her plays, since many of them characteristically thematize the clash between the marriage of convenience and the love marriage.<sup>1</sup> This kind of social conflict, according to the historian Lawrence Stone, featured prominently in 17th-century England, and most particularly in the Restoration period:

Between 1660 and 1800 (...) there took place the far more radical shift from [the arranged marriage to the love marriage], with the children now normally making their own choices, and the parents being left with no more than the right of veto over socially or economically unsuitable candidates. At the same time there was inevitably a marked shift of emphasis on motives away from family interest and towards well-trying personal affection. (1977: 183)

A further side to the marriage subject is the importance of the role which women's portion, or dowry, played, an importance which, according to Stone, increased dramatically in the period:

The seventeenth century saw a sharp rise in the size of marriage portions paid by the bride's parents to the groom's parents. This rise meant an increase in the economic stakes of marriage, and so enhanced the position of the wife. By her marriage portion she was now making a major economic contribution to her husband's finances. (1977: 221)

These two major phenomena explain both the high recurrence of the topic of marriage in Restoration drama in general and in Aphra Behn in particular, and the usual emphasis on money matters in its treatment. Moreover, one might even contemplate the notion that relationships, motivations, and actions in Restoration comedy come down to a money problem more often than not. It is an inescapable fact that the Restoration hero-rake is characterised as much by his extravagant use of money as by his libertine mores: he is perpetually in debt, he pawns all his properties,

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<sup>1</sup>For this issue in Behn, see Taetzsch 1993; in restoration drama in general, see Wheatley 1990.

he gambles away all he has, etc.<sup>2</sup> Women too, are bound up in an economic system which defines them as commodities to be exchanged between families through the marriage contract. Either as maids, wives, or widows, women's worth is shaped by their exchange value. Indeed, the Restoration saw the emergence of mercantilist codes that ruptured the social order:

As the violence of civil commotion subsided, the importance of economic factors pressed more and more on people's consciousness. (...) Large commercial institutions like the Bank of England and the Stock Exchange were started, and shortly came to seem as much part of the establishment as royalty or the Church of England. London swelled in size and importance. Although the hegemony of aristocracy and gentry was still assured, capitalist values associated with the middle classes were spreading upwards. (Todd 1989: 19)

All things considered, the scant attention that the interpenetration of economic values and love liaisons in Behn has merited among critics is rather surprising. Only Hinnant seems to have pursued this line of work, in the understanding that

mercantilism and its values began to permeate the more established idioms of Restoration comedy. One finds these values enshrined . . . in language--the witty metaphors and similitudes employed by its major characters (1995:78).

The purpose of my paper is therefore to explore the economic issues at stake in the love plots of Behn's plays, with added emphasis on the way that money and property affect the position of wives and widows in the exchange market, as Behn projects it in her later comedies *The Lucky Chance* and *The Widow Ranter*.<sup>3</sup> In so doing, I am accepting, at least provisionally, Jacqueline Pearson's judgement that there is a darkening vision in these later plays that distinguishes them from Behn's earlier work:

Many of the later plays emphasise women's emotional, economic and sexual vulnerability and devise extreme images for this and for the contradictory demands made on them by society. In most of the early plays forced marriage is a danger which the heroines successfully escape: in the later plays it is often a trap into which they have already fallen. (1988:166)

It is certainly true that Aphra Behn's later comedies, like *The Lucky Chance* (1686) and the posthumously performed *The Widow Ranter* (1689), display a larger scope and, together with the ever-present maid, they scrutinise the situation of other women in the marriage market. Of the three female protagonists in *The Lucky Chance*, only one is the archetypal maid in distress. Diana, like her predecessors Florinda in *The Rover* and Marcella in *The Feigned Courtesans*, to name but two, is being forced to marry the fop Bearjest though she loves Bredwell:

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<sup>2</sup> See Schneider 1971: 59ff for the Restoration comic hero's extravagance. Schneider identifies here the dichotomy liberality/avarice at the heart of Restoration comedy. Even though his discussion applies almost exclusively to the male characters, it is wide-ranging and thorough.

<sup>3</sup> For my analysis of *The Lucky Chance*, I will be using Spenser's 1995 edition, while I will be quoting from Duffy's 1990 edition of *The Widow Ranter* for Methuen. As the latter gives no line numbers, references will then be to page numbers.

SIR FEEBLE: Enough, enough, Sir Cautious, we apprehend one another.—Mr. Bearjest, your uncle here and I have struck the bargain: the wench is yours with three hundred pound present and something more after death, which your uncle likes well.

BEARJEST: Does he so, sir? I'm beholding to him; then, 'tis not a pin matter whether I like or not, sir.

SIR FEEBLE: How, sir, not like my daughter Di?

BEARJEST: Oh Lord, sir, die or live, 'tis all one for that, sir. I'll stand to the bargain my uncle makes. (1.3.125-33)

Even though Behn does not save us the grossness of this mercenary arrangement, Diana's troubles deserve only minor attention in the comedy, and are predictably solved with an elopement.

A variation in the pattern is introduced with the position of Leticia, who has just married the old alderman Sir Feeble Fainwould (Diana's father) after he has deceived her into believing that her lover Belmour, to whom she was contracted, is dead. "Poor and helpless, / And much reduced, and much imposed upon," as she herself explains in 2.2.50-51, Leticia has to trade her "jewel" or maidenhead for Sir Feeble's wealth and the security it affords her. This central image shapes the various encounters between the new husband and wife, with the old Sir Feeble offering Leticia jewels for a smile, or a kiss:

Alas, poor pupsey, was it sick? Look here, here's a fine thing to make it well again. [Shows a jewel] Come, buss, and it shall have it. [Kisses Leticia and gives her the jewel] Oh, how I long for night (2.2.99-102).

The consummation the old lecher so much desires is, however, delayed by Belmour, who tricks him out of Leticia's bed. The first time he uses the pretext that London is up in arms due to some plot, but Sir Feeble returns home before Belmour and Leticia manage to escape, she bearing a casket with the jewels in yet another metaphoric displacement of her depriving him of his right to deflower her.<sup>4</sup> Finally, Belmour comes up with the idea of terrorising Sir Feeble's guilty conscience with his own "ghost". Out of his wits, Sir Feeble finally gives his blessing to the union of Belmour and Leticia, whose contract takes precedence over his own marriage.

But by far the most frequent use of this rhetoric of sex and money devolves on the third woman in the play, Lady Julia Fulbank, another young woman married to an old man but in love with the young rake Gayman, whose advances she has been virtuously resisting for some time. The rivalry between husband and lover for Lady Fulbank's love and favours will be played out in terms of hard cash and property.

At the opening of the play the husband, Sir Cautious, has the upper hand: Gayman has spent all his money on presents and gifts for Lady Fulbank in vain, and he owes money to Sir Cautious as well, so that he is reduced to the most extreme poverty and, under the name Wasteall, has gone into hiding at an inn of ill repute. As elsewhere in Behn's comedies, however, women do not remain passive onlookers. Informed that Gayman is about to lose his land to Sir Cautious, Lady Fulbank takes things in her own hands and steals the money he needs from her husband, sending it to

<sup>4</sup> This lack of deflowerment seems to be central to the happy ending of the plot, as Peggy Thompson suggests (1996: 83). However, it is not so in Behn's earlier comedy, *The False Count* (1681).

Gayman under the pretence that it is from a secret admirer. Like the old men in the play, Lady Fulbank now has the power to buy the object of her desire, Gayman who, in being forced to accept the money, is now placed in the characteristic situation of women. This reversal of the usual sexual roles is evident in Gayman's conclusion about the origin of the money:

Some female devil, old, and damned to ugliness,  
And past all hopes of courtship and address,  
Full of another devil called desire,  
Has seen this face, this shape, this youth,  
And thinks it worth her hire. It must be so. (2.1.186-90)

Lady Fulbank's agenda goes even further. In this instance as everywhere else in this comedy, money matters thinly veil the granting of sexual favours. Lady Fulbank's empowerment in stealing her husband's money is the prologue to an assignment with Gayman under the disguise of his secret admirer. Thus, a woman is shown to possess the power to re-distribute wealth as much as to "pollute" the line of inheritance, two faculties which are in fact intimately related even though in the dramatic action it may seem otherwise.<sup>5</sup>

As the action bears on, the balance between the old husband and the young lover is being redressed, thanks to Lady Fulbank's agency. The turning point will be the gambling scene of 4.1., which again decides sexual privileges under the guise of material gain. Sir Cautious, suspecting Gayman of having stolen his money, designs to play dice with him in order to see his gold:

I shall go near to know my own gold, by some remarkable pieces  
amongst it; and if he have it, I'll hang him, and then all his six  
hundred a year will be my own, which I have in mortgage  
(4.1.231-4).

However, not only does Sir Cautious not get the proof he wants, but he loses to Gayman all the money he is carrying. Playing on his avarice, Gayman then convinces Sir Cautious to wager a night with Lady Fulbank against the whole sum:

GAYMAN: You have moveables, sir, goods; commodities--  
SIR CAUTIOUS: That's all one, sir; that's money's worth, sir;  
but if I had anything that were worth nothing--  
GAYMAN:--You would venture it; I thank you, sir. I would  
your lady were worth nothing.  
SIR CAUTIOUS: How so, sir?  
GAYMAN: Then I would set all against that nothing.  
SIR CAUTIOUS: What, set it against my wife?  
GAYMAN: Wife, sir; aye, your wife.  
SIR CAUTIOUS: Hum, my wife against three hundred pounds?  
(...) (aside) What a lavish whore-master's this: we take money to  
marry our wives, but seldom part with 'em, and by the bargain  
get money. (4.1.379-404)

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<sup>5</sup> Erickson 1996 concurs as to empowerment of Lady Fulbank, though he analyses it rather under the light of the playwright's control over action, characters and staging.

The contest between Gayman and Sir Cautious is based on the implicit notion of the wife as a commodity, and such a one that, in mercantile parlance, it fails to get money because it does not circulate any more. Its exchange value is "nothing," with a sexual innuendo that becomes even more evident when Gayman wins the wager. Asked then by Lady Fulbank what the wager was, Sir Cautious dejectedly replies it was "only a small parcel of ware that lay dead upon my hands", to which Gayman rejoins: "But I shall improve 'em, madam, I'll warrant you" (457-59).

Thus the husband is forced to facilitate his own cuckolding, in what, as Chernaik has remarked, is a recurrent theme in Restoration comedy (1995:186). The *double entendres* continue as Sir Cautious smuggles Gayman into his wife's rooms inside a chest which carries "prohibited goods", out of which he promises Lady Fulbank "some fine knick-knack will fall to thy share" (5.4.63-70). And while he waits in the antechamber he feels "as restless as a merchant in stormy weather, that has ventured all his wealth in one bottom" (5.7.1-2). Sir Cautious' fortunes have now sunk, just as Gayman's reach their highest with the news, at the close of the play, that he has inherited two thousand pounds a year from an uncle. Once more, wealth goes hand in hand with sexual prowess, whereas Sir Cautious is not only comparatively less rich than at the beginning but has also lost his wife.

Nevertheless, the changes in the fates of the male characters leave Lady Fulbank's untouched: though the commodification she suffers from her husband as from her lover in the gambling scene might disempower her, the dignity she displays, as she solemnly vows that she will never again go to bed with a husband who has so prostituted her, sets her above such reification. She chastises Gayman and Sir Cautious, the latter for his lack of morals and the former for his impulsiveness, and both for having used her in some measure. Such behaviour, which denies women's agency, is clearly presented as difficult to forgive or forget. Though the conventions of the comedy press for a reconciliation between the parties concerned, the playwright resists them in order to provide an open space for female autonomy. Therefore, Behn seems to defend the possibility of women's autonomy even inside marriage, though this autonomy, as in the case of the maids of earlier comedies, can only be understood in very relative terms. As Peggy Thompson explains, Behn always "acknowledges the social and economic forces that allow no alternatives" (1996:85).

Yet another autonomous woman was Behn's last creation. *The Widow Ranter, or the History of Bacon in Virginia* is, properly speaking, a tragicomedy, which combines the heroic plot of the subtitle with the comic action surrounding the figure of the Widow. Rich widows were, needless to say, much sought after: a re-circulating commodity for fortune hunters. Antonia Fraser records several examples of seventeenth-century wealthy widows courted to the point of harassment:

In 1653 (...) Dorothy Osborne went to dinner with a rich widow, middle-aged and "never handsome", who had "broke loose from an old miserable husband" with the avowed intention of spending all his money before she died. (...) [T]he widow's palpable state of siege thoroughly amused her. For all the widow's frank words concerning the use to which she intended to put her late husband's money, and despite her lack of physical attraction, she was, wrote Dorothy, "courted a thousand times more than the greatest beauty in the world that had not a fortune". They could hardly get through dinner for the disturbance caused by letters and presents pouring through the

door in order to persuade the widow to change her mind.  
(1984:97)

Indeed, Behn here equates the wealth of the widows in the colony of Jamestown with the wealth the New World has to offer enterprising subjects. The play opens with the arrival of Hazard, a younger brother who has gambled away all he had and has bought passage to Virginia in search of fortune. There he meets with his old friend Friendly, who has lived in Jamestown since he inherited a plantation, and straight away directs him towards two likely sources of income: a widow and a widow-to-be. Friendly suggests Hazard should take up residence at Madame Surelove's, married to a rich old merchant currently in England and in ill health, on the pretence that Hazard is his kinsman. Thus he can patiently await the husband's demise while he courts the wife. If this plan does not suit Hazard's fancy, Friendly has an alternative, the Widow Ranter, whose story he tells as follows:

[A] woman bought from the ship by old Colonel Ranter; she served him half a year, and then he marry'd her, and dying in a year more, left her worth fifty thousand pounds sterling, besides plate and jewels: she's a great gallant, but assuming the humour of the country gentry, her extravagancy is very pleasant, she retains something of her primitive quality still, but is good-natur'd and generous. (214)

Both women will then be under siege for the wealth they may bring to the conqueror, just as the town itself suffers the double threat of the Indians and General Bacon. In fact, the connection surfaces later as Bacon takes the principal town ladies hostages in his tug-of-war with the town council. Ranter, however, is not among them, which sets her apart for her extraordinary character: unlike the others, she never has to submit. Friendly's description above is pointedly understated, for unlike the more conventional Madam Surelove and Friendly's own beloved, the virginal Chrisante, Ranter is outspoken, direct, and even fairly vulgar. Her unladylike behaviour also involves drinking and smoking. Above all, she is practical and clear-minded, and exhibits an evident understanding of her situation as a valuable commodity, as in this exchange in first meeting Hazard:

RANTER: What, are you like all the young fellows, the first that they do when they come to a strange place, is to inquire what fortunes there are.

HAZARD: Madam, I had no such ambition.

RANTER: Gad, then you're a fool, sir; but come, my service to you; we rich widows are the best commodity this country affords, I'll tell you that. (227)

Placed in an independent position substantiated by wealth, this woman will have her way, and to that purpose she is not willing to abide by the niceties (or the hypocrisy) which restrict women's actions. In his love chase of Daring, one of Bacon's officers who in turn prefers Chrisante, Ranter will prove that she can take what she wants. Wearing breeches, she goes to Bacon's camp in order to rescue Chrisante and so prevent marriage to her lover. Impressed by the widow's "daring", the young officer acknowledges that her unladylike manner and her courage suit him best of all: "Prithee [marry me and] take me in the humour, while thy breeches are on-for I never lik'd thee half so well in petticoats" (277).

Though in Restoration drama women in breeches were erotic objects, in the character of the Widow Ranter Behn seems to be feeling her way towards an

androgynous figure that may transcend the conventional images of women displayed in the period:

[T]he Widow Ranter is indeed a highly novel figure, blending masculine self-confidence and independence with erotic attractiveness, and despite her unfeminine behaviour and her gleeful debunking of male presumption she retains the full sympathies of the audience and is not forced to recant or metamorphose into a chaste and modest belle in the end. (Rubik 1998: 39)

Chernaik too perceives that Ranter, like the central character of the Duchess of Newcastle's *Bell in Campo* (1662), Shadwell's *The Woman-Captain* (1680), and Southerne's *Sir Anthony Love* (1691), is

a genuinely androgynous figure, a woman whose male dress is not a temporary disguise but expresses her inward nature, with all its contradictions, freeing capacities and feelings which in other circumstances would have remained hidden (1995: 195).

All in all, the playwright's late work seems to become more complex, and it comes to problematise and go beyond the flat characterisation of women to be found elsewhere in Restoration drama. As this analysis of the rhetoric of sexual and domestic economy in her later comedies has attempted to show, Behn must have been in the process of shifting from the intense focus on the conflicts of arranged marriages that pervade her early work to a wider understanding of women's positioning in the marriage market. The diminishing attention she bestows on the stereotypical young virgin, though still ever present, is fairly noticeable, and she tentatively includes other scenarios, like the adulterous affair in *The False Count* (1681). However, she remains always sensitive to issues of wealth and correspondingly, of power, as much as to the changing features of her society's economic system. It is by means of such rhetoric and its multifaceted nuances, and most particularly in the bartering exchanges that pepper her comedies, that she manages to both expose and subvert female reification even as she explores new venues for female intervention. Above all, here as in her fiction, she is concerned with resisting women's commodification, and with the creation of spaces that allowed for women's autonomy.

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## Men's Inconstancy in the Prose Fiction of Mary Wroth and María de Zayas

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Mary Wroth and María de Zayas, the first women writers of prose fiction in Britain and Spain respectively, both wrote in the first half of the seventeenth century, but they chose to do it in two different narrative genres. Wroth's *The Countess of Montgomery's Urania* (1621) was a long *roman à clef* with reminiscences of Sidney's *Arcadia*, full of inset stories told by distressed ladies, whining lovers, and valiant knights in the conventional abstract settings of the Elizabethan romance. In contrast, Zayas's *Novelas ejemplares y amorosas* (1637) and *Desengaños amorosos* (1647) were collections of framed short stories in the manner of the *novela cortesana*, in vogue in Spain at the time. Yet the works of these precursory women novelists had many points in common:

- 1) Both writers focused on male inconstancy and defended women's fidelity.
- 2) Both vindicated women's education and their capacity to write valuable literary works.
- 3) Both considered women able to rule countries successfully.
- 4) Both gave free expression to female desire.
- 5) Both created androgynous characters, with which they challenged the neat conventional distinctions between genders.
- 6) Both showed instances of close friendship between women.
- 7) Both argued for women's right to choose their destiny without patriarchal intervention.

This paper attempts to analyse how Wroth and Zayas dealt with the first of these points, men's inconstancy, in their prose fiction.

Talking about *Urania*, Tina Krontiris (1992: 135) has stated that constancy is the central subject of the book. And Carolyn Swift (1990: 155) has also noted that "Queen Pamphilia's constant love for the unfaithful King Amphilanthus is the central story, from which myriad friends and relatives depart and return to narrate mirroring adventures". Thus, most of the female characters in *Urania* are constant, while most of the men are unfaithful. With this Wroth implies that the situation is common in society, something that her narrator and her female characters often explicitly endorse throughout the narrative.

For instance, in the Second Book, when Limena tells Pamphilia the story about the vow-breaking Sicilian man, she comments: "what should we trust, when man the excellentest creature, doth excell in ill? (...) men's words are onely breath, their oathes winde, and vowes water" (Roberts, ed. 1995: 228). A similar ironic remark appears when the narrator says that Pamphilia went to a park to read a book about "the affection of a Lady to a brave Gentleman, who equally loved, but being a man, it was necessary for him to exceede a woman in all things, so much as inconstancie was found fit for him to excell her in, hee left her for a new" (317). A few pages later, in the same Second Book, the narrator tells us that Amphilanthus was glad to see that Antissia still loved him, and comments in brackets "(for what man lives, that glories not in multitudes of women's loves?)" (325).

Further on, in the Fourth Book we can find more examples. The narrator says that the Queen of Bulgaria allowed the Prince of Iambolly to flirt with her, but just gave him hopes, "for he once satisfied, shee was sure to bee left, men desiring but their ends, and with them conclude that love flying to another" (545). And after saying that the Duke of Florence loved the Lady of the Forrest Champion till his death, the narrator remarks that that was "a rare, and seldome knowne thing among men, of his ranke especiallie" (636).

There are certainly some constant men in *Urania*, as there are unfaithful women, but in both cases they are few. Actually, Wroth lets many male characters claim that female inconstancy is the rule, thus reflecting the contemporary debate on women's nature.<sup>1</sup> For instance, in the Second Book, Dolorindus complains about Selinea's choice of another man, and decides to leave the country. He says, "farewell all love to your wayward sex", and calls women light, suspicious, and ignorant. Then Dolorindus and Steriamus start a miniature "dispute, against, and for the worth of women kinde". Steriamus reminds him: "your mother was a woman, and you must be favour'd by an other, to be blessed with brave posterity. Women, why blame you them, the dearest soules, and comforts of our soules?" (189).<sup>2</sup>

As Krontiris (1992: 133 ff.) has pointed out, Wroth justifies adultery when it is the result of oppression on the part of husbands or fathers. These adulterous women, such as Limena, are still presented as "virtuous" so as to elicit the reader's sympathy and respect. Moreover, Wroth ends up accepting the idea that women can also be unfaithful when their husbands or lovers abandon them. This is mainly seen in the character of Pamphilia, whose name means "all loving" and who takes the idea of constancy to the limit throughout the First Part. She and other female characters who mirror her condition persist in remaining faithful to their first loves even long after the latter have proved inconstant. Their attitude is morally coherent and highly prized by the narrator, but it is not pragmatic at all, because it is self-destructive. Amphilanthus's infidelity causes Pamphilia a great deal of pain, damages her health, and makes her constantly lament his absence or complain about his unfaithfulness. She herself realises that her constancy is a torture, but she cannot help it. Her good friend Urania advises her to

1. For a recent study of this "woman debate", I refer the reader to Purkiss 1992.

2. This counter-argument is reminiscent of Musidorus's in Sidney's *Arcadia* and of Aemilia Lanier in *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* (1611).

preserve her health and beauty, and not to idolise love or be his slave. If Amphilanthus, whose very name means "Lover of two", is actually false, she should let him go. According to Urania, this would not suppose a moral flaw in her because those who suffer inconstancy "are free to choose again" (469-70).

But Pamphilia will not change her mind until the end of the unpublished Second Part, when she finally recognises the impossibility of maintaining constancy when surrounded by fickleness. Thus she accepts to marry Rodomandro, King of Tartary. The story is left unfinished and we do not know whether Wroth intended to continue it and, if so, how. But what is clear is that Wroth was quite sceptical about romantic love. The stories included in *Urania* imply that true love can hardly exist due to men's inconstancy, and thus marriage normally leads to misery rather than to happiness. Therefore, *Urania* can be seen as a romance that questions two important elements of romance: idealised love and happy marriage.

Moving now to the Spanish novels of María de Zayas, we must say that the situation is quite similar or even more pessimistic. She completely denies the possibility of a harmonious relationship between men and women due to men's deceitfulness and violence. She most often presents celibacy and monastic retirement as the only ways to escape from the torments of marriage. This attitude of the first Spanish woman novelist is thus a manifest and meaningful deviation from the preceding narrative tradition (cf Foa 1978 and Yllera 1983:19) and, to judge from what we've seen before, Zayas's stance is closer to Wroth's.

In her story titled "La fuerza del amor", included in her *Novelas ejemplares y amorosas*, Laura marries Don Diego but he, "como hombre mudable" (Rincón, ed. 1968: 69), soon leaves her to return to his former lover Nise. Laura complains about men's falseness: "Malhaya la mujer que en ellos cree, pues al cabo hallará el pago de su amor como yo lo hallo. ¿Quién es la necia que desea casarse viendo tantos y tan lastimosos ejemplos?" ( 77). When at the end Don Diego promises her to mend his ways and begs her to come back to him, she refuses because:

ella estaba desengañada de lo que era el mundo y los hombres y que así no quería más batallar con ellos, porque cuando pensaba lo que había hecho y donde se había visto, no acababa de admirarse; y que supuesto esto, ella se quería entrar en un monasterio, sagrado poderoso, para valerse de las miserias a que las mujeres están sujetas ( 81).

But Zayas deals with this topic more extensively in *Desengaños amorosos*. In fact the whole collection of framed tales is devoted to that, as the narrator says at the beginning. Lisis organises a party and determines:

en primer lugar, que habían de ser las damas las que novelasen (y en esto acertó con la opinión de los hombres, pues siempre tienen a las mujeres por noveleras); y en segundo, que los que refiriesen fuesen casos verdaderos, y que tuviesen nombre de desengaños (en esto no sé si los satisfizo, porque como ellos procuran siempre engañarlas, sienten mucho se desengañen). Fue la pretensión de Lisis en esto volver por la fama de las mujeres (tan postrada y abatida por su mal juicio, que apenas hay

quien hable bien de ellas). Y como son los hombres los que presiden en todo, jamás cuentan los malos pagos que dan, sino los que les dan; y si bien lo miran, ellos cometen la culpa, y ellas siguen tras su opinión, pensando que aciertan; que lo cierto es que no hubiera malas mujeres sino hubiera malos hombres (Yllera, ed. 1983: 118).

Then the ladies who are present there tell stories to warn women against men's deceitfulness. The first one to speak, Zelima, agrees with Lisis that they must defend women's reputation, "pues ni comedia se representa, ni libro se imprime que no sea todo en ofensa de las mujeres, sin que se reserve ninguna" ( 124).

Male inconstancy is a recurrent theme in the ladies' stories. For instance, in "Tarde llega el desengaño" Filis states: "en ellos no es durable la voluntad, y por esto se cansan hasta de las propias mujeres, que si no las arrojan de si, como las que no son, no es porque las aman, sino por su opinión" ( 219). In an interesting essay about Zayas's novels, Juan Goytisolo (1977: 73) argues that they show an incompatibility between love and possession: men love what they cannot possess, because once they obtain the object of desire, love disappears. This is clearly seen in the story "Amar sólo por vencer", as the title itself reflects.

Zayas made it explicit that she had written her *Desengaños amorosos* to counteract the large amount of misogynous literature that was being published in Spain at the time. We have seen that Wroth inserted a brief woman debate in her *Urania*. It seems, then, that she also wanted to contribute to it with her romance. Both writers intended to defend their sex against the accusations of fickleness and wantonness that were levelled against it by many male authors. Thus they joined many women who started to publish tracts to respond to those misogynous attacks.<sup>3</sup> As Goreau (1985: 67) has argued, "The repeated attacks on women (...) provided a great source of anger that pushed women to answer in print".

In England, for instance, we have the famous example of Lyly's *Euphues* (1578), where the jilted eponymous hero complains: "Oh the counterfeit love of women! Oh inconstant sex!" (Salzman, ed. 1987: 145). Or the likewise well-known tract by Joseph Swetnam, *The Arraignment of Lewd, Idle, Froward and Unconstant Women* (1615). At the end of Chapter II, we can read about women:

betwixt their breasts is the vale of destruction, and in their beds there is hell, sorrow and repentance. Eagles eat not men till they are dead, but women devoure them alive (...) they are ungratefull, perjured, full of fraud, flouting and deceit, unconstant, waspish, toyish, light, sullen, proud, discourteous and cruell, and yet they were by God created, and by nature formed, and therefore by policy and wisdome to bee avoided (Trill, Chedgoy & Osborne, eds. 1997: 85).

The following year, a woman with the pseudonym of Ester Sowernam published *Ester Hath Hang'd Haman*, refuting Swetnam's attack by describing virtuous women

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3. I am referring to "Ester Sowernam", Rachel Speght, "Constantia Munda", and "Mary Tattle-well and Joan Hit-him-home", if all those pseudonyms actually correspond to women, see Purkiss 1992.

from the scriptures and history, and eulogising Elizabeth I. One of the things she rebutted was Swetnam's accusation that women were lustful and provoking. She claimed that it was actually men who were given to seeking women and soliciting them to lewdness. Men made vows to make them dishonest, hired procurers, wrote letters, and assured women of love, "when the end proves but lust". Using similar arguments to those of Wroth and Zayas, Sowernam contended:

Some will pretend marriage, another offer continuall maintenance, but when they have obtained their purpose, what shall a woman finde, just that which is her everlasting shame and grieffe, she hath made herselfe the unhappie subject to a lustfull bodie, and the shamefull stall of a lascivious tongue (Trill, Chedzoy & Osborne eds. 1997: 99).

Sowernam's pamphlet was similar, then, to a previous one entitled *Jane Anger Her Protection for Women* (1589). The author here claimed that "In woman is only true fidelity; except in her there is no constancy" (Martin, ed. 1997: 92), and that in fact one could never write enough of man's falsehood. In a conclusion that reminds us of the Wife of Bath, Anger declared:

I would that antient writers could as well have busied their heads about deciphering the deceits of their own sex as they have about setting down our own follies: I would some would call in question that now which hath ever been questionless ( 91).

Few male writers engaged themselves in the revision of literature that Jane Anger demanded. But, as we have seen in this paper, the women who started writing in the Renaissance certainly did. It seems to me very meaningful indeed that the first female novelists in England and Spain had similar anxieties about this matter. After the evidence presented, it seems right to say that there were patent parallels between Wroth's *Urania* and Zayas's novels in their manner of approaching male inconstancy. Both writers claimed that it was inherent to men's nature and that it consequently prevented any harmonious relationship between the sexes. Their attitude contrasted with that of their male fellow writers, and their narrative works showed a different perspective towards love, marriage, gender, and genre. Wroth and Zayas did actually question what had been "questionless" from a social point of view: the cliché of women's lustfulness and infidelity. But they also did it from a literary point of view, because their doubts about successful love relationships were shaking the foundations of the very same narrative genres they used: the romance and the *novela cortesana*.

The Wife of Bath and Jane Anger had argued that, if the lion had drawn the picture, the result would have been remarkably different, i.e. if women had written as many books as men, they would have shown the perversion of Adam's sons. The works of Wroth and Zayas demonstrate that they were right.

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# The Merrie Lawes of 1646: The Parliament of Women as Lampoon and Subversion\*

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## THE MERRIE LAWES OF 1646

To claim that the events which took place in the middle of the seventeenth-century in England were likened to turning the world upside-down is possibly an over-reaction to another, and, this time, overtly academic generalisation-cum-globalisation, namely Tillyard's Elizabethan world view. We should identify his polarity as exactly that, a polarity, an assertion that the only way of looking at events is from an *either...or* approach. Despite the impact of modern critical theory and the associated belief that binary oppositions are limiting and limited interpretative tools, key texts of the time, such as *Oronooko*, or its more modern offspring, *Heart of Darkness*, are read as either colonial or anti-colonial, either progressive or reactionary texts. The weakness of such reductionist interpretations only becomes evident when the question of sexual desire, female in the former, male in the latter, is analysed. In addition, the world upside-down is a geometrical figure of more complexity than it appears. For example, if we take a standard statement aiming to contextualise *Oronooko*, such as Dale Spender's, "[w]hen one year the king rules by divine right and the next the common man is judged to be better-fitted to the task, considerable mental adjustment has to be made," (Spender 1986: 47) we have to realise that the Restoration makes further adjustment necessary. On the face of it, *Restoration* implies the culmination of a process which left things the right way up. Undoubtedly this is what Royalists would like to have us believe, but surely it would be ingenuous to argue that the mid-century can be accommodated within such symmetrical neatness. For surely part of the "further adjustment" is the realisation that if the signifier - the monarchy - is the same, its signification after 1660 has altered, and part of the relative stability of Charles II's reign is put down to his ability to accept that if the world had now been set to rights, it was a brave new world unlike its absolutist predecessor. In addition, any belief in world views has to confront the convincing hypothesis articulated by Lukács in his analysis of the historical novel:

Scott the great realist, recognises that no civil war in history has been so violent as to turn the entire population without exception into fanatical partisans of one or other of the contending camps. Large sections of people have always stood between the camps

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with fluctuating sympathies now for this side, now for the other.  
(Lúkacs 1981: 37-38)

This statement, it should be emphasised, comes from the pen of mainstream, orthodox Marxist critic, and becomes, unexpectedly, the corrective measure that we may apply to Tillyardans and anti-Tillyardans alike.

The text I will go on to discuss, the anonymous “The Parliament of Women. With the merrie lawes by them newly enacted. To live in more ease, pomp, pride, and wantonnesse: but especially that they might have superiority and domineere over their husbands: with a new way found out by them to cure an old or new cuckolds, and how both parties may recover their credit and honesty again” (1646), requires this preliminary analysis. This is because the pitfalls of “either...or” reading are clearly evident in the three brief references of the text which I have found. Lois G. Schwoerer argues

... in the 1640's, critics of the very idea of public opinion used a derogatory image of a female to symbolize the popular press... The notorious “Parliament of Women” tracts satirized women’s imaginary election to a parliament ... and derided their complaints as centering on men’s poor sexual service. (Smith 1988: 60)

Similarly, Joy Wiltenberg states that the text

shows a motley congress of women arguing over proposed legislation on marriage. In describing the ridiculous results, the royalist author lampoons both unruly women and the parliamentarians who similarly upset the established order. (Wiltenburg 1992: 151)

Both critics believe that as the text is Royalist, the satire on unruly women belittles both the English revolution and women, revealing strong determination to return to absolutism, both at court and in the home. Roger Thompson gives the date of publication of the tract as 1640, six years earlier than the British Library copy, adding that it was “reprinted during restoration.”(Thompson 1979: 107) Its general bawdy tone does indeed recall *The Country Wife* and raucous Restoration comedy.

It is ... derived from the *Ecclesiazudsai* of Aristophanes, about the rumour that the Senate had decreed that men in Rome could have two wives. The women gather together to discuss this outrage, and quickly come to the conclusion that it is they who should have ‘two strings to their bow ... keeping one for delight and the other for drudgery.’ But this needs some justification, and so a queue of tradesmen’s wives forms up to catalogue the sexual shortcomings of their husbands...The sexual puns are outrageous and bawdy...

As Thompson’s book *Unfit for Modest Ears* is a study of pornography, it is logical that he emphasises themes of sexuality above class difference, thus the “queue of tradesmen’s wives” illustrates to what extent the binding factor is sexuality rather than class (they are tradesmen’s wives). In contrast, both Wiltenberg and Schroeder emphasise the political and gender orientation of the tract, that is to say, the pairing of parliamentary and female presence as essentially disruptive to what should be the established order.

However all three critics display one important failing. Although they recognise the text attempts to be humorous, it is either interpreted as a lampoon or a bawdy text. In both cases, there is no awareness, or at least no affirmative statement of awareness, that the text is highly ironical, and that it is precisely irony which modifies our interpretation of the text as either scornful - a lampoon - or *risqué*, that is bawdy. The setting is Rome, and clearly one cannot pass over this without comment. Which Rome is being referred to here? Is this Rome, representative of Republicanism or Empires? Is this the Rome of Catholicism and by extension absolutism? Is this the Rome of great leaders, Julius Caesar or Coriolanus, who are betrayed and murdered by men of lesser talent? If the text is a Royalist lampoon then, inevitably, the setting for a member of the Church of England requires further consideration. Such questions might appear to magnify the ideological significance of a humorous text. After all, the text draws attention to its own textuality, by giving the Senator the name of Papius Praetextus, in other words, the document is little else than a pretext for printed mirth. To counter this line of argument, I would point out the tract is sometimes subtle and frequently ironic. The women have no place to meet, and therefore “a great *Parlour*...[serves] for a *Parliament House*”(Anonymous 1646: 2)<sup>1</sup>. The rhyme Parlour/Parliament is emphasised by the use of italics, but for what purpose? It might suggest that women should be excluded from public life, that the parlour is the rightful place for women to meet. At the same time, it is equally coherent to argue that the parlour is their meeting place because they have been wrongly excluded from public life. Thus we have two different interpretations of the importance of the debate’s location. In addition, the Parliament/Parlour question is one of many details which identify the text’s concern with contemporary politics, preceded, as it is, by the following allusion:

A great many of Tradesm<sub>s</sub> wives ... alleading withal, that though the Matrons were noble, and they but Mechanicks, & poor Tradesmens wives, yet no Parliament could be held, but there must be a lower House as well as a higher, & Speakers for both; and further, that nothing could be concluded in the higher, but it must first be debated in the lower... (Anonymous 1646: 2)

One of the most conflictive areas of policy in the Commonwealth is being referred to here, namely, the function of the House of Lords. Cromwell abolished it in 1649, and it was not restored till 1657. It is not tenable to argue that the text is either simply bawdy or a Royalist lampoon, if it immediately strikes at the centre of Commonwealth political debate, as the text’s irony - in what is admittedly a peculiar rhetorical device - correlates the fate of the House of Lords with the events of the Parlour.

Apart from the abovementioned ladies, the parliament consists of a motley crew of gossips. After the first speech by Papius’s mother, comes Mistress Rattle, “a taylor’s wife”, “Franke Fall-downe...a Felt-maker’s wife” follows, then Harebrain, “the Horse courser’s wife”, “Grace the Gold-smiths’s wife, Sarah the Silke-man’s, Kate the Comfit-maker’s, Beatrice the Brasiers” and so on. All share the same grievances, and each is able to fully commiserate with the others. The problem is that their men are not up to it; they have passed their sexual prime. Take, for example, Mistress Rattle:

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<sup>1</sup> The manuscript, held in the British Library ({E.1150. (5.)} has no page numbers, so I have simply added them to enable easier location and reading. I have left the original spelling in all cases.

he hath no more mettle in him then a mouse; he works altogether with hot needle, and burnt thread ... he sits crosse leg'd on his shop board, like a dead Hare on a Poulterer stall, and no good work can be done that way. If at any time he make me a new peticoate, he will threaten to sit upon my skirts and that's all: He will sow and sow, and yet when he hath done all hee can, it proves but so and so, and with that, she put her finger in the eye and wept. (Anonymous 1646: 4)

This is an openly bawdy passage, where the instrument of work, the “hot needle” is compared to a penis, but whereas the instrument of work works, the instrument of pleasure does not. To say the passage is bawdy does not mean it is not skilfully written. The image of the dead hare and the squatting tailor is not very congruent in its comparison of postures, but the “sow and sow” and homophonic “so and so” wittily communicates the effort needed for sexual arousal, and the mundane, so and so, results. The final image of the finger in the eye, consciously or unconsciously, is another phallic image, replacing pleasure with pain, and orgasm with tears. Men are portrayed as simple, gullible human beings. Thus, Mrs. Rachel Rattleboy, in an image of premature ejaculation, informs us that “a fooles bolt (like my husbads) is soon shot”(13) and dedicates her life to getting her way by pretending to be sick. When she tells her husband, she is ill, “the fond coxcomb bid me speak for any thing I had a minde unto” and she takes him at his word. The Wife of Bath is alive and well, as the following lady, Mistriss Eleanor Ever-Crosse explains:

My husband said she, in anger said, he would thump me, to whom I answered; thump me? where wilt thou thump me? thump me but where thou shouldst th\_p me, or Ile make it the dearest thumping that ever thou didst thumpe in thy life: and I thinke I hit him home, which was more than ever he did to me (Anonymous 1646: 10)

The parliament therefore moves “that no woman should suffer her self to be thumpt, but as she ought to be; to wh\_ the whole Court willingly condescended.”(Anonymous 1646: 11) The brutal image of sexuality as thumping is purposefully crude, but arguably very graphic, however, the phrase “no woman should suffer her self to be thumpt, but as she ought to be”, to a modern sensibility, suggests that instead of sexual pleasure, what the female desires, she only receives male brutality, thumping of another sort.

There is possibly little that is original in the debate, yet what deserves attention as much as the subject matter itself, is the form it takes. First, it is made clear that the grievance is common to all womankind. Second, there is a witty parody of legal disputation. Here the deputies are arguing about the vow of fidelity taken during the marriage ceremony, as this would make the possibility of having two husbands legally impossible.

By our Lady that is true said they, what must be our plea for that? Ile tell you said Maestris *Tatle-well*. Let us answer thus much in that behalfe; that we had amentall reservation when the wisest of us said so; for though our husbands expect it at our hands all our life time, we must say that we ment it only for that day, and the first night, an no longer; and therefore by this meanes we may

wave the businesse, and repeale that Law: whereupon they all agree unto it by agenerall consent. (Anonymous 1646: 9)

To some readers, the logic is extremely leaky, and would increase the possibility of the tract being a Royalist lampoon, mocking parliamentary procedure and pouring scorn on any attempt to persuade us that women have rights or are intelligent beings. To others, the plea for mental reservation is a legally valid one, in the sense that the vow was taken under certain duress. In addition the validity of the women's argument is enhanced by the fact they plea for equality. Just as the vow is not binding on their husbands, equality before the law means it should not be binding on them.

The parody of the language of government is present at all moments and, consequently, a few, brief extracts will be sufficient to illustrate this. Although we have been told that this debate is held in a parlour, this term is replaced several times by the word "Court." If this was simply a Royalist lampoon, this is exactly the place where you would not place your opponents; in addition, it becomes less of a hen party when the narrator informs us that - sometimes - "while good orders and a general silence was observed", (Anonymous 1646: 16) even though only briefly. The matron uses the expression "abrogate the law"; (Anonymous 1646: 2) the eloquent Tattle-well begins one part of her speech with the legalistic phrase, "I put the case to you" (Anonymous 1646: 7); she has complete command of the orator's strategy of rhetorical questions, and even the less talented Prudence Prate-all starts her argument with "let it be likewise enacted". (Anonymous 1646: 9)

The two basic interpretations of this tract, either it is bawdy and harmless, or else a lampoon and harmful, rely heavily on author function analysis; that is, that language demonstrates what its creator meant it to be. Nevertheless, by emphasising a more open interpretation, I hope to avoid such restrictive reading precisely at the key moment, when we look at the major proposals. It has to be said that they are delivered with great passion; of all the many arguments, two stand out, one for its astonishing use of legalistic wrangling, and the other because of its new stance on cuckoldry. The women have heard that the senators are proposing that in future they could each have two wives, whereas the wives argue that this is plainly ridiculous, as the circumstances of modern life require that it is women who need, not simply want, two husbands. Tattle-well, the major spokesperson, declaims:

For said shee, was not every woman born with two legges, two hands, two eyes two eares: and every deep Well ought to have two Buckets, while one is comming up, the other going down? Have not great houses two doores? ... hath not every stoole or chaire three or four legges, and every bed-head two posts ... herefore in conscience every Woman may have two husbands: for have not we women six Sences, and men but five? ... for wee have nothing to offend and defend our selves but our tongues...the tongue ought to be the sixth Sence, which we must maintain for our own safety: though woman was taken out of the side of man, yet let men know, that they cannot, nor shall not alwayes keepe us under. (Anonymous 1646: 6-7)

There is plenty of bawdy here: in the image of the buckets, the doors, the need for stools and chairs to have firm legs, which could make the final image solely sexual and therefore the whole argument bathetic and ridiculous. At the same time, I

believe that this passage is possibly a parody of Shylock's address ("Hath not a Jew eyes") to the court in the third act of *The Merchant of Venice*, and if this is the case, then her rhetoric ensures that the conclusive argument goes way beyond the simply physical and should be attended to as a political reinvigoration. Indeed, even if Shakespeare is not the reference here, it does not detract from the effectiveness of her argument. The rest of Tattle-well's speech throws up interesting reasons for the need for two husbands:

suppose a handsome Lasse marries a Sea-faring man, perchance his occasions call him to goe a long voyage to SEA, as to the East or West Indies, or to the straights of *Magellan*, the Reed or Red SEA, or to the *Persian Gulfe*: he is bound to stay a yeare, two or three, before he can returne: doe you (nay prethee good sister, let me not bee interrupted in my speech: pray silence, or I wil say no more, for I now speak to the purpose) as I have said, doe you think it convenient such a prettie soule should lye alone, having been wedded so short a time, and only tasted of you know what, and having been a fellow-feeler, and helper in most case, for the Commonwealths good, that she can be content to lye alone tumbling and tossing in a good featherbed sometimes to the Wall, sometimes to the doore...or tearing the sheets, and by that meanes ease her oppressed body and mind: nay, I should not say oppressed bodie for there I was mistaken, there my tongue went to fast, I should have said her troubled and perplexed spirit and heart, or what you terme it, Ought not, I say, such women to have two or three husbands? (Anonymous 1646: 7-8)

Briefly, we notice her skill in building up tension through a long string of ideas which finalises with the assertion the female body is oppressed. Her subsequent denial that she actually meant something other than body, by its mere repetition, reinforces the persuasiveness of her reasoning, as the alternatives, heart or spirit, now appear to be rather weak concepts used to cover up the fact that it is precisely desire which is the problem. In other words, she pleads for frankness and understanding. Her use of "the Commonwealths good", words which appear several times in this tract, are meant to mock the Puritans. However, I believe that the women's argument that they need two husbands not only to fulfil their desires but also as a measure to prevent cuckoldry has a most interesting context. We may recall that the tailor is worn out by work, and can only use one kind of hot needle. If to this, we add the fact that the reason why the lass is left alone is because her husband is away on some expansionist expedition, it is crystal clear that here we have a peculiar re-reading of Puritanism and the work ethic. It is not the concept of sinfulness that creates despair, but simply the fact that modern life, with its divisions of gender and labour, exacerbated by incipient colonialism, separates and hinders the possibility of marital happiness. By marital happiness, Mistress Tattle-well is surprisingly close in her emphasis on sexual pleasure, to Milton's later elegiac description of physical fulfilment in the fourth book of *Paradise Lost*.

After this rhetorical brilliance, the story of a wife gaining revenge on her husband returns us to the bawdy, with perhaps Chaucer's miller and his wife in the back of the narrator's mind. A drunk husband returns home after a riotous evening and "hid himself in the house of special Office". (Anonymous 1646: 17) Disaster follows:

hee thrusts his head into the hole; and whether it was his large Asses eares, or his Bul necke, I cannot telle, but he could not get his necke out again, but needs must pull up the seate about his necke, so that he looked as if he had been on the Pillorie. Upon which relation they all fell into a great laughter, and withall concluded that it was his Hornes. For *Actaeon* said they, put his head out of the window well enough, but could not get it back again, which was long of his Horns, this said they, is your husbands Case. (Anonymous 1646: 17)

The wife, Dorothy Do-little, asks Tattle-well what should be done. She prescribes a long course of penance, starting from the premise that “he must conceit himself a Batchelour”, (Anonymous 1646: 19) in which the husband has to beg forgiveness, court his wife and eventually ask - again - for her hand in marriage. If, after this second marriage, anyone accuses her of having cuckolded him, the husband’s duty is sue that person for libel. This is a puzzling series of events. Legally, if they have re-married, and they have kept their vows longer than the first night, then cuckoldry cannot exist. That being said, it casts a strange reflection on earlier events. First, it suggests that adultery was common practice, and therefore no one, no woman, felt the slightest remorse about making the joke about Actaeon. This links up with the definition, more precisely, the re-definition of marriage. Second, it seems to suggest that the wife is right to extract penance, which either illustrates a belief in ethical justice, or, more damningly, that this is a misogynist text which goes out of its way to show that women are, if not the Devil, Viragos. However convincing that argument is, I will provide two significant answers. First, if penance is an attempt to put relationships on an equal footing, penance rather than thumping, to judge it simply as female aggression implies that equality is a right, but a right only for misdemeaning husbands. Second, as well as emphasising the sexual frustration of the lass married to a seaman, the text has no qualms about using the term virago. Earlier in the debate, an angry woman gets up and speaks:

Where be those magnanimous and Masculine spirited Matrons?  
Those valiant Viragoes? Those lusty Ladies? Those daring  
*Amazonian* Damsels, *Orithena*, *Penthsileae*, *Thatlestres*, and the  
rest? who made Coxecombes of *Keysars*, Puppets of Princes,  
Captives of Captains, Fooles of Philosophers, and Henchmen of  
their husbands? But though we want weapons, and are abridged of  
their armes, yet they shall know that we have the Law in our owne  
hands, and in our own cases we will be our own Lawyers and  
plead our own rights. For wee have tongues... (Anonymous 1646:  
3-4)

This harangue, this war-cry, calls for action, and displays a pride in being considered an active Virago rather than a timid woman supporting the drunken bouts of her vile husband. In a most effective way, it conflates Virago and lawyer. In other words, if women possess a whiplash tongue, they could and should become perfect lawyers and/or parliamentarians. The phrase “we have the Law in our owne hands” might suggest that they have the right to dispose of their body according to their desires, but it shows quite clearly that, following, or contradicting the narrator’s intentions, the case that women are skilful politicians and wonderful orators has been convincingly proven. Most conclusively of all, the choice of Amazons renders the attempt at belittlement useless. Penthsilea was one of the greatest warriors of the

Trojan Wars, only smitten by Achilles. Josine H. Blok emphasises the importance of Thatlestris:

In the Hellenistic story of Thatlestris' proposal [to produce a matchless offspring] to Alexandros the Great, the question of the sexual desires of the Amazons and their perpetuation has been taken as far as it can go: the Amazon queen herself takes the initiative toward the only man whom she can regard as her equal. (Blok 1995:262-3)

At this precise point, the disruptive nature of the text is at its greatest and cannot be tied down either by the classification of mere lampoon or simply bawdy. But, unfortunately, the one place where brilliance is lacking is in the laws which the women draw up and which bring the tract to a close. Women, we are told should have two husbands, because they, women, are "the stronger and greater vessell."(Anonymous 1646: 21) But the second law, "women might vexe, perplex, and any way torment their husbands", and the third, "woman may twange it as well as their husbands"(Anonymous 1646: 21) appear crude and nothing short of a major let-down. The final law, "[t]hat if any Jesuit returne into our Land, againe, being once banished, that he shall gelt or libb'd, to avoid jealousies of our husbands"(Anonymous 1646: 21) seems irrelevant to a tract that has concentrated on the tensions existent in marriage.

To conclude, I have demonstrated that this text displays humour, intelligence and above all a certain sympathy for seventeenth-century women; furthermore, it is feasible to argue that its references to Amazons make it potentially subversive. Such a conclusion is therefore at odds with the reading of it as either a Royalist lampoon or else a latter-day bawdy text. Of the several similar titled texts of this period, this one stands out for its wit, a quality lacking in the moralising, pedestrian pamphlets to which I will turn to in due course.

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## John Cowell's *Interpreter*: Legal Tradition and Lexicographical Innovation

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This paper has grown out of a larger study of Samuel Johnson as both linguist and literary critic in which I endeavour to read Johnson's criticism in the light of his notions of linguistic authority. These I believe to have been based largely on analogies with English common law. This relationship between law and linguistics has led me to examine Johnson's legal sources for the *Dictionary*, chief among which is John Cowell's *The Interpreter*, an English-language law dictionary published in 1607.<sup>1</sup> Censured by Parliament, repudiated by James I and ordered burnt by the common hangman, *The Interpreter* is often discussed in accounts of English constitutional history. In a source study I read at SEDERI VIII, I showed that Johnson sometimes cites this first, polemical *Interpreter* rather than later, expurgated editions. Today I would like to set aside *The Interpreter*'s place in legal and political history and concentrate on lexicography.

Despite its fame, *The Interpreter* goes unmentioned in histories of lexicography and linguistics, in part because contemporary metalexigraphers focus on general-purpose monolingual dictionaries, the feeling being that specialised dictionaries are misnamed encyclopaedias (Béjoint 1994: 26). In part, this is the thing-word *topos* reworked as a standard against which to measure reference books. Proper dictionaries, by this reckoning, include entries for all parts of speech, provide definitions of concepts, and perhaps non-functional information such as etymologies; their head-words may not be replaced by synonyms. Encyclopaedias, on the other hand, give a comprehensive and often historical account of things rather than words: the head-words for entries are nouns, and may sometimes be changed without doing disservice to the entries' contents. Moreover, encyclopaedias, inasmuch as they include definitions, introduce them via the verb 'to be' rather than the verb 'to refer', thus making it clear that referents rather than signs are being defined. A further distinction could be made on the basis of use: both categories of work are clearly didactic, and clearly meant as instruments for self-teaching, yet only dictionaries attend to the learner's need to produce texts. In

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<sup>1</sup> Cowell was born in Devon in 1554, undertook studies at King's College, Cambridge in 1570, and obtained an LL.D in 1588. He was admitted as an advocate of Doctors' Commons in 1590, and made Regius Professor of Civil Law at Cambridge four years later. Among other offices, he held those of master of Trinity Hall, vice-chancellor of Cambridge (1603-4), and vicar general to the Archbishop of Canterbury from 1608. His first book was the *Institutiones Juris Anglicani ad Methodum et Seriem Institutionum Imperialium Compositae et Digestae*, written first published in 1605 and going through two further editions in Latin (1630 and 1664) and two in English (1651 and 1676): the translation was ordered by parliament. This work is notable at least in as much as *The Interpreter*'s method is partly derived from it: Cowell seeks to draw parallels between the two systems of law with which he was familiar (Stein 1988: 213); indeed, Coquillette describes the *Institutiones* as "nothing less than an attempt to restate the entire common law in a logical outline based on civilian forms" (Coquillette 1988: 81).

short, encyclopaedias impart knowledge, and dictionaries impart knowledge about the use of words: both how they have been used, and how to use them.

Neither *The Interpreter* nor John Rastell's earlier and very popular *Terms of the Law*<sup>2</sup> is described in DeWitt Starnes's and Gertrude Noyes's authoritative 1946 study of early English hard-word dictionaries, though they are mentioned as sources for other works. Starnes and Noyes 1946 argue that early seventeenth-century English lexicographers had combined two didactic strands of the previous century: the idea of a compilation of English/hard words, taken from the spelling lists of orthographic reformers and schoolmasters; and the glosses or definitions, from Latin-English dictionaries. This dovetails nicely with traditional histories of lexicography in which bilingual and polyglot dictionaries reach sophistication earlier than do their monolingual counterparts. They further contended that the first generation of English lexicographers often borrowed entries from works of the latter sort by Anglicising the lemmas. The late Jürgen Schäfer qualified this, and I would like to qualify it further. Schäfer 1989 documents many cases in which Cawdrey, Bullokar, and Cockeram took their lemmatical material from monolingual glossaries<sup>3</sup> appended to older works and translations. Many of the translated works were systematic introductions to fields of contemporary knowledge—Schäfer 1989 cites a work on New-World medicinal plants—translators were especially conscious of hard words they had introduced (Schäfer 1989: 4-8).<sup>4</sup>

I believe there exists a debt to at least one category of specialised dictionary, the law dictionary. As Schäfer 1989 points out in his discussion of translated works, the border between monolingual dictionaries and encyclopaedias remained ill-defined in the early modern period (6). *The Interpreter* is no doubt a hybrid, as Cowell himself signals in his prefatory material addressed 'To the Readers':

One thing I have done in this booke, whereof, because it may seem strange to some, I think to yeld my reason: and that is the inserting not onely of words belonging to the art of the lawe, but of any other sorte, that I thought obscure, of what sort soever; as Fish, Cloth, Spices, Drugs, Furres, and such like. For in this I followed the example of our Ciuilians, that have thought it their parte to expound any thing they could meeete with in their walk. . . . And therefore, if I Have either omitted any hard word within my circuit, or set it downe not expounded; I give you leaue to impute the one to my negligence, the other to mine ignorance. (Cowell 1607: 5)

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<sup>2</sup> First published in 1527 as *Terms de la Ley*; a bilingual edition was produced in 1567, and re-issued under one or the other title twenty-three times. The last edition was published in the United States in 1812.

<sup>3</sup> *The Interpreter* would seem to have grown out of such a glossary: Cowell appended a glossary of obscure words to his 1605 *Institutiones*.

<sup>4</sup> Typographically, both *The Interpreter* and the *Terms of the Law* follow typical, period-specific arrangement for such glossaries: they are printed in two columns; entries are arranged alphabetically; Cowell's work uses italics for lemmas and roman type for glosses, the scheme adopted towards the end of the sixteenth century; the earlier dictionary uses, in its English text, black-letter glosses.

The mention of hard words relates *The Interpreter* to *The Table Alphabeticall* and, as Schäfer 1989 has shown, to the glossaries, in whose titles and front matter ‘hard word’ meant difficult words whatever their origin and not, as has been supposed, learned loan words from Latin. In Bullokar’s *English Expositor* of 1616 the favour was returned: Bullokar includes a number of law terms, from ‘abate’ to ‘withername’. Moreover, John Legatt or Legate of Cambridge published both works; the same emblem features on both title pages.

*The Interpreter* may be classified as a dictionary on a number of other counts. To begin with, it includes entries for four parts of speech: in addition to nouns, there are verbs (under the letter ‘A’, ‘abate’, ‘abet’, ‘abridge’, ‘advow’, ‘affirme’, ‘afforest’, ‘agist’, ‘approue’, ‘arraine’, ‘assoile’, ‘attache’), adjectives (‘anniented’, ‘at large’, ‘attainted’) and at least one adverbial (‘at large’ in the fixed collocation ‘to vouch at large’, given in the referring entry for ‘at large’). Most entries include etymologies or etymological speculation. Entries are framed by various means which refer alternately to signs (e.g. ‘it is used for’, ‘signifyeth’) and to referents (e.g. ‘is’). Indeed, some entries do not in themselves supply encyclopaedic information about the referent: under ‘articles of clergy’, for example, the reader learns that the term refers to ‘certain statutes made touching person and causes ecclesiastical’, but will find nothing of the law laid down by those statutes. Moreover, Cowell includes entries for a number of ‘easy’ words that were not to receive treatment in non-specialised monolingual dictionaries until the early eighteenth century (Osselton 1983: 17; Green 1997: 191; Murray 1900: 34-36). Indeed, two of the four lemmas most often associated with the political ‘Cowell crisis’, ‘king’ and ‘parliament’, appear neither in Rastell nor in Bullokar. He is unique in treating the lemma ‘law’ both historically and idiomatically.<sup>5</sup> Again, by the standard of use, *The Interpreter* is clearly a dictionary: lawyers, after all, do things with words, and at least some of what they do must be accounted performative rather than hermeneutical.

Were Cowell’s work to be incorporated into the histories of English-English dictionaries, it would stand out from the rest for two features. The first is the use of citations; the second is the sophistication of semantic description. To begin with citations: historians of linguistics normally give Johnson credit for having introduced the systematic use of quotations, though there is some debate whether he originated the historical method—that is, the arrangement of citations in chronological order with reference to semantic development (Read 1986: 28-9; Osselton 1983: 18; Green 1997: 221-222). *The Interpreter*, again, has been excluded from consideration: yet Cowell cites authorities in nearly every entry, and frequently includes quotations (albeit mainly Latin ones). Cowell’s use of citations has been dismissed by one scholar as ‘given to support statements of fact rather than to show the occurrence of words’ (Read 1986: 45, note 8). No doubt in the longer, more discursive entries this is the case: yet in many entries it is difficult to distinguish a linguistic from a substantive legal authority, as in ‘abeyance’:

Abeyance, seemeth to be deriued from the French (Abayer. i. allatrare), to barke at, as dogs do against a stranger, or spaniels at a Fesant put to the pearke. So children are said

<sup>5</sup> Cowell gives ‘law’ a Saxon etymology; he does not provide a definition (‘the generall signification is plaine’), but makes the point that ‘the law of this land hath been variable’. Of the law of the Britons, Cowell holds that ‘we finde no obscure remnants in our lawes now in use’—certainly not Coke’s view.

(bayer à la mamme) when seing the dug, they struggle and make meanes towards it... This word in Littleton, cap. Discontinuance, is thus used. The right of Fee-simple lyeth in abeyance: that is (as himselfe interpreteth) all onely in the remembrance, intendment, and consideration of the law. Also in the same place: the Francke tenement of the glebe of the Parsonage, is in no man during the time that the parsonage is void, but it is in abeyance. And again: It is a principle in lawe, that of euery land there is Fee-simple in some man, or the Fee-simple is in abeyance.<sup>6</sup> Considering these places, and comparing them with the French word, I am driven to thinke, that our auncient Lawyers would signifie hereby a kind of hope, or longing expectance: because that those things that be in abeyance, though for the present that they be in no man, yet they are in hope and expectation belonging to him that is next to enjoy them. (Cowell 1607: A2)

(The final section of this entry is comparative, drawing a link between ‘abeyance’ and the Civilians’ use of the verb ‘iacere’.) Cowell’s procedure here and elsewhere involves reference to etymology and to examples of usage. He frequently remarks on semantic evolution--as in the cases of ‘baron’, ‘castellain’, and ‘marchers’--and recognises synonymy (see the entry for ‘marque’, where we are told that ‘Marques and Reprisals are used as Synonyma’). His treatment of polysemy and of multi-word lexical units is variable. To cite three examples: the verb collocations ‘to wage law’ and ‘to make law’ are given in the second paragraph of the entry for ‘law’, along with Latin equivalents, English glosses and authorities; the various names of actions are not all defined under one omnibus lemma, but receive independent paragraphs headed accordingly; and under ‘assise’, a hierarchy of senses is constructed by which various names of writs are treated as depending on the first of four definitions, i.e.

*Headword, etymology*, ‘So that by all these places compared together, it is evident whence the original of this word (assise) floweth. How diuersely it is used in our common law, it followeth that we declare.’

*first sense*: ‘first (assise) is taken for a writ directed to the Shyreeve, for the recouerie of possession of things immouable, whereof your selfe, or your ancestor have been disseised.’

Assise of novel disseisin

Assise of mort d’auncester

Assise of darrein presentment

<sup>6</sup> These quotations may have been translated by Cowell from the law-French original of Littleton’s treatise, or drawn from an English translation, *Littletons Tenures in Englishhe*, published in London by Richard Tottell in 1556.

<sup>7</sup> Fredric Dolezal claims that John Wilkins’s and William Lloyd’s *Alphabetical Dictionary*, appended to the former’s *Essay Towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language* (1668), was the first English monolingual dictionary to include ‘a formidable number’ of compounds.

Assise de utrum

*second sense*: ‘Assise, in the second signification (according to Littleton) is used for a Iurie.’

*third sense*: ‘Assise in the third signification according to Littleton, is an ordinanc or statute: as the statute of bread and ale made . . .’

*fourth sense*: ‘Assise is further taken for the court, place, or time, where and when the writs and processes of assise be handled or taken. (Cowell 1607: E3-F2)

This is highly innovative: the first English-English general-purpose dictionary to have used separate, numbered definitions is Benjamin Martin’s *Lingua Britannica Reformata*, published in 1749.<sup>8</sup> Outside the English tradition, this practice can be traced to the great Renaissance Latin dictionaries, whether scholarly or pedagogic in design, such as those based on the work of Robert Estienne or Basilius Faber.<sup>9</sup>

One aspect of lexicographic technique remains to be addressed, implicit in the above examples: Cowell’s definitions. The issue of definition is both substantive and linguistic: in a field where much discourse is performative, where the process of interpreting texts dictates social action, definition based on usage or any other criteria entails what lexicographers term ‘statements of fact’ as well as purely linguistic descriptions. The duplex character of definition in such cases can make linguistic inquiry contentious; and a number of historians have remarked on Cowell’s impolitic ‘zeal for definition’ (Chrimes 1949: 464) or ‘search for strict definitions’ (Burgess 1993: 149). It is true that Cowell seeks to construct consistent, succinct and conceptually clear definitions: in doing so he often tries to make sense of seemingly inconsistent traditions, and attempts, wherever possible, to provide the Civilians’ ‘synonym’ for a common-law term. For example, the questions whether and how the prerogative could be defined was highly polemical: Lord Salisbury, reporting James’s judgement to the House of Lords, stated that ‘it was dangerous to submit the power of a king to definition’ (quoted in Chrimes 1949: 471).

It is in this context and because he was a lawyer that the basic tools of Cowell’s semantic analyses are remote from the basic shape of definitions in English monolingual dictionaries until Johnson: that of listing synonymous, or superordinates (Hayashi 1978: 42). Cowell sometimes defines verbs by reference to equivalent verbs belonging to a non-specialist register: for example, ‘abet’ is defined as ‘to encourage or set on’. He more often adds differentiae (in the form of a genus of direct object in the case of verbs) to a superordinate, as in the definition of ‘advow’ as ‘to iustifie or maintaine an act formerly done’, or provides a paraphrase, as in ‘Wage [. . .] the giuing of securitie for the performing of any thing’. Cowell’s most common technique consists of definition by genus and both descriptive and functional differentiae. To cite but a few: ‘addition’ is ‘a title given

<sup>8</sup> See the entry for ‘diuination’ in Bullokar’s *Expositor* for a later, encyclopaedic use of the ‘atomising’ entry format.

<sup>9</sup> For a detailed discussion of Johnson’s possible use of these dictionaries as models, see Korshin 1974; for a more recent, and very lively survey of Johnson’s lexicographic achievement that touches on this issue, see Robert DeMaria’s 1986 contribution to *The Cambridge Companion to Samuel Johnson*.

to a man ouer and aboue his Christian and surname, shewing his estate, degree, occupation, trade, age, place of dwelling, &c.’; ‘faculty’ is ‘a priuilege, or especial power graunted unto a man by fauour, indulgence, and dispensation, to do what that which by the common law he cannot doe’; and ‘piccage’ is ‘money paid in faires for breaking of the ground to set up boothes or standings’. Such definitions are consistently independent of more substantive commentary, and no word of ramified signification is without a definition of the root meaning. This contrasts with Rastell, who is often content to begin an entry with a statement of the ‘Assets be in two sorts’ type.

In the initial discussion of ‘assise’, Cowell reports Littleton’s opinion that ‘assise’ was *equivocum*, quotes three usages quoted by Littleton, and remarks that he has made further collections. There follows a generic definition of ‘assise’, introduced by the phrase, ‘[m]y collection have served me thus’ (Cowell 1607: E3). This is not far off corpus linguistics: for a body of texts to be deemed a corpus, the procedure of scholars using it must be descriptive and inductive; that is, one does not go to a corpus to seek out illustrations of pre-written definitions. Rather, the study of examples is a necessary first step before definitions can be composed. In Cowell’s grappling with texts belonging to an intellectual tradition that paralleled but was not his own, he adopts a similar if improvised and abbreviated method. He grappled, of course, with common law, with a set of techniques for ascertaining and interpreting both custom and trains of precedents; and the common lawyers’ precedents were both linguistic and substantive. The habit of referring to authorities, then, seems to have given rise to a lexicographical technique at first restricted to dictionaries of ‘terms of art’; I would argue that this flows through Johnson and the OED into our own century. The opposing tradition emphasised the fixity and precision of meaning not as a means of fostering the end-user’s ability to produce texts, but in the belief that all words had meanings free from context and bound by etymology: in solving the problem of having always to define words and not things, linguists such as Bailey, Horne Tooke and Charles Richardson came to reify the etymon, thus divorcing their field of study from other fields to which it may be considered adjunct. This school of lexicographical thought, already visible in Bailey, was to criticise Johnson for having made semantic description too dependent on context (Reddick 1995: 48-51, 207 n. 567, 208 n. 69).<sup>10</sup> Richardson, endorsed by Coleridge, went so far as to describe Johnson’s method as that of ‘seeking the meaning of a word singly from the passages in which it is found’ (quoted in Reddick 1995: 48), thus ‘interpret[ing] the import of the context’ and neglecting ‘to explain the individual meaning of the word’ (quoted in DeMaria 1986: 7). He goes on to damn the result as ‘[a] collection [. . .] of usages’ (quoted in Reddick 1995: 48). Yet this was a by-product of an effort to present words as the end-products of a linguistic and intellectual evolution. Of course, humanist textual criticism provided models for many of the procedures Johnson adopted, and may have seen, in Cowell. If I am today proposing Cowell as a sort of missing link, it is only because his lexicon was written in English, and because it seems to have been chosen over a Latin work

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<sup>10</sup> In fact, Johnson’s method enabled him to analyse connotative, attitudinal, and associative meaning, as well as professional registers, sociolect, and the pragmatic dimension of discourse. See DeMaria 1986: 176-177.

early in the compiling process.<sup>11</sup> In Cowell, it seems likely that Johnson found that dictionaries could, via and because of their citations, provide what Johnson terms in the ‘Preface’, in what must be among the earliest occurrences of the phrase, ‘a kind of intellectual history’.

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<sup>11</sup> Johnson’s library included a number of works on law terms and their interpretation: John Ayliffe’s *Parergon Juris Canonici Anglicani* and Giles Jacob’s *Law Dictionary* in English, and works by Pierre Huet and Calvinus in Latin. This last item is of particular note: the *Lexicon Juridicum*, first published in 1600 and reprinted some more than a dozen times in the seven- and eighteenth centuries, provides a link to Cowell, and to the period of the *Dictionary*’s compilation. Johnson must have had access to and likely owned Calvinus’s work in the 1740s, as he took from it and translated the definition of ‘abalienate’ appearing on the first page of entries. It is, to my knowledge, one of only five non- English language sources cited. Moreover, it is the only case in which Johnson uses a non-English language source for a definition, in violation of the latter-day lexicographical maxim that dictionaries are untranslatable. Where, how, and why Johnson acquired a copy of the *Lexicon Juridicum* we can only guess: he may have sought out a copy when, in 1738, he contemplated applying for ‘permission to practice as an advocate’ at Doctor’s Commons (Boswell 1791: 97). He may also have come to the work through John Cowell’s *Interpreter*, or to the latter through the former, for the *Lexicon* is the model which Cowell praises in *The Interpreter*’s front matter:

The Civilians of other nations, have by their mutuall industries raised this kinde of worke in their profession, to an inexpected excellencie, I have seene many of them have bestowed very profitable and commendable pains therein: and lastly one Caluinus, a Doctor of Heidelberge, like a laborious Bee, hath gathered from all the former, the best iuice of their flowers, and made up a hive full of delectable honie. (Cowell 1607: 3)

It would seem that Johnson discarded the foreign source in favour of the English. It is tempting to think that, very early in the process of composing the *Dictionary*, he came to realise that a translated source would neither properly describe legal terms as used in English law nor furnish authentic examples of English usage. He had, in the *Plan*, flirted with the idea that ‘terms of art’ form a translatable pool of cognates in modern European languages; he had at first proposed to omit “the terms of particular professions since, with the arts to which they relate, they are generally derived from other nations, and are very often the same in the languages of this part of the world” (Johnson 1835: 440). In the end, all but one of his sources were all English: they are, for law terms, in inverse order of frequency: the *Lexicon Juridicum*; John Harris, the author of an early eighteenth-century general technical dictionary; Coke; Edward Phillips; Thomas Blount; Ephraim Chambers; Francis Bacon; the *Parergon Juris Canonici Anglicani* by John Ayliffe (1726); and Cowell’s *Interpreter*. (Matthew Hale’s legal works provide many citations, but none is quoted for a law term or sense.) *The Interpreter* is cited 282 times.

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## **Towards a Definition of European Tragicomedy and Romantic Comedy of the Seventeenth Century: The Courtly Fashion in England and Spain**

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The elusive term tragicomedy can actually be thought of in two different ways. A wide one without further qualification pertaining to the domain of the theory of genres and that should be placed side by side with the contiguous terms of tragedy and comedy, and another one which encompasses its different historical or diachronic realisations and which may appear qualified by other terms such as pastoral, palatine, Fletcherian, *drame libre*, French neoclassical, romantic or whatever. More frequently, though, the historical realisations of tragicomedy bear labels which do not exhibit any formal mentioning of the actual words *tragic* or *comedy*, as is the case with medieval and Renaissance developments such as the miracles, moralities, interludes or humanist plays; or nineteenth century forms of melodrama and its aftermath in the twentieth century: melodrama, *drame* (Ibsen, Chekhov), epic theatre (Brecht), theatre of cruelty (Artaud) and theatre of the absurd (Ionesco) insofar as these form share and explore definite features of tragicomedy in an age of dissolution of established dramatic categories.<sup>1</sup>

It is significant, however, that during the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries the term *tragicomedy* clearly emerges and appears, with no matter which qualifications, both as part of the actual dramatic practice in need of complying with popular taste of the time, and as part of the critical debate started in Italy, but with continuation through all Western Europe, and which tried to reconcile received classical (mainly Aristotelian) theory on the dramatic genres and Christian and medieval tradition. The result is that, together with a considerable bulk of tragedy, tinged anyway with tragicomic elements, an immense and variously qualified corpus of plays all bearing in one form or another the label *tragicomedy* arises through the Netherlands, Germany, Italy, France and Spain. The variations in the qualification of the term tragicomedy may sometimes, as it is the case with Spanish overgeneral term *comedia*, obey national development or to cosmopolitan, more elitist fashion, but, in any case, they are never entirely isolated developments, but rather the product of many subtle and generalised connections.

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<sup>1</sup> "The term [tragicomedy] is now antiquated, for traditional labels have lost their importance, but most of the significant modern dramas still occupy a middle ground between tragedy and comedy" (Herrick 1955: 321). This work constitutes our main source of the exposition of the evolution of the genre given below.

Let us present first a brief outline of the apparition of the term along with the development of specific dramatic forms in early and full Renaissance Europe, and then focus our attention on the particular province of romantic comedy and courtly or rather *palatine* tragicomedy mainly in England and Spain.

The early European humanists of the Netherlands, Germany, England and France, deeply concerned with conciliating their staunch Christian and mainly Protestant worldview (and the popular medieval practice besides) with the classical theory and accepted traditional practice of Aristotle, Horace, Sophocles, Euripides, Plautus and Terence via Donatus and Diomedes, made a first attempt to conciliate both worlds through what is today customarily known as the *Christian Terence*: an immense corpus of varied plays mainly in Latin, so named after the collection of “sacred comedies”, “sacred tragicomedies” and domestic comedies or *fabulae ludicrae* began by the Dutch Cornelius Schonaeus towards 1570. In fact, although the term Christian Terence crystallises with Schonaeus it went as backwards in time as the tenth century nun of Gandersheim Hroswitha, whose sacred plays, in which she attempted to christianise or moralise the Terentian method infusing it with a clearly edifying Christian moral purpose, had been published in 1501 at Nuremberg. Long before 1570 (about 1530) the technique of the Christian Terence had been established. And it was going to keep its vogue during the whole of the sixteenth century, giving rise, besides several interesting developments in comedy, to various outgrowths (the prodigal-son play as the most conspicuous of them) which in more than one respect advance the cause of the tragicomedy in Europe. At all events, the authors of these academic plays, written mainly for the instruction of students, are noteworthy for the development of modern tragicomedy in several aspects: they often show an awareness of their departure from classical rules and try to legitimise their practice one way or another; the actual titular headings very often include the terms “tragic” and “comedy” combined;<sup>2</sup> and, finally, they represent an early attempt to mould the popular drama into the formal structure of classical drama and the easy but elegant style of Terence, although, and this is crucial, in so doing they more often than not broke certain traditional conventions (the normative historical plot for tragedy and fictitious plot for comedy, that the tragic characters should be well-known important personages while the comic ones should be unknown common folk, the classic economy of time and space) and, of course, carried out the normal medieval practice of inserting comic scenes in a serious plot and concluding with a happy ending, so that, as Herrick points out (1955:62): “the plays of the Christian Terence anticipated almost every characteristic, save the pastoral machinery, of the secular tragicomedy that flourished in western Europe at the beginning of the seventeenth century”.

Italy led the way during the mid-sixteenth century in the progress towards secular tragicomedy as it possessed the cultural and social conditions for the existence of a courtly and more sophisticated audience allowing the emancipation of tragicomedy from the academic milieu of school and university proper to the Christian Terence. There are two fundamental Italian contributions to the development of tragicomedy in Europe: the tragedy with a happy ending with no comic episodes, originating in the dramatic output of Giraldi Cinthio during the middle of the century (*Altile*, *Selene*, *Arrenopia*, *Antivalomeni*, etc.) and the pastoral

<sup>2</sup> As in *comoedia tragica, sacra (et nova) tragicomoedia, tragocomoedia* or *tragicomoedia* (with the *Amphitryon* of Plautus in mind), *tragicall comedy* (in *The Glass of Government* by Gascoigne), *drama comicotragicum*, etc.

tragedy, a kind which reached its peak moment both in respect of critical definition and European repercussion in the great debate around Battista Guarini's *Il pastor fido* and *The Compendio della poesia tragicomica* (1598), in which this author made a defence of his dramatic practice against the attacks of the contemporary critic Jason Denores. Despite its precocity, Italian tragicomedy became exhausted by the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries in such a way that its tragicomic production is not comparable to the production of France, England and Spain during that time. This is due to the fact that, in its Cinthian form, Italian tragicomedy was soon superseded by the pastoral, whereas the pastoral or Guarinian form, in its turn, never became really popular, although it enriched and fertilised other kinds of tragicomedy, especially in the other countries; finally, in either of the two forms, Italian tragicomedy was too starchy, deprived of real on-stage technique (and perhaps of the political support of a unified state) to give rise to a strong national and popular theatre.

Anyway, the Italian practice (Cinthian or pastoral) of tragicomedy at that time bequeathed to the Spanish, English or French tragicomedies of the seventeenth century some of their most characteristic features: poetical justice, feigned plot, romantic love, regal characters, serious action, grave sentiments, elevated diction (these last three traits clearly a in conformity with classical tragedy), sense of intrigue, reversal of fortune, complicated action, and melodramatic situations and feelings. It also added some of the most characteristic themes and motifs of the new genre: the changelings, the sexual harassment of the honest heroine, the woman in boy's clothes, the reformation of the villain, and the final anagnorisis. Moreover, the Italian practice and theory of both Cinthio and Guarini reveal that, in its origin, the new tragicomedy is equally rooted in tragedy and comedy, for, broadly speaking, the Cinthian tragicomedy is conceived of as "tragedy utilizing some comic methods", whereas the Guarinian pastoral tragicomedy is conceived of as "comedy utilizing some tragic methods" (Herrick 1955: 136), and, what is more, romantic comedy, as can be seen early in the practice of Cinthio with his *Eudemoni* or a bit later in Giovanni Battista della Porta, shows romantic and pathetic arguments that made them close to tragicomedy, manifesting thus, something inherent to the ensuing tragicomedy: its blurred limits with the contiguous field of romantic tragicomedy.

During the first half of the seventeenth century the pastoral tragicomedy has a considerable development both in France, England and Spain, following the trail of Italy. However, in general, the pastoral form remained for the most part an aristocratic, artificial and elitist form of drama and its vitality was already spent by 1640. Notwithstanding, important practitioners of tragicomedy like Lope de Vega, Hardy, Mairet, Racan, Fletcher, and Shirley (and even an out-and-out classicist such as Ben Jonson with his incomplete *Sad Shepherd*) contributed important samples to the genus. The importance of the pastoral, however, remains largely in that it encouraged (as can be seen in *Il pastor fido* or its English counterpart the *Faithful Shepherdess*) the critical definition of the term tragicomedy<sup>3</sup> and that many of its

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<sup>3</sup> Guarini is the first in stating that his tragicomedy differed from the tragedy of double issue in that it had a single comic issue, with no deaths or even severe punishment of the wicked characters" (Herrick 1955: 137), thus preceding Fletcher in the famous prologue to his *Faithful Shepherdess* in which he declares: "A tragi-comedy is not so called in respect of mirth and killing, but in respect it wants death, which is enough to make it no tragedy, yet brings some near it, which is enough to make it no comedy, which must be a representation of familiar people, with such kind of trouble as no life be questioned; so that a god is as lawful in this as in tragedy, and mean people as in comedy".

elements leapt freely from pastoral to the other adjoining types becoming generalized there (as a brief comparison between *The Faithful Shepherdess* and *Philaster* will evince).

But the real flourishing of the most effective and distinguished theatrical form of tragicomedy was going to take place in Spain, France and England during the first half of the seventeenth century. It is a great shame that, as far as I know, the scholars who have devoted themselves to the study of tragicomedy have systematically neglected the largest corpus of tragicomedy of the first country,<sup>4</sup> for the Spanish *comedia* constitutes what Walter Cohen, when complaining about the aforesaid neglect, aptly qualifies as “the most important corpus of tragicomedy in the Renaissance” (Cohen 1987:158). The problem, however, is that most foreign scholars are content with echoing the general received term of *comedia* or *comedia de capa y espada* (or *cloak and sword drama*) and no one has taken pains in unearthing in the light of the latest critical development in Spanish drama the different kinds which rest concealed under the general denomination of *comedia*. For though, assuredly, the Spanish *comedia* is for the most part tragicomic or comic in character, it happens that just within the kind of tragicomedy, in a somewhat parallel way to what can be seen in England and France, several modalities can be ascertained, some of them characteristically national (the peasant play or *drama campesino*, the *auto sacramental* and the religious drama in general), but some others clearly share common features with similar types in French and English tragicomedy of this period. A tentative and more rigorous classification of Spanish drama in line with recent critical views would yield the following results:<sup>5</sup>

1. Tragedy in the Spanish fashion to label those plays which approach more or less the current standards of this genre in France, Italy and England. It is doubtful and part of the critical debate on the *comedia* whether these plays approach or fulfil the classical standard in the other countries owing to the need of accounting for Christian elements and typical Spanish values such as honour (*honra*) and stratum (*estamento*). This group would include such plays as *El castigo sin venganza*, *La estrella de Sevilla* and, of course the Calderonian drama of jealousy such as *El médico de su honra* or *El pintor de su deshonra*.

2. Tragicomedy:

- 2.1. Historical or chronicle plays: plays of national exaltation, populist or, according to Cohen (1985:282, 315), peasant drama (*Peribáñez y el comendador de Ocaña*, *El mejor Alcalde*, *el rey*, *Fuenteovejuna*, *El alcalde de Zalamea*), etc.

- 2.2. Religious

- 2.3. Mythological.

- 2.4. Pastoral.

- 2.5. Palatine.

<sup>4</sup> See, for instance, Ristine 1910, Herrick 1955, Hirst 1984, Doran 1954; ch. 8, who, anyway, make a brief mention of Fernando de Rojas and Lope de Vega, or Lancaster 1907, who only perfunctorily and occasionally refer to Spanish tragicomedy.

<sup>5</sup> For a detailed exposition see García García 1998: 358-80.

### 3. Comedy:

#### 3.1. *Entremeses*.

3.2. Palatine comedies (roughly corresponding to what Wardropper (1978:195) calls comedias "fantásticas" o "románticas").

3.3. Cloak and sword comedies, with such varieties as *costumbristas* (local customs), urban, of character, of entanglement (*de enredo*), *de figurón* (poseur), etc.

At this point we must take into account that, although the general development and consolidation of the Spanish *comedia*, diverge greatly from those of France and England, due to the powerful influence of Lope de Vega (after the reforms of Juan de la Cueva) and the early nationalisation and popularisation of the Spanish tragicomedy, it still shares the Italian influence, especially in those kinds germane to contemporary forms in France and England. Unfortunately, I have no time here to discuss in detail the Italian influence on Spanish drama, not even the same issue concerning France or England, and we must be content with pointing out one specific form of tragicomedy equitable with conspicuous forms in these two countries.

This form is, of course, the palatine tragicomedy or *tragicomedia palatina*, a kind which in its usual practice by Lope de Vega, Tirso de Molina or Guillén de Castro, among many others, could be successfully compared with the tragicomedies of the most representative practitioners of the genre in England (Beaumont and Fletcher, Massinger, Shirley, even Shakespeare in a restricted number of plays) and France (Hardy, Schelandre, Du Ryer, and Rotrou). We face here three tasks: first to break through the disparity among the different terminology employed in Spain, France and England; second, to supply a suitable definition of this kind of tragicomedy, with a mind to the problem of the overlapping into the domain of either comedy or tragedy, to extract a set of similarities from that corpus, and, finally, to define a corpus of at least a number of the tragicomedies by these authors that could support our definition.

The first task is really the easier one. I propose that the denomination "palatine tragicomedy" should be extended to what in England is customarily known as Fletcherian tragicomedy, and in France to the subclass of *la tragicomédie de palais* at least (although it might be extensive to the so-called *d'aventures* and *d'amour contrariées*).<sup>6</sup>

The second task is much more complex. From the times of the Christian Terence we have a lot of definitions and lists of defining features around the general term of tragicomedy. Cinthio and Guarini, especially the latter, give very pertinent clues of application to the seventeenth century tragicomedy. Fletcher, Lope de Vega and several French playwrights and critics, especially in the critical debate around the classical bent, which was becoming more and more compelling around 1639, bear witness to the different attempts to define the genre.<sup>7</sup> Not even the recent critics agree

<sup>6</sup> See Guichemerre 1981: 49-55. This critic recognizes, however, that these distinctions are quite artificial (1981: 55-56).

<sup>7</sup> For Fletcher's definition of tragicomedy, see note 2. Guarini, laying the stress on the quality of blending or alloy of the tragicomedy against a conception of mere juxtaposition of tragedy and comedy, says the following: "[It] takes from the one [tragedy] the great persons and not the actions, the fable verisimilar but

completely on a definition of tragicomedy of the seventeenth century. Madeleine Doran (1954) although acknowledging “the Beaumont-and-Fletcher sort of things” (p. 186) draws our attention to the close relationship between tragicomedy and romantic drama (p. 188). However, she analyses critically a definite set of tragicomic features: mixture of social classes, averted catastrophe, the satyr play and the formal theory of Guarini (pp. 193-209). Guichemerre (1981:15) dares give a straightforward definition for the French tragicomedy:

Une action dramatique souvent complexe, volontiers spectaculaire, parfois détendue par des intermèdes plaisants, où des personnages de rang princier ou nobiliaire voient leur amour ou leur raison de vivre en péril par des obstacles qui disparaîtront heureusement au dénouement.

Even allowing for further disagreement on details, anyone who has read a score of plays bearing the mark "tragicomedy" by Beaumont and Fletcher, Massinger, Shirley, Lope de Vega, Tirso de Molina, Hardy, Du Ryer or Rotrou will easily recognize the above definition in the actual plays. In fact, most of them would conform rather well to the following characteristics:

- Remote and palatine location.
- Idealising worldview, which manifests itself in incredible actions and events, characters subordinated to fixed stereotypes of virtue and nobility, and, as a counterpart, other characters who are stereotypes of villainy.
- Lofty and exalted diction (this is not so conspicuous in Spanish tragicomedies).
- Careful social tact which does not preclude violent or unjust actions (though never put on directly on scene): illegitimate births, sexual persecution as result of violent love, death penalties not usually carried out, attempted murders, imprisonment, etc.
- Stereotyped characters.
- Rich action: it is episodic and loaded with complication, double plots, peripety, suspense, fortunate and surprising discovery, and dramatic reversal.
- Epic atmosphere: battles and wars abound, although they are seldom presented on-stage. They are always due to romantic motivations such as love, honour or regal aspiration.
- Happy ending based in the restoration of the lost order.
- Indulgent poetical justice: even if the villains are really wicked they

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not true, the affections moved but blunted, the delight but not the melancholy, the danger but not the death; from the other [comedy], the laughter that is not too relaxing, the modest amusements, the feigned complications, the happy reversal, and above all the comic order.... These component, corrected in this way, can stand together in a single fable, especially when they are handled with decorum and quality of manners that are fitting to them" (Quoted by Doran 1954: 207).

are leniently punished or even pardoned.

- As main motifs we are presented with the struggle for political power in conflicting situations, dichotomy love vs. duty/honour, the sexual persecution of a maid or married woman and her honest resistance, the neglect of the conjugal duties or other offence against a royal or aristocratic wife by her husband, the virtuous resignation of the former, the woman disguised as a boy, the frustrated love of two lovers, etc.
- Honour and knightly punctilio are a reference for the noble characters in their behaviour. Honour is usually social and of birth and class. And in the Spanish tragicomedy this kind of honour supersedes the individual honour or awareness of one's own worthiness or *honra*.
- A comic subplot is possible, but not compulsory.

It is important to note that the first characteristic (namely, that this kind of tragicomedy takes place in a remote and palatine location) is to be taken broadly in the sense that they favour the remote scenery as a way to create a neutral place out of current time and space which enhances the distance from normal life and provides the main characters, who usually belong to the nobility, with a suitable heroic status. In this way the distinction of this kind of drama from the more realistic varieties of comedy is more apparent.

A corpus of plays which neatly or almost neatly could realize the above distinctive traits of the palatine tragicomedy could be composed of the following Spanish, English and French plays: *A King and No King*, *The Loyal Subject*, *The Island Princess*, *The Mad Lover*, *A Wife for a Month*, *The Humorous Lieutenant*, *The Queen of Corinth*, *The Knight of Malta* and *The Laws of Candy* by Beaumont-Fletcher; *The Renegado*, *The Picture*, *The Emperor of the East*, *A Very Woman*, *The Bondman*, *The Maid of Honour*, *The Great Duke of Florence* by Massinger; *The Young Admiral*, *The Coronation*, *The Duke's Mistress*, *The Royal Master*, *The Gentleman of Venice*, *The Imposture*, *The Doubtful Heir* and *The Court Secret* by James Shirley; *La ocasión perdida*, *Don Lope de Cardona*, *El amor desatinado*, *La corona merecida*, *Laura perseguida*, *El príncipe melancólico*, *Ursón y Valentín*, *La infanta desesperada*, *El mayorazgo dudoso*, *Los pleitos de Ingalaterra*, *El amigo por fuerza* by Lope de Vega; *La república al revés*, *Siempre ayuda la verdad*, *Quien da luego, da dos veces* and *Amar por razón de estado* by Tirso de Molina; *Elmire ou l'hereuse bigamie*, by Alexander Hardy, *Chryselide et Arimand* by Jean de Mairet; *Tyr et Sidon* by Jean de Schelandre; *Cléomedon* by Pierre du Ryer; *Laure Persecutée*, *Venceslas*, and *Don Lope de Cardona* by Jean de Rotrou.

When we analyse the foregoing corpus we realise that there is a certain closeness in treatment and in general conception that leaps over the national frontiers and individual methods. Still, we must admit that the border between romantic comedy and tragicomedy is rather fuzzy, since we can find in the former almost all the components of palatine tragicomedy such as is seen paradigmatically, for instance, in *Philaster*. This is what happens, with *The Great Duke of Florence* by Massinger, which is less central to a definition of tragicomedy on the side of romantic comedy than *The Maid of Honour*, for instance. As it is seen by Ristine (1910:85) this seems

to be a question of quantity or degree:

Both forms employ the same materials and turn on the same situations; their difference are in degree and not in kind. When the element of impending disaster, the invariable accompaniment of stories of romantic love, is turned to the darker purposes of tragedy, then romantic comedy may be said to stiffen into the cast of its stauncher sister.

A question of degree it must be, for, to be sure, we face the same problem but in respect of tragedy when considering other plays, like *The Politician* by Shirley, which verges on tragedy through the neighbouring domain of the tragedy of the double issue. The same happens with some of the Spanish or French plays of the corpus. As we have already seen, even in the formative period of this kind of tragicomedy it was equally rooted in tragedy and comedy. Clear-cut separations do not easily occur in living forms either biological or artistic, for they are in continuous interrelation. It does not invalidate our classification but, on the contrary, shows the mutual dependence of the genres and how they leap over national boundaries. Still, a further study of a corpus more or less similar to the one provided here is needed. It would allow the European tragicomedy to be seen with more completeness and would point to the permanence of a tradition shaped in a common architect or group of plays sharing basically the same features and problems. It would also help us to understand better the ways in which several borrowings or hypertextual relationships known to us (*Don Lope de Cardona* by Lope de Vega with *Don Lope de Cardona* by Rotrou and *The Young Admiral* by Shirley, *Laura perseguida* and *Laura persecutée* and, in general, arguments from the domain of comedy, cloak and sword comedy, romantic novel) have been effected.

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## Parody, Satire and Quixotism in Beaumont's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*

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1. In the realm of confusing and/or confused literary terms, parody and satire occupy a place of privilege, and not precisely for the absence of studies which make clear their meaning and differences. Margaret Rose, Joseph Dane, and Linda Hutcheon, among others, have aptly explained those differences. Both parody and satire are a commentary—usually negative and burlesque, bent upon producing a comic effect (although for Hutcheon this is only one possible effect among others)—on a recognisable referent. It is the nature of this referent which makes all the difference: in Dane's terms, *verba* (words), that is, expression or system of signs, for parody; and *res* (things), that is, content or states of existence, for satire. The parodic target includes texts, generic rules, literary conventions, styles, and language. The satiric one comprises social structures and norms, attitudes, habits, ideas, systems of thought. In Hutcheon's terms, one is intramural, the other extramural. Or, using Ziva Ben Porat's definition (quoted in Hutcheon 1985), parody represents in a critical and comic way a modelled—in a linguistic or literary way—reality, which is itself a representation of an original reality, whereas satire is a comic and critical representation of a non-modelled reality. This theoretical distinction between parody and satire, however, has not always had an adequate reflection in practical criticism, which has frequently mixed them up, sometimes—and yet not always—because of the simultaneous presence of both in certain works. But it is precisely in these works that the distinction is paramount, not only because the confusion of the satiric and parodic targets would imply a misunderstanding or a misinterpretation of them, but also because the gamut and shades of the relationships that parody and satire may establish within these works are so rich and varied that missing those relationships would imply a considerable loss. Such is the case of Francis Beaumont's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (1613) and Miguel de Cervantes' *Don Quixote* (1605, 1615) which, as will be shown below, is a more than probable model for Beaumont's parodic and satiric procedures. *Don Quixote* set the example for a new kind of parody as well as of satire, and Beaumont was the first author to understand that example and to explore and exploit its potential<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> The question of Cervantes' influence on Beaumont has been amply—if not thoroughly—discussed in several articles (Schevill 1907, Wilson 1948, Gale 1972, Bliss 1987, Sánchez 1995). Some of these, however, seem to be more concerned with documenting the possibility of this influence (sometimes from external rather than from internal evidence), than with studying the intertextual connection in depth. Or, to put it another way, they try to solve the problem posed by the fact that *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* was written (c. 1607) before the first English translation—Shelton's—of *Don Quixote* was published (1612). This unfortunate stress on external evidence as a means to demonstrate or negate influence has resulted in the

It can safely be argued that both parody and satire in *Don Quixote* result or derive from the Quixotic madness. This is basically (leaving aside its hallucinatory effects, which are the accidents, not the essentials, of that madness) a way of reading—literature as reality, reality as literature. And this is the quintessence of Quixotism. This way of reading not only implies the confusion of reality and fiction (chivalric romances interpreted as history, surrounding reality interpreted as a chivalric romance) as well as of ethics and aesthetics (Don Quixote does not assimilate simply the values and ethos of chivalric romances, but above all the literary form those adopt, which for him are inseparable from them). But it also implies, through the Don's imitation of chivalric heroes which goes hand in hand with those confusions, the conversion of reading into action, of the reader into actor, and even author. This is so because that imitation, convinced as Don Quixote is that there is an enchanter who will register his adventures for literary posterity, is nothing but the writing of a chivalric romance with his actions—instead of with a pen, as he intended to do at the beginning of the book—and with himself in the flesh—instead of with an ink and paper fantasised projection of himself—as protagonist. This creates an incongruence or contrast between the chivalric romance Don Quixote thinks he is staging or writing and the reality which is its context and is provided by Cervantes in his anti-chivalric novel (or, within this novel, by the characters who laugh at Don Quixote and stage several deceptions, especially in the second part when they have already read the first one); or, in other words, between the book on his mind and the book on the author's, reader's and the other characters'/readers' minds. And it is from this incongruence that parody, the burlesque and ridicule of chivalric romances, results.

This incongruence results also in satire, although not of the values and ideology encoded in romances, but of those of a society which has turned its back on them and has substituted degraded materialism for chivalric idealism. Cervantes, unlike the Don, separates the ethics from the aesthetics: he criticises the aesthetic form, which is unrealistic and anachronistic, but not its romantic ethos, which in moral terms is superior to surrounding reality; he effects a parody of the literary genre, but a satire of the contemporary world. Curiously enough, it is the Don's confusion of ethics and aesthetics which allows Cervantes to separate his parodic and satiric targets: in his mistaken way of reading and acting/writing Don Quixote projects on the world both certain literary ideas and values (ethics) which carry an implicit critique of reality, and certain literary forms (aesthetics) which are criticised by reality. The Cervantean parodic and satiric procedures are thus based on the particular condition of Don Quixote as a reader, on what one could call *satire on reading*. By this I mean the presentation of a radical case of misreading, of a negative example of reading (which implies both literary reception and literary production), whose shortcomings and deficiencies carry out a critique both of literature (parody) and reality (satire); or, in other words, the ridiculing of a reader in order to effect an attack on the objects of his reading, be it literature (aesthetics) or the reality he reads through that literature (ethics). This is one of the most fruitful inventions in literary history, and one that Beaumont reproduces for similar parodic and satiric purposes in his *Knight of the Burning Pestle*.

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neglect of internal one, of the much more interesting analysis of the complex and deep relationships between both texts, which offer the most solid ground to argue for or against influence and which are the topic of this paper.

2. If *Don Quixote* incorporates two versions—Don Quixote’s and Cervantes’—of the same story, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* comprises two different stories in the same play—“The London Merchant”, acted by professional actors following a script, and “The Knight of the Burning Pestle”, improvised by two London citizens, George and his wife Nell, who are part of the audience, with the collaboration of his apprentice Rafe and the actors themselves. The scenes of this latter story are represented between the scenes of the former, alternating with them, sometimes even interfering with them or getting into them, and thus posing a permanent threat of disruption, transformation, even destruction for “The London Merchant” (a threat which is voiced by the boy on different occasions). George and Nell’s participation is not limited to their improvisation: sitting comfortably onstage, they periodically interrupt and comment on both plays. The citizens, in their dual role as outspoken spectators and improvised authors, are thus the essential linking device between both interior plays; but they are also the key to the Cervantism of the play as a whole, since, as in *Don Quixote*, their Quixotism is the basis of the parodic and satiric strategies and targets which both plays have in common.

“The London Merchant” is itself a parody, although not a Quixotic one. As Doebler has remarked (1965: 333), it is a mock-play after what he called the Prodigal Son plays, a group of plays which exalt the values of thrift as opposed to prodigality (and therefore the middle-class values of London citizens) by means of a romantic or love plot. This plot couples examples of one and the other in brothers, sisters, sometimes apprentices (thus exploring relationships between parents and children as well as between master and apprentices), follows the Biblical pattern of folly, repentance and reintegration, and is set in a city domestic milieu<sup>2</sup>. The pattern, as represented by plays like the anonymous *The London Prodigal* (c. 1604), *Eastward Hoe* (1605), by Chapman, Jonson, and Marston, or even, in a more romantic strain, Thomas Dekker’s *Old Fortunatus* (1599), is clearly inverted by “The London Merchant”. This we can observe in its two lines of action. (a) One of them narrates how the apprentice Jasper is dismissed by his master Venturewell for corresponding the love of the merchant’s daughter, Lucy, while Venturewell has chosen for her the rich but insipid Humphrey. Here, unlike the Prodigal Son plays, Jasper—in fact an exemplary apprentice forced to be rebellious and wayward by Venturewell’s greedy and mercantile view of marriage, and not a prodigal at all despite being described as such by his own mother—finally wins Lucy after fleeing with her and undergoing a series of adventures. In addition to this, Humphrey, the parental candidate, appears as ridiculous and unable to conquer Lucy and thus to fulfil the role of romantic lover, partly because of his inability to keep this role separate from the prosaic commercial worldview which pervades all his deeds and words, and which echoes Venturewell’s. (b) The other line of action concerns Jasper’s family, and how the carefree and prodigal but charming and attractive Mr Merrythought, his father, defeats in a certain way the spendthrift and

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<sup>2</sup> The ideology underlying these and similar plays that may be grouped as popular domestic drama is well discussed by Alexander Leggatt, who writes that “the domestic drama of the period deals naturally with threats to security of the middle-class world, of which prodigality and adultery are the principal ones. It normally contains those threats by showing a fundamentally healthy society, and a fundamentally decent human nature, that allow kindness and forgiveness to have their way at the end; even tragedy is generally turned towards pity” (1988: 185).

prudent but miserly and unattractive Mrs Merrythought, who, after abandoning her husband, is forced by circumstances to return home and submissively ask for admission. Michael, Jasper's brother, is a ridiculous version of Mrs Merrythought's values and worldview in the same way as Humphrey was of Venturewell's. This worldview firmly associates Venturewell with Mrs Merrythought, and is defeated by Jasper and his father in their respective lines of actions.

Hence these characters are a challenge—and a successful one—both to the conventions of a certain kind of play and to the mercantile and petty-bourgeois values articulated through them, thus making clear the satiric implications of parody, as Doebler has remarked: “What purpose does this parody serve for *The Knight* as a whole? The parody satirises the middle-class identifying of material and moral values that created the stock pattern of the Prodigal Son play. This confusion of values created a genre partly because it is a stock response to the complexities of an often unjust world” (1965: 343). The target is both the ethics and the aesthetics that gave literary shape to them, parody is used in the service of satire. Furthermore, the uninterrupted commentary from George and Nell on “The London Merchant” reinforces this parodic and satiric dimension. Their comments exhibit their identification with Venturewell, Humphrey and Mrs Merrythought as well as their hostility against Jasper and Mr Merrythought; these feelings underline their affinities with the former characters, include them in the satiric butt, and thus make even more explicit the ideology and social class which are under attack<sup>3</sup>. At the same time, their comments also display their anxiety and uneasiness before the turn of events in “The London Merchant” as well as their readiness to thwart it in order to fulfil their wishes and those of the characters they sympathise with. These wishes coincide with the conventions being burlesqued, so that the parodic subversion from which satire arises is made explicit.

Parody and satire in “The London Merchant” show no traces of the Quixotic. But the citizens' uneasiness about these parodic and satiric dimensions drive them to stage the other interior play—“The Knight”—as an alternative, a challenge, even a threat, to “The London Merchant”. It is precisely the staging of that play, and their becoming improvised authors and not simple spectators, which places parody and satire in a Cervantean key, since these are articulated through the characters' Quixotism. This Quixotism is both the citizens', so far neglected but the most profound and complex (perhaps that is the reason for the neglect), and Rafe's, the most evident and discussed but nonetheless derivative from the citizens' Quixotism.

3. In “The Knight” Rafe plays the part of a shop-keeper who is also a compulsive reader of chivalric romances (in his first appearance on stage he reads aloud a fragment from *Palmerin de Inglaterra*) and who, like the Don, decides to imitate

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<sup>3</sup> The satire of the middle-class ethos is thus extended to the whole play, since it not only concerns the characters of the interior play, but also the citizens who are watching it and who voluntarily associate with them. For Doebler, Mrs Merrythought is the thematic link between “The London Merchant” and the citizens. After demonstrating this assertion, Doebler concludes: “Mistress Merry-thought, the Citizen, and his wife are all automatically on the side of vested interest—in this case Venturewell—and either cannot or will not see the disparity between facts or intended characterisations and their own prejudices ... Stock forms imply stock values and stock values can be satirised. Thus Beaumont satirises easy middle-class morality *through* a ridicule of the Citizen and his wife, in turn a satire of stock responses *through* the parody of a stock dramatic form” (1965:343-44).

these books and becomes a knight errant, a metamorphosis which also includes that of his two apprentices into squire and dwarf. The incongruence between the high and the low, the knightly and the shopping spheres, is perfectly epitomised in his self-designation as *grocer errant* as well as in the pestle which he uses as a chivalric weapon and which features prominently on his shield and in the chivalric name he invents for himself. It is exactly the same incongruence that is at the core of *Don Quixote*, used in the service of the same parodic target—chivalric romance. As in *Don Quixote*, it is transferred to linguistic terms and underlined by the contrast between the chivalric language he teaches his subordinates and their own language or the contents they pour into that adopted language: “Right Courteous and Valiant Knight of the Burning Pestle, here is a distressed damsel, to have a halfpenny-worth of pepper” (29)<sup>4</sup>. This initial incongruence is extended in a series of adventures of an unquestionably Quixotic nature: the one of the Bell inn that Rafe mistakes for a castle, although he is finally forced to pay the reckoning reluctantly (an episode identical with one in *Don Quixote*); the adventure concerning the liberation of giant Barbaroso’s prisoners, actually the clients and patients—suffering from syphilis—of a barber whose activities are comically described in chivalric terms (a fake adventure fabricated by the host and Nick the barber, two characters in “The London Merchant”, which resembles not just the adventures of Mambrino’s helmet and the galley slaves in *Don Quixote*, as some critics have remarked, but also those counterfeited by the priest, the barber, whose name is also Nicolás, and some hosts of Don Quixote’s in the first part of the novel); or the episode of princess Pompiona of Moldavia, whose amorous advances meet with Rafe’s indifference because his heart belongs to Susan, a cobbler’s maid in Milk Street, and whose hospitality (which, unlike that at the inn, should be appreciated in chivalric, not economic terms) Rafe, at the citizens’ request, rewards with a ridiculous amount of money; and finally the mock-epic reviewing of the London militia, full of details of common life and bawdy puns. The similarities with *Don Quixote* are too close to be overlooked<sup>5</sup>.

But still, to this basic incongruence which one could designate internal (within “The Knight”), may be added an external one which originates in the contact, or even the contest, between this adventure or romance play and the domestic, real-life comedy which frames it—“The London Merchant”. The attempt of this adventure play to glorify the everyday is set in the context of a play which glories in the everyday, and this general disparity becomes specific in those episodes in which Rafe slips into “The London Merchant” to take his chivalric action into this realm of the plain and ordinary, an unmistakably Quixotic enterprise. The results are as catastrophic as in *Don Quixote*:

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<sup>4</sup> Rafe’s linguistic self-consciousness, his awareness of the importance of language, similar to Don Quixote’s, is clear not only in his teaching his apprentices a proper and courteous way of expressing themselves, but in one of his earliest assertions, in which this incongruence or even open conflict between old-fashioned chivalry and a crass modern world is also clear: “There are no such courteous and fair well-spoken knights in this age: they will call one ‘the son of a whore’, that Palmerin of England would have called ‘fair sir’; and one that Rosicleer would have called ‘right beauteous damsel’, they will call ‘damned bitch’” (27).

<sup>5</sup> The similarities were rightly summed up by Wilson (1948: 35), and they have been studied in a detailed, exhaustive and thorough way by Gale (1972: 90-94). They have been repeated, almost in the same order as they are presented in Gale, by Sánchez, with a few slight differences, the most interesting of which concerns a supposed trace of Ginés de Pasamonte in the inn-keeper (1995: 80-81). Bliss also makes reference to Pasamonte and the two episodes (the Bell inn and Barbaroso’s cave) which are the clearest parallels with *Don Quixote* (1987: 365).

he fights Jasper to liberate Luce but is defeated and beaten (the corrective of reality in the form of blows which is a feature of Quixotic adventures); Mrs Merrythought mistakes him for a giant, runs away in panic, and in so doing loses her purse and a casket with all her savings; Rafe promises to recover them for her, but fails to do so. “The London Merchant” thus provides the parodic context to some of Rafe’s adventures integrating “The Knight”, as so does *Don Quixote* to Don Quixote’s adventures integrating the “Don Quixote” imagined by him. We could even say that “The London Merchant”, in a different sense, provides that parodic context to *all* his adventures, as far as it is the actors of the “Merchant” who also become the secondary characters in the improvised “Knight”, and they seem to create or at least be partially responsible for the ridiculing quixotic incongruence appearing not only in the clash between “Knight” and “Merchant” (Jasper beating Rafe) but also within the “Knight” itself (the inn, Barbaroso, Pompiona and militia episodes). Their attitude may be interpreted as a kind of defensive reaction against a play—“The Knight”—which threatens to disrupt their own play—the “Merchant”—, as Lee Bliss has argued <sup>6</sup>, in the same way as “The Knight” is the citizens’ defensive reaction against the threat posed by the “Merchant” to the kind of play they expect to view.

Bliss is right when he asserts that “the players easily ridicule the citizens’ aspiration to gentility by placing Rafe’s dramatic fantasy—its language, situations, social pretensions—in a mundane, real-life context of country inns and syphilitic patients” (1984: 19). The players are thus a kind of parodists within the play set up by the citizens and Rafe, and the parallelism with Don Quixote’s friends in the first part of the novel, and especially with all the characters in the second part who stage mock-chivalric adventures to laugh at the Don and amuse themselves, is evident. These characters create a dramatic illusion, they improvise episodes following the Don’s romantic models, as these actors do following the citizens’: the characters of *Don Quixote* are improvised players who effect a parody of chivalric romance similar to the one effected by the professional players of “The London Merchant”. If we accept this sense in which the “Merchant”, both the play and its actors, is the frame of the “Knight”, and not simply one interior play at the same level as the other, the separation drawn above between interior and exterior Quixotic incongruence dissolves. It is not just that the clash between the “Don Quixote” imagined by the Don himself and the *Don Quixote* written by Cervantes becomes the clash between the two interior plays: the Cervantean hostility between chivalric romance and the anti-romantic reality framing it is also transformed by Beaumont into the hostility between the “Knight” and the “Merchant” framing it. The distinctive Cervantean character of this parody, effected through the Quixotism of Rafe and the resulting Quixotic incongruence, is highlighted by the simultaneous presence of the non Cervantean parody within “The London Merchant” examined above.

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<sup>6</sup> Bliss explains how the players, at a certain point, after suffering Rafe’s continuing challenge to their play’s integrity, after trying “to accommodate Rafe while continuing their own script” (1984: 10), after defying Rafe and then beating him out of their play, “turn from their own production to revenge themselves on their citizen tormentors” (1984: 11), and they do it by creating “two scenes for Rafe’s knightly romance—‘The Reckoning of the Bell Inn’ and ‘Barbaroso’s Cave’—meant to ridicule Rafe and his sponsors before the gentlemen’s spectators” (1984: 12), and later by “enacting, mockingly, the subsidiary characters necessary to the new and wildly different scenes the citizens now request (Princess Pompiona and the incompetent crew Rafe drills at Mile-End)” (1984: 12).

4. And yet, if Rafe is a Quixote within “The Knight”, he is not the real Quixote of *The Knight*. Rafe’s Quixotism could be defined as secondary or of a second degree: he is an actor playing a part, that of Quixotic knight, following the citizens’ directions. He is Quixotic as grocer errant in the interior play staged by the citizens, but not as Rafe, the citizens’ apprentice, in the overall play<sup>7</sup>. The Cervantean parody through incongruence actually originates, not in Rafe’s fake Quixotism, but in the citizens’ real one: they plant “The Knight” in the midst of “The London Merchant”, and, in so doing, they are succumbing to the Quixotic way of reading, or, in this case, receiving a literary or artistic artefact (since they are spectators and not readers). Like Don Quixote, they try to make romantic an anti-romantic reality, that is, a merchant—within the “Knight”—and the “Merchant”—by means of the “Knight”. If the Don attempted—and of course failed—to transform himself into a chivalric hero and a hostile anti-romantic reality into a chivalric romance, they attempt—and of course fail—to transform a grocer—a merchant and therefore an image of themselves—into a knight and a hostile anti-citizen play—“The London Merchant”—into a citizen romance or pro-citizen celebration. The source of this behaviour is of course the same confusions as spectators that we saw in Don Quixote as a reader, and of course a similar disposition to become authors of their own romance, and not simple romance readers (spectators), to fulfil their daydreams creatively, actively, and not just passively. In their change from mere spectators to authors—although not through their own deeds, like the Don, who is also an actor, but through Rafe’s performance as an actor—they are true Quixotic readers (spectators), and *The Knight* a true satire on reading (viewing) in Cervantean fashion<sup>8</sup>.

In staging the “Knight” to counteract the parodic and satiric “Merchant”, the citizens not only try to adapt the latter to their own ideas, both ethic and aesthetic, but they also try to cancel it out by presenting an alternative, an antidote, as it were. On the one hand, Rafe is ready to help the characters they identify with in “The London Merchant”, so that the play may finish in a way not inimical to their ideas. On the other, Rafe has his own play, “The Knight”, and this is intended to be not simply a dramatic chivalric romance, but one of those contemporary plays which made London citizens the protagonists of marvellous romantic adventures and which exalted them to positions

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<sup>7</sup> The difference is remarked by Wilson, and later by Sánchez when she asserts that “...la posición de Rafe es fría y calculada: Rafe está actuando, con énfasis en lo de actuar, porque su amo se lo ordena. Don Quijote no está actuando, por lo menos en el primer libro; él vive sus andanzas y cree en ellas, para don Quijote los molinos son gigantes encantados de verdad” (1948: 77).

<sup>8</sup> In addition to Rafe and the citizens, one could still add another figure with less evident but certain Quixotic features: Humphrey. These are highlighted by Glenn Steinberg’s comments on Humphrey’s inability to carry out the love plot in which he is supposed to be the lover: “Humphrey, however, utterly fails as a performer ... Humphrey lacks any sense of how to construct an effective ‘plot’. But he is not aware of his failure in this larger context, still perceiving himself in the role of the lover... The discrepancy between the role he actually plays... and the role that he believes himself to play leads him again and again into unintentional burlesque” (1991: 213). Don Quixote is also a victim of the same discrepancy, and so is Rafe, as Steinberg indicates, thus drawing a parallelism between Humphrey and Rafe which points to their similar Quixotic core: “In much the same way, Rafe resembles Humphrey in his complete lack of theatrical sense. From the start, he is not aware of the ludicrousness of his ‘part’ ... Rafe’s erroneous image of himself as the glorious Knight of the Burning Pestle thus repeatedly leads him into unintentional burlesque, much as Humphrey’s exalted self-image did” (1991: 218-19). And, using the idea of the players as parodists mentioned above, Steinberg adds: “Furthermore, Rafe, like Humphrey, becomes an unwitting performer in a ‘plot’ that merrily makes a fool of him. The players prepare a ‘plot’ against Rafe, just as Jasper and Lucy prepared theirs against Humphrey” (1991: 219).

of prominence (thus exalting their class and the city in general). It is the kind of play described by Bliss as a “heywoodian citizen-adventure play” (1984: 13), which, in John Jump’s words, “links the most extravagant adventures with the most extravagant adulation of the city” (1972: 57). The type was well represented by Heywood’s *The Four Prentices of London* (1600), mentioned by the citizens themselves as a model for their “Knight” (85), by Day, Rowley and Wilkin’s *The Travels of the Three English Brothers* (1607), also an implicit model for the citizens (84), or, in a more city-patriotic strain, by Thomas Dekker’s *The Shoemaker’s Holiday* (c. 1599) and similar plays mentioned by the citizen in the induction (12). The citizens’ resort to episodes which usually featured in those plays, such as those of Princess Pompiona, the Lord of May, and the drill of the citizen troops, clearly associates “The Knight” with them.

And yet, if they failed in their attempts to put a curb on “The London Merchant”, to transform its parody into the model it parodies (a Prodigal Son play), and therefore to deflect its satirical thrust against their class and ideology, they also fail in these creative efforts. As a result of the Quixotic incongruencies in “The Knight” already discussed, instead of one of those citizen-adventure plays, they produce—with the unrequested collaboration of the actors, as we have seen—a parody of it, with similar satiric implications: a mock-exaltation of the aspirations and values represented by citizen romances is an ironic way of criticising them. As Jump has remarked, “while burlesquing one popular kind of drama in *The London Merchant*, he [Beaumont] burlesques a second through the sequence of disconnected adventures which the Citizen and his wife devise for their apprentice” (1972: 56). Jump adds later:

He [Beaumont] ridicules the attitudes and values of his victims by means of the direct satirical representation of the Citizen and his Wife. He ridicules their tastes by means of the two mock-plays, *The London Merchant* and the plot of the knight-errant. In these he burlesques respectively the domestic drama and the adventure drama as composed for citizen audiences; and in Rafe’s infatuation with tales of chivalry he burlesques, often by parody, one of the citizens’ favourite forms of reading. (1972: 57)

Both interior plays in *The Knight* are a parodic transformation of two different kinds of drama—citizen comedy and citizen romance—expressing a similar ideology—one in domestic, the other in chivalric terms—which is satirised through parody. The difference lies in the deliberate and non Cervantean character of parody in “The London Merchant” and the undeliberate (since not intended by the citizens) but Cervantean character of parody in “The Knight”. In any case, the satiric impact of parody in “The Knight” reinforces that of the “Merchant”, and again is itself reinforced by the citizens’ comments on their own play, which make explicit the satiric target, intensify the critique levelled at it, and include the citizens in such a target.

The citizens’ Quixotic failure in writing the romance they intend is coupled by their inability to realise that failure, to appreciate that the result of their efforts is mock-

romance and not romance. They seem to be happy with the play being represented, unaware, like Don Quixote, of the differences between their models and their imitation, between what they think they are staging (romance) and what is actually being staged (parody). In this sense, the Quixotic incongruence between the book he thinks he is writing with his deeds and the book actually written is translated into the incongruence not only between the “Knight” and the “Merchant”, already commented on, but also, in more literal terms, between the “Knight” as they plan and see it, and the “Knight” as it turns out and the audience see it (the audience within the *The Knight* itself, the gentlemen, but also outside it, ourselves). If the first incongruence was external as far as it concerned two different plays, the second one is internal not only because it concerns the same play but also because the disparity between the two versions of it is of a psychological nature, and therefore closer to the Quixotic incongruence. This is another manifestation of that Quixotic misreading or even blindness, the inability to interpret or receive a literary work properly, and this takes us to the core of the citizens’ Quixotic condition which is the ultimate source of their behaviour and of the resulting parody and satire. The origins of that Quixotic misreading are of course the same confusions between ethics and aesthetics and between reality and fiction that we saw in the Don.

The citizens’ critical appreciation—or rather mis-appreciation—of “The London Merchant” as well as their improvisation of “The Knight”, their double condition as spectators and authors, both reveal their incapacity to separate their view of the real world from that of a fictional one. Like Don Quixote, whose worldview is inseparable from an art form, they posit a perfect correspondence between ethics and aesthetics, so they do not accept an art form unless it fits into their worldview. As Bliss says, they apply to art their real-life categories: “For George and Nell ... drama is as fresh as life; and, partly because the play’s story and characters are close to their own experience, they consistently misread those cues ... What they would censure in life, they reject in art” (1984: 8). They misjudge the aesthetic value of a play because it challenges their ethical values, so they challenge it through their commentary and their staging of another play (which they also misjudge for the same reasons, in this case because it apparently suits their values). This confusion of art and life, which does not admit other art than that which reflects one’s life and ideology (Don Quixote does not admit another life and ideology than that reflected in his art) is even more evident in the way the citizens let themselves be drawn into the dramatic illusion of the play they are watching: like Don Quixote, they do not separate reality from fiction as they do not distinguish ethics and aesthetics. This is clear in their willingness to participate and in their actual participation in the events taking place onstage as if they were real events. George prevents Rafe from being arrested by paying his expenses at the Bell Inn, Nell asks her husband to raise the watch at Ludgate when she thinks that Jasper really wants to kill Luce, they both try to persuade the characters in the play to act in a certain way or reprimand them for not doing it (and there are many more examples scattered throughout the whole play). While watching the play they are all the time living through it and involved in it in an active way. Don Quixote applies to life art categories, he lives as he reads; the citizens apply to art life categories, they read (view) as they live. Don Quixote deals with reality as if it were literature; the citizens deal with

literature (drama) as if it were reality. In both cases, the separation between art and life collapses.

5. George and Nell are the unifying element—or even consciousness—of *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*. They embody in the flesh the aesthetics and the ethics under attack in both interior plays, they are the real, or at least the most immediate, satiric butts. What is really being satirised, however, beyond or prior to their ideology and worldview, is their Quixotic condition as spectators and authors, or, in other words, this Quixotic condition is the means to carry out Beaumont's parody and satire in a novel, innovative way, which we have called satire on reading and which was first used by Cervantes in *Don Quixote*. In this respect, the most important difference between both authors is that in *The Knight* the parodic and satiric targets coincide or are associated, so parody is subordinated to or is a means for satire. In *Don Quixote* parody and satire remain separated, their targets are not only different but even opposed, and parody has the upper hand over satire. Beaumont criticises certain ethics represented by Quixotic spectators through the burlesque or the parodic distortion of the aesthetics associated with those ethics; Cervantes criticises certain aesthetics represented by a Quixotic reader through parody, but the ethics associated with those aesthetics are used to criticise the ethics of the non-Quixotic characters who laugh at the Quixotic reader. This implies that the ultimate assessment of Quixotism in Cervantes is not wholly negative. And yet, despite these differences, something similar happens in Beaumont regarding the citizens' Quixotism, although for different reasons.

In *Don Quixote* the Don's idealism has a value in itself when separated from the anachronistic literary shape it adopts and the hallucinatory delusion in which it indulges, and especially when contrasted with the materialistic characters in the world around him. Don Quixote is mad but morally superior to his sane but morally degraded society. In a limited and very modern way, Don Quixote is a hero, and this heroic dimension in the Don, first spotted by the German Romantics, highlights the character's duality, his condition as both deluded fool (an instrument for parody) and alienated hero (an instrument for satire). In this view, the Quixotic disruption of the stale life surrounding him has the vitality and freshness of a carnivalesque and liberating disruption of a stagnant order. These contradictions and complexity within the Quixotic figure are further stressed by his goodness and common sense in all matters not touching the chivalric. In *The Knight* the citizens possess something of the same complexity. The citizens' Quixotism has also a positive aspect which has been pointed out by some critics: their artistic naïveté, their imaginative and creative thrust (which allows them to immerse themselves in the dramatic illusion and to improvise their own dramatic illusion), their liberating capacity to turn the stage upside down, to change fixed roles and open up closed stories. The citizens' Quixotic behaviour produces the effect of life's irruption on the stage, a carnivalesque disruption, not of life, but of a play, of the stale order represented by a written script, even of the gentlemen's elitist theatrical establishment, which the citizens challenge from their popular and naïve position. The citizens are not simple satiric butts, but share in Don Quixote's duality. And this dual and even contradictory nature increases if we consider that they are both a carnivalesque challenge to the aesthetic code and at the same time supporters of the ethic code challenged by the carnivalesque Merrythought, or, as Bliss has remarked, that they are addicts to the romantic daydreaming and wish-fulfilment of "The Knight"

which they deny to Rafe and Luce in “The London Merchant” (of course because one exalts, the other challenges, their ethos). Don Quixote, in similar fashion, is both a carnivalesque challenge to the ethic code of those surrounding him, especially Sancho, and at the same time supporter of the aesthetic code challenged by the carnivalesque Sancho and other characters. As this parallel makes clear, however, this common duality should not conceal the differences between the citizens and Don Quixote. The positive side of Quixotism in both plays stems from opposite reasons: ethic, in the Don’s case, aesthetic, in the citizens’.

Curiously enough, despite all these resemblances, the Quixotism of the citizens discussed in this paper has passed unnoticed. Most scholars dealing with the topic of Cervantes and Beaumont have traced the imitation of Cervantes to the Quixotism of Rafe and his adventures. As a consequence of this and of the problem of dates mentioned above, many Beaumont scholars have pronounced this imitation either inexistent or superficial. The point I have attempted to make is that there are subtler but deeper forms of Quixotism in the play, and, most important, that they pervade the play as a whole (and not just one plot of the play, Rafe’s). The Quixotism of the citizens, the real protagonists of Beaumont’s play, is less evident, but it takes us from restricted and isolated traits to larger matters of conception and execution of the play. Resemblance between *Don Quixote* and *The Knight* is not just a question of similarity in Quixotic characters or adventures, Rafe’s, but of Cervantean strategies for parody and satire based on the citizen’s more complex and richer Quixotism. We could say of *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* what a later and also subtler imitator of *Don Quixote*, Henry Fielding, said of one of his works, that it was “written in imitation of the manner of Cervantes” (and not only of his Quixotic matter, we could add). Beaumont, especially when compared with other English imitators of Cervantes in the seventeenth century such as Edmund Gayton, Thomas D’Urfey, and even Samuel Butler<sup>9</sup>, is the only author who goes beyond the farcical and facetious view of Quixotism which dominated at the time (as Edwin Knowles has demonstrated [1941 and 1947]), and who uses Quixotism for parodic and satiric purposes which place him in the footsteps of Cervantism. In this sense, Beaumont’s imitation truly anticipates in its depth, complexity and creativity, that of Fielding’s in *Joseph Andrews* more than one century later.

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<sup>9</sup> Edmund Gayton, *Pleasant Notes on the History and Adventures of Don Quixote* (1654); Samuel Butler, *Hudibras* (1663, 1664, 1678); Thomas D’Urfey, *The Comical History of Don Quixote* (1694, 1696).

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## **The Will to Reform: Milton's *and Verney's Educational Projects***

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John Milton and Luís António Verney, two major figures in their own right, are usually the object of quite independent approaches on account not only of the time span of a century which separates them, but also because of their distinct contributions to the cultures they lived in. However, they share the love for their respective countries and the wish to reform those social aspects which prevent progress. In this paper we wish to direct your attention to one specific issue which was dealt with by these two intellectuals, namely, the education of the younger generations as it appears in Milton's *Of Education* (1644) and in Verney's *Verdadeiro Método de Estudar* (1746).

In fact, Milton's prestige as a poet and a scholar of the seventeenth century English literature is so widely established that no further presentation is needed. His name always comes out invariably associated with the titles of his outstanding poetical works, *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, sometimes with *Il Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*... Thus, his prose works linger in the shadow of those poetical productions, being frequently studied as ancillary material to the understanding of his poetry. Moreover, the polemical tone which inspires his writings in issues such as the freedom of conscience, the liberty of expression or the divorce cause, conceals the more permanent effect of these essays.

Luís António Verney, for his part, gained recognition as one of the leading figures who brought the Enlightenment ideas to his native country, thus promoting the renewal of the somewhat backward Portuguese intellectual scene. Nevertheless, his major work, *Verdadeiro Método de Estudar*, comprehending sixteen letters on the subject of education, went through a rather problematic publishing process which delayed its expected results (Cf. Salgado Júnior, 1949: I, x-xi). Only much later did his long and detailed essay receive its due appreciation as the first systematic Portuguese work on pedagogy.

The political and religious circumstances then prevalent in Portugal, led the author to present it anonymously, and to create an authorial persona, an Italian Franciscan monk, in order to keep away from the inquisitorial courts. Even so, the book was forbidden and his secret easily discovered. This fact, together with his difficult relationship with the minister Francisco de Almeida Mendonça (Marquis of Pombal's cousin), whom he worked for in the capacity of secretary of the Portuguese Legation in Rome, deprived him of his post and caused his banishment from the pontifical state. He remained an outcast, living abroad, in Pisa, in very poor conditions for most of his life.

In spite of the ill relations between Verney and the political and religious Portuguese authorities, mainly during King José's reign, that is, under the rule of the powerful minister Marquis of Pombal, Verney's concern with the plight of the educational national system is evident from the complete title of his work: *Verdadeiro Método de Estudar para ser útil à República e à Igreja: Proporcionado ao estilo e necessidade de Portugal* (*True Method of Studying to be useful to the Commonwealth and the Church: Adapted to the Style and Needs of Portugal*. (Salgado Júnior 1949: 1).

The purpose of being useful to country and church re-echoes Milton's authoritative definition of education in his small tractate: "... to repair the ruins of our first parents by regaining to know God aright ..." (Sabine 1986: 59) and to fit "a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war." (Sabine 1986: 62)

Unlike Verney, Milton's *Of Education* answered the reforming aspirations of some factions then in power. Written almost at the same time as his pamphlets on divorce and the *Areopagitica*, the essay, though regarded by the author himself as a minor work, went to the press at the direct request of Samuel Hartlib. This London merchant of Polish origin had multiple connections in the English Parliament constituted in the early forties, at the beginning of the crisis which opposed this institution to Charles I. Most of the time he was involved in several matters of public interest, such as projects for the improvement of agriculture and the reforming of education and had already promoted the publication of Comenius' pedagogical works in England. Pedagogy was a frequent topic in conversations between Milton and Hartlib.

Thus, Milton's contribution to this issue had a rather warm-hearted reception when compared with the censured first edition of *Verney's Verdadeiro Método* that was removed and no longer exists. The same kind of censorship which had been strongly criticised by Milton in *Areopagitica* as a means to destroy man's capacity of judging and perfecting oneself, isolated the Portuguese public from the wealth of thought and criticism produced under the Enlightenment optimism. So, Verney's dedication to the reverend fathers of the Jesuit Company can only be read as an ironic gesture towards those who refused innovation and kept to tradition as the stronghold of national order. Nevertheless, the future generations were to acknowledge the impact of Verney's work, and even during his lifetime several aspects of Pombal's teaching reform revealed, at least indirectly, Verney's influence.

Besides the specific publishing conditions and expectations of two communities where the religious fervour led to quite different practical attitudes as far as the upbringing of their younger generations was concerned, Milton and Verney are consistent in their criticism of the scholastic methods still applied in the learning institutions of each country and the waste of time it represented for the students.

This is quite understandable in Milton's case on account of the temporal proximity with the old system. Witnessing the scientific revolution started by the Galilean school, epitomised in England by Newton's research in physics and largely diffused by Francis Bacon, both in essays like *The Advancement of Learning* (1605) and *Novum Organum* (1620), and in his utopia, *New Atlantis* (1610), Milton agrees with the imperative introduction of the new branches of learning, as well as with the unparalleled role of direct observation of nature. He even refers in his proposal the importance of practical experts to guide the students in their natural History experiments:

"To set forward all these proceedings in nature and mathematics, what hinders but that they may procure, as oft as shall be needful, the helpful experiences of hunters, fowlers, fishermen, shepherds, gardeners, apothecaries; and in the other sciences, architects, engineers, mariners, anatomists." (Sabine 1986: 65)

However, Milton still defends the reading of the old masters' works not only to teach the ethical principles required for the edification of the soul, but he also values them as compendiums for the learning of matters like agriculture, physics, mathematics, geometry, geography, or medicine. Thus the old knowledge prolongs itself into the present, though channelled in clearer and more profitable ways.

In spite of the lapse of one century, Verney's experience is not significantly different from Milton's. There had been no Portuguese parallel to Bacon to undertake the nation-wide diffusion of the new scientific ideas. The influence of the Discoveries was followed by an almost lethargic period due to the subsequent dynastic and political convulsions and the prevailing role of the Inquisition in shunning the development of a national intellectual élite.

Both authors shared a common influence of the humanistic views on education from Rabelais's caricatural portraits, Erasmus's critical writings, or Montaigne's thoughts in *Essais*, to name just a few, as well as the more modern and systematic work of Ratke, and Comenius in the linguistic and pedagogical fields. Ratke's emphasis on the early learning of the native languages, and the instrumental character of classical languages demonstrated by the Bateus brothers in their Spanish/Latin dictionary and in Comenius' *Janua Linguarum* became well established. Moreover, Comenius' conception of the progressive stages of learning according to the phases of the student's growth, in *Opera Didactica Omnia* (1657), gives way to a more realistic approach to the pedagogical projects.

Milton was also well aware of the contributions from the Reformation thinkers, like Luther, Calvin and Melancton. Though their main interests were not of a pedagogical nature, the need to enforce the protestant doctrine involved them in the educational issue. Milton adopts a rather slighting tone when he briefly refers to Comenius' pedagogical relevance. However, the latter's religious and ethical concern as part of a correct educational system, together with the above mentioned new ideas prevail on the organisation of Milton's "institutions of breeding". Nevertheless this is certainly less detailed than in the former's *Opera Didactica*. He describes the gradual training of students from twelve to twenty one years old, evolving from sensible matters to more abstract disciplines as a means to a solid upbringing in a shorter period of time than formerly used. The daily readings of pious texts and the reserving of Sundays to the study of theology and church history concur to render an almost monastical atmosphere to those institutions.

In Portugal the Counter-Reformation tried to reinforce the role of the Catholic Church in the educational institutions. The Jesuit and the Oratory Companies led the way. No wonder that Verney first studied in the Jesuitical Colégio de S. Antão, and later attended the course of philosophy at the Oratorian Congregation. The curricula consisted of the study of the Latin grammar, rhetoric and then logic, physics and metaphysics. After a short incursion in the military career, he resumed his studies in philosophy and theology at the University of Évora. It was in this Jesuitical school that he eventually graduated in philosophy. His personal experience would later

emerge in his vivacious criticism about the method and the syllabus used. The reading of Bacon, Descartes, Gassendi, Lossada and even Locke and Leibniz, some in the original idioms, others in French and Italian translations, drew him to wider epistemological interests. Thus, perhaps, the urge to travel to Rome where he met other intellectuals. There he began to prepare his life work, the pedagogical compendium that would enlighten his countrymen.

The impoverished humanistic tradition which constituted the then applied syllabus made him organise an adapted curriculum starting with linguistic studies of Latin, Greek and Hebrew, in every way similar to the promptings advanced by Milton. For the effect Verney wrote some short grammars, and he intended to write a "Portuguese and Ancient Histories" as well to encourage the learning of this subject. He also promoted the study of rhetoric and philosophy with works consisting of logic, theology, metaphysics and physics. He also refers having written other compendiums on civil and canon law, as well as on other topics, with the exception of medicine. (Salgado Júnior 1949: V, li).

The vast scope of his work contrasts with the conciseness of Milton's proposal. The scarcity of sources, both national and foreign, in Portugal at the time justifies this feverish production. Verney was trying hard to overcome the void left by the inquisitorial censorship and like Comenius was writing directly to his own community's needs. The latter felt compelled to build up a cultural heritage in order to compensate his persecuted fellow countrymen, while Verney did just the same in order to fight off national stagnation and decadence.

Notwithstanding the close influence of the French pedagogical work of Rollin, *Traité des études* (1720) and *De la manière d'enseigner et d'étudier les Belles-Lettres, par rapport à l'esprit et au coeur* (1726-1738) in *Verdadeiro Método*, especially in the first seven letters, the model envisaged by the count of Ericeira must have also contributed to Verney's project. Despite the scanty information available, the academy the count started in his own house circa 1717-1720 seems to be the first systematic attempt to promote a new syllabus. Several lecturers came to teach on specific subjects covering different branches of knowledge, such as literary studies, history, philosophic and scientific studies and a course on methodology delivered by the count himself (Salgado Júnior 1949: IV, xxix-xxxii).

However, the count of Ericeira's pedagogical catalogue shows no interest in relation to the new scientific approach promoted by Francis Bacon and later by John Locke. These theories widely spread all over Europe were eventually known in Portugal through the efforts of those travellers who, like Verney, went abroad in search of a fresh intellectual scenario.

Castro Sarmiento and Pina Proença were both instrumental in promoting a new revised curriculum, the former on account of his ambitious answer to King João V's desired reform of the medical studies, and the latter as the author of *Apontamentos sobre a educação dum menino nobre* (1734) (Notes concerning the education of a young gentleman) (Salgado Júnior 1949: IV, xliii-1).

Pina Proença's title clearly reflects the idea of the gentleman which permeates most of the social conceptions of English eighteenth century thought and especially Locke's new pedagogical approach. Instead of a schooling curricular system, John Locke aims at the education of a new man, from the cradle to adulthood. The upbringing process must confer physical strength, good manners and a mental

capacity to absorb all possible knowledge, both subjective and objective, in order to mould the perfect gentleman.

Regardless of Verney's lack of explicit references to John Locke's works, his philosophic and pedagogical theories underlie most of the former's conceptions. Locke's *Essay on Human Understanding* (1690) and also *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693) were translated into French by Pierre Coste in 1700 and 1695, respectively. So Verney had an easy access to its contents. His critics generally agree on the frequent borrowing of Locke's empiricist theory in the letters dedicated to the philosophic studies. Nevertheless, there is a wider gap between the educational purposes of these two pedagogues. While John Locke neglects the prospective professional careers of his gentlemen, Verney never forgets the more practical purposes of his project, that is, to form men, and women in such a way as to make them useful to his own country.

Thus, in spite of the many obvious differences, it is Milton's commitment in preparing worthy commonwealth men that we find again in Verney's proposition in his first letter: a reflection concerning the methods of the studies in the Portuguese realm, whether they are fit to mould men in order to be useful to the Commonwealth and Religion (Salgado Júnior 1949: I, 17). Just like Milton, he wishes to populate his homeland with architects, lawyers, doctors, politicians, teachers, a new generation apt to lead the realm to a new era. Unfortunately Verney was not to witness the change; unlike the English commonwealth of the Cromwellian period, Portuguese society was slow to acknowledge its debt towards him.

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## Music Symbolism in Stuart Pageantry

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Music is one of the basic components of most seventeenth-century courtly entertainments. Since its origins in the Tudor festivals till its definition in the Stuart period, the masque was the genre where music, text and scenery interacted and coexisted in variable equilibrium. In spite of its transcendence, the recurrence of musical commentaries in the written versions of these works, and the involvement of some of the famous masque-writers was scarce. As usual, those arts whose existence is dependent of time, witness their ephemerality at the very end of the performance, leaving no other trace of their being but in the score. But scores are poor testimonies of the performance and they seldom accompany the edition of the masques. Regardless of the authorial implication and the theatrical circumstances stated above, the function of music exceeded its incidental nature in the revels and measures, the common social dances of every masque, and became primarily symbolic.

Music symbolism was not an exclusive courtly issue. In connection with poetry, or standing on its own in instrumental pieces, music embodied an allegorical and symbolic status for Renaissance and Baroque composers. The Renaissance interest in fusing the arts underwent a certain degree of perfection in the close relationship they found between music and rhetoric. By considering the melody a particular kind of discourse, musicians found an appropriate tool to depict poetical texts in musical notes. At the beginning of the seventeenth-century the expressive means of music changed. In the previous century, which will be called Renaissance henceforth, the composers' concern was the enhancement of individual words within the sentence with the help of musical devices. This attitude evolved towards the establishment of musical-rhetorical tools to depict whole sentences. As Monteverdi put it, "l'orazione" should be the mistress of the music. In this way, Baroque composers achieved an affective style with the depiction of individual passions stemming from the global framework of the poetic text.

In instrumental pieces, which are not composed on a textual basis, a different kind of symbolism is achieved. On the one hand, the title of the piece (the only linguistic element it has) may prove a useful means to develop an expressive style, and this is, undoubtedly, the case of many of the extant scores of masque music. The dramatic context of the melody may also indicate, on the other hand, a suitable effect.

The symbolism of instrumental music lacks the wide attention paid to songs. In the poor literature of the masque, the specific analyses of the symbolic function of dances other than those of the revels or measures are scarce if not inexistent. Since pure melodies, without any linguistic support, are dark hieroglyphics when considered in isolation, it is necessary to find out to what extent this music helped to build the complex symbolism of the masque in performance. This paper aims at analysing some of the devices used by the composers to

achieve simple musical effects that fuse with poetic and scenic ones in the production of the masque.

First the contexts where these musical pieces appear will be dealt with; and finally, a classification of instruments will be outlined according to their particular function. Because of the intellectual quarrels underlying the production of masques, the written text, edited by the poet, does not generally offer but a slight and incomplete account of both the stagecraft and the music. More ample information on these topics appears only when the entertainment is designed by the architect, as in the case of the last Stuart masques produced by Inigo Jones; or the musician, as in some of Thomas Campion's works. In both cases either the poetic text is subservient to the visual construction, or as essential as music. The authorial implications, translated into the world of masque production as emphasis on a single formal constituent, pose several problems. There is no contemporary edition that pays equal attention to text, music and scenery, so that scattered or lost designs and scores are hard to find and connect to the known entertainments. This is the reason why other sources are needed to get as complete a glimpse to the original production as may help discern the function of music in the performance.

Apart from the short annotations that Ben Jonson, writer of most Stuart masques, and other masque-writers introduce in their editions, there are two valuable documents from the period which offer an unbiased description of two different performances. The first is Orazio Busino's account of *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue*, an entertainment written by Ben Jonson and presented in January 1618. Both the original Italian version and its translation into English are available in several editions of Jonson's works. Thomas Campion offers the second source in his *The Description of a Masque presented before the King's Majesty at Whitehall on the Twelfth Night last, in honour of the Lord Hayes, and his Bride*. This detailed description is printed before the text of this 1607 work, known as *Lord Hay's Masque*.

Orazio Busino was chaplain to the Venetian Ambassador, invited to the masque, and wrote this long account in which information is given not only of the performance, but also of the atmosphere previous to it:

About 6 o'clock the king and his retinue made their appearance in the masquing room. At his entry the shawms and sackbuts to the number of fifteen or twenty began to play very well a consort of contrapuntal fantasy (...) Next followed twelve extravagant antimasquers (...) They danced a while to the sound of shawms and sackbutts, performing various and extravagant antics (...) Mercury then appeared before the King and made a speech. After him came a theorbo player in a gown, who sang rather oddly in his throat, accompanying himself on his instrument (...) When they (masquers) reached the ground the violins, to the number of twenty-five or thirty, began to play their airs. (Sabot: 544-5)

The account clearly distinguishes three kinds of musical pieces, each accompanying a determined moment of the performance: the royal entry, the antimasque and main masque music. This could be completed with a few more details appearing in Jonson's text and which, strikingly enough, provide interesting information: "to a wild music of cymbals, flutes and tabors, is brought forth Comus".

The second document is more musicological in nature because it is written by a

musician. If Busino's account may at times be misleading because of his lack of knowledge of music, Campion's description is more complete as far as technical accuracy is concerned.

The great hall received this division and order: The upper part where the cloth and chair of State were placed, had scaffolds and seats on either side continued to the screen; right before it was made a partition for the dancing place; on the right hand whereof were consorted ten Musicians, with Bass and Meane Lutes, a Bandora, a double Sack-Butt, and a Harpsichord, with two treble Violins; on the other side somewhat nearer the screen were placed nine Violins and three Lutes, and to answer both the Consorts (as it were in a triangle) six Cornets, and six Chapel voices were seated almost right against them, in a place higher in respect of the piercing sound of those Instruments (...) As soon as the King was entered the great Hall, the Hoboys entertained the time till his Majesty and his train were placed, and then after a little expectation the consort of ten began to play an Ayre (...) They came down in this order: Four Silvans in green taffeta, and wreaths, two bearing mean Lutes, the third a bass Lute, and the fourth a deep Bandora (...) While this Chorus was repeated twice over, the nine Maskers in their green habits solemnly descended to the dancing place, in such order as they were to begin their dance; and as soon as the Chorus ended, the violins, or consort of twelve began to play the second new dance, which was taken in form of an Echo by the cornets, and then catched in like manner by the consort of ten, sometimes they mingled two musics together. (Campion, *passim*)

This description is far more useful for the purpose of this analysis, although the division of musical pieces extracted from Busino's account does not operate in Campion's. The antimasque only appeared as an outstanding ingredient in 1610 with Jonson's *The Masque of Queens*, but by comparing these two sources and the minor accretions collected from the editions of the masques, an operative musical-symbolic framework could be worked out.

The antimasque stands for the extravagant arena of the entertainments. All the characters and situations that do not point towards the praising and flattery of the main masque, are suitable for the antimasque. The antagonistic enactment of virtue is symbolised both visually and musically. The witches in Jonson's *Queens*, appear "with a kind of hollow and infernal musique...All with spindles, timbrels, rattles, or other venefical instruments, making a confused noise, with strange gestures". In *Love Freed from Ignorance and Folly* a sphinx comes forth dancing to "a strange musique of wilde instruments".

The musical term associated to these entries of antimasquers is that of "wild music". The sound of rattles, cymbals and drums do certainly create a tonal colour in accordance to the evil nature of the antimasque characters. However, as Andrew Sabol puts it, this "wild music" could also be the piercing sound of hautboys or sackbutts, which usually accompany the royal train. Then, it is obviously the particular dramatic context that defines the quality of the music regardless of its use in opposing situations.

The antimasque world is too narrow a space as to be considered an exception to the common uses of the time. In Busino's account, the hautboys entertain the awaiting audience and

announce the entrance of the king, and similar explanations can be found in many masques. Playing the hautboy in the antimasque is not indecorous in so far as the melody fits the scene. Some contrastive effects might be used, however, when typical main masque sounds are heard in the antimasque.

In Jonson's *Oberon*, the satyrs dance to the violins, which play a melody full of changes and musical devices convenient to their wanton nature. The Prince's dances from the masque proper are accompanied by a consort of twenty-two lutes, in clear contrast to the violins. Nevertheless, as it is collected from Campion, certain ensembles or consorts of instruments were organised according to the characters they accompanied. The so-called "broken consort" was a mixture of bowed and plucked string instruments together with some others, normally woodwind instruments, used to add more tonal colouring. It seems that unbroken consorts accompany royalty, this is groups of instruments from similar families, either lutes, violins or viols; a broken consort should be generally avoided.

Solo singers used to accompany themselves, like in the public theatre, with portable instruments such as lutes, or viols, so that the voices were not silenced by the too loud a music of more numerous consorts. This "loud music" was a necessary device, though, to soften the noise of the machinery used for spectacular stage transformations, such as *machina versatilis*, moving clouds or flats. It was played by broken consorts with at least sack-butts or cornets.

The paradramatic circumstances of the performances became serious drawbacks and obstacles for the musicians as well. Noisy crowds of courtiers, with slight interest in the symbolic challenges of masques, and anxious for the revels and measures, compelled the composers to arrange and adapt their scores to the poor ballroom acoustics. The strident woodwind instruments served quite well this purpose, and they customarily accompanied the choirs and the social dances.

The economic situation of the court was also a deciding factor in the annual productions of masques, because not always big expenses were afforded. Some masques were performed with a few musicians, although it seems that their arrangement resembled that of more costly entertainments with tens of participants. In any case, a decreased number of performers does not preclude the masque from gaining its symbolic complexity.

Baroque instruments and their diverse arrangements seem to play an essential role in the creation of the symbolic message of Stuart pageantry. As a general rule, ideophones or anomalous ensembles, such as viol, drum and pipe, are used in the antimasque to depict the unruly behaviour of its characters. In the more harmonious ambitus of the masque proper, the louder bowed string instruments accompany the social dances or some of the main dances. The latter becoming more majestic to the sound of homogenous ensembles, such as one of plucked string instruments.

In this way, the symbolism of music, which depends on dramatic and paradramatic factors, can only be discerned in analyses of individual masques. Nevertheless, these generalisations might help consider instrumental music as a meaningful and essential component in the production and understanding of Stuart entertainments.

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# Shakespeare's *The Tempest*: Some Thought Experiments

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At the time that we were preparing the first Open University Shakespeare course, Arnold Kettle, the founding Professor of Literature at the Open University and a former teacher of Patricia Shaw remarked to me that he did not understand *The Tempest*. It was a typically honest remark from a colleague who retired shortly after. As I come to the end of my teaching career, I want to acknowledge that *The Tempest* presents particular problems, some arising from the text itself, others from nineteenth and twentieth century staging, and yet others from entrenched attitudes of scholars and critics.

What follows then are my attempts to address these problems. I am at that stage in life when I am happy to risk the amusement of colleagues at a deliberately simple approach to a Shakespeare text. I do not belong to any of the competing creeds and critical schools that Brian Vickers has so ably characterised, in his 1996 book *Appropriating Shakespeare*. I remain an independent scholar; I have no theory to thrust upon either the text or surviving material more or less contemporary with it. I prefer a phrase like 'thought experiments' which a philosopher colleague, after David Hume, is fond of using. By this I mean that, given certain circumstances, factual or imagined, we may then proceed to consider the consequences for the coherence and meanings of *The Tempest*. As teachers we are not free from epistemological constraints. Whatever narratives we create must have something to do with evidence and plausibility.

I believe all colleagues would agree that three editions of *The Tempest* have dominated in British university teaching in the last forty years, Frank Kermode's 1966 Arden, Anne Barton's 1996 New Penguin and Stephen Orgel's Oxford, reissued as a World Classic last year (1998). Kermode's edition acknowledges the text's incoherence and structural problems but concludes

briefly to sum up this whole section on the hypothetical pre-history of the Folio text of *The Tempest*, we have no need to invoke ... arguments ... to establish the right to interpret the play exactly as it stands, for no one has even half succeeded in disintegrating it. (Kermode 1966 Introduction: XXIV)

With due respect to an outstanding teacher and scholar, such language is an attempt to browbeat. Kermode insists that we "interpret the play exactly as it stands." This is precisely the problem identified by numerous scholars: there is uncertainty whether the play is a play; and as production after production has shown, in practice theatre directors have made cuts in the performance text in order to achieve coherence.

The key weakness of Kermode's edition is that he does not address *The Tempest* as a performance text, or its problems in staging.

Anne Barton's New Penguin retains its popularity because of its introductory essay. She too acknowledges the problems of structural and textual coherence but writes generously and in terms that fall pat with theatre programme notes. The programme to the 1998 Royal Shakespeare Company production of *The Tempest* quoted her introduction extensively. I believe outstanding teachers should enthuse and inspire. When however, Anne Barton writes that much that passes for criticism of *The Tempest* is better judged as "derivative creation"; and adds:

There has been a persistent tendency to regard the play as allegorical, to feel that the heart of its mystery can be plucked out by means of some superimposed system of ideas. (Barton 1996: 21)

surely she describes her own practice. There are grounds for concern when a text's, let us say, local incoherence and structural breakdown require the solvent of intelligent critical imagination. According to some interpretations, Prospero stands for Shakespeare, John Dee, true Imagination, King James the First, the Holy Roman Emperor and Inigo Jones! Anne Barton does not degenerate to this level; but her line of thought is allegorical.

Stephen Orgel is a recognised world expert on the Stuart masque and his collaboration with Roy Strong has produced the standard works. His World Classics edition is excellent on the text's performance history, and the influence of the court masque and Vergil's *Aeneid*. It is authoritative upon Renaissance political marriages and Jacobean court spectacles. However, having admitted that "No contemporary performances of *The Tempest* are recorded other than the two at court in 1611 and 1613" (Orgel 1998: 58) he falls in with editorial and scholarly convention, that *The Tempest* was part of the commercial repertory of the Kings' Men and performed at The Globe and/or The Blackfriars' theatres. Furthermore, having admitted that "*The Tempest* as a whole has certain obvious qualities in common with the masque as Jonson was developing it (Orgel 1998: 45), Orgel offers no challenge to the convention of classifying the text as a play.

It was with relief that I read in John Demaray's 1998 *Shakespeare and the Spectacles of Strangeness*, and subtitled *The Tempest and the Transformation of Renaissance Theatrical Forms*, the following:

Problems in interpreting *The Tempest* arise in part from problems in assessing its elusive genre, its basic theatrical structures, its mode of initial stage presentation, and the performance site or sites for which it was probably intended. These issues remain very much open for analysis; critical assumptions on these and related matters have been shaped for too long by a massive body of editions and published works that stress assumed but undocumented early productions of the drama indoors at the Blackfriars' playhouse and outdoors at the Globe. These works give only minimal attention to the quite different production of the drama before the king at Whitehall. (Demaray 1998: 3-4)

These are brave words: the genre of *The Tempest* is elusive, that is, it may not, after all, be a play; and, contrary to scholarly convention, there is no record of performance in the commercial theatre. The single contrary voice is Dryden's remarks in the Preface to his and Davenant's reworking of *The Tempest* (1670). "The Play itself had formerly been acted with success in the Black-Fryers."

The context of Dryden's remark is a puff. He himself was born in 1631 and grew up after the theatres were closed. Davenant would have been a less than scrupulous source and had died three years before (in 1667). Dryden equally may refer to a Restoration revival. The sole *recorded* site is the Banqueting House at Whitehall.

The present day National Trust property is the Banqueting House designed by Inigo Jones and dates from 1623. This was the setting for all Court masques between 1623 and 1635. For the performance site of *The Tempest* in 1611 and, if it occurred, 1613, we have the well known report of the chaplain to the Venetian Ambassador, Orazio Busino, an account of the performance of Ben Jonson's masque *Pleasure Reconciled To Virtue* on Twelfth Night, 6th January 1618 [new style]:

In the king's court, in like manner, after Christmas day there begins a series of sumptuous banquets, well-acted comedies, and most graceful masques of knights and ladies. Of the masques, the most famous of all is performed on the morrow of the feast of the three Wise Men according to an ancient custom of the palace here. A large hall is fitted up like a theatre, with well secured boxes all round. The stage is at one end and his Majesty's chair in front under an ample canopy. Near him are stools for the foreign ambassadors. On the 16th of the current month of January [Busino uses Italian dating], his Excellency [the Venetian Ambassador] was invited to see a representation and masque, which had been prepared with extra-ordinary pains, the chief performer being the king's own son and heir, the Prince of Wales, now seventeen years old, an agile youth, handsome and very graceful ....

Whilst waiting for the king we amused ourselves by admiring the decorations and beauty of the house with its two orders of columns, one above the other, their distance from the wall equalling the breadth of the passage, that of the second row being upheld by Doric pillars, while above these rise Ionic columns supporting the roof. The whole is of wood, including even the shafts, which are carved and gilt with much skill. From the roof of these hang festoons and angels in relief with two rows of lights. Then such a concourse as there was, for although they profess only to admit the favoured ones who are invited, yet every box was filled notably with most noble and richly arrayed ladies, in number some 600 and more according to the general estimate; the dresses being of such variety in cut and colour as to be indescribable; the most delicate plumes over their heads, springing from their foreheads or in their hands serving as fans; strings of jewels on their necks and bosoms and in their girdles and apparel in such quantity that they looked like so many queens, so that at the beginning, with but little light, such as that

of the dawn or of the evening twilight, the splendour of their diamonds and other jewels was so brilliant that they looked like so many stars .... At about the 6th hour of the night the king appeared with his court, having passed through the apartments where the ambassadors were in waiting, whence he graciously conducted them, that is to say, the Spaniard and the Venetian, it not being the Frenchman's turn, he and the Spaniard only attending the court ceremonies alternately by reason of their disputes about precedence.

On entering the house, the cornets and trumpets to the number of fifteen or twenty began to play very well a sort of recitative, and then after his Majesty had seated himself under the canopy alone, the queen not being present on account of a slight indisposition [probably gout], he caused the ambassadors to sit below him on two stools, while the great officers of the crown and courts of law sat upon benches. The Lord Chamberlain then had the way cleared and in the middle of the theatre there appeared a fine and spacious area carpeted all over with green cloth. In an instant a large curtain dropped, painted to represent a tent of gold cloth with a broad fringe; the background was of canvas painted blue, powdered all over with golden stars. This became the front arch of the stage, forming a drop scene, and on its being removed there appeared first of all Mount Atlas, whose enormous head was alone visible up aloft under the very roof of the theatre; it rolled up its eyes and moved itself very cleverly. As a foil to the principal ballet and masque they had some mummeries performed in the first ; for instance, a very chubby Bacchus appeared on a car drawn by four gownsmen, who sang in an undertone before his Majesty. There was another stout individual on foot, dressed in red in short clothes, who made a speech, reeling about like a drunkard, tankard in hand, so that he resembled Bacchus's cupbearer. This first scene was very gay and burlesque. Next followed twelve extravagant masquers, one of whom was in a barrel, all but his extremities, his companions being similarly cased in huge wicker flasks, very well made. They danced awhile to the sound of the cornets and trumpets, performing various and most extravagant antics. These were followed by a gigantic man representing Hercules with his club, who strove with Antaeus and performed other feats. Then came twelve masked boys in the guise of frogs. They danced together, assuming sundry grotesque attitudes. After they had all fallen down, they were driven off by Hercules. Mount Atlas then opened, by means of two doors, which were made to turn, and from behind the hills of a distant landscape the day was seen to dawn, some gilt columns being placed along either side of the scene, so as to aid the perspective and make the distance seem greater. Mercury next appeared before the king and made a speech. After him came a guitar player in a gown, who sang some trills, accompanying himself with his instrument. He announced himself as some deity, and then a number of singers,

dressed in long red gowns to represent high priests, came on the stage, wearing gilt mitres. In the midst of them was a goddess in a long white robe and they sang some jigs which we did not understand. It is true that, spoiled as we are by the graceful and harmonious music of Italy, the composition did not strike us as very fine. Finally twelve cavaliers, masked, made their appearance, dressed uniformly, six having the entire hose crimson with plaited doublets of white satin trimmed with gold and silver lace. The other six wore breeches down to the knee, with the half hose also crimson, and white shoes. These matched well their corsets which were cut in the shape of the ancient Roman corslets. On their heads they wore long hair and crowns and very tall white plumes. Their faces were covered with black masks. These twelve descended together from above the scene in the figure of a pyramid, of which the prince formed the apex. When they reached the ground the violins, to the number of twenty-five or thirty began to play their airs. After they had made an obeisance to his Majesty, they began to dance in very good time, preserving for a while the same pyramidal figure, and with a variety of steps. Afterwards they changed places with each other in various ways, but ever ending the jump together. When this was over, each took his lady, the prince pairing with the principal one among those who were ranged in a row ready to dance, and the others doing the like in succession, all making obeisance to his Majesty first and then to each other. They performed every sort of ballet and dance of every country whatsoever such as *passamezzi* [a slow dance of Italian origin], *corants* [lit. a running dance to triple time], *canaries* [a lively Spanish dance], Spanish dances and a hundred other very fine gestures devised to tickle the fancy (*fatte a pizzo*). Last of all they danced the Spanish dance [probably a pavan], one at a time, each with his lady, and being well nigh tired they began to lag, whereupon the king, who is naturally choleric, got impatient and shouted aloud Why don't they dance? What did they make me come here for? Devil take you all, dance. Upon this, the Marquis of Buckingham, his Majesty's favourite, immediately sprang forward, cutting a score of lofty and very minute capers, with so much grace and agility that he not only appeased the ire of his angry lord, but rendered himself the admiration and delight of everybody. The other masquers, thus encouraged, continued to exhibit their prowess one after another, with various ladies, also finishing with capers and lifting their goddesses from the ground. We counted thirty-four capers as cut by one cavalier in succession, but none came up to the exquisite manner of the marquis. The prince, however, excelled them all in bowing, being very formal in making his obeisance both to the king and to the lady with whom he danced, nor was he once seen to do a step out of time when dancing, whereas one cannot perhaps say so much for the others. Owing to his youth he has not yet much breath, nevertheless he cut a few capers very gracefully.

The encounter of these twelve accomplished cavaliers being ended, and after they had valiantly overcome the sloth and debauch of Bacchus, the prince went in triumph to kiss his father's hands. The king embraced and kissed him tenderly and then honoured the marquis with marks of extraordinary affection, patting his face. The king now rose from his chair, took the ambassadors along with him, and after passing through a number of chambers and galleries he reached a hall where the usual collation was spread for the performers, a light being carried before him. After he had glanced all round the table he departed, and forthwith the parties concerned pounced upon the prey like so many harpies. The table was covered almost entirely with seasoned pasties and very few sugar confections. There were some large figures, but they were of painted pasteboard for ornament. The repast was served upon glass plates or dishes and at the first assault they upset the table and the crash of glass platters reminded me precisely of a severe hailstorm at Midsummer smashing the window glass. The story ended at half past two in the morning and half disgusted and weary we returned home. (Calendar of State Papers Venetian XV: 110-114)

This vivid account is of significance for many reasons, but for this present argument it may serve to highlight that James sat under a canopy on a raised dais in a rectangular hall, the only member of the audience with perfect sight-lines; that music, dance and spectacle were more important than words; in fact the dancing masters who coached the royal and aristocratic participants often received greater pay than librettist or designer; that aristocrats and professional actors had roles according to their status; and that "in the middle of the theatre there appeared a fine and spacious area carpeted all over with green cloth", a detail that could well be placed with a piece of dialogue in *The Tempest*

Adrian	The air breathes upon us here most sweetly.
Sebastian	As if it had lungs, and rotten ones.
Antonio	Or as 'twere perfumed by a fen.
Gonzalo	Here is everything advantageous to life.
Antonio	True, save means to live.
Sebastian	Of that there's none or little.
Gonzalo	How lush and lusty the grass looks! How green!
Antonio	The ground indeed is tawny.
Sebastian	With an eye of green in't.
Antonio	He misses not much.
Sebastian	No, he doth but mistake the truth totally.
Gonzalo	But the rarity of it is, which is indeed almost beyond credit —
Sebastian	As many vouched rarities are.
Gonzalo	That our garments, being, as they were, drenched in the sea, hold notwithstanding their freshness and

gloss, being rather new-dyed than stained with salt water. (II. 47-63)<sup>1</sup>

It is further worth noting that the choice of dances indicates a culturally hispanophile court, and in Busino's full account, a Spaniard gate crashes the Venetian box, much to his resentment. The male characters of the 'court' party in *The Tempest* all have Spanish names; the comics are Italian, a naming that may have been chosen to represent actual contemporary power relations in the Italian peninsula.

Given then the Banqueting House at Whitehall as the only recorded performance site of *The Tempest*, and the strong possibility that the actual performance was not unlike Busino's account of the Ben Jonson masque seven years later, let us pursue two further 'thought experiments': first, suspending the convention that *The Tempest* is a play; and second, treating the surviving Folio text as two enmeshed courtly entertainments, or pageants, the outer and older, celebrating James the First's concepts of monarchy, divine right and earthly harmony; the inner and accretive, if you like something bolted on, celebrating the betrothal and marriage of the Princess Elizabeth and the Elector Palatine in 1612/13. These two focuses will not remove or explain all the textual or structural inconsistencies highlighted by Gray 1921: 129-40. As Gray observes in his opening sentence, *The Tempest* is always grouped 'as one of the dramatic romances of Shakespeare's final period, but it is essentially different in tone from its companion pieces'. That the surviving Folio text is a revision of an earlier text, is widely held. In I.2 line 439, Ferdinand refers to Antonio's 'brave son' as one of the members of the court party lost in the wreck; no such character appears in the play or is ever mentioned again. Further, the first known performance of *The Tempest*, 1st November, 1611, did not coincide with any known eminent marriage, whereas the second, if it occurred, did. I do not seek to reconstruct an unknowable 1611 original but plausibly to disentangle what survives of 1612/13.

Let us then first suspend the convention that *The Tempest* is a play.

Covell 1968 pointed out that the occasions for music in *The Tempest* far exceed those of other late plays of Shakespeare. He lists (1968: 43-51) five in *Pericles*, five in *Cymbeline*, eleven in *The Winter's Tale* and seventeen for *The Tempest*, these last comprising either songs, one 'possible song', two 'snatches', three dances and three passages of instrumental music. *The Tempest*'s original staging clearly integrated music, song and dance routines. The text was known in performance for over two hundred years in musical-comic and pantomimic adaptation. It was the growth of Shakespeare scholarship that forced a re-appraisal of the Folio text as in some sense uncontaminated. The first recorded 'straight' revival of the Folio text was in 1838. Dryden and Davenant's reworking, to which they gave an alternative title, *The Enchanted Island*, published in 1670, surely transmitted a musical interpretation, that was the norm into Victorian times. Some surviving contemporary comments upon a play versus a masque or entertainment use music, song and dance as generic discriminators:

Of Thomas Campion's *The Lords' Maske*, performed in honour of the marriage of Princess Elizabeth and Frederick, the Elector Palatine, on Sunday 14th February 1613 [new style], Chamberlain complained

<sup>1</sup> See Demaray's 1998: 87 discussion.

I hear no great commendation, save only for riches, their devices  
being long and tedious, and more like a Play than a Maske.  
(Nichols 1828: 554 fn)

The masque had evolved during James' reign. For Chamberlain, Campion's masque erred towards the abstract and didactic, in short was too serious for an occasion that required festivity and gaiety. Chamberlain expected and missed music, song and dance.

Middleton and Rowley's *The World Tost At Tennis*, entered in the Stationers' Register, 4th July 1620, is described as

*A Courtly Masque: The Device called, The World tost at Tennis;*

and the *Prologue* reads:

This our device we do not call a play,  
Because we break the stage's laws to-day  
of acts and scenes ....

It was intended for a royal night:

There's one hour's words, the rest in songs and dances ...  
(Bullen 1885 VII: 139 & 145)

It seems that this 'device' was prepared for King James at Denmark House, and subsequently made available to the commercial theatre. No performance records survive. This Prologue distinguishes play from masque not only in terms of acts and scenes but the temporal prominence of song and dance. Having suspended *The Tempest's* status as a play, let us acknowledge that, in common with masques, triumphs and similar entertainments, it is organised around spectacles: its protagonists do not develop or have inward life. The scholarly tradition that seeks to assimilate *The Tempest* to what are called Shakespeare's late romances may, quite simply, be mistaken. Generically *The Tempest* is far more elusive. Its presence as the first work of the First Folio, scrupulously prepared, divided into acts and scenes, may seem contradictory; but this may reflect a presentation copy, not an actual performance text. Greg remarks:

The text is a clean one, carefully punctuated, and in view of the lavish use of parentheses and other scribal characteristics of Ralph Crane, it is usually allowed to have been printed ... from a transcript in his hand ... It is significant that the list of characters at the end is the only such list in the Folio... The stage directions are ample throughout, and in the case of spectacles elaborate.  
(Greg 1954: 418)

Crane eked a living from presentation copies. It is however important to reflect upon the function of presentation copies. They were more frequent with masques than plays and were in demand either as an elaborate record of a performance or to satisfy the curiosity of those who could not attend (Walls 1996:20 & 281). The King's Men were Grooms of the Bedchamber, a subtle control disguised as patronage. *The Tempest* recalled one or more important political festivities and in terms of James' expressed views on monarchy, as we shall see, was complimentary and ideologically orthodox. From such a viewpoint *The Tempest* as a model clean text at the beginning of the First Folio is tantamount to a royal dedication. *The Tempest's* presence as the

first text of the First Folio was plausibly, to honour the King's Men's and Shakespeare's royal patron. Surely this made commercial sense in the context of a speculative venture?

We are all familiar with the phrase 'the willing suspension of disbelief.' I suggest that different art forms persuade us to suspend our disbelief differently. We respond differently to opera, ballet and an historical novel. Masque in certain respects like its sung recitative, dancing, musical interludes and elaborate spectacle, is closer to opera and ballet than naturalistic drama. Perhaps one of the reasons the structure of *The Tempest* perplexes us is because we have allocated it to the wrong genre and approach it with the wrong horizon of expectations. The late Enid Welsford in a study of the masque that still holds its place upon university library shelves, wrote:

In *The Tempest*, as in the masque, music and dancing are closely associated. The mock banquet is accompanied by dancing and pantomime. The first song by which Ariel lures Ferdinand into Prospero's power is written on a dance pattern. With Ariel's first words, 'Come into these yellow sands', we imagine the fairies running in from all sides, they take hands in a ring, then turn to one another, curtsying and kissing, or, in the time-honoured phrase of the country dance, they honour their partners. (Welsford 1962: 337)<sup>2</sup>

Enid Welsford's response reflects experience of English country dancing as part of the curriculum in English schools. Many of these dances came from the famous Playford collections, which in turn derived from Stuart masques, entertainments and the theatre. English country dancing has now largely disappeared from English schools.

John Taylor, the Water Poet, rushed out an account of the sea-fights, fireworks and royal occurrences to celebrate the marriage of Elizabeth and Frederick in 1613, to satisfy curiosity and make money. His account contains a curious statement:

The night proceeding, [i.e. Monday 15th February 1613] much expectation was made of a stage play to be acted in the Great Hall by the King's Players, where many hundreds of people stood attending the same; but it hapned contrarie, for greater pleasures were preparing. (Nichols 1966: 551)

This 'stage play' could have been *The Tempest*, in which case we have a theatrical event whose preparation was paid for but not performed; setting aside Taylor's terminology, we must note that masques and similar festivities were on occasions subject to cancellation, but subsequently polished up and published, the best known example being Ben Jonson's *Neptune's Triumph for the Return of Albion* February 1613 [new style] This Jonson masque was planned for *Twelfth-night*, 1624, when the title page of the Quarto and the head-title of the Folio say it was performed; but Chamberlain writing to Carleton on 17th January 1624 [new style] says

the maske for twelfth night was put of, by reason of the Ks indisposition, as was pretended, but the true cause is thought to be the competition of the french and Spanish ambassadors.

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<sup>2</sup> Her chapters, 'Influence of the Masque on the Drama' and 'The Masque Transmitted' may remind us of what much critical theory has forgotten.

Of course the political context, celebrated in the masque, was Charles' return to England without a Spanish Catholic bride, on 5 October 1623 (Herford et al. 1961 X: 658-59). In fact, and rather comically, the third masque of that marriage week of February 1613, Beaumont's *Masque of The Inner Temple And Gray's Inn*, or rather its prospect, proved too much for poor James:

But the worst of all was, that the King was so wearied and sleepy with setting up almost two whole nights before, that he had no edge to it. Whereupon Sir Francis Bacon ventured to entreat his Majesty, that by this disgrace he would not as it were bury them quick; and I hear the King should answer that then they must bury him quick, for he could last no longer. (Nichols 1966 II: 590)

The masque was then postponed from Tuesday 16th to Saturday 20th February 1613. James was bored with the formality and, I suggest, sheer repetition of some emblematic and neoclassical aspects of the masque. He did however like Beaumont's antimasques, and called for an encore "but one of the Statues by that time was undressed." (Nichols 1966 II: 597).

Let us now go on to our second thought experiment, treating the surviving Folio text as two enmeshed courtly entertainments. *The Tempest* has nine scenes, if we use the Folio's divisions for our purpose. I am proposing to pursue this experiment by separating out all participation of Ferdinand and Miranda, for separate consideration. We are then left with the following spectacles and tableaux:

A storm and shipwreck	I.i
Prospero and Ariel	I.ii
A court party debating government	II.i
Ariel's intervention to prevent an assassination	II.i
An antimasque of Caliban and commedia del'arte comics	II.ii
Caliban, Trinculo and Stephano parody political rebellion	II.ii
The banquet of temptation for three men of sin	III.iii
Caliban, Trinculo and Stephano are physically punished	IV.i
The court party is confronted and forced to recognise divine right	V.i

I want to suggest that in practice this separation out of the participation of Ferdinand and Miranda is easily achieved. I further propose that these summarised elements are the ones most plausibly located in the first 1611 performance of *The Tempest* and generically constitute an entertainment for James to parallel and respond to, the masques sponsored by his wife, Anne of Denmark. However James, unlike his wife, neither acted nor danced. He could not participate; the actors were all professionals, the King's Men. The function of such an entertainment was flattery and its procedural logic and aesthetic were emblematic. Incidentally, I am not surprised that Prospero has no wife. Anne had already enjoyed her public flattery in masques which she had commissioned; this occasion belonged to James. What then are the

allusions that flatter James? The name Prospero signifies both material prosperity and, in its classical and Renaissance sense, good weather:

[Frederick] had a speedy and prosperous passage from the Hague to Gravesend, and with the Princess Elizabeth from Margate to Flushing. (Herford et al. 1961 VII: 216)

Prospero then is God on earth, an absolute and controlling force in human and meteorological terms, but staged. Prospero's famous speech, beginning "our revels now are ended" and containing the words

The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,  
The solemn temples, the great globe itself  
... shall dissolve. (IV.i.148-158)

is not Shakespeare saying farewell to his art as Victorians understood, but refers to common features of masque stage spectacle. A globe was a commonplace, occurring in the spectacle of *Chloridia* (1631), *Salmacida Spolia* (1640) - which also begins with a storm - *Hymenai* (1606) and *Coelum Britannicum* (1634). It was so frequent that Lindley's 1995 *Court Masques* uses it for its cover. It is an obvious emblem for an art form devoted to the spectacle of absolute monarchical power. In the same speech, the words "Leave not a rack behind" also come from the machinery of a pageant. This is explicit in Jonson's *Hymenai*.

Here, the upper part of the Scene, which was all of  
Clouds, and made artificially to swell, and ride  
Like the Racke, began to open. (Herford et al. 1961 VII: 216)

It was a stage artifice for representing clouds and their movement in masque spectacle. It is very appropriate that Prospero as an emblematic weather god should mention it.

James advocated the 'divine right of kings', to us today, a preposterous notion, but acceptable to a predominantly Protestant England in the early seventeenth century because it challenged the claims of the Pope, who also pretended to divine right. Some quotations from James' writings and addresses may be placed with sections of *The Tempest*:

I am the Husband, and all the whole Isle is my lawfull Wife; I am the Head, and it is my Body; I am the Shepherd, and it is my flocke. ("Speech to both Houses of Parliament, 19th March 1603"; McIlwain 1965: 272)

Therefore (my Sonne) first of all things, learne to know and love that GOD, whom-to ye have a double obligation; first, for that he made you a man; and next, for that he made you a little GOD to sit on his Throne, and rule over other men. (*Basilikon Doron*; McIlwain 1965: 12)

Kings being publike persons, by reason of their office and authority, are as it were (as it was said of old) upon a publike stage. (*Basilikon Doron*; McIlwain 1965: 5)

And when yee have by the severitie of Justice once settled your countries, and made them know that ye can strike, then may ye

thereafter all the daies of your life mixe Justice with Mercie, punishing or sparing, as ye shall finde the crime to have been wilfully or rashly committed. (*Basilikon Doron*; McIlwain 1965: 20)

As for your choice in Marriage .... The three causes it was ordeined for, are, for staying of lust, for procreation of children, and that man shoulde by his Wife, get a helper like himselfe. (*Basilikon Doron*; McIlwain 1965: 35)

Ttherefore besides your education, it is necessarie yee delight in reading, and seeking the knowledge of all lawfull things; but with these two restrictions: first, that yee choose idle houres for it, not interrupting therewith the discharge of your office: and next, that yee studie not for knowledge nakedly, but that your principall ende be, to make you able thereby to use your office. (*Basilikon Doron*; McIlwain 1965: 38)

a *Monarchie*... as resembling the divinitie, approacheth nearest to perfection. (*The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*; McIlwain 1965: 53)

Kings are justly called Gods, for that they exercise a manner or resemblance of Divine power upon earth. ("A Speech To The Lords And Commons of the Parliament at White-hall, Wednesday 21st March, 1609 [1610]"; McIlwain 1965: 307)

but one Ile of *Britaine*. (*Basilikon Doron*; McIlwain 1965: 51)

but I meane of such a generall Union of Lawes as may reduce the whole lland, that as they live already under one Monarch, so they may all bee governed by one Law. ("A Speech To Both The Houses of Parliament Delivered In The Great Chamber At White-Hall, The Last Day of March 1607"; McIlwain 1965: 292)

It is noteworthy that some of these speeches were delivered in the very hall where *The Tempest* was performed. Having united the thrones of England and Scotland, James spoke constantly of the Isle and its union. This concern is reflected throughout Stuart masques. Caliban's words

... the isle is full of noises,  
Sounds and sweet airs, that give delight, and hurt not. (III.ii.133-134)

must refer immediately to a consort, probably of lutes and viols, but have emblematic force.

James' observations upon monarchy, justice, study and marriage, are staged in *The Tempest*. Hence

[I] require  
My dukedom of thee, which perforce, I know,  
Thou must restore. (V.i.132-134)

the rarer action is  
In virtue than in vengeance. (V.i.27-28)

Me, poor man, my library  
Was dukedom large enough. (I.ii.109-110)

Heavens rain grace  
On that which breeds between 'em'. (III.i.75-76)

If thou dost break her virgin-knot before  
All sanctimonious ceremonies may  
With full and holy rite be minister'd,  
No sweet aspersions shall the heavens let fall  
To make this contract grow;

and Gonzalo's sketch of a utopia is put down with Antonio's words

The latter end of his commonwealth forgets the beginning.  
(II.i.154)

*The Tempest* does portray sedition, dissent and malice but these forces are overcome. I do not wish to be misunderstood. As Grooms of the Bedchamber, the King's Men had to toe a line. Prospero is not James I. Impersonation could have been indictable. Prospero in *The Tempest* should be compared with Pan in Jonson's masque *Pan's Anniversary* (1620) where Pan emblematically represents James as the promoter of his Book of Sports; the masque is subtitled *The Shepherd's Holyday*. The anti-masque character of the Tinker who

beates the march to the tune of Tickle-foot,  
*Pan, pan, pan*, brave *Epam* with a *nondas*. (Herford et al. 1961  
VII: 532)

could echo Caliban. Both evince musical practices with social hierarchical implications.

Let us now go on to the last of our 'thought experiments', the participation of Ferdinand and Miranda in *The Tempest* as a courtly entertainment enmeshed in an earlier one which effectively frames it. We find the following spectacles and tableaux:

Ferdinand comes ashore to song, dance and music	I.ii
Ferdinand and Miranda fall In love	I.ii
Ferdinand successfully completes trials of labour and chastity	III.i
A betrothal scene and betrothal masque to celebrate a contract of true love	IV.i
The 'discovery' of Ferdinand and Miranda playing at chess	V.i

I have been surprised how easily it is possible to disengage, or in Kermodé's word disintegrate, these elements from the rest of the play. The only practical problem is the re-allocation of some of Miranda's lines to Ariel in I.ii, something which many directors of the play in performance have done to make sense of the text, anyway.

Ferdinand in his opening words establishes a connection between monarchy, divine right and harmony: this music, he says,

... waits upon  
Some god o'th'island. (I.ii.391-391)

In accordance with James' advice on marriage, Miranda proves herself a 'helper'; and the masque, proleptically, celebrates procreation.

It is instructive to place the Ferdinand/Miranda triumph - for that is what it is - beside the actual events of the betrothal and marriage of Elizabeth and Frederick in 1612/1613. It is not enough to examine *The Tempest* as shaped by masque, and especially Jonsonian masque; it is essential to place it beside the actual festivities of those six months, in none of which Jonson shared because he was out of the country, in Paris. I am then seeking to do what Stephen Orgel 1998 does not. Orgel locates *The Tempest* within a tradition, an evolving tradition, of wedding masques, where Jonson's influence predominated. I am proposing that the Ferdinand/Miranda material of *The Tempest* also be placed beside festivities, pageants, and other festive occurrences of the six months that the Elector Palatine was in England, 16th October 1612 to 25 April 1613. On November 3rd 1612 Chamberlain in a letter to Carlton wrote:

But the King himself is much pleased with him, and so is all the Court; and he doth so address himself and apply to the Lady Elizabeth, that he seems to take delight in nothing but her company and conversation. (Nichols 1966 II: 467)

In consequence of the illness and sudden death of Prince Henry, the formal betrothal was delayed until the 27th December 1612. As the Court was in mourning, actual marriage and consummation were delayed until 11th February 1613. At the marriage we learn

the Lady Elizabeth [came] in her virgin-ropes, clothed in a gowne of white sattin, richly embroidered. (Nichols 1966 II: 542)

and further on Monday 15th February 1613,

.... the King went to visit these young couple that were coupled on St. Valentine's-day, and did strictly examine him whether he were a true son-in-law, and was sufficiently assured. (Nichols 1966 II: 588)

These records confirm the stress upon virginity; and on a gap in time between betrothal and marriage and sexual consummation. Incidentally, like Ferdinand and Miranda, Frederick and Elizabeth do appear to have liked each other, in that lovely expression of *The Tempest*

At the first sight  
They have chang'd eyes. (I.ii.443-444)

This marriage was of enormous dynastic and political importance. The Queen, Anne of Denmark, who is suspected of being a crypto-Catholic, at first disapproved of the match. I have sometimes wondered whether this is a secondary reason that Prospero has no consort. However Anne changed her mind (Nichols 1966 II: 515 & 524). The Protestant English and especially London rejoiced, indeed were overcome with joy. As Chamberlain wrote to Carlton:

All well-affected people take great pleasure and contentment in this Match, as being a firm foundation and establishing of religion .... and the Roman Catholics malign it as much, as being the ruin of their hopes. (Nichols 1966 II: 601-602)

Prince Maurice of Orange and Frederick Elector Palatine had been invested with the Garter, the highest Order of Chivalry. The argument to Beaumont's masque states

Jupiter and Juno ... do honour to the Marriage of the two famous Rivers, Thamesis and Rhine. (Nichols 1966 II: 593)

Dekker, the most strident of Protestant playwrights, entitled his Lord Mayor's Pageant, November 1612, *Troia Nova Triumphans* — New Troy Triumphant.

The 'discovery' of Ferdinand and Miranda playing chess in Act V has then double emblematic force, conveying noble love and political alliance. Thomas Middleton's *A Game At Chesse* (1623), written of course to satirise the manoeuvres and political intrigue of Catholic Spain, and a proposed Catholic marriage, surely confirms the link between chess and international power politics. Chess was known as the Spanish game and words in modern English like 'chess' and 'pawn' still retain elements of sixteenth century Spanish pronunciation.

It is not possible to summarise all the festivities of that wedding week, but amongst the most significant were water pageants on the Thames, including mock seafights so realistically conducted that several suffered injury (Nichols 1966 II: 537-41 & 587), Campion's *The Lords' Maske*, Chapman's *Maske of The Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn*, and Beaumont's *Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn*, which nearly did for poor James. The classical gods of these spectacles are repetitive as are their thoughts and forms of utterance. The little betrothal masque of *The Tempest* IV.i is easily assimilated to them in content and form. Chapman's masque does contain curious, dare we say, echoes or anticipations of *The Tempest*: the chief masquers were dressed as Virginian Indians, some performers were baboons in Neopolitan costume, and Plutus' dialogue contains these words:

Neptune let thy predecessor Ulysses live after all his slaine companions, but to make him die more miserably living; gave him up to shipwreck, enchantments. (Nichols 1966 II: 578)

The introductory caption to the masque states that it was

Invented and fashioned, with the ground and speciall structure of the whole worke, by our Kingdome's most artfull and ingenious Architect Inigo Jones. (Nichols 1966 II: 566)

Chapman's 'Epistle Dedicatorie' to the published text, tries to defend his masque against the charge of tedium: "the length of my speches and narrations". (Nichols 1966 II: 571)

It is, of course, very likely that the King's Men, as professionals, took the antimasque roles in Chapman's piece, too.

Where do these thought experiments leave us? Concern at the influence of the masque upon *The Tempest* has grown throughout this century. One clear reason is the practical difficulty of staging the play in terms that we might describe as naturalistic. Another is the growing scholarship of the Stuart masque. Perhaps the boldest re-assessment of the text was that of Glynne Wickham who, in an essay that no student of *The Tempest* can disregard, looked at the text in terms of 'Spectacles of state' and 'Court hieroglyphics'. (Wickham 1975:1-14). He clearly regarded *The Tempest* as like a masque in so far as it offered riddles that an audience was expected to solve by intelligent interpretation of the visual and verbal iconography. Wickham was Head of

Drama at Bristol University and was remarkable for combining scholarship with an acute practical grasp of the stage. He argues that

allusions to the royal patron, his family, his achievements and intentions spill obliquely into other aspects of [*The Tempest*] ... dynastic alliances in the marriage of children, reconciliation of former differences ... (Wickham 1975:12).

were processes to ensure the future prosperity of all. Yet he treats the hieroglyphics of the text narrowly making questionable identifications such as Elizabeth I with Iris; and he still persists in regarding *The Tempest* as a play. The merit of these thought experiments is to release *The Tempest* from a generic straitjacket, give it back its spectacle, music, song and dancing and allow the text to live (in Wickham's words) as 'a vivid allegorical charade'.

I leave you with the thought that *The Tempest* is a play by convention and could equally well be defined as a pageant, triumph, entertainment or celebration. It shares staging problems with other late plays, notably *Cymbeline*, where the naturalistic expectations of a modern audience are interrupted and frustrated. James' court appears not to have objected to the juxtaposing of emblematic and naturalistic matter, though modern taste regards them as conflicting aesthetics. This opens up another topic over which I have long mused, whether the taste and sycophancy of that Stuart court undermined Shakespeare's genius. But we have indulged enough thought experiments.

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## Two Film Versions of *Othello*: A Twentieth-century Approach to Shakespeare's Play

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After the earliest known performance of *Othello*, at the court of King James I on November 1, 1604, the numerous times it has been performed ever since have contributed to the play's enduring popularity. Orson Welles (1952) and Oliver Parker (1995) directed two of the twelve film versions of *Othello*. The former starred by Orson Welles himself, and the latter, by Laurence Fishburne.

This paper will analyse the different ways those directors approach William Shakespeare's great play *The Tragedy of Othello, the Moor of Venice* — and how they deal with the various subjects present in it, such as the hatred and fear of the alien (provoked not just by his blackness, but by the historical implications of the military action between Turkey and Venice in the 1570s), ambition, honour and revenge.

*Othello* was a great success in Shakespeare's time, and since then, it has remained one of the most popular plays on the English stage. This paper will also explore the reasons for that phenomenon.

Welles approaches *Othello* in a film which aims at reconciling theatrical drama with the realism of non-theatrical spatial elements. The theatricality of constructed décor gives way to the realism of sea and sky, and to the architectural polarities of Venice and Mogador. The film also gains its special adaptive stature from Welles's cinematic language, which is fused with the dramatic energy of the play, and in Jorgens's words (1977: 175) contributes to "the cosmic sense of a fallen world".

As a guiding adaptive principle for *Othello*, Welles sought to base the film upon what, according to him, was underlying the text. That might be the reason why Bosley Crowther (1955: 27) wrote an unfavourable review of that production in the *New York Times*, in which he asserts that "The text and even the plot of the original were incidental to the dark and delirious passions enclosed in its tormented theme" and that Welles's interest is primarily in "the current of hate and villainy", which was precisely what Welles had aimed at.

On his part, Donald Phelps (1955: 32), in a much more tolerant review of the film for *Film Culture*, recognises the same Wellesian audacity and observes that Welles's commendable courage lies precisely in his attempt "not to make his film an accompaniment to Shakespeare's writing ... but to use the writing — what he saw fit to retain of it — as an accompaniment to the feeling of excited surprise with which Shakespeare apparently inspired him". For Phelps, the significance of Welles's *Othello* lies in its being "not a duplication, not a parallel, but a re-creation in cinematic terms, inspired by those emotions and images in the original to which the artist has responded."

The editing in *Othello* is so tight that scenes involving experienced actors are insistently broken up into shots from different perspectives. Eric Bentley (1995: 22) asserts, of Welles's own portrayal of Othello, that:

he never acts, he is photographed — from near, from far, from above, from below, right side up, upside down, against battlements, through grating, and the difference of angle and background only emphasizes the flatness of that profile, the rigidity of those lips, the dullness of those eyes, the utter inexpressiveness and anti-theatricality of a man who, God save the mark! was born a theatrical genius.

Bentley is essentially a theatre critic and he tends to denigrate the film for its failure to satisfy a specifically theatrical expectation. The truth of his perception here lies in the fact that Welles's understanding of cinematic space legitimately makes the actor part of the composition, or manipulated space, and not as in the theatre, a manipulator of space. The adaptation of *Othello* is achieved not merely by placing actors in a non-theatrical spatial context, but by treating both actors and dramatic space with the spatial resources of cinematic photography.

There is no doubt that Welles's intention is to move away from the conventional narrative flow to dissect dramatic action, and there is no doubt either that when Eric Bentley (1955: 21-22) complains that Welles "shows no sense of narrative, that is, of the procession of incidents, but only an interest in the ... separate moments within the incidents", he has identified the film's intention. Unlike Parker, whose objective, by following the narrative, is to make Shakespeare accessible to the audience, Welles addresses his *Othello* to an audience whose familiarity with the plot, if not with the text of the play, is assumed

If Welles tends to juxtapose black and white images and allow the resultant effect to mature in the mind of the viewer, Parker, by means of colour, and perhaps influenced by Yutkevich's film of 1955, "presents us with some unforgettable images in which natural elements — stone, sky and sea — do become a chorus in the dramatic development" (Davies 1995: 208). Especially meaningful, in that sense, are the images of the sea, which demonstrate that a motif can work as powerfully in setting as it can in poetry.

In the opening sequences, Welles establishes a major vein along which the film will penetrate into the play:

Wells intersplices the funeral processions of Othello and Desdemona with shots of Iago dragged by chains through crowds of screaming Cypriots. Guards throw him into an iron cage and haul him to the top of the castle walls. We witness the world momentarily from Iago's perspective, the cage spins as it hangs, the crowd screams, and, as long as we're with Iago, the stately rhythm of the procession is lost. In the prologue, Welles develops his temporal theme by realising the opposing rhythms of Othello and Desdemona on the one hand and Iago on the other. (Buchman 1987: 54)

Wells manages to incorporate immense oppositions into the film: the apparent disappearance of the funeral procession into darkness at the end of the opening sequence, set against the hoisting of the caged Iago into the merciless glare of Mediterranean sunlight. And there is the superbly inventive use which Welles makes of his Mogador location so that the play becomes truly filmic in its dramatisation of

space and the relation of sea, sky, stone, light, shadow and darkness to character and momentary situation. Welles's ability to keep alive motifs at important moments in the film gives the whole work suggestions of a "visual opera", like Iago's cage, the trap motif — which recurs in the shadowed bars that cut across the frame — or the pattern of links on the stone floor where for a moment the solitary Desdemona stands, a motif which culminates in the closely woven cloth stretched over Desdemona's face as Othello smothers her on the bed.

The motif Parker uses in his production is a chessboard, a very powerful metaphor, because both Othello and Desdemona are the chess-pieces Iago is playing with whenever he appears as a narrator of what is to come, in the director's successful attempt to give him the foretelling function the Chorus had in Greek tragedies — and Shakespeare also used in other plays, as, in *Henry V*, for example. Parker's Iago can foretell Othello's fate because he controls all his figures' movements, and he plays with them at will.

Thus, where Welles was experimenting, Parker offers a conventional, but convincing and well-done film, which approaches Shakespeare's text with due respect. He avoids protagonism by means of his good, effective, though not defiant direction. There are no spectacular effects in this production, just an elegant and sober setting. It is, all in all, a well made film where nothing outstands, but everything is important: a fascinating production of the deep feelings and passions present in Shakespeare's drama.

Those feelings and passions spring naturally from the situations which explore the different subjects of the play:

Issues of race and colour were important to Shakespeare's *Othello* in the 17th century, and have remained so ever since. "Blackness had been associated with sin and death in a tradition extending back to Greek and Roman times, and in medieval and later religious paintings evil men and devils were regularly depicted as black." (Wells 1997: 245). Othello is the earliest sympathetic black character in English literature, and the play's emphasis on prejudice must have had particular impact in Shakespeare's London, which was a distinctive prejudiced society. Though Africans were present in London in some numbers beginning around 1550 — especially once the English slave trade grew in the 1560s — little distinction was drawn between North African and sub-Saharan blacks. Africa and Africans had figured in English drama from an early date; lots of 16th-century plays evoked African settings or characters, though most of them did it from a racist point of view, depicting Africans in stereotypes as idle, lustful, and likely to be treacherous.

This was the ideology of the English society as a whole, thus in 1599 and 1601 the government made an effort to deport all of the "Negars and Blackamores which crept into this realm."

Othello's place in the society of Venice plays an important role in his downfall. As Brabantio's response to Desdemona's marriage makes clear, Venice is a closed society, racist in its distrust of Othello. There are also historical implications for this distrust. In 1570 the Turks had attacked the Venetian protectorate of Cyprus, and conquered it the following year — once more the religious confrontation between infidels and Christians —; and in the play, the rulers of the city appoint precisely a Turk as general of the Venetian forces and send him to Cyprus. Iago is the proof that not everybody in Venice agreed with that paradoxical choice.

Venice is a world influenced by inhumane commercial and political values that cannot appreciate Othello's virtues and, as a consequence, the general is isolated from the world he has married into.

Iago can convince him that Desdemona might "repent" the "foul disproportion" (III.iii.243, 238) of a mixed marriage, and Othello lacks the assurance of a respectable social position that might temper the fear of rejection that his jealousy feeds on.

The racial prejudice of Shakespeare's Venice is important. Brabantio's belief that Desdemona could not love "the **sooty** bosom / of such a thing" (I.ii.71-72) is based on the racist assumption that such love would be "against all rules of nature" (I.iii.101). Iago and Roderigo have stimulated Brabantio's rage with labels such as "old black ram" (I.i.88), "Barbary horse" (I.i.113-14), and "lascivious Moor" (I.i.126), associating race with animals, sex, and the devil, characteristically racist connotations, even today. No one disputes Brabantio's statement that Desdemona has subjected herself to "general mock" (I.ii.70) by marrying a black man; prejudice is plainly widespread in Venice.

Shakespeare certainly expected Othello to be played by a white man in make-up, and that is precisely what Orson Welles presents in his production; but in the last decade of the 20th century, the social pressures of an increasingly multiracial society are making it less likely that this will happen, as Oliver Parker proves, by choosing one of the great actors of our time, Laurence Fishburne, who plays an extraordinary, flexible and even moving Othello.

Hatred for the moor, ambition and revenge are subjects dealt with in the play, as well as three qualities innate to one of its characters: Iago. As regards the 1952 production, the camera illuminates the architecture of the play and creates relationships between character, motivation, action and the world, through that architectural articulation of space. However, only Iago's character is of major psychological interest, while the rest of the film portrays the disintegration of Othello's heroic world.

A terrible loneliness exists within him [Iago] ... Welles shows him lurking at the back of the church where Othello and Desdemona are married ... Time after time, the wind blows his hair about his face, making him look like some predatory animal ... Welles shows him repeatedly in a superior position, forever gazing down on his victims from the battlements.(Cowie 1973: 119)

According to Jorgens (1977: 176-77), there can be detected two main styles in Welles's film: the Othello style — simplicity, grandeur and hyperbole —, and Iago style — distorted perspectives, tortured compositions and grotesque shadows:

The juxtaposition of the two styles is established in the initial shots of the film, as the camera frames Othello's face on the funeral bier at a contorted angle, following this with a long shot of the orderly, elegiac procession moving across the frame from left to right. These shots are abruptly cut to reveal Iago chained and dragged as he darts through the angry crowd and is forced into the small cage. The close-up shots of Iago through the cage bars and the vertiginous shots from the cage as it swings, prefigure [...] the ironically elevated perspective of Iago's

view of the world he infects with his acutely calculated manipulation.  
(Davies 1994:106)

In fact, Welles is trying to show that the line between barbarous ambition and honour — another subject in the play—, which implies civil order is very thin. Therefore, when Othello thinks his honour has been betrayed, that is, when honour disappears, he tries to regain it through revenge, which will bring about only chaos.

Influenced by Conrad's *The Heart of Darkness*, through different architectural styles Welles explores the relationship of individual man and his moral confidence to established cultural order:

The civilized order which holds Iago in check is symbolized by the rich, harmonious architecture, sculptures of heroic man, placid canals and the elaborate symmetrical altar at which Othello and Desdemona are married. Visually, people are dwarfed by an old and massive order which, if it cannot eliminate human conflict and suffering, can prevent gross injustice and provide a framework for happiness. Within this civilized order, Othello is completely in command of himself, moves and speaks to his own rhythms. (Jorgens 1977: 179-180)

When Othello is removed and isolated from the art, luxury and institutions of honourable Venice, he is prey to ideas which dissolve every vestige of his own earlier certainties. That change is also shown by the use of light and darkness, and the change of perspective during the filming process: when Iago delivers his discourse on the frailty of man's perception and the danger of jealousy, Othello's reactions are shot, first, from a low angle with his profile against the sky, and then with his face darker and contorted with the first signs of paranoia and confusion, from a higher camera position — suggesting his submission to Iago. "Welles's manipulation of the two men in space and in relation to the natural outdoor sunlight is part of the general strategy whereby Iago moves into oblique light and Othello into the trap of darkness." (Davies 1994: 110).

Welles arranges Othello's striking Desdemona in the presence of Lodovico and the emissaries from Venice so that Othello's hand moves across the frame to slap Desdemona's face as she approaches looking directly into the camera. It is ingenious, unexpected and effective. But it does not impress us as much as does the same moment in Oliver Parker's 1995 production, when a tender, loving, caring and passionate Othello, already poisoned by Iago's venomous words, slaps violently and unexpectedly Irene Jacob's sweet face, who cannot understand that sudden change in her beloved husband.

But Welles's film reaches total darkness with the strangulation of Desdemona. There is only the barest minimum of light in the scene, virtually shot in black-on-black, with just some glinting points of light on Othello and Desdemona. "Othello, after the discovery of the murder, is framed in long shot looking upward at the incredulous faces which stare down at him from a roof trap-door, as though he were at the bottom of a dark well of isolation." (Davies 1994: 111).

Oliver Parker's production relies on his characters when it comes to express the afore-mentioned feelings of hatred, ambition and revenge, rather than on the mastery of technical experimentalism and special effects of the 1952 production.

If Welles opened the film with the corpse of the protagonist in his burial procession, Parker opens with the happy image of Othello and Desdemona furtively hurrying to their marriage by boat along the canals.

Next we see Iago — offended because Othello has chosen to promote Cassio instead of him — peeping through the church's lattice to see with his own eyes — his heart flooded with rage and thirst for revenge — that Desdemona is really marrying the Moor — which also hints at the possibility of his secretly being in love with her. From that moment onwards, we witness how Iago's mind and intuition work overtime as he intrigues to bring about Othello's downfall. Kenneth Branagh's Iago is intense in his evil wickedness, and wonderful in his show of innocence, love and concern for his master-friend, when he is in the company of Othello.

Iago's insistence on the power of reason over passion, or instinct, is indeed a sign of his villainy. On the other hand, Laurence Fishburne's Othello radiates a world of romantic, heroic, and picturesque adventure. All about him is highly coloured. He is a Moor; he is noble and generally respected, and he is proud in the reaches of his honourable achievement. Yet, the dominant quality in this production is the exquisitely moulded language and the noble cadence of Othello's poetry. Rather than reflecting a soldier's language, his speech evokes the quality of soldiership in all its glamour of romantic adventure. It has the exotic beauty of a romantic treasure-house of rich, colourful experiences, which Desdemona is listening to — absolutely infatuated both by the storyteller himself and by the accounts of his adventures.

Othello is a compound of highly-coloured, romantic adventure — he is himself 'coloured' — and war; together with a great pride and a great face in those realities. His very life is dependent on a fundamental belief in the validity and nobility of human action [...] Othello, as he appears in the action of the play, may be considered the high-priest of human endeavour, robbed in the vestments of romance, whom we watch serving in the temple of war at the altar of love's divinity. (Knight 1995: 107)

During the action, as Iago's plot succeeds, Desdemona's essential divinity changes, for Othello, to its antithesis, that is, to something devilish. From that moment on, there is a drastic change in the Moor. Orson Welles turned him into a merciless punishing judge and executor, but Laurence Fishburne, always closer to Shakespeare's mind and to his character's heart, shows a man whose heart has been broken, a man who, deep in love, feels betrayed, but, at the same time, cannot stop loving the traitor. He knows he must defend his honour, but he shrinks at the thought of perpetrating such an awful deed against his beloved Desdemona. Parker shows that inner hesitation in a wonderful scene, where we listen to Othello's wonderful speech while we see him sweat and shudder, his heart hesitating once and again, and tears running down his desolate face.

When he finally kills her, and then finds out the truth, he commits suicide, and while he dies, he kisses his innocent martyr passionately and expires beside her. And the shot shows a beautiful scene, with the two lovers on the bed, Emilia also lying dead beside her mistress, and Iago, but he, the villain, lying at their feet. The final shot is a really romantic one, completely different from that of Welles's production, which closed with the tragic darkness the gothic image of the battlements and Othello's and Desdemona's corpses being carried in their burial procession, followed by the shot of the reflection of Iago's cage on the water, insisting on Iago's

distorting evil. In the 1995 production, a boat slowly sails towards a red sky — a symbol of the lovers' passion, but also of the dusk of their lives —, and interrupting its progress, we see the Venetians sending Othello's and Desdemona's corpses, forever joined with garlands and flowers, to the depths of the sea — as it became great generals —, in a final show of love and respect for them.

This is a play of contrasts: Iago cynicism is opposed to Othello's idealism, his intellect of Othello's instinct, his faith in reason to Othello's dependence on trust, and his dismissal of love to Othello's commitment to it. And it is precisely to the emotions generated by these contrasts — its capacity to arouse pity as well as terror through the pathetic suffering of Desdemona and the tragic corruption of Othello —, that the play owes its enduring popularity over the centuries.

What we have stated so far contributes to making Welles's *Othello* an unforgettable filmic experience. Yet, for all that, the film — even the newly restored version of 1992 — is further removed from the play in the nature of its impact than are most other Shakespeare film adaptations from their source plays. Despite the brilliance of Welles's cinematic resourcefulness, the film lacks an intensity of theatricality which the play demands.

Welles's *Othello* invites us to respond primarily to the image. Shakespeare's *Othello*, more perhaps than any other of his plays, insists that we relate — at times obsessively — with the actor and with the character, and that is precisely Oliver Parker's great achievement.

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## Of Power and Race and Sex — With Due Respect: On some Portuguese Translations of *Othello*

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More than a quarter of a century ago, Leslie Fiedler published a book called *The Stranger in Shakespeare*, whose aim, declared in the opening pages, was to study Shakespearian drama from the perspective of 'the relations between America and Europe, white men and blacks, Gentiles and Jews, masters of arts and savages, males and females'. Fiedler proposed to do this by focusing on 'that borderline figure, who defines the limits of the human (...) [and] has been named variously the "shadow", the "other", the "alien", the "outsider", the "stranger"' (Fiedler 1972: 11, 15).

Though from a different theoretical standpoint, Fiedler thus privileged that emphasis on representations of 'otherness' which would from the late seventies, and all through the eighties and nineties, gain increasing currency, and ultimately become a dominant mode in poststructuralist critical discourse. What Fiedler was proposing to deal with when he considered 'the stranger as woman (...), the stranger as Jew (...), the stranger as Moor (...), the stranger as New World savage' (Fiedler 1972: 15) reminds us that the contributions which in recent years were increasingly brought to bear on Shakespearian studies by multiculturalism, gender studies and postcolonial studies have tended to cluster precisely around an attention to the discourses that constitute that otherness - discourses whose evolving constructions a study like John Gillies's 1994 *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* has made particularly evident (Gillies 1994: *passim*).

It is therefore, in the late 1990s, virtually inescapable to take issues of difference into account when dealing with a play like *Othello* - and not just, as I hope to be able to show, from the viewpoint of *racial* difference. This sense of inevitability increases when it is *translations* of *Othello* that one means to deal with. In fact, a leitmotiv of translation studies as a growing area of research and critical attention since the late eighties is the claim that, in itself, an interest in translation supposes a sensitivity to difference, not just linguistic but cultural - in short, an attention to the voice of the other. Such assumptions explicitly underlie Wolfgang Iser's advocacy of 'translatability' as that which 'makes us focus on the space between cultures (...) [that] space between [which] opens up the experience of otherness' (Iser 1995: 32). This ultimately allows translation to be proposed as the prime model for the manifestation and acknowledgement of otherness: 'the various modes in which otherness manifests itself are already modes of translation' (Iser 1995: 32).

My reading of several Portuguese translations of *Othello* will then be informed (explicitly or not) by such assumptions. It will also rest on a consciousness that the relationship to the Shakespearian text experienced both by translators and their critics is heavily conditioned by the hypercanonical status (and the appertaining expectations) of that text. Likewise, it will try not to lose sight of what George Steiner called 'the dynamic reciprocities between successive translations' (Steiner 1993: 13), and of the way they may highlight the development of Portuguese as a language, in its

social and literary uses - even though the chronological range of the translations in question is of less than a century.

In fact, the oldest translation I will be considering was published by José António de Freitas in 1882, and the most recent by R. Correia (identified as responsible for revising the version in question, whose author is not indicated) in 1976. The others will be those by King Luiz I (1885), Domingos Ramos (1911), Frederico Montenegro (1966), and an undated translation by António Leitão de Figueiredo (probably published, from some indications to be found in its critical apparatus, between 1964 and 1966). These are the published translations which so far I could trace. In his introduction to the 1956 edition of King Luiz's translation, Jorge Faria indicates that the oldest full translation into Portuguese of a Shakespearean text was Simão de Melo Brandão's version of *Othello*, probably written in the final years of the eighteenth century - a text which, however, was left in manuscript. Faria (who indicates he had it in his private collection) endorses Brandão's claim to have translated the play directly from English, and not, as often would happen, from a French version (a claim recently disproved by Maria João da Rocha Afonso (Afonso 1993: passim); but he describes it as a rather free as well as 'colourless' version. Still according to Faria, between that date and the latter nineteenth century, some imitations and adaptations were published - usually, from French versions. However, and even while I believe that a distinction between translations 'proper' and (e.g.) 'adaptations' cannot be simplistically endorsed, in this paper I will restrict myself, for practical reasons, to texts which present themselves as translations and unquestionably fall within a conventional understanding of a translation. As to twentieth-century translations other than those already mentioned, I surmise there will have been some other versions written for specific productions of the play - but they will not have been published.

As a final remark within these preliminary considerations, it should also be said that the absence, in most of these translations, of a clear indication of the edition(s) used as sources at times complicates an understanding of the translator's options - in passages in which, say, the 1622 Quarto and the 1623 Folio read differently (this being particularly relevant in a play for which most modern editors rely at different points on one or the other of those two source texts). The exception is Figueiredo, responsible for the only Portuguese edition we would today acknowledge as 'scholarly' - with a careful critical apparatus, unquestionable evidence of familiarity with the seventeenth-century sources, and a clear indication of the edition (Dover Wilson's) on which it is based. Chronologically, the first which seemed to come closer to this was Ramos's: but, although its title page informs the reader that *Othello* was 'printed for the first time in 1622', and a careful reading both of the text and the notes shows that Ramos opts for the Quarto and the Folio at different times, the criteria for that are never explained. The critical apparatus (introduction and notes) of his translation can, however, be baffling - since a show of English scholarship coexists with (for example) giving the name James I in its French version ('Jacques I') (Ramos 1911: 231, n17). Such a detail seems to suggest that some of that scholarship will come to the translator second hand: after all, he calls his notes 'Commentarios do traductor colligidos de notaveis commentadores' ('The translator's commentary compiled from notable commentators') (Ramos 1911: 225).

Let me, however, return to my initial acknowledgement of reading assumptions largely defined by otherness, in order to take on its most obvious dimension: that of *Othello*'s blackness. The ethics (in which I share) which would more usually

determine a consideration of race in the humanities today would probably prepare the late twentieth-century academic reader to discover in these texts the signs of anguished translators' decisions when dealing with racially charged language. That expectation, however, is largely frustrated by the translations in question. One could hypothesise that what seems to be a general softening of the play's verbal violence in Correia's 1976 translation might grow out of that unease - but it is, in fact, more noticeable in areas of discourse other than that of racial abuse, and the text often provides (rather unexpectedly) instances of the opposite. Likewise, the violence of the slurs on Othello as rendered in some passages of Montenegro's 1966 translation might be understood, by its sheer excess, to serve at times a purpose of self-denunciation (i.e., racist language working against itself) - but it hardly exhibits a coherence of purpose and attitude that would allow this hypothesis to be made into a more confident judgement. As for Figueiredo's, its predominantly learned and at times rather ponderous tone can have an archaising effect which somehow makes it more difficult for the reader to bear in mind that it is a late twentieth-century text, with all the implications of that.

All in all, even in translations which are otherwise (as I will show) rather obviously bowdlerised, there are no evident signs that the translators will have experienced serious qualms when dealing with, in particular, Iago's, Brabantio's and Roderigo's racial insults. Somewhat disturbingly, there seems at times to be, on the contrary, a certain amount of overtranslation of such slurs - in particular by interpretative paraphrases. In Correia, for instance, Brabantio's words in I.2:70-1, 'the sooty bosom / Of such a thing as thou', is rendered as 'um repugnante monstro como tu' ('a repugnant monster like you' - Correia 1976: 88): the reference to skin colour as a specific source for Desdemona's imagined recoiling from the African is omitted, but Correia's version, in its choice of adjective and noun, actually verbalises racial hatred in a much more explicit (though rhetorically less effective) way. Almost a century earlier, Freitas had translated the same passage as 'o seio tizado e asqueroso de um ente como tu' ('the tanned and repellent bosom of a being like you') (Freitas 1882: 18). The translator apparently felt that the negative connotation of 'sooty' required additional qualification, the consequence being a more vehement manifestation of racial disgust - even though the substitution of 'ente' ('being') for 'thing' (which all the other translators also performed) might be construed as an unintentional compensation. An instance of the translator being carried away by the rhetoric of racial derision is, on the other hand, provided by Ramos, when he renders the passage in which Iago foresees that Othello will 'tenderly be led by th'nose' (I.3:395) as 'deixar-se levar pela beíça' (Ramos 1911: 13). 'Beíça' is a mildly derogatory Portuguese term for 'lip', whose use means that Ramos had in mind Othello's African features, previously mentioned in the play when Roderigo refers to 'the thick-lips' (I.1:67), duly rendered by Ramos as 'esse beíçudo' (Ramos 1911: 4) - a slur he decides to add, with undisguised gusto, to Iago's closing soliloquy in Act I.

By doing this, Ramos only confirms those racial stereotypes which his *Introduction* postulates and expands on as fully justifying Othello's characterisation, as well vindicating the 'truth to life' of the behaviour Shakespeare created for his character:

Quaes as raças mais aptas para cederem ao ciúme e resentirem-se de todos os seus soffrimentos? A experiencia historica ensina-nos que são todas as raças africanas, porque, educadas na liberdade absoluta do deserto e da tenda, são incapazes de comprehender estas incessantes transacções, estas prudentes

considerações e esta discreta tolerância que o manejo infinito das paixões recíprocas e incessantemente renascentes ensina aos homens das nossas sociedades, porque para ellas a felicidade é o orgulho da alma; o orgulho não tem pleno desenvolvimento, senão pela segurança e confiança e o amor trahido, destruindo a segurança, arruina ao mesmo tempo toda a possibilidade da vida feliz. (Ramos 1911: XIV-XV)

(Which are the races more apt to yield to jealousy and resent all their sufferings? Historical experience tells us that it is all the African races, because, raised in the absolute freedom of the desert and the tent, they are incapable of understanding those incessant transactions, those prudent considerations and that discreet tolerance which the infinite handling of reciprocal and incessantly reborn passions teaches the men of our societies; because for them happiness lies in the pride of their soul; pride cannot fully develop, but through security and trust; and betrayed love, by destroying security, at the same time ruins all possibility of a happy life)

Further down, Ramos will add a reference to '[o] quente entusiasmo da sua raça' ('the hot enthusiasm of their race').

This tendency to believe that the 'truth' of Shakespeare's dramatic character lay a lot in its 'typical' portrayal of an ethnic or racial type, and not 'simply' in the convincing representation of an individuality, was also to be found in Freitas's Introduction, three decades earlier. But in this case the translator/commentator refuses to accept Othello's blackness; following such an authority as Coleridge, Freitas endorses the view that, rather than being a black man, Othello (largely discussed as a historical character) would have had the complexion of an Arab. Therefore, while rooting (as Ramos would do) the character's susceptibility to Iago's plot in the supposed mindscape of his race, Freitas construes that frame of mind as dreamily and superstitiously 'oriental', rather than passionately and hotbloodedly 'Negro' - and he thus expands repeatedly on the 'oriental's tendency to credit dreams, and on the 'impressionable nature of his race' (Freitas 1882: XXXVII-VIII, XLVIII, LXX). Freitas's remarks are, in fact, signal instances of that mental construction of the Orient which Edward Said has identified as 'one of its [Europe's] deepest and most recurring images of the Other', a construction which 'has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience' (Said 1978: 1) - the other as 'oriental' defining himself, as Said also demonstrates, by irrationality, imprecision, lust, and an intense concern with (dis-)honour and revenge (Said 1978: *passim*). It should, however, be pointed out that Freitas's choices as a translator do not significantly further the view of Othello argued in his Introduction - to the extent that his translation, which in other respects tries to circumvent aspects of Shakespeare's text felt to be at odds with the translator's mores, does not in fact evade the explicit allusions to Othello's negritude, of which Roderigo's already quoted execration of 'the thick-lips' ('aquelle beçudo' - Freitas 1882: 6) is maybe the most signal instance.

Another aspect of Freitas's remarks on Othello as 'oriental' will, however, have clearer implications for the connection between the Introduction and the translated text, as well as for the way the latter relates to the source text - and those are the remarks which fuse race, sex and gender. Freitas comments on the way in which understanding Othello as an Arab rather than a black man makes his marriage to Desdemona, rather than an unequal union, 'a sympathica fusão dos dois typos primordiaes da belleza humana - o typo semitico e o typo caucasico' (Freitas 1882:

XXXVIII) ('the sympathetic fusion of the two primordial types of human beauty - the Semitic and the Caucasian'). And he adds:

Se Othello fosse effectivamente um negro, e, como pretendem alguns criticos, um barbaro, um selvagem, uma natureza domesticada só na apparencia, por certo não inspiraria á patricia veneziana outro sentimento alem da admiração pela sua historia. O contrario revelaria um gosto depravado, que o poeta por nenhuma fórma lhe quiz attribuir. (Freitas 1882: XXXVIII-IX).

(Were Othello really a Negro, and, some critics defend, a barbarian, a savage, a nature tamed only in appearance, he surely would not inspire the Venetian aristocrat any sentiment other than admiration for his life story. Otherwise, it would reveal a depraved taste, which the poet in no way wished to ascribe to her.)

This passage in fact signals the translator's racially tainted defence of the protagonist's conditions to be admired and loved, from which issues an equivocal defence of Desdemona: by stating that, were Desdemona to have fallen in love with an African, she would be depraved, Freitas is authorising the point of view of Iago, Roderigo and Brabantio - the characters who voice that notion in the play, but are in fact deprived by the dramatist (through characterisation) of the moral and dramatic authority to make their views acceptable to the audience. The full extent of Freitas's positions on race and gender is in fact to be found in the today ethically most appalling passage of his Introduction - his defence of any husband's right to murder an adulterous wife, and, concomitantly, of Othello's 'justness':

o adulterio é um crime, que contém em si todos os crimes, diz Proudhon. E sabemos que todos os codigos, em todos os paizes, castigam com penas suaves e até absolvem o marido, que matar a esposa adúltera, quando o adulterio for uma evidencia.

Que é isto senão o reconhecimento de um direito que tem o marido ultrajado de fazer justiça por suas mãos? Foi isso, e nada mais, o que praticou o Mouro de Veneza.

O modo, como assassina a mulher, prova que Othello não é um faccinora, um malvado que se delicia com o soffrimento da victima. (...)

Matou-a porque julgou que era justo. (Freitas 1882: LXXII-III)

(adultery is a crime which contains in itself all crimes, says Proudhon. And we know that all legal codes, in all countries, punish lightly or even absolve the husband who kills an adulterous wife, when adultery is evident.

What is this but the acknowledgment of a right the outraged husband has to take justice in his own hands? It was that, and no more, that the Moor of Venice effected.

The way in which he murders his wife proves that Othello is not a butcher, a scoundrel who takes delight in the suffering of his victim. (...)

He killed her because he thought it was just;)

It is a passage made despicable by its ethics, even when taken in its 19th-century context (a context which does not make it 'normal' - we should remember how A.W.Schlegel had decried, precisely in a passage on *Othello*, 'the disgraceful confinement of women and many other unnatural usages'; whilst Coleridge had pointed out that 'surely it ought to be considered a very exalted compliment to women, that all the sarcasms on them in Shakspeare are put in the mouths of villains' - Bate 1992: 479-85). But the passage is also degraded by its lack of critical sense, which in fact spoils the moral and emotional complexity of the tragic design by demoting a 'larger-than-life' tragic protagonist to the status of an outraged bourgeois husband. With Freitas, it is as if the translator's imagined male bonding with the romanticised 'oriental' overcame the latter's otherness - a quality reserved, implicitly, for the woman, with whom no such solidarity is experienced.

The construction of woman as stranger (to retrieve Leslie Fiedler's formulation) can also be seen in Ramos's *Introduction* - which goes one step further than Freitas by partly inculpating Desdemona for her lot, while only being able to understand her love for the African as a self-punishing whim:

O valor, a virtude, os longos soffrimentos d'Othello cegaram-na; não viu as diferenças desagradáveis que o separavam d'ella, offereceu-se amorosamente ao velho soldado como vitima expiatoria da sua laboriosa vida, como holocausto encarregado de resgatar as suas duras fadigas. Offereceu-se como holocausto! Não haverá n'isto um vislumbre de perversidade? Os anjos também pôdem ter a sua maldadesinha; é um excesso de zelo seraphico, um exaggero vivissimo d'humildade, uma expansão de caridade ardentissima. (Ramos 1911: XVI-XVII)

(Valour, virtue, Othello's long sufferings blinded her; she did not see the unpleasant differences which separated him from her, and she offered herself amorously to the old soldier as a scapegoat for his arduous life, as a holocaust that would redress his severe hardships. She offered herself as a holocaust! Is there not in this a glimpse of perversity? Angels can also have their little evil; it is an excess of seraphic zeal, a vivid exaggeration of humility, an expanse of the most ardent charity.)

But if this passage might suggest an individual bent, the exceptional and the unique, Ramos will promptly turn it into a generic judgement - a gender-determined judgement, which is half condescension and half indictment:

Mas esta angelica malvadez, que é a da esposa d'*Othello*, é muito feminina. Shakespeare, que comprehendeu o coração humano em toda a sua extensão, viu n'este amoroso ardor de sacrificio o elemento primario d'um dos typos mais attrahentes, patheticos e mais altivamente feminis que jámais algum poeta creou. (Ramos 1911: XVII)

(But this angelic fiendishness, which is that of Othello's wife, is very feminine. Shakespeare, who understood the human heart in its full extension, saw in this amorous ardour for sacrifice the primary element of one of the most attractive, pathetic and more proudly feminine types which any poet ever created)

Behind this understanding of the character lies an inability to accept as 'normal' a woman's passion that is as vocal and daring as Desdemona's is in Act I, in the face of an exclusively male public power: the response is to see the virtuous but assuming woman as that mixture of saint and whore which haunts Ramos's comments - and it will be my contention that the bowdlerisations patent in the translations analysed owe a lot to the perplexities and the fears which that originates. Of those fears, the one which more often recurs explicitly throughout *Othello* is that of cuckoldry - a fate which, in Portuguese as in other southern European languages and cultures, inevitably conjures that image of the cuckold's horns which is also present in the text of *Othello*. It may be revealing that none of the translations in question adopts a single or coherent option for translating the repeated occurrences of 'cuckold', and for tackling an image like 'this forkèd plague' or a dictum like 'A hornèd man's a monster and a beast' - more often than not evaded through euphemisms such as 'o homem enganado', 'o coitado' ('the deceived man', 'the poor man'), or decorous paraphrase like 'aquelle que é trahido' ('that who is betrayed'). Even Montenegro, the first who bluntly translates 'to cuckold' as 'pôr os cornos', shies off that option in later occurrences. In this respect, though, King Luiz I provides the most curious case of a rather erratic attitude in terms of verbal decorum. In his prologue, the royal translator explicitly vows to be true to the bluntness of Shakespeare's language:

entendi que seria um crime mutilar esta tragédia por mal cabido pudor, deixando de traduzir frases que, embora rudes, não me julguei autorizado a eliminar. (...) como tradutor, devo estar isento, para o público, da responsabilidade da linguagem, que ele por certo hoje não empregaria, mas que a fidelidade da tradução me obrigou a conservar (Luiz 1885: 17)

(it was my understanding that it would be a crime to mutilate this tragedy out of undue prudery, by not translating sentences which, though rude, I did not feel entitled to eliminate. (...) as a translator, I must be exempt, before the public, from any responsibility for the language which he [Shakespeare] would surely not employ today, but which I was forced to preserve in the name of a faithful translation)

When dealing with the issue of cuckoldry, these honourable intentions will be kept with passages such as 'esta córnea praga' (for 'this forkèd plague') or 'Um homem cornudo é um monstro e uma besta' (Luís 1885: 158) - one of the more literal renderings, within the six translations considered, of the memorably concise 'A hornèd man's a monster and a beast' (IV.-1:62). But strangely baffling will be King Luiz's solution for Emilia's question, in IV.-3:74-5: 'who would not make her husband a cuckold, to make him a monarch?' - rendered by this monarch as: 'quem não coroaria o seu marido para o fazer monarca?' (Luiz 1885: 198) ('who would not crown her husband to make him a monarch?'). It is true that 'coroar', in Portuguese, can be a popular euphemism for 'cuckolding', but it is most peculiar that this should have been the choice of a translator who happened to be a 'crowned head'.

Another revealing example of the translators' embarrassment with images of male sexuality under threat occurs with Iago's (apparently invented) narration, in III.3, of Cassio's supposedly 'revealing' dream: in the course of a war campaign, the two men would have shared a bed, Cassio having in his sleep taken Iago for Desdemona and made some amorous advances, vigorously hugging and kissing him - a high point of this, according to Iago, occurring when Cassio 'laid his leg / Over my thigh, and

sighed, and kissed'. The description is farcical, and may be exploited as such on stage, but the homosexual embrace (even if as an unwilling gesture) apparently touched a sensitive chord: in 1976, Correia plainly excised the 'leg over thigh' passage (Correia 1976: 132), whilst Freitas had, in 1882, given us a clear-cut example of what Bakhtine would describe as the play between 'high' and 'low' images of the body (Bakhtine 1970: *passim*) - by rendering '[he] laid his leg / Over my thigh' as 'e cingia-me o pescoço' (Freitas 1882: 116) ('and he clasped me by the neck').

If perplexities arise when one considers the translators' choices for dealing with the humiliations of sexual betrayal, or of an accidental homoerotic involvement, an embarrassed attitude will also predominate when it comes to graphically describing sexual activity - in particular when the woman seems to embody the paradigm of saint rather than that of whore. Separated by almost a century, both Freitas and Correia extensively bowdlerise Iago's obscene descriptions of Othello and Desdemona's union in Act I, Scene I, where passages like 'you'll have your daughter covered with a Barbary horse' (111-12), or 'your daughter and the Moor are now making the beast with two backs' (116-17) are either eliminated or made vague by Correia (Correia 1976: 84ff) - and were rendered by Freitas as 'Quereis ter por genro um cavallo da Barbaria?' ('would you have a Barbary horse for a son-in-law?') and 'vossa filha está nos braços do Mouro' ('your daughter is in the arms of the Moor') (Freitas 1882: 8-10). Correia also gives us examples of a translation of precise sexual images as vague sentimental ones, in particular with two passages in Iago's soliloquies: 'I hate the Moor, / And it is thought abroad that 'twixt my sheets / He's done my office' (I.3:380-2) becomes 'Mas odeio o mouro, porque se murmura que minha mulher o ama' (Correia 1976: 98) ('But I hate the Moor, because it is murmured that my wife loves him'); and 'I do suspect the lusty Moor / Hath leaped into my seat' (II.1:286-7) becomes 'suspeito de que o mouro andou em tempos pelo meu jardim' (Correia 1976: 107) ('I suspect the Moor once strolled in my garden'). Ten years earlier, however, the latter passage had been translated by Montenegro in a way which suffered from a directly opposite attitude: even if not in a constant and coherent way, Montenegro's translation is at times at pains to prove how free from squeamishness it is, the result being over-explicit and gross renderings of sexual imagery. Thus, 'I do suspect the lusty Moor / Hath leaped into my seat' (II.1:286-7) becomes 'desconfio bem que esse Mouro lascivo pulou de gozo na cama com a minha mulher' (Montenegro 1966: 63) ('I do suspect the lusty Moor has bounced with pleasure in bed with my wife') - the over-explicitness being obvious when contrasted to Figueiredo's more literal 'eu suspeito que o Mouro lascivo pinchou na minha cama' (Figueiredo n.d.: 149); and, in the same soliloquy, and even more excessively, 'I fear Cassio with my night-cap too' is rendered as 'receio que Cássio também me tenha montado a fêmea' (Montenegro 1966: 64) ('I fear Cassio may have mounted my female too') - as against Figueiredo's 'receio bem que Cássio também já se me tenha metido na cama' ('I do fear Cassio may also have slipped into my bed'), a version which also discards metonymy in favour of literalness, but does not so seriously overtranslate Shakespeare's passage.

Not many lines below in Act II Montenegro will adopt the same strategy for dealing with the passage in which Iago tries to tempt the courteous Cassio into an equivalent to locker-room talk about Desdemona - one of his most daring quips being: 'And, I'll warrant her, full of game' (II-3:19), which Montenegro translates as 'E aposto que se mexe bem na cama' (Montenegro 1966: 66) ('And I bet she moves well in bed'). This passage had, in fact, been rendered rather frankly (if we bear in mind that it concerns the difficult issue of women's sexual enjoyment) by both Freitas and

Ramos - respectively as ‘...doida por gosar’ (Freitas 1882: 64) and ‘E que gosta de gosar’ (Ramos 1911: 62) - as well as by Figueiredo, in terms (again) similar to but less explicit than Montenegro: ‘E aposto que há-de ser mexidinha’ (Figueiredo n.d.: 150); and it would in 1976 elicit from Correia the strangely risible: ‘E tem pinta de ser alegre e saltadora como um cabrito’ (Correia 1976: 109) (‘And she has all the signs of being merry and skippy as a little goat/ kid’). Of this group of translators, in fact, the one who finds it most difficult to translate references to Desdemona’s sexuality is King Luiz, who promptly forgets his initial vow of bluntness and renders the same words as ‘cheia de atractivos’ (Luiz 1885: 79) (‘full of attractions’) - this strategy entailing that the contrast between Iago’s insinuations and Cassio’s courteousness is lost. At times King Luiz will in fact translate sexually charged passages without technically bowdlerising them, but resorting to a vocabulary which will in practice prevent most of his readers from ever understanding him - as is the case with his version of Cassio’s wish that Othello may arrive safely in Cyprus and ‘Make love’s quick pants in Desdemona’s arms’ (II-1:80); the frankness of this passage is in fact retained by the other translators (to the exception of Figueiredo), whilst King Luiz decided to render it impenetrable: ‘faz (...) os crebros anélitos do amor nos braços de Desdémoma’ (Luiz 1885: 65).

King Luiz will not be alone, however, in not stomaching well the obscenities and insults in which the play abounds, almost all of them directed at Desdemona - both in the character’s presence and absence. The word ‘whore’ has a high number of occurrences, and in the six translations it is almost never given as its corresponding Portuguese four-letter-word - ‘replaced’ rather by the more neutrally descriptive ‘prostituta’ or ‘adúltera’, or by a range of socially more acceptable synonyms for the lost woman, such as ‘rameira’ or ‘desavergonhada’. The rhetorical, aesthetic and dramatic costs of such prudishness - as in this final stage I will try to prove - are high, in that they ultimately put at risk the tragic dimension of the play as constructed by its language and characterisation. At its most obvious, it turns the pathos of certain pronouncements into potentially risible assertions - as when Desdemona’s words, after being insulted: ‘I cannot say “whore”’ (IV.-2:160) are rendered by King Luiz as ‘Não posso pronunciar - prostituta’ (Luiz 1885: 187) (‘I cannot pronounce - prostitute’), which makes it sound as if the alliterative sequence is too hard for Desdemona to articulate... The rather systematic rendering (by all six translators on most occasions) of ‘whore’ as ‘prostituta’ also lays an emphasis on denotation which is, with most occurrences of the word, a lot less important than its sheer purpose of abuse and invective: when Iago, in the last scene, calls his wife Emilia (who is publicly denouncing him) a ‘villainous whore’, he is not accusing her of selling sexual favours (as, for instance, Figueiredo’s ‘Miserável prostituta!’ would suggest - Figueiredo n.d.: 251) - but rather means to level at her the most violent verbal attack possible, both as retaliation and as intimidation; this purpose can only be achieved in translation with equally violent and socially punitive language, which is plainly not the case with the majority of the solutions found by these six translators.

From the viewpoint of dramatic rhetoric, worse is the case, however, of those concise pronouncements which abound in the protagonist’s voice, indicting Desdemona or inveighing against Iago in a register which is characteristically that of Jacobean tragedy. One instance is Othello’s imperative: ‘Be sure thou prove I love a whore’ (III.3:356), which Correia translates as ‘Dá-me provas infalíveis de que minha esposa é adúltera’ (Correia 1976: 131) (‘Give me infallible evidence that my wife is an adulteress’) - a rendering which totally destroys the tone and the rhythm of the

original (emphasised by its iambic regularity). An even clearer instance is Othello's already posthumous judgement on Desdemona (before his anagnorisis) as the irretrievably lost woman: 'She turned to folly; and she was a whore' (V.2:133). King Luiz's is, in this case, the best of the available options, in rhythm and concision: 'Desvairou; era uma rameira!' (Luiz 1885: 224) ('She went mad; she was a strumpet'). But Shakespeare's lapidary statement is diluted, made banal, decorous and verbose in most of the other translations: 'Tinha-se entregado ao vicio; era uma prostituta' (Freitas 1882: 203) ('She had given herself up to vice; she was a prostitute'); 'Tornou-se uma maluca, uma prostituta!' (Montenegro 1966: 207) ('She became a foolish woman, a prostitute'); 'Ela fez-se uma doida; era uma meretriz' (Figueiredo n.d.: 246) ('She went mad; she was a courtesan'); 'Ella portava-se mal, era uma desavergonhada, uma devassa' (Ramos 1911: 206) ('She misbehaved, she had no shame, she was a slut').

Of these alternatives, Ramos's is, I believe, the worst, in that, by its lexical choices and its enumerative excess, it demotes the tragic protagonist's utterance to the level of vulgar name-calling - even though Ramos refrains, in this passage, from literally translating 'whore'. He is, however, the only translator to actually employ the Portuguese word 'puta' - equivalent to 'whore', but avoided in all the other translations - but he employs it only twice, in passages he will have judged more poignant. The daring of that choice, however, is only apparent, and does not mean that Ramos deals more honestly than other translators with the discourse on women in *Othello*. On the contrary, Ramos's perspective on women and sexuality (already hinted at when he suggests, in his Introduction, that women are at bottom a mixture of angels and devils, ultimately responsible for what befalls them) is best revealed in the gusto and zest with which he resorts to a long list of terms of abuse for lost women. To Shakespeare's 'whore' and 'strumpet', Ramos answers with (besides the sparingly used 'puta') 'marafona', 'debochada', 'perdida', 'pécora', 'porca', 'desavergonhada' and 'devassa' - all the verbal wealth the woman on the street corner might hear from pimp and bourgeois customer alike, the language of bourgeois stigmatisation, distinct from (but ultimately more prejudiced than) obscenities in their vernacular nakedness. And misogyny is what Ramos also reveals when describing the only actual prostitute in *Othello*, Bianca; Shakespeare's text reads: 'It is a creature / That dotes on Cassio' - but Ramos translates it as: 'Esta creatura faz andar a cabeça de Cassio á roda' (Ramos 1911: 142) ('This creature has turned Cassio's head'). In short, whereas Shakespeare's Bianca suffers from an infatuation with Cassio (from whom she will get no respect and little affection), Ramos's Bianca is charged with causing Cassio an infatuation - the lost woman ultimately responsible for almost ruining a good man. But Ramos (later followed by Figueiredo) at least translates 'whoring' (the male activity of seeking that ruin, as referred to in Iago's phrase 'This is the fruit of whoring'-V.1:116) as 'libertinagem', which carries a negative connotation - whereas for both Freitas and King Luiz 'whoring' was no more than a benevolently and humorously phrased 'vida airada'.

Ramos's options when characterising women, from his Introduction to his translation, is only the most extreme example of a practice, also exhibited by the other translators, which helps vindicate Iago's view of women - that they are all whores. That this implication is always lurking close is made apparent by the translations of Othello's soliloquised pronouncement on Emilia: 'This is a subtle whore' (IV.2:20) - rendered by Freitas, Figueiredo and Correia as 'É uma espertalhona' ('she's a clever one'), 'é uma devassa espertalhona' ('she's a clever slut'), and (worst of all) 'É

mulher astuta' ('she's a crafty woman'). As vindicated by the final roles of the women in *Othello*, this is a view which Shakespeare's tragedy ultimately defeats - whilst some of the options made by his Portuguese translators would seem to risk reinstating it.

That can be the cost of a predominant attitude behind the translations considered which King Luiz's prologue had made explicit - an attitude governed by the belief that, had Shakespeare written for a later, supposedly more refined age, he would have shunned those 'improprieties' most of these translators seem to believe it is their duty to rid him of. Their understanding of the means to achieve their purpose will entail that a strategy of 'naturalisation' or (as Lawrence Venuti would call it) 'domestication' (Venuti 1995: *passim*) is largely employed - translating Shakespeare predominantly into the accepted language of a late nineteenth- or early twentieth-century bourgeoisie, with its narrowly defined decorum. This (as I hope the examples given will have shown) ultimately dates the translations all the more - whilst losing tragedy the dimension of strangeness proper to its conventionally high ground, and favouring instead the sameness proper to a discourse of prejudice and small decencies.

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## The Controlling Force of Rome in *Coriolanus* and *Julius Caesar*

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In Shakespeare's Roman plays, Rome does not function as a mere location that the playwright uses in order to situate his characters and actions. The city is continuously addressed, attacked, defended, hurt, praised, feared and it even plays the role of a mother. Rome is the framework within which the playwright inserts every single element of the texts and without which the whole dramatic structure of the plays would collapse, since everything evolves around it. In *Coriolanus* and *Julius Caesar*, Rome functions as a power structure that holds the essential devices to shape and control the protagonists' actions, thoughts and final destinies. In the case of *Coriolanus*, it is a force that fights against the character's belief that he has his own individuality, his own sense of independence. In the case of *Julius Caesar*, the impelling force of Rome opposes the characters' attempt to create and manipulate a reality that works against the codes of behaviour of the city.

As we hear in the first lines uttered by the citizens of Rome in *Coriolanus*, the protagonist is the "chief enemy to the people" (I.i.6-7), and "a very dog to the commonalty" (I.i.27-28). The facts that this is the first depiction of Coriolanus and that this feature is continuously repeated throughout the whole play point to the relevance of the relationship between the common people and the patricians. That is, it calls attention to the significance of the connection between the different social classes within the play. This link is made explicit in Menenius' famous "Fable of the Belly" as a response to the corn riots (I.i.147-154).

Shakespeare presents the idea of Rome as a body politic, as an organic being whose members are interrelated and depend upon one another. The social and political organisation of Rome is displayed as a circumscribed environment whose limits are well defined. The dependence of the limbs on such a body is a two-way one. Not only do the common people need the collaboration of the higher social classes to subsist but, as we will mention later on, Coriolanus also needs the plebes' voices, that is, the people's votes, to be appointed consul. However, Coriolanus' challenge to such corporation leads to confusion and chaos, since Rome's stability is threatened. Following the metaphor of the body, Coriolanus is described as a "limb that has but a disease," that "must be cut away" (III.i.293-94).

The mainspring of the public and personal crisis in the play lies in the different definitions of Rome that Coriolanus and the common people give. The plebs see the city as Menenius' organic structure. Rome is presented as a place out of which man does not exist. As we hear Sicinius ask, "What is the city but the people?" (III.i.197), the plebs answer: "True/ The people are the city" (198-99). Human life depends on the relationships established among the citizens, who become the real components of the city. On the other hand, Coriolanus' Rome is a more physical and magnificent location that has to be defended in war, a place in

which valour is “the chiefest virtue” (II.ii.84). Coriolanus’ insults to the plebs are all based on their cowardice during military action, a feature that, in Coriolanus’ opinion, deprives them of any kind of authority or even presence in Rome:

Cor. Would the nobility lay aside their ruth,  
And let me use my sword, I’d make a quarry  
With thousands of these quarter’s slaves, as high  
As I could pick my lance (I.i.196-99)

However, the Rome that ordains the development of the dramatic action is the Rome of the plebs, a city that demands a balanced coexistence among all the citizens. Coriolanus rejects such a city. His refusal to follow a custom that obliged him to show his wounds to the people and ask for their votes in order to obtain the Consulate singles him out and proclaims him “the rarest man in the world” (Iv.v.163-64).

Coriolanus’ singularity lies mainly in the fact that instead of using rhetoric to manipulate the plebs and achieve his aim—as Menenius and Volumnia advise him to do—he identifies words with thoughts and feelings. To Coriolanus, language is truth. As Menenius remarks: “His heart is his mouth” (III.i.255). Such equation will deprive him of the Consulate and will expel him from his own city. Coriolanus’ mother advises him to use words “of no allowance to your bosom’s truth” (III.ii.57). Coriolanus’ response ratifies his detachment from such manipulative and persuasive behaviour: “I had rather be servant in my way than sway with them in theirs” (II.i.201-02); “I would not buy their mercy at the price of one fair word, nor check my courage for what they can give”(III.iii.90-91). By using such discourse, he opposes law, custom and tradition, and asserts his independence and individuality.

The best way Coriolanus finds to affirm such uniqueness is to look for “a world elsewhere” (III.iii.135) and fight against the element that has tried to impose its control over him: “I will fight / against my cankered country with the spleen / of all the under fiends” (IV.v.91-93). Outside Rome, Coriolanus’ singularity and courage moves him away from the realm of men and draws him near the domain of the gods. As Cominius remarks, for the Volscians, Coriolanus’ new army, “[h]e is their god. He leads them like a thing / Made by some other deity than nature, / That shapes man better” (IV.vi.91-93).

Coriolanus’ target is to disentangle himself from the control mechanisms at work in Rome. In order to do it, he endows himself with the godlike quality of creation, in particular the genesis of his own nature:

Cor. ...I’ll never  
Be such a gosling to obey instinct, but stand  
As if a man were author of himself  
And knew no other kin (V.iii.34)

However, Coriolanus’ fate shows the audience how such authorship is not possible. The whole text functions as a controlling apparatus that defeats Coriolanus’ attempts to fashion his own identity. Such selfhood is ultimately portrayed as something that can be manipulated, as an artful process. But, how does this apparatus work in the play?

“He cannot but with measure fit the honours / Which we devise him” (II.ii.122-23), says one of the senators. Coriolanus’ nature is a creation. He has been

moulded by several forces, among which the state and the family stand out. Coriolanus' mother, Volumnia, is the principal agent of such construction. As her son says of her, she is "the honour'd mould wherein this trunk was framed" (V.iii.22). And as Volumnia herself proclaims, "Thou art my warrior: I help to frame you" (V.iii.62-63). But to say that Coriolanus has been his mother's own creation is also to say that he is Rome's offspring since there is a clear identification between mother and city. Rome's constituents are all linked to Volumnia by Menenius' remark that she "is worth of consuls, senators, patricians, / A city full; of tribunes such as you, / A sea and land full" (V.iv.54-56). Volumnia also commands her son's submission by using certain terms that relate Rome to the womb where man is given shape:

Vol. Thou shalt no sooner  
March to assault thy country than to tread –  
Trust to 't, thou shalt not – on thy mother's womb  
That brought thee to this world (V.iii.122-25).

Coriolanus is finally defeated by the force of his own origins and goes back to them: "I melt, and am not / Of stronger earth than others" (V.iii.28-29); "Like a dull actor now I have forgot my part and I am out, / Even to a full disgrace" (V.iii.40-42), he finally admits.

The reference to theatricality is repeated several times in the play and it is essential to understand the real nature of Coriolanus' individuality. Everyone within the organic body of Rome must play a role. Such performance follows certain norms that the city impresses on each citizen. That impression is made explicit in the play by the use of a dramatic element such as the display of Coriolanus' wounds. The scars, wounds and blood are not only physical signs but public ones that, as Menenius remarks, "become him" (II.i.122) and, as Volumnia states, must be "[shown] to the people when he shall stand for his place" (II.i.146-48), since "he bears them for Rome" (IV.ii.28). His own body, represented by his blood, belongs to the city as it belongs to his mother. Coriolanus is then the product of a system that he unsuccessfully defies. We could conclude that the failure of such a challenge lies in the fact that by defying Rome he defies himself, he defies his own blood.

In *Julius Caesar*, we also witness how the characters are unable to mould the structure of the city. At the beginning of the play, Brutus and Cassius present Rome as corrupt under Caesar's command:

Cas. What trash is Rome,  
What rubbish, and what offal when it serves  
For the base matter to illuminate  
So vile a thing as Caesar! (I.iii.108-11)

They both try to transform Rome in search of the public benefit and, consequently, to gain fame, honour and immortality. We hear Brutus state that: "if it be aught toward the general good, / Set honour in one eye, and death i'th'other... / I love the name of honour more than I fear death" (I.ii.84-88). In order to reach such a goal, they have to change the political organisation of the city by killing its head, by the assassination of Caesar. Their main weapon in such a task is the manipulation of reality. However, such an attempt is counteracted by a set of aggressive and prophetic portents, both natural and unnatural, that the playwright uses in order to stage Rome as a majestic city gifted with the power to override the characters' aims.

Cassius's belief that "men at some time are masters of their fates" (I.ii.137) is what impels them to carry out their conspiracy. Cassius challenges destiny and proclaims the force of human will and determination by defying a storm that seems to be symbolising the strength of a superior force that control men's fates:

Cas. For my part, I have walk'd about the streets,  
 (...)  
 Have bar'd my bosom to the thunder-stone;  
 And when the cross blue lightning seem'd to open  
 The breast of heaven, I did present myself  
 Even in the aim and very flash of it (I.iii.46-52).

The conspirators try to nullify such control by constructing a different reality. In order to carry out their manipulation they must fashion each other first, because as Cassius remarks, "who is so firm that cannot be seduc'd?" (I.ii.309)23). We find Cassius convincing Brutus to kill Caesar, we see Decius persuading Caesar, we witness Brutus gaining the confidence of Caius Ligarius and, above all, we are witness to Antony's manipulation of the mob. They all attempt to create everybody else in their own image, they function as distorting mirrors whose images change depending on everyone's interest:

Brut. Into what dangers would you lead me, Cassius,  
 That you would have me seek into myself  
 For that which is not in me?

Cas. Therefore, good Brutus, be prepar'd to hear;  
 And since you know you cannot see yourself  
 So well as by reflection, I, your glass,  
 Will modestly discover to yourself  
 That of yourself which you yet know not of. (I.ii.62-69)

But how do they manipulate one another? Cassius says to Brutus, "be prepar'd to hear": language is their weapon. The discourse that Coriolanus refuses to use in order to obtain the people's votes and in order to avoid being banished from Rome is the language that is used in *Julius Caesar* by most characters. Rhetoric is essential to transform anybody's opinion and it eventually turns against the conspirators after Antony's most skilful use of it following Caesar's assassination. Despite the fact that the most repeated sentence in Antony's speech is "Brutus is an honourable man", he turns the mob against the conspirators by praising Caesar's virtues at the same time that he depreciates the conspirators', and specially Brutus', reputation. His mastery of language lends an ironic touch to the fact that he gains the people's support by undervaluing his own oratory skills:

Ant. I come not, friends, to steal away your hearts.  
 I am no orator, as Brutus is,  
 But (as you know me all) a plain blunt man,  
 That love my friend;  
 (...)  
 For I have neither wit, nor words, nor worth,  
 Action, nor utterance, nor the power of speech  
 To stir men's blood; I only speak right on (III.ii.218-25).

Dissimulation, deception and hypocrisy are implicit in this kind of discourse and are essential to the manipulating scheme of the protagonists. Brutus's

command to his allies is: “let not our looks put on our purposes / But bear it as our Roman actors do, / With untir’d spirits and formal constancy” (II.i.225-27). The theatrical image, which we also encountered in *Coriolanus*, is here an essential device that Shakespeare inserts in his play. As we mentioned above, the conspirators are willing to gain eternal fame by murdering Caesar. They believe immortality will be reached by the remembrance of their act. Such a memory is related to the dramatic performance of the act in future times by Cassius: “How many ages hence / Shall this our lofty scene be acted over, / In states unborn, and accents yet unknown!”(III.i.111-13).

The characters’ role as actors might be considered from two different points of view. On the one hand, Cassius considers them as basic elements in the historical process, not only of the city but also of the whole world. On the other hand, the theatrical image might refer to the fact that they are actors that are being directed, guided, commanded and controlled by a stage manager. That is, instead of manipulating reality, instead of manipulating history, they are the ones that are being manipulated.

Some elements is the play such as Brutus’s doubts, the different interpretations of certain dreams, the various explanations given to natural and unnatural elements in the play, the characters’ different motives for killing Caesar and the characters’ disagreement on issues such as Antony’s death or the attack of Philippi show the audience that reality is not simple and that it is very difficult to control since it is reality which controls us. Cicero’s statement that “men may construe things after their fashion, / Clean from the purpose of the things themselves” (I.iii.34-35) opposes Caesar’s belief in the power of the inevitability of things and the inexorability of time: “what can be avoided / Whose end is purpos’d by the mighty gods?” (II.ii.27-28); “it seems to me most strange that men should fear, / Seeing that death, a necessary end, / will come when it come” (II.ii.35-37).

Caesar’s view is the one that prevails at the end of the play. Brutus’ desire was to kill Caesar’s spirit, not his body. However, he had to kill the latter to extinguish the former:

Brut. Let’s be sacrificers, but not butchers, Caius.  
We all stand up against the spirit of Caesar,  
And in the spirit of men there is no blood.  
O, that we then could come by Caesar’s spirit,  
And not dismember Caesar! But, alas,  
Caesar must bleed for it. (II.i.166-71)

The appearance of Caesar’s ghost just before the final battle and the fact that both Cassius’s and Brutus’s last words are addressed to Julius Caesar show how though Caesar’s body actually dies, his spirit remains till the end in the conscience of both characters. None of their aims has been achieved, they do not create a new Rome. The city in this play appears as something that dominates since the very beginning. Its majesty is materialised by the multiple references to its magnificent buildings and locations that seem to be governed by a superior force that control the citizens’ destinies.

I would like to finish this paper by quoting a few lines by Cassius:

Cas. When could they say, till now, that talk’d of Rome,  
That her wide walks encompass’d but one man?

Now is it Rome indeed, and room enough,  
When there is in it but one only man. (I.ii.152-55)

I am using these lines just to point out the closeness of two words such as “Rome” and “room”. When I read it I thought of the theatre as a room and I instantly linked it to the role of Rome in both plays. We have been considering the city as the main element in *Coriolanus* and *Julius Caesar*. Without the city, the citizens cannot live. Rome creates, controls and guides them. Without the city, action could not have been sustained, since everything is structured around it. But what about the theatre? As we have seen, theatricality has taken a leading role in both plays. Rome and room have both the same connotations if we look at the room as the theatre in which the play is performed. Without a stage plays cannot be performed. Actors, props, audience, all of them need the existence of the theatre to exist as, in both plays, the citizens need the city to live.

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## The Split 'I' in Celestino Coronado's *Hamlet*

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Shakespeare has been, and still is, the favourite English playwright for film directors and producers, as the long chapter devoted to a selective filmography of his plays, written by Holderness and McCullough 1994, evidences. The whole Shakespearean canon has gone through the eye of the camera, but, again, the favourite choice has always been *Hamlet*. Holderness and McCullough 1994 include 34 "complete" versions since the year 1900, and Neil Taylor talks about "forty-seven film-versions of the play or part of the play" (Taylor 1994: 180). The popularity of this tragedy among filmmakers is easy to understand, since, being the best-known play by Shakespeare, it is the least risky business from a commercial perspective. Besides, since a long tradition of shooting it has evolved along the present century, the models to follow are greater, a circumstance that makes things easier for both actors and directors.

This profusion of Hamlets in the history of cinema has been responsible, to a certain extent, for the amount of literature concerned with the cinematic rendering of the play; but, when perusing the most influential works on this issue, some absences are, to say the least, strange. That is the case, for instance, of the film directed by Celestino Coronado in 1976, that only deserves a brief reference in Bernice W. Kliman's 1988 *Hamlet: Film, Television, and Audio Performance* and it is not even mentioned in Neil Taylor's 1994 article "The Films of *Hamlet*," two works devoted exclusively to the film history of this particular Shakespearean text. The reasons for these critics' apparent negligence can be traced back to the fact that, because of its length and shooting technique and because this is indeed a rather anti-canonical and experimental film, it is hard to classify and to discuss as a faithful translation of *Hamlet*. Kliman 1988 only mentions Coronado in a note concerning the play-within-a-play effect, where she explicitly says that his film was made for television (Kliman 1988: 61), whereas when giving the credits at the end of her book, she does not mention this fact and just refers to its length—67 minutes— (Kliman 1988: 317). Holderness and McCullough 1994 use the term film, in contrast to video and television productions employed for other versions, contradicting thus the assumptions made by Kliman (Holderness and McCullough 1994: 26). There is no evidence of the film having been made for television, but, quite on the contrary, the video jacket informs that it was premiered at the 1977 London Film Festival, demonstrating that Kliman 1988 is not right when referring to this film.

The lack of consensus about Coronado's rendering can be interpreted as a proof of the lack of real interest critics of Shakespeare on screen have shown for it. It is true that this is not an orthodox adaptation of the play in the manner of Olivier, Kozintsev, Zeffirelli or Branagh, and true that a great percentage of the text has been elided, but this is still *Hamlet*, and a rather refreshing, personal and innovative *Hamlet* indeed. And it is precisely because of the innovative qualities of

the film that the audience may get lost in the story, since Coronado demands to be acquainted with the text to be able to read his version properly.

The film starts with the all-too-famous “to be or not to be”, but instead of having Hamlet delivering it in front of the camera, we just hear the first five lines of the soliloquy as if coming from a radio, and then the voice, not properly tuned in, disappears. This first moment provides the central metaphor that will preside over the rest of the film: the most famous and familiar fragment of the play is defamiliarised since, instead of an actor we have just a disembodied voice, instead of the whole soliloquy we have just the beginning, and instead of a clear image and sound we have just a set of visual and aural interferences. This process of defamiliarisation and distortion provides the interpretative key for the film and that is why it is necessary to be familiar with *Hamlet* to perceive fully Coronado’s reading of that text.

There are several moments in which Coronado seems to be at odds with Shakespeare, but one of the most shocking is perhaps Ophelia’s burial and the subsequent duel between Hamlet and Laertes. No previous reference to Ophelia having a brother has been made and, suddenly, Laertes appears on screen blaming his sister’s suicide on Hamlet. After the harsh dialogue between them, a fight follows and the film ends. Obviously, Coronado here is not translating Shakespeare into images, but using the text for his own purposes. Laertes is not Laertes, but a second Hamlet. In fact, his name is not mentioned in the dialogue, and both Hamlet and Laertes are physically identical. The dialogue, then, is not between Ophelia’s brother and lover, but between two different personalities in Hamlet, what I have called his split ‘I’, and, consequently, the final fight is just an external projection of the internal struggle taking place within Hamlet’s mind. From Coronado’s perspective, then, the whole plot belongs to Hamlet’s creative powers and what we really have is just a character, Hamlet, struggling against himself after a mental breakdown.

This reading of the play forces the director to rewrite the text and to make changes. Apart from the changes concerning Laertes, any reference to the political threat Fortinbras represents, and all the secondary characters disappear. Since everything takes place in Hamlet’s mind, the only necessary characters are himself, Claudius, Gertrude, Ophelia, Polonius and the Players for “The Mousetrap.” The rest of the characters, among them Laertes, Horatio or Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, are just considered redundant for this microscopic vision and, consequently, are omitted.

The cause of the central conflict in this tragedy, the ghost of Hamlet’s father, still remains in the film, but suffers a process of dislocation. First, as in Olivier’s, he is made the product of Hamlet’s mind, visually signalled by means of a foregrounding of Hamlet’s forehead shot in a close-up and a primal scream as if giving birth to the creature; but, apart from that, this ghost has nothing of the solemn and supernatural countenance shown by the most commercial ghosts of Branagh or Zeffirelli. On the contrary, he is too much like Hamlet, too human and too fleshly to be a ghost, and too young to be his father. The ghost is, in fact, a new instance of the split personality Hamlet ostensibly shows along the film. Hamlet is far from being a unified self, and his contradictory desires and anxieties fight to become pre-eminent in the making of his personality. Technically, this is made possible using twin actors for the different roles of Hamlet—Hamlet, the ghost, Laertes and a player in “The Mousetrap”. By means of this device Coronado conveys the idea that all these roles are simultaneously identical and different and

questions the unproblematic nature of the self and the humanistic notion of the individual as a monolithic identity. Following the theory on the formation of the I provided by Jacques Lacan in his “The Mirror Stage as Formative of the Function of the I as Revealed in Psychoanalytic Experience,” the individual is a mere signifier—a grammatical I—susceptible of adhering to different signifieds. In other words, identity is never definitive, but always slippery and, therefore, provisional.

When choosing this particular interpretation, the filmmaker is following a path already trodden by others. By 1976, there was a rather long tradition of psychoanalytical readings of *Hamlet* that started in 1948 with the film by Olivier and continued in most of the other versions made after him. All these readings, including Olivier’s, are based on the interpretation of the character provided by Freud in his letter to Wilhelm Fliss, where he makes Hamlet the victim of an unresolved Oedipus complex and considers that, because he repressed his desire to kill his father and possess his mother, now he feels unable to act against Claudius since he can see in him just the enactment of his own desire. Claudius, then, is perceived as both an accomplice and a rival in his struggle to get his mother’s love, and this double nature of his father’s murderer makes Hamlet go into hysterics.

Coronado, however, is not happy with just making a film within a well-established tradition. He distorts that tradition and stretches the interpretative possibilities of a particular chain of thoughts. In this case, apart from the fact that Hamlet’s divided self turns into the centre of the whole story, he makes the other characters be a product of his imagination, or at least have a reality created by his mind and different from any other they could have. This way, the director is going a step beyond other psychoanalytical interpretations.

If the tortured Hamlet needs several identities and bodies to be fully appreciated, a unique body is able to stand for the two women in the play, and thus, a single actress, Helen Mirren, performs the roles of Gertrude and Ophelia. This casting allows the informed spectator to perceive a very subtle allusion to the normal practice of having boy actors doubling female roles in the Elizabethan theatre, an allusion explicitly made in the play within a play where the female role is made by a moustached actor; but, within the psychoanalytical framework, it also allows to read these two women as mere projections of Hamlet’s desire for his mother, desire that forces him to apply a single meaning to any signifier ‘woman’, and to see his mother in his beloved. Gertrude and Ophelia, then, cannot be separated from Hamlet since it is him who creates them when thinking them, and they stop existing as independent figures. Lacan explained how Hamlet’s desire for Gertrude is transformed into Gertrude’s desire for Claudius; that is, when deprived of his object of desire (Gertrude/Ophelia), Hamlet is defeated and allows the Other’s desire—in this case, Gertrude’s—to replace his own. In the film, the benevolent Hamlet yields to his darkest side and to his mother’s desire when rejecting Ophelia, but he continues thinking them as figments of his own imagination, a strategy that allows him not to kill and to be killed but just to fight against himself to solve the psychic conflict created in his unconscious. That is one of the most striking differences between Shakespeare and Coronado: whereas the former requires the presence of death on stage following the conventions of the Elizabethan revenge tragedy, the latter discards the tragic end and makes the character accept himself as a divided and problematic being, following the path of psychoanalysis.

If Gertrude and Ophelia are projections of Hamlet's desire, the rest of the characters also conform to the norm established by that mind. Instead of a naturalistic setting, Coronado has conceived a bare space with just the most essential props to let the characters convey the message by themselves and not by some other superfluous signs. The behaviour of the characters, their clothes and gestures and their physical appearance are of utmost importance for the reading of the filmic text. In this case, since they are what Hamlet wants them to be, the spectator can get into Hamlet's mind when watching them, and thus, Gertrude and Claudius are shown as a couple of satyrs, whose only thought seems to be the satisfaction of their sexual desire. The very first time they appear, the sexual allusions are too explicit in their gestures and in the setting: Gertrude is in bed, one of the two Hamlets clearly desires her and she and Claudius share not only lascivious looks but something else. This attitude is preserved in the rest of the film, and, more than about characters, we should talk here about types since they are the projection of an idea and do not evolve throughout the story.

Apart from being a defamiliarising technique, the fact of having these types informs about Hamlet's monomania and helps to show them as unreal figures. That seems to be also the purpose of the extremely theatrical way of delivering their speeches. All the characters, excepting Hamlet, pretend to be bad actors that have not learn the proper intonation for their lines and say them mechanically. Thus, they detach from the action and from a particular level of reality since they do not seem to belong there. In these circumstances, the performance of the play-within-a-play makes the notion of reality even more problematic, since the theatrical event seems to be more real than what it is supposed to be reality. The characters in "The Mousetrap" behave consciously as characters and they even make exaggerated gestures and poses to convey their sense of artificiality, but this kind of performance being made within the context of a theatrical show is not so astonishing as the same performance made outside that context, precisely because it is a sign of unreality and the audience reads it as such.

The contrast between these two levels sends us back again to the realm of Hamlet's mind where reality is confused and mixed up, and where everything is artificial, being a projection of his own obsessions and desires. In this sense, Coronado's *Hamlet* provides a new rendering of Shakespeare's tragedy in the line of Freud, Jones, Olivier and Lacan, but through the insistent use of what can be considered Brechtian alienation effects and the recurrent process of defamiliarisation, this filmmaker is also proposing a quite personal and innovative reading of that tragedy. He is making us conscious of being watching something alien, or if not alien, at least different from a whole tradition of reading Shakespeare, and through that consciousness he is interpreting from a gay perspective, a perspective that necessarily implies the use of a double discourse and a great deal of theatricality to resist the unifying tendency of our canonical culture.

The split 'I', therefore, is not only that of Hamlet trying to cope with his own circumstances, but also the 'I' of the spectator, who has severe difficulties in filling the narrative gaps and struggle to find a coherent self in the film, and that of the director who offers consciously an alternative, multiple and open text as an act of resistance to the usually-taken-for-granted Shakespearean play.

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## **The Sins of the Fathers: Marlowe's Barabas and Shakespeare's Shylock**

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Then answered all the people, and said,  
His blood *be* on us, and on our children.

Then released he Barabbas unto them:  
and when he had scourged Jesus, he  
delivered *him* to be crucified.

*(The Gospel According to St. Matthew)*

If St. Mathew's well-known account of the public judgement inflicted by Pilate on Jesus to ease his own conscience is to be taken literally, Jews can be said to have brought on themselves and their descendants the curse that has been their lot through centuries of Christianity.

However, it is an indisputable fact that the misfortune of the Hebrews goes back much further; it seems to stem from the remote hazy era when they began to consider themselves as a "nation" comprising many tribes. These were held together by the belief in a single almighty male divine being who, not only had created heaven and earth, but all existing things as well, living or otherwise.

Jews were not alone in favouring a monotheistic religion. At one time or other, in the Egyptian History, a misguided Pharaoh tried to impose on his subjects a similar creed with disastrous results for himself, his family and his proselytes. Be it as it may, monotheism always brought with it a blind faith in a quite often ruthless, jealous and, frequently, unpredictable God whose Word was the supreme law and had to be obeyed without question. On the other hand, the unusual creed implied a change in mentality, a whole new approach to life, unfamiliar rites and practices which estranged the Jews from the other peoples they came into contact with, and who still worshipped a multitude of deities as their fathers and forefathers had done before them.

Although the religious issue, both in pre-Christian and Christian times always lay at the core of the persecutions inflicted on the Jewish people, the real crux of the matter is to be found deeper into the past. Actually, it seemed to be deeply rooted in some features inherent to the character of the members

of the Hebraic community which always singled them out wherever they might be living.

In fact, God had lavished many a bounty on his Chosen People; Jews were, generally speaking, highly intelligent, hardworking, learned men (there were many famous doctors and scholars among them) who displayed a remarkable capacity for enduring in the face of adversity and possessed an inbred knack to multiply the money that happened to fall into their laps.

This last gift might be considered a blessing but was really a curse in disguise, since Hebrews increased their fortunes mostly by lending money with interest. This procedure supplied the grounds for the treatment that the members of the Jewish community suffered at the hands of the medieval and renaissance dramatists who tended to consider they were one and the same as the loathed, highly stereotyped, greedy usurer.

In England, during the Elizabethan period, labelled as the Golden Age of the theatre, both Marlowe and Shakespeare depicted Hebrews, male and female alike, in their plays. However, the women were not that important. Their role as daughters of the leading characters meant, in practice, that they were mere pawns in a twisted game of lies, intrigue and revenge which their respective fathers played with gusto.

Marlowe very aptly starts *The Famous Tragedy of the Rich Jew of Malta* with a Prologue delivered by Machevill, a character that was bound to draw the full, immediate attention of his audience. Elizabethans believed Machiavelli or Machevill, as Marlowe prefers to call him, to be the devil incarnate or, at least, the greatest archvillain ever, in short a bettered (or should it be worsened?) version of the Morality Vice. The fact that the Poet chose him to present the play, lends it a certain atmosphere and, above all, speaks volumes for the main character that Machevill claims as one of his followers:

But to present the tragedy of a Jew,  
Who smiles to see how full his bags are crammed,  
Which money was not got without my means.  
I crave but this, grace him as he deserves,  
And let him not be entertained the worse  
Because he favours me. (Marlowe 1992: 10)

But even if Barabbas (the name could not be more appropriate and ambiguous; actually, it means son of the father) were not a devotee of Machiavelli, he would always be the rich despicable Jew who thrives on the hatred that Christians bear him. Although he pays everybody back in their own coin whenever the opportunity arises, most often than not, he has to hide his feelings for safety's sake:

Or who is honoured now but for his wealth ?  
Rather had I a Jew be hated thus,  
Than pitied in a Christian poverty :

For I can see no fruits in all their faith,  
 But malice, falsehood, and excessive pride,  
 Which methinks fits not their profession. (Marlowe 1992: 15)

Even the love he insists he feels for his daughter, Abigail, it is also tainted by his cunning devious mind, as it can be inferred from the simile he uses when he tries to put that emotion into words:

I have no charge, nor many children,  
 But one sole daughter, whom I hold as dear  
 As Agamemnon did his Iphigen: (Marlowe 1992: 16)

However, as contemptible as Barabbas may be considered by Christian standards, he is definitely a respected member of the Jewish community, at least for most of the play. In fact, his peers value his counsel in matters of importance:

2 JEW  
 Come therefore let us go to Barabas ;  
 For he can counsel best in these affairs;  
 And here he comes. (Marlowe 1992: 16)

Although Barabbas has been showing himself all along as the base rascal he is supposed to be, his true machiavellian ways will only reveal themselves to their full extent after he has been trapped by Ferneze into relinquishing to the State of Malta what the Governor thought was the entire fortune of the accursed Jew:

BARABBAS  
*Corpo di Dio* ; stay, you shall have half,  
 Let me be used but as my brethren are.

GOVERNOR  
 No, Jew, thou hast denied the articles,  
 And now it cannot be recalled.

BARABBAS  
 Will you then steal my goods ?  
 Is theft the ground of your religion

GOVERNOR  
 No, Jew, we take particularly thine  
 To save the ruin of a multitude. (Marlowe 1992: 22)

The dialogue between Barabbas and Ferneze and the Knights precedes the scene in which Barabba's riches are misappropriated with the excuse that the tribute to the Turk had to be paid. Apparently all had been said and done. Nothing could be further from the truth. As a matter of fact, the dialogue goes on relentlessly and becomes a vigorous exchange of arguments and counterarguments which accurately voice the antagonism between Christians and Jews. Both Ferneze and his Knights and Barabbas openly

reveal the hostility they feel towards one another and their words reach unexpected peaks of violence:

1 KNIGHT

If your first curse fall heavy on thy head,  
And make thee poor and scorned of all the world,  
'Tis not our fault, but thy inherent sin.

BARABBAS

What? Bring you scripture to confirm your wrongs  
Preach me not out of my possessions.  
Some Jews are wicked, as all Christians are: (Marlowe 1992: 22)

In his heart of hearts Barabbas knows that he has brought on himself the public humiliation he suffered at the hands of the Governor and his Knights. As a Jew, living permanently in the thin divide between illusory security and total danger, he should keep a low profile at all times. However, his machiavellian nature drives him to seek revenge on his torturers. To achieve that purpose he is prepared to use everybody about him and sacrifice anyone that stands on his way.

His first victim is his daughter whose affection and allegiance he exploits shamelessly when he needs her to play the renegade Jewess, as a means to recover the riches he had hidden in his house, now turned into a nunnery by the Governor's orders:

ABIGAIL

Now have I happily espied a time  
To search the plank my father did appoint ;  
And here behold (unseen) where I have found  
The gold, the pearls, and jewels which he hid. (Marlowe 1992:  
.34)

He also succeeds in persuading her to exert violence over herself and pose as the coy maid who cannot choose or decide between Don Lodowick and Mathias . This foul behaviour leads to the untimely, futile death of Mathias, the man Barabbas knows his daughter is in love with. Abigail is so distressed by the whole procedure, for which she cannot help but feel partly responsible, that she resolves, there and then, to embrace the Christian faith for good:

ABIGAIL

Then were my thoughts so frail and unconfirmed,  
And I was chained to follies of the world :  
But now experience, purchaséd with grief,  
Has made me see the difference of things.  
My sinful soul, alas, hath paced too long  
The fatal labyrinth of misbelief,  
Far from the sun that gives eternal life. (Marlowe 1992: 60)

Mathias' death is, thus, one of the first of a succession of murders, some planned from the beginning by Barabbas and others brought about by the dire need of avoiding being discovered. Others still were committed out of sheer wickedness. These assassinations coupled with plots, counterplots and double--dealings both with Christians and Turks will only come full circle when the Jew, once again is tricked by the very Christian Ferneze, building a parallelism of sorts with what happens in the first stages of the play:

GOVERNOR

Should I in pity of thy complaints or thee,  
Accurséd Barabbas, base Jew, relent ?  
No, thus I'll see thy treachery repaid,  
But wish thou hadst behaved thee otherwise.(Marlowe 1992:  
104).

As befits a true Marlovian character, Barabas dies raving, cursing and lashing out at everybody around him:

BARABBAS

Know, Governor, 'twas I that slew thy son ;  
I framed the challenge that did make them meet :  
Know, Calymath, I aimed thy overthrow,  
And had I but escaped this stratagem,  
I would have brought confusion on you all,  
Damned Christian dogs, and Turkish infidels;(Marlowe 1992:  
104)

With all due respect for Harold Bloom's critical insight, his attempt to subvert the traditional interpretation of Shylock as a 'humanized Jew'<sup>a</sup> is not very convincing. Actually, any attentive reading of Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* will prove that Shylock's most outstanding feature consists in giving outward expression to feelings that any human being can relate to.

His first dialogue with Antonio shows as much. Bassanio's model friend treats Shylock with contempt and chides him for being a usurer. This was, in fact, the Christian merchant's right since his opponent was the hated Jew. Shylock's demeanour, by contrast, never lacks dignity while he lists the indignities that he has suffered at the hands of Antonio. It stands to reason, Shakespeare never meant to defend a Jew against any Christian, nor could he, for that matter, but the way in which he shapes the Shylock's speech is such that sorrow and grief can be easily perceived:

*Shy.* Signior Antonio, many a time and oft  
In the Rialto you have rated me  
About my moneys and my usances :  
Still have I borne it with a patient shrug,  
For sufferance is the badge of all our tribe.  
You call me misbeliever, cut-throat dog,

And spet upon my Jewish gaberdine  
 And all for use of that which is mine own.(Shakespeare 1959:  
 196)

No matter how absurd the bond of a pound of flesh may sound and be, Shylock would probably never have claimed it, if he had not been deeply hurt by certain events. In fact, this Jew, unlike Barabbas, who never really cared for anybody but himself, had definitely loved his wife Leah and was intensely devoted to his daughter Jessica. This is why Jessica's betrayal hurts him so deeply. Although the riches that she takes away with her for her own benefit and that of her Christian lover weighed heavily on the scales, it still cannot be denied that Shylock valued some of the things, she so lightly parts with to please her whims, for the fond memories they conjure up in his mind:

*Tub.* One of them showed me a ring that he had of  
 your daughter for a monkey  
*Shy.* Out upon her ! Thou torturest me,  
*Tubal* : it was my turquoise ; I had it of Leah  
 when I was a bachelor : I would not have given  
 it for a wilderness of monkeys. (Shakespeare 1959:  
 204)

Scene I Act IV in the Court of Justice is so well-known and has been so sifted through by every scholar and critic that it defies any attempt to come up with something that has not been mentioned before. In it, the conflict that opposes Jews to Christians, finds its roots. It is the confrontation between the ways of the Old and New Testaments, that is, between an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth and the belief in God's Mercy towards all his creatures. It is this virtue that Portia urges Shylock to exercise towards Antonio:

*Por.* Therefore, Jew,  
 Though justice be thy plea, consider this,  
 That in the course of justice none of us  
 Should see salvation : we do pray for mercy,  
 And that same prayer doth teach us all to render  
 The deeds of mercy. (Shakespeare 1959: 211)

However, Shylock's religion does not allow him to accept this idea, and his stubbornness in being repaid according to the tenets of the law is his undoing: all his assets are seized upon by the State of Venice and his life lies at stake. *Mercifully*, the Duke foregoes the death penalty but, in exchange, at Antonio's suggestion, the Jew must be christened:

*Ant.* Two things provided more, that, for this favour,  
 He presently become a Christian; (Shakespeare 1959:  
 213)

There has been a lot of speculation about the reason or reasons why the Jew does not rebel against this decision, or rave and rant about it. And, once again, Shylock seems to compare unfavourably with Barabbas. The tenor

of the whole argument lies in the supposed improbability of Barabbas accepting such a deal, had he been offered one, favouring death instead. But Shylock, after all he has been through and as befits the "humanized" Jew he portrays, is already "dead" inside. So, the prospect of enforced baptism, however repulsive and insulting it might have been to him in other circumstances, can no longer worsen the feeling of sheer, utter emptiness that comes with the realisation that ultimate defeat cannot be evaded.

So, both Barabbas and Shylock should be accepted as Marlowe and Shakespeare thought fit to create them, that is to say, as different characters that have been assigned different roles in different plays to fulfil different purposes. And, as such, all disparaging comparisons, both ways, are meaningless.

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## **The Fismonger's Daughter Goes Crazy (I): the Domineering Father, the Mad Lover, and the Dead Mother**

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The purpose of the present paper is to make a reflection about Ophelia, her madness being the central issue. Mine is an attempt to provide the reasons which might explain her final collapse. The initial assumption upon which I build my essay is that Ophelia can really be analysed as an “apparent” human character. I am far from viewing her merely as a convergence of social, cultural and economic influences. This perspective denies the possibility “that Shakespeare’s characters are susceptible of analysis as *people*” and instead tries to bring out “a series of specific cultural issues of the early modern period” in order to show the ways “in which ‘femaleness’ was significant in a network of possibilities for categorising and discriminating experience” (Jardine 1983: 6). My critical procedure starts in *Hamlet*. This is an assumption that is no longer taken for granted in light of recent literary criticism, which often ends in the text simply to confirm the political stance that has already been made (Bloom 1998: 8-9). From the text I will move to those contexts I consider relevant for its full understanding: among them myself, my own personal vital existence, my human experience, for I am convinced that the best way to fully understand Ophelia, as she is described in the text, is to read it closely and ask myself the timeless questions that she poses. My view is that one which professor López-Peláez, scholar and friend, described with some degree of mistrust as “a kind of psychological realism, a character-based criticism at the service of a supposedly timeless and unchanging human nature” (1997: 69), a method which, he admits, “seems to have been more resistant to theory” (1997: 70)<sup>1</sup>. I do not know whether or not Shakespeare “invented the human as we continue to know it” (Bloom 1998: xviii); what he certainly did was to grasp, as Chaucer or the Gawain-poet had also done before him, that which makes us authentically human: that which, “according to Johnson, justly imitates essential human nature, which is a universal and not a social phenomenon” (Bloom 1998: 3). I feel comforted when reminded that Ophelia, Macbeth or Horatio are creations of personality which are similar to myself in essence, moods and attitudes, rather than mere products of the history, culture and ideology that conditions them (Wofford 1994: 212-13) (See Barbeito 1989, Dollimore 1989 and 1990, Dollimore and Sinfield 1992, Drakakis 1991, Greenblatt 1984 and Sinfield. 1992). To me, historicised approaches to Shakespeare do help us to understand many of the responses and views of his characters, but they fail to explain their

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<sup>1</sup> I thank professor López-Peláez for all the critical apparatus he has provided me with concerning “Simple Historicism”, “New Historicism” and “Cultural Materialism”. I find most enlightening his clarification of the differences between these literary schools (López-Peláez 1997).

excellency, their permanent appeal to generations other than Shakespeare's: "Why do his personages seem so *real* to us" (Bloom 1998: 6). This is still an open question, not only for traditional Marxist literary criticism, but also for both New Historicism and Cultural Materialism. So, allow me to start with the text.

Ophelia "appears in only five of the play's twenty scenes" (Showalter 1994: 221). This dearth of textual references has been considered by Feminist literary criticism as the result of sexist marginalisation by Shakespeare<sup>2</sup>, either conscious or unconscious<sup>3</sup>. Therefore, some have stated that "Ophelia literally has no story without Hamlet" (Showlater 1994: 222). Others, somehow obviating the text, conclude that her tragedy *is* the real tragedy in *Hamlet*, a tragedy of nothingness. A third group claims that she symbolises the victimisation of femininity. And finally, some claim she is a metaphor of the Prince of Denmark (Showalter 1994: 221-23) (See Edwards 1979, Irigaray 1987, Leverenz 1978 and Wilbern 1981. ) I agree with all of these interpretations to a certain extent, as they all play a part in my reflections on the Fishmonger's daughter, as well as those which are content with pointing out the defencelessness or vulnerability of her role<sup>4</sup>.

### 1. Jephthah, the Fishmonger and the Imposed Female Self-Sacrifice.

It is not until the third scene of the first act that Ophelia enters into the play. One might draw a lot from the fact that she is presented in a very precise and delicate situation: being admonished first by her brother and then by her father. Both characters separately agree concerning the Prince of Denmark's real intentions and, consequently, feel compelled to warn Ophelia about Hamlet. This implies that men assume the moral teaching role, whereas it is the duty of women to, and this is not only because of an open mistrust on female moral discernment (Polonius's words clearly show this), but because both father and son share a certain suspicion on the integrity of female virtue (I.iii.34-42; 115-17). It has been noted that Shakespearean texts did reflect the values of patriarchal society; for some even Shakespeare's works are "the most patriarchal body of texts" (Jardine 1983: 1). However, I still think that Shakespeare's conception of femininity is not

<sup>2</sup> Bradley 1904 showed his doubts "'whether from the mere text of the play a sure interpretation' could 'be drawn'" on Ophelia (Jenkins 1989: 149). See Bradley 1904.

<sup>3</sup> According to Lisa Jardine, there are two types of Feminist approaches to Shakespeare. First she talks about the "perfectly reflecting glass" (1983: 6) group, who assert that Shakespeare's "female characters, (...), reflect accurately the whole range of specifically female qualities (...)" (1983: 1-2). Nevertheless, according to this interpretation "'Shakespeare's vision of women transcends the limits of his time and sex' (...). This means, we are told, that Shakespeare's women characters 'offer insights into women's perceptions of themselves in a patriarchal world'" (1983: 2). See: Dash 1981. Dash, Dusinger or Barton are leading critics of this first approach.

The "distorted masculine view" (1983: 6) best defines the second approach: "Shakespeare's *maleness* therefore makes it inevitable that his female characters are warped and distorted" (1983: 3). Two attitudes are to be noted here. The *non-aggressive* exculpates the author of any responsibility: living in a "oppressively chauvinistic" society, Shakespeare simply reflected the facts of life (1983: 3). Smith's views should be included here. The *aggressive* attitude claims that since Shakespeare is sexist, the critic has to uncover his prejudices, being careful about the limitations of this author. For others, this author no longer deserves the place he has occupied (1983: 4). Kahn or French well represent this attitude.

<sup>4</sup> Jump 1968 includes excerpts from essays on *Hamlet* by, among others, S. Johnson 23-24, G.H. Lewes 33-34, L.L. Shucking 43-44 H.D.F. Kittle 108-17, and J. Kott 196-209.

as “monolithic” as it has been assumed. We should be careful to realise that the author is far from simply placing Ophelia in an inferior moral position. While taking to heart her brother’s “good lesson” (I, iii. 45) without mockery (Jenkins 1989: 201), she does not waste the opportunity to remind Laertes of his own moral obligations (I. iii. 45-51)<sup>5</sup>. I do not suggest this is a defiant or rebellious attitude; Ophelia’s behaviour is, generally speaking, conditioned by paternal authority. I simply imply that human responses to stimuli are many, not simply submission or rebellion. To assume for her any of the two attitudes is to constrain Ophelia by our own ideological discourse, “to reappropriate her for our own ends” (Showalter 1994: 223), ignoring the complexity of human personality. This oversimplification is at odds with Shakespeare’s artistry.

Paternal authority is, as I have stated, the main factor shaping Ophelia’s behaviour in *Hamlet*. As Tillyard puts it “the conception of order is so taken for granted, so much part of the collective mind of the people, that it is hardly mentioned except in explicitly didactic passages”, among them, the Church Homily *Of Obedience* (1998: 17). It is clear that the acceptance of parental authority was one of the basis of this order, primarily cosmic but domestic too, one in which observance of “degree, priority and place”, as Ulysses states in *Troilus and Cressida* (I. iii. 86) prevented confusion or disorder: parents have the right to rule their sons, as the sun “Corrects the ill aspects of planets evil/ And posts like the commandment of a king/ Sans check, to good and bad” (*Troilus and Cressida*, I. iii. 92-94). Taking into account the prevalent submission of women to men in Elizabethan England, it is easy to infer that parental authority would be primarily exercised by fathers upon daughters<sup>6</sup>. In W. Lowth’s translation into English (1581) of Bartholomew Batty’s *The Christian Man’s Closet*, the assumption is that the responsibility of “the godly training up of children” (Aughterson 1995: 165) falls solely on the father<sup>7</sup>:

“And for that your worships are fathers of many children (which I am persuaded are daily beloved unto you), and masters of great families, whereof I know you have care to be virtuously instructed, guided, governed and trained up in the fear of God.” (Aughterson 1995: 165)

Polonius is obviously aware of all this: “I have a daughter -have while she is mine.” (II. ii.106). Possession is emphasised twice (*have, mine*), implicitly stating that Polonius will no longer own his daughter, when a husband does. Because of

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<sup>5</sup> Shakespeare seems to suggest Laertes’ warnings about “the shot and danger of desire” (I. iii. 35) do betray his own personal experience; Polonius’ later words to Reynaldo in the opening scene of Act II confirm (if not indulge) Laertes’ youthful peccadilloes.

<sup>6</sup> According to Stiller, in a statement which refers mainly to the Medieval period, “If fathers fought to control their sons and legislated to possess their wives as chattels, their control over their daughters seems to have been as close to absolute as possible without actual enslavement. From ancient times well into the Renaissance, daughters passed from their fathers’ hands into those of their husbands or other male guardians” (1980: 6).

<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, Thomas Salter wrote *The Mirror of Modesty*, in which he explicitly advises mothers on the education of their daughters. This text was first published in 1578. (Aughterson 1995: 177-78). Similarly, Thomas Becon reports in the *Catechism* (included in his *Works*, published in 1564) a conversation between a father and his son in which we read: “*Father*. [...] It is therefore also lawful for old and ancient matrons to teach.’ *Son*. ‘Whom should they teach?’ *Father*. ‘Young women’” (Aughterson 1995: 175).

the fact that she is a woman and his daughter, she owes her father “duty and obedience” (II. ii. 107) and she must be virtuous (I. iii. 96-7). Polonius’ role as moral instructor is, after all, something we might expect. His attitude, however, is far from being simply that of the “father-who-cares. I can not help feeling provoked by Polonius’ “watch” and “inquire” ways. He himself or his attendants are permanently on guard: he spies on his son (II. 11-73); on Hamlet (III. i. 90-163); and, finally, on Hamlet and the Queen, this being his last mission since he is ridiculously killed behind the curtains (III. iv.7-24)<sup>8</sup>. Ophelia is also his target: his father has been informed in detail about her meetings with the Prince of Denmark (I. iii. 91-93). Once Polonius makes this known to his daughter, there is no possibility of her denying it (if she ever thought of doing so). Her father exhausts her with the typical “how-far-did-you-go” questions, giving her almost no time to answer. Her only defence is to resort to Hamlet’s love (I. iii. 99-100; 110-11 & 113-14), but without conviction. Here, for the first time, I see the victimisation of this character. Confusion is the word that best defines Ophelia’s attitude -“I do not know, my lord, what I should think” (I. iii. 104)-, the step previous to allowing herself to be swayed by the bias of Polonius concerning Hamlet, instead of using her own powers of self-determination. This attitude is reinforced by her father’s “I will teach you” (I. iii. 105). The scene ends with Polonius’ categorical command to Ophelia not to “slander any moment leisure/ As to give words or to talk with the Lord Hamlet” (I. iii. 133-34)<sup>9</sup>.

Together with the deprivation of discernment, Polonius’ attitude towards his daughter victimises her in two more ways. Back to their first interaction, Ophelia is referred to as an item which has to be properly sold to a good buyer, this being his right. The economic connotations of “tenders” (I. iii. 106), “Tender yourself more dearly” (I. iii. 107) and “higher rate” (I. iii. 122) were convincingly argued by Jenkins (1989: 204-05). Together with this, Polonius’ later words have further and ever more degrading implications. In order to find out the cause of Hamlet’s madness, he says: “I’ll loose my daughter to him” (II. ii. 162). Ophelia is presented as a kind of female animal, just fit for mating and breeding: “the mating sense of *loose...to him* can hardly be missed” (Jenkins 1989: 245). Both implications (mating and breeding) are conjured up in the mind of the audience when Hamlet refers to Polonius as “a fishmonger” (II. ii. 174): in the light of contemporary references, that word meant both a trader in women’s virtue and somebody prone to have daughters especially fit for breeding (Jenkins 1989: 465).

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<sup>8</sup> Polonius’ spying attitude towards both Ophelia and Laertes is oppressive and contributes to the creation of that permanent suspicion which makes a prison of Denmark; as Kott 1964 stated: “In this performance everybody, without exception, was being constantly watched” (Jump 1968: 197).

<sup>9</sup> Juan Luis Vives (1492-1590) was a Spanish humanist, friend of Thomas More and Erasmus. Having dedicated his commentary (1522) on St. Augustine’s *De civitate Dei* to the English king Henry VIII, he went in 1523 to England, where he was appointed preceptor to Mary, Catherine of Aragon’s daughter and Princess of Wales. For her Vives wrote *The instruction of a Christian woman*, first published in Latin in 1523. Six years later, this text was translated into English. A quotation from the English 1540 edition of this text, translated by Richard Hyrde, contextualises Polonius’ prohibition: “First of all, methinks, that it is to be told their father and mother, as Aristotle both did in his history of beasts, that is, that they keep their daughters, specially when they begin to grow from child’s state, and hold them from men’s company. For that time they be given unto most lust of the body. Also the maidens should keep themselves, both at all other and at that time specially, from either hearing or saying, or yet thinking any foul thing, which thing she shall labour to do” (Aughterson 1995: 69).

Ophelia accepts her father's authority ("I shall obey, my lord" [I. iii. 136]) as she had done with her brother's warnings. This time, however, there is no trace of criticism in her attitude and Ophelia strictly obeys her father's imperative commands, refusing to have any further contact with Hamlet and repelling his suit:

Pol.           What, have you given him any words of late?  
 Oph.           No, my good lord, but as you did command,  
 I did repel his letters and denied  
 His access to me. (II. i. 107-09)

Immediately after, Polonius recognises his misjudgement of Hamlet's motives (II. i. 106, 111-13), but now it is too late: Ophelia's disdain -we have to assume- has already taken place after the first act, once the Ghost has set upon the Prince the task of vengeance. Ophelia is therefore providing Hamlet with a perfect motif for his feigned mental insanity: amorous insanity.

In the *nunnery* scene (III. i. 91-150), her attitude is ambiguous and problematic. This scene is particularly relevant for it shows Ophelia exercising her own will. Apparently, she is just to check Hamlet's reaction by giving him back his love tokens, pretending to *officially* end their relationship; this she does at her father's command. However, paradoxically, once Polonius has recognised his error concerning Hamlet's real intentions, she willingly tries for the last time to gain Hamlet's love back. Inexperienced as Ophelia is, she does so in a very unconvincing manner: by putting all the blame on the Prince for their terminated love relationship. Her words sound fairly naive and more like a declaration of her love for him:

Oph.           My lord, I have remembrances of yours  
 That I have longed long to redeliver.  
 I pray you now receive them.  
 Ham.           No, not I.  
 I never gave you aught.  
 Oph.           My honoured lord; I know well you did,  
 And with them words of so sweet breath composed  
 As made the things more rich. Their perfume lost,  
 Take these again; for to the noble mind  
 Rich gifts wax poor when givers prove unkind. (III. i. 93-101)

Why should Ophelia, ignorant as she is of Hamlet's feelings towards women, love and marriage, reproach him for his unkindness? According to White, Ophelia is basically an incomplete and immature character, "fearing and desiring a full love relationship with Hamlet" (1986: 64). When she feels Polonius is no longer an obstacle and she decided to try and win back Hamlet's love, the Prince of Denmark is far from sharing with Ophelia both her expectations of an affair and her remembrance of their happy man-woman romantic relationship; in fact, at this stage, as Jenkins states, "it is Hamlet who rejects Ophelia's love and not she his" (1989: 150). From this moment onwards Ophelia, like Jephthah's daughter<sup>10</sup>, will

<sup>10</sup> "11:29 factus est ergo super Iepthae spiritus Domini et circumiens Galaad et Manasse Maspha quoque Galaad et inde transiens ad filios Ammon 11:30 votum vovit Domino dicens si tradideris filios Ammon in manus meas 11:31 quicumque primus fuerit egressus de foribus domus meae mihi que occurrerit revertenti cum pace a filiis Ammon eum holocaustum offeram Domino 11:32 transivitque

have to assume a role that was originally imposed on her by paternal authority: both women are forced to live as celibates. In the first case, the sacrifice of the woman implied obedient submissiveness to death at the hands of her own father, while still a virgin (*Judges XI, 30-40*); for Ophelia, a virgin too<sup>11</sup>, it meant self-denial of love, eventual death and madness.

Hamlet ends his love relationship with Ophelia for different reasons. He refuses a woman's love, since he feels repulsion over his mother's recent marriage, the result of "the compulsive ardour" (III. iv. 86)". Consequently, he abhors his own sexual desire and the object towards which it has tended. But above all, he is so tortured by the task that has been imposed on him, revenge, that any other consideration is frivolous, if not hateful (I. v. 98-104). Ophelia's only reason to sacrifice her love was obedience to her father. Like the anonymous daughter of Jephthah, she will also cry for her virginity (*Judges 11, 37-39*), singing songs of neglected love.

## 2. The Madness of Gertrude's Son and Female Tragic Heroism

It was my intention to analyse Ophelia's character making little or no reference to the Prince of Denmark's inner evolution. I am only concerned with

Iepthae ad filios Ammon ut pugnaret contra eos quos tradidit Dominus in manus eius 11:33 percussitque ab Aroer usque dum venias in Mennith viginti civitates et usque ad Abel quae est vineis consita plaga magna nimis humiliatique sunt filii Ammon a filiis Israhel 11:34 revertenti autem Iepthae in Maspha domum suam occurrit unigenita filia cum tympanis et choris non enim habebat alios liberos 11:35 qua visa scidit vestimenta sua et ait heu filia mi decepisti me et ipsa decepta es aperui enim os meum ad Dominum et aliud facere non potero 11:36 cui illa respondit pater mi si aperuisti os tuum ad Dominum fac mihi quodcumque pollicitus es concessa tibi ultione atque victoria de hostibus tuis 11:37 dixitque ad patrem hoc solum mihi praesta quod deprecor dimitte me ut duobus mensibus circumeam montes et plangam virginitatem meam cum sodalibus meis 11:38 cui ille respondit vade et dimisit eam duobus mensibus cumque abisset cum sociis ac sodalibus suis flebat virginitatem suam in montibus 11:39 expletisque duobus mensibus reversa est ad patrem suum et fecit ei sicut voverat quae ignorabat virum exinde mos increbuit in Israhel et consuetudo servata est 11:40 ut post anni circulum conveniant in unum filiae Israhel et plangent filiam Iepthae Galaaditae diebus quattuor".

The story of Jephthah, judge of Israel, and his daughter was one of the most famous Bible stories in England. It was several times balladised and also served as a suitable topic for homilies and drama, both academic and popular. A XVIIIth century Jephthah ballad is included by Jenkins (1989: 475-77).

<sup>11</sup> There has been much debate around the earnest question *Did Hamlet sleep with Ophelia?* Ernst Jones, Freud's leading British disciple, published in 1949 a study where he described Ophelia in the following terms: "unmistakably sensual, as she seldom is on stage. She may be 'innocent' and docile, but she is very aware of her body" (Showalter 1994: 235). A similar opinion was held by West 1958, for whom Ophelia was "a disreputable young woman" (Showalter 1994: 235), who died pregnant (White 1986: 63). Modern film readings of Ophelia, such as Kenneth Brannagh's version of *Hamlet*, are built upon the assumption that she and Hamlet had a full sexual relationship, endowing her in this way with a dubious halo of defiance. Textual evidence of this is lacking, if we exclude the supposed implications of the "Valentine song" (IV. v. 48-66), though a weak support it is. As Jenkins claims, we should not assume "that what happens to the maiden in the Valentine song must have happened to Ophelia herself. What the songs must connect with are the fancies which arise in Ophelia's mind released from rational control" (1989: 530). Besides, the priest's words during the burial ceremony seem to be conclusive: "Yet here she is allow'd her virgin crants./ Her maiden strewments" (V. i. 225-26). The priest's certainty on Ophelia's virginity should not be taken as the result of his flattering attitude towards the royal family. He shows no embarrassment when, in the light of Ophelia's doubtful death, he buries her "with such maimed rites" and "in ground unsanctified" (V. i. 212, 222). For Laertes, his attitude is "churlish" (V. i. 233). R. West, on the other hand, claims that the priest knows that Ophelia is not a virgin anymore and his words "Till the last trumpet" (V. i. 224) include a pun, *strumpet* (White 1986: 135, n. 1).

the ways in which Hamlet's behaviour affects Ophelia, without entering into any considerations concerning the protagonist's motivations.

The first issue I want to deal with is Hamlet's tantalising behaviour towards Ophelia, defined by Samuel Johnson as "useless and wanton cruelty" (Jump 1968: 24)<sup>12</sup>. In both the *nunnery* and *mouse-trap* scenes, the Prince of Denmark projects upon his former loved one all the rage he bears in his heart and in his mind. Hamlet abuses Ophelia's words, rudely rebuffing her and calling her a whore; as Jardine puts it:

Ophelia is honest (chaste) or a bawd (a whore) depending on how Hamlet now chooses to describe his own behaviour towards her. If he loved her, declared that love to her and she accepted his gifts and embraces, then she is chaste. If he never loved her, but attempted to seduce her only, then *she* is lewd and lascivious, because Hamlet trifled with her. (1983: 73)

His words, his actions and his wit feed on the central stances of age-old misogyny: women's moral depravation and their permanent threat to men's virtue. Ophelia's response in the above mentioned scenes lines her up with the long list of patient women that have born men's cruelty, starting with Griselda. Ophelia's patience is dramatically merciful, for what can she do but stand the retorts and bawdy innuendoes of the mad Prince: "You are naught, you are naught" (III. ii. 143). Her patience, on the other hand, is pathetic too, since she can not keep up with Hamlet's ironies, puns and sarcasms.

The Prince of Denmark's feigned madness is also meaningful for Ophelia. The moment in which Hamlet first goes to her in his *antic disposition*, a kind of allegorical premonition of Madness' later visitation to her, is not actually performed on stage but reported by Ophelia<sup>13</sup>. Be it as it may, once Hamlet goes to her "with his doublet all unbrac'd,/ No hat upon his head, his stockings foul'd,/ Ungarter'd and down-gyved to his ankle", Ophelia assumes Hamlet is mad, mad for her love. Her father is the first one to suggest so (*Pol.* "Mad for thy love? *Oph.* My lord, I do not know,/ But truly I do fear it" [II. i. 85-86]), categorically concluding "That hath made him mad" (II. i.110). Besides, Hamlet's madness is, if I may say so, typical, following a Burtonian description of love melancholy (See Burton 1932: Third Partition, Memb. 3). Polonius is insistent on the cause of Hamlet's lunacy, particularly once he realises that the Queen would accept Ophelia as a very suitable bride for her son (III. i. 38-42)<sup>14</sup>. This reiteration, that so well describes Polonius' personality to the reader and the audience, will have a devastating effect on Ophelia. Polonius' last words on this issue come immediately after the *nunnery* scene and are obviously uttered in his daughter's presence: "But

<sup>12</sup> Originally in Johnson's edition of Shakespeare's plays (1765).

<sup>13</sup> This has led some to believe that her "description of Hamlet's behaviour in her closet is a kind of hallucination" (White 1986: 67).

<sup>14</sup> Polonius is so insistent on Hamlet's love-madness for several reasons. First, he is absolutely convinced of that fact (II. i.110; III. ii. 176-78). Secondly, he is too vain, too proud of his discernment, as to admit another misconception concerning Hamlet's behaviour (the first one was to assume Hamlet wanted to abuse his daughter). Thirdly, I can not help thinking that now he knows the Queen would accept Ophelia as her daughter-in-law, an eventual marriage between Hamlet and his daughter would place him in a very favourable position. If the Prince is mad for love, let him have the object of his love, Ophelia.

yet do I believe/ The origin and commencement of this grief/ Sprung from neglected love” (III. ii. 176-78). It seems as if Polonius was avoiding, either consciously or unconsciously, all responsibility on the issue of Hamlet’s madness, and leaving it all to his daughter. The course of Polonius’ thoughts might well be this one: although it was himself that explicitly commanded Ophelia not to have any dealings with Hamlet (I. iii. 126-35), his daughter, after all, was the one who actually rejected Hamlet. How does Ophelia react when confronted with her present situation? She has neglected Hamlet on the basis of her father and brother’s wrong assumptions about him. Now the Prince is mad and most offensively rebuffs her. For the time being, I see no apparent traces of self-reproach or remorse in Ophelia’s speech after the *nunnery* scene: she painfully pities Hamlet for his madness and also herself for having lost such an excellent lover (III. i. 152-63). Her remorse, I would say, is soothed by her assumption that Hamlet’s madness, in itself a painful reality, has been but the consequence (tragic consequence) of a higher good: her obedience to paternal authority. So far, Ophelia’s mental balance is preserved, though not for long.

### 3. The Death of the Fishmonger and the Madness of the Orphan Daughter

The death of Polonius is both tragic and comic. He is surprised in his voyeurism, taken for the king and killed as a rat; his rhetoric proves itself as useless as it has always been: “O, I am slain” (III. iv. 24). After a brief prayer for the victim -ironically uttered by his executioner (III. iv. 31-38)-, the Prince of Denmark goes on tantalising his mother, paying no attention to the bleeding body lying on the floor, until the very moment in which he drags the corpse into the adjoining room at the end of the scene. The death of Polonius almost goes unnoticed until Laertes’ abrupt entrance in Claudius’ court (IV. v. 112ff). And still its consequences are devastating for Ophelia. Her final steps along the path to madness are not shared with us by the author. With a strange sense for her own privacy, Shakespeare does not let his audience watch Ophelia’s last moments of sanity. However, he does perform Polonius’ death, which is, more than anything else, the key to understanding her collapse in the form of real mental insanity. What I mean is there is more in Ophelia’s anguish over the death of her father than the natural sorrow one feels when confronted with the death of such a close relative. In my opinion, it implies something else. Polonius was the living icon of paternal authority, the code that had given sense to all the events of her life, particularly the very last ones: her breaking up with Hamlet and the latter’s madness. She is now confronted with an incongruous chain of events, one for which her code provides no explanation, since she proceeded in the expected way: following her father’s command, she left Hamlet, but he went mad, abused her and, finally, killed her father. Once Polonius is dead, once he is no longer a reference, a painful epiphany takes place and Ophelia realises that the code up to which she was living has ruined her life: at Polonius’ wrong judgement on Hamlet, she caused his madness and, ultimately, her father’s death. She reaches maturity and, for the first time, she uses her own reasoning, just to abandon it forever. Emptiness and remorse are now too heavy for her to bear.

Ophelia always lived in a male universe, since all her referential points were male characters: Polonius, Hamlet and Laertes. To none of them she can turn now: her father is dead, her lover is mad and shipped away, and her brother is

gone. There is no source of refuge, no one to provide an explanation for the things happening, no one to exercise his authority and decide for her. Besides, I have always found meaningful the almost absolute dearth of female characters in the play: from a list of twenty-three named *dramatis personae*, just two of them are women. Even more, Shakespeare's silence concerning Ophelia's mother is tragic for her: apparently, she never existed. Ophelia's incompleteness owes much to the absence of a mother. In her book on the death of motherly characters in Medieval English literature, N. Stiller made reference to the importance of the motherly role in the rearing of daughters, "For the role of mother, and the role of daughter who is to become in turn a mother herself, could have been learned only in part from men" (1980: 6). This is exactly what happens to Ophelia: her rearing solely comes from an authoritarian father, without that mother who might have guided her "into the land of sexual experience" (White 1986: 75). Queen Gertrude is far from acting as a maternal presence or even just as a friend or a guide: the relationship between both simply does not exist. When Ophelia goes mad, Gertrude is the first person she wants to talk to (IV. v. 2), maybe a useless appeal to that feminine complicity she has always lacked; but even now Gertrude is reluctant: "I will not speak with her" (IV. v. 1). She is probably afraid of what Ophelia -with the "happiness that often madness hits on" (II. ii. 209-10)- might say about the queen's hasty wedding or about her tragic awareness of female existence and suffering.

Ophelia's growth from innocence into maturity is a return trip, for experience is so chaotic that it soon gives way to innocence again, in the predictable world of ballads. There she faces no remorse, no sense of guilt and no pain: "the ballad world frees individuals from guilt and responsibility, for it is peopled not with named characters but with 'he' and 'she'. Things simply happen because they have always happened and always will; human agents are accidentals" (White 1986: 71). Music and rhymes provide Ophelia's insanity with a pathos that has been imitated ever since: her madness is more disturbing for that appearance of carelessness and joy. A comparison with Hamlet's mental disorder is now telling. For those who watch, Ophelia, if I may say so, is *madder* than the Prince. Polonius, referring to Hamlet, says to himself, "Though this be madness, yet there is method in't." (II. ii. 204-05). Laertes, at the sight of his sister, concludes she is a "document in madness" (IV. v. 176), a most accomplished instance of it.

Ophelia's mental disorder is apparent too through her odd use of language. Her words are described as "unshaped" (IV. v. 8), carrying "but half sense" (IV. v. 6) and, above all, "Her speech is nothing" (IV. v. 7) or "nothing sure" (IV. v. 13). As the Gentleman reports, Ophelia's utterances are meaningless, imperfect, and rely upon the interpretation of her listeners -probably male- to achieve any meaning, which after all will be theirs and not hers: "And botch the words up fit to their own thoughts" (V. iv. 10). This has always been the story of Ophelia, a story of incompleteness: as R.D. Laing puts it "There is no integral selfhood expressed through her actions or utterances" (Showalter 1994: 236) (See Laing 1965: 195n.). In the end, there is no redemption for her: little consolation is offered by those who claim madness provides Ophelia with enough freedom so as

to show her real, rebellious, character offer<sup>15</sup>. Such readings transform Ophelia into a different, contemporary woman, but fail to see the Seventeenth century character, one in whom such a discourse sounds fairly distorting<sup>16</sup>. The only mark of protest and rebellion (to put it somehow) I see in Ophelia's madness is so naive that it has generally been unnoticed. According to the already mentioned *The Christian man's closet*, maidens were not supposed to learn ballads: "2. Let her not hear or understand any filthy words, nor merry ballads, nor jests, nor rhymes, but let her young and tender tongue be seasoned with sweet songs and psalms" (Aughterson 1995: 182)<sup>17</sup>. Well, it seems that Ophelia had a repertoire of no less than five ballads<sup>18</sup>.

Out of the contrast with Hamlet's exasperating passivity, Ophelia's character possesses a dramatic intensity which, at times, equals that of the hero. Hamlet feigns madness, whereas she really is mad, for she cannot stand confusion as Hamlet does. Hamlet's rationality and scepticism enable him to make an anatomy of his own anxiety. He will sit down to observe how he is torn apart by the conflicting demands of vengeance, fear, hatred or love. He will make philosophical reflections on his attitude. He will wonder about the course of action to take, about stoicism or about the destiny of the human soul beyond death; even in his supposed madness, he comes to us reading a book. His pain is no less real for that, in fact that is the substance of his pain: a kind of paralysis at the horror of his own existence. Ophelia is not given that chance: for her, Shakespeare substitutes the book for flowers<sup>19</sup>. Ophelia, as a woman, is not able to make such an intellectualisation of her own anxiety: as R. Mulcaster, a notable Protestant humanist, states in his *Positions* "their [girls'] brains be not so much charged,

<sup>15</sup> "For many feminist theorists, the mad woman is a heroine, a powerful figure who rebels against the family and the social order; and the hysteric who refuses to speak the language of the patriarchal order, who speaks otherwise, is a sister" (Showalter 1994: 237).

<sup>16</sup> One instance of this, probably the most radical, is Melissa Murray's 1979 agitprop play *Ophelia*: Polonius' daughter becomes a lesbian who "runs off with a woman servant to join a guerrilla commune" (Showalter 1994: 237). For an account of this production, see Wandor. 1981: 47.

<sup>17</sup> There was a certain degree of mistrust about the effects that too much delight in music might have on young ladies. In *The Christian man's closet* it is explicitly written: "5. Let her not delight and take pleasure in the hearing of musical instruments, shawms [an oboe like instrument], zithers, lutes and harps, nor know wherefore they were invented" (Aughterson 1995: 182).

<sup>18</sup> All of them come in IV. v.: "How should I your true love know" (23-40); "Tomorrow Is Saint Valentine's Day" (48-66); "They bore him bare faced" (164ff); "For bonny sweet Robin" (184ff); "And will he not come again?" (190-200). A brief, but useful, account of the tunes is included by Hibbard 1998: 379-81. For more details, see Seng 1967: 131-56.

<sup>19</sup> We only see Ophelia reading a book (a devotional one) at the beginning of the nunnery scene and, in doing so, she is obeying her father's command: "Read on this book,/ That show of such an exercise may colour/ Your loneliness.- We are oft to blame in this,/ 'Tis too much prov'd, that with devotion visage/ And pious action we do sugar o'er/ The devil himself" (III. i. 44-49). We may have an approximate idea of the book she was reading if we keep in mind, for example, the recommendations concerning the reading activities of daughters contained in *The Christian man's closet*: "5. Let her appoint herself some task everyday, to read some special part of the holy scriptures chosen for the same purpose" (Aughterson 1995: 182); "Let her first learn the psalter or psalms of David in metre, which may withdraw her mind from light and vain tongues and bawdy ballads. And in the proverbs of Solomon, which may instruct her to good and godly life: and in the *Ecclesiastes*, let her exercise herself to seek out things which appertain to the world. In Job, let her follow the example of virtue and patience" (Aughterson 1995: 183).

neither with weight nor with multitude of matters” (Aughterson 1995: 179)<sup>20</sup>. She can not stretch her pain as much as Hamlet does. She does not have the ability to tiptoe along the line that separates sanity from insanity. As a matter of fact, her madness comes as an expected consequence of her female condition. Woman’s inferiority is something taken for granted in the Elizabethan period. The standard, pseudo-scientific justification of such assumption was provided by Aristotle (384-322 b.C.) -in both *Historia Animalium* and *De Generatione Animalium*-, a fairly constant reference during the Mediaeval period and still an *auctoritas* throughout the Seventeenth century. With some differences, the Roman physician Galen (131-201 B.C.) supported the philosopher’s hierarchical theory of the sexes. The Aristotelian-Galenic account of female “nature” conditioned (and still does) women’s behaviour: their biology was the basis of their identity. Ophelia’s madness is better understood when reading some lines from Nicholas Fontanus’ *The woman’s doctor*, a textbook aimed at English physicians and lay readers (1652). With Aristotle, Galen and Hippocrates’ conclusions at the back of his mind, this author makes an account of women’s diseases, dividing them into four groups: diseases common to all women; those peculiar to widows and virgins; those affecting barren women; and, finally, such diseases that affect the nurses (Aughterson 1995: 61). The basis of his argument is that “Wives are more healthful than widows or virgins, because they are refreshed with the man’s seed, and ejaculate their own, which being excluded, the cause of the evil is taken away” (Aughterson 1995: 61). When dealing with the second group, and specifically with virgins, he states that because of the impossibility of loosening their humours, they have a propensity to “continual anxiety, sadness, and want of sleep, with idle talking, and an alienation of the mind” (Aughterson 1995: 62). Are not these Ophelia’s symptoms? For now, I leave this issue for a future paper.

In light of Hamlet’s words on suicide (III. i. 60-88) as an escape from his troubled existence, Ophelia’s lunacy is a kind of back-door exit: suicide implies an active will, whereas madness is absolutely passive. Her fall into the river marks her ejection from earth, which according to the Renaissance cultural notions of gender was the male world, “orderly, fixed, structured”, into water, her proper female medium “fluid, vacillating, formless” (Jardine 1983: 5). There she becomes a mermaid (IV. vii. 175), the traditional water woman singer, “a creature native and indued/ Unto that element” (IV. vii. 178-798). It is Gertrude, the *other* woman in Hamlet that dramatically reports Ophelia’s death, probably because she is the only one who can do so. The pathos of her description comes from the poeiticity of Gertrude’s words, accounting for a woman that sings, “incapable of her own distress” (IV. vii. 177). Floating prettily but uselessly in the water, her death comes when her garments, the apparent mark of her female condition, soaked and heavy,

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<sup>20</sup> Richard Mulcaster (1530-1611) was an English schoolmaster, whose many pedagogical theories were not generally accepted until at least 250 years after his death. He was educated at Eton, Cambridge, and Oxford. In 1561 he became the first headmaster of the Merchant-Tailors’ School, later acting as high master at St. Paul’s. Mulcaster’s fame rests mainly upon his two books *Positions* and *The First Part of the Elementarie*. He recommended special university training for teachers, comparable to that for doctors or lawyers, careful selection of teachers and adequate salaries, assignment of the best teachers to the lowest grades, and close association between teachers and parents. He emphasised the importance of individual differences in children, the adjustment of the curriculum to these differences, and the use of readiness rather than age in determining progress. His *Positions* (first edition, 1581) is a work dedicated to Elizabeth I, though only one of the forty-five chapters is devoted to the education of girls.

pull her down. I see Ophelia's death as a metaphor of the woman who succumbs under the weight of male imposed femininity. Three centuries later, Yeat's lines also seem to account for Ophelia's tragedy in the maddening world of Elsinore.

Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world,  
 The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere  
 The ceremony of innocence is drowned;  
 The best lack all conviction, while the worst  
 Are full of passionate intensity.  
 (W.B. Yeats, "The Second Coming", 4-8)

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## English Renaissance Studies in Spain: A Bibliography up to 1995

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### Abbreviations

<i>AAFVT</i>	<i>Annals of the Archyve of Ferran Valls y Taberner.</i>
<i>ADIUAB</i>	<i>Anuario del Departamento de Inglés.</i> U. Autónoma de Barcelona.
<i>AEDEAN</i>	<i>Asociación Española de Estudios Anglo-Norteamericanos.</i>
<i>BELLS</i>	<i>Barcelona English Language and Literature Studies.</i> U. de Barcelona Central.
<i>BHS</i>	<i>Bulletin of Hispanic Studies.</i>
<i>BSS</i>	<i>Boletín de la Institución "Sancho el Sabio".</i> Vitoria.
<i>CARA</i>	<i>Catalina de Aragon Regina Angliæ.</i> M <sup>a</sup> Jesús Pérez Martín, Dpto. de Lengua y Literatura Inglesa y Alemana, Universidad de Valladolid.
<i>CEM</i>	<i>Cuadernos de Estudios Murcianos.</i>
<i>CIF</i>	<i>Cuadernos de Investigación Filológica.</i> U. de La Rioja.
<i>EFI</i>	<i>Estudios de Filología Inglesa.</i> U. de Granada.
<i>ES</i>	<i>Publicaciones del Departamento de Inglés.</i> U. de Valladolid.
<i>Livius</i>	<i>Revista de Estudios de Traducción.</i> U. de León.
<i>RAEI</i>	<i>Revista Alicantina de Estudios Ingleses.</i>
<i>RCEI</i>	<i>Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses.</i> U. de la Laguna.
<i>SEDERI</i>	<i>Sociedad Española de Estudios Renacentistas Ingleses.</i> Dpto. de Filología Inglesa y Alemana. U. de Zaragoza.
<i>SEDERI</i>	<i>Journal of the Spanish Society for English Renaissance Studies.</i>

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