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ESTUDIOS RENACENTISTAS INGLESES

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NUMBER 11 contains a selection of articles and essays presented at the 11th Conference of the Society, held at the University of Huelva, Spain, in March 2000.

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ESTUDIOS RENACENTISTAS INGLESES

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# THE BODY SEMIOTIC IN THE THEATER

ATTILA KISS

*University József Attila*

In this paper I intend to address changes in the status of the body of the speaking subject with reference to a specific cultural mode of expression, the theater. In the history of the representation of the body we can trace how the iconic, motivated body of medieval high semioticity is suppressed by the emergence of the mechanical world model, and then it becomes thematized, marketed, and virtualized in the postmodern. There is hardly a cultural arena more suitable for the investigation of this process than the theater. By its very nature, the theater addresses and foregrounds representational problems, since it is itself a game with an unsurpassable representational insufficiency. The stage wants to conjure up the presence of that which is not present, and the belief in the (im)possibility of this is characteristic of the specific culture's semiotic attitude. If a sign is that which we can use to lie (Eco), at the heart of the theater we find the scrutinizing of this lying. At the same time, the theater thematizes not only the nature of representation, the working up of the sign, but also the central agent of that representation, the human being, as body and soul, flesh and spirit, as either union of or gap between signifier and signified.

As a representational laboratory, the emblematic theater in the English Renaissance uses various techniques to stage the body in order to come up with an answer to the question of the epistemological crisis of the period. This paper relies on "semiography" as a critical approach which combines the interpretive strategies of iconography and semiotics to map out the systems of images that were employed in the representational logic of the emblematic theater. A detour will be made to examine the phenomenon of the anatomical theater of the Renaissance.

## 0

This paper sets out to survey the relationship between the fundamental semiotic disposition of culture and the signifying status of the human body in that culture. The investigation will focus on one specific mode of social expression: the theater, which foregrounds and thematizes the questions that a culture might have about the nature of the body and the nature of reality, as well. I will argue that a semiotic typology of cultures can help us arrive at a typology of theaters. In that typology the theater will be understood as a laboratory of the epistemological perplexities in the historically specific culture.

## I

In working out the concept and the methodology of semanalysis, Julia Kristeva suggested back in the late 1970s that it would be possible to typologize cultures on the basis of the signifying status of the speaking subject in them. Her thesis finds support and a strong analogy in Yuri Lotman's semiotic typology of cultures, which is based on the specific culture's attitude to the very nature of the sign and the nature of signification. At the same time, poststructuralist theories in the semiotics of the subject have demonstrated that it is impossible to theorize the status of the human being in semiosis without opening up the phenomenological abstraction of the ego for the heterogeneous basis of signification, that is, the psychosomatic, corporeal structure of the subject. It follows that the general semiotic disposition of a cultural establishment is characterized not only by a belief in the high or low semioticity of elements of reality; and not only by the historically specific ideas about the inner signifying capacity or incapacity of the human being; but also by the relation of that culture to the concept of the corporeal, the presence or non-presence of the body in social discourses. The semiotic body is always present in semiosis as the material engine that generates the drive to signify, and it is treated very differently in different cultures. It is on this basis that I maintain that a particular semiotic world model is greatly characterized by the status of the body, which will be examined in the typology of theaters as either the Other of culture or a potential locus of subversion.

Lotman in his typology of cultures differentiated between two different world models. The *Medieval world model* is based on high semioticity, an understanding of the world as text, and the elements of that world as written and directly motivated signs of the Absolute. In this world model the universe is an ordered hierarchy of symbolical correspondences, and the iconic nature of reality results in what Lotman calls high semioticity—every element of reality is inherently meaningful on several levels of meaning. The polysemy of reality creates an interpretive attitude, a fundamental semiotic disposition in the human being.

The *Enlightenment-type world* model will desemioticize this world, and replaces the pan metaphoric and interpretive attitude to reality with empirical investigation that yields solid, unambiguous and not polysemous factual data. The new world model is syntagmatic, mechanic, and no longer tolerates the proliferation of meanings through metaphors, symbols, allegories and emblems as was the practice in the Middle Ages. The vertical Great Chain of Being is stretched out horizontally into a railway road in the age of reason, and the key metaphor of the Book of Nature is replaced by that of the Clockwork Universe.

This model comes to a halting point with the crisis of the “project of modernism” in the 20th century, with the questioning of the belief in our capacity for the total appropriation of the world and the mastering of ultimate truths. It is arguable that the much-debated period of the postmodern has, until now, been a transition from modernism (which will never be finished) into a third world model in which the new status of the sign is defined by the logic of simulacra and virtualization. As Baudrillard contends, in its new definition reality is now “that of which it is possible to create endless reproductions.” Analogies and si-

milarities between the Renaissance and the postmodern become manifest when we understand both periods in semiotic terms as transitions between opposing world models. In such epistemologically uncertain periods we can observe an intensified semiotic activity in culture that strives to map out new ways of getting to know reality.

Together with the changing of the above world models, the status of the body and its relation to the human being have also gone through definitive metamorphoses. The body in the Middle Ages is an iconic image of God, it gives way to a body as the Other of the cognizing ego in Cartesian philosophy, and then this self-identical and dematerialized modern subjectivity becomes very bodily, corporeal and, later on, more and more virtual in postmodernism. The abstract and incorporeal, “deadly subjectivity of modernism” (Barker 1984) goes through not only a process of desubstantiation, but also a gradual virtualization in which the seeming presence of the body will always be postponed by the signifiers of ideology that fashion the identity just as well as the body of the subject.

## II

In the present paper I intend to address the above changes in the status of the body of the speaking subject with reference to a specific cultural mode of expression, the theater. As has been outlined, the iconic, motivated body of medieval high semioticity is suppressed by the emergence of the modern, and then it becomes thematized, marketed and virtualized in the postmodern. There is hardly a cultural arena more suitable for the investigation of this process than the theater. The theater, by its very nature, addresses and foregrounds representational problems, since it is in itself a game with an unsurpassable representational insufficiency. The stage wants to conjure up the presence of that which is not present, and the belief in the possibility or impossibility of this is characteristic of the specific culture’s semiotic disposition. The history of the theater can be well described as the history of the art of lying, especially if we employ Umberto Eco’s definition, according to which a sign is that which we can use to lie. The theatrical sign foregrounds this nature of the sign, and at the heart of the theater we find the scrutinizing of this lying.

At the same time, it is not only the nature of representation, i.e., the working of the sign, that the theater thematizes, but also the central agent of that representation, the human being, as body and soul, flesh and spirit, as either union of or gap between signifier and signified.

## III

In a very sketchy historical survey of the theater, it is the medieval semi-dramatic, liturgical stage representation that provides us with the greatest amount of iconicity. In the high semioticity of the medieval world model, reality is inherently iconic, because every element of the universe directly partakes in the

divine principle. Elements of this reality possess an inherent signifying capacity which is guaranteed by God, the ultimate signified and the great scribe, who disseminated in the cosmos the icons of his own image.

However, this iconic link with the source and the guarantee of all meaning is not altogether transparent, since our world is a fallen, corrupt image of the heavenly order—we see through a glass, darkly. This relationship between the actual and the divine world goes through a peculiar typological inversion on the stage of the liturgical theater. The Biblical truth and the providential story acted out on the stage are not only a “representation”, but they become the real Reality, the type—a faithful and true union of the allegorical actor as icon on the one hand, and the truth, the meaning of God on the other, which directly informs and motivates the icon. Our world, the actual reality is degraded here into a corrupt, deformed replica of that reality which is ostended on the pageant platform. Our world as antitype will be fulfilled and realized in the type of the heavenly order. In the ritualistic enactment, the union of Word and Flesh once again takes place, as was promised by Christ, the pure signifier, who was not separated by any trace of *differance* from the meaning it signified. Consequently, medieval liturgical drama poses no representational insufficiency, because the functioning of the actor’s body and the stage object as icons are guaranteed by God, the source of their being.

In order for *literary drama* and theater to develop, the representational insufficiency which separates reality and representation, and characterizes the theatrical cosmos, needs to come to the surface. There needs to open up a gap, an uncertainty between the allegorical body and what it signifies in order for the audience to feel an interpretive task and challenge presented by the stage. This representational insufficiency is not only inherent semiotically in any theater and any representation, but it also characterizes the entire philosophical climate during the epistemological crisis of the Renaissance. The emerging of the mechanical, horizontal world model of the Enlightenment desemioticizes the formerly iconic nature of reality, the inherent signifying capacity of the elements of the universe is taken away. However, the new, scientific and empirical methods of knowledge are not firmly in place yet. The theater, as a laboratory for the testing of the widening gap between things and their supposedly guaranteed meaning, thematizes this *process of desemioticization*, which, as we see, is also a process which results in the deiconization of reality.

The protagonists of Elizabethan and Jacobean drama no longer act out the union of flesh and spirit, body and originary meaning: they much rather foreground the inner split that culture and the human being are based upon. The actor on the Renaissance stage never really aims at cheating the spectator into believing that the person on the stage is not an actor but Hamlet, Prince of Denmark; that the little branch of a tree is not an emblem of the forest and fertility but an actual wood; or, that the trapdoor is not only emblematically but actually the gate to the Castle of Lucifer. The stage here problematizes a basic semiotic issue of culture. What kind of a sign is the human being, or any element of reality? The human being, as represented by the Renaissance actor, realizes

that it can never coincide with itself, can never be present to itself, it no longer carries within its guaranteed meaning. Reality moves from the iconic into the indexical phase, when we can only suspect or hope for the causal relationship between the creation and a Creator, but the direct, motivating proofs are lost, the center is dislocated, order is questioned in the universe. As the epistemological uncertainty of the period increases, so does the suspicion that the nature of reality and the human being may be merely symbolical, a matter of social and ideologically specific convention. The continuously thematized and questioned metaphysical status of the sovereign is one example of this process.

The protagonists of the Renaissance stage are engaged in a desperate attempt to become icons, because complete self-realization would be nothing else but the direct uniting of being and meaning, body and name. However, these characters now and again end up with the realization that they carry no inherent meaning, no self-present, guaranteed link with an *origo* of meaning: it is rather their identity which is always generated by the actual role assigned to them in the network of social self-fashioning.

In this theater, the body ceases to be a locus of the iconic union of flesh and spirit. It rather becomes a *representational technique* which provides the protagonists with a chance to produce iconic meanings, or, more precisely, the most unquestionable signs. The body will be a site of experimentation, a stage representation that could momentarily unite the ever increasing gap between the signifier and the signified in the production of death, or, in Lacan's words, the densest sign of death, which is the cadaver. The Renaissance and Baroque stages are littered with corpses not only to satisfy the sensationalism of the contemporary audience, but also because the protagonist, in order to dominate the discursive space around itself, has to manufacture corpses, because it is the cadaver the meaning of which is most unquestionable, the author of which is real author. Turning one's own self into a corpse is thus total mastery of self and of meaning, no matter how ironic it is. This sometimes happens only partly, when, for example, Hieronimo bites own his own tongue at the end of *The Spanish Tragedy*, in order to retain to himself totally the meanings he wanted to be the author of. Hieronimo's lines over the corpse of his son ("To know the author were some ease of grief," II.v.40)—encapsulate in a quite post-structuralist wording the semiotic point of Renaissance tragedy. And this is also why this stage favors so much the traveling and trafficking of parts, i.e., metonymies of the body. Fingers, hands, heads, corpses are sent and displayed, because a control of these would be a control of the desemiocitized body, and of the world that has a more and more questionable signified.

The Cartesian philosophy of the Enlightenment world model radically suppresses the presence of the body in the social and the semiotic arena. The ego of the cogito dwells in a *homogeneous subject* that is endowed with a transhistorical human quality. It is an entity that is transparent and identical to itself, consequently the heterogeneity of the corporeal cannot be part of this subjectivity. By this time, discursive knowledge and social symbolization provide the subject with a skin that will not let the body surface and manifest itself as something

uncontrollable, something other than the conscious, rational *individuum*. The undivided Cartesian subject of Western metaphysics will also be the transcendental ego of phenomenology which dominated semiotics and structuralist linguistics until poststructuralist theories of the subject.

The new world model avoids polysemy, aims at collecting the one and only authentic empirical truth about elements of reality, which are no longer parts of an ordered hierarchy of iconic correspondences, but articles in a sequence of cause and effect relationships. It is interesting that this world model, which desemiotizes reality, tries to produce the most iconic, that is, the photographic theater: a stage that aims at being an illusionistic replica of reality. The highly symbolical, emblematic theater of the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance was made possible by one fundamental and centrally guaranteed iconic nature of reality, which led to the interpretation of the universe on several levels of meaning. This is why a sword on the emblematic stage can be a sword, a cross, an emblem of justice, an attribute of God and the King and Time which delivers justice—the tradition of *Veritas Filia Temporis*—, a mirror of the king and of the nation, etc. Once reality loses its inherent signifying capacity, the sign itself becomes suspicious, it is to be avoided, so that reality can only be copied on the stage. That copying is never full, never perfect: this is what became clear in the epistemological crisis of the Renaissance, and this is why the persistent metatheatrical perspective and the metadramatic intrusions systematically break the illusion of a separate dramatic world on the Renaissance stage. Several traditions of involvement and stage-audience interaction also participated in this metatechnique.

The body in the bourgeois theater will be fully enveloped by the Word, by social discourse: it can no longer function as a site of semiotic experimentation for full signification. The modernist subject will be constituted in and through language, but, at the same time, it will define itself through the misrecognition that it is a master, a user and controller of that language. Characters on the bourgeois, realistic stage will be compact *individua* of an illusionistic theater that will tend to forget the metatheatrical tradition of the Renaissance, which systematically foregrounded the problems of signification.

#### IV

It will only come with the crisis of the modern and the deconstruction of the Cartesian subject that the character on the theatrical stage starts problematizing the heterogeneity of the subject and the representational capacity of the theater again. General theories of signification and the semiotics of the subject can no longer ignore the impact of the Freudian revolution that inverted the Cartesian hierarchy between the human being and language. From the early 1970s on, in the experimental postmodern theater there is a growing awareness of the split that defines the human being as a heterogeneous structure which is dependent on the ideologically determined working of the signifier on both the conscious and unconscious modalities of signification. The body emerges in this theater first as a potential locus of subversion, a dimension where the power of the

signifier could be bypassed to arrive at a direct experiencing of reality. The body functions as an icon of the real, and through the testing, penetration, ostension of the body it seems to be possible to escape from our ideological determination. However, the poststructuralist realization of the total symbolic enveloping of the subject will soon dawn on the postmodern theater as well, and bodies become textualised, fragmented, liquidized, incapable of functioning as a solid basis for any sovereignty, autonomy of the subject. The body, just like the formerly sovereign Cartesian *individuum*, will be deprived of any inherent signifying capacity, and will be constituted according to prefabricated patterns that are circulated in the cultural imagery of the specific society. Two examples from postmodern drama will demonstrate this. The Hamlet-character in Heiner Müller's *Hamletmaschine* wants to reside in his blood, brains, excrement, to take refuge from ideology in the immediacy of the body, which offers itself as a potential locus of resistance. As opposed to this, the characters in Adrienne Kennedy's plays have multiple selves, multiple names and bodies, and they are articulated as momentary crossing points of different discourses and cultural images. Through a microphysics of power, to employ Foucault's term, the constitution of the body will become just another discursive technology of power. Any referentiality of the sign to an existing, primary, originary reality becomes more and more questionable, since it is no longer empirical reality that tests the validity of signs, but the cultural-ideological power that is invested in them. It does not matter whether the Michael Jackson body really exists when millions of youngsters want to have, and to become like, that body. In this respect, the formally iconic body turns into a wholly symbolized virtual construct, an element of simulation, and ceases to be an access to the Real.

## V

On the basis of this outline of the history of the body semiotic, we can establish a typology of theaters in relation to the world model of the culture in which the specific theater functions. The semiotic disposition of culture will determine whether the dominant theatrical mode can play with the problematic of representation, or it rather tries to conceal the representational insufficiency of the stage, and makes every attempt to create the illusion of presence. We find that relatively stable periods /the Middle Ages, the Enlightenment/ with a fixed world model only allow for a theater which believes in and disseminates the possibility of full representation. Transitory periods, however /the Renaissance, the Postmodern/ allow for *metatheater* to emerge as cultural practice, which thematizes the problematic nature of semiosis. This theater becomes a productive practice in that it dislocates the spectator from their comfortable subject positions, and urges them to have a metaperspective on the representation on the stage in particular, and on *Representation*, i.e., ideology in general. Adapting Julia Kristeva's typology of signifying practices (Kristeva 1984: 86) I will call the former, symbolically fixed mode *phenotheater*, while the latter I call *genotheater*, indicating that it tests and opens up the limits of signification.

The high semioticity of the medieval world model ensures a fully allegorical representation, and a belief in the guarantee of meaning behind that representation. This will be the basis of the emblematic theater in the Renaissance, which employs a relatively small number of stage objects that can evoke a multiplicity of meanings on several levels, based on the audience's readiness to interpret signs. This semiotic disposition is inherited by the Renaissance audience from the medieval world model, and relies on a wide range of iconographic traditions, ranging from the *memento mori* through the *danse macabre* to emblems of the *ars moriendi*. However, these traditions are used in the emblematic theater to investigate epistemological problems that already foreshadow the world model of the Enlightenment. Early modern culture uses the emblematic theater, because it cannot get rid of the iconographic traditions yet, but it stages the binarisms /seeming-being, appearance-reality, show-substance/ constitutive of modern questions concerning the nature of meaning and semiosis. The persistent metatheatricality of Renaissance theater prevents the stage representation from the attempt to become full semiosis, to reach the impossible closure of representation.

The world model of the Enlightenment will replace the *emblematic genotheater* by the *photographic phenotheater*, because it needs to believe that reality can be discursively known and represented. Simultaneously, the power of the image will be replaced in this theater by the power of the word, an early example of which is Shakespearean drama. "Words, words, words", as we all recall.

## VI

In the history of Western civilization, we know of three main cultural practices that publicly displayed the body. Two of these are well known—the public execution and the theater were social forms of the ostension of the body. It is the third form to which I would like to take a little detour here, and this is the theater of anatomy, which had its start in the early 15th century, and was in its full vogue in the late Renaissance and the early 17th century. To introduce this cultural phenomenon, I will briefly refer to a number of representational traditions.

The body and the cadaver are the themes of several iconographic-emblematic traditions starting from the Middle Ages. The *memento mori*, the *ars moriendi*, the *exemplum horrendum*, the *contemptus mundi* and the *danse macabre* traditions all used representations in which the central element was the body as the metaphor of mortality and death. We can perceive a process of "purification" in these traditions, in which the closeness between the represented corpse and the contemplating subject is gradually reduced. The iconography of the cadaver goes through a metamorphosis as we move from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. The burial sculptures, reliefs and paintings used to display demonical, allegorical monsters, disemboweled bodies and abject creatures, but by the Renaissance these are transformed into the more grotesque and less abject skeletons of the dance of death, which directs mortals to the grave in a carnivalesque mood. By the end of the Renaissance, the crystal-clear emblem of the *memento mori* tradition will be

an almost obligatory accessory on the garments of the aristocracy: this emblem is the skull, which is the central signifier in *The Revenger's Tragedy*, for example. By this time the flesh, the really abject part, disappears from the bones.

The thematizing of the body, the production of corpses in the Renaissance theater will be a representational technique that aims at coming up with an answer to the epistemological crisis of the period. This practice does not only stage the commonplace skull of the *memento mori*, but it experiments with the dissolving of the body and the staging of the abject through metatheatrical techniques in order to involve the spectator in a *total effect* that seems to result in the *immediacy of experience*. Using and expanding the emblematic-iconographic traditions, the emblematic theater becomes a laboratory of signification where the *abjection of the body* tries to go beyond the binarisms and indeterminacies of appearance and reality, and through this effect it strives to establish the full presence of the signified. A presence which is then problematized by metatheatricality. This is the body, together with the imagery of brutal violence, sexuality, mutilation and heterogeneous corporeality, that will be absent from the theater of the bourgeoisie, which will be based on the concept of the unified subject. Among other techniques, it is the presence of the *theatrical anatomy* that distinguishes the Renaissance emblematic theater from the photographic theater of stage realism, and this theatrical anatomy had a concrete practice to rely on.

Indeed, it was the social practice of the *anatomical theater* in which spectators could best experience the presence and the secrets of the body. By the Renaissance, the public anatomy lesson became an institutionalized social spectacle, the popularity of which almost equaled that of the public theaters in London for example. Just like the other traditions, the theater of anatomy also went through metamorphoses of a semiotic nature during the period between Mondino de Luzzi's lesson and Rembrandt's painting of Doctor Tulp in 1632.

The first documented and important dissection was performed by Mondino de Luzzi in Bologna in 1315. This was only attended by medical students, but by the 1530s hundreds of people fill the permanent theaters of anatomy in Padua and Bologna. The dissection is done by a surgeon, and the professor himself presides over the action as a mediator between God, his Text and the corpse. The objective here is to demonstrate the relationship between macrocosm and microcosm: we find the same order under the skin as in the entire universe.

The anatomical theater is an epistemological breakthrough, since the interiority of the body was a secret to the public eye in the Middle Ages, and it was only revealed in accidents, executions or on the battlefield. However, the real purpose was not simply to open up and dissect the body, but the lesson and the procedure that followed. The anatomy is the act of reassembling the body after the dissection, according to strictly coded and ritualized steps. Although the Pope gave his consent to Mondino's dissection already, the process was still considered to be a kind of a violation upon the creation of God, so the ritual was understood as a public atonement for the epistemological curiosity which helped people peep under the skin of things.

By the 16th century the dissection and the lesson are performed by the pro-

fessor himself, who appears to identify with the corpse. Vesalius in the 1530s inserts the cadaver into a new verticality by hanging it on ropes to have easier access to the bones. In a certain perspective the dissected corpse is still alive in the anatomy theater, and the anatomy lesson becomes a drama in which the reconstitution of the body reveals the order, the *telos* of the structure. In this drama the anatomist is already more of a performer than a central figure of authority.

The changes in the format of the anatomy theater reveal changes in the general attitude to the presence and the nature of the body in culture. The heterogeneity of the body will be an unwelcome presence in the culture of the Enlightenment world model, which will try to cover the corporeal with new discourses of the cogito. A different drama is taking place in the anatomy lesson of Nicholas Tulp, as we see in Rembrandt's famous painting. The expression on the faces reveals not so much an epistemological curiosity but rather horror and distance: Tulp opens that from which the Cartesian subject will keep separating itself.

## VII

I cannot investigate here to what extent the theater of anatomy had an influence on the representations of the body in the Renaissance theater. I believe, however, that the changes in the theater of anatomy and its representations are parallel with the changes of the function of the body in the theater. Simultaneously with the decline of the interest in the theater of anatomy, the emblematic theater will gradually turn into a photographic theater by the 18th century, which puts the skin back on the represented characters. The abjection of bodies, the crossing of boundaries will no longer function as a representational technique in the new theater, since it wants to articulate homogeneous, compact subject positions for the spectators. To return to our initial typology, the emblematic theater as genotheater still functioned as an anatomical theater which opened up the subject for its heterogeneity in the middle of the epistemological crisis of early modern culture. It is this anatomizing of the body which will be absent from the photographic theater.

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## FLESHLY VOYAGES: BEN JONSON, SPACE AND THE BODY

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Taking Ben Jonson's epigram "On the Famous Voyage" as a starting point, and proceeding thence to some of his comedies, this paper will argue the complex relations between body, text, space and representation in Jonson's writing. This is supported by the choice of a corpus composed both of traditionally less considered texts (some of the Epigrams) and of Jonson's most canonical plays. In recent criticism the "middle comedies" are often sidestepped on behalf of a reshaped canon and a less "monolithic" Jonson, but this paper aims to show that those works are, in fact, crucial for highlighting an "opening up" of his universe of representation. This process will be read, concomitantly, in spatial and in ethical terms, in the ways the body is made to relate to the world – as also in the consequences which a gradually conquered "openness" may have for Jonson's understanding of the generic requirements of comedy.

If I were asked to comment on my title, and to define its position with relation to the course of Jonson studies in recent decades, I would have to acknowledge that my concern with "body", "flesh" and mobility confirms the persistence of a major *topos* of Jonsonian criticism in the latter part of the 20th century. That *topos* can be defined by a sense of the necessity of rescuing Jonson from his self-fashioned image as monolithic classicist, literary pedant, and political reactionary—the values today associated with the image of authorship Jonson strove to create for himself, an image textually embodied in his 1616 Folio *Workes*. Although this concern with "rescuing Jonson from himself" has long been in evidence, it is significant that two recently published collections of essays, revealingly titled *Refashioning Ben Jonson* (edited by Julie Sanders, Kate Chedgzoy and Susan Wiseman 1998) and *Re-Presenting Ben Jonson* (edited by Martin Butler 1999), should be defined by a sense of urgency in the task(s) indicated by their titles, explicitly taken on for the sake of a cultural moment not much interested in a classically austere and politically conservative Jonson. Despite the different emphases of the two collections, and the different projects they serve, they represent a common endeavour to present "a new Jonson (...) who is alert to the socio-political contingencies of his age(s)", "a pluralist Jonson"

(Sanders 1998: 4-5), “a twenty-first-century Jonson” (Butler 1999: 1).<sup>1</sup> The counter-canonical drive of this endeavour is in both cases assisted by a near-exclusion of the “mainstream” plays, and by focusing instead on traditionally less privileged areas of the Jonson canon. It also concurs with a counter-authorial strategy, understood as the concern with denying that all-embracing coherence which was so much a part of Jonson’s self-fashioning, and with emphasising and valuing rather the elements of contradiction in Jonson’s *oeuvre*.

As already suggested, that on-going and long-protracted reconfiguration, of which these recent publications are one stage more, finds some of its most salient objects in Jonson’s representations of the body, of its space and its life, and in a corresponding definition of Jonson’s stance as satirist and as comic dramatist. This critical direction intersects at various points with that other *locus classicus*, as well as old scourge of Jonson criticism, which is the opposition with Shakespeare: it is, in this respect, significant that Anne Barton’s *Ben Jonson, Dramatist*, an epoch-making and still justly influential study, should have had the dilution of that old duality for one of its purposes and effects, by convincingly arguing that Jonson evolved, towards the end of his career, in the direction of a more “Shakespearean” praxis in comedy (Barton 1984: *passim*). Further, this global reevaluation of Jonson, and its emphasis on his writing of the body, has found (since the 1980s in particular) a fundamental theoretical prop in Mikhail Bakhtin’s famous disquisition of the grotesque in late medieval and early modern popular festive culture.

I acknowledge, from the outset, the importance of Bakhtin’s *Rabelais and his World* (1984) for some of what follows—although I am well aware of how often Bakhtin’s name has been taken in vain. I will thus be alert to the ways in which Bakhtin-influenced readings of the festive element in culture and literature have recently tended to qualify their own potential tendency to idyllicise social and economic relations; and I will take due note of the critique and/or the reflective assimilation of Bakhtin by authors like Anne Lake Prescott and Bruce Thomas Boehrer (Prescott 1998: *passim*; Boehrer 1998: *passim*). Of Bakhtin’s thesis I will retain, in particular, those basic concepts which, despite some critical overuse, still preserve (in my view) their operative and heuristic value—concepts such as the denial of spatial constraint, which he sees as proper to the carnivalesque sense of the world; the correspondence of this in representations of the over spilling body, the body which breaks its boundaries, the “open” body which thus differs from the closed, individualised, spatially definite body of “classical canons”, and of bourgeois individual existence; and the regenerative ambivalence of scatology, laughter and aggression in “grotesque realism”, as opposed to modern forms of the grotesque (Bakhtin 1970: 28-40 and *passim*). I should also add that Bakhtin’s underlining of a positive dimension to verbal and scatological

1. The greater ambition which resonates in Martin Butler’s words reflects the close links between his collection and the new Jonson edition—meant to replace the old Herford and Simpson standard edition—currently being prepared under the joint editorship of Martin Butler, David Bevington and Ian Donaldson.

aggression in grotesque realism, as a form of balancing death with life in the celebration of a collective body, will be understood, in this essay, to be akin to the world of comedy, in its gregarious and exculpating dimension—and distinct from (if not opposed to) satiric violence, in the conventional sense proposed or endorsed by Northrop Frye, Alvin Kernan, and Arthur Pollard (Frye 1973; Kernan 1965; Pollard 1970: *passim*). Despite Dustin Griffin's critique of the excessively schematic and clear-cut models for reading satire offered by such theoretical precedents (Griffin 1994: *passim*), the critical validity of the concept of satire—in particular with relation to comedy, understood both in generic and modal terms (see Farley-Hills 1981: 1-50)—still depends on a well-defined theoretical contour which finds its correspondence in the acknowledgment of a sense of superiority and detachment on the part of the satirist, and of the audience he summons to his side, vis-à-vis the butts of satiric attack.

In general terms, my argument will emphasise the way in which Jonsonian renderings of bodily space, and of the spaces against which it is represented, can provide an enlightening access to his political and ethical universe, taken as an evolving set of attitudes, rather than as a static and ever coherent construction of reality. I will thus have to be aware of the multifarious forms assumed by that “absolute centrality of the body to Renaissance culture” which Jonathan Sawday underlines in his study of anatomy and dissection as master tropes for an early modern epistemology and for its ensuing forms of representation (Sawday 1995: 229 and *passim*). A reference to dissection a propos of a writer like Jonson should, first of all, remind us of how often the scalpel served the allegorical representation of the activity of the satirist—irrespective of whether that activity be understood as a surgical healing, a terrible punishment, or a post-mortem exhibition of flaws (Pollard 1970: 1-2; Paulson 1967: 10-11). But Sawday's study proves relevant to this essay in broader and concurrent ways—not the least of which will be his emphasis on how the body is textualised in Renaissance culture. Ranging from the concept of the *liber corporum* (“the book of the body written by God”), to “the inter-relationship of text and [dissected] body on the page[s]” of books of anatomy, to the description, in the anatomy theatre, of a bodily space fashioned according to an “ordering of discourse” borrowed from logic and rhetoric, Sawday explores that “interplay of organic similarity” which allowed texts (also in their material realization as books) and bodies to mirror one another (Sawday 1995: 129-40). One might add that the cultural vitality of this interrelation can be confirmed in the frequent representations, in early modern writing, of books as tortured bodies (Loewenstein 1999: 93), and (specifically) in Jonson's association, in his “Execration upon Vulcan”, of the burning of his books and the burning of his body (Herford & Simpson 1947: 206).

The pertinence of Sawday's study to my theme (and my title) also derives from his remarks on that “spatial organisation of knowledge” for which he claims the body became a prime model within Renaissance culture—and to which the development of printing further contributed (Sawday 1995: 135-6). Equally cogent for my concern with body and space is his equation of the endeavours of the early modern science of the body (in the process of being accurately mapped),

and the expansion of European knowledge of (and power over) the world: “The body was territory, an (as yet) undiscovered country, a location which demanded from its explorers skills which seemed analogous to those displayed by the heroic voyagers across the terrestrial globe” (Sawday 1995: 23).

A major concern of this essay will be the importance of space for the production of meaning (the space of the body, and the space in which bodies move and interact), and the way in which Jonsonian space arguably “opens up”—both in the scope and dimension of his dramatic space, and in the ethical implications of that expanding space—in particular at one point in the course of his work. But it should be highlighted that Jonson usually shows little enthusiasm for the notion of travelling, or of the voyage as a rewarding endeavour, for mobility (in short) as a mark of a new paradigm of the human. His treatment of such dynamics reflects, in broader terms, a disaffection with the ethos of urban individual mobility proper to early commercial capitalism; more specifically, it is a characteristic instance (even if with an element of idiosyncrasy) of Jacobean satire of travellers. One has only to think of the Politic Would-Be subplot in *Volpone* (to which I shall be returning) for an equation of travelling with false pretensions; and of Jonson’s regular satiric targeting of harebrained “schemes” or greedy “projects”—also lashed at in such epigrams as “The New Cry”, “To Captain Hungry”, or “To Mime”; whilst the collaborative *Eastward Ho!* (written with Marston and Chapman) proposed an entrepreneurial expedition to Virginia as resulting in no more than a drunken, incompetent sally that could go no further than downriver to Cuckold’s Haven.

In this as in other respects, though, Jonson is ultimately found to be less stable and coherent than his self-fashioned authorial identity might suggest. As far as travelling goes, an otherwise derisive treatment is at least rendered equivocal by his contributions, together with other well-known writers, prefacing that peculiar example of travel literature which is Thomas Coryate’s *Crudities*. Those pieces, both in verse and prose, are varied in register, ranging from the satiric thrust—as in some passages less sympathetic to the travelling mania; to some genial buffoonery—as in the Rabelaisian alimentary imagery applied both to the description of moments in Coryate’s travels and to their textual record; to the announcement of some of the verse as “mollifying Cataplasmes to the Tumors, Carnosities, or difficult Pimples full of matter appearing in the Authors Front”—an ambivalent passage, suggestive of the medical troping of a satiric intervention (which had a famous precedent in Jonson’s dramatic appropriations of humoral doctrine), but in this case benevolently (rather than caustically) proposed as a “mollification” (Herford & Simpson 1947: 374-81).

As for Jonson’s views on the mercantile yield of most early modern voyaging, they should seem definitely expressed by the satire of acquisitiveness to be found in much of his work; yet, a text believed to be the most recent addition to the Jonson canon—*The Entertainment at Britain’s Burse*, a masque rediscovered by James Knowles in 1997, and published in 1999—can easily and surprisingly read like a paean to trade and merchants. Written for the opening, in 1609, of the opulent New Exchange (what Knowles jokingly called, in the article which announced the rediscovery, “Cecil’s Shopping Centre”—Knowles 1997), *The Entertainment*

proposes the opening ceremony itself as a voyage of discovery, by having the Key Keeper introduce himself as the “compasse” that will guide his royal audience “vppon some lande discouery of a new region heere” (Knowles 1999: 132). It contains the occasional jab at the preposterous schemes of projectors, or at “young return’d trauaylors”, who “studyed little and trauayled lesse for that” (Knowles 1999: 133); but it is only uncertainly that it provides the reader with semantic and rhetorical elements that may ironise the celebration of the commodities it itemises in long lists, glittering goods brought home by both straightforward business and far-fetched schemes for the satisfaction of wealthy consumers. Further, *The Entertainment* ends with a generous offer of bargains, and the shopkeeper’s wish that “god make me Rich, which is the sellers prayer ever was and wilbe” (Knowles 1999: 140). According to the text’s editor, the whole description of the New Exchange amounts to “an almost incredible traveller’s tale”, and embodies “Jonson’s vision of the wonder and mystery of the Burse” (Knowles 1997: 15).

As underlined above, instabilities such as caused by this surprising text have in recent years been foregrounded by a context of reception which, rather than regretting Jonson’s contradictions, welcomes them as a means of countering the totalising design of the author’s self-fashioning—a process which found its epitome in the 1616 Folio—and of proposing instead a less “monolithic” and more complex and tolerant Jonson (see Sanders 1998: 1-27 and *passim*). This argument has been accompanied by a reconfiguring of the Jonson canon which entails a shift of attention to the more peripheral texts (dramatic and non-dramatic), deliberately avoiding the so-called middle comedies (see Sanders 1998: *passim*, Butler 1999: *passim*). My argument henceforth will partly gesture in that direction, by departing from one of the Epigrams; but it will, on the other hand, bring the middle comedies (*Volpone*, *Epicoene*, *The Alchemist* and *Bartholomew Fair*) again to the fore, to argue that those plays are, in fact, crucial for the argument in the name of which they are often disregarded—to the extent that they illuminate what will here be called the “opening up” of Jonson’s space, in the direction (precisely) of a more tolerant *ethos*, and of a more accepting relation to the body.

That “opening up” will, however, be the point of arrival of this reading: a point of departure, or rather a useful foil, might be found in a text which has voyaging in its title—epigram “CXXXIII, On the Famous Voyage” (Herford & Simpson 1947: 84-9), all the more infamous since Edmund Wilson, in his 1948 essay “Morose Ben Jonson”, elected it as the “fullest and most literal expression” of “the whole malodorous side of Jonson” (Wilson 1948: 256). The mock-heroic design, by which the satirist offers his times and places as debased analogues to Classical figures and landscapes, is apparent from the opening, proemial lines: the new voyagers, whose exploits are announced as surpassing those “Of HERCVLES, or THESEVS going to *hell*, / ORPHEVS, VLISSES” (ll.2-3), etc., are obscure gentlemen of Jacobean London, and their “venture” aims at taking them to Holborn up the Fleet Ditch, a watercourse which had in Jonson’s time become no more than an open-air sewer (Boehrer 1998: 158-9). Up the Fleet Ditch, therefore, the challenges, ghostly encounters, and trials to be faced are totally scatological

in nature (a scatology which may find a structural equivalence in the closing position which “On the Famous Voyage” occupies in Jonson’s *Epigrams*: itself the end of a voyage, the moment of exit or expulsion). Parallel to the risible equation with ancient and mythological voyaging, this “braue aduerture” is compared with other modern epics of mobility—“[of] him that backward went to *Bernicke*, or which / Did dance the famous Morrise, vnto *Normich*” (ll.35-6), “A harder tasque, then either his to *Bristo*, / Or his to *Antwerpe*” (ll.39-40)—which, in their foolishness and lack of consequence, threaten to take on the significance of demeaning synecdoches for all travelling.

The debasement which this voyage involves also affects the space which witnesses and somehow produces it—the space of the early modern city. As Bruce Thomas Boehrer has recently argued, in his suggestively titled *The Fury of Men’s Gullets: Ben Jonson and the Digestive Canal*, there is a socio-historical specificity to this epigram which derives from the way in which demographic expansion, together with decisive changes in patterns of living, was causing England to evolve from “an economy of waste retention” to “an economy of waste expulsion” (Boehrer 1998: 151 and *passim*). There is, then, a historical prominence of sewage systems which entails, in Boehrer’s response to Edmund Wilson’s indictment of Jonson as a severe case of anal neurosis (Wilson 1948: *passim*)—a response which itself attests to the long shadow cast by Wilson’s essay—that “Jonson’s preoccupation with excretory processes should arguably be viewed as culturally paradigmatic rather than individually neurotic” (Boehrer 1998: 14). After all, the very last words in Jonson’s epigram are a tribute to “[him], that sung A-IAX” (l.196)—Sir John Harington, who had celebrated his own invention of the flush-toilet (whilst possibly also satirising wild “projects”) by writing *A New Discourse of a Stale Subject, called The Metamorphosis of Ajax* (i.e., “a jakes”) (Prescott 1998: 106, Boehrer 1998: 151-2).

If these voyagers’ traversing of the city at all times reflects the coexistence of multiple bodies which eat, digest and excrete in an ever more crowded space, it is also true that the expanding city is represented in terms which activate its culturally long-standing analogy with the human body—in this case, one flatulent, congested as much as voracious body, visited in the rank evidence of all its functions. Some moments in the representation of this body might make it tempting to read it as festive and Rabelaisian (in Bakhtin’s influential construction of the word): its ill-defined boundaries, the inversion of high and low (in the conflation or interchangeability of both extremes of the digestive tube), the circularity of food and excrement, the specular relationship of the devourer and the devoured, and that muddled physiology which makes it possible to present an excremental monster, whilst describing the voyagers’ progress “Through her wombe” (l.66) (see Bakhtin 1970: 30 and *passim*). But, despite the element of ambivalence suggested by such features, the regenerative dynamics which characterises the open, uncontained body of Bakhtin’s “grotesque realism” is absent: the reminders of death which punctuate the unsavoury voyage admit of no joyous redemption, and no images of desire and fruition come to balance the revulsion and the debasement. Decisive for this is the pervasiveness of disease:

the soundtrack of the voyage includes, prominently, the screams of “women and men,/ Laden with plague-sores” (ll.16-17), and the allegorical visitations feature “stench, diseases, and old filth, their mother,/ With famine, wants, and sorrowes many a dosen,/ The least of which was to the plague a cosen” (ll.70-2). As Neil Rhodes commented (though not in connection with Jonson) in his classical study of the *Elizabethan Grotesque*, “[the] plague-pit is the ghastly inversion of Rabelais’s festive grotesque, a hideous reflection upon the community of physical experience” (Rhodes 1980: 49). Another revealing clue to the distinction between the scene of “On the Famous Voyage” and a festive celebration of the body is one of the similes for excrement which Jonson proposes towards the end of the epigram, a commonplace analogy with money which is as characteristically anal-retentive as it might be: “heap’d like an vsurers masse” (l.139). The image reminds us that the allegorical body here visited is the space of an egocentric acquisitiveness which is the opposite of that celebratory scatology of grotesque realism, in which excrement, rather than amassed, is joyfully alienated in the form of festive aggression (Bakhtin 1970: 151). And yet another sign of the negative satiric treatment of this voyage is its ultimate static nature, the ineffectuality of the movement attempted: these voyagers brave no challenge, pass no trial, any purposes of mobility are never achieved (see Boehrer 1998: 163-4). The epigram’s closing image is that of a memorial adequate to the voyagers’ achievement and the universe represented: the “Pyramide” of excrement (explicitly compared to money) which keeps growing in the stifling sewer which emblematises circulation in the modern city.

In 1605 Jonson had built the plot of his most famous comedy around the supposed immobility, in a space whose effectiveness depended on its controlled closedness, of a body whose power to attract and accumulate riches was directly proportional to its capacity to inspire disgust to those who visited it, and to persuade them it was bound for an imminent death. The protagonist, owner of the body, the space, and the riches, memorably opens the comedy by hailing and celebrating his heap of amassed treasure—a heap of gold, the “real thing” rather than its steaming substitute, but ultimately as sterile and as compromised with the death-bound evidence of the body as the sewer’s contents, in all their organic rankness. And that is because Volpone’s wealth is generated by—or accrues with—his prospective heirs’ contemplation of a body which is a source of promise and (acquisitive) desire precisely to the extent that it is (or rather, seems to be) dying:

His speech is broken, and his eyes are set,  
 His face drawn longer, then ‘t was wont (...)  
 (...)  
 His mouth  
 Is euer gaping, and his eye-lids hang. (...)  
 A freezing numnesse stiffens all his ioynts,  
 And makes the colour of his flesh like lead. (...)  
 His pulse beats slow, and dull. (...)  
 And, from his brain (...)  
 (...)

Flows a cold sweat, with a continuall rhowme,  
 Forth the resolved corners of his eyes. (I-4: 38-9, 41-6, 48-9)<sup>2</sup>

It is around this body that the space of Volpone, the Venetian aristocrat, is organised, but the transgressions caused by the obsessive ambitions which clash within that space also come to be represented as sickly inflated bodies: “Mischiefes feed / Like beasts, till they be fat, and then they bleed” (V-12: 150-1). These are the very last words before the epilogue, and that position as final words suggests the plot itself should be read as an organism which bloats and comes to a point of explosion, expulsion or purge precisely with the harshly punitive ending which has always been one of the more notorious features of this play. That this growth and explosion is hardly a Bakhtinian carnival breaching of the body’s boundaries is ensured, however, by the imagery of sickness which at all times characterises it: the images are organic, but they are also pathological. That is true not only of the description of Volpone’s fraudulent carcass, and of the ethics of his intra-dramatic plot, but also of their outward projection in the shape of the freaks (Nano, Castrone and Androgyno) which people his space, and provide apt entertainment in a setting described by Alexander Lyle as “a superb anatomy of deformity” (Lyle 1974: 75). Even the alimentary function for (and within) the play’s body is not fulfilled by that carnivalesque overfeeding, which nourishes without limits and unbalances the body, but is determined rather by an extravagant culinary imagination which denounces the boundlessness of ambition and the imbalance of a debasing mind—as when, in his attempted seduction of Celia, Volpone voices his dream of turning the phoenix into a dish (III-7: 204-5).

As suggested already, the success of the plot devised and managed by Volpone and Mosca around the former’s body depends on its maintenance within the confined space of the palace: the course of the play makes clear that attempts to expand their histrionic mobility to the city outside threaten exposure and destruction. Mosca’s paean to his own mobility and ubiquity as a parasite is famous:

I could skip  
 Out of my skin, now, like a subtill snake,  
 I am so limber.  
 (...)
 (...) your fine, elegant rascall, that can rise,  
 And stoope (almost together) like an arrow;  
 (...)
 (...) and be here,  
 And there, and here, and yonder, all at once; (III-1: 5-7, 23-4, 26-7)

But his attempt to move above his station, by becoming autonomous from his master, will doom him, when caught, “[to] liue perpetuall prisoner in our gallies” (V-12: 114)—a sad way of moving about in the world, an ironically literal

2. The source for all quotations from the comedies is the Herford and Simpson edition—vol. V for *Volpone*, *Epicoene* and *The Alchemist*, vol.VI for *Bartholmew Fayre*—as given in my list of references. All passages will be referenced by act, scene and line.

fulfilment of the ambition to “be here, / And there, and here, and yonder”. As for Volpone, his sally in the guise of a mountebank, under Corvino’s windows, earns him a sound beating; and the satisfaction of his irrepressible urge to go out and witness the discomfiture of his would-be heirs ultimately damns and immobilises him, by sentencing the Venetian Magnifico’s previously supple histrionic body to the diseases he had faked:

And since the most was gotten by imposture,  
By faining lame, gout, palsey and such diseases,  
Thou art to lie in prison, cramp’t with irons,  
Till thou bee’st sicke, and lame indeed. (V-12: 121-4)

Even at the risk of allowing the satiric mode to impair one of comedy’s structurally most recognisable elements (the happy ending), the confining spaces which Alvin Kernan proposed as proper to satire, at its most characteristic (spaces like “labyrinths” and “dungeons”—Kernan 1965: 22), are the doom promised the two major characters at the very end.

But there are characters in *Volpone’s* Venice who are free to move in the world, and have come far from their native space—precisely the English characters, Sir Politic and Lady Would-be, plus Peregrine, “a Gentleman traveller”. All serve Jonson’s satire of travellers: the former as victims—the latter as an on-stage commentator, as a foil to their ludicrousness, and eventually as a satirical scourge. Sir Politic presumes to introduce himself to Peregrine as a wise citizen of the world:

Sir, to a wise man, all the world’s his soile.  
It is not *Italie*, nor *France*, nor *Europe*,  
That must bound me, if my fates call me forth. (II-1:1-3)

But the reasons for his travel to Venice promptly deny these pretensions, when it becomes clear that he was taken to Venice by “a peculiar humour” of his wife’s, rather than by a concern with freedom or knowledge. A later passage suggests that he travelled to allow her wife to trade (on) her body:

“[She] lies here, in *Venice*, for intelligence  
Of tyres, and fashions, and behaiour,  
Among the curtizans? (II-1: 27-9)

It is, in a way, as if this foolish traveller had also landed in Cuckold’s Haven, like the would-be voyagers to Virginia in *Eastward Ho!*. Besides, Jonson’s satirical treatment of Sir Politic also equates his foolishness with that of “projectors”, since he reveals to Peregrine “certaine proiects, that I haue”, “my thousand ay-mes” (IV-1: 46, 67)—silly schemes which he is eager to dis-close and impart to any-body, breaking his supposed reserve, discretion, and individualist concern immediately after having claimed such an ethos. Characteristically, some of his “proiects” concern voyaging, and large-scale trade between major seaports:

(...) to serue the state  
Of *Venice*, with red herrings, for three yeeres,  
And at a certaine rate, from

*Rotterdam* (IV-1: 50-2)

—or a hare-brained scheme to release quarantined ships from their sequestration by using onions as an index of disease. The only scheme that he will come to see fulfilled will be the one organised by Peregrine to publicly shame him, as a consequence of his boastfulness and his indiscretions, in a way that anticipates Sir Pol's return to England: disgracefully trying to (half-)conceal himself under a tortoise shell (a sight which is itself a parody of the self-contained and reserved body), cowardly trying to escape an invented persecution, the foolish traveller will vow to retract his body to his native space, after confessing to the hollowness of his experience of the world—another instance, in short, of inconsequential voyaging:

to shunne, this place, and clime for euer;  
 Creeping, with house, on backe: and thinke it well,  
 To shrinke my poore head, in my politique shell. (V-4:87-9)

And, in terms of the spaces which frame Jonson's plots, the course of Jonsonian comedy seems to accompany this character on his return voyage—not yet to "*Smithfield, in the faire*" (V-4: 78) (the space to which, freakish under his tortoise shell, Sir Pol is proclaimed to belong to), since *Bartholomew Fair* is still two comedies away; but rather to the domestic London ordinariness of the rather obscure gentry of *Epicoene*, a geographic, social and cultural space whose contrast to the Venetian sophistication of *Volpone* ("a contrast between Italian vice and English folly", as J.A. Barish famously stereotyped it—1953: 104) was already represented in the former comedy precisely in the person of the Would-bes. The difference in setting is paralleled in the textual space, since the tendentially hyperbolic verse of *Volpone* is replaced by prose. But the persistence of the dramatic relevance of an enclosed space, of an isolated (or insulated) body, and of a representation of disease, both unite and distinguish the two plays.

Both *Volpone* and *Morose* depend on their immobilisation in their respective dwellings. But if *Volpone's* enclosure and immobility are a prerequisite and serve the ulterior motive of his entrapment of others, whom he entices to enter his space; if that domiciliation of his body corresponds to the power to make the outside world organise itself around his room, and is served and balanced by a histrionic agility which seems to elide the physical limits of that space and enable a total domain of what surrounds him, in the case of *Morose* there is no subterfuge, no covert wish to attract other bodies to his (but rather a genuine abhorrence of other presences): there is only an exacerbation of the insulated self in the face of a world felt as a menace, and a misanthropy for which his detestation of sound is an apt synecdoche.

*Morose's* retreat from an outside whose sounds he abhors finds an increased justification in the bells tolling for the dead, the auditory manifestation of the plague which constitutes a defining environment for much of what happens in *Epicoene*:

now, by reason of the sicknesse, the perpetuity of ringing has made him devise a roome, with double walls, and treble seelings; the windores close shut, and calk'd: and there he liues by candle-light (I-1: 183-6)

The disease lays siege to this body and its “shell”, its apparently insulated house, but it is also to be found within. “Is the disease so ridiculous in him, as it is made?” (I-1: 148-9)—asks the authorised voice of Truewit: the siege could not be more complete.

Morose’s response to the space beyond his body makes him probably Jonson’s most complete dramatisation of the implications of individual isolation, a dream of self-containment and self-sufficiency turned sour. Jonson’s dictum in *Discoveries*, “Speech is the only benefit man hath to express his excellencie of mind above other creatures. It is the Instrument of *Society*” (Herford & Simpson 1947: 620-1), seems to find an answer in Morose’s admission that “all discourses, but mine owne, afflict mee, they seeme harsh, impertinent, and irksome” (II-1: 4-5)—and he demands from those who surround him: “answere me not, by speech, but by silence” (II-1: 9). His argument against prolixity, and in favour of sobriety in action and in discourse, might, outside the dramatic context, grant this character the authority of the reserved man—as when he recollects his father’s advice:

My father, in my education, was wont to aduise mee, that I should alwayes collect, and contayne my mind, not suffring it to flow loosely; (...) that I should endear my selfe to rest, and auoid turmoile: which now is growne another nature to me. (V-3: 48-50, 53-4)

But this paean to self-containment of body and mind is dis-authorised by Morose’s radical refusal of anything in language which may be merely phatic, as the verbal props of social space – “EPI. How doe you, sir?/ MOR. Did you euer heare a more vnecessary question? as if she did not see!” (IV-4: 30-2)—and by his choice of a place to live in town which denies the purpose and the validity of urban space, by preventing, as far as possible, encounter, coexistence, and circulation; in short, a street which will not function as a street: “hee hath chosen a street to lie in, so narrow at both ends, that it will receiue no coaches, nor carts, nor any of these common noises” (I-1: 167-9). This denial of social coexistence also forecloses all forms of festivity: if Morose anathematises those who would seem to stand for a festive dynamics as “sonnes of noise and tumult, begot on an ill *May*-day” (IV-2: 125-6), it is no less true that the roguish gentlemen who mobilise a noisy crowd into his house—for whom “such a festiuall time” (II-4: 199-20) is just a means unto their greedy ends—turn the house into an embodiment of Babel (“Towers of Babel” belonged to the spaces proper to satire, according to Alvin Kernan—Kernan 1965:22), rather than into an image of the great social body engaged in communal celebration. Further, the achievement of their selfish ends almost includes the mutilation of Jack Daw, one of the foolish knights (IV-5: 124-39)—a decidedly non-festive attempt against the integrity of a body.

Finally, the impotence Morose will eventually claim, even if no more than a stratagem to try and get rid of an unwanted marriage, will be symbolically true of a body which refuses all intercourse, all encounters, which cannot find a consequence or extension in another body. The sight of Morose, sitting on the

rafters under the roof with head stopped to all sensation, is the ultimate emblem of the absurdly closed body:

Hee has got on his whole nest of night-caps, and lock'd himselfe vp, i' the top o' the house, as high, as euer he can climbe from the noise. I peep'd in at a crany, and saw him sitting ouer a crosse-beame o' the roofo (IV-1: 21-5)

The connection between tumult and anti-social, self-centred behaviour is also apparent with the opening of *The Alchemist*, and again the grotesque imagery employed in the initial exchanges might suggest a festive dynamics to be rapidly proven false—since the threatened excremental aggression which famously opens the play concerns (as it becomes clear with the unfurling of the plot) incompatible individual desire, and the pitting of bodies against one another, on the verge of assault, disfigurement and murder, rather than involved in the ambivalent sharing of Rabelaisian festivity. As with the previous comedies, disease defines and delimitates the dramatic space—since the indoors mobility of the great con-artists Face and Subtle is enabled by the plague which rages in the city (as in *Epicoene*), and has led the master of the house to flee the contaminated urban space; and their success depends on a careful determination and control of others’ access to the space of their deceit (as in *Volpone*). Yet the differences are also significant: the setting is domestic (in all senses of the word), rather than exotic—and that would suggest a proximity to *Epicoene*. But, if the managers of the space of deceit are no longer a *Magnifico* and his parasite, they are also from a different social space than the cynical gallants who badger Morose in *Epicoene*. The London sub-world represented in the person of Subtle, the accomplice brought into his master’s house by the roguish servant Face, entails that in *The Alchemist* we are faced with a lower and much broader social space, signified in the inclusive clientele which visits the house of deceit. When we reach *The Alchemist*, it is as if the satiric plot of deceit and greed which Jonson had dramatised in *Volpone* were being dramatised anew, centred around the social space and dynamics of those who in the earlier comedy had followed the protagonist to the piazza, in the guise of a mountebank, rather than around the restricted circle of his wealthier victims.

This downward social progression, which is thus accompanied by spatial expansion, can arguably correspond to a toning down of the satiric drive, in its modal intersection of the generic space of comedy. A paratextual support of this reading can arguably be found in the prologues to these comedies—which may even well be one step ahead of the comedies they introduce, in the accomplishment of the purpose of satiric mollification; and all of which are far from the famous representation of satiric violence as bodily mortification in the voice of such an authorised figure as Asper (in *Every Man Out of His Humour*), when he claims to “strip the ragged follies of the time”, “and with a whip of steele,/ Print wounding lashes on their yron ribs” (Herford & Simpson 1927: 428-9). The prologue to *Volpone*, despite the assumption of satiric superiority which one may detect beneath its contempt for popular forms of entertainment, is already moved by an authorial concern with denying that “all he [the author] writes, is

rayling" (10); the move away from the satirist's cavalier and punitive stance, a stance which might be understood to parallel the anti-popular aesthetics of the stern man of letters, is even more evident with the prologue to *Epicœne*, which contains an explicit apology for the need "to content the people" and "to please (...) the guests" (2, 9) and an acknowledgement of "populare" taste; whilst the prologue to *The Alchemist*, though reintroducing the emphasis on correction, panders to native and popular support by defining their space as the best for entertainment ("No countries mirth is better than our owne"), and by suggesting the palliative nature of "sweet (...) remedies" and "fair correctives"—so soft, in fact, that the sick may not even come to recognise the disease as their own: "They are so naturall follies, but so showne,/ As euen the doers may see, and yet not owne" (23-4). It is already a far echo from the embattled satirist's wish to "strip" the "ragged follies" and "whip" the truant body. The ending of *The Alchemist* is characteristically amoral and non-punitive—when the returned master of the house learns of his servant's schemes, and accepts the ill-gotten gain. But, again, in the individualistic ethos which rules it, *The Alchemist* is not that gregarious moment which might foreground the social body and propose a festive enjoyment of the material body (ies).

It is true that *The Alchemist* offers us representations of a pampered and spacious body in the character of Epicure Mammon, a physically inflated character with inflated dreams of unlimited gratifications—one instance more, in his ready belief in the "alchemist's" Midas touch, of Jonson's satire of "projectors". But Mammon's envisaged pleasures, to some extent a translation onto the domestic London space of Volpone's exotic corruption, are dreams of petty acquisitiveness and of its corresponding retentiveness, of the purchase of minor prostitutions—and of individual power, of the self-engrossment of an ego.

To find, in Jonson, representations of a body and a space arguably evocative of the forms of "grotesque realism", rather than an extension of these instances of the "modern grotesque", we need to look into *Bartholomew Fair*—the space of the fair itself, and those who belong to it, rather than the city visitors. Indeed, with the latter, we witness a dis-location to the fair of the gestures and forms of desire proper to the socio-dramatic space defined by the two previous comedies: the socially and economically predatory gallants (similar to the victors in *Epicœne*), Quarlous and Winwife, who will progress from the city to the fair in search of a profitable marriage (much more than an emotionally and a sexually rewarding union); Littlewit, the minor legal agent and would-be author, seeking in the fair's puppet theatre a dramatic glory proportional to his talents—resulting in what is probably Jonson's best attempt at the mock-heroic, a *translatio* of high-culture texts into the space of the Fair; Busy, Jonson's most memorable Puritan (following Tribulation and Ananias, in *The Alchemist*), who tries to conceal a gluttonous body behind a spiritual mission, and will be discomfited at the fair. The fair will have on the city characters the effect of a space of revelation, to be dramatically effected through a foregrounding of the body in its lower functions, manifested through its openness, through the breaking of its boundaries: sudden calls of nature, a sudden vomit, etc.—varying forms of the confrontation with

the question repeatedly posed by the ubiquitous Trouble-all, the madman of the fair, inquisitive of the grounds for authority: “where’s your warrant?”.

The movement from the closedness of their urban domestic space to the open space of interchange, conviviality and nourishment that the fair stands for corresponds to a dramatic regression of a socio-historical tendency, begun at an earlier stage but on the increase through Jonson’s lifetime, for the characteristic convivial space—and in particular the dining space—of the privileged social groups to become closed and private, a space of segregation rather than concourse (Boehrer 1998: 77, 92). The gregariousness to be found at the fair, however, is hardly a utopia of sociability: quarrelling in fact defines the game of “vapours”, with which the rogues and pimps attract outsiders to better con them out of their belongings. But the point to be made, precisely, is the corporative dimension of the game, the way its promoters act as one body before the prospective victims, only play-acting the quarrel, rather than genuinely embarking on it. They are thus in direct contrast to the visitors, easily carried away by the dynamics of inter-individual conflict which defines their space of origin—as they are also in direct contrast to the rogues of *Volpone* and *The Alchemist*, or the roguish gallants of *Epicœne*, always ready to betray an alliance (and damn themselves) before the flimsiest prospect of individual gain.

That corporative sense, also evident at times in the salesmen’s mutual help and mutual praise, can take on the implications of yet another historically regressive movement: the wares hawked by the salesmen (“a fine hobby horse”, “some Ginger-bread”, “fine new ballads”—II-4: 3, 9-10) are reminiscent of rural patterns of living and celebration whose erosion by the gradual foregrounding of the urban and individually-based social ethics of early commercial capitalism often becomes (as is well known) the object of conventional laments in English Renaissance texts. The fact that Busy, who is publicly defeated in a *disputatio* with a puppet at the fair’s puppet theatre, comes to that place ostensibly “to prophesie the destruction of *Fayres* and *May-games*, *Wakes* and *Whitson-ales*” (IV-6: 90-1) is a clear reminder that the fair belongs to the festive sphere of traditional rural culture; furthermore, the fact that Busy had ceased to work as a baker (i.e., someone who worked for the nutrition of others) to care only for his own ends (his gluttony in particular), indicates that with his discomfiture a culture and a space under attack is having its revenge.

Social history lets us know that Smithfield, the setting of the fair, was being encroached upon by the city space in the early seventeenth-century (Sanders 1998: 13): the site of this revenge is thus a space under pressure, a boundary between two cultural spaces, one of which is regressing—but not without a fight. When Michael Bristol, writing of the relations between the dramatic literature of the English Renaissance and the festive forms it often evokes, identifies the dual working of: “a negative critique that demystifies (...) the tendency of elites to undertake disruptive radicalisations of traditional patterns of social order” and of “a positive critique, a celebration and reaffirmation of collective traditions lived out by ordinary people in their ordinary existence” (Bristol 1985: 4), he might be commenting on the *agon* of rural and urban in *Bartholomew Fair*.

That *agon* takes place, to an important extent, on the space of the body, and of its troping in terms of the fight between Carnival meat and Lenten fish—the cultural and economic correlatives of a rural economy, and of trades not bound to the land; or rather, in the voice of Ursula, mistress of the pig booth, between herself, “a plaine plumpe soft wench o’ the Suburbs”, and the city woman, “like a long lac’d Conger, set vpright” (II-5: 83, 87)—an opposition in which disease is also invested when Ursula pits her healthy (“wholesome”) body against the “pox’d” or “plagued” body of the city prostitute. Roasting pigs at the centre of the fair, ruling over it as “*Vrsa maior*” (II-5: 190), and indistinctly hailed or derided as the “fleshly woman” (III-6: 33), the “shee-Beare” (II-3: 1), the “mother o’ the Pigs” (II-5: 75), the “fatnesse of the *Fayre*” (II-2: 118), the “Body o’ the *Fayre!*” (II-5: 73), Ursula epitomises her environing space—and its allegorical coextension with the world (as Patricia Parker points out in her study of *Literary Fat Ladies*—1987: 24-6). She is a clear-cut example of the apotheosis of the body in grotesque realism: the ambivalent duality of the grotesque body, as a space where life and death coexist in that circularity which secures the regular triumph of the former, is instanced in her double function as provider of food as well as of the only equivalent to a toilet in the fair—thus foregrounding that other characteristically grotesque trait which is the fusion and interchangeability of bodily functions. She is further represented as the open, uncontained, overspilling body, whose flesh and fat are usable and productive: “She’ll make excellent geere for the Coach-makers, here in Smithfield, to anoynt wheeles and axell trees with (II-5: 81-2). And if this was the satiric voice of the non-understanding gallants, then Ursula herself offers a representation of her fertilising liquefaction on the soil of the fair, the sudatory consequence of feeding other bodies:

I am all fire, and fat, *Nightingale*, I shall e’en melt away to the first woman, a ribbe againe, I am afraid. I doe water the ground in knots, as I goe, like a great Garden-pot, you may follow me by the S.S. I make (II-2:50-3).

This self-description as a macro-instance of womanhood might illustrate Jonathan Sawday’s remark on how “a body which *escapes* its boundary (...) tends to be constructed as female” (Sawday 1995: 9). And the unbounded nature of this body will gain another inflection when its alimentary role in the space of the fair reverts upon itself, when its own flesh, having suffered an injury, is associated with substances that may dress wounds—but also provide dressings for a dish: “oh! I ha’ scalded my leg, my leg, my leg, I ha’ lost a limb in the service! run for some creame and sallad oyle, quickly” (II-5: 161-4).

It will be from her booth that the decisive moment will be produced for bringing *Bartholomew Fair* to a gregarious and absolving ending, in which all bids for individual assertion will be dis-authorised and diluted in food and drink. When the judge’s wife emerges, drunk and vomiting, from the booth whose owner was previously associated with the exemplary first woman, the aptly styled judge Adam Overdo is confronted with an evidence of the bodily “low” that annuls his “high” pretensions, and is thus brought to an Adamic acceptance of his and every-body’s human ordinariness—an acceptance signalled by a general

invitation for food, drink, and entertainment. It is hardly new, in Jonsonian criticism, to read this moment as ironically reflecting upon Jonson himself, the denial of authority to every presumptuous character necessarily including that image of the author in whose promotion Jonson otherwise played a historically pioneering role. The analogy between text and body which Jonson himself stimulated makes it less simplistically biographical to point out, in connection with this deflation of authority, that, by the time of *Bartholomew Fair*, the expansion of Jonson's own body to a near-legendary fatness would already be a conspicuous aspect of his public persona, and one that he himself seems to have associated with the growing spaciousness of his reputation (Boehrer 1998: 83-5). An ironical connection between the ambitions of a physically and literarily growing authorial body and the gluttony for promotion which the fair denounces, offering instead a confrontation with the body as the great leveller, is thus not completely speculative—in particular when the misjudgements of judge Overdo, highest example of the dis-authorized, are named his “discoveries”, precisely one of the titles given by Jonson to his own book of maxims and basic principles.

The point to be made, though, is that the outcome of *Bartholomew Fair* can be seen as a moment of arrival of a writing of the body, and of a management of space, which evolves all through the “middle comedies”—a “voyage” which allows us to counter the conventional view of Jonson as the static and pedantic proponent of a “classical” closure, and endorse rather Bruce Thomas Boehrer's view of him as the practitioner of a “poetics of mobility”, concerned with “notions of movement, kinesis, energy, exploration” (Boehrer 1998: 202); a “voyage” which ultimately calls on the flesh to disprove a monolithic construction of authorship. Rather than relegating them to the condition of hypercanonically suspect texts, this should make the “middle comedies”, then, a dynamic and useful weapon for reconfiguring Ben Jonson as the complex, but also more tolerant and open dramatist that, indeed, the beginning of the new century deserves.

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## “A MEDICINE OF CHERIES”: THE LANGUAGE OF PROFIT IN SIDNEY’S *DEFENCE OF POESIE*

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The rise of Puritan ideas in the second half of the sixteenth century gave way to a number of attacks against poetry apparently based on moral grounds. One of the most famous examples in Gosson’s “The School of Abuse”, which was dedicated to Philip Sidney. Some time later Sidney wrote his *Defense of Poesie*, which has been understood since as a reply to Gosson’s arguments against poetry. Apart from the moral debate, we can read in Gosson’s work an indirect attack against idleness, a mark of identity of the aristocracy. To countervail this idea Sidney uses a language tinged with a vocabulary that makes of poetry a Puritan value based on the ideas of profit, usefulness and action. Both Sidney and Gosson hide behind a moral screen to enter a debate that deals with the social conflict between the aristocracy and the rising middle class that was taking place at the moment.

Philip Sidney designs his *Defence of Poesie* almost like a military campaign. Following the established stages of oratory, he develops a strategy where the tactics consist in blocking all the fronts and filling the possible gaps to avoid any weak points from where to be attacked. The fact that Sidney develops arguments based on different, sometimes contradictory, justifications has given way to divergent interpretations as to whether Sidney’s *Defence* is ascribable to traditional neoplatonist ideas, or to more advanced views about the relation of fiction to reality (Levao 1979: 230). Similarly, it is uncertain whether Sidney aligns himself with the more moralistic positions, or this is just a screen to defend the right to seek pleasure and enjoyment from literature. “Which is Sidney’s real position?” we can ask ourselves; and a possible answer to this question is “All and none at the same time”.

As a matter of fact, in the introductory paragraph of the *Defence*, after recounting in a comical-ironical tone how Esquire Pugliano had spoken to persuade his audience that horses and horsemen were the most noble creatures and subjects in a State, Sidney concludes that he learnt a lesson from this speech “that selflove is better than any goulding, to make that seem gorgious wherin our selves be

parties” (3).<sup>1</sup> And he goes on to tell us that he is going to follow the example of Pugliano (whom he calls “his maister”), only this time defending that in which he himself is party. This way of introducing his *Defence* should make us at least suspicious that what follows could be no more than an exercise of the same order as Pugliano’s and that his point is to make poetry “seem gorgeous” and not necessarily to demonstrate it is. This way Sidney gives us a clue that we should better bear in mind in order to take Sidney’s argumentation from a more distant point of view.

A way of creating this “seeming of gorgeousness” is by using the enemy’s weapons as a tactic of the “defence”. Sidney’s *Defence of Poesie* is full of references to the “profit” and “fruitfulness” of poetry that can be read as a direct response to one of the main accusations in Stephen Gosson’s *Schoole of Abuse* against poetry. Gosson is only one among the voices that during the sixteenth century arose to reprove “Poets, Pipers, Players, Jesters, and Such Like Caterpillers of a Commonwealth”. Other named authors such as William Tyndale or John Northbrooke had already accused poetry of corrupting society, and this had been followed by severe indictments directed by ministers from their pulpits, specially after the Theatre had started its business outside the city walls. But Stephen Gosson’s pamphlet had an unprecedented echo, and moreover, it was dedicated on its title page to Philip Sidney. His attack on poetry was primarily based on moral concerns; the longest part of the essay was dedicated to describe the immorality that could be seen in the theatres of his time, both on the stage and among the audience, but on its final part he directs an accusation towards poets whom he considers mere “contemplators” “studying all things and professing nothing” and pictures them as “idle” members of the commonwealth (Gosson: 266). This last argument is what Sidney tries to challenge.

In his article “Moving and teaching: Sidney’s *Defence of Poesie* as a Protestant Poetic”, Andrew D. Weiner wonders why there was a need to defend poetry in Sidney’s time since Plato’s attack had been there for a long time without arousing any reply, and Gosson’s is largely directed at the popular drama. Certainly, at first sight, Sidney’s work does not seem the answer that Gosson’s attack would require. However, if we look deep into *The School of Abuse*, we find that there are certain passages which have their just reply in the *Defence*, though they do not constitute in themselves an open charge against anything directly related to poetry. The most significant of these passages appears nearly at the end of the work: Gosson is writing about the futility of a complaint when a solution is not sought; this is his excuse for a long paragraph where there are stated ideas such as:

...so should the whole body of the commonwealth consist of fellow labourers (...). From the head to the foot, from top to the toe, there should nothing be vain, no body idle (...). The mean must labour to defend the mighty, the mighty must study to defend the mean (...). No man is born to seek private profit—part for his country, part for his friends, part for himself. (266)

Gosson puts an emphasis on the benefit of work, but in an oblique way he

1. Our emphasis. The same applies to all the items underlined in the quotations.

is directing an accusation towards the social class that made of idleness one of its marks of identity in the sixteenth century, the aristocracy.

Sidney and Gosson are representative of two different social classes and their dispute can be seen, not only as a moral debate about the virtues or vices of poetry, but as a discussion of the values that both social classes esteem or despise. The severe social changes that had taken place by the end of the sixteenth century led the aristocracy to an abandonment of their military activities and an extension of their time of leisure. The aristocracy was increasingly becoming “idle” and seeking “pleasurable” activities while the rising middle class was acquiring power. Both social classes are seeking their new place and status in society, and while the aristocracy defend themselves from the intrusion of this rising class by inventing new privileges and exclusions, the middle class judges with resentment the social parasitism of the former. Robert I. Matz refers to Lawrence Stone’s *The Crisis of the Aristocracy* to support this idea:

...the decline in the warrior role of the aristocrat and the increase in social mobility during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries led to a significant growth in conspicuous consumption and leisure among the aristocracy. (1994: 20-1)

Sidney was an aristocrat by birth, and Gosson a regular member of the middle class, but we cannot regard them as complete opponents because they also shared fundamental principles. Both were dedicated to the literary activity and both were convinced protestants, each from his particular position. The defence of the pleasure of literature that is made by Sidney is sustained, therefore, in one of the most established principles of the mercantile moral of the middle class: “profit”.

Obviously, Horace’s *Ars Poetica* lies behind Sidney’s words. In this case, the question is what kind of benefit is intended by Horace’s “prodesse”? There is a possibility that at least in its first occurrence in the *Ars* (333), the Roman poet was taking into account the greed for business characteristic of his fellow citizens. The rendering of “prodesse” as “profit” in Drant’s 1567 translation suggests that something very similar was taking place in the Renaissance (Matz 1994: 2-3). The first use of “profit” in the sense of pecuniary gain is registered by the OED in 1604, a date not very far from the supposed year of composition of the *Defence*.

The language of the *Defence* is tinged with a vocabulary and a repertoire of expressions that reproduce the interest of the middle class for profitable activities while it is defending the right to seek pleasure of the aristocracy. It is significant how the language of profit and activity pervades Sidney’s work. The key passages are to be found in the part where Sidney considers all the objections made against poetry and tries to give an answer to all of them. The crucial charge as declared by Sidney is the uselessness of poetry; considering that there exist many other more fruitful knowledges, a man might better spend his time in them than in poetry. Curiously enough, the objection as it appears in the text is ambiguous regarding the stand taken by the author: either that of the writer or that of the reader. The answer dissolves the ambiguity by referring to both: by means of a syllogism supported by the argumentation presented in the previous pages, he concludes that “inck and paper cannot be to a more

profitable purpose employed”; and a little further down he denies “that there is sprung out of earth a more fruitfull knowledge” (28). Therefore, both the poet and the reader of poetry are fully justified in their activities from the point of view of their usefulness. There is no waste but profit in the act of writing or reading poetry. It is not a leisurely activity. However, it could be argued that the use of adjectives such as “profitable” and “fruitfull” is perfectly consistent with the context in which they are inscribed.

Nevertheless, in some other places, there appear expressions similar to these that do not seem to be required in their contexts. This is what happens when Sidney is defending poetry from the charge of its being an art of lies and he affirms: “So in Poesie, looking but for fiction, they shal use the narration but as an imaginative groundplat of a profitable invention” (29). The adjective “profitable” does not seem strictly necessary here, and besides its occurrence brings back again the idea of the usefulness of poetry reminding us of Gosson’s accusations. Similarly, the vocabulary is quite peculiar in a conclusive passage which runs as follows: “And so a conclusion not unfitly ensue, that as vertue is the most excellent resting place for al worldly learning to make his end of, so Poetry, being the most familiar to teach it, and most Princely to move towards it, in the most excellent worke, is the most excellent workman” (21-22). Where the word “workman” would only have an explanation if understood within the context of Gosson’s words. We can observe that Sidney is not only putting forward arguments to contradict Gosson, but he is dressing up his whole discourse with references to the efficacy and profit that surround the whole business.

As a matter of fact, all through the essay, the author uses a number of expressions that try to reconcile two apparently contradictory tendencies: “idleness” and “usefulness”. This is best illustrated with the most famous quotation of the essay: “that delightfull teaching.”, but is also present in expressions such as “fruitfull knowledge”, “profitable invention”, “verteous action” which put together two different aspects of human behaviour, the one directed to action and the other to contemplation, and although they are not mutually excluding or complete opposites like in an oxymoron, their mixture enhances their contrast. The same happens with the metaphor which Sidney uses to describe the double effect that should be produced by poetry: “a medicine of Cheries” (21), which contains in it the benefit or usefulness that is sought by the mercantile mentality and the delight and relish that the activities of the new aristocracy involve.

Analyzing more carefully these instances we can see that in those parts where the ethical criterion is more openly put forward, Sidney is very careful to lay the stress on action and not on virtue or knowledge alone. He recovers the Aristotelian distinction between *gnosis* and *praxis* in order to emphasize the importance of the latter:

...all these are but serving sciences; which as they have a private end in themselves, so yet are they all directed to the highest end of the mistress knowledge by the Greeks architectoniké, which stands as I think, in the knowledge of a mans selfe, in the Ethike and Politique consideration, with the end of well doing, and not of well knowing onely. (11)

And a few lines further down, he writes:

So that the ending end of all earthly learning, being verteous action, those skills that most serve to bring forth that, have a most just title to be Princes over al the rest: wherein if we can shew, the Poet is worthy to have it before any other competitors. (12)

This argument is picked up again in the reply to the objections when a new one of these is stated: "They aledge herewith, that before Poets began to be in price, our Nation had set their hearts delight upon action, and not imagination, rather doing things worthie to be written, than writing things fit to be done" (31). Sidney's answer sides partially with the objection when he writes: "...it is manifest that all government of action is to be gotten by knowledge, and knowledge best, by gathering manie knowledges, which is reading" (31). He agrees that action is what matters when knowledge is at stake. His argument, however, is rather weak in this case: it does not follow so clearly that "action is to be gotten by knowledge" at least, according to Aristotle's epistemology, whom, as we have seen, he is following for the ethical considerations. Aristotle states that we learn to do what must be done after having learnt by doing (*Ethics*, II 1, 1103a30-1103b6). Consequently, knowledge derives from action and not action from knowledge. In any case, this is his strategy: to reverse the argument.

Now the question is, to what type of action is Sidney referring to? Surely when Gosson talks about "labour" and "works" he implies activities that have to do with palpable benefits. Robert I. Matz argues that it is military action that he is talking about. That is, the kind of action that had been common among the aristocracy: the warrior service, and which was not so any longer. This would be the proper place for the leisure class according to Gosson in Matz's interpretation of his work (1994: 20-29). However, in all likelihood, *The School of Abuse* was not the only attack against poetry that Sidney bore in mind when he wrote his *Defence*. Russell Fraser has laid the stress on the shift to mercantile enterprise and mercantile values in the Renaissance: "The polemical literature of the period demonstrates conclusively the existence of an economic motive in the attack on poetry and plays" (1970: 53). The warrior service would not be, therefore, the kind of activity expected from the leisure class by all these attackers. It seems that, in a way, Sidney is aware of it. His use of the vocabulary that has to do with work, action and profit cannot be anything else but a reply to objections of this kind. Still, a gap remains when one tries to interpret Sidney's words related to action as something that refers to a palpable activity or benefit. Sidney's ideas are stated in a language and train of thought borrowed from the classics, mainly Horace and Aristotle, which, in a way, work merely as a mask worn to protect the kind of (in)activity enjoyed by the aristocracy while at the same time, in their linguistic outward appearance, they meet the demands of the protestant bourgeoisie. This may be due to the fact that in his defence of poetry Sidney takes as his the values that appear in the attacks. He does not want to abandon either faction, as his militant protestantism committed him to the ideas of the rising middle classes. In this sense, Gosson's dedication of the *School of Abuse*

to him could be understood as an indication of that commitment. At the same time, in his lifelong aspirations to achieve a status within the aristocratic circle, he felt obliged to defend its way of life.

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## CRASHAW AND THE EMBLEM REVISITED

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This paper intends to look into Crashaw's poetry in a manner which not only justifies the problematic juxtaposition of imagery in his verse, a direct consequence of his method of composition, but more importantly, opens up possibilities for further analysis on the function of the emblematic as the reader's stronghold beyond rhetorical stratagems. In essence, the mode in Crashaw grants the poet a margin of rhetorical experimentation framed by the materially unmoveable, recognisable, images of reassuring emblematic quality for the informed reader.

When in 1979 Peter Daly published his book *Literature in the light of the Emblem* a whole body of emblematic criticism was re-launched. The word 'emblematic' had, then, a double projection in the critical arena. On the one hand, names like Praz, Freeman, or Wallerstein were relocated not as prominent figures, because they had been so for years, but as leading figures or precursors of what Daly was initiating. On the other, criticism on the function of the emblem in literature, starting with Henry Green at the end of the nineteenth century, took on a different role and started being approached as a bibliographical body rather than handy references to the content of emblem books. But not only emblematic names had worked on the emblem.

One of the beneficiaries of this revamping of emblem studies was Marc Bertonasco, a Crashaw scholar who had published a few years before a study on Crashaw and the emblem. Bertonasco's aim was to persuade readers of Crashaw that they have been misreading Crashaw if they have not informed their reading in the emblematic tradition. For Bertonasco "the grotesque or perverse, are in fact emblems ... and failure to perceive this fact is perhaps responsible for numerous and gross misapprehensions which abound in critical studies" (1968: 8). But the function of the emblem in Crashaw is more than just saving us from a misreading. As Bertonasco says the ancillary use of the emblem, the reading of sources in poetry, be it as source-hunting or as parallel, may not be enough, it is more a matter of "the emblematic mode of expression which affected his poetic utterance" (1968: 38). Defining the expression 'emblematic mode' may take us to cover a wide array of possibilities, but for the purpose of

this paper we will use the generous definition which springs from the concept of Word-emblem as proposed by Peter Daly. Word-emblem is “a verbal image that has qualities associated with emblems” (Daly 1979: 55). The flexibility of this concept and its application will help us look into Crashaw’s poetry in a manner which not only justifies the problematic juxtaposition of imagery in his verse. It is a direct consequence of the method of composition but, more importantly, it opens up the ground for further analysis on the function of the emblematic as the reader’s stronghold beyond rhetorical stratagems. In essence, the mode in Crashaw grants the poet a margin of rhetorical experimentation framed by the materially unmovable, recognizable, images of reassuring emblematic quality for the informed reader.

Several poems by Crashaw might offer appropriate contexts for an analysis of the kind suggested. I suggest to have look at the poem “The Flaming Heart”, which belongs to the so-called “The Teresa Poems”, published in 1646 and joined by “A Song of Divine Love” and the poem we are reading in a second edition in 1648. There was still a further addition of twenty-four lines in the edition of 1652 (Williams 1970: 52). The poems of this group are all dedicated to the Spanish saint: “A Hymn to the name and honor of the admirable Sainte Teresa...”, “An Apologie for the Fore-Going Hymn...”, “The Flaming Heart” and the song. So the choice tries to be as removed as possible from any charge of arbitrariness since in these poems coalesce devotion, emblem and gender, the three major lines of research in Crashaw scholarship, and I dare say chronologically arranged.

The flame, the heart, *flamma amoris*, the darts of love, all of them recognizable topica for the scholar of Renaissance poetry appear at the service of Teresian eulogy. All these commonplaces, which during the sixteenth and the seventeenth century supported a direct link with Ovid, Petrarch and other authors, had by the time “The Flaming Heart” is published generated numberless visual translations. Cardiomorphics might even reach the status of “minor discipline” by looking at the amount of visual renderings. It is worth mentioning here works like *Cardiomorphoseos* by Francesco Pona (1645), or Van Haeften’s *Schola Cordis* (1635) which Christopher Harvey translated and adapted into English under the title of *Schola Cordis or the heart of it self* (1647), these were real monographs on the heart, but there were also plenty of examples in emblem books of more general contents. This is the case with Georgette de Montenay and her *Emblemes ou devises chrestiennes* (1571), of notable influence in Scotland during the end of the sixteenth century, or Daniel Cramer and his *Emblemata Sacra* (1624).

As Peter Daly asserts “recognition of meaning depends on an understanding of the thing portrayed” (1979: 43). Crashaw, by entitling his poem “The Flaming Heart”, does not only connect directly with the Teresian vision in the *Vida*, but also sets up the ground for those he expects to read the poem and defines as “well-meaning readers”. Crashaw addresses “Well-meaning” or informed readers, whose reading fitness is acknowledged from the very start by recommending “Make not too much haste t’admire/ That fair-cheek’t fallacy of fire” (3-4). The poet warns the reader to lay aside the customary luggage in spite of the clear allusion of the title, which sets up an emblematic mood. But while the emble-

matic mood goes without saying, a rhetorical game is proposed:

Readers, be rul'd by me; and make  
 Here a well-plac't and wise mistake,  
 You must transpose the picture quite,  
 And spell it wrong to read it right; (6-10)

The picture, as Williams informs us was part of the frontispiece used in several of the saint's books (1970: 61). She is walking towards a book, in a sort of synthetic rendition of the *vultus/oratio* debate, followed by a seraphic figure



with a dart. The goal of piercing the heart is in suspension, because the poet's suggestion obliges the reader to make the effort to "read HIM for her, and her for him;/ and call the saint the seraphim" (11-12). Thus, the emblem is offered and postponed or, perhaps, it is just waiting to be corrected. The Flaming Heart has not yet been kindled, a pronoun, a function switch is proposed, and while at it, the painter must justify the visual rendering: "painter, what dist thou understand/ to put her dart into his hand!" While the picture and the first section of the poem have succeeded in gathering orthodox elements of the iconography associated with a flaming heart (darts, flames), the completion of the image and, thus, the reading free way is still on hold. An adjustment needs to be made. If the pronoun switch created a rhetorical game, its qualification sets up an intertextual link with the group of poems about Saint Teresa:

...this speakes pure mortal frame;  
 And mockes with female FROST love's manly flame.  
 One would suspect thou meant'st to paint  
 Some weak, inferiour, woman saint. (25-26)

These lines present a clear echo of the title of the hymn which opens the Teresa poems: "A Hymn to the name and honor of the admirable Sainte Teresa; A woman for angelicall height of speculation, for masculine courage of perfor-

mance, more than a woman...". The relation of Crashaw's poetry to the feminine has undergone a re-evaluation since Mario Praz equated "manliness" in Crashaw with "rhetorical restraint, imagistic simplicity and logic" (Mintz 1999: 112). The equation, no doubt, brings back to our minds the image of the painter and his inadequate picture of the saint. The corrective movement, the painter is invited to perform, pursues another kind of picture, one which, Susannah Mintz defends, "valorizes women as either *loci* of or thresholds to spiritual power..." positing "a kind of spiritual androgyny from Crashaw's poetic transgressions of traditional gender categories" (1999: 112). These transgressions should, in words of Maureen Sabine, be taken as a "positive trait" in Crashaw's poetry, as a logical extension of the Mariolatry so present in his poems. Sabine's book, entitled *Feminine Engendered Faith*, pursues a re-assessment "of the great joint loves that inspired much of the reflective verse ... Christ and his Mother" (1992: x).

It follows, then, that to view the flaming heart, to restore to the able reader the possibility of viewing "The Inflaming of the Heart" (Harvey's emblem), a visual rectification must take place after the suspension carried out during 38 lines:

Resume and rectify thy rude design  
Undresse thy seraphim unto Mine.  
Redeem this injury of thy art;



(Harvey 1647: 36)

Give him the vail, give her the dart. (39-43)

The fusion of the two seraphims, perhaps a prelude of transverberation, and the reassignment of the tools of love launches the poem into a review of the postponed emblematic expectations of the beginning. Now, the reader, once the modifications have been operated, may read on through Darts and Shafts: "All ye wise and well-peirc't hearts/ That live and dy amidst her darts" (49-50). Darts from the saint/seraphim provoke the mystical death so painful and desired. A few lines of the Hymn present a more detailed context:

O how oft shalt thou complain  
Of sweet & subtle Pain.  
Of intolerable IOYES;

Of a DEATH, in which who dyes  
 Love his death, and dyes again.  
 And would for ever so be slain. (97-102)

It is a kind of death which seeks to deploy a consciousness of the inexpressible, a simultaneity at the expense of the orthodoxy of the iconography of the poem. But the price to pay is not very high. Whether it is the seraphim, the saint, or Cupid, the scheme remains the same, the shoots fire the heart, the heart maintains the flame. The emblem not only stands as source for imagery, or as mode of expression, in “The Flaming Heart” it is also the artifice of repair. The only unquestionable and recognizable artifact amid the rhetorical stratagem of Crashaw is precisely the emblem as he says, “Leave her alone THE FLAMING HEART”(68):

The Flaming heart illuminates the labyrinth of the heart: dart, shoots, seraphim (Cupid), Wound. Readers, who finally get on track, are suddenly challenged by a



(Wither 1635: 39)

pharmaceutical vision of another expected image, the wounding of the heart:

The wounded have received the dart, the wounding shots. The saint not only enjoyed a graphically amended representation. It is not only a change of



(Harvey 1647: 33)

roles with the seraphim, but a conflation of both roles. As “weak saint” she is wounded, as the new seraphim she wounds. Though not as wounding wound, Harvey’s emblem *Cordis Emollitio* contains the essence of the pharmaceutical

function of the heart:

Live here, great heart; and love and dy and kill;  
And bleed and wound; and yield and conquer still. (79-80)



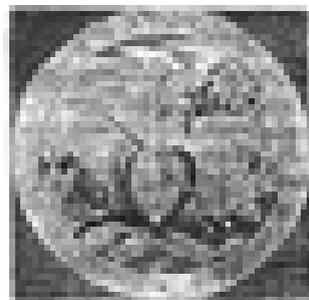
(Harvey 1647: 16)

Him or her, frost or flame, have turned into “love and dy”, “bleed and wound”. It is not simply that both parts (“love’s both parts”) contaminate each other, both parts are each other: The wounding of the heart is also the cure.

As Cramer’s emblems show, in the wound as in the cure, the weapon is always on the heart, present, acting as modifier.



(Cramer 1624)



In his study about the sublime in Crashaw, Michael McCandles (1974) has shown that the demand placed on what Praz calls “manly” skills is too great. Logic is flooded with pronouns, the image is corrected at the source and the rhetorical restraint is turned into a carrousel with the only goal of finally conforming to the most orthodox and well known sequence of emblematic motives. This care might just be the reason why Crashaw, the poet, chooses to show his heart to

the saint under the guise of a carcass:

This carcass of Paradin holds the eagle which lines later in “The Flaming Heart” will participate in the enumeration of synthetic emblems: Thirst of Love, watering



(Paradin 1591)

of love, flame as water...Emblems which have different renditions in most of the emblemata sacra published in England throughout the XVIIth century.

Vision must end with a prayer. Crashaw has taken the reader through a narrow path with wide gates. Emblems have remained unmovable at the core of the revolving lines. Santa Teresa’s transformation, transverberation, has proceeded grammatically and succeeded poetically, because the obstacles have been cleared by the poet. Only an image of union is needed, a union of hearts, as shown in Harvey’s emblem 39:

Leave nothing of my SELF in me,  
Let me so read thy life, that I  
Unto all life of mine dy. (106-108)



(Harvey 1647: 39)

In these final lines of the poem, Crashaw conforms to the final goal of any meditation, the surrendering of the self. However it must be pointed out, as Bertolasco indicates, that the poet prefers the salesian method instead of the

Ignatian, because of the absence of decisions to be made during the meditation proper (1971: 532). In this intellectually less demanding context, the giving up of the self, the union of two in one, is not a union with a lover or God; The emptying of the self leads to reading (“let me so read thy life”) a book, a book with a flaming heart which will change HIS life by extinguishing it, extinguishing the poem with the most proper word for a finale: DY.



William Race defines ekphrasis as “an expository speech which clearly brings the subject before our eyes” (1988: 56). Leonardo da Vinci says in the Codice Atlantico: “L’anima desidera stare col suo corpo, perché senza gli strumenti organici di tal corpo nulla può operare ne sentire”. In Crashaw, devotion, emblem and gender coalesce in multiple combinations but their coexistence and complementation usually takes the form of an ancillary relationship for the modern reader: emblems help disclose troubling aspects of the imagery while devotional meditation frames the interpretation. And yet, Crashaw tries to enhance discursivity out of ekphrasis, bringing before the eye more than just the subject, letting us view the emblem as background, as guardian of his own rhetoric, as unchangeable “corpo” able to shelter the perambulation of the “anima”.

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“BY CRUELL LOVE NOW SLAIN”:  
VIRGILIAN STRUCTURES AND THEMES IN *ENGLANDS HELI-  
CON*

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*Englands Helicon* (1614) can be considered one of the most attractive collections of lyrical poetry published between *Tottels Miscellany* (1557) and the *Golden Treasury* (1861). Though the identity of the editor does not seem to be clear enough, he is sure to have had a quite definitive goal in mind when making a pastoral anthology. This is the reason why the *Arcadia* (1547), Greene's *Menaphon*, and Lodge's *Rosalynd* (1590) are to be found among his main sources; for the same reason, the anthology includes a large number of poems from Bartholomew Yong's translation of Sannazaro's *Diana* (1558-9). Nevertheless, the editor of *Englands Helicon* seems to leave the nearest and most basic sources of the anthology aside for a while, in order to focus on Eclogues II and VII by Virgil. Thus, he presents a group of poems by different authors which, read together, can be said to conform a "Pastoral of Phillis and Coridon" within the anthology. This includes Surrey's "Harpalus complaynt on Phillidaes love bestowed on Corin", and "Another of the same subject"; as well as other poems by different authors. The thematic and structural analysis of all these poems, as well as the consideration of the *contaminatio* as a common mechanism of textual transmission possibly used by the editor in order to link all these poems together, supports the idea of grouping all these poems into a "Pastoral of Phillis and Coridon".

*Englands Helicon* (1614) can be considered one of the most attractive collections of lyrical poetry published between the *Tottels Miscellany* (1557), and the *Golden Treasury* (1861). Though the identity of its editor does not seem to be clear enough, he is sure to have had a quite definite objective in mind when making it a pastoral anthology. This is the reason why the *Arcadia* (1547), Greene's *Menaphon* (1589) and Lodge's *Rosalynde* (1590) are to be found among his main sources; for the same reason, the anthology includes a large number of poems from Bartholomew Yong's translation of Sannazaro's *Diana* (1598). Analyzed as a whole, *Englands Helicon* is made up of 158 poems, nine of which were included for the first time in the edition of 1614. Some of these poems deal with Phillis and Corydon's relationships. They tell the stories of these two shepherds whose names directly

suggest the pastoral tradition, and lead the reader to think of them as a single pastoral which could be entitled “Pastoral of Phillis and Coridon”, not only because of the names of its characters, but also because that would be the title of the first poem. At the same time, the pastoral itself includes a group of poems which, read together, could be said to conform an *imitatio cum variatione* or creative imitation, of what would be a *contaminatio* of Eclogues II and VII by Virgil; that is to say, a mixture of these two eclogues by the Latin author.

The editor seems to have selected these poems in accordance with the Latin models, with the intention of providing the pastoral with a clear thematic and structural unity. In this way, the poem of the pastoral entitled “Harpalus complaynt on Phillidaes love bestowed on Corin, who loved her not, and denyed him that loved her”, could be analyzed as a variation of the first 44 lines of Virgil’s second eclogue. Though attributed in the anthology to Lord Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, the poem is taken from *Tottels Miscellany*, where it is printed among “Poems by uncertain authors”. But in spite of its doubtful authorship, it bears clear thematic and structural similarities to Eclogue II. Both poems present a mixed structure consisting of a narrative in third person, and a song by a desperate shepherd who is suffering from unrequited love.<sup>1</sup> In addition to that, both songs follow a similar line of argument when the two shepherds introduce themselves as worthy lovers, and take examples from nature before arising to the conclusion that they will be never able to get their beloveds’ favors. Then, Virgil’s Corydon accepts this situation and adopts an Epicurean stance on lines 40-4 of Eclogue II: “Nay more, two roes—I found them in a dangerous valley... These I keep for you. Thestylis has long been begging to get them from me—and so she shall, as in your eyes my gifts are mean”.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile, the shepherd of the pastoral will resort to the idea of suicide at the end of the poem by Surrey. He thinks that this traditional motif known as *taedium vitae*,<sup>3</sup> is the only possible solution to his sufferings: “I see therefore to shape my death,/ she cruelly is prest: To th’ end that I may want my breath,/ my dayes beene at the best” (85-9). Lines 45-55 in Eclogue II, would be represented in the pastoral by the poem entitled “Phillidaes Love-call to her Coridon and his replying”. But this poem signed Ignoto and attributed to Sir Walter Raleigh on the ground that the pseudonym usually designated this author, could be considered a variation of lines 29-36 of Eclogue VII by Virgil. Thus, the poem of the pastoral entitled “Phillidaes Love-call” would follow the structure of those lines of Virgil’s seventh eclogue, rather than that of Eclogue II by the same author in which it is Corydon alone the one who introduces a catalogue of the possessions that he would like to give to his beloved

1. Corydon reflects as an Epicurean philosopher when he stops to consider the inconveniences of blind love. See Lucretius (IV 1063-1067) and Ovid’s *Remedia Amoris* (vv. 169-199) where he recommends agriculture as a solution to unrequited love.

2. “praeterea duo nec tuta mihi valle reperti / capreoli, sparsis etiam nunc pellibus albo; / bina die siccant ovis ubera: quos tibi servo / iam pridem a me illos abducere Thestylis orat; / et faciet, quoniam sordent tibi munera nostra”.

3. On this occasion *taedium vitae* appears as *remedium amoris acerbi*; that is to say, suicide due to amorous despair.

as a present. On lines 29-36 of Eclogue VII, Virgil's Corydon and his opponent Thyrsis participate in a *carmen amoebaeum* or alternating singing, in which they take it in turns to introduce votive epigrams; just as if they were exchanging offerings. And that is exactly what the shepherd Corydon and his beloved Phillis will do in this poem by Sir Walter Raleigh entitled “Phillidaes Love-call”. From line 56: “Corydon you are a clown! Alexis cares not for gifts, nor if with gifts you were to vie, would Iolas yield”,<sup>4</sup> and till the end of Eclogue II, Virgil's Corydon reflects upon the Epicurean need to wait for another beloved. Otherwise, he would be heading for suicide, a possibility the shepherd only considers at the beginning of his song. These reflections are also present in the pastoral through the poems “Coridon to his Phillis” by Sir Edward Dyer, and Thomas Bastard's “Coridons Hymne in praise of Amarillis”. The poem by Dyer would make reference to the beginning of Corydon's song in Eclogue II by Virgil, as well as to the last lines of the poem attributed to Surrey: “Poore Coridon for love of thee must die:/ Thy beauties thrall, and conquest of thine eye” (Dyer: 24-5). But the Epicurean intentions expressed by Corydon at the end of his song would be directly put into practice through the poem by Bastard mentioned above. In this poem, the shepherd of the pastoral makes up his mind not to go on suffering from Phillis' unrequited love, and starts singing to Amarillis, a new beloved.

As it has been already explained, “Harpalus complaynt on Phillidaes love” is a mixed poem attributed to Surrey and part of the pastoral that can be understood as an *imitatio cum variatione* or variation, of the first 44 lines of Virgil's second eclogue. This eclogue also presents a mixed structure in which Virgil introduces a narrative preceding his Corydon's song. Thus, both poems start with a third person narrative introducing two shepherds who spend the hot afternoons of the Summer burning in love and singing to those who do not love them: whereas Phillis is clearly in love with Corin and makes garlands of flowers for him in the poem of the pastoral, Alexis seems to be his master Iollas' favourite in Eclogue II by Virgil. Once the similar contexts are provided, both shepherds start their songs by showing the sorrows that unrequited love brings with. They portray themselves as victims of cruel beloveds who do not hesitate to “make their grief a game” (Surrey: 52). In fact, Corydon will even think of suicide at the beginning of his song in Eclogue II: “Oh cruel Alexis, care you naught for my songs? Have you no pity for me? You will drive me at last to death” (6-7).<sup>5</sup> After this, from line 19 to line 44 of Eclogue II, Virgil's Corydon introduces a catalogue of his possessions as a way to prove that he is worthy of Alexis' love. With this same intention, but using a comparison of superiority on lines 57-64, Surrey's shepherd will try to convince Phillis to consider him a better lover than his opponent Corin: “He eates the fruites of thy redresse, / thou reap'st, he takes the sheaves./ My beast a-while your food refrain” (59-61). But this comparison only makes sense if one understands the identification of the shepherd with his flock, a very common motif in pastoral tradition.

4. “rusticus es, Corydon; nec munera curat Alexis,/ nec, si muneribus certes, concedat Iollas”.  
 5. “O crudelis Alexi, nihil mea carmina curas?/ nil nostri miserere? Mori me denique coges”.

Line 44 in Eclogue II by Virgil: “and so she shall, as in your eyes my gifts are mean” already points to the final reaction of the despised Corydon who starts feeling the Epicurean need to look for another beloved on line 56 of the same eclogue by the Latin author: “Corydon you are a clown! Alexis cares not for gifts, nor if with gifts you were to vie, would Iollas yield”. From line 56 and till the end of the eclogue, Virgil’s Corydon goes on reflecting upon the impossibility of getting Alexis’ favors already expressed on line 44: “Alas, alas! What wish, poor wretch, has been mine? Madman, I have let in the south wind to my flowers, and boars to my crystal springs” (58-9).<sup>6</sup> After this, he simply makes up his mind to wait for another Alexis on the last lines of the Eclogue. But he will only reach this conclusion once he makes use of a *priamel* with examples taken from nature, in order to show his love for the boy as a normal, rather natural attitude, given the fact that both Corydon and Alexis are inhabitants of the forest whereas Iolas lives in the city: “The grim lioness follows the wolf, the wolf himself the goat, the wanton goat the flowering clover, and Corydon follows you, Alexis. Each is led by his liking” (63-65).<sup>7</sup> Surrey’s shepherd also takes examples from nature on lines 71-76 of this poem. By doing so, he arises to the conclusion that he will be never able to get Phillis’ love, for “tyranny and cruelty dwell in beautiful women’s hearts” (81-3). They do not need a partner in the same way as the “Ewe has the Ram by her or the young Cow has the Bull” (73-4). For this reason, he will even think of suicide as the only possible solution to his unrequited love; making reference to his own epitaph on the last lines of his amorous complaint:<sup>8</sup> “Write you my friends upon my grave,/ this chaunce that is befall: “Heere lyeth unhappy Harpalus,/ by cruell love now slaine” (99-102). Surrey’s shepherd resorts to the motif of the *taedium vitae* or suicide, whereas Corydon opted for an Epicurean solution in Eclogue II, and only thought of suicide at the beginning of his song. But the thematic and structural similarities between the two poems seem to be clear.

The catalogue of offerings on lines 45-55 of Eclogue II by Virgil, would be represented in the pastoral by a *carmen amoebaeum* or alternating singing not preceded by narrative and entitled “Phyllidaes love-call to her Corydon, and his replying”. Through this poem, Phillis and Corydon will exchange offerings while singing together. But this time, it is Phillis the one who calls Corydon. He had already lost his hopes in a previous poem by Richard Barnfield called “The unknowne shepherds complaint”, where he reflected upon Phillis’ inconstancy: “For now I see, inconstancie/ More in women than in men remaine” (11-2); and thought of loneliness and resignation as an Epicurean solution to his unrequited love: “Poore

6. “heu heu, quid volui misero mihi? Floribus Austrum/ perditus et liquidis imminsi fontibus apros”.

7. “torva laenea lupum sequitur, lupus ipse capellan,/ florentem cytissum sequitur lasciva capella,/ te Corydon, o Alexi: trahit sua quemque voluptas”.

8. Since Meleagrus (AP. V 215; XII 19; XII 74), the erotic epitaph has been very important in authors such as Ovid (*Her.* II 145-148; VII 195-196; *Ars.* III 39-40; *Fasti* III 549-550; *Met.* IX 563) and Propertius (II 1, 77-78; II 13, 35-36), but it will be also present in poets from the Renaissance pe-

Coridon must live alone,/ other helpe for him, I see that there is none” (36-7). He had even wished “The Fates that favour Love” to curse Phillis for unkind on lines 25-30 of a following poem by Nicholas Breton entitled “Coridons supplication to Phillis”. These two poems provide the plot of the pastoral with an evolution of the amorous state of the shepherd that Corydon’s complaint lacks in Eclogue II. But at the same time, they also seem to lead the reader of the pastoral back to line 44 by Virgil, and to the last part of Surrey’s poem. In this way, the poem entitled “Phyllidaes’ Love-call”, could be definitely considered a section of the pastoral which corresponds to lines 45-55 of Eclogue II by Virgil, but following the structure of lines 29-36 of Eclogue VII. Eclogue II includes the catalogue of offerings that Corydon introduces in his solitary song which, according to Vicente Cristóbal (1996: 93), represents a kind of love which has not been even declared. As the critic explains, lines 4 and 5 of the narrative introducing the song:<sup>9</sup> “...and there alone in fruitless passion fling these artless strains to the hills and woods” already point out that Corydon’s complaint should be understood as a monologue the shepherd recites in the solitude of the forest. Nevertheless, it is in Eclogue VII where the reader will be really able to appreciate a *carmen amoebaeum* similar to the alternating singing that could be found in the poem of the pastoral entitled “Phyllidaes Love-call”. Only on lines 29-36 of Eclogue VII, do Corydon and his opponent Thyrsis sing two stanzas which, according to Vicente Cristóbal (1996: 187), follow the structure of the Greek votive epigrams: Cor. “To thee, Delia, young Micon offers this head of a bristling boar...” Thy. “A bowl of milk, Priapus, and these cakes, are all thou canst expect year by year” (29-32).<sup>10</sup> That is to say, a similar structure to that used by Phillis and Corydon when they exchange offerings and praisings in this poem of the pastoral: “Phil. Heere are cherries ripe my Corydon,/ eate them for my sake:/ Cor. Heere’s my oaten pipe my lovely one,/ sport for thee to make” (11-14). In addition to that, Phillis could be said to play the role of Thyrsis in the pastoral. Vicente Cristóbal explains (1996: 187) that he does not agree with those critics who try to justify Corydon’s victory over Thyrsis at the end of Eclogue VII, by pointing to formal and moral differences in order to portray him as a much more selfish and humiliating shepherd than his opponent Corydon. These differences would not be clear in the pastoral, if it were not for the fact that Phillis will be the one to break her own oath: “...heaven keep our loves alway” (61). But once she does, it is easy to try to identify her with the “cruel” opponent of the Eclogue. In fact, the only problem to relate this poem of the pastoral to those lines of Eclogue VII, would be that the poem is not preceded by a narrative in the same way as the Eclogue is. But this problem can be also solved by the presence in the pastoral of a poem by Anthony Munday entitled “Another of the same subject but made as it were in answer”. This poem consists of two narratives preceding each of the two parts of the alternating singing in which Phillis answers to Corydon’s

9. “ibi haec incondita solus/ montibus et silvis studio iactabat inani”.

10. “Sa etosi caput hoc apri tibi, Delia parvus/ et ramosa Micon vivacis cornua cervi”. “Sinum lactis et haec te liba, Priape, quotannis/ exspectare sat est...”

complaints for the first time in the pastoral. Through this poem by Anthony Munday, Phillis arranges to meet Corydon the following day: “Harpalus, I thanke not thee,/ For this sorry tale to mee./ Meete me heere againe to morrow,/ Then I will conclude my sorrow” (111-14). But they would not meet again until the poem entitled “Phillidaes Love-call to her Coridon and his replying”; that is to say, the poem of the pastoral covering the catalogue of offerings on lines 45-55 of Eclogue II by Virgil.

From line 56 and till the end of Eclogue II, Virgil’s Corydon reflects upon the Epicurean need to wait for another beloved: “Ah, Corydon, Corydon, what madness has gripped you? Your vine is but half-pruned on the leafy elm... You will find another Alexis if this one scorns you” (69-73).<sup>11</sup> This shepherd only considers the possibility of committing suicide at the beginning of his song in Eclogue II:<sup>12</sup> “O cruel Alexis, care you not for my songs? Have you no pity for me? You will drive me at last to death” (6-7). Nevertheless, the motif of suicide would not be only present in the pastoral through the last lines of the poem by Surrey as it has been already explained; but also through the poem by Sir Edward Dyer entitled “Corydon to his Phillis”. In this poem by Dyer, the shepherd of the pastoral thinks of suicide as the only possible solution to his unrequited love: “For Phillis lookes no hartly love doo yeeld,/ Nor can she love, for all her lovely face./ Die Coridon, the spoile of Phillis eye:/ She can not love, and therefore thou must die” (29-32). As regards the Epicurean intentions expressed by Virgil’s Corydon at the end of Eclogue II, it is to be said that these intentions would be carried out in the poem of the pastoral entitled “Coridons Hymne in praise of Amarilis”. Through this poem by Thomas Bastard, the shepherd of the pastoral sings to Amarilis; a new beloved for whose favors he would be willing to die again: “Which if Amarilis chaunce,/ Hearing to make hast to see:/ To life death she may advance./ Therefore eyes and thoughts goe free” (33-6).

All the poems that have been analyzed, are related to the amorous state of the shepherds Phillis and Corydon in some way or another. For this reason, they have been said to be part of a single pastoral within the anthology *Englands Helicon*, which could be entitled, “Pastoral of Phillis and Corydon”. But at the same time, this pastoral would contain a group of poems which, read together, could be said to conform an imitation of what would be a *contaminatio* or mixture of Eclogues II and VII by Virgil. And that is exactly the group of poems which has been carefully analyzed here. This paper shows how the editor of the anthology has clearly selected these poems because of their strong relation with Eclogues II and VII by Virgil. In fact, the editor of the anthology seems to have selected this group of poems in accordance with the Latin models, with the intention of providing the pastoral with a clear thematic and structural unity, one which is revealed by the possibility of reading all these poems as a single *contaminatio* or mixture of Eclogues II and VII by Virgil.

11. “ah, Corydon, Corydon, quae te dementia cepit?/ semiputata tibi frondosa vitis in ulmo est.../ invenies alium, si te hic fastidit, Alexim”.

12. As a pastoral motif, suicide first appears in Idyll XXIII by Pseudo-Theocritus.

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## WROTH AND WEAMYS: TWO DIFFERENT APPROACHES TO PASTORAL ROMANCE, LOVE, AND GENDER

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This paper intends to analyse the main differences between the first two prose narratives written by women in English: Mary Wroth's *Urania* (1621) and Anna Weamys's *A Continuation of Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia* (1651). Although both are pastoral romances modelled on Sidney's famous work of fiction, with a focus on amorous affairs and female characters, their approaches to genre, love, and gender are not similar as one might expect them to be. Wroth uses pastoral romance to satirise the Jacobean society in the manner of a *roman à clef*, to show her scepticism about romantic love due to men's inconstancy, and to question the conventional representation of women in Renaissance literature. However, Weamys seems to use pastoral romance as an exercise of wishful thinking (her Arcadian world can be seen as a fantasy of what the social and political situation should be like), she believes in romantic love leading to marriage, and her portrayal of women is more conventional than Wroth's. In general, these two attitudes—one more satirical and sceptical, and the other more moralistic and romantic—will continue throughout the tradition of female novelists that will develop later.

The first English prose narratives written by women, Mary Wroth's *The Countess of Montgomery's Urania* (1621) and Anna Weamys's *A Continuation of Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia* (1651), were both pastoral romances modelled on Sidney's famous prose fiction. Sequels and supplements of literary texts were common at the time, as the very nature of romance and, in particular, of the *Arcadia*—which was incomplete—favoured that practice. Four male authors actually wrote extensions of Sidney's work. Therefore, we should not dismiss Wroth's and Weamys's narratives for being supplementary. In their case, using the *Arcadia* as a main source was a way to authorise their writing (Walker 1996: 172) and to place themselves on the same stage as Sidney, so it was “an act of courage” rather than an evidence of feminine subservience or aesthetic docility (Cullen 1994: xxxii). In fact, they reworked the original male-authored text, imposing a feminine perspective that produced meaningful alterations in subject-matter, characterisation, narrative voice, and style. However, this has been analysed by many critics (Beilin 1987, Swift 1990, Hackett 1992, Walker 1996, and Cullen 1994 among others), and what

this paper attempts to study is the difference between Wroth's and Weamys's approaches to genre and gender, because they are not as similar as we might expect them to be.

Mary Wroth used pastoral romance in order to satirise the vices of the contemporary upper class in the manner of a *roman à clef*. Many of the adventures and misfortunes of the kings and queens, princes and princesses, shepherds and shepherdesses that appear in the *Urania* mirror the life of actual members of the Jacobean court. This was noted by her first readers, such as John Chamberlain, George Manners, and Edward Denny. In particular, the latter was so convinced that Wroth's story of Sirelius reflected notorious events in his family life that he irately complained about it. As a consequence, the book was withdrawn from sale and the completion was never published. In her authoritative "Critical Introduction" to the *Urania*, Josephine Roberts offers a detailed reconstruction of some of the private relationships represented in Wroth's romance (1995: lxix-xcviii). This "shadowing", as Roberts calls it, includes the author herself, her husband, and many personages in the Sidney and Herbert families. Sidney had done something similar in the *Arcadia* but not to such an extent. John Barclay's *Argenis*, published in Latin also in 1621, circulated with a key to the correspondences. Yet, as Roberts remarks, "Wroth created a highly complex fiction that provides for the intermittent shadowing of actual lives and events, often under multiple figures" (1995: lxx). That is to say, Wroth employed an original version of the *roman à clef* technique.

The use of this technique in a pastoral romance complicates the relationship between fantasy and "real life" inherent in prose fiction (see Hackett 1992: 48). The events and characters shown in the *Urania* may seem wholly conventional and fantastic to a modern reader. However, many of them are largely drawn from reality. This does not make the *Urania* a *realistic novel*. Its plot structure, characterisation, setting, and style are certainly those typical of romance; but the world portrayed cannot be seen as a *heterocosmos*, a hypothetical universe of ideal images that are supposed to represent how human nature ought to be, as is often the case in Elizabethan romance. Instead, Wroth produces an ironical superposition of the seamy side of reality into the conventionally idealising nature of pastoral romance.

Wroth cannot completely adhere to the clichés of that genre because she seems not to believe in romantic love. In the *Urania* Wroth questions two basic elements of romance: idealised love and happy marriage, and this is due to men's inconstancy. The central story of the constant Pamphilia and the unfaithful Amphilanthus is mirrored in many of the inset narratives that form the complex structure of this romance. As Kroniris has noted: "In conventional romances people come for succour to valiant knights who undertake to fight in their cause, but in the *Urania* these people are almost exclusively women who have been victims of love affairs and forced marriages" (1992: 126). Wroth harshly censures fathers who force their daughters to marry against their will, and husbands who become unfaithful or aggressive. This situation leads many of these women to transgress cultural norms: they disobey parental authority and escape undesirable

matches, or they start adulterous relationships. In spite of Wroth's adherence to traditional female values, particularly constancy, she views these transgressive, discontented women with sympathy.

This takes us to the third point I would like to deal with here, which is Wroth's representation of women in the *Urania*. The main characters of this romance are female, yet they are not mere objects of male desire but female subjects with a certain degree of activity. In words of Janet Clare: "Through the figures of Urania, Antissia, and particularly Pamphilia, we have the first exploration in English romance literature by a woman writer of female subjectivity which initiates action. Urania's mode of agency is as a counsellor to others, whereas, interestingly, Pamphilia is presented as a writer" (1998: 56).

Pamphilia conforms to conventional female values to a large extent: she is a paragon of constancy, discretion, self-control, and modesty. Nevertheless, she combines these virtues with other qualities that entail an agency, an ability to express herself creatively, and a political power that were not so common at the time. As Walker remarks, Pamphilia's secrecy is paradoxically what makes her write, and her ability to write well is associated with her self-control (1996: 174). Moreover, Pamphilia is a queen and acts as such in the story. She is praised for her affection for and constancy to her subjects, as she considers herself married to her kingdom, "from which Husband, shee could not bee divorced" (Roberts 1995: 262). Thus Pamphilia reflects attributes of Elizabeth I, as Beilin has rightly observed (1987: 227-8).

Urania is the other heroine in Wroth's romance. She is different from Pamphilia—although she is likewise virtuous and her friend—and different from her namesake in Sidney's work. The *Arcadia* opens with the two shepherds, Claius and Strephon, lamenting the absence of the "fair shepherdess" Urania, who in fact remains absent all throughout the story, thus acquiring an allegorical significance. But Wroth materialises this idealised Urania (see Miller 1989: 126-27, and Walker 1996: 177), quantitatively speaking not as present as Pamphilia, but certainly remarkable. She bears the name of the work, opens the story, achieves her goal of finding her lost identity, and assumes the role of counsellor. Urania warns Pamphilia of the sterility and harmfulness of idolising love, and advises her to preserve her health by abandoning that torturing fidelity to a repeatedly unfaithful man. Pamphilia will end up accepting the impossibility of maintaining constancy in such a mutable world at the end of the unpublished part of the romance, when she marries King Rodomandro. Urania herself, as a response to male inconstancy, changes lovers with no stain on her virtue, as she, and probably Wroth too, believe that those who suffer infidelity "are free to choose again" (Roberts 1995: 469-70).

Therefore, we can say that, in spite of her admiration for conventionally female values such as constancy, modesty, and self-control, Wroth modifies the representation of women typical of most male-authored romances by emphasising the connotation of heroism as these virtues are accomplished in a world dominated by mutability, vanity, and foolishness. Wroth's heroines are not so much objects but subjects: they have a considerable degree of independent agency, are fairly

free to express their desires and their complaints about male oppression, and play successful roles as writers, monarchs, and counsellors.

Working on similar material, however, Anna Weamys achieves different results, probably because her aims and her background were not the same as Wroth's. Most likely a younger and more inexperienced woman, or perhaps simply a more idealistic person, Weamys never meant to shadow reality or cast doubt on romantic love. Her approach to pastoral romance was an exercise of wishful thinking, since her Arcadian world can be seen as a fantasy of what she would like the socio-political situation to be. She created a *heterocosmos* of ideal images similar to that found in many Elizabethan romances. Let us see how her narrator describes Plangus' arrival in Arcadia:

But at last he entered into the pleasant country of Arcadia, which was adorned with stately woods. No cries were heard there but of the lambs, and they in sport too sounded their voices to make their play-fellow lambs answer them again in imitation of the like. And the abundance of shady trees that were there were so beautiful with the sweet melody of birds that anyone, save love-sick Plangus, might think it a sufficient harmony to draw away their delight from any other vanity of the world. Besides, there were the shepherds piping to their pretty shepherdesses whilst they cheerfully sang to pleasure them again. (Cullen 1994: 17)

So it seems here that Weamys joins the vision of pastoral as an opposition to courtly vanity and chaos, and a preference for the natural simplicity and harmony of an idealised countryside. But, as in Sidney's romance, the pastoral may easily have a political reading, the Arcadian landscape suggesting a perfectly harmonised society. In fact, in Weamys's *Continuation*, Basilius says that "he governed a quiet and a peaceable country and that he should very unwillingly teach his people the way of dissension" (19); and at the end, when the royal couples grow old, "they resigned their crowns to their lawful successors, and ended their days in peace and quietness" (105).

Although Weamys is not a member of the aristocracy like Wroth, she defends aristocratic values. Writing in the early 1650s, this certainly acquires a political significance that places her romance away from mere escapism and closer to the propaganda material deployed by the royalists at the time. As Cullen argues, genre, subject matter, and the prefacing commendatory poems support the hypothesis that this work "was the production of some sort of royalist network" (1994: xxix). But Weamys's defence of aristocratic values is not rigidly class-defined, as she does not exclude some rustics from the refined sentiment that she associates with heroic nobility (see Cullen 1994: xlvii-xlviii). Urania and Strephon transcend their class and join the code of gentility and sensibility that allows them to participate in the final multiple marriage together with the noble couples.

The whole *Continuation* is actually designed to pair off the single characters of Sidney's *Arcadia*, and reach that triumphant marriage at the end. This is how Weamys reworks the original text, she is not interested in the epic elements, and focuses rather on the happy and morally acceptable resolution of dangling love affairs. She eludes ethically dubious events that are present in the source text, such as Pamela and Musidorus' aborted elopement, the discovery of Philoclea

and Pyrocles sleeping side by side, the elements of mad love in the story of Planus and Erona, and Amphialus' hostility to Helena. Moreover, due to Weamys's emphasis on love, she gives her Philisides, who is supposed to represent Sidney, a romantic death as a lover and a poet, instead of the heroic death that Sidney himself had actually had and that the writers of supplements to the *Arcadia* had portrayed (Cullen 1994: *passim*).

When it is requited and leads to marriage, love contributes to the social harmony of the pastoral world that frames the action. When Amphialus and Helena prepare their wedding, they are presented as examples of agreement and unity. The three chariots that take them and their attendants are lined with three different colours: green, white, and blue signifying the princes' love, innocence, and constancy. These concepts seem to go together in Weamys's *Continuation*, where there are no examples of vice and infidelity that may question romantic love. One of her characters states that, although love is often "mixed with bitterness (in consideration of some griefs that follow it) yet seldom it is but that the conclusion is happy" (94-5). That is why only two minor characters, Claius and Philisides, are left unmarried and they die of love, their funerals adding a touch of sadness to the happy ending of multiple nuptials.

The bitterness referred to in the previous quotation is particularly significant, as it has to do with the dangers of arranged marriage, which is a concern shared by Wroth—as we have seen before—and most women writers of the time. Weamys makes Urania's absence, so mysterious and allegorical in Sidney's text, be due to male abuse. Weamys's Urania is not only a victim of her father's tyranny through arranged marriage, but also a victim of Antaxius' and Lacemon's violence through abduction and assault. She is thus presented as an object of male desire, who rebels against it but lacks the desire and agency that characterises her namesake in Wroth's work. Even when she is free to choose a husband, she surrenders her choice to two men (although young and unselfish): Pyrocles and Musidorus. Yet Weamys's Urania had previously proved both resolute not to submit to patriarchal impositions and threats, and also cunning to escape from dire straits. So there is a certain element of autonomy in her character.

Other heroines in this *Continuation* are allowed a higher degree of subjectivity and action. Helena carries her beloved Amphialus on a litter to her kingdom of Corinth, and has his wounds healed by skilful surgeons, although he largely ignores her for he loves Philoclea. In spite of the melancholy this causes her, Helena never gives up and, hearing of her rival's wedding, writes her a letter to ask for compassion towards Amphialus' distress and towards her own affection for him. When Philoclea reads this and Amphialus' willingness to obey her commands, she enjoins him to marry Helena. He proves obedient to her by radically changing his attitude to Helena and accepting her as his wife. The match is successful and even presented as exemplary, as was shown above.

Following the conventions of courtly love rhetoric, other heroes also claim to be slaves of their beloved, ready to submit to their commands. Clytifon says he is Helena's "loyal servant" (38), the narrator describes how Philoclea's tears are wiped away by "her servant Pyrocles" (41), and Claius declares he and Strephon

were “slaves to Urania’s piercing eyes” and “vassals to her devoted graces” (74). But in this romance, it seems that this is something more than a rhetorical cliché, since those men evince to be truly devoted to their loves, and those women then may actually feel a respect and an affection that few of Wroth’s heroines enjoyed. Weamys’s female protagonists are all within the bounds of patriarchal morality, are never a serious threat to those norms, but they are allowed a certain agency, some chances to decide, command, and be obeyed.

Weamys’s pastoral world is, therefore, a realm of fantasy where women enjoy a certain amount of power. This is even true in the folk tale told by Mopsa, which the narrator qualifies as “tedious” and “ridiculous”, but which presents a fancy world dominated by women. The young heroine of this inset story endures great hardship in search of her missing beloved knight. She was helped by other women to find him, release him from bondage to some witches, and offer him a vast amount of money that would guarantee them a happy life forever after. The story imitates the typical structures of folk tales, but with an interesting gender reversal.

As a conclusion we must say that both Wroth and Weamys appropriated the genre of pastoral romance for their own purposes. The result was in both cases the construction of feminocentric narratives that dealt mainly with women from a female point of view, and chiefly addressed to women readers. However, these texts show two different attitudes to pastoral romance, love, and gender. Wroth’s is more satirical and sceptical, whereas Weamys’s is more moralistic and romantic. Two approaches to prose fiction that will, in general, continue throughout the tradition of female novelists that they started.

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# THE SPANISH CONNECTION OF *THE ANATOMY* OF *MELANCHOLY*

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Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* is an encyclopedia, a summa of knowledge collected from lots of works and *auctoritates*, classical, medieval and modern authors. His job as a librarian gave him the possibility of reading an enormous quantity of books, some of them English and others of foreign origin. In our paper we are trying to analyse a part of these foreign sources, the Spanish ones. Our goal is to study what kind of Spanish works he read and consulted (scientific, literary, philosophical, etc.), how they are used throughout *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, and their importance in Burton's masterpiece.

Although *The Anatomy of Melancholy* seems to be a treatise dealing just with the "kinds, causes, symptomes, prognostickes & seuerall cures" of melancholy, as we find in the subtitle of the work, most scholars consider that it is something else: it is an encyclopaedia. Lawrence Babb, in one of the first monographic books about *The Anatomy*, reaches this conclusion:

The *Anatomy* is not just the book which Burton originally planned to write. In the book which he actually produced, a purpose is superimposed upon a purpose. He has written something which is both a psychiatric treatise and a commentary upon men and manners... The *Anatomy* is organized as a treatise on melancholy, but its real achievement lies in the superimposed criticism of human behaviour. (Babb 1959: 28)<sup>1</sup>

1. The idea that Burton's initial conception of the work was that of a typical psychological treatise seems to me a bit doubtful, although it is clear that the final result in the last edition he revised was quite different from what he had achieved in the first one.

As Babb points out, this feature of Burton's work is not the result of its structure, which is very similar to that of other medical treatises on melancholy;<sup>2</sup> the difference lies in its content (which includes reflections about politics, social organization, religion, etc.), in the satiric tone, in the usage of arguments, illustrative stories and *auctoritates*. The author himself, in the preface to his work, entitled "Democritus to the Reader", admits his book is created as a compendium of quotations:

I have laboriously collected this *Cento* out of divers Writers, ... The matter is theirs most part, and yet mine, *apparet unde sumptum sit* (which *Seneca* approves) *aliud tamen quam unde sumptum sit apparet*, which nature doth with the aliment of our bodies, incorporate, digest, assimilate, I doe *conquouere quod hausi*, dispose of what I take. I make them pay tribute, to set out this my *Maceronicon*, the method onely is myne owne, I must usurpe that of *Wecker è Terentio, nihil dictum quod non dictum priùs, methodus sola artificem ostendit*, we can say nothing but what hath beene said, the composition and method is ours onely, and shewes a Schollar. (Faulkner, Kiessling, Blair 1989-1994: 11)

Of course, the usage of authorities is not an original characteristic; in fact, Babb considers it a peculiarity that links the *Anatomy* not so much with the "new science" as with the "old science", because of its almost blind reliance on authority (Babb 1959: 57 ff.). However, there is one important difference between Burton's work and many others: the number of authors he quotes is over 1300 (Babb 1959: 57 ff.), in which we may include classical, medieval and contemporary writers. How was it possible, for a Renaissance man, to have access to so many sources? In general terms, we may say that the answer is straight: after studying at Christ Church College, Oxford, he was in charge of the library for a time:

I have beene brought up a Student in the most flourishing Colledge of Europe...; for 30 yeeres I have continued (having the use of as good Libraries as ever he had) a Scholler<sup>3</sup>... (Faulkner, Kiessling, Blair 1989-1994: 3)

It seems that he had access also to the Bodleian library, and, besides, he gathered himself a very important library, with more than 1700 titles (Kiessling 1988. Kiessling 1991). It is clear, then, that he was a book lover, as it is reflected in his masterpiece. As we have already said, the authors he mentions belong to several periods, and also to a great variety of geographical origins. Our intention here is to analyse the references to Spanish works found in the *Anatomy of Melancholy*.

Before beginning the study of these books in the *Anatomy of Melancholy* itself, it might be interesting to determine the books related to Spanish subjects Burton had in his own library.<sup>4</sup> First of all, we must divide them into two groups: those written by Spanish authors, and those talking about Spanish subjects. In the first

2. The structure of the work, presented in synopses, would, in fact, make the readers think that the work is just devoted to medical subjects. A facsimile copy of the synopses may be found at the latest complete edition of Burton's work, the one I am using and quoting in this paper (Faulkner, Kiessling, Blair 1989-1994). See also Fox 1976.

3. In one of the notes to this fragment he says he has been "keeper of our Colledge Library". Cf. Simon 1964: 1 ff. and Bamborough 1989: xvi.

4. See Appendix I for the list of all these works. The numbers in square brackets refer to that appen-

group, we find a wide variety of interests: geographical books [512], accounts of the Eastern and Western Indies [306, 392, 695, 1484], biographies [1345], supernatural subjects [982], but most of them are religious books [324, 391, 590, 794, 864, 1044, 1345, 1400, 1668], which could be considered usual in a divinity scholar. One of the most striking features in the reckoning of these Spanish books is that there is only one medical book [1050], which is not specifically devoted to melancholy. It is also interesting to point out that just one of these books is written in Spanish [733], and all the other Spanish works he uses are originally in Latin or translated into Latin. Babb states that “there is no substantial evidence that he knew Spanish” (Babb 1959: 54-5).<sup>5</sup> This supposition will be revised when we study the Spanish works in the *Anatomy*. Finally, it is also remarkable that there is not any Spanish literary work in Burton’s library.

The second group, that of works referring to Spanish subjects, could be considered as the result of Burton’s interest in history: they are libels, *relations*, chronicles of concrete events, even diplomatic and religious problems between England and Spain. Although we find some examples of translations into English from Spanish works [26, 28, 72], most of these texts are written by English authors in English [321, 346, 756, 760, 962, 963, 1215, 1337, 1677], so what we might expect is that Burton’s concept of the Spanish affairs is conditioned by the anti-Hispanic climate dominating England in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

This revision of Burton’s library could take us to some preliminary conclusions: his interest in Spanish books seems to focus on religious and theological subjects; most of these works were initially written in Latin, but when the original version is in Spanish, he tries to have the Latin translation. His interest in history comprises, besides, works dealing with Spanish affairs (as well as from other European countries, we must add), but in this case he relies more on his fellow countrymen than on any other historians.

But does Burton’s library reflect somehow the usage of Spanish sources in the *Anatomy of Melancholy*? In general, we might say that the division we have made into Spanish authors and Spanish history is, to a certain extent, similarly presented in his work: most of the references to historical events, kings, and important characters are not taken from Spanish historians but from other European sources, such as Philippe de Commynes, Jean Bodin, Antonio Beccadelli, Baldasare Castiglione, Paolo Giovio, Jean Froissart or Emanuel van Meteren. The only exceptions are the items of information taken out of Juan de Mariana and Álvaro Gómez.<sup>6</sup>

But a detailed study of the usage of Spanish authors in the *Anatomy* shows that Burton’s knowledge of these works is quite different from what we might expect just analysing his library. First of all, we must bear in mind that the number of these works is, comparatively, really scant, if we take into account the

5. Simon cites some biographers who considered he was almost bilingual in English and Latin [Simon 1964: 29]. We must remember that he was the author of the Latin play *Philosophaster*.

6. The list of the main historical references and their sources in the *Anatomy* appear in Appendix II a.

whole number of authors quoted throughout the work, we only find fifty-one Spanish authors quoted<sup>7</sup>, out of more than 1200 in the whole work. Secondly, the knowledge of Spanish works Burton shows in the *Anatomy* is larger than what we may conclude from the analysis of his library, where we have only found twenty-one Spanish texts; however, he quotes some of the texts he had in his library: those by Cipriano Eichovio [12], Cristóbal de Fonseca [590], Pedro de Ribadeneyra [1345], and also some authors (without a concrete bibliographical reference) whose works have also appeared among his books: Bartolomé de las Casas [306], Hernán Cortés [392], Fray Luis de Granada [699], San Ignacio de Loyola [864], Ramón Llull [982], Luis Mercado [1050] and García de Silva y Figueroa [144]. And thirdly, there is a wider variety of subjects in his masterpiece. It is still true that most of the titles quoted are related to theology (7, 8, 14, 17, 20, 21, 28, 29, 30, 32, 34, 36, 38, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 50, 51), but the ones he uses more often are medical treatises (4, 13, 16, 26, 27, 48, 49), although in his library he had just one Spanish title of medicine. Besides, there are still works dealing with the Indies (1, 6, 10, 19), with moral philosophy (23, 35, 46, 51), history (24, 25), biography (15, 37), and some unique titles of astrology (5), geography (12) and del Río's work (11) about supernatural subjects, quite useful for Burton in several passages about devils and superstitions. Maybe the most important contrast with what we have pointed out in his library is that in the *Anatomy*, Burton mentions some important Spanish literary works (2, 3, 9, 18, 31, 33, 39).

In these quotations of Spanish works and authors, Burton, as he does with other citations, is not systematic in the bibliographical references: sometimes he gives just the name of the writers, sometimes he adds a bit of the original text (including, from time to time, his own translation into English), and occasionally he gives the complete reference to the work he is alluding to. Some scholars have considered this varied ways of citation are due to the fact that Burton relied on his memory; in fact, he was well-known among his contemporaries by his good memory (Babb 1959: 44; Renaker 1972). The point is that, when he mentions Spanish works, he sometimes gives the bibliographical reference, and sometimes it is omitted. Then, we may only examine with certainty the cases where he gives us a complete bibliographical citation. According to this, then, it seems that he used most of these works in the Latin version (1, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 20, 21, 23, 26, 28, 29, 32, 36, 37, 38, 39, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51), mainly because the majority of the titles he mentions were originally written in the classical language (and it is also noteworthy to say that all of them were very successful works, that had gone through several editions). The only exceptions are Fonseca's *Amphitheatrum amorum*<sup>8</sup> (14) and one literary work, *Celestina*<sup>9</sup> (39), both originally written in Spanish, whose title is indicated by Burton in Latin.

Some names of Spanish works appear in English (1, 4, 15, 31, 51). In the

7. Vid Appendix II for the complete list of these works, where we have numbered the items and placed them in brackets, used for the references in the body of the article.

8. The original Spanish version was entitled *Tratado del Amor de Dios*, published in 1590.

9. The Latin translation was done by Gaspar Barth, with the title *Pornoboscodidascalus latinus*, published in Frankfurt, 1624. Renaker (Renaker 1972: 392-3) warns about the possible confusion between

case of Acosta's *Historia natural y moral de las indias* (1), it was translated into English by Edward Grimstone, and published in 1604, so Burton could have known this rendering into his own language. Ortúñez de Calahorra's *Espejo de Príncipes* (31) was also translated into English as *Mirror of Princely Deeds and Knighthood* in 1579; the title Burton uses to mention this work, *The knight of the Sun*, was probably a subtitle taken from the French edition (Eisenberg 1975: xxx, xlviII). There are still two more titles in English: *Life & deeds of Francis Ximenius* by Álvaro Gómez de Castro (15), and the *Fable of Man* by Juan Luis Vives (51). We have found no translation into English of any of these works before Burton's death.

Besides these exceptional cases, we may consider that there is a general tendency which seems to point to Burton's preference for the Latin language in the Spanish works, there are some doubtful allusions, where it is not possible to know whether he was using a Latin, Spanish or English text, and, significantly, all of them are literary works. With the already mentioned exception of *Celestina* (39), and most likely *Espejo de Príncipes* (31), it is really difficult to distinguish which is the version Burton used to read these literary works: all of them had been already translated into English when Burton published the first edition of this work,<sup>10</sup> but our author does not give any sort of hint with regard to the concrete source he was using.

Maybe a useful help to discover the language in which he read these books would be to pay attention to the literal quotations from the texts. Unfortunately, not all these works are mentioned in the *Anatomy*, and the ones with higher incidence are the Latin texts dealing with medicine (4, 13, 16, 26, 48, 49) and theology (14, 21, 23, 28, 29, 32, 43, 47, 51), and those of Martín del Río (11) and Cipriano Eichovio (12). As for the titles mentioned in English and the doubtful cases, only in one of them there is a quotation, in Vilanova's *Book of heroical love* (4), whose text appears in Latin and English, so probably, as in many other cases, Burton was using a Latin version and he translated himself the quotation into English.<sup>11</sup> It seems likely, at least for Vilanova's book, that Burton gave the English version of the title, although the work was never translated, as we have already seen for the English titles of Álvaro Gómez de Castro's (15) and Vives' works (51).

In sum, as we had already foreseen, Burton shows an inclination to use the Spanish texts in their original Latin version or in the Latin translations of those

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this text and that of Aretino's *Capricious Dialogues*, translated also by Barth as *Pornodidascalus* (Frankfurt, 1623), which have usually been mistaken as one single work. See Castells 1996.

10. Mateo Alemán's *Guzmán de Alfarache* was translated in 1612 by James Mabbe. (Verdaguer 1987). *El Quijote* appeared in an English version in 1612 and 1620 by Thomas Shelton (Cunchillos 1987). Thomas Paynel published the English version of *Amadis de Gaula* through the French text in 1568; in 1581, Anthony Munday wrote *Palmerin of England*, also from the French version. (Underhill 1899: 375 ff.).

11. It is quite common to find in the *Anatomy* quotations in Latin and English; and usually the versions are done by Burton, sometimes literally and sometimes adapting the original text to his own purposes (Sáez Hidalgo 1997).

works. However, it is not always evident that he used them at all, especially when he just mentions the author, but there is no reference to the work (5, 6, 17, 19, 22, 24, 25, 27, 30, 34, 41, 42, 44, 50), and even when there is not a concrete passage mentioned (1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 15, 20, 31, 33, 36, 37, 38, 45, 46). For example, it is remarkable that he refers twice to *Amadis* (3), *Palmerín* (33) and *El Espejo de Príncipes* (31) close together (and once *El Quijote* (9) is added too), as examples of “play-books” and “love toys”. Here, it is obvious that Burton is connecting these works because they belong to the same generic group, which was quite fashionable at the moment in England and the rest of Europe, as it can be seen by the amount of translations and new texts during the late 16<sup>th</sup> century and the early 17<sup>th</sup> century; however, there is no evidence that he might have read or used them for *The Anatomy of Melancholy*.

Another important point to take into account in our analysis is the textual history of the *Anatomy of Melancholy*. The first edition of the text was published in 1621, and he revised five more editions (1624, 1628, 1632, 1638, 1651; the last one, posthumous). In thirty years, the *Anatomy* grew more than a thirty percent (Faulkner, Kiessling, Blair 1989-1994: xxxvii ff.), and his additions affect not only the content, but also the bibliographical references and notes. The majority of the quotations or references to Spanish books and authors appeared in the first edition (about a sixty percent); as we have already said, most of the Spanish works used by Burton were very well-known texts, published in the sixteenth century and, usually, they had been edited several times, therefore our author had the possibility of consulting them for his first edition. Some later additions reflect Burton’s updated knowledge of the editorial world: Juan Luis de la Cerda’s *De angeli custodis ministerio* (8), which was published in 1631 was quoted in the 1638 edition, probably because there was no time to include it in the previous one.

In general, the addenda do not seem to have a systematic character, and some works, such as *Amadis* (3), are mentioned once in the first edition, a second reference is added in 1624, and another one in the following issue of the text. However, there is one detail that attracts our attention: most of the additions of the references we are studying were included in 1628. A meticulous study of these additions shows that there are two books included in this issue of the *Anatomy* because the works mentioned were just published: Cristóbal de Fonseca’s *Tratado del Amor de Dios* (14) was translated into Latin in 1623; and Barth’s version of *La Celestina* (39), the one mentioned by Burton, appeared one year later. Although there is one mention to Rodrigo de Fonseca which appears in the first edition, the references to his *Consultationum medicinalium* (14), published in 1622, appear from the 1628 edition.<sup>12</sup> Besides these cases, we find, for example, that most of the references to Guevara (18) appear also for the first time in this edition, although his works had been translated into English several decades

12. The appearance of such an updated information of newly published books means, according to Bamborough that “although most of his erudition today seems recondite and only of antiquarian interest –if of any interest at all– it was to him and his first readers fresh and exciting, and part of a great and continuing expansion of knowledge” (Bamborough 1989: xxii).

before. Likewise, almost every quotation from Mercado's medical treatises (26) is included for the first time in 1628, in spite of the fact that they had been published several years before.

It is quite difficult and daring to draw a conclusion out of all these data related to the changes in each edition. There might be sundry factors to explain them: from chance to a sudden interest in Spanish works. Maybe it is the time to consider one important aspect that might be acting as a prejudice in our paper: we are examining the "Spanish works in the *Anatomy of Melancholy*" as if they were a whole, a coherent and closed system of references for Burton. Yet, we have already said that most of them are originally Latin texts, as the majority of the scientific and theological printed matter in Europe, so we might wonder: when Burton quotes, mentions and talks about these authors and books, is he having in mind a sort of "national identity", separated from others?

Again, the answer is not easy, especially in a work with such a copiousness of sources. Burton seems to know the national origin of some authors, and he openly says that Rodrigo de Fonseca, Cristóbal de Fonseca, Álvaro Gómez and many others writers are Spanish, but the knowledge of their birthplace does not mean he considers them a concrete and independent group of interest. The only internal evidence we have to solve this question is that of the proximity in the usage of Spanish sources in the *Anatomy*, that is, to see whether these works appear close together in the quotations. We have already referred to the concurrence of some novels of chivalry, clearly related to each other by origin and genre. Besides, there are also some events of the conquest of Western (and sometimes Eastern) Indies where there is a coincidence of Spanish authors, such as Acosta and Herrera y Tordesillas (Faulkner, Kiessling, Blair, 1989-1994: I, 44); some medical allusions, as when he mentions, among others, Luis de Mercado and Francisco Valles to broaden the points of view about the causes of the symptoms (Faulkner, Kiessling, Blair, 1989-1994: I, 419). One of the most curious concurrences is that of Arnau de Vilanova, Luis Mercado and Rodrigo de Castro –Spanish, according to Burton, but Portuguese in fact– (Faulkner, Kiessling, Blair, 1989-1994: I, 230), which could denote an interest in connecting them according to their nationality. In spite of this, and of the several other examples of simultaneity, we cannot consider it a systematic usage throughout the *Anatomy of Melancholy*; usually, it is just the common subject they deal with that brings them together, and, as we have already seen, the subjects of theology and Indies are mainly treated by Spanish authors.

One final point we would like to remark is some astonishing usage in Burton's masterpiece of works written by Jesuits. It is not strange that the relations dealing with discoveries of new lands, a good deal of them written by members of the society, would be used by Burton. For example, the accounts of Japan are taken from Acosta, Loyola, S. Francisco Javier (Faulkner, Kiessling, Blair, 1989-1994: II, 9). But maybe it is more amazing that he includes in his theological sources several Jesuit authors (Juan Luis de la Cerda, Juan Maldonado, Martín Azpilcueta, Juan de Pineda, Pedro de Ribadeneyra, Francisco Suárez, Francisco de Toledo, Juan Bautista Villalpando, and Ignacio de Loyola himself), usually

concerned with Counter-Reformation, and defending the Roman positions against the Church of England. Burton attacks all these “popish” attitudes, and, however, he includes most of their opinions in the *Anatomy*. It is one of the several contradictions he presents, in his attempt to show all the possible points of view concerning every subject.

Probably, the only conclusion we may draw from all this descriptive analysis is that Burton used Spanish works (not many, and just fashionable texts), usually in Latin (although he could have known some English translations), and that his interests were mainly concerned with theology and medicine. It is almost impossible to find in the *Anatomy* a systematic usage of these sources, as Burton’s masterpiece is not systematic at all;<sup>13</sup> its continuous growth through additions, the variety of subjects he puts together, the contradictory opinions he admits show a work of cumulative knowledge, though with an apparent clear structure, as Ruth A. Fox has pointed out (Fox 1976: 1 ff.). The attempt to reconstruct Burton’s usage of this sources is similar to that of Adso of Melk in *The Name of the Rose*, when, after the library has been on fire, he manages to rescue some pages, fragments, even some books. With them, he tries to reconstruct the whole meaning of the library. The result is, therefore, a story made out of blurred traces.

## APPENDIX I: SPANISH BOOKS AND BOOKS CONCERNING SPANISH SUBJECTS IN BURTON’S LIBRARY<sup>14</sup>

### A) SPANISH BOOKS:

[204] Brandolinus, Lippus [Brandolini, Aurelio]. *De ratione scribendi libri tres... Adjecti sunt, Jo. Ludovici Vives, d. Erasmi Roterodami, Conradi Celtis, Christophori Hegendorphini, de conscribendis epistolis libelli*. Basileae. (Ex off. J. Oporini). (1549, Mar.)

[306] Casaus, Bartholomaeus [Casas, Bartolomé de las], *Narratio regionum Indicarum per Hispanos quosdam devstatarum verissima: prius quidem... conscripta, & ano 1551. Hispali, Hispanice, anno vero hoc 1598. Latine excusa*. Francoforti. Sumpt. T. de Bry, & J. Saurii typ. 1598.

[324] Cerda, Joannes Ludovicus de la. *De excellentia coelestium spirituum; imprimis de angeli custodis ministerio, liber*. Parisiis. Ap. S. Cramoisy. 1631.

[391] Corranus, Antonius [Corro, Antonio de]. *Sapientissimi regis Salomonis concio de summo hominis bono, quam Hebraei Cobolet, Graeci & Latini Ecclesiasten vocant...* Londini. [J. Charlewood f.] per J. Wolfium. 1579.

13. According to this, we consider that Castells’ belief that the *Anatomy* is “one of the first English commentaries on Fernando de Rojas’ work” (Castells 1996: 71) implies a systematic presentation and analysis of this work, which is just used to exemplify some cases of love melancholy. Burton, then is using it in a fragmentary way, and not with a consistent study of the characters, as Castells supposes.

14. We follow Kiessling’s book, and use the numbers in his catalogue, as well as the descriptions

- [392] Cortesius, Ferdinandus [Cortés, Hernán]. *Praeclara... de nova maris oceani Hispania narratio... Carolo... transmissa: in qua continentur scitu,... incolarum mores puerorum sacrificia, & religiosas personas, potissimumque de celebri civitate Termiztitan... per doctorem Petrum Saguorrganum... in Latinum versa.* (Norimberga). (Per F. Peypus). (1524, 4 No. Mar.)
- [451] Delgadillo de Avellaneda, Bernaldino. *A Libell of Spanish lies: found at the sacke of Cales, discoursing the fight in the West Indies, ... and of the death of sir Frances Drake. With an answer... by Henrie Savile.* London. J. Windet. 1596.
- [512] Eichovius, Cyprianus. *Deliciae Hispaniae et index viatorius, indicans itinera, ab urbe Toledo, ad omnes in Hispania civitates...* Ursellis. Ex off. typog. C. Sutorii. 1604.
- [590] Fonseca, Christophorus. *Amphiteatrum amorum... A fratre Cornelio Curtio... Latio donatum.* Ingolstadii. Typ. W. Ederi. 1623.
- [695] [Gonzalez de Mendoza, Juan] Gonsalvus, Joannes. *Nova et succincta, vero tamen historia de amplissimo, potentissimoque, nostro quidem orbi hactenus incognito, sed perpaucis abhinc annis explorato regno China; ... Opera Marci Henningo Augustani.* Francofurdi ad Moenum. N. pub. 1601.
- [699] Granatensis, Ludovicus [Luis de Granada]. *Loci communes philosophiae moralis, in tres tomos digesti: in quibus Senecae, Plutarchi, aliorumque... sententiae,... continentur.* Coloniae. Ap. A. Quentelium. 1604.
- [733] Gutierrez de Toledo, Alvaro [Gutterius, A.]. *El sumario de las maravillosas: y espantables cosas que en el mundo han acontecido.* (Toledo). (Por Remon de Petras) (1524, Deziembre)
- [794] Herrera, Alphonsus de. *Disceptatio adversus Lutheranos de valore operum bonorum: qua dilucide ostenditur quid per virtutis opus Christianus quisque apud deum promoveat.* Pariis. Ap. S. Colinaeum. 1540.
- [864] Ignatius Loyola. *Mysteria patrum Jesuitarum. Ex ipsorum scriptis, cum fide, eruta.* Lampropli. Ap. R. Liberum. 1631.
- [982] [Lullius], Raymundinus. *Opusculum... de auditu kabbalístico: sive ad omnes scientias introductorium.* N.p. N. pub. 1601.
- [1044] Mendoca, Francisco de [Mendonca]. *Viridarium sacrae ac profanae eruditionis, ...* Coloniae Agrippinae. Ap. P. Henningium. 1633.
- [1050] Mercatus, Ludovicus. *Libellus, de essentia, causis, signis & curatione febris malignae; in qua maculae rubentes similes morsibus pulicum per cutem erumpunt.* Basileae. Per C. Waldkirch. 1594.
- [1345] Ribadeneira, Petrus. *Illustrium scriptorum religionis societatis Jesu catalogus,* Lugduni. Ap. J. Pillehotte. 1609.
- [1400] Salamanca, Alexius. *De republica Christi dialogi tres...* Lugduni. Ap. S. Barptolemaei Honorati. (Excud. J. Faure). 1556.
- [1484] Silva Figueroa, Garcia. *De rebus Persarum epistola... ad marchinem Bedmarii.* Antverpiae. Ex. off. Plantiniana. 1620.
- [1653] Vega, Didacus de la [Vega, Diego de la]. *Conciones vespertinae quadragesimales, super septem poenitentiales Psalmos...* Lugduni. Ap. H. Cardon. (Excud. Guich. Jullieron). 1600.

[1668] Villavicentio, Laurentius a. *De formandis sacris concionibus, seu de interpretatione scripturarum populari, libri III*. Antverpiae. Ap. haer. A. Birckmanni. 1565.

B) BOOKS CONCERNING SPANISH SUBJECTS:

[26] [Ali Abencufian / Miguel de Luna] *Almansor the learned and victorious king that conquered Spain. His life and death published by Robert Ashley, out of the librarie of the universitie of Oxford*. London [W. Stansby] f. John Parker. 1627.

[28] [Almansa y Mendoza, Andrés de]. *Two royall entertainments, lately given to the most illustrious prince Charles,... by the high and mighty Philip the fourth king of Spain,...* London [J. Haviland] f. N. Butter. 1623.

[41] Antwerp. *An historicall discourse, or rather a tragicall historie of the cite of Antwerpe, since the departure of king Philip... till this present yeare, 1586*. London. J. Windet. (1586)

[72] Baçan, Albaro de. *Relation of the expognable attempt and conquest of the ylande of Tercera, and all the ylands thereto adjoining...* London. T. Purfoote. [1583?]

[138] Bergen op Zoam. *A true reporte of the great overthrow lately given unto the Spaniards in their resolute assault of Bergen of Zoam, in the lowe countries*. London. G. El[d], sold. J. Hodgets. 1605.

[234b] Brunus, Ludovicus. *Cronica summaria serenissime de Hispaniarum regine: et de ejus obitu...* [London]. (R. Pynson). [1505?]

[291] Canary Islands. *The conquest of Grand Canaries, made this last summer by threescore and thirteene saile of shippes, sent forth at the command... of the sates generall of the United Provinces, to the coast of Spain and the Canarie-Isles....* London. P. S[hort] f. W. Aspley. 1599.

[321] [Cecil, William] Lord Roos. *A relation of the late entertainment of the... lord Roos his majesties ambassador extraordinarie to the king of Spaine...* London. E. Griffin f. N. Butter. 1617.

[337] Charles I. *A continuation of a former relation concerning the entertainment given to the prince his highnesse by the king of Spaine...* London. J. Haviland f. W. Barret. 1623.

[340] Charles I. *A true relation and journall, of the manner of the arrival, and magnificent entertainment, given to... prince Charles,... by the king of Spaine... at Madrid*. London. J. Haviland f. W. Barret. 1623.

[346] Churchyarde, Thomas. *A lamentable, and pitifull description, of the wofull warres in Flaundes, since the foure last yeares of the emperor Charles the fifth... untill this present yeare, and death of don John*. London. [H. Bynneman f.] R. Newberie. 1578.

[498] Du Val, Michael. *Rosa Hispani-Anglica seu malum punicum Angl' Hispanicum*. [London]. [Eliot's Court Press?]. [1622?]

[501] E.J. *A letter from a souldier of good place in Ireland, ... touching the notable victorie of her majesties forces there, against the Spaniards, and Irish rebels:...* London. [T. Creede?] f. S. Waterson. 1602.

[529] England, Public Documents. *Articles of peace, entercourse, and commerce, concluded in the names of ... James... and Philip the third, king of Spaine,... in a treatie at London the 18. of*

- August...1604. Translated out of Latine into English.* London. R. Barker. 1605.
- [689] Goes, Damianus a, Hieronymus Paulus, Hieronymus Blancus and Jacobus Tevius. *De rebus Hispanicis, Lusitanicis, Aragonicis, Indicis & Aethiopicis. Damiani a Goes, ... Hieronymi Pauli,... Hieronymy Blanci,... Jacobi Tevii... opera...* Coloniae Agrippinae. In off. Birckmannica, sumpt. A. Mylii. 1602.
- [692] Gonsalvius, Reginaldus, *Sanctae inquisitionis Hispanicae artes aliquot detectae, ac palam traductae. Exempla aliquot, praeterea quae suo quaeque loco in ipso opere sparsa sunt,...* Heidelbergae. (Excud. M. Schirat). 1567.
- [709] Gregorius. *Gregorius de registris regum Hispaniae* (a reference, which may not be in Burton's hand?)
- [756] [Haslop, Henry], H., H. *Newes out of the coast of Spaine. The true report of the honourable service for England, performed by sir Frauncis Drake in... Aprill and Mya last past, 1587, upon Cales, and also since that in the Cape S. Vincent and Cape Saker:...* London. W. How f. H. Haslop, sold E. White. 1587.
- [760] Hawes, John. *The valiant and most laudable fight performed in the straights, by the Centurion of London, against five Spanish gallies.* [London]. [J. Charlewood]. [1591]
- [824] Hoghelande, Ewaldus de. *Historiae aliquot transmutationis metalicae... pro defensione alchymiae contra hostirum rabien. Adjecta est... Raymundi Lullii vita,...* Coloniae Agrippinae. Sumpt. B. Gualtherii. 1604.
- [897] Jonghe, Ellert de. *The true and perfect declaration of the mighty army by sea, made and prepared by the generall states of the United Provinces, ... to hinder the proceedings of the king of Spaine,...* London. [S. Stafford f.] by J. Wolfe. 1600.
- [961] Le Roy, Pierre. *A pleasant satyre or poesie: wherein is discovered the Catholicon of Spaine...* (trans. T.W.) [Running head] "A satyre Menippized" [London]. [Widow Orwin f. T. Man]. [1595]
- [962] [Lewkenor, Lewis]. *A discourse of the usage of the English fugitives, by the Spaniard.* London. T. Scarlet f. J. Drawater. [1595]
- [963] [Lewkenor, Lewis]. *The state of the English fugitives under the king of Spaine and his ministers. Containing, besides, a discourse of the sayd kings manner of government, and the injustice of many late dishonourable practices by him contrived.* London. [T. Scarlet] f. J. Drawater. 1595
- [987] M., D.F.R. de. *An answer to the untruthes, published and printed in Spaine, in glorie of their supposed victorie achieved against our English navie, and... Charles lord Howard, ... sir Francis Drake, and the rest ... by a Spanish gentleman... Faithfully translated by I.L.* [James Lea]. London. J. Jackson f. T. Cadman. 1589.
- [993] Maffeijs, Joannes Petrus [Maffei, Giovanni Pietro]. *De vita et moribus Ignatii Loiolae... libri III.* Coloniae. Ap. M. Cholinum. 1585.
- [1042] Menantel S. Denis, [François] de. *A congratulation to France, upon the happy aliance with Spaine.* [London]. [G. Eld] f. T. Thorp, sold. W. Burre. 1612.
- [1215] [Peeke, Richard] Pyke, Richard. *Three to one: being, an English-Spanish combat, performed by a westerne gentleman, of Tarystoke in Devonshire with an English quarter-staffe, against three Spanish rapiers and pondiards,...* [London]. [A. Mathewes f. J. Trundle]. [1626]
- [1337] Report. *A true and credible report, of a great and very daungerous fight at sea, ... the 25. of May*

- last past 1600. within the straightes of Giblaltare.* London. E. A[lilde] f. W. Burre. [1600]
- [1351] Rider, John. *The coppie of a letter sent from m. Rider, deane of Saint Patricks, concerning the newes out of Ireland, and of the Spaniards landing...* London. [F.Kingston] f. T. Man. 1601.
- [1397] Safeguard. *The safegard of saylers, or great rutter: containing the courses, distances, deapths... for the entering of sundry harboroughs both of England, France, Spaine... Translated out of Dutch into English, by Robert Norman.* London. A. Islip. 1600.
- [1509] Spain. *A true discourse of the armie which the king of Spaine caused to bee assembled int eh haven of Lisbon,... in the yeare 1588. against England... Translated out of French into English, by Daniel Archdeacon.* London. J. Wolfe. 1588.
- [1677] Wadsworth, James. *The present estate of Spayne, or a true relation of some remarkable things touching the court, and government of Spayne, with a catalogue of all the nobility, with their revenues.* London. A. M[athewes] f. A. Ritherdon. 1630.

## APPENDIX II: SPANISH BOOKS AND BOOKS CONCERNING SPANISH SUBJECTS IN *THE ANATOMY OF MELANCHOLY*

### A) REFERENCES TO SPANISH HISTORICAL CHARACTERS:

- Alfonso II de Aragon, king of Naples [apud Philippe de Commynes]
- Alfonso V, king of Aragon and Naples [apud Jean Bodin / Antonio Beccadelli]
- Alfonso X, king of Leon and Castile [no bibliographical reference]
- Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, duque de Alba [no bibliographical reference]
- Fernando I, rey de Aragón, Sicilia y Cerdeña [no bibliographical reference]
- Fernando II, rey de Aragón, Catilla y León [apud Baldasare Castiglione]
- Federico de Aragón, rey de Nápoles [no bibliographical reference]
- Gonzalo de Córdoba [apud Paolo Giovio]
- Enrique III, king of Castile [apud Juan de Mariana]
- Isabel I, queen of Castile and Leon [apud Baldasare Castiglione]
- Juana, queen of Castile and Leon [apud Álvaro Gómez]
- Bernardino de Mendoza [apud Jean Bodin]
- Pedro el Cruel, king of Castile and Leon [apud Jean Froissart]
- Felipe I, king of Castile [apud Álvaro Gómez]
- Felipe II, king of Spain [apud Emanuel van Meteren]
- Felipe III, king of Spain [no bibliographical reference]
- Ambrosio Espínola, marqués de los Balbases [no bibliographical reference]

### B) SPANISH AUTHORS AND BOOKS:

- (1) José de Acosta, *De natura orbis libri duo*, 1596  
*Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, 1590.
- (2) *Guzmán de Alfarache*, 1599.
- (3) *Amadís de Gaula*, 1508.
- (4) Arnau de Vilanova, *Breviarium*

*Liber de sigillis*

*Aphorismes*

*Liber de vinis*

*De amore heroico*

- (5) Abraham Avenezra de Toledo [no bibliographical reference]
- (6) Bartolomé de las Casas [no bibliographical reference]
- (7) Alfonso de Castro, *Adversus omnes herejes lib. XIII*, 1534.
- (8) Juan Luis de la Cerda, *De excellentia coelestium spirituum, imprimis de Angeli custodis ministerio liber*, 1631.
- (9) Miguel de Cervantes, *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha*, 1605, 1615.
- (10) Hernán Cortés, *Nova Maris Oceani Hispania (?)*, 1532.
- (11) Martín del Río, *Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex*, 1599.
- (12) Cipriano Eichovio, *Deliciae Hispaniae et index viatorum*, 1604.
- (13) Rodrigo de Fonseca, *Consultationum medicinalium*, 1622.
- (14) Cristóbal de Fonseca, *Amphiteatrum amorum*, 1623.
- (15) Álvaro Gómez de Castro, *De rebus gestis a Francisco Ximeno, Cisnerio, Archiepiscopo Toletano*, 1569.
- (16) Bernardino Gómez Miedes, *Commentariorum de Sali libri quattuor*, 1572.
- (17) Fray Luis de Granada [no bibliographical reference]
- (18) Antonio de Guevara, *Libro aureo de Marco Aurelio*, 1528.
- (19) Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas [no bibliographical reference]
- (20) San Ignacio de Loyola, *Conclave Ignatii (?)*, 1558.
- (21) Pedro de Ledesma, *Segunda parte de la summa en la qual se cifra y summa toda la moral y casos de conciencia que no pertenecen a los sacramentos*, 1608.
- (22) Ramón Llull [no bibliographical reference]
- (23) Juan Maldonado, *Summula quaestiones casuum conscientia difficillimas in se completeus*, 1604.
- (24) Juan de Mariana, *Historiae de rebus Hispaniae*, 1592.
- (25) Pedro de Medina [no bibliographical reference]
- (26) Luis Mercado, *De mulierum affectionibus* (1594)  
*De morbis haereditariis* (1605)  
*De melancholia* (1605)  
*De morborum internorum curatione* (1605)  
*De morbis mulierum communibus, virginum, viduarum, sterilium, praegnantium, puerperarum & nutricum* (1588)
- (27) Nicolás Monardes [no bibliographical reference]
- (28) Benito Arias Montano, *Commentaria in duodecim prophetas*, 1571.
- (29) Pedro Morales, *De Christo Domino, Sanctissima Virgine Deipara, veraque eius dulcissimo & virginali sponso Josepho (?)*, 1614.
- (30) Jerónimo Nadal, *Adnotationes et meditationes in euangelia*, 1607. [1594]
- (31) Diego Ortúñez de Calahorra, *Espejo de príncipes y caballeros. El Caballero del Febo*, 1555.
- (32) Martín [Navarro] Azpilcueta, *Oratio de casibus conscientiae*, 1588
- (33) *Palmerín de Oliva*, 1511.
- (34) Sebastián Pérez [no bibliographical reference]

- (35) Antonio Pérez, *Aphorismos*, 1603.
- (36) Juan de Pineda, *Commentariorum in Job libri tredecim*, 1602.
- (37) Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Vita Ignatii Loiolae*, 1572.
- (38) Francisco Ribera, *In sacram b. Iohannis Apostoli & Euangelistae Apocahypsin commentarij*, 1591.
- (39) Fernando de Rojas, *Celestina*, 1499.
- (40) Miguel Servet [apud Vaticanus]
- (41) García de Silva y Figueroa [no bibliographical reference]
- (42) Domingo de Soto [no bibliographical reference]
- (43) Diego de Estella, *In sacrosanctum Iesu Christi Euangelium secundum Lucam enerrationum*, 1577-8.
- (44) Diego de Estúñiga [no bibliographical reference]
- (45) Francisco Suárez, *Metaphysicarum disputationum tomi duo*, 1605.
- (46) Francisco de Toledo, *Commentaria una cum quaestionibus in tres libros Aristotelis de Anima*, 1581.
- (47) Alfonso de Toledo, el Tostado, *In Genesim explanatio. In librum Paradoxarum. Commentaria in lib. I et II regum. Las catorze questiones del Tostado*.
- (48) Francisco Valles, *De Sacra Philosophia*, 1587  
*Controversiarum medicarum et philosophicarum libri decem*, 1556  
*Methodus medendi*, 1588
- (49) Cristóbal de la Vega, *Liber de arte medendi*, 1564.
- (50) Juan Bautista Villalpando [no bibliographical reference]
- (51) Juan Luis Vives, *De veritate fidei Christianae libri V*, 1543  
*De anima et vita libri tres*, 1538  
*De institutione foeminae christianae libri tres*, 1523  
*Commentarium in De civitate Dei*, 1531  
*Epistolae*, 1556; 1571-2  
*De disciplinis*, 1531  
*Fabula de homine*, 1518.

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## MYCETES' RHETORICAL FAILURE IN CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE'S *TAMBURLAINE THE GREAT*

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*Tamburlaine the Great* is a good instance of Marlowe's mastery of scholarly rhetoric. In this play, the author's portrait of his hero as great warrior is achieved through the emphasis on his rhetorical skills. Metaphor, hyperbole, and *amplificatio* throughout his speeches. The '...Scythian Shepherd' is a successful leader insofar as he is a skilful rhetorician. By contrast, the failures of Mycetes, the Persian King, are presented through his rhetorical inability and inaccuracies. These render his speeches nonsensical, and therefore he comes to be represented as a ridiculous figure. Using Puttenham's *The Arte of English Poesie* as a major referent, I intend to prove that Mycetes misunderstands the rhetorical precepts and the philosophy of language of Marlowe's time. His linguistic isolation is taken here as the key feature that explains his political failure.

During the sixteenth century, rhetoric and magniloquence were essential disciplines in any type of education, and they also constituted the main tool for any work of literature. Literary compositions were enriched with all types of rhetorical devices and writers knew which stylistic tools were necessary on every occasion. This is exactly what Christopher Marlowe does in *Tamburlaine The Great*: he chooses the most suitable stylistic figures to shape all the characters in the play. *Tamburlaine The Great* is a display of magniloquence and oratorical language, which provides the story with an attractiveness that goes far beyond the play's plot. And, even though T.S. Eliot disagreed with this idea affirming that "Marlowe's rhetoric consists in a pretty simple huffe-snuffe bombast" (cited in Leech 1964: 13), most critics, especially Donald Peet (1959) and Harry Levin (1954), have pointed out that, as a master of rhetorical rules, Marlowe selected precisely what he needed to define the protagonists of his play. Donald Peet claims that the fact that all the characters speak rhetorically is merely intended to show that Tamburlaine is the supreme orator, as he surpasses everybody in this field. Presented as his opposite, Mycetes, the Persian King, fails in the task of being a good speaker due to his lack of understanding of all the stylistic rules and the philosophy of language of his time. In spite of all Mycetes' attempts to

succeed in his aims, Tamburlaine soon defeats him discursively, and therefore all the king's lords, including Theridamas and Meander, mock him.

Mycetes is linguistically isolated and helpless; to explain the cause of his inefficacy, I would like to concentrate first on the philosophical concept of language up to the sixteenth century, in order later to proceed with a deeper analysis of the stylistic features present in his orations.

Michel Foucault's linguistic analysis of the Platonic and Aristotelian universals, and the idea of similarity between the different ethereal and material entities, demonstrates how inferior things have a tendency to emulate the superior ones in order to improve their own qualities. This idea of imitation was present in every field of study and, from a more literary and linguistic perspective, it is presumed how important it was for anyone to follow the rhetorical rules if they wanted to imitate and speak as correctly and persuasively as an excellent orator. It is Marion Trousedale's *Shakespeare and the Rhetoricians* (1982) that best explores the connections between these philosophical concepts and their repercussions in the study of language and literary works. According to Trousedale, the Elizabethans were not structuralists, but methodists as they were especially concerned with theories and rules that could be aiding for their tasks. If these thoughts are applied to the play, it could be seen how Mycetes attempts to emulate a proper orator by using rhetorical skills, but he fails because he lacks that knowledge of eloquence. He is unable to understand the precepts correctly due to the confusion in his mental schemes since he mistakes the correspondences between *the forms of things* and *the forms of discourse*. Let us compare at this point how both characters, Mycetes and Tamburlaine, use the same epithet on two different occasions. In the first act, the Persian noble speaks to Theridamas about his powerful army, which, according to him, would easily destroy the enemy:

That I may view these milk-white steeds of mine,  
All loaded with the heads of killed men.  
And from their knees, even to their hoofs below,  
Besmeared with blood, that makes a dainty show. (1.1.77-80)

The epithet "milk-white" is also present in one of Tamburlaine's interventions, but in a very different way, as the warrior is addressing and flattering his beloved Zenocrate:

With milk-white harts upon an ivory sled,  
Thou shalt be drawn amidst the frozen poles,  
And scale the icy mountains' lofty tops:  
Which with thy beauty will be soon resolved. (1.2.98-101)

Though the adjective is the same, the contexts are disparate and it obviously seems an epithet more suitable for a topic like the one described by Tamburlaine. It does not seem appropriate to be used in the warlike background depicted by Mycetes. He knows the attribute may sound effective, but, as he confuses the correspondences between the signs and the meanings, he does not realise that this is not the right occasion for that adjective to be used. On the other hand, Tamburlaine knows how to choose the appropriate words on every particular

occasion, and, when describing his army, he uses grandiloquent and powerful words that seem more convenient for a military context:

And bullets like Jove's dreadful thunderbolts,  
 Enrolled in flames and fiery smouldering mists,  
 [...]
   
 And with our sun-bright armour as we march,  
 We'll chase the stars from heaven, and dim their eyes  
 That stand and muse at our admired arms. (2.3.19-24)

As a skilful orator, Tamburlaine would never say a word in an inappropriate context. Nevertheless, not only does Mycetes misuse the epithet, but, besides this, he is making use of a figurative language that could be interpreted as failure instead of the victory he is trying to suggest: his image may not represent his army with the bleeding heads of his enemies, but rather his own forces returning defeated. The Persian King tries to be eloquent, he knows what he is trying to do but he fails to do so, as his knowledge of words, things and the way they correspond is fundamentally flawed.

Foucault suggests that *seeing* and *proving* are not the steps to attain any type of learning; it is only by interpretation that knowledge can be reached. Once the similarities between the ethereal and the material worlds have been interpreted we can approach knowledge itself. This is precisely the problem for Mycetes. He is incapable of a correct interpretation of the forms of discourse, as his comprehension of the rules is limited. As Marion Trousedale puts it, "it is evident that if we do not understand the particulars, it is not because they cannot be understood by their own nature, but by reason of our defect: because we cannot comprehend the infinite multitude of them" (1982: 12). It seems that this defect is an innate quality in Mycetes: he was destined to be an unsuccessful leader since his birth because the favourable stars were not then present. Cosroe expresses it thus:

Now to be ruled and governed by a man,  
 At whose birthday Cynthia with Saturn joined,  
 And Jove, the sun and Mercury denied  
 To shed their influence in his fickle brain. (1.1.12-15)

On the other hand, Tamburlaine is constantly boasting about the fact that the gods are always favouring him, and that he even equals them, as he is able to control his own destiny:

I hold the Fates bound fast in iron chains  
 And with my hand turn Fortune's wheel about  
 [...]
   
 And Jove himself will stretch his hand from heaven,  
 To ward the blow, and shield me safe from harm. (1.2.175-75; 180-81)

The place of birth and origin were two factors that were considered extremely influential by rhetoricians such as George Puttenham and Thomas Wilson, because these elements took an important part in the development of a good orator. Mycetes was not favoured at his birth, hence his rhetorical inability. He

does not succeed in deciphering the signs and their meanings, and this renders all his interventions ridiculous. Probably, the dialogue between him and Tamburlaine in the second act could be used to best illustrate this inadequacy. Mycetes feels insecure and does not even know what to say in response to Tamburlaine's assertions, so he repeatedly changes his answers, being in the end unable to find the most appropriate ones. In the second act, we read:

TAMBURLAINE

I would entreat you to speak but three wise words.

MYCETES

So can I when I see my time. (2.5.25-26)

It is obvious that Mycetes needs time to process all the information he needs to use words appropriately. Even with this time he fails as a result of his oratorical inefficacy.

It should also be noticed at this point that this is the only occasion throughout the play when both characters are together. Tamburlaine's superiority is presented in opposition to Mycetes' weakness: the King is discursively beaten in slightly more than twenty lines. It takes Tamburlaine more effort, though, to beat Bajazeth as they seem to be at a more similar rhetorical level. But, despite trying hard to endure Tamburlaine's attack, Mycetes fails, although he is unaware of this defeat as once again he misinterprets the situation.

The Scythian warrior plays with the meanings of words because he has the necessary linguistic skills to do so. Marion Trousdale, as well as Michel Foucault, makes a distinction between words and things. According to the first, "knowledge of words comes first in time" while "knowledge of things first in importance" (1970: 25). Mycetes, nevertheless, could never be a good orator since both types of knowledge are scarcely present in him, and, even when they are, they are often misinterpreted, as we have seen, for instance, in the usage of the epithet "milk-white" in contrast to Tamburlaine.

Siegfried Wyler suggests that Marlowe endeavours to use words referring to their basic meanings, omitting their complex senses (1967: 311), and this indicates that the word denotations in the play are defined by what the characters really mean, and, if they play with them, as Tamburlaine does plenty of times, they are aware of what they are attempting to imply on doing so. On the other hand, Mycetes is incapable of making the right decisions, of matching the words with their real meanings, and that is why, as Richard A. Martin claims, "his threats are empty and his choice of words inept" (1978: 251). It might have been striking for the audience of the play to hear Mycetes say "Theridamas farewell ten thousand times" (1.1.82) in the moving tone in which we suppose he utters the sentence. This formulaic construction is more in keeping with a sentimental setting, as it happens, for example, in *Romeo and Juliet* when the main characters are saying farewell. Once more, despite knowing the structure, Mycetes does not provide the proper context for the linguistic effect demanded by a particular situation.

"When words are separated from things, they become discursive as well as expressive" (Trousdale 1982: 21). Tamburlaine takes advantage of this fact and

uses it in his speeches, playing, as said above, with words. However, this skill is missing in Mycetes; he does not know how to make proper use of the different parts of speech.

Richard A. Martin explains that the King's metaphorical incompetence is due to his misunderstanding of the concepts; he fails in the attempt to match the relevant similarities. In contrast to Tamburlaine, Mycetes' employment of metaphors is far from being plausible. Even though Martin also mentions the internal confusion in Mycetes, he argues that the fact that Mycetes fails is a consequence of his lack of interest in the arts of rhetoric. When Mycetes affirms, as he is talking to Meander, that "'tis a pretty toy to be a Poet" (2.2.54), Martin has suggested that "Mycetes dismisses poetry as a *toy*" because "the low esteem in which Mycetes holds poetry reveals his further ignorance of the power poetry possesses in the dramatic world" (1978: 253). However, I do not totally share this opinion, as I believe that Mycetes really means what he is saying, that poetry and rhetoric are precursors to acting wisely and persuasively. To be a good leader, he considers it important to be able to master as perfectly as possible the figurative and oratorical skills fashionable during that period, as described by Puttenham: "learning and art teacheth a schollar to speak, so doth it also teach a counsellour, and aswell an old man as a yong man, a man in authoritie, aswell as a private person, and a pleader aswell as a preacher, every man after his sort and calling as best becommeth" (Willcock & Walker 1936: 140).

When Mycetes is talking about the threat that Tamburlaine represents, he affirms: "And as I hear, doth mean to pull my plumes,/ Therefore ...tis good and meet for to be wise" (1.1.33-34). With these words, he declares that he is aware of the necessity of being an intelligent and persuasive orator if he wants to beat Tamburlaine. The expression "to pull my plumes" works as a metaphor and a synecdoche, representing Mycetes' army. However, it could also be tightly connected to the idea of a rhetorical combat between Mycetes and Tamburlaine, especially if we take into account that the plumes in the helmet could be associated with the feathers, that is, the quills, used in writing. Hence the connection between the military and the linguistic aspects represented by the plumes. If Tamburlaine wants to pull Mycetes' plumes, this suggests that the idea of a combat of wit and rhetoric is implied in the metaphor. Tamburlaine knows that, and that is why, when Mycetes' army is approaching, he asks if he "should play the orator" (1.2.129).

Mycetes knows that he needs to be wise for this linguistic combat. But, being aware of his stylistic limitations, he assumes that it is essential for him to have someone he can rely upon, and so, he feels confident because he presumes that he can count on Meander and Theridamas to help him to defeat his enemy. Addressing Meander, he declares:

Well, well, Meander, thou art deeply read:  
And having thee, I have a jewel sure:  
Go on my lord, and give your charge I say,  
Thy wit will make us conquerors today. (2.2.55-58)

With these sentences, Mycetes is implying that he knows it is not his intellect, but Meander's wit that will lead them to victory, in the same way he declares

that Theridamas will provide them success by the way he talks:

Go, stout Theridamas, thy words are swords  
And with thy looks thou conquerest all thy foes. (1.1.74-75)

Not only does Mycetes need other people to talk on his behalf to help him, but, when he speaks, he is always looking for approval for his words. He feels insecure about them because he does not know whether they are appropriate. In act I, he asks Meander: "I might command you to be slain for this, / Meander, might I not?" (1.1.23-24). And in the same act, the necessity of confirmation is repeated: "How like you this, my honourable lords? / Is it not a kingly resolution?" (1.1.54-55). He needs refutation for his speeches and other people's words to help him to succeed in being a good king. He is dependent on his lords. Even when he argues with his brother and asks for revenge, he seems defenceless:

Well here I swear by this my royal seat  
Embossed with silk as best beseems my state,  
To be revenged for these contemptuous words. (1.1.97)

Besides this need for other people's rhetoric, Mycetes makes clear at the very beginning of the play that he lacks the wit and magniloquence necessary to be a good orator, being this the cause of his reliance on other people to help him:

I find myself aggrieved,  
Yet insufficient to express the same:  
For it requires a great and thundering speech  
Good brother tell the cause unto my lords  
I know you have a better wit than I. (1.1.1-5)

As he affirms (1.1.22), his lords know his little wit, and, therefore, the fact that he cannot speak eloquently. This flaw is what leads other wittier characters as Cosroe or Tamburlaine to mock him. They know Mycetes would never be as good an orator as them because of his lack of rhetorical understanding. Both of them mock the king's failure: Cosroe openly declares that to Mycetes on more than one occasion, and Tamburlaine either ridicules Mycetes with his irony or talks to other people about Mycetes' inability, as he does, for instance with Theridamas: "In thee, [...] I see the folly of thy emperor" (1.2.166-167).

But, although Mycetes is conscious of this, he says to Meander: "I am abused Meander" (1.1.106), he resigns himself to this mockery because he knows he cannot do anything to prevent it. This mockery will eventually be the cause of his failure as a ruler and an orator.

Mycetes fails because he misinterprets situations and lacks the understanding of the order of words and things. He does not succeed in matching the words with their appropriate meanings and that is the reason why his speeches sound nonsensical and incongruous. He tries to speak persuasively, but his rhetoric can only render him ridiculous because he cannot fully comprehend the linguistic precepts. Mycetes knows his inability and that is why he needs to rely on other people. He is isolated and does not find the required support because his lords know his rhetorical inefficacy and his gradual failure as a political ru-

ler. His mental schemes and his correspondences between signs and meanings are confused, so his speeches. It is his flaw. And, even though the Latin maxim "*scientia non habet inimicum nisi ignorantem*" (Willcock & Walker 1936: 140) affirms that knowledge is accessible to anyone interested in it, it is our defect if we cannot reach it. In spite of knowing what it is all about, Mycetes is out of the rhetorical game because he is unable to understand and apply the rules correctly. And, though he tries hard, he knows he will always be the loser.

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## SHAKESPEARE STUDIES

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## WHAT'S IN A NAME: AND MORE

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Drawing on examples from a range of sixteenth and seventeenth century writers, including Erasmus, More (and work devoted to More), Shakespeare, and Milton, this paper explores the cratylitic and other forms of punning and wordplay—especially multilingual punning—as a serious as well as comic form. The paper takes the syllable “mor-” as a case in point. This paper sustains the underlying argument that only by abandoning later Enlightenment prejudices against puns can we come to terms with much of what now seems foreign to us in the earlier period.

A remarkable feature of sixteenth and early seventeenth-century European culture is its penchant for homophones and wordplay on names, in the tradition stemming in part from Plato's *Cratylus*. Shakespeare, whose weakness for the “fatal Cleopatra” of the pun comes to us filtered through later prejudices, plays not only on his own name “Will” but on the multiple possibilities in other names, including the Suffolk whose enemy wishes him “suffocated” —“For Suffolk's duke, may he be soffocate,” (*2Henry VI* 1.1.124)—, who dies in the “puddle” of blood that recalls his other name of “Poole” (4.1.71). Even “Iago,” it has been suggested, may summon both Latin “ago” (perform or act but also accuse) and Spanish Sant Iago, conqueror of Moors.<sup>1</sup> Such cratylitic or polyglot punning has long since become foreign to Post-Enlightenment ears, erased by standardized orthographies that remove it from the eye as well. What I propose to explore here is a pervasive but largely effaced network that not only exploited the crosslingual potential within a single name but implicated a single syllable (“mor-”) in the burgeoning lexicon of early distinctions of color and “race” in several of its senses. This metamorphic “mor-” (actually put on stage in the

1. For Shakespeare's “fatal Cleopatra,” see Sherbo ed. 1966: VII, 74. On Iago and Sant Iago, see Griffin 1998. Unless otherwise noted, all Shakespeare quotations are from *The Riverside Shakespeare*, Evans ed. 1974. Bibliographical reference to editions of single plays are given in footnotes. Translations are my own, with the gratefully acknowledged assistance of Stephen Hinds, Brendon Reay, and Diana de Armas Wilson, who with Terence Cave, Roland Greene, Jeffrey Masten, Lois Potter, Gary Taylor, Peter Stallybrass, Judy and Dick Kennedy, Peter Donaldson, Richard Rand, Timothy Hampton, Paul Werstine, Philippa Berry, Margaret Tudeau-Clayton and audiences at Cambridge, Oxford, London, Southampton, Sussex, University of Michigan, University of Pennsylvania, Newberry Library, and L'Institut du Monde Anglophone / Paris III also offered invaluable comments and suggestions.

“Morr-Is” dance of *Two Noble Kinsmen*) was already part of a rich tradition of wordplay in the Latin texts known not just to humanists but to schoolboys like Shakespeare himself. But what I want to begin with—before moving on to this larger network—are the changes rung on the name of Thomas More, familiar to Morians perhaps (from the work of Germain Marc’hadour and others) but largely unknown even to specialists of the period.<sup>2</sup>

Scholars have long been aware of the links between More and Greek *Moria* or “folly” from Erasmus’s *Encomium Moriae*, simultaneously *The Praise of Folly* (or *Stultitiae Laus*) and punning praise of his friend. More’s Latin name of *Morus*—in a culture in which Latin was still the lingua franca—had as one of its meanings “moron” or “fool,” counterpart to the *Moria* that gave this “Praise of Folly” its title. Erasmus makes the pun explicit in his dedicatory letter, remarking on More’s name “which is just as close to *Moria*, the Greek word for folly, as you are remote from the thing itself.”<sup>3</sup> Within the text, Folly herself makes the link with the familiar fools-cap and asses’ ears but also with the higher folly of the *Phaedrus* and New Testament passages on the “fool for Christ” and foolishness of the cross that Greek reason cannot comprehend.<sup>4</sup>

This link was evoked repeatedly by both enemies and friends. Germain de Brie exploits the literal sense of *moros* in the invective of his *Antimorus* (1519), a volley to which More responded: “*Antimoron* tuam, non *Moriam* modo, sed Maniam quoque spirare” (“Your *Antimorus* is actually a *moros* through its genuine folly ... Far worse, because its furious tone, its shrill invectives breath a maniacal spirit”).<sup>5</sup> George Joye notes the link between “More” and “fool” on the title page of his *Subversion of More’s Foundation* (1534): “*Moros* in Greke is *stultus* in Latyn / a fool in Englyssh.”<sup>6</sup> Thomas Audley, who succeeded More as Lord Chancellor of England, compares him to the foolish wise man of Aesop’s fable, a comparison to which More responded: “whome my Lorde taketh here for the wyse men and whome he meaneth to be fooles, I cannot very well gesse. ... But I trust my Lorde rekeneth me amonge the foles, and so reken I my self, as my name is

2. The best summary of Marc’hadour’s work in this regard appears in Marc’hadour 1977.

3. See Adams ed. 1989: 3. Both Adams 1989: 87, and Marc’hadour 1977: 550, note the further wordplay (in the “Haec est Moriae pars” of the final section of Erasmus’s text) on *Moria* and *Maria* (from Luke 10:42), a pun that Marc’hadour notes may be ‘made in England,’ where long *a* has always tended to a dark *o*-like quality.”

4. See for example 1 Corinthians 1 and 2, with Erasmus’s Folly’s praise of a higher form of madness and folly of a man possessed by the ardor of Christian piety [quod christiane pietatis ardor semel totos arripuit] in Le Clerc 1703-06: IV, 500 AB. The final section of *Folly* (240ff) alludes to Paul’s visionary *raptus* (which cannot be put into words), echoed along with 1 Corinthians 2:9 when Bottom awakens from his dream in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*.

5. See Germain de Brie’s *Antimorus* (1519), cited and translated in Marc’hadour 1977: 551, with More’s retort in Rogers ed. 1947: 236 / 872 .

6. See the title page of George Joye, *Subversion of More’s Foundation* (1534) with Marc’hadour 1977: 552, 554, on the further punning on “more” and “mocke” and the spelling of More as possessive “Moris” (“M. Moris letter”). More dismisses and returns the “mocke” in his *Answer to the Poisoned Book*.

in Greke.”<sup>7</sup> Stapleton’s seventeenth-century life of More (*Thomae Mori Vita*) cites More’s reply when rebuked by Wolsey for dissenting from “so many noble and prudent men”: “God must be highly thanked that the King’s Highness has but one fool (here *stultus*, counterpart of *moros*) in his supreme Council.”<sup>8</sup> Stapleton also responds to the anecdote (familiar from Hall’s Chronicle) of More’s jesting on the scaffold with yet more puns on *morosophos* and *sophomoros*, foolish wiseman and wise fool.<sup>9</sup> Friendly punning on the *Moria* or folly in More’s name highlights the contrast between this sharpest of wits and the “moronic” or “dull.” Erasmus rehearses the paradox of this wise English *Morus* in the “Master Moron” of his letter to More in June 1516.<sup>10</sup> Vives writes of “the man most like a fool in name, but most unlike one in deed.”<sup>11</sup> Guillaume Budé underlines the contradiction of addressing More as *Morus* (“dull” as well as “fool”) – playing on the oxymoron of this “morosophe” or “foolish sage” as *Oxymorus* (“keen dull” or “sharp blunt”).<sup>12</sup>

Punning on *Moria* and the wise moron or *Morus* thus extended well beyond the *Encomium Moriae* through which the pun is best known to modern readers. But what may come as a surprise is how many other networks were enabled by the affiliations of More’s name. Perhaps the most common of English puns on “More” was the comparative corresponding to Latin *maior*, or greater. The *Book of Sir Thomas More* in which Shakespeare is said to have collaborated plays repeatedly on “More” and “more” (“Sheriff More, thou hast done more with thy good words than all they could with their weapons”), echoing the rhyme “When More some time had Chancellor been / No more suits did remain. / The like will never more be seen / Till More be there again.”<sup>13</sup> More himself is said to have responded to his fool’s “A king cannot make a Sir Thomas More” that “The King can make me Chancellor of the realm, then he will make Sir Thomas

7. The entire quotation is: “whome my Lorde taketh here for the wyse men and whome he meaneth to be fooles, I cannot very well gesse, I can not reade such riddles. For as Dauus saith in Terence (*Non sum Oedipus*) I may say you wot well (*Non sum Oedipus, sed Morus*) which name of mine what it signifieth in Greke, I nede not tel you. But I trust my Lorde rekeneth me amonge the foles, and so reken I my self, as my name is in Greke” (Rogers ed. 1947: 519 / 183f., with Marc’hadour 1977: 551-552).

8. See the Frankfurt 1689 edition of *Thomae Mori Vita*, ch. 13, 47-48, with Marc’hadour 1977: 552, and Reynolds ed. 1966.

9. Edward Hall’s comment on More at the scaffold (*Union of the Two Noble Families of Lancaster and York*, fol. CCXXVI v), quoted by Holinshed (App. A, p. 238) and by Foxe in *Acts and Monuments* (p. 1069) reads: “I cannot tell whether I shoulde call him a foolishe wyseman, or a wise foolishman, for vndoubtedly he beside his learnyng, had a great witte, but it was so mingled with tauntyng and mockyng, . . . that he thought nothing to be wel spoken except he had ministred some mocke in the comunicacion.”

10. The Latin is: “*Apud Morum non verear vel ineptire*” (Allen ed. 1906-58: 2, 242.24, with Marc’hadour 1977: 500).

11. See the translation in Marc’hadour 1977: 551, and Vives’ letter to Francis Cranevelt of 1525 (Vocht ed. 1928: no. 160).

12. See the September 9, 1518 letter of Guillaume Budé, Epistle of Sept. 9, 1528 (Rogers 1947: 126/9-14, and 132 / 228, with Marc’hadour 1977: 550).

13. See *Sir Thomas More* (2.3.181), Gabrieli and Melchiori eds. 1990: 106, which cites the contemporary rhyme reported in R. W. Chambers ed. 1936: 274, for the “more ... more” (2.3.181). See also 3.1.155ff.

*more*.<sup>14</sup> “More,” however, was also linked interlingually with *mores*, the Latin for “morals, behavior, manners or customs.” Sagundino described the English More as exemplar of the best *mores* or morals, a link also exploited in a poem by John Constable (“*ad Thomam Morum*”).<sup>15</sup> Punning on *Honores mutant mores* (“Honors change manners or morals”) underwrote an entire exchange between Sir Thomas More and Sir Thomas Manners.<sup>16</sup> The “moral” of *moralis* linked “More” with the tradition of “moralizing” or “moral” meaning. Randle Cotgrave’s *Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* cites English “Morall” as “belonging unto civilitie, or manners” and “morally” as meaning “in a morall sense,” highlighting the root (in *mores*) that allows John Fowler to play (in the caption to the engraving of More in his 1568 *Epistola*) on *Morus* and a “moral portrait not so easy to achieve.”<sup>17</sup> Yet another related pun on More’s name (from *mores*) was with Latin *morosus* (melancholy, saturnine, “morose”), the mood Erasmus opposed to the humanist ideal.<sup>18</sup> Budé writes to More: “No letter this year? ... Has sweet *Morus* changed for me to *morosus*?,” while Robert Whittington describes More as a “*ensor morum*,” in lines bristling with puns on *mores*, morals, and *morosus* or morose, characterizing this “*Morum censor hic urbicus*” (“censor of our city’s *mores*”) as “never morose” (*morosus minime*) and praising “the friendliness of his manner” that “makes More the man that he is” (“*Morosus minime / at moriger est sibi / Morum quippe ea comitas*”).<sup>19</sup>

The vernacular versions and metamorphic case endings of More’s Latin name contributed even further transmutations. Erasmus plays on *memento mori* as simultaneously remembrance of death (or *mors*) and of his friend More (genitive “*Mori*”), in variations on “My dear More is never absent from my mind” (“*Mori memoria*,” “*Mori mei memoria*,” “*mea memoria Morus*”) that link More with *memoria* as well as mortality.<sup>20</sup> In the dedication of his *Epistola* to Philip II in 1568, Fowler summons the link between “More” and death or *mors*: “*Te fecit vere vivere, More, mori*.”<sup>21</sup> Alan Cope’s couplet on More’s death in Stapleton’s *Vita Mori* exploits the variants

14. See Marc’hadour 1977: 557.

15. See Marc’hadour: 247, for Sagundino’s 1521 letter to Musuro; and Sylvester 1963: 529-530.

16. See Gibson and Patrick 1961 nos. 104-105: ), with Marc’hadour 1977: 554, who also cites the appearance of this proverb in *Rede me and be not wroth* (Strasbourg 1528): “I perceive well now that honores, / As it is spoken, mutant mores – where it may be “a sly attack on More, too popular in 1528 for an open attack.”

17. See Randle Cotgrave, *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (1611; facsimile rpt. Menston, England: The Scolar Press, 1968), under “Moral” and “Morally”; John Fowler’s 1568 *Epistola*, cited in Marc’hadour, “Name,” p. 554.

18. For this sense of *morosus* (from *mos*, *moris*, the root of *mores*), see Le Clerc ed. 1703-06: I, 2(1971), 491/19 and “*Vitiat enim omnem vitae jucunditatem morositas*” in his *Guide to Christian marriage* (Le Clerc ed. 1703-06: V, 673 C).

19. For Budé’s letter of August 12, 1519, see Rogers 1947: 162/59, with Marc’hadour 1977: 553 and 671 n.69, which notes that Budé’s pun is supported by long vowels (“pro More suavissimo morosus”). For the Latin and this translation of Whittington’s 1519 poem, see *Opusculum Roberti Whittingtoni in florentissima Oxoniensi academia laureati*, with Sylvester 1963b: 151-152.

20. “*Clavis adamantinis nostrae memoriae infixus est Morus, quos non nisi una mors valeat abrumperè*” (“More is fastened to our memory by adamantine nails, which nothing but death alone is able to break”), translated here by Marc’hadour. See chapter 32 of the first part of Erasmus’s *De duplici copia: verborum et rerum* (Le Clerc 1703-06: I, 26C TO 29E).

of “Moro,” “mori” and “moriens” or dying (“*Quis Moro nolit sic moriente mori?*”), adding a quatrain that plays on *mores* or morals.<sup>22</sup> In the 1556 *Il Moro* by Ellis Heywood—son of More’s niece and uncle of John Donne—a merchant declares that he will wear a ring with the inscription *Memento Mori*, “provided it be understood to put me in mind, not of death, but of you, Mr. More”—“non della morte, ma di voi, Signor Moro,” More’s Italian name.<sup>23</sup>

The polymorphic “mor-” further linked this English *Morus* with Latin *mora* or delay, the term sounded in English “moratorium,” French “demeurer,” Spanish “demora” and other vernaculars. (The *remora* or “eel,” linked with delay through Pliny’s description of its delaying of ships, is part of More’s own punning in *Utopia: velut remora retrahit ac remoratur*).<sup>24</sup> The link between Latin *mora* and Greek *moria* or “folly” was already familiar from Latin literature, appearing in Plautus’s *Miles Gloriosus* (well known to Renaissance writers) and in Suetonius’s report of a famous pun from Nero, transmitted through Erasmus’s influential *De Copia* (I, 9).<sup>25</sup> The varying case endings of More’s name also enabled connection with *amor* or “love” through the ablative *a More*. Caspar Cunradus’s 1615 distich beginning *Morus Amoris Amor* starts from this punning connection,<sup>26</sup> while More exploited the link between *amor* and *mora* in his *Carmen Gratulatorium* (1509) to Henry VIII on his wedding to Catherine of Aragon.<sup>27</sup> Such wordplay also extended well beyond

21. For Fowler’s 1568 dedication of the *Epistola*, see Marc’hadour 1977: 555 and Gibson 1961: 61.

22. See the Appendix to Stapleton’s *Vita Mori*, with Marc’hadour 1977: 555, who also cites Thomas Lineaues’ epitaph for Erasmus: “*Moro ne careat, non fugit ipse mori.*”

23. Ellis Heywood, *Il Moro*, ed. by R. L. Deakins, Cambridge, Mass. (1972), p. 62, translated by Marc’hadour 1977: 555, and discussed in Dennis E. Rhodes, “*Il Moro*: An Italian View of Sir Thomas More” in *England and the Continental Renaissance: Essays in Honour of J.B. Trapp*, eds. Edward Chaney and Peter Mack (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1990), pp. 67-72.

24. See the Loeb edition of Pliny’s *Natural History*, trans. H. Rackham (London: William Heinemann, 1942); and *Utopia*, ed. E. Surtz and J. H. Hexter (1965; rpt. 1974), p. 244/1 and p. 565, with Marc’hadour p. 557. More himself may also be punning on lingering or delay and the *morosus* or “fool” in a quatrain on his name a few years before his death. See Marc’hadour, p. 556 and Nicholas Harpsfield’s *The Life and Death of Sir Thomas More*, ed. E. V. Hitchcock (London: EETS, 1932), p. 181. *OED* (“morose”) links it with *mora* or delay, through Aquinas’s *morosa delectatio* or dwelling upon thoughts, citing also St. Augustine’s *De Ciu. Dei* XXIII: “Ne in eo quod male delectat vel visio vel cogitatio remoretur.”

25. See Plautus’s *Miles Gloriosus* in Nixon: 1926, where Philocomas’s “*Ego stulta moror multum / quae cum hoc insano fabuler*” (2.4.17) plays on delaying or wasting time and the *stultitia* or folly suggested by “*moror*” – an association that may be reflected in *All’s Well That Ends Well*, where the Countess says “I play the noble huswife with the time, / To entertain it so merrily with a fool” (2.2.60-61). For the pun from Nero cited by Suetonius, see Erasmus, *De Copia* (Le Clerc 1703-06: I, 9), quoting Suetonius (no. 33 of his Twelve Caesars); Marc’hadour 1977; and Ahl 1985: “Suetonius (*Nero* 33) tells us . . . that Nero jested across syllabic quantities when talking about his dead predecessor Claudius: *nam et MORARI eum desisse inter homines producta prima syllaba iocabatur* (‘For he used to stretch out the first syllable of the word MORARI [to delay] so that it became MOR-ARI [to be an imbecile]: ‘He has ceased to be a loon on earth!’) A play involving MOR is also ghoulishly appropriate, since death (MORs) has carried Claudius off” (55). In addition to addressing the question of puns across syllabic quantities, Ahl’s study (like other more recent studies by classicists) makes clear how extensive the punning on syllables, including “MOR” was in classical texts (342).

26. For Caspar Cunradus’ couplet, see M. P. Sullivan, *Moreana-Bibliography*, 1 (1964), 235, with Marc’hadour 1977: 553.

exploitation of the name of “More.” George Herbert includes *mora* and *amor* in a series of such anagrammatic exchanges; Richard Braithwait links *amor* and *mores* or morals in the “Certus amor morum est” of *The English Gentleman*; while Middleton, in *The Family of Love*, actually puts wordplay on “love’s Latin word ... *Amore*” on the stage: “take *A* from thence, then *more* is the perfect moral sense... Take *M* away, *ore* ... craves an eternal trophy to thy fame: lastly, take *O*, in *re* stands all my rest, which *I*, in Chaucer-style, do term a jest.”<sup>28</sup>

The network I want to focus on in particular, however, was the one linking the metamorphic “mor-” with both “Moors” and inhabitants of “Inde.” *Morus* (a version of *maurus*) meant “black” as well as “fool,” counterpart of Greek *mauros*, origin of “Mauretania” and frequent synonym for *Aethiops* or *Niger*.<sup>29</sup> *Maurus* was popularly rendered as *morus* in spelling as well as pronunciation, as the “*Vulgo Maurum vocant Morum*” that forms one of Lister’s glosses to the Erasmus’s *Moria* makes clear, while simultaneously underlining the link with the “Greek for foolish.”<sup>30</sup> In

27. See the lines on the years of delay involved for Catherine of Aragon after the death of Henry’s elder brother: “*Illa tibi, princeps, multos devota per annos / Sola tui longa mansit amore mora*” (Bradner and Lynch 1953: 21). The lines may also be punning playing on Catherine’s Spanish origin. See the discussion of *mora* below.

28. See George Herbert’s Latin *Lucus* 25 (cited in Ahl 1985: 49), which exploits the series of anagrammatic variants on *amor / mora / ramo / armo / Maro / oram* and *Roma*; Richard Braithwait, *The English Gentleman*; Middleton, *Family of Love* (c. 1604) 3.1.46, cited Williams 1994: II, 829. “O” and “I” as well as Latin “re” or “thing” are also part of a commonplace set of obscene jokes. In a different register, offered here as instance of the importance vested in what a later period might trivialize as mere “wordplay,” protestant polemicist John Bale, in *Actes of English Votaries* (STC 1271), notes that “If ye spell Roma backwarde, ye shall fynde it love in this prodygyouse kynde, for it is preposterus *amor*, a love out of order or a love agaynst kynde,” referring to the “preposterous *amor*” that was another term for sodomy (reversing “back” or “backwarde” for forward), in the midst of an extended passage on those who “leavyng the naturall use of women . . . have brent in their owne lustes one to another,” and of the “arsewarde procedynges” of this “preposterouse offyce of Veneri” among the Roman religious orders. For this and other examples, see Parker 1996: chapter 1.

29. See Barthelemy (1987: 8): “*Moor* is most probably derived from the Greek *Mauros*, a proper noun that identifies the inhabitants of ancient Mauretania, the area that now makes up Morocco and Algeria. . . . The Greek *Mauros* because *Maurus* in Latin, a proper noun that identified a particular ethnic group and that, like its Greek predecessor, came to mean black. *Novum Glossarium Mediae Latinitatis Ab Anno DCCC Usque Ad Annum MCC* lists several such examples. The most interesting example is found in the first entry for *Maurus*. Defining the word as *maure* (the French translation of the Latin), *Novum Glossarium* cites the definition found in the twelfth-century *Liber Derivationum* of Pisanus Ugutio. Ugutio writes of *maurus*: ...quidam populus qui estivo calore combustus speciem nigri coloris atraxit’ (...a certain people burnt black with summer heat’). [(*Novum Glossarium Mediae Latinitatis Ab Anno DCCC Usque Ad Annum MCC* (Copenhagen, 1959), 276].” Barthelemy also addresses (pp. 9ff) the issue of the confusion of terms: In medieval France as in Rome, *maurus* is synonymous with *niger*. The gallo-roman term *Maurus* like the French *moreau* is used as a nickname and alludes more to the black color of the hair than a dark complexion since the inhabitants of the African shores of the Mediterranean have roughly the same complexion as the Italians from Campania and Latium. It was, therefore, not possible to mistake a Negro and a Mauretanian. That confusion, however, becomes general in the early centuries of the Middle Ages. In France, the adjective *more* is then used in many cases synonymously with the word *noir*. . . . This confusion reached England in the fourteenth century when the author of Mandeville’s Travels spoke of the Moors as black. In his description of Ethiopia, he reported that ‘Moretane’ was a part of Ethiopia and described its inhabitants as black: ...Ethiope is departed in .ij. parties princypall. And that is in the est partie & in the meridionall partie, The which partie meridionall is clept Moretane. And the folk of that contree ben blacke ynow & more blacke

1528, when England was moving towards the divorce crisis, Erasmus concealed the identity of *Morus* or More (also spelled “Moore”) under the code-name *Niger*: “*Nigro commiseram epistolam*.”<sup>31</sup> More’s seal puns visually on this aspect of his name, featuring not only the moorcocks or moorfowl of the English marshlands or moors (counterpart of Dutch *moeras* and Flemish *moer*) but the head of a Moor.<sup>32</sup> Domenico Regi’s *Vita di Tommaso Moro* (1675) even makes More into a “Moor of Venice,” claiming that his father was a Venetian nobleman in London, descendant of Cristoforo Moro, the doge once thought to have influenced the “Moro” (Italian, “Moor”) of *Othello*’s source.<sup>33</sup> The spelling of More (or “Moure” in the French of Du Bellay and Chapuys) as “Thomas *Maure*” in the 1559 French edition of the *Utopia* may also reflect associations between More and *mauros* / *maurus*, “black” and “Moor.”<sup>34</sup>

Numerous European texts call attention to the “Moorishness” of this English “Moore.” Gracian’s *Criticón* refers in Spanish to the martyred More as “un moro cristiano” (both Christian More and the paradox of a Christian Moor), while the infidel “More” lies behind the paradoxical “Moro santo” of Lope de Vega’s “Aquí yace un Moro Santo,” where “Tomas Moro” (“Muro” or “wall” of the Church) is

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than in tother partie & thei ben clept mowres”.

... While the numerous manuscripts of *Manderiville’s Travels* were making their way around England, the Spanish were struggling to expel their foreign conquerors from the Iberian Peninsula. From the eighth century until the fifteenth, Spain was dominated by Islamic invaders who came north from Mauretania. Using the word passed on from ancient Greece, the Spanish called their Muslim conquerors “Moros.” The *Diccionario Crítico Etimológico de la Lengua Castellana* gives as its first definition of Moro: “habitante de Mauretania.” *A Medieval Spanish Word List* dates the first documented use of Moro in 1091. *Diccionario Crítico Etimológico* defines Moro as follows: ...In Spain moro was used to refer to all Muslims and came to mean “gentile”, “pagan”, “unbaptized”.

30. See Lister’s gloss in Le Clerc, 44, 401-402, n. 6, with Marc’hadour 1977: 544, and 669n.29, remarking that in Lister’s view, “*Maurus* is the ‘normal’, the etymologic form of More’s name, *Morus* is a popular reduction of it.”

31. “I had entrusted the Moor – or black man – with my letter (to Queen Catherine).” For this September 2, 1528 letter, see Allen 1906-58: 7, 471, with Marc’hadour 1977: 544.

32. See Marc’hadour 1977: 543; the tradition of heraldic Moor’s heads cited in J. Devisse and M. Mollat, *The Image of the Black in Western Art / L’Image du Noir dans l’art occidental*, ed. L. Bugner, vol. 2 (1979), chapter 1; and the discussion of the iconography of More by J. B. Trapp in *Ephialte* 2 (1990): 45-59, which includes a 1625 engraving that accompanies the portrait of More after Holbein with a similar heraldic motif. Elizabeth McGrath of the Warburg has indicated to me in a private communication that More’s device was also part of Trapp’s catalogue of the Thomas More exhibition at the National Portrait Gallery in 1977-78 where (no. 31) there is “an illustration of the official seal used by More from 1521 featuring a moor’s head on a helmet,” an illustration that “takes over a fairly common heraldic device (in Germany and then in England) for people whose family name has some allusion to Moors or blackness – though not exclusively for these.”

33. On the source of *Othello* in the narrative of the anonymous “Moro” of Cinthio’s *Hecatommithi*, see the discussion of *Othello* below. On Regi’s *Vita* (which on pp. 328 and 334 of the 1681 edition puns on *mori*, ...to die’ and the genitive of *morus* or “mulberry”) see Marc’hadour 1977: 545, and *Moreana* 47-48 (Nov. 1975), esp. 4, 72.

34. See Marc’hadour 1977: 555 and 558, which elaborates further on confusions between “Saint Maur” and “Saint Mort” made easier by the similarities in sound of *maure* and *mort*. On “Saint Mort,” see Brabant (1968) 145.

invoked as a “sainted Moor,” in lines that treat of his martyr’s death or *mors*:

Aquí yace un Moro santo  
 en la vida y en la muerte  
 de la Iglesia Muro fuerte,  
 Mártir por honrarla tanto.  
 Fue Tomás, y más seguro  
 fue Bautista que Tomás.  
 pues fue sin volver atrás  
 mártir, muerto, Moro y Muro.<sup>35</sup>

[Here lies a sainted Moor (*Moro*) / Strong wall (*Muro*) of the Church / In life and death, / A martyr for having honored her so much. / He was Thomas, and more surely / Was Baptist than Thomas. / Hence he was, without turning back, / Martyr, Dead Man, Moor, and Wall.]

“Morian” could be used in the period for “Moor,” “Ethiope,” or “man of ynde.”<sup>36</sup> The *morus* that meant “black” as well as “fool” was thus available for a range of associations, just as the Geneva Bible rendered the Vulgate’s *Aethiops* (of Jeremiah 13:23) as “Can the blacke *More* change his skin or the leopard his spottedes”. The association with *maurus* or “black” that allowed Erasmus to refer to More by the code-name *Niger* is hinted at by More himself when he consoled Erasmus for

35. On Gracian and on Lope de Vega’s epitaph “Aquí yace un Moro santo” (*Rimas* 1623), see Estrada’s discussion in *Moreana* 5 (1965): 36. Lope’s epitaph also plays interlingually on “Tomás” and “más” (Spanish for “more”). I am grateful for this latter suggestion to Ana Elena Gonzales of the National University of Mexico, who heard a version of this paper when it was delivered to the Renaissance Seminar in London. In a private communication she has also suggested to me that these lines may enact a Baptist-like beheading (appropriate to this “mártir”) in thus truncating “To-” from “-más.” She also cited an array of Spanish “color” terms, including *carmelita* (pale brown) – close to *carmen* / *carmine* (for “red”) – *moreno* (used for “mulato” and “dark” as well as a person with dark hair and white skin or blond hair and dark skin), *morada* (purple), *morel* (purple tincture used to paint al fresco), *morapio* (red wine), most of which share the syllable “mor” with *amor* (or Spanish *mor*, apheresis of *amor*), *morada* (dwelling or sojourn) from *morar* (to dwell), *moratoria* (delay for paying a debt), *la moral* (for morals or ethics as well as “spirits”), *morena* (a kind of eel), *amoriscado* (moorish), *moro* / *mauro* (Moor, muslim), *morisco* (baptized Moor, also half mulato, half European), the sense of moor as unbaptized person but also a pure undiluted wine, *moriangano* (another term for “strawberry” in addition to *fresa*), *moroso* (a slow person but also a late payer), as in *demora*, *demorar* (delay), and *morir*, *morirse* (to die).

36. “Morians” appears in Coverdale’s version of Psalm 68.31 (“The Morians londe shal stretch out hir hondes unto God”) as well as his translation of the passage from 2 Kings 19:9 that Tyndale’s Matthew Bible renders as “King of the black mores,” while the 1549 Prayer Book has “morians” (in Psalms 68:31 and 87:4) for inhabitants of the (Vulgate) *Aethiopia* to which the Geneva, Douai and King James versions would ultimately return. *The Pilgrimage of Perfection* (1526) alternates “blacke moryan” with “man of ynde,” while Joy’s 1530 Psalter treats of “Mooris of ynde.” Tyndale translates 2 Kings 19:9 as “black mores” but he also calls Moses’ Midianite or Cushite wife (Numbers 12:1) “his wife of Inde,” though she is called in the Vulgate (as she will be in Geneva and King James) his “Ethiopian” spouse (“*uxorem eius Aethiopiissam*”). See Marc’hadour, “Name,” pp. 548-549, with Erasmus, *Adagiorum Chiliades* I.ix, 38, in *LB*, 2, 947B (where *Indicon* from Lucian is rendered as “Aethiopem,” accompanied by a description of *niger*: “*nigrore vultus, intortis capillis, labris tumentibus, dentium candore*”); and OED under “Morien” (“variant of MORIAN”) and under “blackamorian,” which records citations noted above, including 1526 *Pilg. perf.* (W. de W. 1531) 78b: “Out of the chirche thou blacke moryan, out of the chirche thou man of Inde”; a. 1563 BALE Sel. Wks. (1849) 177: “When the blackamorian change his skin, and the cat of the mountain her spots”; 1631 HEYWOOD Fair Maide of the West Wks 1874

the attack on the *Encomium Moriae* by Jean Briselot, a former Carmelite (or Whitefriar) turned Benedictine (or black-monk), in lines on this “black White-friar” (“*Niger ille Carmelita*”) that evoke the black-white motley of the *morus* / fool: “*Sed in Moriam quod inuebitur, id vero vix credi potest, homo totus ex Moria conflates*” (“How can that black White-friar possibly attack Folly, being himself wholly compact of folly?”).

<sup>37</sup> Erasmus dwells on the whiteness of More’s skin as as stark a contrast to the “blackness” of his name as *Moria* or “folly” is to his friend’s wisdom.<sup>38</sup> The link between blackness and the *Moria* belied by this English “Moore” also enable the interlocking puns of Stapleton’s poem on More: “‘More, nec es Maurus, quod vox sonat Anglica Mori, / Nec fatuus, quod vox Attica, *moros*, habet. / Scilicet infausti correxit nominis omen / Et vigor & candor maximus ingenii” [“More, you are neither a Moor, as your English name suggests, / Nor are you silly because the Greek for it is ...moron.’ / The vigor and candor (or “white”) of your genius / Has corrected the omen of a bad-omened name.]<sup>39</sup>

The other influential part of this network was the further meaning of Latin *morus* as “mulberry tree,” whose fruit (*mora*) were famously turned from white to dark by Pyramus’s blood. The *morus* was rendered by Wycliff as the “more” or “moore” tree; while mulberries (from what Caxton termed “Morbery trees” in his 1480 translation of *Metamorphoses* X.iv) appear as “morberries” (or “moor-berries,” the sounding that also rendered More as Moore) in Caxton’s *Dialogues* (1483) listing “cherys, sloes, morberies, strawberries” (13) or Turner’s description of “a litle blacke bery lyke a blacke morbery” in his *Names of Herbes* (1548).<sup>40</sup> Archbishop Morton, in whose house More served, had for his emblem a “more-tree” or mulberry issuing from a barrel or “ton,” enacting the link between the “Mor-” of his name and the *arbor morus*.<sup>41</sup> More himself is said to have planted at his Chelsea residence a mulberry emblematic of his name. The association of More with the mulberry or “moor-tree” was also a familiar part of tributes that exploited the

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II.328: “To the black a Morrian king.” OED “Blackamoor” also cites 1547 BOORDE Introd. Knowl. 212: “I am a blake More borne in Barbary”; 1548: THOMAS *Ital. Gram.*, “Ethiopo, a blacke More, or a man of Ethiopo”; 1552 HULOET, “Blacke Moryns or Mores”; 1663: COWLEY Cut. Coleman St. IV.vi, “He’s dead long since, and gone to the Blackamores below” and other variants. OED also cites 1570 *Satir. Poems Reform* X.133 (“blak and Moriane of hew”) and J. King *On Jonas* (1618) 493 (“What remaineth, but to repent? to change our Morian skinnes, to put off our stained coats, and to wash our feet from their filthiness”). See also Barclay’s *Slyp of Fohys* (1570 edn) 198: “The ugly Maurians are also of this sect.”

37. For this 1517 text and translation, see Marc’hadour 1977: 544, and Allen 1906-58: 3, 11/19.

38. See Erasmus’ Letter of July 23 to U. von Hutten, Allen 1906-58: 4, 14/37, and *Preface to Ecclesiastes*, Allen 1906-58: 11, 192/102, a sentence quoted by William Roper in the opening lines of *The Life of Sir Thomas More Knight*.

39. See Stapleton, Appendix to *Vita Thomae Mori* (Frankfurt 1689), 77, with Marc’hadour 1977: 546.

40. See OED “mulberry, sb. (and a.)” and “more, sb.2” (“mulberry tree”). Barthelemy noting that “the ethnic term *Maurus* has been semantically influenced by the greek words ‘*amauros*’ and ‘*mauros*’ meaning ‘dark,’ also mentions the “latin adjective *morus* which designates the blackberry,” in a passage that exemplifies the confusion between mulberry and blackberry that can be found throughout the tradition, perhaps because the *morus* that meant “mulberry” could also mean “black” as the popular form of *maurus*, noted above (1985: 9):

link between the *morus* or mulberry and his martyr's death or *mors*. Ludovicus Rometius writes of the "blood not of the mulberry but of Thomas More" ("non mori sanguine, sed Thomae Mori"), evoking death along with the genitive of both *morus* and More.<sup>42</sup>

Association with the mulberry also brought with it links with the silk production for which it was famous. Domenico Regi ends his *Vita di Tomaso Moro* with "*Mori folio utilia & dulces fructus*," evoking the *dulcis et utile* of this "Moro" whose name in Italian meant "mulberry tree" as well as Moor.<sup>43</sup> The mania for mulberry-growing for profit in Italy and France was reflected in England both before and after James I mandated the planting of mulberry trees for silk cultivation in 1609, in Moffet's *The Silkwormes and their Flies* (1599), whose "bottoms" of silk and Pyramus and Thisbe once made it a suspected source for *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, characters such as the courtier of Jonson's *The Magnetic Lady* who "feeds on mulberry leaves, like a true Silkworme," and a portrait of a woman of high rank (possibly Queen Anne) whose dress is decorated with silkworms and mulberry leaves.<sup>44</sup> More's own mulberry at Chelsea (like Milton's mulberry) has been linked to this contemporary interest. Perhaps the most intriguing association with More himself is a portrait that makes him into a silk-producing *alba morus* (or "white mulberry"), in the 1689 reprint at Graz of Stapleton's *Tres Thomae*, which pictures More surrounded by mulberry leaves on which silkworms are feeding, with female figures detaching cocoons and spinning silk thread and an inscription dense with puns on the *morus* or mulberry, morals or *mores* and *mori*, to die: "Dat fructus homini, Bombyci serica morus. / Virtuti, et Sophiae MORUS utrumque dabit / Moribus e MORI texes tibi serica morum. / Si MORI Bombyx sedule, Lector, eris" [The mulberry tree [*morus*] gives fruit to man, silk to the silkworm. / More [*Morus*] will give both to virtue and wisdom. / From the morals [*mores*] of More [*Mori*] you will weave for yourself silken garments of character [*mores*] / If you, Reader, will be an attentive silkworm of this *Morus* or More.]<sup>45</sup>

Such multiple punning on More's name appears repeatedly, linking mortality,

41. See Marc'hadour 1977: 542, and William Camden's *Remains of Britain* (1605), under "morton," which underscores the links with moors.

42. Rometius, Canon of Notre Dame, dedicated to More part of his "Orchard of Holy Writ," ending with these lines. See *Scripturae Sacrae Viridarium* (no. 16), *Viridarium in tres libros et sexaginta arboreta digestum*, Paris (Jean Foüet), 1626 (*Gibson*, no. 492), cited in Marc'hadour 1977:547, who suggests that the text may echo 1 Maccabees 6:34 on the "blood of grapes and mulberries" ("*sanguinem uvae et mori*"). Even apart from Ovid's Pyramus and Thisbe story, the link between mulberries and blood is ancient. See, for example, Book 10 of the *De arboribus* of Columella (roughly a contemporary of Pliny), on the "blood-red juice of mulberries."

43. "*Mori folia utilia & dulces fructus*." See Marc'hadour, 1977: 547-548, esp. 545, on the puns on *mori*, "to die" and the genitive of *morus* or "mulberry tree" in Regi's *Vita* (1681 edition).

44. See Ben Jonson, *Magnetic Lady* (2.4.120); Thomas Moffet, *The Silkwormes and their Flies*; Pugh 1993, which discusses (in addition to the king's mulberry garden in Westminster), James I's requiring of landowners in every shire to plant 10,000 mulberry trees and the ultimate failure of James' attempts. See Duncan-Jones 1981, on its unlikelihood as a source for *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Moffet's text nevertheless offers an important contemporary reflection of the preoccupation with the mulberry for silk cultivation in the period.

Moors, *Moria* or folly, *amor* or love, moroseness or melancholy, *mores* or morals, and the *mora* that designated both mulberries and delay. Budé exploits the contrast between *candidus* or “white” and the “black” [*maurus* / *morus*] of More’s name, contending that he is no more “black” than foolish or morose.<sup>46</sup> Whittington—the London grammarian who plays elsewhere on *mores*, *morosus*, and *ensor morum*—combines *morus*, *mores*, *mora* and *amor* into yet more concentrated punning: “Morum te vocitant / quod agendo nil tibi praeceps: / At cum matura cuncta agis ipse mora. / Disceret ut mores / orbem peragravit ulisses / At Mori Eutopia plus docet ipsa domi. / Pyramus et Tysbe in morum conversi ob amorem / Curtureo morus nomen amore capit” [They call you a delayer (*morum*), for you never act hastily, / But do everything with a mature delay (*matura . . . mora*). / Ulysses sailed the world over to learn the customs (*mores*) of men, / But the *Utopia* of More [*Mor*] teaches us more [*plus*] while we stay at home. / Pyramus and Thisbe were changed into a mulberry tree [*morum*] by love [*amor*] / Thus More [*morus*] takes his name from a shortened form of *amor*].<sup>47</sup>

Onomastic exploitation of More’s name thus extends far beyond the *Moria* familiar to readers of *The Praise of Folly*. But such punning was only one small instance of the much wider network surrounding the metamorphic “mor-,” the syllable actually put on stage in Shakespeare and Fletcher’s *Two Noble Kinsmen*. Punning on “mor-” was already familiar from classical texts, as the work of Frederick Ahl and others makes clear.<sup>48</sup> The Plautus beloved of More, Shakespeare, and others puns on *amor* / *mores* / *morus* / *morosus*, in a passage echoed in Whittington’s tribute to the anything-but-morose More.<sup>49</sup> The “more” of *maurus* or blackness is linked with *mora* or “delay” in Erasmus’s 1531 letter to Guy Morillon (“little Moor” but also suggestive of *morillus* or “little mulberry”): “Morillon cannot be accused, I think, though his name appears to come from *morando*.”<sup>50</sup> Such homophonic links continue to appear in Milton, whose *Second Defence of the English People*, published in Latin in 1654 and directed against another (Alexander) More, compares his “clandestin amour” with the Pyramus and Thisbe story of *amor* and the *morus* or mulberry suggested by his name: “More seems suddenly transformed into Pyramus. . . . From this amour no common prodigy accrued. . . . Pontia conceived a

45. For the portrait and inscription, see Barker ed. 1963: 548, on Stapleton’s *Vita Mori* published at Graz, Austria, as a companion to More’s *Opera Omnia Latina* (1689).

46. Budé’s letter of May 23, 1521 appears in Rogers, p. 251/19f.

47. Both the Latin text and translation (slightly modified) appear in Sylvester 1963: 151. The metamorphosis of Pyramus and Thisbe themselves into the mulberry – not Ovidian though characteristic of many stories in the *Metamorphoses* – also appears in another form in Milton (see below). In the collection of illustrations of the deaths of these lovers at the Warburg in London, there is frequently a visual link between the sword in Pyramus’s body, or the body itself, and the trunk of the mulberry whose fruit changed color by his blood.

48. In addition to Ahl’s *Metaformations*, see inter alia Jane Snyder, *Puns and Poetry in Lucretius’ ‘De rerum natura’* (Amsterdam, 1980).

49. See Plautus, *Trinummus*, in Nixon ed. 1926: “*Ita est amor . . . Atque is mores hominum moros et morosos efficit*” (3.2.43); and Richard Sylvester 1963: 151.

50. “*Quonquam hic nihil incusandum arbitror Morillonum, licet a morando cognomen videatur sortum.*” See Marchadour 1977: 557, with Erasmus’s Letter of August 21, 1531 (Allen, 1906-58: IX, 323/61).

Morill,” or little “mulberry tree.”<sup>51</sup>

Conflations and confusions (as well as learned or deliberate punning) were also part of this morass of like-sounding terms. We have already cited the similarity in sound of French “Moure,” “Maure” (or Moor) and death or “mort.” French “mulberry tree” (“*mürrier*”—alternatively spelled “*morier*”) is similarly close to “*mürir*” (“to ripen, or mature,” alternately spelled *meurir* or *meurer*), as well as *mourir* (“to die,” as in “il meurt”), “demeurer” (“to linger, or dwell,” from *mora* or delay), and *murer* (“to wall in”). “Mulberry” (“*la müre*”) resembles not only “*mür*” or “*müre*” (“ripe” or “mature”) but “*le mur*” or “wall.” (English “mure”—from Old French *meür[e]*—could also designate “mature” or “ripe” as well as “wall”).<sup>52</sup> In Stephen Scrope’s translation of *Pyramus and Thisbe* from the French of Christine de Pisan, in a confusion that seems destined to happen, the similarity between “*la müre*” (mulberry) and “*le mur*” (wall) results in a version in which the *wall* of the famous Ovidian story, rather than the mulberry, turns from white to black.<sup>53</sup>

The easy shift between “mor-” and “mur-” is itself reflected across a broad spectrum, just as “More” could be spelled “Moore” or Shakespeare could play on “room” and “Rome.” The name of Thomas More (the “Moro” or Moor that Lope de Vega transforms into a “Muro” or Wall) appeared as “Mur” in a 1551 Spanish *Cronica* of the reign of Henry VIII.<sup>54</sup> “Moor” as the waste, marsh or bog land evoked by the moorfowl on More’s seal could be spelled “mor(r),” “more,” “moore,” “muir,” “mur,” or “mure,” while “Morian” (“Moorish” or “pertaining to the Moors”) appeared as “Murrian” as well as “Morien” or “Maurian,” the spelling in Barclay’s 1509 *Slypp of Fohys*. “Morberries,” moorberries or mulberries were also spelled “murberien” (or “murer”), just as “murder” (from *mors* /death, *mori*, to die) could be variously “mordre,” “moordre,” “moerdre,” “mourther” and “murther,” “mourn” (or “morne”) could be “murn” as well as “moorne,” and

51. Joannis Miltoni *Angli Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio Secunda* (1654), or *Second Defence of the English People, Against an Anonymous Libel, Entitled ‘The Royal Blood crying to Heaven for Vengeance on the English Parricides’*, in Hughes ed. 1957: 822-823. For the further wordplay in this Miltonic passage (including on *amor* and “sycamore”), see below.

52. See *OED* “mure, a.” and “mure, v.” in the sense of “to wall in” and “mure, sb.” (from a. F. mur: - L. murum (murus.), as in Shakespeare’s *2H4* (IV.iv.119); *OED* “mure” as adjective meaning “mature” (from Old French *meür*, *meüre*, for “ripe, mature”), citing 1500 Melusine XXIV.160 (“meure deliberacion of his counseill”) and 1442 T. BECKINGTON Corr. (Rolls) II.215: “By commune and mure deliberacion.” See also *OED* “MURR,” sb (alternately spelled “murre,” “myrr,” “morre,” “murre,” Murr,” and “mur”), which cites for the meaning of “a severe form of catarrh”) 1603 FLORIO Montaigne III. xii.620 (“With them a . . . consumption of the lungs, is but an ordinary cough. . . . A pleurisie but a cold or murre”). “Mure” is also cited by *OED* as “obs. f. MARE sb.1, MIRE, MOOR sb.1, MYRRH” (from Latin *murra*, *murrha*, *myrrha*), while for “myrrh” *OED* cites inter alia 1603 DRAYTON, Heroic Ep. IV.141: “Turn’d into a Myrrhe, Whose dropping Liquor ever weepes for her.”

53. See the EETS edition (n. 264, 1970 ed. Curt F. Bühler) of *The Epistle of Othea* on these confusions in Scrope’s translation of Christine de Pisan’s original. In Colard Mansion’s French translation of the *Ovide de Salmonen son livre intitulé Metamorphose . . . moralisé par maistre Thomas Waleys* (Bruges, 1494), the mulberry is spelled “*la mour(ri)e*,” close to the text’s “*lamour*” or love, while “ripe” is “meure.”

54. See *Cronica del Rey Enrico otavo de Inglaterra, escrita por un autor coetaneo . . .* ed. de Marques de Molins (Madrid, 1874), with “Santo Tomás Moro en España y en la América hispana” in *Moreana* 2 (1965): 27-40.

“mourning” variously “moornnyng” or “murning.”<sup>55</sup> “Murmur” in English, like French “murmure(r),” was the counterpart of Italian “mormorio / mormorare” and could also be spelled “murmour,” “murmure” and “murmure,” while “morel” appeared as “murrel,” “murr” as “morre,” “moray” as “murry,” and “murrey” (or “murre”) as “mourrey” and “morrey.”<sup>56</sup>

Variant spellings also linked terms we might never think to connect, weaving an associational “texture” from etymological, aural and visual affinities. In the *Book of Sir Thomas More* – where More’s name is often spelled “moor” and the lines attributed to Shakespeare involve play on “more” and “moore” (“moore, the more thou hast”) – the comparative “more” and *Moria* or “folly” are joined by “murrin” or “murrain” (1.2.143), a plague afflicting cattle and sheep, counterpart of French “moryn,” Spanish “morriña,” and Italian “moria,” and alternatively spelled “moren,” “moryen,” “moreyne,” “moryn,” “murrion” and “murren.” The variable “mor-” and “mur-” enabled links between this pestilent “murrion” and the *mors* or death from which it was commonly derived, making it a synonym for “mortality” itself (as in Palsgrave’s “Moreyne dethe”).<sup>57</sup> John Minsheu’s polyglot *Ductor in Linguas, or Guide unto the Tongues* (London 1617) links “Murraine” with French “mourir,” from “*mori*, to die”: “Murraine amonst catell, *quasi dicas, a Gal: Mourerie, a mourir, i. mori, to die,*” while John Florio makes the link with folly or *Moria* explicit in his Italian-English *World of Wordes*: “*Moria*, an infection, a pestilence, a murrian, a rot or mortalitie that comes among sheepe. Also used for follie and taken from the Greeke.”<sup>58</sup>

The “murrian” associated with folly, plague, and death could also, however, serve as a variant of “Morian” or “Moor” —as in Munday’s *John a Kent* (“monstrous murrian black-a-moore”) or Lyly’s *Euphues* (“a faire pearle in a Murrians eare cannot make him white”) —while “Murion” (a spelling for the “murrion” plague

55. See *OED* “moor,” “morian,” “mulberry,” “murder,” “mourn(er),” “mourn(ing),” “murmur,” “murr,” “morel,” “murrey,” “moray,” “murena,” “mur” cited in *OED* as an obsolete form of “MIRE sb.1” (c. 1275 *XI Pains of Hell* 150 in O.E. Misc. 151: “a froren mur”). *Mordre* (“bite” as in “remorse” as the “agenbite of inwit”) could also be confused with “mordre” as “murder,” from death or *mors*. See also *OED* “murderdom” for “murthirdome” as “martyrdom” (1525 St. Papers Hen. VIII, IV.419 note: “Yair cruell tiranny and murthirdome of cristin pepill”).

56. See Shakespeare *Venus and Adonis* (706: “Ech shadow makes him stop, ech murmour stay”); *1H4* (2.3.51: “I be thee haue watcht, / And heard thee murmure tales of Iron Warres”); *Twelfth Night* (1.2.32: “’Twas fresh in murmure . . . That he did seeke the loue of faire Olivia”); *Henry VIII* (2.2.131: “Heau’ns peace be with him: . . . for liuing Murmurers, There’s places of rebuke”) and *As You Like It* (4.3.8: “The ranke of Oziers, by the murmuring streame”). Spenser appears to be playing on the similarity in sound of “mur” to “mar” in *Faerie Queene* 1.1.23: “their tender wings He brusheth oft, and oft doth mar their murmurings.” See also the *OED* entries for the terms cited in the text, on “merry” as “mury(e),” and “more” as “mare.”

57. See *OED* “murrain,” which notes that it is commonly derived from “Latin *mori*, to die”; and *Sir Thomas More* (1.2.143), Gabrieli and Melchiori ed. 1990: 75. In Shakespeare, the term appears in different spellings. The 1623 Folio of Shakespeare has *The Tempest*’s “a murren on your Monster,” *Coriolanus*’s “A Murrain on’t,” *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*’s “murrion,” and *Troilus and Cressida*’s “red Murren,” for the line that appears in the Quarto as “murrion.” “Murrain” (“murrion,” “murren,” or “murrian”) plague could also appear as “moren,” “mor(re)yn,” and “moryn.” The “red Murren” of *Troilus and Cressida* shares the color of the “red plague” of *The Tempest* (1.2.367) and “red pestilence” of *Coriolanus* (4.1.3).

linked with both *Moria* and *moriens* or dying) was also used for the “morian” helmet associated with Moors.<sup>59</sup> Ford’s *The Lover’s Melancholy* (4.2.27ff.) plays on “morian” / moron / amor / melancholy and “murrain” as well as the “morian” or Moorish helmet. Minsheu gives for “Murrion, G. Morion. I. Morione, a Mauris qui huiusmodi utebantur casside, of the Moores which used this kinde of head-peece.” and under “Murion, or marrion. G. Murion. I Murione, morione, a Mauris, ... of the Moores which used such headpeecees.” This “morian” (or “morian”) helmet appeared elsewhere as “murrain,” “mourron,” “murreowne,” “murren,” and “murrin.”<sup>60</sup> Minsheu’s “marrion” for this Moorish “murrion” or “morian” may further evoke the “Maid Marion” of the *Moresca* or morris dance linked with blackface and Moors, as well as a “Fool,” just as “Saint Maur” (source of the English name Seymour) was confused with “Saint Mort” or associations with *maurus* (or Mauretania) affected representations of St. Maurice as Moorish or black.<sup>61</sup>

The “more” of the “Moor” was part of an even wider set of associations. To “moor” in the sense of anchor or make stay came from *mora* or delay (moroseness or melancholy was also associated with *mora* through dwelling upon dark thoughts). To make “more” in the sense of “increase” could be spelled “moren” or “mooryne.”<sup>62</sup> Nashe renders “blackamoors” as “black-amores,” a spelling that underscores the commonplace links between *Amor* and Moors.<sup>63</sup> The similarity between Moors and *mors* may have contributed to the depiction of death itself as black, in an environment in which “moriens” could designate both blackamoors (as in Spenser’s *Shepherds’ Calendar*) and the “dying” of the *ars moriendi* treatises.<sup>64</sup> In addition to “mulberry tree” (or mulberry-like tumor), English “more” (spelled “moore” and “moare” as well as plural “moris” and “moren”) could itself simultaneously mean “root,” “branch,” or “stock” (from Old English *more*, *moru*), as in a 1578 text that treats of “branches” or “moores,” Moffet’s *Silkwormes* and its

58. See John Minsheu’s 1617 *Ductor in Linguas (Guide Into the Tongues)* and *Vocabularium HispanicoLatinum (A Most Copious Spanish Dictionary)* facsimile reproduction by Jürgen Schäfer (Delmar, New York: Scholars’ Facsimiles & Reprints, 1978), “murraine”; and the entries in John Florio, *Queen Anna’s New World of Wordes* (London, 1611), cited here, and the 1598 *World of Wordes* (1598; facsimile reprint: New York and Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1972) entry which reads: “*Moria*, a murrain, a plague, an infection, a rot that commes among sheepe. Also used for follie or foolishnes, but it is a greeke word.”

59. John Munday, *John a Kent* (1595), 17; John Lyly, *Euphues*, 315.

60. OED “morian” cites 1563 Lanc. Wills (1857) I.141 “A shirt of mayle with the hed peace or murren thereunto belonging.”; 1582-8 Hist. James VI (1804) 137: “in the shipp was funden... twa hundrethe murreownes”; 1601 HOLLAND Pliny I.480 – “The people of Thracia... doe with Ivie... garnish the heads of their launces... their mourrons also and targuets.” See OED “murrain, obs. form of MORION” and “murrin, murrion(n): obs. ff. MORION, MURRAIN, MORIAN”; Minsheu, “murrion”; George Sandys’ translation of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (“she armes: her head a murrion steild: Her brest her Aegis”); and Marion Lomax, ed. John Ford, *Tis Pity She’s a Whore and Other Plays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995) 4.2.27ff, where the servant Trollio (already called a “fool” in 2.2.15) enters with a “morian” on, in lines that may play on “morian” or the helmet associated with moors and “moran” or fool (“I have provided me a morion, for fear of a clap on the coxcomb,” 4.2.37), in a play that has to do with the “melancholy” of “love.”

61. On St. Maurice, Devisse 1979: II, ch. 3. French “Saint-Maur” —invoked in Chaucer’s Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales* (line 173)— is cited in Camden’s *Remains* as the origin of the English name “Seymour.”

“moares,” or the “ten thousand mores” of Spenser’s *Faerie Queene* (VII.vii.x). “More” was thus already linked with the early sense of “race” itself as root or stock, as in the reference to “Jesses more” (or the “root” of Jesse) in medieval and later texts (including the fifteenth-century *Sir Beves* referred to in Shakespeare’s *Henry VIII*). It could therefore be easily confounded with “mores” or “moores” in a different sense, the “curse” that was rooted or “mored” in the “children of Canaan” (“Seuen naciones of them were of children of Canaan, in the whiche the curse that was geven to them, was *ye moret*, as it were by heritage”).<sup>65</sup>

The mulberry linked with Moors, India or “Inde,” and “dark” women in particular was part of an even more extended network. Pliny’s *Natural History* (which discusses the mulberry along with the strawberry, cherry and quince) treats of the “stain” of its ripe, dark fruit as well as its progression from white (*candidus*) to blood-red (*rubens*) to black (*niger*). It also stresses that this *morus* whose name means “fool” is paradoxically the “wisest of trees” (*sapientissima arborum*) since it delays putting forth its fruit until winter is past.<sup>66</sup> Erasmus’s *Similia* repeats the irony of the name *morus* or “fool” for this wisest of trees, as the *Encomium Moriae* had done for his friend *Morus* or More.<sup>67</sup> The tradition from Pliny of the wise

62. See OED “more, v.2, which also cites 1483 *Vulg. abs Terentio* 15: “He dredith lest thy olde angyr or hardnes be mored or incresyd” and the OED’s citation of c.1440 *Promp. Parv.* 341/1 “Moryn, or make more (*H.* mooryne), *majoro*.”

63. See Nashe’s “The Prayes of the Red Herring” in *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. R. B. McKerrow (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958), p. 180; and Dekker’s *Honest Whore* (2.98): “This is the Blackamore that by washing was turned white.”

64. See *The Sheepherdes Calendar* facsimile edition (London: Peter Davis, 1930), p. 174; Caxton’s 1490 printing of *The arte & crafte to know ell to dye* (sig. A2v), glossed by Phoebe S. Spinrad 1987: 31; Stegemeier 1939: 22, 24; and the discussion of the use of “moriens” for Moors and “dying” in Engel 1995: 72, which also cites the similarity between Latin *mors* and “Ethiopians, which we now caule moores” from Richard Eden’s *Decades of the New World* (London, 1555), 335. See also Gillies 1994: 161, on maps where African winds are represented by “death’s-heads” and “Africans seem to be interchangeable with skulls,” cited with Engel on Death as “der schwarze Mann” in Neill 1997: 147. For Peter Apian’s *Cosmographia* of 1524, and its skull-like “African” wind-heads, see Shirley 1987: Entry 82, Plate 70.

65. See OED “more, v. 1”, citing 1398 TREVISA *Barth. De P. R.* XV.xxxvii (Tollem. MS.), “Seuen naciones of them were of children of Canaan, in the whiche the curse that was given to them, was y moret, as it were by heritage; OED more, sb.3: “A small swelling or tumour (resembling a mulberry); OED “more, v.1” citing” 1607 *Schol. Disc. agst. Antichr.* I.i.42: “They gaue them scope . . . not only to moare but also to spread, and finally to gaine that height in which at this day we find them”; c. 1380 TREVISA *Barth. De P.R.* XIV.ii. (1495) 466: “Noo thyng on lyue maye growe but yf he be rotyd and moryd in substance of erthe”; OED “more, sb.1” which cites (inter alia) 1200 *Trin. Coll. Hom.* 139 “Moren and wilde uni was his mete”; 1200 *LAY.* 31885: “Heo lufeden bi wurten, bi moren and bi roten”; 1290 *St. Brendan* 284 in *S. Eng.Leg.* 1.227: “wite moren, ase it of herbes were, bifore heom he sette al-so”; c. 1400 Beryn 1056: “a tre withouten more”; c. 1470 *Build. Bodm. Ch.* in *Camden Misc.* VII, “olde tymbre and moris”; 1485 Bk. *St. Albans Biiij*, “percelly Moris otherwise calde percelly Rootis”; 1578 *LYTE Dodoens* III.lxxxviii.441, “The roote putteth forth many brances or moores, spread abrode”; 1599 *T. MOUFET Silkwormes* 6 (“Comfrey moares”); c. 1200 *Trin. Coll. Homo.* 217 (“iesse more”), 14. *Sir Beues* (MS.M>) 70, “god spronge of Jesses more”; and this sense as late as 1787 *GROSE Provinc. Gloss. s.v. Maur, More, or Maur*, also in Gloucestershire, signifies a root; as, a strawberry-more.” The romance *Sir Bevis* is cited in *Henry VIII* (1.1.38).

*morus* or mulberry thus joined the “wise fool” of Corinthians as yet another emblem of the wisdom in apparent folly; and it was widely disseminated through Alciati’s influential mulberry emblem, glossed by the *maturior moro* of Erasmus’s *Adagia*.<sup>68</sup> In Alciati’s emblem and its vernacular extensions, the mulberry (*morus*) whose name evokes *morus* or fool is proclaimed the opposite of foolish because it delays (*mora*) the maturing of its mulberries (*mora*). The links between *mora* or delay, *maurus*, *niger* or black, and *moria* or folly are harped on again and again in this influential tradition, producing a network that became part of a European and English commonplace in the period—from the Italian representation of the “tardo Moro” or tardy mulberry as an emblem not of ignorance but of wisdom to its French counterpart, which defends “Le Morier sage, & en Grec mal nommé,” stressing that its link with *Moria* or folly is only “par sens contraire.”<sup>69</sup> In the *Iconologia* of Cesare Ripa Perugino, *Prudentia* (or *Prudenza*) wears a helmet decorated with “folgie del moro” (glossed by Alciati’s motto from Pliny on the mulberry as the *sapientissima arbor*), while her arrow is entwined by the “*remora*” described by Pliny as delaying ships, visually evoking the familiar *mora* pun.<sup>70</sup> English explications of the mulberry echo this rich interlingual network. John Barrett’s *Alvearie or Triple Dictionarie in English, Latin, and French* (1573) derives “A Mulberry” or “*Une meure*” from “*mora, id est tarditate*,” while Minsheu’s *Guide* (1617) explains under “*Mulberry*”: “*G. Meure, f. I.H. Mora. P. Amora. L. Morum. Sunt qui a mora, i. tarditate ... Morum* the Mul-berry, of *Mora*, lingring, or slow comming forth, because it doth not budde, nor come forth, till other trees have done, least it should be also nipped with cold, and therefore also it is stiled and called *Prudentissima arbor*, the most wise or advised

66. See Books XV and XVI of Pliny’s *Natural History* (Rackham 1945: IV, 354-355). Pliny’s text was well known in England long before its translation by Philemon Holland. Pliny’s “*sicuti morus quae novissima urbanarum germinat nec nisi exacto frigore, ob id dicta sapientissima arborum* (XVI.xli.102) is translated by Holland as follows: “as the Mulberry tree, which of civile and domesticall trees, is the last that buds, and never before all the cold weather is past; and therefore she is called the wisest tree of all others” (ie *sapientissima arborum*). See Holland 1635: I, 472. On this “*sapientissima arborum*,” see also Cornelius a Lapide, *Commentarius in quat. Evang.* 146. Pliny’s description of the mulberry’s notorious “stain” is immediately juxtaposed with his description of the strawberry, rendered in Holland’s translation as follows: “There is a kind of Mulberries growing upon the bramble, but their skin is much harder than the other. Like as the ground-strawberries differ in cornositate from the fruit of the Arbut tree, and yet it is held for a kind of Strawberrie, even as the tree itself is tearmed the Strawberrie tree” (Holland 1635: I, 447). The mulberry in Pliny is also frequently likened to the cherry, including for the “sanguine and bloudie liquor” produced by both and the fact that it also turns from red to black (XV.xxix.101). See Holland 1635: I, 449. The mulberry which “darkens with age” (*quae vetustate etiam nigrescit*), as Pliny puts it in Book XVI.lxxix.218, also has the property of looking younger as it grows older, lasting long but not seeming old, because “it is not given greatly to beare fruit neither is overloden with Mulberries.” (Holland 1635: I, 475).

67. See Erasmus *Similia* (Le Clerc 1703-06: I, 618B), citing Pliny’s “*ob id dicta sapientissima arborum*” (*Hist. Nat.* XVI, 41:4), with Marc’hadour 1977: 547, who notes that “The black mulberry—*morus nigra*—was common in Pliny’s Italy (XXI: 21), and the Peloponnesus owed the nickname of *Morea*—a Greek form of the word—to being overgrown with it.”

68. See, for example, the citations of both Pliny and Erasmus’s adage in *Omnia Andreae Alciati Emblemata Cum Commentariis . . . per Claudium Minoem* (Antwerp, 1577), 667; and Franciscus Sanctius (or Sanchez), *Commentaria in Andreae Alciati emblemata* (Lyon, 1573), 555-556.

69. See *Diverse imprese tratti da gli embleme di Alciati* 441; and *Emblemes d’Alciat*, 256-257.

tree,” adding that others derive its name from *mauros* or *niger* because of the blackness of its fruit, stained by Pyramus’s blood.<sup>71</sup>

The conflation of the paradoxically “wise fool” from Pliny with the mulberry of Pyramus and Thisbe supplements a story from the *Metamorphoses* already bristling with puns, as a narrative of *amor* and *moriens* or dying, as well as the *muris* or city walls the lovers abandon for their meeting near the *morus* whose fruit would be turned from white to dark. It adds even more to the mix when Pyramus, turning his sword upon himself *nec mora* (without delay), transforms the color of the mulberries (or *mora*) through his dying (*moriens*) gesture and Thisbe, after a delay (*postquam remorata*), recognizes the dead body of her lover (*amores*). The Ovidian text goes out of its way to emphasize these links, choosing the plural (*mora*, mulberries) rather than singular (*morum*) in the lines that begin with the *nec mora* of Pyramus’s dying act (*nec mora, ferventi moriens ... purpureo tinguūt pendentia mora*). The *mora* or mulberries are stained by the blood of the dying (*moriens*) Pyramus, who kills himself when he sees the stained or bloody mantle of Thisbe who has arrived too soon. The story links *amor* and *mors* with *mora* or mulberries, in a plot that centrally depends on *mora* or delay. It even puns on the walls that figure so prominently within it – in the whispering of the lovers through the hole in the wall described more than once as “murmuring” (*murmur ... murmure*), a pun that may also stand behind Rabelais’ decision not to allow his “Abbaye de Theleme” to have “walls” (because “mur” plus “mur” would yield “murmure”).<sup>72</sup>

Ovid’s story of the lovers and mulberry stained with blood was filtered through a rich tradition of commentary, which added to the mix the “moralizing” of the tale itself. John of Garland’s influential moralization rendered the turning of its *mora* or mulberries from white to *niger* or black as the tragic movement of *amor* towards death or *mors* (“*Alba prius morus nigredine mora colorans / Signat quod dulci mors in amore latet*”).<sup>73</sup> Giovanni Del Virgilio added such moralizing to the naturalized reading in which the mulberry’s blackening was simply a sign of its ripeness, commenting that “Interpreting morally [*moraliter*], we can note through this that in love [*in amore*], which is sweet at the beginning, death [*mors*] finally hides, for death [*mors*] often follows love [*amor*].”<sup>74</sup> This moralized *amor* is reflected across the numerous retellings of this Ovidian story, including the Garden of Cupid or *Amor*

70. See pp. 508-509 of Cesare Ripa Perugino, *Iconologia* (Venice: 1645), and Maser ed. 1971: no. 179.

71. See Barrett 1573, under “Mulberry”, and Minsheu under “Mulberry.”

72. “Premierement donques (dist Gargantua) il n’y faudra ja bastir murailles au circuit, car toutes aultres abbayes sont fierement murees. – Voyre (dist le moyne), et non sans cause: ou mur y a et davant et derriere, y a force murmur, envie et conspiracy mutue.” (Rabelais 1962: I, 189). I am grateful to Timothy Hampton for this suggestion. See also Miller ed. 1971-76: I, 182-191. In a private communication, classicist Stephen Hinds, supporting the evocation of “murus” in the Ovidian “murmur,” notes that even though *muris* is strictly an outer wall (as in the city walls of the tale) while *paries* is used for domestic walls, “these distinctions have overlaps and grey areas; and in the present passage, where walls are so foregrounded and thematized, I would regard the party wall of P’s and T’s houses as *necessarily* capable of evoking the word *muris*, whether or not a real-life Roman builder would use the word *muris* to describe such a wall. Add too that (in a covert *militia amoris* kind of

in Lydgate's *Reson and Sensuallite*, where the "Molberye" turned to "blaknesse" in this story of the lovers' "woful deth" marks what is "first sweet, but bitter at last."<sup>75</sup> Ovid's *morus* or mulberry also became part of a rich subsequent network of puns that linked its story of *amor*, *mors*, walls and *mora* or delay with the *morus* or "fool" as well as the "wise fool" from Corinthians and Pliny. The extraordinary pictorial and textual dissemination of the Pyramus and Thisbe story throughout Europe included illustrations in which the lovers' tragic death or *mors* was accompanied by Cupid or *Amor* with his arrow. But there was also a tradition that replaced the winged *Amor* with the *morus* or fool, complete with asses' ears, turning the tragedy of love and death into a comic or satiric version of its "folly."<sup>76</sup>

Yet another contributor to this network (still reflected in Milton) was the *arbor morus* of Luke 17, the Vulgate Latin for the original Greek *sykaminos* and source of Wyclif's "more-tree." This is the passage from Luke (less familiar than the "mustard seed" of Matthew 17, where faith moves mountains) in which Christ says to his disciples: "If ye had faith as much as is a graine of mustard sede, and shulde say unto this mulberry tre, plucke thy self up by the rootes, and plante thy self in the sea, it shulde even obey you."<sup>77</sup> Commentary on this *morus* or mulberry had a widely influential history—linking it both with the traditions we have traced and with another contrast of "white" and dark or "black." In St. Ambrose's influential gloss, the darkening of the mulberry evoked the Lucifer who turned from light to *niger*, a tradition behind the depiction of Satan in Dante's *Inferno* and still current in a story told of Thomas *Morus* or "More."<sup>78</sup> But a counter-tradition from Augustine (widely disseminated through the *Glossa Ordinaria*) figured the *morus* or mulberry turned dark through Pyramus's blood as the passion and di-

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way) one can regard the two houses as opposed camps in a battlefield of love, for which context *morus* would again be the mot juste for their ramparts. Perhaps, indeed, Ovid's repeated specification of the party wall as a *paries* (not a common word in his poetry) is deliberately coy: he's avoiding the word which would give away the pun. In the subsequent tradition of this Ovidian story, this Ovidian *paries* or dividing wall is evoked in the "muro" separating Dante and Beatrice in *Purgatorio*. See below.

73. See John of Garland's *Integumenta Ovidii; poemetto inedito del secolo XIII*, Ghisalberti ed. 1933: lines 131-32.

74. "Quarta transmutatio est de moris que de albis versa sunt in nigra. Nam verum est quod morus prius producit mora alba, deinde cum sunt matura efficiuntur nigra. Moraliter ergo per hoc possumus notare quod in amore qui est dulcis in principio aliquando mors latet, quia ad ipsum sepe consequitur mors sicut consecutum fuit in istis duobus" (Ghisalberti 1933: 55). See also Ghisalberti 1932: 210: "Arnolfo d'Orléans: un cultore di Ovidio nel secolo XII," *Memorie del Reale Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere*, 24 (1932): 157-234, p.210: "Mora de albis in nigra nichil aliud est quam quod alba sunt nondum matura, sed nigrescunt dum maturescunt."

75. See Lydgate's *Reson and Sensuallite*, Sieper ed. 1901: 104-5, lines 3936-4001, on which the marginal Latin gloss is "*Fructus illius arboris secundum dicta poetarum fuit mutatus de albedine in nigredinem.*"

76. For a comprehensive survey of literary, pictorial, and other representations of the Pyramus and Thisbe story in English and various European vernaculars from the early middle ages to the late seventeenth century, see Schmitt-Von Mühlenfels 1972: 44-45, which includes the 1525 illustration by Urs Graf in which the figure of Amor or Cupid traditionally included in depictions of the death of Pyramus and Thisbe is replaced by the figure of a fool (Table VII), replacing *Amor* by *Moria* or folly as the emblem of the scene.

fferent *amor* of the cross that enabled metamorphosis in the opposite direction, basis of the New Testament passages on the wisdom in its apparent folly and counterpart of the baptism that could wash the “Ethiope” white. This Ovidian story and its mulberry sound through Dante’s *Commedia* like a leitmotif—from the *Inferno*’s Satan to the steps (white, darker than purple, and red) of *Purgatorio*, where the redemptive red (“*come sangue che fuor di vena spiccia*”; “like blood that spurts out of the veins”) explicitly echoes Pyramus’s death, to Dante’s encounter with Beatrice (separated from him by a “muro” or Wall), which recalls both Ovid and the Bridegroom and Bride of Apocalypse and the Song of Songs.<sup>79</sup>

The Dantesque combination of Pyramus and Thisbe with biblical texts, including the *morus* or “mulberry” of Luke 17, reflects the influential tradition of Ovid “moralized,” in which Pyramus signified Christ, Thisbe *anima humana*, the lion the “roaring lion” of the New Testament (Peter 5), and the mulberry or *morus* stained with blood the tree of a different *amor*. Widely disseminated through the commentary of “Thomas Walleys, Englishman,” the *Ovide moralisé*, and other means (both visual and textual), this influential “moralization” also appears in the *Gesta Romanorum*, famous as a source for *The Merchant of Venice*.<sup>80</sup> Walls figure centrally in this moralized Ovid, which conflated the wall separating the lovers Pyramus and Thisbe with the “wall” dividing the lovers of the Song of Songs (2:9) and the wall of “partition” familiar from Ephesians (2:14), both to be finally down in the apocalyptic marriage of Bridegroom and Bride. (This “marriage” typology continued to appear in the translation of the Song of Songs in English Bibles in

77. This is the Geneva Bible (1560) version of what the Vulgate of Luke 17:6 renders as “Si habueritis fidem sicut granum sinapis, dicetis huic arbori moro: Eradicare et transplantare in mare, et obediet vobis.” The Coverdale Bible (1550) has “The Lorde sayde: If ye have faith as a grayne of mustarde sede / and say unto this Molbery tree. . . .” while the Bishops’ (1568) Bible renders the passage as “If ye had fayth as much as a grayne of mustarde seede, & should say unto this Sycamine tree, plucke up thy selfe by the rootes, and plant thy selfe in the sea, it shoulde obey you.” For the Miltonic reference, see below.

78. See Freccero 1986: ch. 10; Ambrose, *In Lucam VIII*, 29, in the *Patrologia Latina* 15, 1774.col. 1864: “Nam fructus ejus primo albet in flore, deinde jam formatus irrutilat, maturitate nigrescit. Diabolus quoque ex albeti angelicae flore naturae et potestate rutilanti, praevaricatione dejectus, tetro inhorruit odore peccati. En tibi illum arbori moro dicentem: *Eradicare et jactare in mare*, cum legionem eiecit ex homine, in porcos transire permittit, qui exagitati diabolico spiritu, se in maria demerserunt.” For the continuation of this tradition in the story told of More, Schoeck 1951: 313, on Erasmus’s alleged “Aut tu es Morus, aut nullus,” and More’s retort “Aut tu es Erasmus, aut diabolus.” Schoeck also cites the widely-known *Allegoriae in Sacram Scripturam* (erroneously attributed to Rabanus Maurus), with Le P. C. Spicq 1944: 39 and 307: “Morus est diabolus, ut in Evangelio: ‘Dicens huic arbori, More, eradicare [Luc. xvii.6],’ quod apostoli diabolum in hominibus exsarpaverunt” (*Patrologia Latina* 112, col. 1002). Schoeck indicates that he has not found “this allegorization of morus (mulberry tree) elsewhere,” though it is clearly part of the tradition from Ambrose. Marc’hadour 1977: .669n.41, also notes that the name of the pseudo-Rabanus Maurus, author of the “morus est diabolus” of the *Allegoriae in Sacram Scripturam* on Lk. 17: 6, also links him with the complex from *morus / maurus*.

79. See *Inferno* XXXIV; *Purgatorio* IX.93-102 (“bianco marmo”; “tinto piu che perso”; “porfido me pareo, si fiammeggiante, / come sangue che fuor di vena spiccia”); *Purgatorio* XXVII.36-39 (“tra Beatrice e te e questo muro), the latter followed by explicit allusion to Pyramus and Thisbe, also separated by a wall, at the point of Pyramus’s death “when the mulberry became red” (“vermiglio”); the allu-

the sixteenth century, which also regularly rendered it as the “Ballette of Ballettes” or “Ballad of Ballads,” the term that Bottom chooses to record his “rare vision” in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, Shakespeare’s “marriage” play).<sup>81</sup>

In a tradition still influencing the punning on Alexander “More” in Milton, the Vulgate *arbor morus* of Luke 17 was further conflated with the *sycamorus* of Luke 19, also associated with the cross and glossed by Isidore of Seville (in an influential pseudo-etymology) as “*sicut morus*” or “like the mulberry.”<sup>82</sup> The sycamore became so interchangeable with the mulberry, “more” or “moor” tree that the Vulgate *sycamoros* of Amos 7:14 was translated by Coverdale as “mulberry,” while Wycliff rendered the *sycamoros* of 2 Chronicles 1:15 as “mulberies.”<sup>83</sup> Holland’s English translation of Pliny on the “sycamore” associated with Egypt and Cyprus describes it as “like unto the Mulberry tree,” in a passage that may also reflect the rich crossing of Pliny with other traditions.<sup>84</sup> Both *morus* and *sycamorus* were further absorbed into wordplay on *Moria* or “folly,” and the paradoxical “wise fool” from the combination of Pliny and Corinthians: as late as the seventeenth century, the

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sion to Pyramus and the mulberry in *Purgatorio* XXXIII.69, and Freccero 1986: 176–171, citing inter alia Augustine, *II. Quaes. Evangelior*, q.39, n.2, Alanus de Insulis (*Sermo* 2, in *Patrologia Latina*, 210, 225) and the *Glossa Ordinaria*. Freccero remarks on the influential combined legacy of these traditions (one linking the mulberry tree with the devil, the other with the cross): “These two glosses by Ambrose and Augustine, respectively, on the passage in Luke entered into the *Glossa Ordinaria* and became traditional allegorizations of the mulberry tree, to be repeated by virtually every important commentator throughout the Middle Ages and well into the Renaissance.” Freccero also cites Bonaventure, *Opera* VII, 430–431 and the convenient (though not exhaustive) survey of exegetical commentary in Cornelius a Lapide’s *Commentarius in Quat. Evang.* (Venice, 1700), II, 146.

80. See Ovidius *Metamorphoseos moralizatus a Fratres P. Berchorii*, appendix Ghisalberti 1933:114–115; *Ovide moralise* (IV, 1176), edited by C. De Boer ed. 1920: II, 37; Panofsky 1962: 23, and Plate V, figure 11, which reproduces an illustration of Pyramus and Thisbe from the Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. Lat. 15158 (dated 1289), illustrated *Bible*. 238, p. 272, in which “Thisbe awaits Pyramus on a Gothic tombstone which bears the inscription ‘Hic situs est Ninus rex,’ preceded by the usual cross” (p. 20), as well as the lovers separated by the wall from earlier moments in the story; and Allen 1970: ch. VII, which also cites Thomas Walsingham’s *De archana deorum* [ed. Robert A. van Kluve (Durham, N.C., 1968)], which continued the tradition of symbolic exegesis into the fifteenth century and the influence of the moralization of Ovid “known to the Renaissance . . . as the work of Thomas Walleys” (p. 169), available to English readers who knew Latin through any one of the “five editions published in the first quarter of the sixteenth century.” The “Thomas Walleys” under which the Bersuire moralization was disseminated suggests along with other evidence, including the *Gesta Romanorum*, the dissemination of this moralizing tradition in England as on the continent. Pyramus and Thisbe bas-reliefs appear in the cathedral at Basle, while in England, St. Mary’s church in Patricxbourne near Canterbury has a sixteenth-century stained glass window (of Swiss origin) depicting the deaths of Pyramus and Thisbe. “The roaring lion” is the running head in the Geneva (1560) Bible page that translates 1 Peter 5:8 (“Be sober and watch: for your adversarie the devil as a roaring lyon walketh about, seeking whom he may devour”) – which also makes reference in the margin to the church at “Babylon.” This biblical “roaring lion” is an acknowledged echo in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, comically in the lion of the artisans’ Pyramus and Thisbe play (where “deflower” is substituted for “devour”) and in Puck’s “Now the hungry lion roars” speech at the end. See below. The Bishops Bible (1585) has “Be sober and watch: for your adversarie the devil, as a roaring Lion walketh about, seeking whom he may devour.”

influential exegete Cornelius a Lapide, commenting on the *arbor morus* of Luke 17, quoted Pliny on the mulberry as the “wisest of plants” and added: “As Thomas More ... was the wisest of men.”<sup>85</sup>

Kaleidoscopic punning on the name of More was thus part of a much broader network linking the *morus* or mulberry, the sycamore (or *sicut morus*), *Moria* / folly,

81. The traditional typological relation of the lovers of the Song of Songs with the Bridegroom and Bride of Revelation is a familiar part of the introduction of the Song itself in sixteenth-century English Bibles. In Taverner’s 1539 English Bible, “The Ballet of Balletes of Salomon: Called in Latyne, *Canticum Canticorum*” is introduced as “A mysticall device of the spirituall and godly love betwene Chryste the spouse, and the churche or congregacion his spousesse”; the Bishops Bible of 1568 introduces “The Ballet of Balletes of Solomon, called in Latin, *Canticum Canticorum*” as “The familiar talke and mysticall communication of the spirituall love betweene Jesus Christ and his Church.” The Geneva (1560) Bible – unusual among sixteenth-century translations in titling it as Solomon’s “Song” (rather than “ballet”) – similarly introduces it as follows: “In this Song, Salomon by moste swete and comfortable allegories and parables describeth the perfite loue of Jesus Christ, the true Salomon and King of peace, and the faithful soule of his Church, which he hathe sanctified and appointed to be his spouse, holy, chaste and without reprehension. So that here is declared the singular loue of the bridegrome toward the bride. . . . Also the earnest affection of the Church which is inflamed with the loue of Christ desiring to be more and more ioyned to him in loue, and not to be forsaken for any spot or blemish that is in her”). The “wall” of Song of Songs 2:9 as of Ephesians 2:14 is *paries* in the Vulgate, though “muro” in Dante (“tra Beatrice e te e questo muro,” *Purgatorio* XXVII.36-39). The Coverdale (1550) translation also uses “ballettes” (“Salomons Ballettes, called Cantica Canticorum”). See also Wycliff’s *Song of Solomon* (1382), cited by the *OED* for the “chyne” in the “stone wall,” along with the “chins and walls” of *Batman upon Bartholomew* (1582), ed. Barth. De P.R. 180. The allegorization by Walleys (now known to be Pierre Bersuire) – still appearing for example in *Metamorphosis Ovidiana Moraliter a Magistro Thoma Walleys Anglico de Professione predicatorum sub sanctissimo patre Dominico: explanata* (Paris 1511) – provides an extended commentary on Book IV of the *Metamorphoses* (eg. Folio XXIX), which inter alia (along with other commentaries) helps to explain the description of Pyramus in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* as “most lovely Jew” both in this allegorization and in its reminder that “pyramus erat Iuvenis pulcherrimus.” Of the story of these lovers it comments: “Ista historia potest allegari de passione & incarnatione christi. Pyram est dei filius. Tisbe vero anima humana quese principio multum dilexerunt & per charitatem & amorem coniungi invicem decreverunt sed quia datoq essent vicini & quasi consimiles: eoq ad imagines dei factus est homo: quidem tamen paries: id est peccatum ade: coniunctionem pediebat & ipsos abinvicem difungebat. Ipsi autem per prophetas colloquentes condixerant per beatam incarnationez in simul convenire: & sub mori arbor: id est sub cruce ad fontem baptismi & gratieinvicem consentire. Sic igitur factus est q ista puella anima propter leenam: id est diabolum fontem gratie adire non potuit sed adventum amici sui pyrami: id est dei sub silentio expectavit Abacuc 2. Si moram fecerit expecta eum quia veniens veniet & non tardabit. Iste igitur iuxta conductum finaliter ad nos venit et sub arbore crucis amore tysbes: id est anime morti se exposuit ita q. arborem ipsam: videlicet crucem proprio sanguie cruentavit et colore ipsius denigravit. Et ideo tysbe: id est fidelis anima debet per compassionem eius de passionis gladio se transfigure & eandem penam mentaliter sustinere. Vel dic y ista puella est virgo maria ad quam dei filius per incarnationem venit. & sub crucis arbore mori voluit. Ipsa vero per compassionem eius gladio se tranfodit. Luc. 2 Tuam ipsius animam pertransibit gladius.” Habbakuk 2 is thus cited along with Luke 2, where Mary’s description (by Simeon) as pierced with a sword (*gladius*) is used to provide a further link between Thisbe and Mary. The Geneva (1560) version of Luke 2:15 is: “Yea and a sworde shal pearce through thy soul) that the thoughts of manie hearts may be opened” (with the marginal gloss: “this is, sorrowes shulde pearce her heart, as a sworde”). The entire allegorization by “Walleys” was also disseminated through the influential French translation of Colard Mansion, known to Caxton (*Ovide de Salmonen son livre intitule Metamorphose contenant xvi. livres particuliers moralisé par maistre Thomas Walleys docteur en theologie . . . Translate & compilé par Colard Mansion en la noble ville de Bruges* (Bruges-en-flandres 1484).

*mores* / morals, *maurus* / black or Moor, *amor* / love, *mora* / delay, *moriens* or dying, *morosus* or melancholy, English “moors” (or “muirs”) with the ripe or “mure” as well as with “mures,” murals, or walls. *Moria* could evoke both folly and “murrain” plague; French “mürier” (“morier” and other spellings) the mulberry whose fruit (“la müre”) resembled “le mur” (or “wall”) as well as “mür” or “ripe.” “More” could be the ablative of morals, customs, or *mores*, and the comparative “more.” “Morel” suggested both mulberry and the color of a horse (“The Woman Wrapped in Morels Hide”), as well as “black” nightshade and the “morello” or “winter cherry.”<sup>86</sup> “Myrrh” (associated with the Arabian *murra* or myrrh-tree in Pliny and in Ovid’s tale of Myrrha, another story of forbidden love) was linked with *murmura*, *mora*, *mors*, and “bitter” (*amarus*) *amor*, while (in the moralizing tradition) simultaneously linked with “Maria” and the “myrrh” of the Song of Songs.<sup>87</sup> The Spanish for “mulberry tree” (“el moral”) was close to “la moral” from *mores*; Spa-

82. See Freccero 1986: 178, on Zachaeus’ conversion by climbing a sycamore in Luke 19; Isidore, *Etymol.* XVII.vii (*Patrologia Latina* 82, 63): “Sycamorus, sicut et morus Graeca nomina sunt . . . Hanc Latine celsam appellant”; and McCulloch 1960: 80-81 on *De sycamora* and Amos 7:14 (which appears in the Vulgate as *sycomorus*, but also as the *morus* in other patristic writing). Freccero also cites Albertus Magnus: “Sycomorum autem quidam virtutem vocabuli ignorantes, dicunt arborem quae est sicut morus” (*In Evang. D. Luc.* XIX, Opera X, 261).

83. See *OED*, “mulberry,” citing 1382 WYCLIF 2 Chron. 1:15 (“cedres as long mulberies” for Vulgate *cedrus quasi sycomorus*). The Geneva 1560 translation of Luke 17:6 has “mulbery tre” for what the Bishops (1568) version renders as “Sycamine tree”; both have “wild fig tree” (differently spelled) for Luke 19:4. The Geneva 1560 version of 2 Chronicles 1:15 has “wilde fig trees” for what the Bishops 1568 version renders as “Mulbery trees.” Both have “wilde figges” for Amos 7:14. The links between the mulberry or *arbor morus* (Greek *sykaminos*), sycamore (*sycamoros*), and the “fig” (*sykos*) with which both share a syllable also appear in the punning on the name of Alexander *Morus* or “More” in Milton’s *Second Defence* (“he might have inserted a mulberry in a fig and thence have rapidly raised a progeny of sycamores”), in the listing of his “criminal amours” even before the tryst with Pontia that produced “a Morill” (*morillus*) or “little mulberry tree.” See Milton, in Hughes 1957: 823.

84. See Pliny XIII.xiv, 132, with Holland’s translation (1635: I, 389): “In AEGypt likewise there be found many trees which grow not els-where: and principally the Sycomore, which thereupon is called the AEGyptian Fig-tree. The tree for leafe, bignesse, and barke, is like unto the Mulberry tree.’ and Vol. II, Book XXIII, chapter VII (p. 168): “In Egypt and Cypres both, there groweth the Sycomore, which is a kind by it selfe between a fig tree and a mulberry tree, as I have before said; the fruit or berries whereof be full of liquor. . . This juice issuing out of them, is a singular defensative against the poison of Serpents: a wholesome medicine for the bloody flix; and a notable carminative to discusse and resolve pushes, biles, and al impostumations. It soudereth and heaeth up wounds, it allaieth head-ach, and assuageth the wens or pains of the ears. Such also as be splenicke or diseased in the spleene, fine much ease and comfort by drinking thereof. Moreover, a liniment made therewith, is good to chaufe and heat those, who chill and quake for extremity of cold: howbeit, last it will not, but breed worms very quickly.”

85. Cited in Marc’hadour 1977: 547: “The exegetes certainly had no trouble associating the two trees allegorically, for it seemed to them that their common root, again verbally, was *morus*, meaning . . .foolish’ in precisely the same sense that St. Paul spoke of the cross as foolish: . . .unto the Jews a stumbling block and unto the Greeks foolishness’ (1 Cor. 1:23)”; “Erasmus, in his *Annotations* on the New Testament [LB 4, 300 E, 306 DEF], examines their botanical identity more than their allegorical significance. He adds a third word, Celsus’ *morasykos*, or . . .foolish fig-tree.’ Despite the short -o- of *morus* in these compounds, he advocates linking those trees with the mulberry, whose foliage has affinities with theirs. Now, in Greek *mora*, *morea*, there is an omega, and the root-vowel of the Latin equivalent *morus* is also long, as appears from the scansion in Ovid and Palladius (the fourth-century agricuturist). Thus the Lucan trees are eligible too for . . .silly’ symbolism .”

nish moralizations of Pyramus and Thisbe could thus exploit links between the mulberry and the “moral” sense.<sup>86</sup> In England, Minsheu’s *Guide* taught its readers that “Mulberrie tree” was “Moral” in Spanish, while Spanish-English dictionaries reminded theirs that Spanish “*mora*” (or mulberry) was the fruit of the “*moral*” or mulberry tree. Minsheu’s *Dictionarie in Spanish and English* (1599), addressed to an audience “desirous to attaine the perfection of the Spanish tongue,” lists “*Moral*, a Mulberrie tree” right before “*Moralidad*” for “moralnes” and “*Moralmente*” or “morally.”<sup>87</sup> In Portuguese, mulberry tree (*amora*) was available for puns on *amor* or love and the *mora* short for *demora* or delay. The description of the Island of Love (*Ilha Namorada*) in Camoens’ *Lusiads* links “*mora*” (“*de mora*”) or delay with “*a mora*” (or love), inverting the gender of the epithet “Moor” (“*Mouro*”) repeated so often in this epic of African circumnavigation and the voyage to India, providing (as Roland Greene has suggested) “an inversion of the realm of the Moors” themselves, “*amor*” instead of “*O mouro*.”<sup>88</sup>

The mulberry also figured in the growing lexicon of color and exoticism in the period. “*Moro*” was the Italian for mulberry as well as Moor, while Spanish “*Mora*” designated both mulberries and “black” or “dark” women. The mulberry’s turning from white to dark was counterpart to climate-based conceptions of “Moriens” (or Moriens) – including “Moors,” Ethiopians and inhabitants of “Inde” – as darkened from an original white, reflected in the “complexion” of Morocco in *The Merchant of Venice* (“shadowed livery of the burnish’d sun”), Mary Wroth’s “Indians, scorched with the sunne,” or the “Inde” of Golding’s rendering of Phaeton’s driving the sun-chariot too close to the earth that provided an Ovidian

86. See *OED* “morel, sb.2; and Cotgrave (1611): “*Morelles*, Morell Cherries; late-ripe Cherries, dried for Winter prouision.” For nightshade, see *OED* “morel,” sb.1 which cites inter alia 1519 HORMAN *Vulg.* 110: “Purple veluette of Ynde: that hath the coloure of morelle, or vyolette, or rusty yron: is mooste of pryce”; 1601 HOLLAND *Pliny* II.58: “Morel or Night-shade” and Cotgrave (1711) on “*Morelle*, the hearbe Morell, pettie Morell, garden Nightshade.”

87. For Ovidian punning on *murra*, *murmura*, *amor*, and *mors* in the tale of Myrrha and the *murra* or myrrh tree, with other related puns, see Ahl, *Metaformations* pp. 214–224. John of Garland’s lines on Myrrha (“De Mirra”) are crammed with such punning (“Rem miram mirare novam Mirram per amorem / In mirram verti quam dat amarus amor”). See Ghisalberti ed. 1933: 68. The link between Ovid’s Myrrha (mother of Adonis, alluded to in Shakespeare’s *Venus and Adonis*) and Maria (mother of Christ, of whom “Adonis” was a type) is also made in the moralizing tradition, including Walleys / Bersuire. See Book X (Fol lx) of the *Metamorphoses Ovidiana Moraliter* (Paris 1511), which also invokes the myrrh of the Song of Songs (and its *hortus conclusus*, allegorized as a type of Mary’s womb).

88. See for example *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española* by Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco (1611; Castalia 1994 edition): “MORA. La fruta del moral” (762); “MORENA. Color, la que no es del todo negra, como la de los moros, de done tomó nombre, o de mora” (763); “MORISCOS. Los convertidos de moros a la Fe católica, y si ellos son católicos, gran merced les ha hecho Dios y a nosotros también” (763); “MORO. *Latine* MAURUS, dicho así de la provincia de Mauritania.”

89. See Minsheu, under “Mulberrie tree”: “H. Moral. . . . L. Morus. . . Est enim, ut supra dictum, arbor nigrum ferens fructum. Arbor Pyramea. Sub hac enim arbore occubuisse Pyramum, & Thisbem tradunt, eorumq, sanguine fructum eius e nigro in sanguineum colorem conversum fuisse.” Minsheu’s *Dictionarie in Spanish and English* also states on its frontispiece that it includes “an Alphabeticall Table of the Arabicke and Moorish words now commonly receiued and vsed in the Spanish tongue.”

source for this tradition.<sup>91</sup> The association of the “more [or ...moor]-tree” with the growing lexicon of color and exoticism extended to the proliferation of mulberry emblems for figures whose names linked them with blackness or Moors. Lodovico Sforza, the Duke of Milan whose name meant “Black,” was nicknamed *Il Moro*: his emblem was the *morus* or mulberry tree.<sup>92</sup> Cristoforo Moro – linked with the English More in Regi’s *Vita di Tommaso Moro* as with the “Moor” of *Othello*’s Italian source – had an insignia spotted with mulberries, punning visually on the combination of mulberry and Moor in his own name.<sup>93</sup> In England, Aemilia Lanyer, once linked with the so-called “Dark Lady” of Shakespeare’s Sonnets, came from the Bassano family of Italian Jews, whose coat of arms featured a mulberry tree and silkworm moth evocative of their origin in Bassano del Grappa north of Venice, a center of the silk trade in the period. For this reason she has been associated with the Sonnets’ opposition of “fair” and “dark,” *The Merchant of Venice*, with its converted Jewish daughter and female Moor, and the *moro albo*, both “white mulberry” and “white Moor,” a contrast with darker “Moore” also applied to Carthaginian / Phoenician Dido in Thomas Phaer’s translation of the *Aeneid*.<sup>94</sup> Moffet’s treatise promoting mulberry cultivation in England was itself a mixture of practical handbook, theological allegory, and exoticism (including the multiple contemporary associations of “white” and “black”), combining Pliny on the “Morus” or “Mulberry most wise, / That never breeds till winter wholly dies,” the Bible (including the Song of Songs), the fire or heat of love suggested by the name of “Pyr-amus,” and reference to “Kafirs” and the origins of sericulture in “East India.” It links the “purple” or “blackish” “staine” of the mulberry

90. The related puns from Luis Vas de Camoes’ *Os Lusíadas* were suggested to me in a private communication by Professor Greene. See also Florio1598, listings under “Moro, a blackamoore. Also a mulberie tree”; “Moroso, a lover, a paramour, an amorous fellow”; “Morologo, wayward, foolish, tipsie, tatling, babbling, full of wyne”; “Morone, a mulberie tree. Also a kinde of sweete meate so called in Italie. Also a kinde of fish much like flesh, that is eaten in Lente”; “Moraglie, a devise to pinch a horse about the nose to tame him when he is a shoeing. Also any kind of stone wals”; “Moraro, a blackeberrie tree, or a mulberie tree”; “Morsura, a biting, a snipping, a nipping.” See also “La Tisbe” by Luis de Gongora, in the original Vicuña edition and the modern edition by Carreño 1988: 384ff.

91. See *The Merchant of Venice* (2.1.1-17), with Hall 1995: 94-97, 105 on Golding, Wroth, Elizabeth Cary’s *The Tragedy of Mariam* (1613), where Herod calls his sister Salome a “sun-burnt blackamoore” (4.7.461-462), and the Moorish Eleazer of *Lust’s Dominion; or, the Lascivious Queen* (1600), who declares that his complexion is “ta’en from the kisses of the amorous sun” (3.4.14). See also Walvin 1972: 32-47, and Washington 1984: 70-101. As Hall comments, “The popularity of the idea that sun caused ‘black’ skin color may have lasted because the very name ‘Aethiope’ signified burnt or ...torrid’ skin, as many travelers intimated, or, more likely, because it provided an oblique way of addressing fears of miscegenation and the absorption of ‘white’ European by the foreign other” (95).

92. Marc’hadour 1977: 545.

93. See Holloway 1985: 125-136. Furness includes in the Variorum edition of *Othello* a letter dated January 9, 1875 in which Rawdon Brown discusses the link between Cinthio’s “Moro” and the historical Cristoforo Moro, as well as the shields “spotted with mulberries” and Moro’s insignia, three mulberries sable and three bends azure on a field argent. Holloway also notes that “the doge, Cristoforo Moro, was honored by his namesake being created lord lieutenant of Cyprus in May 1505. In October 1508, this Moro returned to Venice in mourning for the death of his wife on her way from Cyprus.”

from the Ovidian story of Babylonian lovers to the Fall as a taint or staining of the white of “former perfitnesse,” and resurrection from death and the upward metamorphosis of the silkworms themselves to a redemptive whitening. “Blacke at the first, like pitch of Syrian deepe,” they become “in time as white as Atlas snow. . . Till they be cleane of blacknesse dispossesed, “ bearing no longer “the marke of blackish fiend,” transformed (as silkflies) into a “pure white” like that of “tenne thousand Angells all in white” at the Apocalypse or final Doom, a “milk-white” or “badge of chastity” without any “spotte” because “in them no follies ever grew.”<sup>95</sup>

The *morus* or “mulberry” provided in addition not only the counterpart of the turning of the “Ethiope” from white to black (and its reverse) but also the color known as “murrey,” the mulberry shade between white and black. This “mulberry” color appears as “Murry ... or browne brunette” in Palsgrave (153), in the definition of *Hiberus color* as “swart, browne, or murrey colour” in Thomas Thomas’s *Dictionary*, as “murrey or yron colour, darke colour” in Minsheu (1599), and as “murrey” or “sanguine” in Cockeram (1623), a meaning it has in heraldry as well (“Sanguin in Heraldry signifies a Murrey colour,” as Blount put it in 1656). In Richard Eden’s translation of Peter Martyr’s *De Orbe Novo* as *The Decades of the New World*, in the context of Columbus’s voyages to the West Indies, “mulberry” or “murrey” colored (“somewhat lighter than black”) is associated with the “tawny” of “sod quinces” described as the color of “West Indians,” linking mulberries and quinces with the Indies or Inde.<sup>96</sup> Minsheu’s *Guide* links “murrey” with Italian “moretto” or “morell” and Spanish “morado,” as well as “niger, fuscus, blackish or dunne colour, aut a morus,” between black and red, or purple. English-Spanish dictionaries introduce not only the “Moral” that is “a mulberie tree, *Morus*” and “*Mora*, a mulberie, *Morum*,” but also “morado,” “moreno” or mulberry-color.<sup>97</sup> Minsheu’s Spanish-English *Dictionary* (1599) lists “Moral, a Mulberrie tree” along with “Morel” as a “browne duskish colour,” “Morella” as “an herbe called nightshade,” “Morado color” as “murrey or ... darke,” “Moreno color, murrie colour, browne, darke, duskish,” “hombre Mo-

94. See Prior 1987, and on Lanyer’s family background and the argument of A. L. Rowse’s *Shakespeare’s Sonnets: The Problems Solved*, Woods (1993: pp. xvff. *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* also provides, among other contemporary examples, abundant indication of how interlinked was the imagery of the Song of Songs with the final marriage of Bridegroom and Bride in Revelation and other related biblical passages, including Matthew 24 and 25. See also “mirrhe” in lines 1319-20 (pp. 107 and p. xxxviii of Woods’ edition).

95. See *The Silkwormes and their Flies*, 51, 19 (“In Aprils wane when buds the mulb’ry slow”), and the marginal note on p. 23: “The Mulberry is called the wisest tree, because it never buddeth till all danger of cold be gone” – glossing its reference to the silkworms devouring “the leaves of tree most wise”; p. 17 on Pyramus as “One too too hot, for so imports his name” (with the marginal gloss: “Pyramus signifieth as much as fiery”); pp. 68, 70, on “Indian wormes” and the progress of sericulture from “Serinda” [“A cite of east India”]; allusion to the Psalm (137) of Babylonian exile (p. 20); pp. 54, 72, 27-28; and 38-40 comparing these creatures (who die after coupling) to Pyramus and Thisbe, in their fidelity and union in death; and the echo of the Song of Songs in the “no spotte” of p. 28. Moffet’s text ends with assurances to his English audience that “Keeping of silke-wormes hindreth not the keeping of sheepe nor Sheepheards” and a strong “yarne” is made by carding “an ounce of silke with ten of wooll.” See also below.

reno, a man of swartish hue,” “More, vide Moro, a blacke Moore,” “Moro ... a blacke Moore of Barberie, or a Neager that followeth the Turkish religion,” and the reminder that Spanish “Mora” meant both “Mulberry” and “a woman black-Moore.”

The mulberry or “more-tree” linking “Moor,” “Ethiope,” and “Inde” figured in still other ways in relation to “dark” women in particular. We have already noted the traditional association of the mulberry with a taint or stain as well as with blood, familiar not only from Ovid but from a range of classical and biblical texts.<sup>98</sup> The comparison of a woman to a ripe “mulberry” was already established in an epigraph of Martial (*nigrior est cadente moro*: “blacker than a falling mulberry”), associating her sexuality with the “falling” mulberry and with blackness. Martial’s text is both echoed and rewritten in the “blackberry, no Mulberry” and “winter Cherry” (or “morel”) of Edward Guilpin’s “Of Nigrina. 57” (1598), from a period in which (as Kim F. Hall has argued) literary, aesthetic, and theological contrasting of “fair” and “dark,” white and black, was influenced by increasing contact with Africa, India, and the New World.<sup>99</sup> The “Ethiope” to be washed white (in the tradition that linked the *mora* or dark fruit of the mulberry with the blackness of sin) was joined by the “black” bride of the Song of Songs, conflated by the moralizing tradition with Ovid’s Babylonian Thisbe (“I am blacke, O daughters of Jerusalem, but comelie, as the frutes of Kedar, as the curtines of Salomon. Regarde ye me not because I am blacke: for the sunne hathe looked upon me,” lines also echoed by Shakespeare’s Cleopatra: “Think on me, / That I am with Phoebus’ amorous pinches black”).<sup>100</sup> Abraham Wright’s “To a Black Gentlewoman: Mistress A. H.” reflects the conflation of the “black” bride of the Song of Songs with the “spouse” to be made white in the apocalyptic marriage of Bridegroom and Bride: “Grieve not (faire maid) cause you are black; so’s she / Thats spouse to him who died upon the tree.” The Song of “Solomon” (one of James I’s favorite figures for his reign) had itself an extraordinary impact on both exoticism and colonialism in the period, as well as a complex relationship

96. See The First Decade, Book II of Richard Eden’s translation of Peter Martyr’s *De Orbe Novo* as “The Decades of the New World” (1555).

97. See Minsheu, under “Murrey, or a Murrey colours,” which also cites its counterpart in “B. Mooreyt, Moorhey”; Richard Percyvall, *Bibliotheca Hispanica* (London, 1591), under *Moral* and *Mora*. OED “Murrey” (“ad med. Lat *moratus*, *morata*, f. L. *morum*, mulberry”) defines it as “A colour like the mulberry” and under “murrey colour” cites a 1537 spelling as “murre color.” See also the entries in Florio’s *World of Wordes*, which make clear both the easy shifting between “mor-” and “mur-” and the links with a wider network of terms: “*Morare*, as *Murare*. Also as *Dimorare*”; “*Moratore*, used for *Muratore*”; “*Moratoria*, a dispensation to stay. Also a Mortuarie”; “*Morello*, the colour Murrey, or darke red (Also the name of a Sawyers toole)”; “*Morali*, pieces of timber, or rafters”; “*Moralita*, moralitie, a morall sence”; “*Morale*, morall, pertaining to manners”; “*Moraro*, a blacke or Mulberie tree”; “*Morato*, a blacke colour like a Mulberrie”; “*Moresca*, a Morice, or Antique dance”; “*Moresco*, a Moore. Also a Barbery horse”; “*Moriccio*, a mud-wall, a dry-wall”; “*Morie*, the piles or hemorrhoides”; “*Moricino*, a little Blacke-moore”; “*Moriente*, dying, yeelding the last gaspe”; “*Morione*, a murion, a caske, a head-piece. Also the male Mandragora. Also a kind of blacke transparent stone.”

98. See the references cited above, including Ovid’s Pyramus and Thisbe story, Book 10 of Columella’s *De arboribus* (on the “blood-red juice of mulberries”), and 1 Maccabees 6:34 on the “blood of grapes and mulberries” (“*sanguinem uvae et mori*”).

to Queen Elizabeth, whose “two bodies” made her the subject of comparisons to its Bridegroom as well as its Bride, just as her name linked her with Dido or “Elissa,” queen of the Carthage in Barbary that provided the name of a contemporary Spanish colony.<sup>101</sup>

This complex linking of the mulberry with both sexuality or *amor* and “dark” women, including the “black” Bride associated with the biblical Sheba, influenced texts that evoke Moors or Moorish women as well as the moralized Ovidian tradition of the *mora* or mulberries turned from white to dark. One of these is the story of Doña Endrina from Juan Ruiz’s *Libro de buen amor*, an “Endrina” who bears the name of the “sloe-berry” also legendary for its blackness, linked with *Amor* in Chaucer’s *Romaunt of the Rose* (1928), where the “bachelor” who accompanies Love holds a bow made of wood as “black as berry or ony slo.” Since this “Doña” is from Calatayud, famous for its “gente mora o de moro origen,” one recent critic has linked the blackness associated with her name, the “Mora” that designates the mulberry as well as female Moor, and the moralizing tradition from John of Garland that makes the Ovidian mulberry’s blackness an allegory of *amor* itself.<sup>102</sup> The polarity of “white” and “black” from this episode of Ruiz’s *Libro de buen amor* (embedded in a text in which the “chromatic opposition” of white and black is central) would thus involve a subtle rewriting of its source in the *Pamphilus*, where the heroine’s name (“Galathea”) – from *gala* or “milk-white” – is the opposite of the blackness of the Doña Endrina linked with both mulberries and Moors.<sup>103</sup>

I propose to end my examination of this “texture” of associations —if only provisionally— with Shakespeare, who is said to have planted his own mulberry at New Place. Punning on “more” and “Moor” is crucial to *Othello*, *Titus Andronicus*, and the lines on the pregnant female “Moor” associated with “increase” in *The Merchant of Venice* (“the Moor is with child by you. . . . It is much that the Moor should be more than reason: but if she be less than an honest woman, she is indeed more than I took her for”), a homophone that may also

99. See Hall 1995: 90, 272-2 and Edward Guilpin, *Skeiaetheia: Or A shadow of Truth in certaine Epigrams and Satyres* (London, 1598), B5r-v; Martial’s Epigram is translated in the Loeb edition of Martial’s Epigrams (Book I.lxx-lxxii), pp. 74-5, as follows: “so she who is blacker than a falling mulberry, Lycoris, fancies herself when plastered with white lead.”

100. The Geneva Bible version of 1:4-5 is cited here (the Vulgate has *nigra sum, sed formosa*). See *Antony and Cleopatra* 1.5.27-28; Hall, 1995: 66-69, 97, 110; and for more on the Jeremiah verse “Can the blacke More change his skin?” and the proverb “To Wash an Ethiopie White,” Geoffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes* (1586) [“Aethiopem Lavare”], Newman 1987: 141-162; Prager 1987; Blakeley 1993: 92-95. On the beginnings of Portuguese and English slavery and coats of arms depicting Moors, see Hall 1995: 19-20; Vilar 1976; Williamson 1927 esp. 113-114. On the colors of the *Song of Songs*, in a study that also cites Pyramus and Thisbe, see Woodbridge 1987.

101. See Abraham Wright, “To a Black Gentlewoman: Mistress A.H.,” in *Parnassus Biceps, or Several Choice Pieces of Poetry* (London, 1656), 128, cited in Hall 1995: 280; on the Song of Songs, Van Noren and Pollack, eds 1985: 55, 64; King 1989: 37, 196, 254-56; and on Solomon, Sheba, and its “black” bride, see inter alia, Hall 1995: 97-112, Felder 32-36; and Kaplan 1985: 41-42. On Cartagena, Dido or “Elissa,” and Elizabeth, see Orgel 1987: 40-66, 58-64; and the introduction to his Oxford World Classics edition of *The Tempest*. See also Lally ed. 1987, 20 (Book I, line 472) on “Dido . . . so faire of hew,” and the “Moores.” This translation also conveys the link between “Moor” and “blunt” or “dull” (from *moros*) in I.5.42 (“Wee Moores be not so base of wit, ne yet so blunt of minde”), on 22 here.

sound in the poetry of another “dark” woman (Sonnet 150: “The more I hear and see just cause of hate”). “More” and the “murmur” spelled “*murmour*” elsewhere in Shakespeare reverberate in Prospero’s threat to Ariel of reversion to his imprisonment by Sycorax of Algiers (“If thou *more murmur’st*, I will rend an oak / And peg thee in his knotty entrails”), lines whose “*Dull thing*” (185)—evoking the familiar charge of the moronic—could apply to Caliban as well as Ariel.<sup>104</sup> The link between *amor* and “Moor” appears in the overtones of “T’amo” as well as of *mora* or dark woman in the name of “Tamora,” paramour of the Moor in *Titus Andronicus*, a play where the Pyramus and Thisbe narrative is evoked both in Lavinia’s “loss of blood, / As from a conduit with three issuing spouts” (II.iv.29-30) and in “So pale did shine the moon on Pyramus / When he by night lay bath’d in maiden blood” (II.iii.231-232), lines that make clear the link with loss of virginity.<sup>105</sup>

*OED* cites the first appearance in English of “morigerous” (from *mores*) in *Timon of Athens*, for Timon’s “morigerous” wife.<sup>106</sup> But the most striking staging of the combinatory potential of the polymorphic “mor-” is the extraordinary foregrounding of the syllable itself in Shakespeare and Fletcher’s *Two Noble Kinsmen*, in the scene of the “morris” dance, the *moresco* or “wild morisco” (2*H6* 3.1.365) traditionally associated with Moors, Maid Marion and a *Morus* or “Fool”:

Upon this mighty *Morr* – of mickle weight –  
Is – now comes in, which being glu’d together  
Makes  
*Morris*, and the cause that we came hither.

In this striking scene, the Quarto’s “mighty Morr-” (or Moor) and the syllable “Is” (possibly introduced by two different actors), join, in a potentially visual as well as verbal rebus or pun, to form “Morris,” in a play in which mulberries suggestive of sexuality as well as darkness appear in the song of the Jailer’s Daughter (“Palamon is gone ... to th’wood to gather mulberries”), a figure whose song links her with the “willow” of both Babylonian exile and *Othello*’s “Maid

102. See Dagenais 1992: 396-405, with Beltran 1977: 218-219, on her origin in Calatayud, famous for its “gente mora o de moro origen.” Among other texts, Dagenais (399) quotes from a passage in Alfonso el Sabio’s *General estoria, segunda parte*, ed. Antonio G. Solalinde, Lloyd A. Kasten and Victor B. Oelschlager, 2 vols. (Madrid: CSIC, 1957-1961) attributed to John of Garland, which discusses the turning of the mulberry of Ovid’s story from white to dark.

103. See Dagenais 1992: 398-399: “An accessus to the Pamphilus itself gives us a medieval reading of the name: “*Pan*, id est totus, *philos*, id est amor, inde Pamphilus quasi totus in amore, *gala*, id est alba, *thea*, id est dea, inde Galathea, quasi alba dea” (“*Pan*, that is ...all, *philos*, that is ...love, thus Pamphilus means ...all in love’ as it were; *gala*, that is ...white, *thea*, that is ...goddess, thus Galathea means ...white goddess’ as it were”). See Huygens 1970: 53. Galathea also appears as milky-white in glosses to the *Morale Scolarium* of John of Garland, Paetow ed. 1927, with Dagenais 1992: 402, 399.

104. See Bartels 1990: 433-454; Kokeritz 1953: 130; and Parker 1996: 363-364. The ambiguity of “dull thing” is noted in Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan’s new Arden edition of *The Tempest* 1999:170 (2.2.294-296).

105. See Prioron “Tamora.” George Herbert’s “Aethiopissa Ambientum Diversi Coloris Virum” (translated as “A Negress Courts Cestus, a Man of a Different Colour”), whose popularity and importance for the tradition of “literary blackface” is discussed in Hall 1995: 116-17, may also link

call'd Barbary," as well as Chaucer's "blackberries" (already suggestive both of sexuality and an infernal blackness), in a play whose "complexions" include the "swarth," "brown," and "nearer ... brown than black."<sup>107</sup>

"More" and moralizing are juxtaposed in *The Rape of Lucrece* ("Nor could she *moralise* his wanton sight, / *More* than his eyes were opened to the light"), in lines that call attention to the repeated "mor-," homophone of "moor." The "moral fool" of *Lear* and "motley fool" who "moral[s] on the time" in *As You Like It* conflate the "folly" of the *morus* with the *mores* in "moral" (as well perhaps as motley's checkered black and white), while wordplay on "moral," "more L," and "more-elle" (or the "sign of she") contributes to the dense verbal texture of *Love's Labor's Lost* (4.2.58-61), a play that evokes the spotted or "maculate," "black" beauty, and the school of "night" as well as "Inde."<sup>108</sup> *Mores*, *morosus*, and the "dullness" as well as blackness in *morus* combine in the "moody and dull melancholy" of *The Comedy of Errors* (5.1.79), the play whose kitchen servant (3.2.102) evokes both Whore of Babylon and the "black" bride of the Song of Songs, while *mores* or morals, *maiores* or ancestors and the comparative "more" lurk within the "mores" of *Twelfth Night* ("More, by all the mores, than e'er I shall love wife"), together with what Middleton called "Love's Latin word."<sup>109</sup> *Morosus* or melancholy, "moral," and mortifying pervade the lines of *Much Ado* where the melancholy Don John (invoking the "morose" effects of being "born under Saturn") speaks of applying "a *moral* medicine to a *mortifying* mischief" (I.iii.12), while a later scene of the play links

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*amor* with the color of its "negress" ("Quid mihi si facies nigra est? hoc, Ceste, colore / Sunt etiam tenebrae, quas tamen optat amor"). For *Titus Andronicus* II.iii.231-232, the "Pyramus" of the 1623 Folio as well as the Second and Third Quartos appears as "Priamus" in the First Quarto. "Pyramus" (linked etymologically with "fire" in Moffet) also appears confused/conflated with "pyramid(s)" in *Antony and Cleopatra* 2.7.35 and *IH6* (1.6.21). In addition to the echo of the "conduit" image from Ovid's Pyramus and Thisbe story in *Titus* 2.4.29-30, see *Julius Caesar* 2.2.77 ("like a fountain with an hundred spouts"); *Macbeth* 2.3.98 ("the fountain of your blood? Is stopp'd"); the "purple fountain" of *Lucrece* 1737; and "purple fountains issuing from your veins" (*Romeo and Juliet* 1.1.85). *As You Like It* (4.2.93-120) provides yet another Shakespearean echo of the Pyramus and Thisbe story, in its "lioness" and "bloody napkin," in a scene that earlier treats of "Ethiope words, blacker in their effect / Than in their countenance."

106. See *OED*, "morigerous," citing *Timon* 3.5.53 as the first historical use, and *Rape of Lucrece*, lines 104-105.

107. On the Quarto's "Morr" and "Is," see *Two Noble Kinsmen* (3.5.118-20), cited from the Riverside edition, whose editor Hallett Smith comments: "It has been suggested that the Schoolmaster first holds up a board bearing the syllable Morr (or possibly the figure of a Moor) and then places beside it a second board with the syllable Is." The Quarto text reads: "Vpon this mighty Morr – of mickle waight / Is – now comes in, which being glewd together / Makes Morris, and the cause that we came hether." Lois Potter's recent Arden edition of John Fletcher and William Shakespeare, *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (Walton-on-Thames, Surrey: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1997), glosses (p. 238): "Q's spelling, *Morr*, suggests further distortion of pronunciation for the sake of the pun on Morris, which would be unintelligible without some visual equivalent. The dash following both *Morr* and *Is* in Q also indicates some action at this point." She discusses possible stagings in Appendix 5c, p. 359. Eugene Waith Oxford World's Classics edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 150, glosses it as follows: "Morr. . . Is. . . Morris: The Schoolmaster apparently presents a little charade in which the two syllables of 'Morris' are represented, possibly by two of his dancers carrying placards; 'Morr' might be the depiction of a Moor" (See also his Appendix A). Potter p. 264 writes of "Palamon is gone, / Is gone to th' wood to gather mulberries": "Gathering berries seems to have

“moral,” “fool,” and *amor* in a punning exchange on love, including the “moral meaning” of “*benedictus*,” both the name of Benedick and the “*carduus benedictus*” or Holy Thistle with which Beatrice is “prickt.”<sup>110</sup>

The link between “moors” of various kinds, Death or *Mors*, and the “black oppressing humor” (or black bile) of “sable-colored melancholy” (*Loves Labors Lost* I.i.231-4) – evoked in the “melancholy of moor-ditch” (or Moreditch) in *Henry IV Part I* – may be behind other Shakespearean passages not generally associated with blackness or Moors. The Prince of Morocco in *Merchant* is confronted with a death’s-head (“A carrion Death”), underscoring the association between Africa, Moors, skulls, and death.<sup>111</sup> Dover Wilson saw “blackamoor” in Hamlet’s taunt to his mother in the Closet Scene (“Have you eyes? / Could you on this fair mountain leave to feed, / And batten on this *moor*?”), a perception strengthened not only by the “Moore” of the Second Quarto and Folio or the corresponding First Quarto text in which this husband has a blackened face like “Vulcan” but also by the traditional association of Moors and marshlands or moors already

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been synonymous with truancy. Chaucer’s Pardoner says that he does not care whether the souls of his parishioners ...goon a-blakeberied’ once they are dead (*Pardoner’s Prologue*, 406),” an association that also links blackberries (and mulberries) with the world of death (and possibly the infernal). In its context – as well as against the background of the associations we have traced – gathering “mulberries” in the woods (where, in addition, Pyramus and Thisbe meet) also suggests sexuality and the loss of virginity. This passage of the play goes on to “black-eyed maids” (line 72) and the “Willow” song that links its singer with Dido and Desdemona, as well as the “willows” of Babylonian exile (familiar from Psalm 137, also cited by Potter, p. 264). For “swarth,” “brown,” and a “complexion / Nearer a brown than black” see *Two Noble Kinsmen* 4.2.27; 4.2.42-44 (on Palamon’s “brown manly face” compared to the “gipsy” or “changeling” Arcite, in a passage which personifies Love: “O Love, this only / From this hour is complexion,” IV.ii.42-43); IV.ii.78-79. According to the *OED*, “moresco” (counterpart of Italian *moresco* and Spanish *morisco*) could designate “Moorish” or “of or pertaining to the Moors” (as in Holinshed’s *Chronicles* III.805/1: “like Moreskoes, their faces blacke”); “the Moorish language”; “an Italian dance to which the English morris dance is related” (as in 1625 *PURCHAS Pilgrims* II.vii.iv.1020: “According to the sound they dance and moue their feet, as it were in a Moresco”). *OED* cites under “Morisco” the meanings of “Moorish” or pertaining to Moors (including 1605: *Relat. Journ.* Earl Nottingham 27: “Diuers Gypsies (as they termed them) men and women, dauncing and tumbling much after the Morisco fashion”; “alla Morisco” as “in the Moorish fashion” (as in 1592 GREENE 2nd Pt. *Mamillia* (1593) H 1b, “scarphes worne Alla Morisco”; “A Moor” and “Morisco’s head” as “Moor’s-Head” in *Heraldry* (as in a. 1550 in Baring-Gould & Twigg W. *Armory* (1898) 8: “3 moriscoes heads of the 2nd.”

108. See *The Rape of Lucrece* 104-105; *King Lear* 4.1.58; *As You Like It* (2.7.29); *Lear* 4.2.37 (“No more, the text is foolish”); Robert Armin’s *Nest of Ninnies* (1608); *Love’s Labor’s Lost* (1.2.83) on the “maculate” (literally “spotted,” opposite of the “immaculate” Virgin) Jacquenetta, linked with cosmetics or “painting” and 4.3.250ff (starting from the “paradox” of “black” beauty” in “Black is the badge of hell, / The hue of dungeons, and the school of night . . .”). Masten 1997: 60, also notes that “One of the play’s subplots, Gerrold’s morris dance, is built around the antimasque to Francis Beaumont’s *Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray’s Inn*, performed at court to celebrate the marriage of James’s daughter Elizabeth in 1613.”

109. *Twelfth Night* 5.1.136. English “mores” for Latin “majores / maiores, elders, ancestors” appears in the 1387-8 and 1398 citations of *OED* “more” in the sense of “L majores, elders, ancestors.” For the biblical echoes surrounding the “swart,” unwashed and “greasy” would-be bride of Dromio in *The Comedy of Errors* (in lines whose reference to Noah’s flood also ironically evoke a familiar type of baptism), see Parker: 66-68. For “swart” elsewhere in Shakespeare, see also the “swart cimmerian” of *Titus* (2.3.72), “lame, foolish, crooked, swart, prodigious” (*King John* 3.1.46), “black and swart” in *1H6*

familiar from More's seal. Far from being a mere "quibble," this overdetermined "Moore" (in a scene that calls attention to the "black and grained spots" of this maculate Queen, whose counterpart in the *Mousetrap* is named "Baptista") is part of a play preoccupied with blackness, including the "sable" of mourning, melancholia, and death.<sup>112</sup> The King here called a "Moore" despairs of his "bosome black as death" ("Is there not rain enough in the sweet heavens / To wash it white as snow?"), in lines that evoke the baptismal washing that would make the Morian or "Ethiope" white, a juxtaposition even clearer in the text of Q1 ("Why say thy sinnes were blacker then is ieat, / Yet may contrition make them white as snow"), where the *Mousetrap's* murder takes place not in Vienna but "guyana."<sup>113</sup> In a play filled with sullyng, tainting, spotting and blackening, reminders of blackness itself as linked to the "sun" sound in Hamlet's punning "too much i' th' Sun" (Q2 "sonne") and in the advice that Ophelia not walk in the sun, lines that convey the threat of a sexuality "blackened" as Desdemona's will also be. As the play draws toward the multiple deaths of its own end, "Lamord" ("Upon my life Lamord"), the enigmatic "Norman" or "french man" of the scene in which the King and Laertes devise the plot "mortall" to Hamlet – suggests simultaneously Death or *Mors*, a personified *memento mori*, the *amor* (or L'amor) sounding in French "l'amour" as well as "la mort" (combined in a "consummation devoutly to be wished") and the blackness of this personified "Mor," syllable of darkness and presage of the Death to come.<sup>114</sup>

"That black word death" —the *mors* long linked with blackness and *amor* in the traditions we have traced— is explicitly evoked in *Romeo and Juliet* (3.3..27), the play closest to the Pyramus and Thisbe story of love and death, which repeatedly recalls its Ovidian source (starting from the warring families' "purple fountains issuing from your veins," 1.1.85), in a plot that depends, like Ovid's, on the tragic intervention of *mora* or delay. Violently evoking both city walls and the "walls" of "maids," it is filled with reminders of the "bridegroom" of the Apocalypse ("when the bridegroom in the morning comes / To rouse thee from thy bed,"

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1.2.84; the "swart-complexion'd night" of Sonnet 28 (11); *Twelfth Night* 2.3.150; the "swarthy ethiope" of *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (2.6.26).

110. See *Much Ado about Nothing* 3.4.57-59 on the "moral" in "benedictus." For the play on "morall" and the phallic-shaped "more!" here, see Ellis (1973): 164-165.

111. Gillies notes the link between this death's head confronting Shakespeare's Morocco and the maps in which "Africans seem to be interchangeable with skulls" (1994: 61). See *Merchant of Venice* 2.7.63 ("carrion Death") and 2.1.38 ("die with grieving"); *1Henry IV* 1.2.78 for the "melancholy of moor-ditch" and 3.3.31 ("a death's head or a memento mori"); *Comedy of Errors* 5.1.79: "moody and dull melancholy"; and "the melancholy Jacques" of *As You Like It* (eg. 2.1.26), which underscores the traditional link between melancholy and black bile. *OED* also cites the chemical sense of "mortify" (as in 1601 HOLLAND *Pliny* 1.257: "Clodius . . . to know what tast pearles had, mortified them in vinegre, and drunke them up").

112. Dover Wilson, ed., 1936: 213. See Bertram Kliman 1991: 166-169. The Folio's "black and grained spots" – which recalls the familiar passage on the "spots" of the black Moor or "More" from Jeremiah 13:23 – appears in Q2 as "greeued" (suggesting the blackness of mourning).

4.1..107-8; “Make haste, the bridegroom he is come already,” 4.4.27 ), while its plot of “death-mark’d love” (Prol. 9) is framed by the “grove of sycamore” (Folio, “Sycamour”) in which the love-sick Romeo is first introduced (1.1.121) and the resonant sounding of both “black” words in the final scene (“Shall I believe / That unsubstantial *death* is *amorous*, / And that the lean abhorred monster keeps / Thee here in dark to be his *paramour*?,” 5.3.102-105).<sup>115</sup>

This network pervades *Otello*, another tragedy of forbidden, death-marked love, its “spotted” handkerchief both evocative of lost virginity and counterpart of Thisbe’s kerchief, stained (as in *Titus Andronicus*) with “maiden” blood. *Otello the Moor of Venice*, set in the Venice and Cyprus associated with Amor as well as Venus, presents a tragedy both of blackness and of one who “loved not wisely but too well,” a linking of Amor and Moor that sounds within this echo-chamber of a play, in Desdemona’s “I did love the Moor to live with him” (I.iii.248) or Iago’s cynical “It cannot be long that Desdemona should continue her love to the Moor” (I.iii.342-3). Evocations of blackness – starting from the general described

113. See Bertram and Kliman eds 1991: 160-161, 146-147. I have discussed Q1’s “*gyyana*” (and the wordplay on “tropically / trapically” in the three texts) in an essay forthcoming in Peter Stallybrass ed. *Material Cultures* entitled “Murder in Guyana,” which also relates this variant to the “Guiana” of *Merry Wives of Windsor* (“She is a Region in *Guiana*: all gold, and bountie: I will be Cheaters to them both, and they shall be Exchequers to mee: they shall be my East and West Indies, and I will trade to them both”), the controversy over Raleigh’s *Discoverie* [Richard Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, 12 vols. (Glasgow, 1904; rpt. New York, 1969), vol. 10] and death itself described as an “undiscovered country” (Q1) in all three of the early texts of the otherwise radically divergent “To be or not to be” soliloquy. “More” in the period could be linked with “moors” in the sense of fens or marshlands or as a synonym for “desert” or “wasteland.” See 1977: 543: “How much ‘moor’ there was about London is recorded in words such as Moorfields, Moorgate, Moreditch, Moorlane. . . . In the under-populated England of the middle ages, those reedy heaths were allowed to lie waste, which no doubt enabled a Richard Rolle to extend the word to the arid wildernesses of Palestine: ‘He brake the stane in the more’ is his rendering of ‘interruptit petram in heremo.’ [669n.23] ‘Rolle adds: ‘in the more . . . that is as a desert forsaken of god’ (*The Psalter of David*, ed. H. R. Bramley. Oxford. 1884, p. 279)]. The marshes across the Channel, some of them already reclaimed as polders for the needs of a dense population, were also called much as in English, despite the spelling *moer*: the Latinized forms *mora*, *morus* can be found in Flemish deeds and cartularies. A *moer* was overseen by a *moermeister*.” [669, n. 24: “*Mora* is defined as ‘muccosa et humida planities’; *morosus* is used as a synonym of *paludosus*. The Latin name of *Morini* for Picardy is commonly linked with Flemish *moer*. English *morass* certainly derives from Dutch *moeras*”. See also Melchiori’s comment 137 on the lines of Sir Thomas More where Falkner says “More had been better a’ scoured Moorditch than a . . . notched me thus” (3.1.253). The gloss on this line is “The cleansing of the obnoxious ditch or open sewer in Moorfields (2.1.43 above) was a recurrent problem for City authorities. See Stow, *Survey*, 1598, pp. 17-18, and 1603, pp. 19-21, complaining of the ineffectual scouring of 1595. It became proverbial for wasted Herculean labour. The relevance of this reference, punning on More’s name, to the dating of the Addition is discussed in Melchiori, ‘Master of Revels’.” See also the reference to “the bubbling of Moore-ditch” in Nashe’s *Lenten Stuffe* in McKerrow ed. 1958: 1958: III, 212.] See also Harington’s *Metamorphosis of Ajax*.

114. “Vppon my life *Lamord*” is the text of Q2. See Bertram and Kliman 1991: 216-221, and Ferguson (1985): 301-304. Ferguson comments on the Folio’s alternate spelling “Lamound,” followed by Pope (“Lamond”), and Malone’s gloss linking this “brooch and gem of all the nation” to “Lamode” or “fashion.” I would add to Ferguson’s hearing of this “Norman” in the “no man” of the Gravediggers’ Scene the curious earlier variants in which Q2 has “nor the gate of Christian, Pagan, nor man” while the Folio has “nor the gate of Christian, Pagan, or Norman” (Bertram and Kliman 1991: 132-133).

simply as “the Moor” (as in Cinthio’s anonymous “Il Moro”) or (contemptuously) “his Moorship” in the opening scene – summon the range of associations with sexuality and with “devils” who will “the blackest sins put on” (I.ii.351), including the excess of “Moor” or “More” evoked in the “lascivious Moor” (I.i.126) and “lusty Moor” (II.i.295) of Iago’s racialized rhetoric, the figure whose Iberian name recalls the legendary enemy of Moors. “Dull Moor” (5.2.224), the taunt levelled by Emilia at the outsider duped by her husband, resonates with the foolish, moronic, or “dull” already associated with both “Moor” and “More.”<sup>116</sup> Even Iago’s rebuke to Cassio (“come, you are too severe a *moraler*”), when he berates himself for “*devil* drunkenness” and “*devil* wrath” (2.3.296-99), echoes the sounds of “mor-” or “moor” pervading a tragedy that depends on the insinuations of words themselves.<sup>117</sup>

The association of the mulberry with the “strawberry” in Pliny and other texts is fascinating for *Othello*, where the counterpart to the Ovidian story’s bloody kerchief or veil (evocative of loss of virginity and its bloody stain) is the handkerchief spotted with strawberries, described as embroidered *alla moresca* (or “Moorish wise”) in its Italian source. The “Moro” of Cinthio’s narrative (like Cristoforo Moro, the Venetian doge whose insignia was spotted with mulberries) already meant both “mulberry” and “Moor,” as we have seen. Shakespeare’s tragedy of Moor and white Venetian daughter repeatedly echoes the Ovidian story of tragic love and death, while its colors recall the mulberry’s emblematic blackening and stain – in the “white” evoked in the “fair” Desdemona (or ironically the naming of “Bianca”), the “red” of the spotted handkerchief, and the black of both “Moor” and the “*Desdemon*” whose “white” is progressively blackened as the play proceeds. Her sexual “wit” or whiteness is the subject of the scene of waiting on Cyprus (spelled in the Quarto “Cypres” or “Cypresse”), a scene long dismissed by critics as mere filler but one that introduces the intersection of whiteness, blackness, and foolishness or folly (2.1.131-140) that reverberates within the entire play.<sup>118</sup> Othello’s “Strumpet I come. / ... Thy bed, lust-stain’d, shall with lust’s blood be spotted” (5.1.42-44) summons the “immaculate” or unspotted Bride of the Song of Songs as well as the “whore” of the Apocalypse, the final “accommpt” invoked as the tragedy reaches its “bloody period” (5.2.356), the multiple deaths upon Desdemona’s “wedding sheets” (4.1.105). Even the handkerchief (“her first re-

115. The Bridegroom whose coming will put an end to delay is the burden of Matthew 24-25 as well as of the Book of Revelation, which ends with the promise to “come quickly.” On love-sickness, see inter alia Mary Wack. The multiple echoes of Ovid’s Pyramus and Thisbe narrative in *Romeo and Juliet* – in addition to its repeated references to delay and “walls” – include the image of the “conduit” in 3.5.129 as well as the direct allusion to “Thisby” (along with Dido, Cleopatra and others) in 2.4.42.

116. On “dull Moor” and the linking of blackness with death as well as *morus* (Greek *moros*) or “fool,” see Neill 1997: 146. As noted above, Phaer’s translation of the *Aeneid* also depends on the link between “Moor” and the “dull” or “blunt” from *morus/moros* in 1.542 (“Wee Moores be not so base of wit, ne yet so blunt of minde”), on p. 22.

117. This is the only instance of the term “moraler” cited by the *OED* (which defines it as “moralizer”), perhaps another sign (like “morigerous” and the “Morr” of *Two Noble Kinsmen*) that Shakespeare was attuned to “mor-”

membrane from the Moor," III.iii.291) whose spots suggest a consummation that remains "unseen" – described by Othello as a love-charm given by an "Egyptian ... charmer" to the "mother" who "dying gave it me" (3.2.55ff.) – is linked explicitly, though this is rarely noticed, with the mulberry ("The worms were hallowed that did breed the silk," 3.2.73), making this spotted "napkin," embroidered *alla moresca* in Cinthio's narrative of the Venetian "Moro," the handiwork of the silkworms that feed on the mulberry or "moor" tree.<sup>119</sup>

This "more / moor tree" was, as we have seen, routinely conflated with the sycamore, associated with both Cyprus and Egypt. It is fitting, then, that the "sycamore" linked with the "death-marked love" of *Romeo and Juliet* appears in *Othello* in the song of the "willow" associated with exile in Babylon, with "forlorn paramours," and with Dido of Carthage ("In such a night / Stood Dido with a willow in her hand / Upon the wild sea-banks, and waft her love / To come again to Carthage"), evoked in *The Merchant of Venice* (5.1.9-12), together with the "night" of Pyramus and Thisbe (5.1.6-9), for the forbidden love of Lorenzo and the daughter of Shylock the Jew. For this song, coming after Iago's claim that "fair" Desdemona will be taken into "Mauritania" unless Othello's "abode be linger'd here" (4.2.224-226), is part of the "murmuring" of a "maid call'd Barbary" who was "in love" and "died singing it" (4.3.26-28), in lines whose "sycamore" (Folio "Sicamour") resonates with the sound of sick "amour," of more or Moor, and the "black word" death itself, from the rich homophony that associated this *sicut morus* with the *maurus* or "more" tree ("the poor soul sat sighing by a *sycamore* tree... / "The fresh streams ran by her, and *murmur'd* her moans," 4.3.40-45).<sup>120</sup> *Othello the Moore of Venice* summons this wealth of associations largely lost to our awareness, including even the "myrrh" of another story of forbidden *amor* located in Cyprus: the "Arabian" tree of the final speech of this Moor ("one whose subdu'd eyes, / Albeit unused to the melting mood, / Drops tears as fast as the Arabian trees / Their medicinable gum" (5.2.348-350), which, moving from "Indian" (or "Iudean") to "Arabian" to "turban'd Turk," ends in the "bloody period" of his suicide.<sup>121</sup>

There are many other directions we could take this network within Shakes-

118. On the echoes of the forbidden love and death of Ovid's Babylonian lovers in *Othello*, see Holloway, who also remarks on the colors of the play on p. 129. The spelling of "Cyprus" as "cypres(sse)" – as attested by the entries in the *OED* – was not uncommon; it thus associated Cyprus with the tree also associated with death, blackness, and mourning (as well as yet another Ovidian story).

119. This link between the spotted handkerchief and the silk-cultivation already associated with exoticism and its lexicon of color terms (as in Moffet's text) has received almost no editorial attention. It is not mentioned at all in the Arden 2, New Cambridge, or Oxford World Classics editions of the play. E. A. J. Honigmann, in his recent Arden 3 edition of *Othello* (Walton-on-Thames: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1997), glosses "worms" with "T. Moffet's *The Silkwormes* was published in 1599. A matter of topical interest?" at least opening the possibility of discussion of this link. See also other Shakespearean allusions to silk, including *Coriolanus* 1.9.45 ("when steel grows soft as the parasite's silk") and 5.6.95 ("resolution like / A twist of rotten silk"), *Much Ado* 5.1.25 ("silken thread"), *Lear* 3.4.73 ("thou ow'st the worm no silk"), *Pericles* 4.ch.21 ("weav'd the sleided silk"), 5.ch.8 ("her inkle, silk. / Twin with the rubied cherry"), and 3.2.41 ("silken bags"), *Romeo and Juliet* ("and with a silken thread plucks it back again") and 2.4.23 ("the very butcher of a silk button"), and *2Henry IV* ("master smooth's the silk-man"). *Love's Labor's Lost* 4.3.151-152 ("reprove / These worms for loving, that art most in love") may also evoke the famously "loving" silkworms.

peare, including the “mulberries and ripe-red cherries” of *Venus and Adonis* (1103) or the “ripest mulberry” of *Coriolanus* (3.2.79-80: “humble as the ripest mulberry / That will not hold the handling”), traditionally glossed by Erasmus’s “Maturior moro,” the adage that accompanied Alciati’s mulberry emblem.<sup>122</sup> But I propose to end with *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, already long linked with Erasmus’s *Encomium Moriae* and the “wise fool” of Corinthians, the text that Bottom echoes on awakening from his dream. *Amor*, “amorous,” and “enamored” sound throughout this play of “paramours,” in a plot whose love juice—generated by *Amor* himself: (“Flower of this purple dye,/ Hit with Cupid’s archery,” 3.2.102-103)—yields both Titania “enamored of an ass” or fool and Puck’s “Lord, what *fools* these *mortals* be” (3.2.115). The play’s exploitation of the longstanding links of the Pyramus and Thisbe story with *amor*, folly, and delay repeatedly calls up the network we have traced, including Thisbe’s “tarrying in mulberry shade” (5.1.148), invoking the punning Ovidian *mora* already linking mulberries and tarrying in a plot that itself takes place within the four-day interval of delay before the consummation that Theseus so devoutly wishes (1.1.1-1-6). Even the fact that mulberries (“purple grapes, green figs, and mulberries,” 3.1.167) are fed to the metamorphosed Bottom—the play’s own *Morus* or wise “fool”—links this other familiar emblem of the wisdom in apparent folly with the ripeness that was a sign both of midsummer and of a wise delay (in Barnabe Googe’s assurance, for example, that when the “Mulberie begin[s] to spring, you may bee sure that winter is at an ende” or Moffet’s references to “Aprils wane when buds the mulb’ry slow” and the “Mulberry most wise,/ That never breedes till winter wholly dies”).<sup>123</sup> “Bottom”—the *morus* or fool who substitutes for the “changeling” Indian boy as a consequence of the love-juice generated by *Amor* or “Cupid”—evokes the artisanal “bottom” or bobbin that was also called a “clew” (linking this artisan-weaver with the labyrinth threaded by Theseus, with the help of the Ariadne he later abandoned). But he also evokes the “bottoms” of silk produced by the silkworms that feed

120. Holland’s translation of Pliny, Vol II, Book XXIII, Chapter VII (p. 168): “In Egypt and Cypres both, there groweth the Sycomore, which is a kind by it selfe between a fig tree and a mulberry tree . . . This juice issuing out of them, is a singular defensative against the poison of Serpents: a wholesome medicine for the bloody flix; and a notable carminative to discusse and resolve pushes, biles, and al impostumations. It soudereth and healeth up wounds, it allaieth head-ach, and assuageth the wens or pains of the ears.” The New Cambridge editor of *The Merchant of Venice* notes (154) that the “willow” associated there with the abandoned Dido recalls “Chaucer’s Tale of Ariadne,” abandoned by Theseus (*Legend*, 2164). Oxford World Classics editor Jay Halio, writes (212): “Dido was the queen of Carthage whom Aeneas loved and then abandoned (see Virgil’s Aeneid and Ovid’s Heroides, from which Chaucer drew his story in Legend 924-1367). Details here derive, however, from the story of Ariadne, Legend 2185-205 (Malone).”

121. On Myrrha and these lines at the end of *Orbello* (also frequently missed in editions of the play), see Bate 1993: 53-56, 187-188. The Ovidian Myrrha metamorphosed into a weeping myrrh tree—as noted above—would be well-known to Shakespeare, since she was the mother of Adonis; the story of Venus and Adonis immediately follows the story of Myrrha’s forbidden love and metamorphosis in Book 10 of the *Metamorphoses*, a book filled (as Bate observes) with stories of repacious female sexuality. Myrrha is evoked in Shakespeare’s *Venus and Adonis* (lines 203-204).

122. See the glosses to *Coriolanus* 3.2.81-82, in Philip Brockbank’s Arden 2 edition (London: Methuen, 1976), p. 223 and R. B. Parker’s Oxford World’s Classics edition (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1994) p. 271; both following the lead of R.H. Case. Fripp (II, 709) also

on the mulberry, described in the text of Moffet that both retells the story of Pyramus and Thisbe and attempts to assuage the fears of English weavers before the foreignness of sericulture (transmitted from “East India”), assuring them that “weavers” can “thrive / Uppon this trade” and that if they “carde an ounce of silke with ten of wool” they will see their “feare” to “ioy and vantage turnd.”<sup>124</sup> Silk itself appears in the artisan-Thisby’s “shore / With shears his thread of silk” (5.1.340-341), in her dying speech on the Fates (or “Sisters Three”) who, like the narrators of the Ovidian tale itself, are weavers.

The name of “Bottom” also famously recalls the “bottome of Goddes secretes” from the Corinthians passage on the “wise fool” that he cites and scrambles on awakening from his dream (4.1.211-214) —after the metamorphosis and upward “translation” of this so-called “rude mechanical,” temporary consort to the Fairy Queen.<sup>125</sup> The play is filled with such scriptural echoes (oxymoronically mingling comic and serious), including the “Mustardseed” that evokes the faith that moves mulberries as well as mountains (from the tradition of Luke 17 long linking mulberries with the wisdom of the apparent fool), the wall of “partition” evoked by the artisan-players’ “Wall,” the joiner Snug’s meekly roaring “lion” and Puck’s more ominous “Now the hungry lion roars” (5.1.371), recalling the familiar passage to which the Geneva Bible gives “roaring lion” as a running head, sign of the time of delay before Apocalypse (the Second Coming of a different Pyramus).<sup>126</sup> In a plot that mirrors the corresponding delay from the Ovidian story of *amor, mora*, and the murmuring (*murmur*) of lovers through an intervening

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cites the contemporary planting of mulberries for silk cultivation. See also the allusions to silk in *Coriolanus* 1.9.45 (“when steel grows soft as the parasite’s silk”) and 5.6.95 (“resolution like / A twist of rotten silk”). For the alleged bearing of James’ 1609 proclamation mandating mulberry cultivation on the date of this play (suggested as early as Malone), see Brockbank’s Arden edition, p. 25: “A more bizarre attempt (first made by Malone) to derive a date from a metaphor appeals from III. ii.79, ‘Now humble as the ripest mulberry’, to the royal proclamation encouraging the growth of mulberries, issued on 19 January 1609. Shakespeare’s earlier mulberries, however, in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* (III.i.153) and *Venus and Adonis* (1103), make it unlikely that he was subliminally assisting the king to promote the culture of silkworms.” As I argue with regard to Moffet’s *Silkenormes* (now rejected as a “source” of the *Dream*), what appears to matter is the general cultural (as well as textual or other) context rather than a specific one-to-one relationship between a particular line and an event or “source.” For “spintries” and the mulberry garden at St. James, see also Gordon Williams’ three-volume *Dictionary*, which cites under “spintry,” Walker’s *Compleat History* (1649) II.2578 on the “New-erected *Sodomies* and *Spintries* at the Mulbury-garden at St. James.”

123. See Barnabe Googe’s *Heresbach’s Husb.* II. (1586) 92; and Moffet, *Silkenormes*, 19 and 51 with the marginal note on 23: “The Mulbery is called the wisest tree, because it never buddeth till all danger of cold be gone,” glossing its reference to the silkworms devouring “the leaves of tree most wise.” Including mulberries among the fruit fed to “Bottom” may also evoke other properties of the mulberry familiar from Pliny, including that they can “swell in the stomach and be very flatuous.” See Book XXIII.7 (with Holland II, 168), which also mentions that the mulberry’s “leaves” if boiled with the “barke of the blacke fig-tree and the vine, do make a lavature or water to colour the hair [blacke].” I, 449 records that “Mulberries, Cherries, and Corneils have a sanguine and bloudie liquor,” one of many ways (and texts) in which mulberries and cherries (another fruit evoked centrally in the play) were also connected. “Dewberries” in the lines of the *Dream* immediately before “mulberries” are frequently glossed as blackberries, though Harold F. Brooks’ Arden edition of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* (London: Routledge, 1979) considers (61) Halliwell’s suggestion of “dwarf mulberry.”

wall, Theseus' invocation of the temporal interlude that separates him from the consummation of his marriage and the plot of young lovers in the woods outside Athenian walls are joined by the scenes of the artisans (including "Wall" himself) that repeatedly echo as well as burlesque the "moralized" tradition already linking the Ovidian lovers (separated by a wall or partition) with the lovers of the Song of Songs (or "Ballet of Ballets," Bottom's term).<sup>127</sup> The "marriage" typology of death, absence, and resurrection (the passion or *amor* associated with love's customary "cross") is itself mimicked in the wooing of "Thisby" by the Pyramus /Bottom who after an interval of absence is to "come again" (3.1.92) and who rises comically from the dead (in mummers' fashion) at the end of the play, once the separating "wall" is "down" (5.1.351).<sup>128</sup>

Even the notorious textual crux associated with this intervening "Wall" may be illuminated by this network, which already links murals or walls with an interposed delay. Editors since Pope have amended the Folio's "Now is the morall downe" (when the artisans' "Wall" finally departs) to "mural," some rejecting the Folio's "morall" as simply "nonsense."<sup>129</sup> But others (including the Variorum and original Arden editor) have speculated that this puzzling "morall" might involve instead a "pun now lost."<sup>130</sup> Given the emphasis on "moral" meaning (or a "good morall" 5.1.120) earlier in this same scene, the meaning of "morall" as a dramatic "Interlude" (as in Cotgrave on the "Morall" from *morez* that included both "morall sense, or subiect" and "an Enterlude or Play of manners"), the lines that surround the Folio's "morall" with the transformation of "Ninus" into a "ninny" or fool and

124. See Moffet, *Silkenormes*, 69-70 together with its final stanzas.

125. 1 Corinthians 2:9-10. Geneva (1560) has "the deepe thinges of God." These and other passages on the wisdom of the fool, the foolishness of the cross, and the foolishness of the apparently wise – including of rulers of this world and the wisdom of the Greeks (important for Athenian ruler Theseus and his signature speech on "cool reason" in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*) – also contrast the wisdom of the apparent "fool" with the eloquence of rhetoricians and the learned. The Geneva (1560) marginal gloss to 1 Corinthians 1:17 (on the "wisdom of wordes") is "As rhetoricke, or art oratorie" and "When men shulde attribute that unto eloquence, which onely belonged to the power of God." The marginal Geneva gloss to 1 Corinthians 1:20 (on "disputer of this world") reads: "Paul reprocheth euen the best learned." Contrasted to the learned and eloquent are what the Geneva 1560 translation calls "things which are not" (1 Cor. 1:28), glossed as those who "are in mans iudgement almost nothing, but taken for abiects & castawaies." Paul is also repeatedly associated with manual labor (in entries in the "Second Table" at the back, the Geneva 1560 Bible reminds its readers: "Paul, the minister of the gentiles . . . laboreth with his hands. act. 18, 3 & 20, 34.1.thess.2.9.thes.3.8.1. Cor. 4.12. he was a tent maker, act. 18.3"). See, for example, 1 Corinthians 4:12 ("labour, working with our owne hands"); Acts 18 which is headed in the Geneva translation: "Paul laboreth with his hands, and preacheth at Corinthus"; 2 Thess. 2:9 and 3:8.

126. The story of Balaam's speaking ass from Numbers 23 (another biblical story of the wisdom of the lowly) is also recalled in 5.1.152-154 ("*Thes.* I wonder if the lion be to speak. / *Dem.* No wonder, my lord; one lion may, when many asses do"). Balaam's vision in Numbers 24: 16 may also be echoed in Bottom's words on his "rare vision" on awakening from his dream but the clearest biblical echo in that passage (in addition to 1 Corinthians 2:9) is Paul's description of his *raptus* to the highest "heaven" in 2 Corinthians 12, which includes inability to put his vision into words (Geneva 1560 version of 2 Cor. 12:4: "he was taken up into Paradise, & heard wordes which can not be spooken, which are not possible for man to utter"). For the "lion" who "walketh about" in the period before the Second Coming, see the Geneva (1560) Bible, where "The roaring lyon" appears at the top of the page for the text of 1 Peter 5:8 ("Be sober and watch, for your adversarie the devil as a roaring lyon walketh about, seking whome he may devoure"). See also the "Lion of the tribe of iuda. revelat.5,5"

Thisbe's "I come without *delay*" (echoing the final apocalyptic union of Bridegroom and Bride), and the fact that when this "wall" is finally "down" the "morall" will give way to the anagogical, there may be in this departing "morall" (already pronounced "moorall" in the familiar shift between "mor-" and "mur-") precisely the punning on "moral" and "mural" that the Arden editor of *Timon of Athens* hears in the "moral paintings" of that play, summoning both "paintings pointing a *moral*" and allegorical hangings on a "*wall*."<sup>131</sup> The lines themselves teem with the very puns already at work in the Ovidian story, its long-standing "moralizing" and its rich combination with other traditions— including the *morus* or "ninny" and *mora* or delay already associated with the mulberry, in Thisbe's "tarrying in mulberry shade." There may thus be no need to amend the Folio's notorious "morall" to Pope's "mural" (producing what Randall McLeod calls Shakespeare "Poped"), since the "morall downe" of these densely punning lines already suggests both

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cited in the index at the back of the 1560 edition. Verse 13 of this same chapter of 1 Peter refers to the "Church" at "Babylon" (with the marginal gloss: "which was a famous cite in Assyria where Peter then was the Apostle of the circumcison"). The Bishops (1585) translation has "Be sober and watch: for your adversarie the devil, as a roaring Lion walketh about, seeking whom he may devour." To bring biblical "walls" (and their removal at a marriage in which there is finally no *mora* or delay) to bear on the "Wall" of the Pyramus and Thisbe play of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is justified not just by the echoes of Apocalypse as this play approaches its end, looking forward to a final "day," but also by these long-acknowledged biblical echoes elsewhere in this play. The "partition" wall of Ephesians 2:14-15 (which must be down before the two can be made one) is also evoked by the Wall of the artisans' play, called a "partition" (V.i.166) by Demetrius, in lines that also evoke the partition of discourse (from the learned tradition of rhetoric and eloquence in tension with a lowlier inability to master the art of words by the paradoxically wiser "fool" of 1 Corinthians 1 and 2 and 1 Corinthians 12, the passages echoed by Bottom on awakening from his dream).

127. The rehearsal scene and final staging of the artisans' play comically echoes the Song of Song's "love" and "dove," white "lily" and red "rose," odorous "smells," and "let me see thy countenance, and heare thy voyce" in their "Dove" and "Love," "red rose," "Lilly white of hue," "Lilly lips" and "cherry nose," "odious (for "odorous") savors sweete," and the malaproping "I see a voyce" and "I can heare my Thisbie's face." As noted above, the Song of Songs appears for example in Taverner's English Bible of 1539 as "The Ballet of Balletes of Salomon: Called in Latyne, *Canticum Canticorum*," where it is allegorized in the heading to the whole as "A mysticall device of the spirituall and godly love betwene Chryste the spouse, and the churche or congregacion his spousesse"; in the Coverdale (1550) Bible as "Salomons Ballettes, called Cantica Canticorum"; and in the Bishops Bible of 1568 as "The Ballet of Balletes of Solomon, called in Latin, *Canticum Canticorum*," introduced as "The famier talke and mysticall communication of the spirituall love between Jesus Christ and his Churche."

128. The traditional blending of Ovidian and biblical is evoked in the scene in which the artisan-players rehearse their play in the woods. In the tradition of Ovid "moralized," Pyramus is the "lovely" Bridegroom of Apocalypse and the Song of Songs (as well as the *iuventus* of Ovid's text); while Thisbe is the Spouse separated from her beloved behind a "wall," in the period of absence before he "comes again." In this familiar allegory (basis of the plot of Book I of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, the contemporary text that shares its Faeryland with *A Midsummer Night's Dream*), Thisbe is also the *betrotted* Bride who, in the period of *mora* or delay, wanders in search of her intended. The artisans' rehearsal of their play of Pyramus and Thisbe evokes hilarious comic echoes of this moralizing tradition, as "Pyramus" is separated from his "Thisby" but promises (like Christ) to "come again":

*Pir.* . . . stay thou but here a while,  
And by and by I will to thee appeare. [*Exit. Pir.*]  
*Puck.* A stranger Piramus, then e'er plaid here.  
*This.* Must I speake now?  
*Pet.* Ay, marry, must you. For you must understand he goes but to

*mores* or morals and *murus* or Wall, at the moment when both morals and murals are abandoned by lovers who depart for their tryst in the woods. In the “morall” described as “downe” as Thisbe announces “I come without delay,” the “ripe” sexuality associated in *Two Noble Kinsmen* (4.1.68) with going to the “wood to gather mulberries,” in Martial’s Epigram with a “falling” mulberry, or in Guilpin’s “Nigrina” with the “morel” or “cherry” of other sexually suggestive fruit —already evoked

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Thys. see a noyse that he heard, and is to *come againe*.  
 Most radiant Piramus, most Lilly white of hue,  
 Of colour like the red rose on triumphant bryer,  
 Most brisky Iuvenall, and eke most lovely Iew. . . .

(Folio text, lines

899-908)

The Pyramus described here as “most lovely Jew,” in the familiar “lily-white” and “red” of the Song of Songs, is the Pyramus / Bottom who will also later perform a mock-resurrection on stage, when he rises from the dead in Act V to assure the audience of the artisans’ play that the dividing “wall” is finally “down.” Here, like Pyramus / Christ in the interim before that end, he disappears, promising to “come again,” leaving a space in which it is now Thisby’s turn to “speak.” The links in the moralized Ovidian tradition between Thisbe and the Bride of the *Song of Songs*, left to seek a Bridegroom who is hidden behind a “wall” but who will “come again,” after a period of delay, may also illuminate the curious earlier line in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, when Flute (chosen to play Thisby because he is still young enough to play female parts, even though, as he protests, he has “a beard coming”) strangely asks “What is Thisbie, a wandring Knight?” (line 307). For it is simultaneously as wandering knights and a seeking Bride that Spenser’s version of this allegory (in the text that shares its romance tradition as well as its Faery Queen with Shakespeare’s play) represents the questing or seeking that is part of this pre-apocalyptic period, before the “wall” that separates the lovers of the Song of Songs is finally removed. (It may even be that the cross-gendering of the “moralized” tradition that figures the Church, both male and female, as a seeking Bride linked traditionally with Thisbe, is reflected in this pointed reference to the play’s transvestite theatrical context.) On “Jew” and “juvenal” see also F. W. Clayton, “The Hole in the Wall: A New Look at Shakespeare’s Latin Base for ‘A Midsummer Night’s Dream,’” *The Tenth Jackson Knight Memorial Lecture* (delivered at the University of East Exeter, 13 June 1977), 14. Clayton (26) also cites the “I am a wall” (*Ego murus*) of the Song of Songs (Vulgate 8:10) – together with Chaucer’s *Merchant’s Tale* (which “goes straight on from Pyramus and Thisbe to quote the Song of Songs) and the “Babilan Tisbee” of Chaucer’s *Man of Law*, “the only other reference in the *Tales*” – and on pp. 29-30 relates the *murus* of the Song of Songs to the “Wall” that is “down” (as well as Pope’s emendation of “mural down” discussed below), noting that “mural” suggests *murus* whereas the separating wall is a *paries* or party-wall. He also (p. 31) notes the similarity between the wall separating Pyramus-Thisbe and “the carpenters wal” through which Chaucer’s Alisoun and Nicholas let Absolon kiss them.

129. See Harold F. Brooks’ Arden edition of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* (London: Routledge, 1979) – which prints “Now is the mure rased between the two neighbours” (p. 115) – Appendix II, 159-162 (correcting “the nonsense ‘morall downe’”); R. A. Foakes’ New Cambridge edition of the play (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 125: “‘Moon used’ (Qq) makes no sense, and ‘morall downe’ (F) is at first sight little better, but Pope’s emendation ‘mural down’ (or emendations like ‘mure all down’) have been widely accepted.” Peter Holland’s Oxford edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994) prints neither the Folio’s “moral” (or Pope’s “mural”) nor the Quarto’s “moon used,” but instead the “wall down” proposed by Collier (1853), commenting (243) that “This is a famous textual crux and I offer no solution. Q’s ‘Moon used’ is obviously nonsense and F’s ‘morall downe’, is not much better. . . . F’s ‘morall’ could conceivably be a misreading of a bungled attempt to delete ‘Moon’ and write in ‘Wall’. . . . However no emendation is entirely convincing and ‘wall’ seems rather weak in context.”

in the punning “moral” (or “more-elle”) of *Love’s Labor’s Lost* and linked with the phallic-shaped “morel” or nightshade long associated with the mulberry or *mora nigra*— gives to this departing “Wall” even more hints of the hymeneal wall with which it has “obscenely” been connected (“I kiss the wall’s hole, not your lips at all,” 5.1.201), as well as the corresponding comic phallicism associated with the Pyramus / Bottom who enters the play counselling Peter Quince to “grow to a point.”<sup>132</sup> The Folio’s “morall” —rejected because it makes no sense at all— may, in other words, convey just the opposite: a polysemic and overdetermined “pun now lost,” as the Variorum and earliest Arden editor suspected.

There is still more to be said of the link with “dark” women in this play. Babylonian Thisbe was already conflated in the “moralized” tradition, as we have seen, with the Song of Songs’ “black” Bride. Commentators on the artisans’ play of Pyramus and Thisbe note that the turning of the mulberry from white to dark is curiously missing from their dramatic “interlude” in Act V. But when it does appear earlier in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, it is precisely in relation to the network we have traced, linking the mulberry associated elsewhere in the play with *mora* or tarrying and the feeding of Bottom the plot’s *Morus* or fool, with the origin of the “love-juice” itself, creation of Cupid or *Amor*, in the scene that contrasts a pregnant “Indian” votaress (mother of the Indian boy who “being mortal, of that boy did die,” 2.1.135) to a virginal “imperiall votaress” untouched by “young Cupids fiery shaft” (an amorous “fire” already part of the tradition of

130. See *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare*, ed. Horace Howard Furness, vol. X, *A Midsummer Night’s Dreame* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1895), p. 221: “I am inclined to accept White’s explanation that in the old pronunciation lay a pun, now lost, and for a pun, as Johnson said, Shakespeare would lose the world, and be content to lose it.” Current Variorum editor of the play, Judith Kennedy, has suggested to me that White’s (1858) speculation on the possibility of a pun may have been indebted to Singer’s 1853 article ‘The Text of Shakespeare Vindicated’ (p. 31) which says of this Folio crux that “There may have been an equivocal intended. The Poet delights in such equivocal inuendoes.” Henry Cuninghame’s original Arden edition of 1905 glosses its choice of “Now is the mure all down” with “*mure all* Hanmer (Theobald conj), . . . mural Pope (ed. 2) wall Collier conj” but then adds (145): “I am inclined to think with Furness that ‘in the old pronunciation lay a pun now lost.’”

131. See *Timon of Athens*, ed. H. J. Oliver. London: Methuen & Co. 1959.1.92, 10. Emphasis mine. Thisby’s “I come without delay” recalls the concluding lines of the Book of Revelation, which ends with a repeated “come” and “come quickly,” at the final consummation when there is no *mora* or delay. In the links with this tradition of Ovid “moralized,” in which a “wall” is associated with the pre-apocalyptic period of *mora* or delay, the “moral” is also replaced by the apocalyptic or anagogical, when the “wall” is finally down. The Douay Bible, cited by the *OED* under *morall* (9a), repeats the familiar assumption of biblical typology that there are “three spiritual senses beside the literal. . . Allegorical . . . Moral . . . and Anagogical” (emphasis mine). And “morall,” in the sense of “moral meaning,” already appears earlier in this scene (Folio line 1918), as we have noted, close enough to resonate both with the Folio’s “morall downe,” as the artisanal “Wall” departs, and with Thisby’s comic echoing of this apocalyptic conclusion in “I come without delay.” For “moral” as dramatic “interlude,” see Cotgrave, under *Moralité* (“Morality; a morall sence, or subiect; also, a Morall, an Enterlude or Play of manners”) and *Moraliser* (“To morallize, to expound morally, to give a morall sence unto; also, to act a Morall, or Enterlude of manners”) as well as *Moral* (“Morall, belonging unto civilitie, or manners”), *Moralement* (“Morally, in a morall sence, or fashion”), and *Moralisé* (“Moralized, morally expounded”).

“Pyr-amus,” as we have seen):

That very time I saw (but thou couldst not),  
 Flying between the cold moon and the earth,  
 Cupid all arm'd. A certain aim he took  
 At a fair vestal throned by the west,  
 And loos'd his love-shaft smartly from his bow,  
 As it should pierce a hundred thousand hearts;  
 But I might see young Cupid's fiery shaft  
 Quench'd in the chaste beams of the wat'ry moon,  
 And the imperial vot'ress passed on,  
 In maiden meditation, fancy-free.  
 Yet mark'd I where the bolt of Cupid fell.  
 It fell upon a little western flower,  
 Before milk-white, now purple with love's wound,  
 And maidens call it love-in-idleness... (II.i.155-169)<sup>133</sup>

The mulberry of Pyramus's passion is here transformed into the “milk-white” flower whose color is turned to “purple with loves wound,” source of the love-juice that inspires Puck's “what *fools* these *mortals* be!” and enables Oberon to wrest the “changeling” Indian boy from Titania. The color of the mulberry (“somewhat lighter than black”) was itself linked both with the *morus* / *maurus* of inhabitants of “Inde” as well as Moors and with the “tawny” of “sod quinces” (as the color of “West Indians”) in Eden's account of contemporary voyages to other lands.<sup>134</sup> The passage on this “maiden” untouched by *Amor* follows the description of the “Indian” votaress whose pregnancy or increase links her with the pregnant female “Moor” (or “More”) of *The Merchant of Venice*, in a passage evocative of “the spiced Indian air” and of contemporary voyages (vessels “rich with merchandise”). The staining of this “milk-white” flower is thus part of a larger scene that contrasts

132. I am alluding here to Bottom's “there we may rehearse most obscenely and courageously” (1.2.107-108), which introduces the “obscene” manifested in the doubles entendres of their production as well as a malapropism suggesting “off stage.” The “cherry” also appears in the “kissing cherries” of *MND* 3.2.140; the “double cherry” of Helena's “union in partition” speech (3.2.209); “my cherry lips have often kiss'd thy stones” (5.1.190) and “these lily lips, / This cherry nose” (5.1.331). “Quince” was also a love potion and aphrodisiac, as well as a traditional symbol of love and marriage. Minsheu cites it as corresponding to the Gallic “Coing” and Spanish “Membrillo, a membrum, ut affirmat Cobart: ob similitudinem quamdam quam habet cum prima pue virorum vel mulierum.” Alciati's *Emblematum Libellus* presents the quince (in Emblem 201) as the fruit offered to brides. Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (published in 1593 and 1603) allows makes clear the link between the quince and marriage, a link suggested in Shakespeare by the fact that “quince” appears only one other place in the canon in addition to this “marriage” play – in the scene of Juliet's wedding preparations in *Romeo and Juliet* (along with another “Peter”). The range of spellings for the “coigns” (wedge-shaped blocks used by carpenters, at corners) usually cited as a resonance for the name of Peter “Quince” – including “quines,” “quoyns,” “coynes,” “coins,” and “coigns” – also makes clear the link of the *cuneus* with the *cunnius*. On the “morel,” see the “Morel” of W. Davenant, *The Unfortunate Lovers*” and *Much Ado* 3.4.73-80, with Ellis 1973: 1641-65. Interlingual punning in Shakespeare is already apparent in the same scene of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* as the Folio's “moral,” in the lines that render Ninus (from Ovid's *ad busta Nini*) as English “ninnny” or fool.

an “Indian” votaress with an “imperial votaress,” traditionally assumed to be Elizabeth the English Virgin Queen, celebrated in one of the play’s acknowledged sources as “Gallathea,” the name that already evokes the “milk-white.” The underlying image of this passage is the transformed mulberry from the story of Pyramus and Thisbe, located in the East or “Inde” of Babylonian Semiramis (another “dark” woman), adjacent to the Fairyland of Oberon associated with empire in the influential romance from which his name comes.<sup>135</sup> The mulberry thus appears in a scene already associated with the contrasts of light and dark that pervade its evocations elsewhere of “Ethiop” and “tawny Tartar” (3.2.257, 263), a scene whose extended description of an Indian votaress evokes the contemporary (or “imperial”) counterpart of ancient Athens and its exoticized, conquered Amazons, as well as the new worlds for which a growing lexicon of color or racial terms was developing as part of the network associated with the mulberry itself.

It might, then, be appropriate in conclusion to return to Florio’s *Worlde of Wordes*, that compendium (along with other contemporary language manuals) of so much of this interlocking network, including the interchangeability of “Mora” and “Mur” already illustrated from Lope de Vega’s epitaph on the “Moro” or “More” who evokes “Moor” as well as “Muro” or “Wall”:

*Mora*, a demur, a stay, a delay. Also a Moore-woman. Also a black-berie. Also a Mulberie. Also a kind of game much used in Italy with casting of the fingers of the right hand, and speaking of certain numbers. Used also for a wall or walles, as the plural of Muro, or as some take it, a great heape of stones, or stone wall without mortar. ...

*Mora*, in this richly cumulative listing, links “stay” or “delay” with “a wall or walles,” “a great heape of stones, or stone wall without mortar,” a “Mulberie” with a “black-berie” and “Moore-woman,” and a game involving fingers, the latter intriguing when we recall that the hole or “chink” through which the artisans’ Pyramus and Thisbe are to speak is created by a Wall ambiguously instructed to “hold his fingers thus” (3.1.69). Equally suggestive for the rich interlinking of *amor* and the folly of the *morus* or fool, a punning “morall” or “wall,” and a mulberry associated with tarrying or delay as well as blackness, Moors, and inhabitants of “Inde” is the already cited entry that connects “murrian” as a pestilent “mortalitie”

133. On Bottom as a substitute for the Indian boy, see, inter alia, Paster1993: esp. 125-43.

134. See The First Decade, Book II of Richard Eden’s translation of Peter Martyr’s *De Orbe Novo* as “The Decades of the New World” (1555), on the color of “West Indians,” cited above.

135. Oberon the Fairy King is the son of Julius Caesar in the popular romance *Huon of Bordeaux*, translated into English by Lord Berners in 1534 and source of the name in Shakespeare’s play (as well as of the Fairyland of both the *Dream* and Spenser’s *Faerie Queene*), while his Fairy kingdom is in the near East or “Inde,” adjacent to Babylon, the location of the Pyramus and Thisbe story in Ovid. See Spenser, *The Faerie Queene* II.ix and x; Michael Murrin’s entries under “fairies” and “fairyland” in *The Spenser Encyclopedia* (which also cite the redoing of the Pyramus and Thisbe story in John Metham’s *Amoryus and Cleopes* [1448-9]); John Bouchier, Lord Berners, *The Boke of Duke Huon of Burdeux*, ed. S. L. Lee (London: Early English Text Society, 1887); and Margo Hendricks, “...Obscured by dreams: Race, Empire, and Shakespeare’s *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*,” *Shakespeare Quarterly* vol. 47, no. 1 (Spring

with folly itself (“*Moria*, an infection, a pestilence, a murrian, a rot or mortalitie that comes among sheepe. Also used for follie and taken from the Greeke”). For this “murrion” linked with *Moria*, mortality and the “Moor” for which it was also an alternate spelling appears just lines before the Indian votaress, “imperial

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1996), pp. 37-60, including pp. 45-46: “*Huon of Bordeaux* recounts the history of a young duke who unknowingly slays the son of Charlemagne and, for his crime, is sent to Babylon on a quest that Charlemagne believes will ensure Huon’s death. . . . Huon’s quest leads him to the East where he meets Oberon, king of the fairies. . . . Oberon says that his father was Caesar (who was on his way to Thessally to wage war with Pompey when Oberon was begotten) and his mother ‘the lady of the privy Isle.’ Oberon, chronology notwithstanding, also claims as an older brother Netanabus, king of Egypt, who is said to have ‘engendered Alexander the Great.’ [Lee, ed. 72-73]. . . . After recounting his genealogy, Oberon informs Huon that he is also ‘king of Momur, the which is [about] . . . iii. C. leagues from hence’ (that is, from where they stand conversing, which is itself two days’ ride from Jerusalem). [Lee ed. 74]. . . . At the romance’s conclusion Huon comes to Momur, where a dying Oberon, having called together all his subjects, including Arthur, Morgan le Fay, and Merlin (who in this narrative is Morgan le Fay’s son), transfers the fairy kingship to Huon (despite Arthur’s vigorous objections). Not only is Huon made king of the fairies, but he also takes up residence in Momur, which is ‘in the far-reaching district that was known to medieval writers under the generic name of India.’ [Lee ed., p. 1].” Hendricks (p. 46) adds that “Lord Berners’s translation of this thirteenth-century *chanson de geste* went through at least three editions during the sixteenth century and, significantly, provided a source not only for Shakespeare but also for Edmund Spenser and Robert Greene. . . . The romance was also adapted in 1593 by the Earl of Essex’s Men and performed, according to Henslowe, as ‘hewen of burdoche.’ [See *Henslowe’s Diary*, ed. Walter W. Greg (London: A. H. Bullen, 1904), 16. Henslowe also lists the play under the titles ‘hewen of burdockes’ and ‘hewen.’]” Though this playtext is lost to us, Spenser’s and Greene’s texts survive; in their depiction of Oberon, they continue the associations begun in *Huon of Bordeaux* of the fairy king with the East in general and India in particular.” Hendricks also cites from Richard Eden, *The History of Travayle in the West and East Indies, and other countreys lying eyther way, towards the fruitfull and ryche Moluccaes* (London, 1577), which contains a translation of Lewes Vertomannus’s account of his travels in India, for other developing color terms in the period; and (p. 51) Van Linschoten, “To the Reader,” in John Guighen van Linschoten, his *Discours of Voyages into ye Easte & West Indies. Devided into Foure Bookes* (London, 1598), 62 and 60, on images of India as a region of “such treasure and rich Merchandize, as non other place of the whole world can afford”; Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (London and Sydney: Pluto Press, 1984); Folarin Shyllon, *Black People in Britain 1555-1833*, published for The Institute of Race Relations (London: Oxford UP, 1977); and James Walvin, *The Black Presence in Britain* (London: Orbach and Chambers, 1971). Thomas Hahn, in “Indians East and West: primitivism and savagery in English discovery narratives of the sixteenth century,” *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 8 (1978): 77-114, also argues for a broad-ranging conception of “India” in the period. Hendricks’ reading of the *Dream* stresses the ways in which the metamorphosed Bottom substitutes for Oberon as well as the Indian boy (thereby redefining “both sexual and racial parameters in fairyland,” pp. 54-55) and in which both Bottom and the Indian Boy exemplify hybridity within the play: “in Bottom we see the cruzamiento of two species – human and equine (literally, the *mulatto*) – and in the Indian boy the possibility of human and fairy mixedness (the *mestizo*).” See also Peter Erickson, “Profiles in Whiteness,” *Stanford Humanities Review* 3 (1993): 98-111, his “Representations of Blacks and Blackness in the Renaissance,” *Criticism* 35, no. 4 (1993): 499-528, and his *Rewriting Shakespeare, Rewriting Ourselves* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); and Kim Hall’s rich reading of the play, including its evocation of racial mixing, starting from “Ethiop” and “tawny Tartar,” in *Things of Darkness* pp. 1ff, which in addition discusses (pp. 23ff.) the substitution of a “blackmoor” in the “entertainment at the christening of James I’s son, Prince Henry Frederick, which was planned to include a chariot ‘which should be drawne in by a lion’” and contemporary descriptions of India and its rich “merchandise.”

votaress,” and “milk-white” flower whose color is darkened by the arrow of *Amor*, cited among the “progeny of evils” affecting “human mortals” because of the quarrel of Oberon and the rebellious Titania, another Ovidian “dark” woman:

The fold stands empty in the drowned field,  
 And crows are fatted with the murrion flock;  
 The nine men’s morris is fill’d up with mud. . .  
 The human mortals want their winter here. . . (2.1.96-101)

“Nine men’s morris” (whose name already links it with the “morisco” or morris dance associated with Moors) was the game known alternately as “merells” or “morals.”<sup>136</sup> The *Variorum* records the view that “the morris or merrils . . . was afterwards corrupted into ‘nine mens *morals*,’” adding that “If this be true, the conversion of *morals* into *morris*, a term so very familiar to the country people, was extremely natural.”<sup>137</sup> The *OED* notes drawing a “merel” in the context of the “moral” in Gower (an author Shakespeare clearly knew) as well as the alternate “morals” for “morris.”<sup>138</sup> Once again, various paths come back to “mor-” and “moral” in various interlocking senses, linking multiple dimensions of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* through the metamorphic “mor-” that would ultimately be brought on stage in *Two Noble Kinsmen*, the play to which its plot of Theseus and his conquered Amazon is traditionally closest.

It is precisely this network of linkages that James Joyce —both polyglot and attentive reader of Shakespeare— summons in the section of *Ulysses* where the “moor” of *Othello* is followed by the “mulberrytree” supposed to have been planted at Stratford, the “black” face of the “mummer,” a “Moorish hall,” and these lines on “the nine men’s morrice” from *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*.<sup>139</sup> Something seems to be at work in such linkages, both within and beyond the boundaries of an extraordinary range of different texts. Given the dense network of contemporary punning on the name of More —so much more extensive than simply the *Moria* or “Folly” familiar to most readers— dismissing such speculations would be unwise. For they lead into a rich texture of connections which —however foreign to post-Enlightenment modes of thinking— are undeniably important in the period prior to the eighteenth-century production (and editing) of Shakespeare or Johnson’s influential denigrating of his “fatal Cleopatra.” Interpreters of Shakespeare as well as multiple other texts and traditions ignore them at the risk of impoverishing our apprehension of much that matters in these earlier periods, including the words (or syllables) that provided even the most commonplace *materia*.<sup>140</sup> Perhaps editors faced with puzzling variants do too. For there is, as the Folio’s “morall” abundantly suggests, always “more.”

136. For “nine mens Morris” and “merils” see *OED* “morris” sb.2. As “morris,” it can easily be confused with the “morris” dance linked with midsummer (as in “a Morris for May-day” in *All’s Well that Ends Well* 2.247). For the association of the “morris dance” with May see 1589 Moryson Itin. IV.477 (“Setting vp maypooles daunsing the morris with hobby horses”). The Morris Dance also famously includes a Fool, as in *Two Noble Kinsmen*. Though there is no actual morris dance in *MND*, the recent Bedford edition of the play includes an illustration of morris dancing (legitimate, perhaps, because the “morris” is suggested by this line on “nine mens morris” as well as other aspects of the play).

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137. See *OED* “merel” which cites for the meaning “One of the counters or pieces used in the game of ‘merels’ the following from Gower’s *Confessio Amantis* (I.18: “So that under the clerkes lawe Men sen the Merel al mysdrawe”; and III.201; “Wherof ensamples ben ynowhe / Of hem that thilke merel drowhe”); and for meaning 2 “A game played on a board between two players, each with an equal number of pebbles, disks of wood or metal, pegs, or ‘pins’. Called also *fivepenny morris*, and *ninepenny* or *nine men’s morris*, according to the number of pins or men used.” (for which it cites 1611 Cotgrave: “*Merelles. Le Jeu des merelles*. The boyish game called Merills, or five-pennie Morris; played here most commonly with stones, but in France with pawnes, or men made of purpose, and termed Merelles”). For the “nine mens Morris” of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, see *OED* “morris, sb.2 (“corruption of *merels*”). See also H. H. Furness, Variorum edition, p. 64. The *OED* (noting that “merel” was interchangeably spelled “moral”) links it as well to the game of fox and geese – one of the clues, perhaps, to the scene of wordplay on fox, goose, and “morall” in *Love’s Labor’s Lost* but also intriguing in relation to *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, where still more puzzling references to “Fox” and “Goose” follow “Now is the morall downe” in the scene of the artisans’ play of Pyramus and Thisbe.

138. See *OED*, “merel,” citing John Gower, *Confessio Amantis* I.18 and III.201.

139. Joyce 1990: 212-216. Joyce knew the tradition of Shakespeare’s planting a mulberry tree at New Place from among other sources George Brandes, *William Shakespeare* (1898). Rose 1993: 123 and 128, elaborates on the tradition that associated Shakespeare with the mulberry from as early as pilgrimages to Stafford-on-Avon in the 1740’s, a tradition reflected in David Garrick’s toast to Shakespeare from a cup carved from the mulberry, at the great jubilee at Stratford in 1769.

140. The famous passage from Johnson reads: “A quibble is to Shakespeare, what luminous vapours are to the traveller; he follows it at all adventures, it is sure to lead him out of his way, and

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sure to engulf him in the mire. It has some malignant power over his mind, and its fascinations are irresistible. Whatever be the dignity or profundity of his disquisition... let but a quibble spring up before him, and he leaves his work unfinished. A quibble is the golden apple from which he will always turn aside from his career, or stoop from his elevation. A quibble, poor and barren as it is, gave him such delight, that he was content to purchase it, by the sacrifice of reason, propriety and truth. A quibble was for him the fatal Cleopatra for which he lost the world, and was content to lose it." See *Johnson on Shakespeare*, Sherbo ed. 1966: VII, 74. For recent work on traditions of Shakespearean editing dating from the eighteenth century, see, among others, Grazia 1991; Jarvis 1995; Marcus, 1996, and the bibliography in Parker 1996: 327-28.

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# ORSON WELLES'S GOTHIC CINEMATIC APPROACH TO SHAKESPEARE'S *MACBETH*

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The cinematic approaches of Orson Welles to *Othello* and *Macbeth* and that of Derek Jarman to *The Tempest* suggest the cosmic sense of three fallen worlds, undermined by jealousy, murder and imperialistic oppression, respectively. In this paper we shall explore the possibilities that the architectural structuring of the settings of those productions and their general gothic atmosphere offer those directors to externalise psychological complexities. Once the relation between the physical and psychological confinement that torments the heroes is established, we shall try to prove that the borderline between the conscious and subconscious worlds of the heroes is the major preoccupation of those directors' cinematic explorations.

When thinking of the term "gothic", a set of characteristics springs immediately to mind, such as a terrifying atmosphere, archaic settings, the presence of the supernatural, highly stereotyped characters and suspense. According to Maggie Kilgour (1995: 4-5), there are some stock characters and devices which are simply "recycled" from one gothic text to the next: as regards characters, we are usually presented with a passive heroine, a sensitive hero and a tyrannical villain, all of them within conventional settings, such as a castle or some gloomy mountains. These are actually characteristics which are common to the play by William Shakespeare whose cinematic production we are going to analyse in this paper, in order to determine to what an extent and how Orson Welles has exploited the gothic material<sup>1</sup> either present -or implicit- in *Macbeth*.

Considering that Orson Welles's cinematic approach to *Macbeth* suggests the

1. Supporting that idea of the presence of gothic elements in Shakespeare's plays, Maggie Kilgour (1995: 4), referring to the gothic novel, affirms that: "It feeds upon and mixes the wide range of literary sources out of which it emerges and from which it never fully disentangles itself: British folklore, ballads, romance, Elizabethan and Jacobean tragedy (especially Shakespeare) ...". Jerrold E. Hogle, referring to the origins of eighteenth-century Gothic, agrees with that idea, when he affirms that Shakespeare's *Hamlet* is the principal literary ancestor of *The Castle of Otranto*:

I want to pay particular attention to this so-called source as showing how and on what basis the eighteenth-century Gothic came about. I am referring, of course, to the *Hamlet* of Shakespeare, the lionized National Poet of England by the 1760s ... and the Bard established as the great 'Gothick' dramatist of the British past in Pope's 1725 Preface to the complete plays, where *Hamlet* is even designated as the Master's most quasi-medieval, supernatural, and therefore 'Gothick' work. (1994: 26-27)

On his part, Victor Sage (1990: 24) reveals that "Mrs. Radcliffe and Lewis were plundering Shakespeare for effects in their novels, and there is a strong cross-fertilisation between Shakespearean tragedy and Milton and the Gothick."

cosmic sense of a fallen world, undermined by murder, we shall explore the possibilities that the architectural structuring of the setting of this production and its general gothic atmosphere –to which the presence of both a gothic woman and supernatural elements<sup>2</sup> contribute– offer this director to externalize psychological complexity. Once the relation between the physical and psychological confinement that torments the hero is established, we shall try to prove that the borderline between the conscious and subconscious world of the hero is the major preoccupation of Orson Welles’s cinematic exploration.

The fates of the human beings merely illustrate the nature of these places, while they themselves make the story and brood over it. The intricate plots of the romances are mainly a working-out of the suggestions of mountain scenery and Gothic architecture. (Tompkins 1980: 74)<sup>3</sup>

David Punter (1980: 5) states that “Gothic became descriptive of things medieval-in fact, of all things preceding about the middle of the seventeenth century”. According to this definition, Welles’s *Macbeth* fits in perfectly as a gothic cinematic adaptation from the beginning, since the setting described in the voice-over prologue to the film evokes early medieval times, or rather, that legendary period known as the Dark Ages: “Our story is laid in Scotland, ancient Scotland, savage, half lost in the mist which hangs between recorded history and the time of legends” (Davies 1994: 87).

The eerie atmosphere which introduces the witches in Orson Welles’s production of *Macbeth* is definitely plagued with gothic horror elements: from the initial shot of cloud and mist effects, the camera moves to a shot of the Celtic cross, which is also obscured by mist and cloud. This clears and reveals the three witches standing on a rock-holding their spindly forked twigs. The mist engulfs them again, clearing this time to expose in medium close-up a bubbling surface of foul and putrid muddy liquid, a grotesque tree skeleton and finally a shot of the witches’ hands shaping from the muddy formlessness a figure of a child which the supernatural creatures are going to use as a type of voodoo doll. In relation to this opening scene, Anthony Davies affirms that:

the juxtaposition of the mist and cloud effects with the glimpse-shots of outlines and symbols, and the final forming of a figure from the bubbling viscous liquid,

2. This gothic characteristic can also be found, in connection with the Stuarts, in the late 16th and early 17th centuries: “six years before he succeeded Elizabeth, King James I had written a work called *Demonology*, and upon becoming the English monarch, he had persuaded Parliament to pass an act condemning ‘conjuraton, witchcraft, and dealings with evil and wicked spirits’ (Battestin, p. 445n)” (Stevenson 1994: 19). Thus it was not by accident that the most important group of actors when the king came to the throne, in 1605 should produce a play based on Scotland and witches: Shakespeare’s *Macbeth* dealt with the genealogy of the Scottish king, the bad influence of witches and, very interestingly, it insists on the idea that the monarchy should be preserved.

3. J.M.S. Tompkins (1980: 74) affirms that the gothic is simplistic in its representation of character, which it subordinates to plot, scenery and moralising. Sir Walter Scott (n.d.: 225) also pointed out this subordination: “The force, therefore, of the production, lies in the delineation of external incident, while the characters of the agents, like the figures in many landscapes, are entirely subordinate to the scenes in which they are placed; and are only distinguished by such outlines as make them seem appropriate to the rocks and trees, which have been the artist’s principle objects.”

taken together with the greater juxtaposition of the simple spoken prologue with the weird sequence of initial visuals, constitutes a clear suggestion that the essence of the film's thematic conflict is to be that of "form" against "formlessness". (1994: 87)

The tension in this polarity between form and formlessness Davies points out, is sustained by the film's suggestion of the world of the dream—a nightmarish sequence of imagined reality in a realm of unfulfilled action,<sup>4</sup> from which there is a desperate desire to escape. The critic has also observed (1994: 88) that the essence of that nightmare which pervades the film is evident in the illogical and a-historical relationship of space and time:

Dunsinane is, in fact, a papier-mâché agglomerate of walls, caverns and rough-hewn arches. In the context of the dream, however, its non-realism is no barrier to our acceptance of it as rudimentary, rock-hewn architecture without style or form, and therefore without period. Its labyrinthine suggestion of *psychological space* is a visualization which isolates and confines man in the torrid secrecy of his own most abhorrent ambitions.

Jean Cocteau (McBride 1972: 112) has described most eloquently the relationship of both spatial and temporal dislocation to the dream: "Coiffed with horns and crowns of cardboard, clad in animal skins like the first motorists, the heroes of the drama move in the corridors of kind of dream underground, in devastated caves leaking water, in an abandoned coal-mine..."<sup>5</sup> Welles's *Macbeth* presents Dunsinane as an extremely complex psychological externalization. In fact, the spatial substance even takes on the involuntary biochemistry of Macbeth, since, in Anthony Davies's words, "its cavernous walls exude drops of moisture just as Macbeth's skin glistens with the torrid sweat of panic" (1994: 89). This confirms the idea that, for Welles, the spatial realism had to be a world consistent with the inner being of the character.

As regards the landscape in Welles's film, it evokes a dramatic world of violent contrasts between the scabrous angularity of wind-stripped trees, the spatial vacuity of the background and the formless, swirling cloud and mist which blurs clarity of outline.

In relation to Gothic architecture, the vertical dimension in the film is further strengthened by high-angle shooting, "sometimes to afford a wider view of action, but more importantly, to assert relationships between Macbeth and other characters, and between Macbeth and his universe" (Davies 1994: 92). Orson

4. In relation to this, Sigmund Freud explains that: "a happy person never fantasises, only an unsatisfied one. The motive forces of fantasies are unsatisfied wishes, and every single fantasy is the fulfilment of a wish, a correction of unsatisfying reality" (Strachey 1953-74: 146).

5. Claude Beylie (1972: 72) perceives the stature the film achieves through its temporal ambivalence in the following terms: "Macbeth is a sanguinary madman, a modern Atilla who hears only his own demons and is vanquished by them; he appears then, on the screen dressed in animal skins or bound in a strange harness redolent of both the paleolithic and atomic eras—a cuirass reinforced with metal plates that look like hideous blisters, a steel helmet guarded by nightmarish electrodes, horns or antennas ... His palace is carved into the rock itself, bored full of shapeless windows like the lair of a cyclops. We are transported with him into the very bowels of the earth, or perhaps into some other planet."

Welles's spatial disposition contributes to stressing Macbeth's isolation and his inaccessibility in that isolation.

The Gothic perception of the female body was intrinsically pathological and, as regards the subject inside that body, she was unstable. Kelly Hurley explains that "the disorders of the female body were inextricably linked to the female reproductive system, so that female sexuality emerged as both casual and symptomatic of female abhumanness" (1996: 120).

According to the Gothic tradition, demonic madonnas appear, in the folk and fairy tales, "as the evil stepmother, one of our most familiar cultural stereotypes". In drama, "Lady Macbeth is her prototype. ... In all of her guises, she is amoral and unloving; she is to be read as horrible because unnatural; that is, she belies the loving 'nature' of women, or, even worse, the 'natural' love of mother for child" (Wolstenholme 1993: 114-15).

Kilgour (1995: 9) points out that some recent critics have claimed further that in its potential as a vehicle for female anger the gothic provides a "plot of feminine subversion" (Heller 1992: 2-3). Lady Macbeth needs to be unsexed to be able to machinate a cruel deed, a horrible murder that her kind and gentle woman nature would never allow her to encourage. Thus she is demanding an unnatural thing, for her to be able to do something which goes against woman's nature-she must lead her husband into performing the horrible deed, thus turning him into an unnatural creature as well-, and therefore, her body and mind are going to rebel against that, by making her stage her own fears and remorse within her own mental space, in her nightmares, thus leading her to a nervous break-down.<sup>7</sup> Due to her unnatural behaviour Lady Macbeth is going to be "haunted by her crimes to her death" (Wolstenholme 1993: 15). It is worth pointing out that, from the beginning, she is presented with similar foretelling characteristics to those of the witches-on their part, supernatural and therefore unnatural creatures too-, since she greets her husband with the same words they had addressed him. In fact, at the beginning of the play, similarly to the way in which the witches control Macbeth's fate, Lady Macbeth turns into a

6. Jean Cocteau (McBride 1972: 112) has observed, in the character of Lady Macbeth, that nightmarish quality also in the relationship of spatial detail to time in the film: "At times we ask ourselves in what age this nightmare is taking place, and when we encounter Lady Macbeth for the first time before the camera moves back and places her, we almost see a lady in modern dress lying on a fur couch next to the telephone."

7. As Elaine Showalter (1985: 55-56) argues in her discussion of Victorian medicine in *The Female Malady: Women, Madness, and English Culture 1830-1980*:

women were more vulnerable to insanity than men ... The instability of their reproductive systems interfered with their sexual, emotional, and rational control. In contrast to the rather vague and uncertain concepts of insanity in general which Victorian psychiatry produced, theories of female insanity were specifically and confidentially linked to the biology crises of the female life-cycle ... during which the mind would be weakened and the symptoms of insanity might emerge. This connection between the female reproductive and nervous systems led to the condition nineteenth-century physicians called "reflex insanity in women." The "special law" that made women "the victims of periodicity" led to a distinct set of mental illnesses that had "neither homologue nor analogue in man." Doctors argued that the menstrual discharge in itself predisposed women to insanity.

mother-figure rather than a wife, to control and orchestrate her husband's evil and unnatural deeds.

Anthony Davies supports the thesis that Welles's cinematic approach to *Macbeth* is gothic, when he affirms (1994: 84) that it "is in many ways reminiscent both of the late nineteenth-century melodrama, and of that film genre, the "horror movie".<sup>8</sup>

In *Macbeth*, Orson Welles offers an allegorized conflict between "agents of chaos, priests of hell and magic; sorcerers and witches" and "Christian law and order",<sup>9</sup> opposing the spindly forked twigs of the witches – a symbol of their demonic essence – to the crucifixes of the Scots. Moreover, he even offers Morality-play elements introducing the figure of the "Holy Father", and imagines a ceremony in which the multitude forsake pagan<sup>10</sup> religion: "Welles even goes so far as to invent a primitive but obtrusive ceremony in which the Father leads the multitude in abjuring 'Satan and all his works'", and the embodiment of holiness is only killed "when Macbeth's pagan spear pierces his heart" (Pearlman 1994: 251-52). Orson Welles, in his adaptation of Shakespeare's play,<sup>11</sup> shocks us with a gothic world that makes us abhor it and reject it with horror.

If Shakespeare's *Macbeth* presents us with the choices and decisions made by an individual character within the framework of a medieval Christian universe, Welles's film limits Macbeth's options, and gives the witches a manipulative power over Macbeth which is visually established early in the film when they are depicted with a small crowned voodoo effigy at their feet. In fact, at the end

8. Richard France (1974: 67) wrote about the Lafayette Theatre production of Welles's *Macbeth*, staged two years before the film was released, that he transformed "Shakespeare into a spectacle of thrills and sudden shocks. Audiences were drawn not so much to see the working out of Macbeth's tragic destiny, but to experience the same undefined responses which make horror movies both ridiculous and yet still exhilarating." And he concludes: "The impression it left in the theatre was that of a world steadily being consumed by the powers of darkness." As regards this theatre production of *Macbeth* (1946), it is worth pointing out that "Welles transposed the setting from Scotland to the island of Haiti, since he felt that the force of the supernatural as a dominant and formative element would be more credible in the social context of 'voodoo'" (Davies 1994: 86). In that production Welles turned the stage into a microcosm of a society with a genuine cultural commitment to a belief in tangible supernatural powers.

9. From Welles's voice-over prologue to his cinematic production of *Macbeth* (1948). He continues, emphasizing the supernatural foretelling nature of the witches: "Their tools are ambitious men. This is the story of such a man and of his wife. A brave soldier, he hears from the witches a prophecy of future greatness and on this cue, murders his way up to a tyrant's throne, only to go down hated in blood at the end of it all."

10. As regards the connection between gothic and paganism, Punter (1980: 6) explains: "Gothic was the archaic, the pagan, that which was prior to, or was opposed to, or resisted the establishment of civilised values and a well regulated society."

11. According to Pearlman (1994: 253): "Shakespeare depicted a world in which dark-age mythology was overlain and perhaps even superseded by Christian morality." It is also worth pointing out that gothic writers admitted their affinities with Elizabethan writing. Walpole himself affirms that there are connections between his work and Shakespearean tragedies: "he wanted to use their example to give himself licence, and this, of course, was particularly necessary in the matter of the supernatural. Here Walpole combines devices from folklore with Elizabethan motifs to produce an armoury of magical helmets, speaking pictures, ghostly giants ..." (Punter 1980: 51).

of the film, when the fight between Macduff and Macbeth ends with a swinging blow aimed to sever Macbeth's neck, the swing of the blade is interrupted by a cut to show the head of the voodoo doll rolling from its body, identifying the figure which the witches had formed from the muddy caldron with Macbeth.

The film insists in connecting shadow and illusion with what is physically insubstantial but psychologically most significant. A proof of that can be found in Macbeth's words when he is confronted with Banquo's ghost, after a concentration of shadow effects: "Hence, horrible shadow!" (3.4.106).

One of the powerful images inspired by the word "gothic" is "that of a shadowy form rising from a mysterious place", and that imagery supports psychoanalytical critics' belief that "the gothic reflects the return of the repressed, in which subconscious psychic energy bursts out from the restraints of the conscious ego" (Kilgour 1995: 3).

In Welles's *Macbeth* the gothic threatening shadowy form is embodied by a huge Macbeth that dominates the foreground of innumerable frames of this production. In fact, when he encounters the witches for the second time, "the camera locates him as a speck in the middle of a distant heath" and then "tracks him with single-minded intensity until the entire frame is filled with the distorted shape"<sup>12</sup> (Pearlman 1994: 252).

*Macbeth's* plot offers the essential elements for the play to be treated as a gothic or horror film<sup>13</sup> in Welles's cinematic production, since his spatial strategy relates perfectly to a genre characterised by featuring some kind of monster given form by unnatural forces in the world where time and place are accorded the dislocations of the nightmarish dream. We agree with Joseph McBride's appreciation that "the change in Macbeth after the murder is almost indistinguishable; he seems to be sleep-walking from the beginning, and his blindness to the possibility of free choice makes it difficult for us to consider him a tragic hero" (1972: 114).

Welles's *Macbeth* is characterised by the isolation of the individual, the sense of disintegration, the obsession with death, and the vertiginous angularity of the camera's shooting angles, which contributes to emphasising the turbulent state of Macbeth's mind,<sup>14</sup> a tormented mind whose alterations are visually translated into space changes.

12. That gothic characteristic of Welles's *Macbeth* is praised by Claude Beylie (1972: 95): "The cinema is only then, the shadow of a shadow, printed upon the wall of a cave, the ragged garments of a clown ludicrously agitated before the light of a projector. Given this, *Macbeth* in the version of Orson Welles, must be considered one of the most beautiful films ever created, in that illustrates, with maximum rigour and simplicity, this definition (in no way restrictive) of our art. I would venture to say that, at least, we know of few films in the history of cinema which have come so close to what Shakespeare calls 'life's fitful fever.'"

13. Robert Sklar explains that the hallmark of the gothic film "is its sense of people trapped in webs of paranoia and fear, unable to tell guilt from innocence, true identity from false. Its villains are attractive and sympathetic, masking greed, misanthropy, malevolence. Its heroes and heroines are weak, confused, susceptible to false impressions. The environment is murky and close, the setting vaguely oppressive. In the end, evil is exposed, though often just barely, and the survival of good remains troubled and ambiguous" (Prawer 1980: 45).

Orson Welles's film's affinity with the dream vision dissolves the moral polarities which categorize action, thus reflecting the confusion of the "fair/foul" dichotomy equated by the witches in the play's opening scene. In relation to this, André Bazin (1978: 101) discerns the spatial suggestions of "a prehistoric universe, not that of our ancestors, the Gauls or the Celts, but a prehistory of the conscience at the birth of time and sin, when sky and earth, water and fire, good and evil, still aren't distinctly separate."

In the cinematic presentation of such a universe, action is exposed to the irrational response of instinct, in its emancipation from inherent moral judgement<sup>15</sup>. There is no doubt that Welles's *Macbeth* finds his own action repellent and horrifying. "Consequently, we are not presented with a *Macbeth* distanced from us because of his action, but one who remains human because of his instinctive and emotional power" (Davies 1994: 89); a *Macbeth* "who wallows in his crimes, but in whom we nevertheless sense a mysterious spark of innocence and something like the possibility of grace and salvation" (Bazin 1978: 101).

Davies (1994: 90) observes that: "up to a point, the movement of the vapour in the vacant sky asserts its own autonomous symbolic stature, suggestive of 'evolving nebulae at some primal phase of creation'". That vapour, "evolving nebulae" or mist evokes, according to Charles Higham (1970: 125): "*Macbeth*'s stormy soul, shrouded in despair."

Kilgour (1995: 8) affirms that:

The gothic appears to be a transgressive rebellion against norms which yet ends up reinstating them, an eruption of unlicensed desire that is fully controlled by governing systems of limitation. It delights in rebellion, while finally punishing it, often with death or damnation, and the reaffirmation of a system of moral and social order.

Actually, *Macbeth* concludes when Malcolm, King Duncan's son and the usurper's successor, invites home "our exiled friends abroad/ That fled the snares of watchful tyranny" (V.xi.32-3). E. Pearlman (1994: 250) insists that: "The play's satisfaction with the traditional order, though severely tested by the reign of the tyrant, is confirmed when a second exemplary monarch succeeds his father."

To conclude this paper, and after analysing the architectural structuring of the setting, the role of Lady *Macbeth* as a Gothic woman, and the supernatural elements that haunt the general atmosphere in Orson Welles's cinematic production of *Macbeth*, we have proved that the director's spatial disposition stresses the Gothic characteristics of the production as well as the relation between the physical and psychological confinement that torments a hero who has eventually

14. David Punter (1980: 408) suggests that a tormented mind is a gothic characteristic: "in Gothic, we are all suffering from delirium, for delirium is merely the experience of being at the mercy of conflicting and unassimilable impressions: only afterview can construct from these impressions a single model, and in doing so it does violence to the intensity and immediacy of life."

15. Freud (1985: 222) explains that: "The earliest moral precepts and restrictions in primitive society have been explained by us as reactions to a deed which gave those who performed it the concept of 'crime'. They felt remorse for the deed and decided it should never be repeated and that its performance should bring no advantage. The creative sense of guilt still persists among us."

turned into a villain. As a result, Gothic architecture in Welles's *Macbeth*, together with Lady Macbeth's progressive madness and final suicide, assert the Gothic villain's isolation. On their part, the presence of supernatural and Christian elements—the former both foretelling and controlling the protagonist's fate, and the latter punishing him for his evil deeds, contribute both to Gothic horror and to stress the villain's inaccessibility in that isolation.

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## “MOMENTARY GRACE”: THE PLATONIC UNDERTONES OF HASTINGS’ PROPHECY IN *RICHARD III*

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This paper purports to analyse Hastings’ prophecy in *Richard III* (3.5.96-107) as an instance of prophetic “inspiration” in the light of Socrates’ speech before his death as recounted in Plato’s *Apology*. This work conceives his act of foreseeing as the prophet’s partaking of the idea of divinity. Socrates’ foreboding of his accusers’ punishment is the result of a new experience after his death sentence: his progress towards the world of the dead, his contact with the universe of ideas. Socrates explains the state of death as “a migration of the soul from this to other place.” That other place, the world of ideas, is atemporal, and his visionary contact with it at the moment of death confers upon him a perspective of timeless truth. He is, therefore, acquainted with past, present, and future, all in one, and is therefore authorised to prophesy. The case of Hastings, after Richard’s death sentence against him, reproduces the Platonic text in dramatic mood and ideological structure. A detailed analysis of this crucial scene will prove Hastings’ prophecy an exceptional case in the context of the play’s use of prophetic discourse. Other uses of prediction in *Richard III* are viewed as counterpoints to Hastings’ example. Their mechanisms being made up of technical devices, (i.e. *techné*), these do not achieve the visionary character and the degree of success of divine inspiration. Other Platonic and Renaissance texts are used to explain the differences between these forms of seeing into future events. This analysis may throw light on more global interpretations of the use of prophetic discourse in Renaissance historical drama.

Shakespeare’s time was a period of great controversy as regards the various means to obtain information about future events, as well as the uses and interpretations that may have been made out of this data. A concern for future events is something common to all peoples and ages, and its praxis has always found a solid ground on a wide social spectrum. There exists, however, a great difference when the actual events concern a vast amount of wealth and empowered people. That is the case of the attempts to make prognostications about the future of a monarch and a nation. For this reason the status of a prophet at the court, as it was Merlin’s case, was always at stake, mostly in difficult times for the crown or the dynasty.

John Dee, renowned magician, provides an excellent example of this controversy, having suffered persecution by Mary Tudor, and having been consulted by Queen Elizabeth on many occasions (Dobin 1990: 1-8). There were also many works that attacked the behaviour of false prophets: in 1583 Henry Howard wrote a tract entitled *A Defensative against the poyson of supposed Prophecies*. Montaigne in the essay “Of Prognostications” (*Essais*, I, XI), first translated by Sir Thomas Hoby in 1603 (the year of Elizabeth’s death), and Bacon, following some of the arguments in Montaigne, several decades later, in 1625æwrote an essay entitled “Of Prophecies” (*Essays*, XXXV) did also denounce the same idea.

This practice of prediction was forbidden under death penalty during most part of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and mostly when concerning the crown. A prohibition with a strong canonical precedent in the scriptures, as the books of law condemned non-priestly and non-prophetic divination : Leviticus. xix, 31; xx 6, 27; and Deuteronomy, xviii 10-12 (see also Lust 1974: 139):

And the soul that tourneth after such as have familiar spirits, and after wizards, to go a whoring after them, I will even set my face against that soul, and will cut him off from among his people. (Lev. xx,6)

Only one way of predicting the future has escaped the laws of western cultures: that is divinely inspired prophecy. That sort of prophecy is rare, at least, in comparison with the rest, abounding in astrologers, necromancers, interpreter of dreams etc., which, and I quote Bacon “should serve for Winter talk by the Fire side”.

In Shakespeare’s plays many sorts of prediction coexist, divine and non-divine. I will analyse one instance of the divine sort, which is found in *Richard III*, and then, it will be considered it in the light of Socrates’ prophecy, uttered right after his death sentence and right before his death, as recounted in Plato’s *Apology*. Socrates’ foreboding of his accusers’ punishment is the result of a new experience after his death sentence: his progress towards the world of the dead, his contact with the universe of ideas. Socrates explains the state of death as “a migration of the soul from this to other place.” That *other* place, the world of ideas, is atemporal, eternal, and his visionary contact with it at the moment of death confers upon him a perspective of timeless truth. Plato understands that the soul, winged, may move upwards and gaze upon truth, and is, from whence, bestowed with the knowledge of the divine: “It (the soul) beholds absolute justice, temperance, and knowledge, not such knowledge as has a beginning and varies... but that which abides in the real eternal absolute” (*Phaedrus*, 247,E).

In Shakespeare’s play, Richard of Gloucester draws innumerable plans to usurp the Crown. His plans include getting rid of everyone that may potentially be heir to the crown, and, of course, eliminate those who willingly or accidentally may interpose in his way to the throne. Hastings, loyal to Richard’s family, is reluctant to the idea of skipping the order of right heirs to the crown, and his consequent opposition earns him his condemnation to death.

As Hastings is about to be put to death by Richard’s decision, he delivers the following prophetic speech:

O momentary grace of mortal men,  
Which we more hunt than the grace of God.  
Who builds his hope in air of your good looks  
Lives like a drunken sailor on a mast,  
Ready with every nod to tumble down  
Into the fatal bowels of the deep. [...]  
O bloody Richard! Miserable England,  
I prophesy the fearfull'st time to thee  
That ever wretched age hath look'd upon.  
Come, lead me to the block: bear him my head.  
They smile at me who shortly shall be dead. (3.4.96-107)

The fact that Hastings seems capable to deliver such a clearly prophetic speech, boasting such clairvoyance, does not seem congenial with his character as it is represented in the rest of his part in the play. Hastings has been one of the many who have tried to remain true to the crown and its conventions, though once his loyal attitude has begun to represent a hurdle in Richard of Gloucester's way to the crown he has been sentenced to death under the accusation of treason. In this scene Hastings' character seems to be rather the counterpoint of the true, dull and short-sighted Hastings who fails to appreciate and understand the clearest signs that for the audience, on the contrary, are meaningful. Thus he comes short in reading King Richard's most forward and clear intentions that for the rest are made visible simply in his looks:

HASTINGS. His Grace looks cheerfully and smooth today:  
There's some conceit or other likes him well  
When that he bids good morrow with such spirit.  
I think there's never a man in Christendom  
Can lesser hide his love or hate than he,  
For by his face straight shall you know his heart.  
STANLEY. What of his heart perceive you in his face  
By any livelihood he show'd today?  
Marry, that with no man here he is offended,  
HASTINGS. For were he, he had shown it in his looks. (3.4.48-57)

From hence, the audience may infer a character whose innocence exceeds all the rest; an ingenuous character that is easily fooled; one who is shallow, plain, and even a simpleton in this particular moment. His inability to read people's faces correctly translates into his own ineptitude to hide his own feelings and thoughts under complex or inflated speech. His oratory lacks rhetorical training, and his language is the language of truth: not intricate but straightforward. His speech is not mediated by any technical devices, conceals nothing at all, but plainly exposes his heart. He lacks, therefore, the art "techné" of a language with double intentions, both to speak and to read concealed messages. *Techné* could be described as craft, art, or technique, which in pre-platonic literature was a fundamental part, together with inspiration, in poetic composition (Murray 1996: 8-10). Plato denies the technical aspect of composition, and he brings forth a comparison between the rhapsode and the prophet: both depend not on techné,

but on a divine force (*Ion* 533D-Eæ534 A-D, and 536 A).

Furthermore, Hastings is not acquainted with the language of the supernatural. He shows an extreme ineptitude in reading supernatural signs, omens that are very telling for other characters, as it is for Stanley:

HASTINGS. Cannot my Lord Stanley sleep these tedious nights?  
 MESSENGER. So it appears by that I have to say.  
 First, he commends him to your noble self.[...]  
 Then certifies your lordship that this night  
 He dreamt the boar had razed off his helm;[—]  
 Therefore he sends to know your lordship's pleasure  
 If you will presently take horse with him  
 And with all speed post with him toward the north,  
 To shun the danger that his soul divines. (3.2.5-17)

In this case Hastings refuses to ascribe any meaning to these signs: he proves rational, but it is this rationality the main cause of his failure to understand the irrational. He denies any meaning to “the mockery of unquiet slumbers” (III.ii.26) and does not accept them as “signs” until they are fulfilled. Omens and signs of the future are made present to Hastings’ potential perceptibility in two separate stages. At a first stage signs appear only as signifiers: void of meaning. And it is so that Hastings cannot make up any rational conclusion from their perception. On the second stage the signified is revealed, and Hastings makes an eloquent speech arranging together signifiers and signifieds:

HASTINGS. Woe, woe for England; not a whit for me—  
 For I, too fond, might have prevented this.  
 STANLEY. did dream the boar did raze his helm,  
 And I did scorn it and disdain to fly;  
 Three times today my foot cloth horse did stumble,  
 And started when he looked upon the Tower,  
 As loath to bear me to the slaughter-house. (3.4.80-86)

On another occasion Hastings makes an attempt to foresee future events, but the play will prove his failure.

HASTINGS. But I shall laugh at this a twelve-month hence,  
 That they which brought me in my master's hate,  
 I live to look upon their tragedy. (3.2.55-58)

These moments may serve as a draft of Hastings’ character, and especially having proved his inefficiency to understand and build up a discourse that is not strictly rational. It must follow that the prophecy above quoted is an extremely odd utterance in his discourse. It is a duty to discern the conditions that make him speak thus: so tellingly and accurately. In order to do so, it seems convenient to draw a parallel instance from another work: Plato in *The Apology* tells the trial of Socrates, who was unjustly sentenced to death. Socrates makes his defence forwarding the argument that he refuses to use rhetoric in order to move the audience to clear him. He defends, as Hastings, the lack of rhetoric or technical devices in speech:

Perhaps you think, gentlemen, that I have been convicted through lack of such words as would have moved you to acquit me, if I had thought it right to do and say everything to gain an acquittal. Far from it. And yet it is through a lack that I have been convicted, not however a lack of words, but of impudence and shamelessness, and of willingness to say to you such things as you would have liked best to hear. (*Apology* 135)

It may be a mere coincidence in their moral disposition towards speech and appearance, but there is a further coincidence which suits better our purpose. As they are both about to be executed, about to say their last speech, their language undergoes a sudden change, and they speak of a revealed truth:

And now I wish to prophesy [*crhsmwdhsai*] to you, O ye who have condemned me; for I am now at the time when men most do prophesy, the time just before death. And I say to you, ye men who have slain me, that punishment will come upon you straightaway after my death, far more grievous in sooth than the punishment of death which you have meted out to me. (*Apology* 39 C)

Both death speeches share similar characteristics: they represent the exposition of a divine truth. It is a speech which has been inspired by God, and which therefore requires no technical skills on the part of the speaker. This is an idea that may be supported by the actual use of the word *crhsmwidoi* (prophecy), which Plato meaningfully selects for this speech. As opposed to this, in other instances in Platonic texts dealing with prophecies, we find other words like *mantiz* (divination), or *projhtai* (interpreter of sacred books or oracles) (Murray 1996: 105, 120).

In the *Ion* 533-534 Plato plays with the idea of poetry and prophecy to emphasise the complete passivity of the poet, based on the necessity of divine inspiration. *crhsmwidoi* and *qeomanteiz* appear together in the same kind of context at *Apology* 22C and *Meno* 99C. Both refer to inspired seers, and the latter is opposed to the other term *manteiz*, which is the seer that requires techné (*tecnh*): a craft or art (Bluck, quoted in Murray 1996: 120). Another case for different messages implied in the terminology selected is in *Phaedrus* 244 B-D, where there is also a distinction between prophecy that depends on technique, and prophecy that is divinely inspired.

In *Richard III*, prophecies such as the Galfridian prophecy (using animal symbolism) in the dream of the Boar above mentioned, or Richard himself setting "drunken prophecies", and Clarence's prophecy about "G", are all cases that require technical applications for both their elaboration and understanding. On the other hand, Queen Elizabeth's consulting the astrologer for a propitious coronation date in 1559, is a pure case of technical divination, which Plato called "*mantikhz*" in the *Timaeus* 24D. They are obscure or not plainly readable and require a skilful interpretation. Socrates and Hastings' prophecies, on the contrary, are clear enough not to require interpretation, which is a sign that theirs are divinely inspired, which "presents itself as the perfect referential text: A correct meaning" (Dobin 1990: 22). However Galfridian symbolism (as called by Rupert Taylor in *The Political Prophecy in England* 1911, quoted in Dobin 1990) of the type seen

in the dream about the boar, or the “G” prophecy affecting Clarence, abound in obscurantism; using symbols with loose interpretations and meanings, and therefore escaping any plausible interpretation. What may be explained, according to Dobin (1990: 25), is, in Derrida’s words “the absence of the transcendental signified extends the domain and the interplay of signification *ad infinitum*” (Derrida 1970: 249). This type of prophecy is also considered by Montaigne, who describes it for the use of a language “obscur, ambigu et fantastique”, to which the authors ascribe no clear sense or meaning so that in the future they may do it as they please (*Livre I, XI*, 45). However, Montaigne, a few lines below, also associates prophecies of divine inspiration to Socrates.

In both prophecies, Socrates’ and Hastings’, there is a change of tone and rhythm with regard to the rest of the speeches uttered by the same characters. They are both characterised by a tonal elevation and an increase in harshness. Hastings’ prophecy is probably his only speech that may be considered to be made as a strong and decided statement. On the other hand, Socrates’ seriousness, but at the same time ironical discourse, achieves a climax of bitterness with a stern and harsh discourse, in a “section by far the sharpest in tone [in the whole *Apology*]” (Strycker and Slings 1994: 211-213).

The change in tone could also be explained not only by the seriousness of their concern, but also by their proximity to their next future, preparing for the departing of their soul, and consequent ascension to the world of the *primum mobile*. The contemplation of the divine world and the world of the dead brings forth a vision of the universe with no temporal distinction. As Plato explains in the *Timaeus*:

He planned to make a movable image of Eternity, and, as He set in order the heaven, of that Eternity which abides the unity He made an eternal image, moving according to number, even that which we have named Time. For simultaneously with the construction of the Heaven He contrived the production of days and nights and months and years, which existed not before the heaven came into being. And these are all portions of Time; even as “Was” and “Shall be” are generated forms of Time, although we apply them wrongly, without noticing to Eternal Being. For we say that it “is” or “was” or “will be”, whereas, in truth of speech, “is” alone is the appropriate term; “was” and “will be”, on the other hand, are terms properly applicable to the Becoming which proceeds in Time, since both of these are motions. (*Timaeus* 37D-ff.)

The entrance to the upper world, or to the non-physical world, made possible by the movement of the soul above mentioned in Socrates’ words, implies the breakdown of earthly time, and the vision of the future is made clear to the newcomers souls. It is also similar to the explanation given to Dante in the *Inferno* canto X, where he is explained that for the dead in *inferno* distant events are clear, though the present is forbidden to their sight.

El par che voi veggiate, se ben odo,  
Dinanzi quel che ‘l tempo seco adduce,  
En el presente tenete altro modo.  
“Noi veggiam, come quel c’ ha mala luce,

le cose "disse "che no son lontano:  
contanto ancor ne splende il sommo duce;  
quando s'apressano o son, tutto è vano  
nostro intelletto; ... (Inferno Canto X, 97-104)

It is the moment to consider what is the role of Hastings' prophecy within the play. Considering as well that it was presumably an extrahistorical element, since it is not included in Holinshed, nor in More's *Richard III*. The prophecy is therefore a dramatical device, serving as a counterpoint to the rest of the prophecies in the play, to "plots being laid" and "drunken prophecies" set at court, which contribute to monarchic instability, and results in seditions, and intestine division. But in this case, as in Socrates', it works as a statement of truth, and a vehicle for the speech of the gods, and vengeance and retribution. Mostly as a balance to the evils sown by King Richard's vice-like character.

There is, however, a transcendental issue involved in the uses of prophecy within a historical narrative frame. The political implications of such prophetic moments are still recognisable and valid for the audience: "the Old Testament prophet did not simply express a divine protest to an evil king; he also predicted his imminent downfall. Prophecy is essentially a form of political discourse; the prophet invokes God as the authority superior to, and more powerful than, the earthly powers of church and state" (Dobin 1990: 28).

Furthermore, this prophecy in a history play condenses within a very short time span the two moments of the divine discourse: its announcement through the voice of the prophet, and its fulfilment. There is, however, a final and fundamental coincidence in Socrates' and Hastings' prophecies. Both have something in common that is transcendental to understand the writing of history. Hastings' is presumably Shakespeare's invention, as aforesaid, and Socrates' prophecy (which is included in the so called "third speech" of the *Apology*) has been argued whether it was actually a historical piece. Presumably it wasn't. In fact, Plato originally composed a "third speech" that comprised only 39E1-42A5 (Strycker and Slings 1994: 212), which means that the prophecy, included in in 39 C, was not in the original plan.

This means that there is a special effort on the part of the writers to create a prophecy, which serves as God's mouthpiece. The use of the only non-stigmatised prediction, divinely inspired prophecy, serves the poets as a means to make God proclaim justice, and getting involved in the affairs of his people. Shakespeare thus makes God take the floor on stage, but also on the destiny of the nation. Exactly the same intentions that lead Dante to include in "Hell" all the enemies of his faction and, furthermore, to prophesy their fall. By representing the narrative of providential history, the play upholds institutionalised authority and the divine power behind it.

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## ORDER AND DISORDER IN TWO VERSIONS OF *TROILUS* AND *CRESSIDA*: THE CASE OF ULYSSES<sup>1</sup>

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The character of Ulysses in Shakespeare's version of *Troilus and Cressida* (published 1603), though not often commented on in detail by the critics, is usually treated as the closest thing to a chorus, voice of reason or wisdom in the play otherwise marked by irrationality, lack of closure and inconsistency. His "Degree" speech in 1.3, in which Ulysses describes his theory of the orderly and disorderly society, is the prime reference point for such statements, backed up by other instances of his interventions to correct a ills previously diagnosed and by the background of mayhem against which the speech is uttered. In Dryden's 1679 rewrite of Shakespeare, confirmation of his role as chief counsellor seems to be vindicated by the instalment of a specific moral objective by Agamemnon, Ulysses' reiteration of the lesson to be drawn by the audience in the closing scene, and the constant interventions of the latter at several points in between to ensure that the objective is reached. This positive opinion of Shakespeare's Ulysses, which seems a sensible one because he espouses the ideologically comfortable notion of social order, is not, however, shared by everybody, perhaps because he also affords glimpses of the malevolent spymaster, in control of his environment yet giving nothing of himself away. In this paper, I start from a couple of notions about the concept of "chaos", a concept raised by Ulysses himself in his "Degree" speech, to explore this apparently counterintuitive representation of Shakespeare's Ulysses. My hypothesis is that such a view does not stem from any incompatibility with "common sense" but from Ulysses' confusion between a certain "scientific" image of order (the capacity for control over nature via predictive calculations) and that of ease of manipulation. This confusion in Ulysses is picked up by Dryden who brings the relationship between deterministic science and political theology of the Absolute state closer together.

This paper forms part of a larger study looking at the interplay of order and disorder in the Troy story through the Renaissance and which is exemplified here in two versions of *Troilus and Cressida*,<sup>2</sup> one by Shakespeare (registered in 1603) and Dryden's rewrite of the same play (registered and performed in 1679), with

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2. Shakespeare's version will be referred to using the abbreviation *Tro.* and Dryden's version using the abbreviation *Troilus*. It is also pointed out here that the printed version of Dryden's play does not contain line numbers.

Ulysses as the main focus of interest. The underlying problematic of both plays is social order, what it is and how it can be maintained. Ulysses, Agamemnon's counsellor, is the mouthpiece for ideals of order which are cosmic and idealistic in Shakespeare and social and pragmatic in Dryden. Both playwrights conceive of Ulysses in a totalitarian mould but, because of their different world views, Shakespeare's Ulysses ends up seeming an impotent and contradictory schemer in the midst of chaos, whilst Dryden's is instrumental in defending the King and ensuring the unity of the army and the victory of the Greeks. The different conceptions of Ulysses contribute partly to a general feeling about the two plays, which is that, although Shakespeare's play is Dryden's acknowledged source, this fact does not help to explain the qualitative difference between the two plays.

Ulysses' first intervention in both cases is the policy meeting of the King and his chief advisers to discuss the failure to make progress in the war, and during which he diagnoses divisions in the Greek camp as being one of the basic problems. A few brief comparative comments may be made. Firstly, in Shakespeare, Ulysses' contribution to the debate is long (136 lines in all) and rhetorical, whereas Dryden strips Ulysses' speech of most of the metaphor and amplification and takes just 39 lines to cover similar ground. Secondly, in Shakespeare, Ulysses is one of only three Greek chiefs, Agamemnon, Nestor and Ulysses, who meet to try and decide what to do. This gives their deliberations a conspiratorial air and contrasts with Dryden's broader-based, more 'parliamentary' version which includes Menelaus and Diomedes. Thirdly, according to Shakespeare's Ulysses, "specialty of rule has been neglected" (*Tro.*1.3.78), a statement which briefly but overtly, puts some of the blame for the problem onto Agamemnon. Dryden nowhere includes a criticism of the King; he uses the phrase "observance due to rule has been neglected" to emphasise that the king's subjects have not paid enough respect to their ruler (*Troilus* 1.1). Fourthly, the main problem, the responsibility of the subject, is based on different conceptions of order.

To begin with Shakespeare's version, Ulysses' universe is idealised and hierarchical, even patriarchal in nature. It is a relatively modern universe with the sun at the centre (a Copernican rather than Ptolemaic universe) and the functions of the sun are to watch and control for deviation. As Ulysses says, the sun's "...medicinal eye / Corrects the influence of evil planets" (*Tro.*1.3.91-92). The sun might be a metaphor for God, although God's name is not alluded to, only his traditional functions and his supposed location, at the centre of things. This is the root of one of the ambiguities in Shakespeare's version: determining who the king is. In 3.3, for example, when Ulysses advises the Greek chiefs to ignore Achilles, he comments parenthetically: "'Tis like he'll question me, / Why such unplausible eyes are bent on him" (3.3.42-45), making himself the central source of authority. Following this he claims, sneeringly: "If so, I have derision medicinal/ To use between your strangeness and his pride". The repetition of "medicinal" draws attention to Ulysses' possible aspirations as a usurper.

The hierarchy sketched out by Ulysses begins with the king and moves down through organised social groups of schools, trade, marriage and family, which are all male in character. References to the sun, the king, brotherhoods,

primogeniture, fathers and sons are made. The driving principle of the ideal universe is “degree” in which obedience to the duties dictated by one’s allotted position in the hierarchy is observed to take place. In the Greek camp, degree has been ignored, principally by Achilles. Ulysses tells Agamemnon and Nestor that when degree is “masked”, “shaked”, “suffocated” or is “out of tune”, the result is chaos and social failure. Symptoms of the lack of observance of degree are the inability to differentiate what has worth from that which has none (one of the themes of the Trojan Council speech in 2.2), or to separate right from wrong. Power, will and appetite are the hidden means of disorder, expressed as discord, collapse of community and a return to elemental disorder. Finally, civilisation collapses in on itself. The scenario of chaos (1.3.94-101) with its imagery of floods and the fecundity of physical nature beyond human control is similar to that expressed by King Lear in his madness, except that King Lear invokes the storm, whilst Ulysses tries to contain it. Ulysses, therefore, expresses a kind of male angst at being unable to order and control what, as a male, he is theoretically the centre of. Ulysses is seen to be impotent to control the mounting disorder and it is finally only anger caused by the death of Patroclus which brings Achilles out of his tent.

Ulysses’ role as adviser is undermined by doubts about his effectiveness, his loyalty to the king, and whether the information he gleans is put to the service of self rather than the collective good. Shakespeare uses the fractal device (localised patterned behaviour which is found to repeat its own shape but with subtle variations at different levels)<sup>3</sup>, to draw attention, in this case, to similarities between Ulysses’ criticisms of others and his own behaviour. So, Ulysses criticises those like Achilles who fail to observe degree or support the king, but nonetheless performs the aspects of the parodies which criticise the king. Achilles and Patroclus withdraw into their tents to criticise Agamemnon, Nestor, and probably Ulysses, but Nestor, Ulysses and Agamemnon are privately doing something similar. Another example of the fractal is the metaphor of the disorderly ‘universal wolf’ with which Ulysses apocalyptically ends the degree speech, gobbling everything and itself up in an orgy of unrestrained appetite. Ulysses’ image of appetite imitates the flow of his rhetoric, a couple of ideas are swallowed up in a hundred lines of speech. Dryden, in the Preface to his own version of the play, was perhaps thinking of these interventions of Ulysses when he commented on Shakespeare’s language as being “obsolete”, concealing “nuggets of gold” beneath. If we are to believe what Dryden said, he saw Shakespeare’s language as an obstacle to understanding the play, although one would like to know which ‘nuggets’ he thought worth salvaging.

Another relevant example of the fractal involving Ulysses concerns the theme of watching or spectating. Ulysses is constantly watching people. He accompanies Troilus to Calchas’ tent and watches the scene between Diomedes and Cressida-a

3. The *Mousetrap* performances in *Hamlet* are a good example of the fractal device, with events recounted by the ghost of old Hamlet reappearing, with slight variations in the dumbshow, the prologue, the ‘play’ proper and the supposed source cited by Hamlet.

mirror image of the spectators watching the play. Ulysses, seen as a voyeur, might remind the audience of the Puritan censors in the City ‘keeping an eye’ on the theatres located outside the city walls, perhaps more than strictly necessary, in order to find (and maybe surreptitiously enjoy) those scenes of moral turpitude they disapproved of so much. Ulysses says cynically of Cressida, before he and Troilus take up their positions in Calchas’ tent, “She will sing any man at first sight” (5.ii.10), thus delivering a low blow to Troilus, but lingering anyway to see his comment justified. On the theme of “watching people”, he also fits the profile of the spy. Bloom comments that: “The authentic chill that emanates from Ulysses comes when he speaks as the Elizabethan spymaster, Walsingham or Cecil, whom Shakespeare must have suspected of terminating Christopher Marlowe” (340). Both were advisers to Queen Elizabeth and both Protestant, and Walsingham a particularly staunch one.

Ulysses certainly has his sights set firmly on Achilles. When Achilles withdraws into his tent to avoid the King, Ulysses is the first to contest his claim that he is ill because he has just seen him. His predilection for watching others and collecting information in the name of the state is part of his role as adviser. He justifies spying on Achilles’ affair with the Trojan princess, Polyxena, as the right of the state to know: “All the commerce (with Polyxena) that you have had with Troy / As perfectly is ours as yours, my lord” he says to Achilles (3.3.205-06). He uses information, particularly that involving sexual impurity as the basis of his power over others, although neither spectator nor reader can determine how well-founded are his interpretations. Achilles is trafficking with the enemy by carrying on a love affair with Polyxena (one of Priam’s daughters) whilst simultaneously engaging in a homosexual relationship with Patroclus. When Cressida, in the so-called ‘gang-bang scene’, humiliates Ulysses, whom she spurns after he follows his fellow Greek princes in begging a kiss, he labels her ‘wanton’ and later (in 5.2) informs Troilus that “she will sing any man at first sight”.

It is not obvious quite how useful his information is in keeping the social order intact. He uses transgression as a means of intimidation for disciplinary purposes and maybe derives sadistic pleasure from extracting information from the unwilling. Having labelled Cressida a “wanton”, he then criticises the “glib of tongue” like his companions in the tent who “...wide unclasp the tables of their thoughts / To every tickling reader” (4.5.58, 60-61), although his profession involves precisely that, finding out what people know. Apart from that, his information does not seem to amount to much.

It is not surprising, then, that in Ulysses we find a figure who is not struck by the subjectivity of inner experience, or if he is, he does tell anyone about it. Ulysses reveals nothing of himself, except indirectly, through projected fears of social annihilation and loss of masculinity. He is emblematised perfectly in one of Henry Peacham’s emblems (1612) entitled “Nulli Penetrabilis” (“Penetrable to No-one”), whose logo shows a thick wood at night with four or five stars above. The motto runs as follows:

A shadie Wood, pourtraicted to the sight  
With uncouth paths, and hidden waies unknowne:

Resembling CHAOS, or the hideous night,  
 Or those sad groves, by banke of ACHERON  
 With banefull Ewe, and Ebon overgrowne:  
 Whose thickest boughes, and inmost entries are  
 Not peirceable, to power of any starre.  
 Thy imprese SILVIUS, late did I devise,  
 To warne the what (if not) thou oughtst to be,  
 Thus inward close, unsearch'd with outward ies,  
 With thousand angles, light should never see:  
 For fooles that most are open-hearted free,  
 Unto the world, their weaknes doe bewray,  
 And to the net they first themselves betray. (183)

The conventionally negative Renaissance conception of social chaos is here inverted to justify the *individual's* need to remain close. This may be an offshoot of Machiavellian policy or a reference to the neo-platonic group, The School of Night. Whatever the case, Ulysses embodies two different aspects of a totalitarian position, the oppressive 'Big Brother is Watching You', and an absolute individualism emptied of content. Since Ulysses' interventions with his social environment serve only to watch and intimidate, he excludes the concept of community he has applauded in the degree speech, shrinking human self to nothing. The problems of the Greeks exist at all levels, and certainly are dispersed beyond the single person of Achilles, whose pride and ambition suddenly seem as debatable as Ulysses' fabled wisdom.

What kind of an adviser is Ulysses? Chapter XXII in Machiavelli's *The Prince* provides some advice for the Prince in the matter of selection of advisers: "When you see that the adviser thinks more about himself than about you, and that in all his deeds he seeks his own interests, such a man as this will never be a good adviser and you will never be able to trust him" (77). A weak adviser, however, also implies a weak king. Since Ulysses covertly identified himself with the "medicinal eye" of the sun, he may also be thinking of himself as occupying the place of the sun at the centre of the universe, although, in the event, he is conspicuously too small to correct those erring planets.

To return to the theme of order and disorder in the title, Shakespeare's play is a performance of random actions which fall well short of grand ideals. This general falling short of dimly apprehended absolutes is one of the unifying features of the play and all the characters, including Ulysses, share this dual aspect: one part which aspires to wholeness, fullness, truth, harmony (classical signs of order) and one which finds itself caught in the trap of illusion. Ulysses believes in a masculine universe where 'degree' should be practised, but does not follow his own strictures and can only communicate fears and uncertainties, individual and social, to the watching audience. The gaps in his presentation make him a postmodern creation, a character capable of development in a number of directions. Our reception is governed largely by that first 'degree' speech. If he had left his musings about the ideal universe until the end, the entire play and his character would have been constructed differently. It may be worth

pointing out in the same vein, although there is no space to develop the theme, that historically-based criticism of the play often ascribes the person of Achilles to the earl of Essex. The earl of Essex fell from his position as a favourite of Elizabeth I and a brave soldier to an ambitious rebel who abandoned his post in Ireland and, when stripped of office, gathered some 200-300 supporters and tried to instigate a popular rebellion. The signal for his revolt was a specially-commissioned performance of *Richard II* at the Globe on Feb. 7th 1601<sup>4</sup> (possibly the model for Ulysses' "performance of a performance" in 1.3). The general point to be made is that, for the informed spectator who was loyal to the monarch, Ulysses' counter-intelligence service would be regarded approvingly with little sympathy given to Achilles. In general, Shakespeare's treatment of characters and events which look as if they are historical excludes the use of any technique enabling them to be identified unmistakably as such. On a larger scale, and possibly the hallmark of the play's disorder, *Troilus and Cressida* prevents any single unifying criterion of evaluation from being adopted.

Dryden's Ulysses follows the single arrow of time. He is designed by Dryden according to a model of social order based on the notion of progress towards a determined objective. Unlike Shakespeare's Ulysses, he functions only in the linear order in which Dryden presents him. There is no looking back for him or shifting of position.

The ideological centre of Dryden's version of the degree speech in the opening scene of the play is Thomas Hobbes and it is stripped of any astronomical or metaphysical assumptions. Core elements of the Hobbesian ideal pertinent here are the abhorrence of war and rebellion, both of which endanger collective security, and an insistence on the obedience of the subject to an absolute sovereign. The powers have been conferred on him by virtue of the contract established in consensus between subject and sovereign, which is why there are no allusions by Ulysses to the sovereign failing to fulfil his responsibilities; indeed, King Agamemnon takes control of the situation in the very first scene, as he should, by imposing a mission on Ulysses and Nestor which becomes the play's specific goal: "to Vindicate the Dignity of Kings". The 'dignity of the king' marks the beginning and end of the play, with Ulysses' strategy the driving force drawing a fairly straight line between the two points.

Achilles' withdrawal from the war is a public problem. His "neglect of observance due to rule" affects others and so is an overt threat to the dignity of the King. Ulysses performs the same satires as he did in Shakespeare, including himself this time amongst its objects. He labels the acting style of Achilles and Patroclus as 'rant', dismissing them as show offs and not worthy of emulation. If Charles II had been in the theatre he could have found nothing offensive in the performance (quite the reverse!) since the play sets itself the task of consolidating the dignity of the personage of the King.<sup>5</sup>

Only in the second act does any practical possibility for achieving the ob-

4. Exactly two years before the play *Troilus and Cressida* was entered into the Stationers' Register (7th Feb. 1603).

jective present itself. Achilles' pride must be cured to avoid exacerbating the war, and the recently announced challenge from Hector provides a suitable opportunity. From this point on, Ulysses' interventions all mark points on a clear, linear strategy directed towards the moral. He offers the following pieces of advice. He suggests Ajax be sent to the rigged combat with Hector instead of the expected Achilles (which is in Shakespeare) but this is reinforced with a strategy of divide and rule (which is not). Achilles and Ajax are friends and the friendship must be severed in order to prevent the pair from attracting popular support among the soldiers. He uses the resentment of Ajax's slave, Thersites, to drive a wedge between the two. The plan works because we see the fruits of it in the following scene, whereas a similar report by Shakespeare's Thersites that Ulysses had employed the same trick is revealed as having failed.

Ulysses advises Agamemnon not to send Ajax to Achilles' tent to try and treat with him, and, in a heavily edited version of Shakespeare's "Time" speech, advises ignoring Achilles in another attempt to cure his pride. Ulysses passes over the stage with the rest of the Greek chiefs but makes no intimidating comments about 'the watchful state'.

Following this, his interventions follow those of Shakespeare, but Dryden provides Ulysses with psychological motivations. He is concerned less with puncturing Achilles' pride than testing out the calibre of the Trojan opponents in a kind of war of nerves. After the combat between Hector and Ajax, Ulysses wonders aloud how Troy manages to survive, since "we have here, her base and pillar by us", thus informing those nearby of the weakness of the Trojan body politic, whose head, Priam, is severed from the body, Hector. He watches Troilus in Calchas' tent and learns that Troilus is rash, not self-controlled, and guesses that Troilus was probably Cressida's lover in Troy. These hints are given in Shakespeare but are not connected to any obvious line or end point in the action. Dryden's Ulysses uses the information to lay a final psychological trap, to bring Hector out of Troy and onto the battlefield. Thersites has apparently brought news of a letter from Polyxena to Achilles which, says Ulysses, has "disarm'd our great Achilles of his rage". The contents of the letter are not revealed, although the suggestion is made that she has begged Achilles to spare Hector's life. Ulysses guesses (rightly) that Hector's self-esteem is on trial and that Troilus' choleric temperament will fuel his desire for revenge. The last thing Troilus wants is peace and he will not fail to mention the letter to Hector. Which is what happens.

Ulysses' control of logistical operations resumes in the final act. The battle commences and he advises a strategy of containment, in which a small party of Greeks, headed by the young and inexperienced Patroclus, is sent to meet

5. As an aside, it may be conjectured from phrases such as "the monkey author" and "Rehearsals" in Ulysses' demonstration of Achilles' rebellion, that Dryden uses Achilles to allude indirectly but wittily to the critical treatment he himself had received in 1671 at the hands of George Villiers, the 2nd Duke of Buckingham whose play, *The Rehearsal*, lampooned Dryden in the character of Mr Bayes.

the expected Trojan rage which blows up following the report of the insulting welcome given to Cressida. This small party will allow the Trojan anger to wear itself out and make the remainder easy to restrain using earthworks. At one point in the battle, Ulysses gives the order for the men to open ranks around the Trojans and encircle them. After a series of rather choreographed skirmishes, all the Trojans are killed by this means. Ulysses is responsible for none of this in Shakespeare.

How do we know that Dryden intends Ulysses to be taken seriously as a character? Firstly, Ulysses, like Hobbes, defends absolute monarchy and national unity. After the final battle, Ulysses salutes the King and claims that "Peacefull order has resum'd the reynes". He lists the Greek faults of envy, pride, factiousness, confusion between public good and private ends and false patriotism, all now successfully reversed. In the final couplet, recalling Hobbes, he states: "Then, since from homebred Factions ruine springs,/ Let Subjects learn obedience to their Kings". The army is implicitly reunited and Achilles, having killed Hector and Troilus, suddenly identifies with the Greeks, proclaiming "*Our* toyls are done". Ulysses passes over the manner of the Trojan defeat ("base" according to Ajax) and brings the play to a close. Ulysses' part in the play is to set up a sequence of actions, directed at an objective, in which logic and explicit reasoning provide the major dynamic of order. Agamemnon is vindicated. The task is completed.

Secondly, all evidence of 'pragmatism' in Ulysses (the sacrifice of Patroclus, his insincere flattery of Ajax, the wedge he drives between Ajax and Achilles) which might be self-interest or just obscure in Shakespeare, are here condoned because they are a means to an end: obedience to the King's interests and the restoration of peace among the Greeks. It is the achievement of these two ideals which means that however much we dislike the means used, we have to assume that the job is 'complete' and 'finished'. Niggling questions like: what happened to Aeneas who is supposed to have survived the war to rebuild Troy in Rome? Did Achilles and Ajax become friends again? Has the regime changed so radically that disobedience and factiousness could never happen again? are simply not entertained because not pressing.

The play shows the Greeks systematically and successfully pursuing order. Disorder and uncertainty are shifted onto the frailties of Trojan family and social relationships, particularly their lack of "strong" leadership. There is a kind of Cartesian split in the way Dryden shapes his play. The Greeks exist to reorganise out of their internal disorder as disciplined and rational, looking forward to a peaceful future, almost as a new nation. The disorder of unbalanced relationships, of inappropriate religion and superstition and the tension between private and public interests, lies with the Trojans. The question of why Dryden used the prologue to lead the audience to expect a glorification of "Trojan valour" only to contradict this by making the Greeks the obvious victors is a question too complex to enter into here. Dryden's Ulysses and model of the absolutist regime seem to end up, by default, as normative models of masculinity and good government. Interestingly, Dryden's Ajax addresses Ulysses at one point and asks "may I call you father?" possible evidence that Ulysses is intended as a kind of

surrogate father figure to the nation. In Shakespeare, this question is asked of Nestor. Dryden's line is to emphasise male friendship over and above family relationships, which may be why it is imperative for Ulysses to divide Achilles and Ajax when they threaten collective security, which is more important.

Dryden, perhaps, identified an urgent need for 'modernity' and 'nationhood' to calm a superstitious and disunited populace during the Popish plot from 1678 on and to assuage the endless religious controversies and conspiracies dating from before the Civil War. Perhaps he recognised philosophical inconsistencies and was little concerned with the language of poetry, but with no other curative social paradigms to hand, Hobbes' prescriptions could serve as a theoretical and empirical model of progress, without worrying too much about future problems. To put the hypothesis another way, he tries to dissociate his as yet unformulated aspirations for England from the old medieval associations of Britain with Troy, and channel myth in new directions.

The two plays are made of the same material but are concerned with quite different kinds of order. Dryden is optimistic, and sees modernity as a necessity, one which can be engineered and imposed. Ulysses is his lynch-pin. His version of the play is the one that reigned on the stage for another fifty years or so, but he has little to say to us nowadays because of his uncomfortable absolutist assumptions, his glorification of nationalism and because it originally catered to a narrow audience segment which shared the same elitist assumptions. Shakespeare performs "the chance of war" (Prologue) and is pessimistic about the ability of the past to provide any models for today, but is unable to offer a viable alternative. Everyone assumes meaning may be found and everyone is deceived. Nobody wins. Its pessimism and the unheroic nature of the characters are unpalatable but timeless and, maybe for this reason, became the preferred version of twentieth century directors looking for a play which takes up the theme of enmities and disagreements which get out of hand.

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“HAD I/ NOT FOUR OR FIVE WOMEN ONCE THAT  
TENDED ME?”: PAUL MAZURSKY’S VERSION OF  
SHAKESPEARE’S *TEMPEST*

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One of the most original and least appreciated adaptations of William Shakespeare’s *The Tempest* (1611) is undoubtedly the film *Tempest* (1981) directed by Paul Mazursky. Although the film was strongly attacked by many critics who did not realize the complex richness hidden under the cover of an apparently superficial light comedy, this modern *Tempest* constitutes an interesting attempt to update the universe of Prospero to a contemporary 20<sup>th</sup> century context. The aim of this paper is to analyse and compare both works paying special attention to the treatment of female characters, who, being almost absent in the original play, take a significantly dominant role in the film as a reflection of modern attitudes about sexual politics. In this way, the implications of the transformation of some male characters in the play into new female ones in the film as well as the different sexual roles played by them illustrate clearly how the humanist vision proposed by Mazursky in *Tempest* is fully impregnated with the attitudes, trends and conceptions of the eighties.

Since this paper deals with *The Tempest* (1623), which is, in Jonathan Bate’s words, “the play that more than any other enacts the power of imagination” (1989: 4), I would like to start by proposing a kind of imagination exercise. Let’s imagine that for some reason all Shakespeare’s plays suddenly disappear and only film adaptations are left for future generations. If someone had to reconstruct *The Tempest* using as *Rosetta Stone* just its screen adaptations, this modern Champollion would surely fail. As if it were the character of Ariel, the spirit of imagination and fantasy ready to take any shape, *The Tempest* has undergone all kinds of metamorphosis in the hands of the different film directors who have approached the play. In this way, *The Tempest* has been transformed into things as different as a Western, a futuristic Science-fiction adventure, a Gothic dream-like fantasy or a deconstructive post-modern maze of the kind we find in Peter Greenaway’s films. Paradoxically we have all kinds of versions of *The Tempest* but a more or less literal, close-to-the-text adaptation still remains undone.

One of the most outstanding versions of the text is the film *Tempest* directed by Paul Mazursky in 1982. This film is a modern-day version of the play in which the character of Prospero becomes Phillip, a successful New York architect who, going through a mid-life crisis, decides to retire to a desert island in Greece. There, he will recover his emotional balance by building a theatre instead of the casinos he used to build in Manhattan. In spite of these remarkable differences, the film follows the play more closely than it may seem and, in this way, most episodes, situations and characters exactly parallel those of the original text, although appropriately transformed and adapted to the new context. For example, Alonso, the king of Naples in the play, is now an Italian Mafia boss who employs Phillip, and Caliban becomes Kalibanos, a kind of tourist guide who shows Phillip the secrets of the island and who is taught by him to read and to play baseball. Even minor characters have also their clear updated counterparts in the film and, for instance, Trinculo, the jester in the play, appears in the film as Trinc, a terrible stand-up comedian who is telling bad jokes all the time.

One of the most interesting aspects in this contemporary re-styling of Shakespeare's play is, certainly, the way female characters are treated in the film. If every piece of art reflects in one way or another the society and the context in which it is produced, there is no doubt that the important feminist movement in the seventies and eighties has clearly marked this film. Consequently, women, who were almost absent in the original text, have a major presence in the movie. In some cases Mazursky gives "a local habitation and a name" to characters who did not appear on stage in the play such as Prospero's wife. In other cases some male characters like Antonio or Gonzalo are transformed into women by the director. However, the clearest proof of this "different sensibility" about women is not the increased number of female characters in the film but the significant active role that those characters play in the story and specially in their relation with Phillip, the modern counterpart to Prospero who perfectly embodies the crisis of the traditional patriarchal order.

The first of these women is Aretha, played by Susan Sarandon, who is the equivalent in the film of Ariel. Mazursky himself acknowledges that

Ariel in Shakespeare is really magic, so I decided the closest I could come in human form was to make her a free spirit, and the freest spirit I could think of was a certain kind of woman today who's determined to be free. (qtd. in L. Bennetts 1981: 24)

There are many subtle details which underline this identification between Aretha and Ariel and which even suggest a certain magical nature in the character of Aretha. In this way, bearing in mind some features of Ariel it is no accident that Aretha appears significantly singing "Volare", drinking "Sprite" or surrounded by TV aerials in a kind of visual joke.

But unlike Ariel, a spirit enslaved first by Sycorax and later by Prospero, Aretha is an independent active woman who voluntarily chooses to follow Phillip to the island. This does not mean that she is totally free. According to the director, "Aretha's problem is that she falls in love easy (...) so that gets her into a lot of

situations but at least she does what she wants to do" (qtd. in L. Bennetts 1981: 24). In other words, in a certain way she is enslaved but by her own feelings not by the power of Phillip, who hardly exerts any kind of authority on her. On the contrary, Aretha is the one who convinces Phillip to go to the island and also the one who shows him that forgiveness is the only magic power he possesses. He himself recognizes Aretha's predominant place when he asks her "Are you my teacher or my pupil?".

While Ariel in the play is an asexual spirit, in the film she becomes a sexually active woman who is totally "liberated from the sexual mores and domestic conventions of the past" (Kakutani 1982: 1). She takes the initiative when she proposes a reluctant Phillip to have sex with her and, in the same way, she reproaches him for the celibacy he says he has imposed on himself, a celibacy that has to be understood probably as an excuse to hide his male menopause.

Women's sexual liberation is also present in the character of Miranda. In the original play Prospero's daughter is a personification of innocence and obedience. On the contrary, in the film this modern Miranda is a teenager who feels sexually frustrated because she is fifteen and she is still a virgin. Besides when she meets Freddy (the equivalent to Ferdinand in the film) she warns him that unfortunately kissing is all they can do because she is not on the pill. Like Aretha, she has got an active role and she freely decides to accompany her father in his journey. But Phillip is hardly a master or an authority figure for her, who is disobeying him all the time. In fact, in the film there is a quite significant reversal of roles between those two characters. While in the play the original Miranda still has to learn from her father-figure, discovering in this way a new reality she did not know, in the film this updated Miranda has nothing to learn from Phillip. On the contrary, she is continuously answering her father's questions about pop culture like "Who is Woody Allen?" Or "Who is John Travolta?". In a way it is she who shows her father a "Brave new world/ That has such people in't" (V.i.183-4).

Another very significant transformation in the film is the presence of Phillip's wife, Antonia. As her name points out, she is the contemporary counterpart of Antonio, Prospero's treacherous brother. Antonia is a good-spirited woman married to a man who does not show any interest in her because he is very busy contemplating his own neurosis. She really loves him and she has made sacrifices in order to share her life with Phillip but, as he himself selfishly acknowledges, he is not willing to sacrifice anything at all for others. For this reason he gets quite angry when he learns that she wants to go back to work as an actress, and, significantly, to play a character who is defined as similar to Lady Macbeth.

In a way this marriage Phillip-Antonia seems to be an imaginative variation on Prospero's own marriage. Not much is told in the play about Prospero and his absent wife; however, if we take into account that he was a man who, "dedicated /To closeness and the bettering of [his] mind" (I.ii.89-90), had neglected his own duties and other "worldly ends", it would not be strange to consider that maybe his wife was also included in those "ends" ignored by the magician, who would be far from being the best of husbands. If his studies were so absorbing as to make him not pay any attention to his own people in Milan, probably his

wife got to know Prospero's selfish side too. This could be an explanation for the mysterious silence about his wife we find in the speech in which Prospero tells Miranda about the past events when he was the Duke of Milan.

As we have said before, Antonia is also a modern counterpart to Antonio and, although it is true that she lacks most of his negative features, she also commits what we can consider an act of betray against Phillip in the film. In this way Miranda's mother stops being "a piece of virtue", as she is described in the original play (I.ii.56), and has a love affair with Alonso, Phillip's boss. However, this infidelity must be understood not as pure treason but rather as the desperate trying of a woman who is just fed up with being the only one who fights to save her marriage, and tries to find in another man just the attention and the care her husband cruelly denies her.

In this listing of the female characters of the film we should also include Dolores, one of Alonso's friends who is on the boat when the tempest begins. Although this minor character seems to have passed unnoticed for some critics like Peggy A. Knapp, who explicitly affirms that "there seems to be no character who corresponds to (...) Gonzalo" (1987: 49), it is clear that she represents the equivalent of the honest old Councillor in the film. Sometimes she uses exactly his own words and, like Gonzalo, she also shows some philosophical and metaphysical concern which certainly contrasts with the practical pragmatism and superficiality of her travelling companions. She is the one who considers that island as a paradise to start a Utopian ideal society with no wars and no traffic jams. Significantly enough, when she meets Kalibanos, the primitive man, they both feel a sudden and irresistible attraction to each other.

These four female characters we have briefly analysed, and especially Aretha, Miranda and Antonia, constitute a significant example of modern active women whose presence in the film makes evident the different role played by Phillip in comparison with Prospero in *The Tempest*. Unlike the traditional image of a God-like benevolent Prospero in control able to create harmony with his omnipotent power, Phillip has no magic or capacity to control other characters. The headaches he says he has or the supposed celibacy he imposes on himself seem to be mere excuses not to assume his impotence in a sexual and also metaphorical sense. He looks pathetic when he thinks he has some power to stop the storm and, soaked, he has to be moved away from the rain by his daughter and Kalibanos. That moment Kalibanos has a kind of epiphany about his master and concludes "boss no god, only god god". Phillip himself answers him "I'm not a god, I'm a monkey just like you".

Unable to come to terms with himself, he is, of course, totally unable to help anyone. As the female characters around him make clear, he is a failure as a father, as a husband and as a lover.

Phillip, who calls himself "king of high tech", is just a selfish manic man who, going through his mid-life crisis, is totally absorbed in his own neurosis. Bearing in mind this neurosis, Prospero's famous words "this thing of darkness I / Acknowledge mine" (V.i.275-6) take a new and more contemporary meaning. But Phillip's neurotic crisis is also linked to his inability not just to accept but even

to perceive the collapse of the patriarchal order which he himself embodies. In fact, when he realizes that Antonia and Miranda stop behaving exactly as he wishes his crisis becomes more serious. As the character of Antonia points out in a sentence that perfectly summarises Phillip's problematic situation, there is an authority crisis in the island.

While Phillip remains self-absorbed, unable to accept his own problems, women around him have to take an even more active role. As Richard Combs points out,

both Mazursky's Ariel (...) and Miranda establish themselves spiritedly in the space that has been vacated by the "magician" in their lives, who has abrogated his responsibilities as both lover and father. (1983: 179)

In the original play, Miranda remembers that when she was a child in Milan she had four or five women who tended her. Significantly enough, this is exactly Phillip's situation in this film, where he appears surrounded by some women who are attending him. However, in this case this is understood not as a sign of his power or authority but, on the contrary, as a sign of his helplessness.

Unlike Phillip, women in the film are practical characters who are full of life; they really know what their problems are and try to face them directly. Definitely, they are not the kind of women Joseph Conrad described in *Heart of Darkness* (1900) when he wrote that "(i)t's queer how out of touch with truth women are. They live in a world of their own" (39). It is obvious that the character of Phillip is much closer to this portrayal than any other female character in the film. In fact we can talk about a reversal of roles in the film where women take the traditional masculine power position of Prospero while the male character plays a much more passive role.<sup>1</sup>

In the film women become the symbolic magicians who take care of Phillip and make him realise that the only magic we human have is understanding and love (Kroll 1982: 59). Thanks to those women, all of whom love him better than he deserves, Phillip obtains a happy ending (Hatch 1982: 284) which is also spread to the rest of the characters in the film. Thus, in the final reconciliation dance all the characters find a partner as a symbol of the harmony they have just achieved. While some of those couples are predictable (like Miranda and Freddy or Phillip and his wife), others are a bit surprising (the case of Aretha and Alonso or, especially, Kalibanos, the primitive man, and Dolores, the philosopher of delicate spirit), and even the dog finds an amorous dance partner in one of the sailors.

Significantly, in this final reconciliation scene Phillip, instead of forgiving Antonio like Prospero in *The Tempest*, is the one who has to ask for Antonia's forgiveness. Equally, in a particularly interesting moment, he also begs for Kalibanos' pardon. In this way, the problematic aspects which many critics in the

1. In connection with this idea of women taking on the traditional features of Prospero, in May of 2000 a production of *The Tempest* was performed in *The Globe* in London and the leading character of Prospero was played significantly by a woman, Vanessa Redgrave.

last decades have pointed out in the ending of *The Tempest* totally disappear in the film. In Mazursky's version, that is, in a world where women are not relegated to submissive roles anymore and where they come to terms with men, it is much easier to attain some harmony and reconciliation.

John Cassavettes, the actor who plays Phillip, considers that the film tries to express

some kind of message of joy and happiness and forgiveness, which is the same thing that Shakespeare's *Tempest* did, but this is done with modern language. (qtd. in Siskel 1982: 13)

In order to carry out this "translation into a modern language" Mazursky has certainly given, as we have seen, much more relevance to female characters by articulating the story in an, if not feminist, at least feminine key. Using another song simile we can conclude that the film still retains Shakespeare's lyrics but with a totally different modern music, and this music constitutes a revealing recreation of the play that is certainly marked by the social and ideological attitudes and conceptions of its historical moment.

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# TRUE LOOKING-GLASSES: NARCISSISM AND MOTHERHOOD IN SHAKESPEARE'S SONNETS

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This paper studies mirror images and their relationship to the themes of replication and the perpetuation of physical beauty in Shakespeare's *Sonnets*. The symbolic potential of mirrors and related images sustains contradictory meanings in the Renaissance lyric: as representations of an individual, these objects connote the reproductive impulse, the lover's desire that the beloved transmit his/her legacy to a next generation; however, as *re-presentations*, they are repetitions of the subject's sameness, of his desire to preserve his own beauty, and therefore, they address the many dangers of *philautia* or self-love: sterility, decay, ageing, and death. This paper traces the meanings of self-love in Shakespeare through the theoretical framework of post-Freudian readings of the Ovidian tale of Narcissus, and their construction of notions as narcissism and narcissistic aggression (Lacan, Kristeva). More specifically it focuses on narcissistic desire and its implications on the representations of the ageing lover (the literary commonplace of the *senex amans*), as well as their incidence on Shakespeare's anxieties about femininity and motherhood.

If it be true that in Narcissus' universe there is no other, one might nevertheless think of the *spring* as his partner.

## INTRODUCTION

When psychoanalysis approaches literature for theoretical, clinical, or critical purposes, it engages in forms of reading that might be termed *allegorical*. As in the title of Shoshana Felman's seminal collection, psychoanalysis poses "the question of reading: *otherwise*" (1982).<sup>1</sup> In Felman's intended quibble, psychoanalysis purports to read *alternatively*, but also intends, in Angus Fletcher's expression, to turn the text "into something other (*allos*) than what the open statement tells the reader" (1964: 2). This paper intends to interpret certain interrelated topics in Shakespeare's *Sonnets* in the light of post-Freudian notions of *narcissism*. More specifically, I propose that the Young Man sonnets' preoccupation with ageing, reproduction, and the concern with time that derive from these are better understood if we accept the narcissistic structure of desire that shapes these love poems. At the outset I am

1. On Felman's title and its implications to post-Freudian psychoanalytic criticism, see her introduction, "To Open the Question" (1982: 5-10).

aware that Shakespearean imagery related to “self-love” in *The Sonnets* would not initially demand interpretation from the perspective of Freudian “narcissism”. Terms of current use in Renaissance literary codes as Latin *amor sui* or Greek *philantia* might have rendered this notion unnecessary.<sup>2</sup> However, I want to stress a problem in the sonnets whose implications psychoanalysis renders more clearly, namely, literary recognition as recognition of self. Recognition narratives taken from the classical tradition have helped psychoanalysis to formulate decisive theories on human subjectivity. And among these, the Oedipus and Narcissus story are paradigmatic. In bringing forth the Freudian and post-Freudian use of the latter, I want to subscribe the usefulness of psychoanalytic readings for unlocking problems of erotic subjectivity in the Renaissance lyric.

#### NARCISSUS: OVID IN PSYCHOANALYSIS

The opening epigraph in this paper is Julia Kristeva’s (1987: 113), and it suggests a key feature in the Narcissus story as we know it from Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (III, 339-510): namely, the importance of the water-spring as the *vehicle* that links the *ego* to the *object* of desire. But this link is also a source of confusion to the ego. As a matter of fact, *vehicle* and *object*, water-spring and reflection, are merged into the same thing, since there are no tangible realities outside Narcissus but the reflecting waters. Ovid’s lines in the *Metamorphoses* emphasise this idea: “Inrita fallaci quotiens dedit oscula fonti, / in mediis quotiens visum captantia collum, / bracchia mersit aquis nec se deprendit in illis” (Miller ed. 1921: vol. 3, III, 427-29).<sup>3</sup> The object’s absence – its dissolution into a specular image of the fake spring (“fallaci fonti”) – is what Jacques Lacan has called the *object petit a* or the *other* (lowercase). In his Seminar 2, Lacan defines this object as “the other which isn’t the other at all, since it is essentially coupled with the ego, in a relationship which is reflexive, interchangeable” (1988: 321). Kristeva’s own paraphrase of Ovid points out this non-status of the other in relation to the *two acts of recognition* that sustain the story’s tragic substance. When the tears shed from Narcissus’ eyes splash on the surface and distort the image underwater, the youth realises first that what he has fallen in love with is his own reflection, and second that this reflection can – and in fact *will* – disappear, as soon as he turns back (Kristeva 1987: 104). The undulating waters signal the tragedy of Narcissus as a twofold problem of space and time. Of space, because the spring constitutes an impossible place for the subject’s union with the object of his desire. Of time, because Narcissus’ realisation of the image’s eventual disappearance signifies another impossibility: the object of desire is not eternal. But the impossibility of desire is the mark of its inevitability, and of the tragic fate of Ovid’s Narcissus: the object is *elusive* and *time-bound*, but its pursuit is at the same time *endless* and *inevitable*.

Elusiveness constitutes an essential motif in Ovid’s narrative: the half line

2. On these concepts, see the discussion below.

3. “How often did he offer vain kisses on the elusive pool? How often did he plunge his arms into the water seeking to clasp the neck he sees there, but did not clasp himself in them!” (trans. F. J. Miller).

“quod amas, avertere, perdes” (“what you love, if you turn back, you lose” [Miller ed. 1921: vol. 3, III, 433]) embodies an aspect of narcissistic desire which was captured in the Renaissance emblematic tradition. Otto Vaenius’ *Amorum Emblemata* (1608) provides the instance here (Figure 1). One of its emblems displays a winged Cupid contemplating his image in the mirror, while the English motto and epigram remind, in terms similar to those in Ovid, that love will disappear as soon as the lover’s gaze is withdrawn from the reflecting object – in this case, a looking-glass.<sup>4</sup>

Conversely, Narcissus’ endless pursuit of his impossible object is made clear in Ovid’s account of the youth being bound to beholding his own image even after death: “tum quoque se, postquam est inferna sede receptus, / in Stygia spectabat aqua” (Miller ed. 1921: vol. 3, III, 504-5).<sup>5</sup> The duplication of the water-spring into the deadly Stygian pool reproduces the endless duplication of Narcissus’ image every time the undulating waters that make the reflection disappear resume their calmness (Miller ed. 1921: vol. 3, III, 485). Narcissus’ tragedy consists in the iteration of reflecting vehicle and reflected image *in* and *beyond* the bounds of life. And in this sense, to psychoanalysis it is not particularly relevant that the youth’s body turns into a beautiful flower.

Ovid’s tale of tragic *Liebestod* becomes in psychoanalysis an allegory of recognition. In Jacques Lacan’s view, the myth of Narcissus embodies the aggressive character of human eroticism, since its narrative plays out the unbalance between the wholeness of the specular image and the uncoordinated incompleteness of the ego’s real body.<sup>6</sup> Kristeva’s own reading stresses incompleteness in its subjective, spatial, and temporal dimensions. It is my main contention here that the old-aged man that takes up the poetic voice in Shakespeare’s *Sonnets* becomes a site for rehearsing different ways for venting, sublimating, or taming this aggressive side of the narcissistic drive.<sup>7</sup>

#### SHAKESPEARE’S NARCISSISTIC “SENEX”

A first scenario leads us to sonnet 22:

My glass shall not persuade me I am old  
 So long as youth and thou are of one date,  
 But when in thee time’s furrows I behold,  
 Then look I death my days should expiate.  
 For all that beauty that doth cover thee

4. The English version of the motto and epigram in the 1608 multilingual edition reads as follows: “Out of sight out of mind: / The glasse doth shew the face whyle thereon on doth look, / But gon, it doth another in lyke manner shew, / Once being turn’d away forgotten is the view, / So absence hath bin cause the lover love forlook” (Vaenius 1996: 126).

5. “And even when he had been received into the infernal abodes, he kept on gazing on his image in the Stygian pool” (trans. F. J. Miller).

6. On aggressivity, and the relations between the specular image and *amour-propre*, see Lacan 1979: 16-29, 137-39. See also Evans 1996: 119-20.

7. Quotations from the sonnets are from Booth ed. 1979, and will be subsequently given parenthetically by number in the original 1609 edition and line(s).

Is but the seemly raiment of my heart,  
 Which in thy breast doth live, as thine in me.  
 How can I then be elder than thou art?  
 Therefore love, be of thyself so wary  
 As I not for myself, but for thee will,  
 Bearing thy heart, which I will keep so chary  
 As tender nurse her babe from faring ill.  
 Presume not on thy heart when mine is slain,  
 Thou gav'st me thine not to give back again.

The first quatrain brings forth several acts of the gaze: on the first line, the lover perceives a deceitfully young image of himself as a product of a previous look at the youthful beauty described in the second line; conversely, the fourth line describes the subject's perception of himself as an old man, which is indeed the consequence of a hypothetical perception of the beloved's ageing complexion on line three. The lover's "glass" is to no purpose here, since the lover's actual glass (like Narcissus' "water-spring") is identified as the beloved. The stanza progresses from self-deception to self-recognition in ways that remind us of the two dimensions of Ovid's Narcissus addressed above. Subjective space and time concur in the process. First, the spatial dimension is made manifest as the vehicle of the reflection (the young beloved) prevents the subject (the old lover) from perceiving the truth of his own reflected image (his ageing complexion). Second, the lover's realisation of his former self-deceit is triggered off by his recognition of the workings of time: his acceptance that the object of desire is also, like himself, an ageing individual conveys the apparent defeat of the old man in love. The rest of the sonnet tries to efface the anxiety generated by this defeat: keeping the beloved's heart becomes not so much an act of self-giving, but an attempt to possess his beauty and youth ("How can I then be elder than thou art?"), which is materialised in the warning, even threatening conclusion: "Thou gav'st me thine [heart] not to be back again."

Sonnet 62 represents a new version of the dynamics of self-deception and self-recognition opened in the first quatrain of 22:

Sin of self-love possesseth all mine eye,  
 And all my soul, and all my every part;  
 And for this sin there is no remedy,  
 It is so grounded inward in my heart.  
 Methinks no face so gracious is as mine,  
 No shape so true, no truth of such account,  
 And for myself mine own worth do define,  
 As I all others in all worths surmount.  
 But when my glass shows me myself indeed  
 Beated and chopped with tanned antiquity,  
 Mine own self-love quite contrary I read;  
 Self so self-loving were iniquity.  
     'Tis thee, myself, that for myself I praise,  
     Painting my age with beauty of thy days.

The first two quatrains depict a well-known literary commonplace, namely the

ridiculous carriage of the *senex amans* – the “old man in love” of classical comedy. Love rejuvenates the old man, but only to his own private eyes. The looking-glass of the third quatrain replaces his self-deceit with a kind of moralistic awareness that is indeed suggested from the first word of the sonnet – “sin” – to the last in the third quatrain – “iniquity”. The sinful character of “self-love” is the subject of moralistic warning in emblematic representations. Geoffrey Whitney’s “*Amor sui*” shows Narcissus on the spring’s side, and also describes “self-love” as a the incapacity for self-recognition, a “blindnesse most extreme”. In Whitney’s account, in the tradition of moralising Ovid’s tales, death comes mechanically as punishment after sin, thus becoming the logical moral outcome of egotism (Figure 2).

However, the moralistic simplicity of this emblem freezes the dynamics of desire (deceit *vs.* recognition) explained above. In spite of the thematic coincidences between the emblem and the poem, one wonders whether this third quatrain should be read as a recognition of sin, or rather as exculpation on the part of the narcissistic lover. “Quite contrary,” that is, on the other side of the mirror, the lover reads self-love “quite contrary,” that is, differently from what he has read in the previous two stanzas:<sup>8</sup> “self-love” is no longer the sin of a self-loving self, as the subjunctive “were” suggests, but the consequence of what the final couplet explains: “Tis thee, myself, that for myself I praise, / Painting my age with beauty of thy days.” As “thee” becomes “myself”, the reader understands that the deceit of self-love has been undone only apparently, since it is reproduced into another narcissistic trick: the identification of first with second person as effected by the mirror and the “painting” of the very last line. What sonnets 22 and 62 propound is a definition of love as the assimilation of the other into the self’s mirror-image, and therefore, a conception of desire as inevitably bound to a narcissistic strategy of self-deceit, a way of making up for the impossibility of idealised desire. Differences between them are a matter of mood: whereas in 22 the overall effect relies on the lover’s warning, 62 uses self-persuasion as the vehicle to self-deceit. Aggressivity in the former sonnet is replaced with the latter’s exercise of sublimation.

In any case, the narcissistic self is not a casual theme in the *Sonnets*. The self-loving *senex* is probably one of Shakespeare’s major poetic achievements. In this sense, I would like to sketch a reading of the first seventeen sonnets – that is, the group of poems within the sequence in which the lover urges the beloved to beget children while he is young – as an effect of the lover’s narcissistic drive. Even though in his already classic study Joel Fineman (1988) has read the whole sequence in the light of epideictic rhetoric as poems of praise, I think that this initial group allows a more consistent interpretation in terms of their indebtedness

8. Stephen Booth has first suggested this reading, and hints at its relation with a possible dynamics of deceit and recognition in the sonnet’s structure: “The line cannot be precisely glossed. The roundabout phrasing may have been dictated by Shakespeare’s desire to play on the fact that a mirror image is reversed, *contrary*. The phrase *contrary I read* may also have been appealed to him because it embodies the reader’s and speaker’s sense that the speaker’s self-image has been exactly contrary to the physical facts of his experience, and because it embodies a capsule description of the poem’s process and the reader’s experience of it – repeatedly shifting from one kind of truth to another and from another basis of perceiving the speaker’s position as contrary to truth” (Booth 1979: 243).

to deliberative rhetoric, especially if we accept Katharine Wilson's suggestion that a source for these poems might be found in Thomas Wilson's translation of Erasmus of Rotterdam's "Epistle to Persuade a Young Man to Marriage", as it appeared in his *Art of Rhetoric* in 1560 (Wilson 1974: 146-67).<sup>9</sup> Thomas Wilson includes Erasmus's letter as paradigmatic of a deliberative speech, that is, the rhetorical mode of persuasion. And for those reasons, the Epistle becomes a defence of the socialising, educative aspects of married life, whose virtues and usefulness the Young Man in question must be persuaded by. Most of the reasons adduced throughout these sonnets are found in Wilson's translation of Erasmus, as well as major images. Thus, Erasmus counsels the Young man to marry, among other reasons, and I quote Wilson's translation, "because that they, like unprofitable persons, and living only to themselves, did not increase the world with issue" (Medine ed. 1994: 83). The language of "profit" and "increase", as opposed to the notion of reflexive love, is the same as in Shakespeare's sonnets. Images of the fertility of the land like "tillage" versus "barrenness" are also shared by both texts. But, in spite of lexical and thematic indebtedness, Shakespeare's interests are quite far from the kind of pragmatic issues that Erasmus' letter propounds. And ultimately none of Erasmus' / Wilson's reasons for reproduction are as powerful as the poet's own in sonnet 10: "Make thee another self *for love of me*" (10.11; emphasis added). And this makes it quite clear that, whatever purpose the poems have, these are oriented to the subject's own profit rather than the beloved (as should be the case were they poems of praise in the epideictic guise). But, as usually in Shakespeare, the meaning of this line is far from transparent: the causal or final senses of the preposition "for" open up a wide range of semantic possibilities, as well as the subjective or objective senses of the genitive construction "love of me", with its possible subjects or objects ("thou" or "another self"). I want to suggest one which is perhaps among the oddest: *make a replica of yourself so that I can continue to love you/him*; or, *make a replica of yourself so that I continue to love myself (in you/him)*.<sup>10</sup> The line creates a structure of desire which includes a third term with a function similar to the mirror-image in the sonnets analysed above: the lover asks the beloved to provide a copy ("another self") which is not only the beloved's, but also the lover's own narcissistic object.

Understanding reproduction as the making of exact replicas of one parent explains these poems' insistence on certain words. In sonnet 11, for instance, we read a description of the young man as a repository of "beauty, wisdom, and *increase*" (11.5; emphasis added), the last being a reminder of the reproductive power of nature as it is idealistically rendered in the very first line of the sequence

9. My remark on Fineman does not attempt to invalidate his main theses, which I subscribe in this essay. I regard my contribution as an extension to Fineman's main contention that "Shakespeare's sonnets inaugurate and give a name to the modernist literary self, thereby specifying for the future what will be the poetic psychology of the subject of representation" (1988: 29).

10. Stephen Booth (1979: 149) detects in this line the first moment of close personal friendship between addresser and addressee in the 1609 arrangement of the poems, but does not interpret "love of me" as a possible intimation of "self-love", a topic that recurs throughout the sequence.

–“From fairest creatures we desire increase” (1.1). *Increase* is indeed the ideal of reproductive desire in the conclusion of sonnet 11: “She carved thee for her seal, and meant thereby / Thou shouldst print more, not let that copy die” (11.13-14). The sense of reproductive abundance in terms like “increase” and “copy” (Lat. *copiā*) is clear as the lover asked the beloved to print “more” – the lover’s request that the beloved have a son multiplies to ten in sonnet 6: “Ten times thyself were happier than thou art, / If ten of thine ten times refigured thee” (6.9-10). This multiple *refiguring* is only desirable as long as it is reproduction of sameness: terms like “seal,” “print,” and “copy” in sonnet 6, as well as the motherly “glass” of sonnet 3 testify to it:

Look in thy glass and tell the face thou viewest,  
 Now is the time that face should form another,  
 Whose fresh repair if now thou not renewest,  
 Thou dost beguile the world, unbless some mother.  
 For where is she so fair whose unear'd womb  
 Disdains the tillage of thy husbandry?  
 Or who is he so fond will be the tomb  
 Of his self-love to stop posterity?  
 Thou art thy mother's glass, and she in thee  
 Calls back the lovely April of her prime;  
 So thou through windows of thine age shalt see,  
 Despite of wrinkles, this thy golden time.  
     But if thou live rememb'ed not to be  
     Die single and thine image dies with thee.

Sonnet 3 is outstanding within the first group, and also within the sequence, for several reasons. First of all, because the two uses of the “glass” image: in the first line, the injunction that the beloved see his own image in the mirror invites an act of self-recognition as the cause of reproduction, and therefore, constructs begetting as parthenogenesis: the mirror urges the beloved’s desire to form another, and the same, face. The “mother” of line 4 observes the conception of the female as the vessel which contains the matter which is informed (recall the “form” of line 2) by the male seed. Line 9, however, states the beloved’s maternal inheritance: “thy mother’s glass” disrupts the masculine rhetoric of inheritance which presides this and the rest of this group of seventeen sonnets, as epitomised in the concluding line of sonnet 14: “You had a father, let your son say so” (14.14). In a different order of things, the text also engages in a paradoxical rhetoric of self-love: although self-love becomes the origin of reproduction when on line one the mirror reflection persuades of the necessity of love-making, some lines after it is explicitly invoked as synonymous with barrenness, old age, and death, an instance of the egotistic, self-destructive narcissism of Whitney’s moral emblem (Figure 2): “Or who is he so fond will be the tomb / Of his self-love to stop posterity?”. Fatherly *vs.* motherly inheritance, reproductive *vs.* sterile self-love, make this a quite exceptional sonnet in the sequence. On the first dichotomy, Booth has suggested that it might relate to the Fair Lord’s womanly physique as portrayed in Sonnet 20: “A woman’s face with nature’s own hand painted”. On

the second, one must recall that the kind of self-love invoked in this sonnet puts the old man's reproductive longings (the theme of sonnets 22 and 62, and also the first group in the sequence) against the young man's self-assured, egotistic indifference towards reproduction. In this sense, mirrors in the sonnets create replicas of the self which embody the paradox of sameness: doubling a subject is at the same time an act of perpetuation and a denial of the replica's difference. It is my contention that the gender and reproduction paradoxes in these sonnets are explained by the lover's narcissistic drive. Behind the constant injunction that the beloved fathers a child, there lies the lover's desire that the beloved be his mother's glass, and become therefore a mother himself, thus replicating not his own image, but a narcissistic copy of the lover, that is, the ideal image of sameness that the lover constructs and introjects throughout the sequence. The post-Freudian conception of love as a narcissistic drive whereby the individual assimilates pleasant sexual objects as parts of his own self is relevant to understand amorous subjectivity in the *Sonnets*, as well as the lover's description of the beloved as "thy mother's glass". By making the beloved a mother, the lover decides to father the replicated image, thus preventing the begetting of an image different from the one he has fallen in love with: by shunning maternal difference, the lover sustains the narcissistic fantasy that the mirror-image of his desire be eternal and the same.

The ageing, homoerotic, and narcissistic male of the *Sonnets* constructs an ideal object of desire who assimilates the traditional notion of motherhood as feminine matter without form, a reproductive force which leaves no imprint on her offspring. And for that reason, the maternal legacy of the young man consists in his ability to father a son made to the old lover's selfsame image and likeness. By being a glass, the beloved is the vehicle to reproduction; by being a mother-like male, the replica of himself that he will beget shuns the risks of difference, and therefore, becomes the narcissistic ideal of eternal sameness. In this sense, Shakespeare's lyrical discourse of motherhood in the Young Man poems is by no means different from what feminist and psychoanalytic criticism has concluded on the dramatic works. As critics like Mary Beth Rose (1991), or Janet Adelman (1992) have suggested, Shakespearean mothers never achieve a full representation as subjects, and their functions are frequently surrogated, displaced, or erased. They may be simply dead (like in *King Lear* or *The Tempest*), and their absence recalled at certain key moments in the plays; sometimes, like in the history plays, their crucial role in legitimising inheritance is distorted or occluded (*King John*, or *Henry V*); and other times, their presence constitutes a problem for the male hero's masculine aspirations of independence and dominance (like in *Hamlet*, *Coriolanus* or *All's Well that Ends Well*). Even though little has been said on maternal origins in the *Sonnets*, I think that the few references to mothers in the sequence should help understand that Shakespeare rehearsed in these *Sonnets* an almost total suffocation of the threat of motherhood which he could not achieve in the plays. By inventing a beloved who is his "mother's glass", Shakespeare's *senex* fantasises the possibility of fathering (narcissistically) the object of his desire (as well as its possible replicas). And thereby he recalls

Kristeva's Narcissus: *if it be true that in the universe of the senex there is no other, one might think nevertheless of the Young Man as his mirror.*

APPENDIX: ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1: *Out of sight out of minde.* Otto Vaenius, *Amorum Emblemata* (1608)

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Figure 2: *Amor sui.* Geoffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblems* (1586)

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DEFYING CONVENTION: THE VERBALIZATION OF  
EROTICISM IN *W. SHAKESPEARE'S*  
*OTHELLO* AND *J. DONNE'S ELEGIE XIX*

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Since eroticism represents one of the main components of human sexuality, it becomes virtually impossible for writers not to take into account the strange, elusive phenomenon which apparently has its origins in the phantasms that haunt the subconscious of the mind. In fact, poets singing the joys and pangs of love, novelists dissecting human relationships and dramatists giving life and substance to their characters are constantly reminded of the existence of that element which seems to be forever lurking in the shadows ready to demand its right to public recognition. But the erotic discourse is fraught with difficulties because it always finds a way of making most people feel uneasy. And writers are no exception. So, whatever they choose to do to give verbal expression to human eroticism depends on many things. Among them can be included the temperament they have been born with, how they were brought up and whether or not they feel bold enough to defy the prejudices of the epoch that fate has allotted them to live in. Although treading different paths, both Shakespeare and Donne found their own very special way to tackle this problem.

La relación entre erotismo y poesía es tal que puede decirse,  
sin afectación, que el primero es una poética corporal  
y que la segunda es una erótica verbal.

Octavio Paz, *La llama doble: Amor y erotismo*<sup>1</sup>

Eroticism is one of the main features if not *the* main feature of human sexuality.

1. Since there was no way of getting hold of the English translation of Octavio Paz's book, I tried my hand at translating the paragraph with which I start my paper: Eroticism and poetry are so closely interrelated, that you might say without risking affectation, that the former is physical poetics and the latter verbal erotica (*The Double Flame: Love and Eroticism*).

Probably, it also forms one of the most important components of non-human sexual drive, as well, for zoologists have been stating in no uncertain terms, in the last decades, that at least some animal species experience the same impulse. Be it as it may, it is undisputable that human beings always feel uncomfortable whenever the subject is brought up in the open. Even experts in a wide range of fields who have tried to study the phenomenon in an unbiased, detached way, find it impossible to lay aside all their inhibitions and offer an objective coherent theory on this specific matter. On the one hand, the multifarious, disorderly nature of eroticism, a sometime sacred creature of Dionysus, Lord of Misrule, with a life and a will of its own, defies any attempt to encompass its complexity within well-defined boundaries. On the other, this elusive and unbridled urge is deeply ingrained in humanity's innermost self, that shadowy, secret place where figments of imagination, hidden fears, religious injunctions, taboos and the demands of living in a seemingly orderly society come together in endless warfare.

Eroticism is, thus, a factor to be reckoned with in any human community; all the more so as several elements should be taken into account: erotic changes throughout the times, progress or regression of mentalities, and the behaviour of different cultures and even of individuals. Therefore, new rules are constantly being devised to prevent excessive or overt licentiousness which might shock our so-called "civilized" everyday life, and to curb the verbalization of the same complex phenomenon.

However, somehow or other, poets have always found a way to evade the law. Some did it apparently conforming to every tenet in the book; others deliberately and openly transgressed convention and almost always paid a high price for such inordinate behaviour.

Shakespeare seems to fit in with the first group, if the tenor of his work can be judged by *Othello*. An attentive, detailed analysis of the tragedy will show that the poet uses at least two different registers to express eroticism, but that he skillfully (artfully?) always does so within the prescribed limits.

In fact, the "dramatis persona" who blatantly boasts foul language full of rude explicit words and/or gross graphic descriptions is Iago. And adequately so, since he portrays the archvillain, that is to say, the character in Elizabethan drama whose ancestry can be traced back to the fusion of three or four very important "forefathers," namely the Roman servant, the medieval devil Titivillus, the Vice of the moral play and a dash of what Shakespeare's contemporaries thought of as Machiavellism, for good measure. So, it may be considered a matter of *decorum*, to use the Aristotelian terminology, that he should speak as he does.

The first three instances occur in Act I, scene I when Iago and Roderigo try to inform Brabantio, Desdemona's father, that his daughter has eloped with the Moor:

*Iago.* Even now, now, very now, an old black ram  
Is tupping your white ewe.  
You'll have your daughter covered with a barbary horse; you'll have coursers for  
cousins and gennets for germans.

I am one, sir, that comes to tell you, your daughter and the Moor are now making the beast with two backs. (Shakespeare 1959: 944)

The common denominator in all these quotations resides in the fact that Iago resorts to vile animal imagery to describe both the lovers and whatever is presumably happening between them. It can, therefore, be argued that the language used by this character can no longer be considered erotic but rather overtly obscene. However, Iago is evil and, as such, in the best dramatic tradition, he is entitled to scatological discourse. Besides, given the characteristics of the archvillain, the erotic discourse (as perceived through his words) is certainly the only one he will ever understand and, most probably, the only one he will ever know.

The next two instances in which Iago insists on related subjects as a means of attaining his ultimate goal – to drive Othello insane with jealousy – occur in Act III scene III and Act IV scene I. In both, and contrary to what happens before, it is not the wording of the text itself but its pictorial quality that conjures up the erotic atmosphere.

In Act III, scene III, honest, honest Iago is happily indulging in what might be called a little creative story telling for the benefit of Othello's trusting, pliant ears. As the archvillain's devious imagination knows no boundaries, he has invented a dream during which Cassio allegedly incriminates himself and Desdemona by denouncing their foul dealings:

*Iago.* In sleep I heard him say, 'Sweet Desdemona,  
Let us be wary, let us hide our loves!  
And then, sir, woul he gripe and wring my hand,  
Cry, 'O, sweet creature!' and then kiss me hard,  
As if he pluck'd up kisses by the roots,  
That grew upon my lips; then laid his leg  
Over my thigh, and sigh'd, and kiss'd; and then  
Cried, 'Cursed fate, that gave thee to the Moor. (Shakespeare 1959: 961)

A careful analysis of this excerpt proves beyond doubt that Iago has momentarily or permanently put aside his filthy vocabulary. However, the evocative power of his erotic images and his virtuosity in the choice of words remain unabated (the verb 'to pluck' applied to the act of kissing is brilliant). He, thus, succeeds in creating an aura of eroticism that captures everybody's fancy.

A similar commentary can be made about the general tenor of the dialogue between Othello and Iago at the beginning of Act IV. Once again, there are no vile, suggestive words, although the hypothetical occurrence under discussion is pervaded with an indisputable latent sensuousness which comes out the stronger when Iago seems to be denying what he is really stating:

*Oth.* What hath he said  
*Iago.* Faith, that he did – I know not what he did.  
*Oth.* What? what?  
*Iago.* Lie –  
*Oth.* With her?  
*Iago.* With her, on her; what you will.

*Oth.* Lie with her ! lie on her ! We say, lie on  
her, when they belie her. (Shakespeare 1959: 964-965)

However, Iago's rather crude eroticism is not the only one present in the text. A subtler, more conventional form, but no less intense, can be found in the code that presided over Othello and Desdemona's, courtship both before and after they were married, while Iago's schemes had not yet soiled the rapturous purity of their feelings.

The erotic character of their wooing derives from a multiplicity of circumstances in which the attraction of contraries and the need for secrecy play a very important role. Brabantio, himself, the deceived "father of the bride", is the first to bear witness to the strange, "unnatural" magnetism that drew his daughter and the Moor together:

*Bra.* A maiden never bold;  
Of spirit so still and quiet, that her motion  
Blush'd at herself; and she, in spite of nature,  
Of years, of country, credit, every thing,  
To fall in love with what she fear'd to look on. (Shakespeare 1959: 947)

On the other hand, Othello's account of how he won Desdemona's love is clear proof that it was the unusual nature of a mature man's life story (as told and most certainly embellished by him, for those were the rules of the game) that caught the fancy of a young and inexperienced Desdemona. Nonetheless, and once more observing the code precepts, it belonged to the woman to make known, using ambiguity as a weapon, whether she was interested in furthering the relationship. That is exactly what Desdemona does as Othello reveals to the Duke and his retinue:

*Oth.* She gave me for my pains a world of sighs:  
She swore, in faith, 'twas strange, 'twas passing strange;  
'Twas pitiful, 'twas wondrous pitiful:  
She wish'd she had not heard it, yet she wish'd  
That heaven had made her such a man; she thank'd me,  
And bade me, if I had a friend that lov'd her,  
I should but teach him how to tell my story,  
And that would woo her. (Shakespeare 1959: 948)

Although no rule has been broken in the text, there is still an undercurrent of eroticism in this process which is pursued later on in both Othello's and Desdemona's arguments in favour of the latter accompanying the former to Cyprus. Nonetheless, this undertone attains its highest point in the dialogue between man and wife in Act II, scene I, when Othello returns from the war:

*Oth.* It gives me wonder great as my content  
To see you here before me. O my soul's joy !  
If after every tempest come such calms,  
May the winds blow till they have waken'd death !  
And let the labouring bark climb hills of seas  
Olympus-high, and duck again as low

As hell's from heaven ! If it were now to die,  
 'Twere now to be most happy, for I fear  
 My soul hath her content so absolute  
 That not another comfort like to this  
 Succeeds in unknown fate. (Shakespeare 1959: 952)

The feeling of pure bliss which drives Othello to yearn for eternity represents merely the sunny side of this very human and very strong sexual drive. However, eroticism possesses a dark angle which surfaces after Othello's jealousy begins to run riot in his mind.

Contrary to what might be expected, it is not the scene of the smothering of Desdemona that holds the deepest erotic trait. There is no denying that the occasion is permeated with an intense sensuality, since, at Desdemona's bidding, the bed is made with her wedding sheets and Desdemona herself has put on the same nightgown she was wearing at that important time of her life. It is also a fact that Othello cannot altogether resist temptation when he finds her asleep:

*Oth.* [*Kisses her.*]  
 O balmy breath, that dost almost persuade  
 Justice to break her sword ! One more, one more.  
 Be thus when thou art dead, and I will kill the,  
 And love thee after. (Shakespeare 1959: 972)

But, it is while he is torn between belief and disbelief in the enormities that Iago is badgering him with that eroticism pervades the text. It is as if doubt and ambivalence have triggered the acuteness of Othello's senses compelling him to love, to loath, to abhor and to desire passionately the former object of his undying veneration and unshakeable trust:

*Des.* I hope my noble lord esteems me honest.  
*Oth.* O ! ay; as summer flies are in the shambles,  
 That quicken even with blowing. O thou weed !  
 Who art so lovely fair and smell'st so sweet  
 That the sense aches at thee, would thou hadst  
 ne'er been born. (Shakespeare 1959: 968)

Another instance, of how eroticism runs high by the standards of the Elizabethan period, hardly so by those of the twentieth century, and which belongs to the same span of time in Othello's fictional life, takes place in Act III scene IV. It involves touching the the palms of the hands, since such physical contact between two people was then considered to be the height of public and/or private sexual intimacy. Bearing these and other similar considerations in mind, Othello comments on the "properties" of Desdemona's hand:

*Oth.* Give me your hand. This hand is moist, my lady.  
 ...  
 This argues fruitfulness and liberal heart;  
 Hot, hot, and moist; this hand of yours requires  
 A sequester from liberty, fasting and prayer,  
 Much castigation, exercise devout;

For here's a young and sweating devil here,  
That commonly rebels. (Shakespeare 1959: 962)

This is hardly the first time that the subject has cropped up in the text. To be precise it had appeared once before in a passage where Iago tries to persuade Roderigo that Cassio is indulging in intimate behaviour with Desdemona when he is just performing a mere courtly gesture.

Although *Othello, the Moor of Venice* is pervaded with eroticism, Shakespeare skillfully always succeeds in giving the impression that he was conforming to the precepts that ruled the expression of the sexual drive in his epoch. The same cannot be said about Donne who, in more ways than one, seems to have chosen to defy openly the decrees of convention. In fact, he rejected Petrarchian tradition in favour of the innovative procedures that affected the choice of subjects, style, language and structure of Elizabethan lyrical poetry. He also chose to follow in Ovid's footsteps and, spurred on by his own disposition and his interest in sexual matters, he felt bold enough to write overt erotic poems, a discourse endowed with its own private code of values. This set of rules unfettered by time or fashion has been accepted throughout the millennia by some chosen few, a privileged minority who belonged to what might be called the inner circle.

Among Donne's "Erotica", *Elegy XIX* stands out as the one in which eroticism is the everpresent prevalent feature. Nevertheless, the language and style are elegant and the play on words is all done in good taste. Even the many suggestive allusions are never improper or rude and there is definitely no intention to shock.

Of the 48 lines that make up the poem, written in rhymed couplets, the first four may be considered a "primum mobile", since they proclaim in no uncertain terms, the impatient desire of the lover confronted with the coy hesitation of his beloved:

Come, Madam, come, all rest my powers defie,  
Until I labour, I in labour lie.  
The foe oft-times having the foe in sight,  
Is tir'd with standing though he never fight. (Donne 1991: 106)

As an interesting detail, it should be noticed that the two lines which introduce the lyrical composition seem to preserve in them some far-off echo of the language of one of the most famous Chaucer's characters – the Wife of Bath-, since both in *Elegy XIX* and in *The Canterbury Tales* the verbs "to labour" and "to work" are used with sexual innuendo.

All along the next 22 verses, the author presents the reader (or hearer) with a vivid picture of a breathtaking "striptease" (at least, that would be the twentieth century term), presumably performed by his mistress at his command. The flurry of the various articles of clothing which are systematically taken off, the poet's comments on a woman's body progressively unveiling, the disclosure of some of his own feelings while watching the process, all contribute to create one big dazzling erotic scene:

Off with that happy busk, which I envie,

That still can be, and still can stand so nigh.  
 Your gown going off, such beautiful state reveals,  
 As when from flowry meads th'hills shadow steales. (Donne 1991: 107)

Up to this section, the poem might be defined by its marked visual streak: sight is the overpowering privileged sense. However, a change lies in store, since from verse 25 to 32 touch becomes all important. And rightly so, too, for tactile sensations are fundamental in the foreplay that leads to the climax of physical love. These 8 verses seem, therefore, to represent the zenith of the sexual drive, a notion which is emphasized by the triumphant exclamatory tone of the text:

O my America! my new-found-land,  
 My kingdom, safest when with one man man'd,  
 My Mine of precious stones, My Emperie,  
 How blest am I in discovering thee ! (Donne 1991: 107)

Although in the last part of the poem, the author exalts the merits of “full nakedness” as much of the body as of the soul as a means to experience every joy in life, it seems that his mistress is still a bit unwilling to comply totally with his wishes. Therefore, he tries to reach some sort of compromise: he offers her an apparel fit for a goddess, one that no woman worth her womanhood can refuse: “To teach thee, I am naked first; why than / What needst thou have more covering than a man” (Donne 1991: 108).

When William Shakespeare and John Donne decided not to banish from their work the expression of eroticism, they both knew that they were trespassing on dangerous ground through transgression of the most elementary rules of community life in a given place and time. However, the risk they were running brought with it its own compensation. In fact, they may have defied convention, but they certainly kept well within the limits of mankind's oldest and most cherished tradition – the erotic text which, for reasons best explained by Celia R. Daileader in *Eroticism on the Renaissance Stage*, holds humanity under a powerful, unwavering magic spell:

For before we made books, we made pictures, and before we made pictures, we made speech, and before we made pictures or speech, we made love. Before we made God, we made love. (Daileader 1998: 142)

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## HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS

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The Language in Mary Rowlandson's 1682 Captivity Narrative



# THE LANGUAGE IN MARY ROWLANDSON'S 1682 CAPTIVITY NARRATIVE

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Published in Boston and Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1682, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God, Together with the Faithfulness of His Promises Displayed; Being a Narrative of the Cativity and Restauration of Mrs Mary Rowlandson* soon became a best-seller on both sides of the Atlantic. Mary White Rowlandson Talcott (c1637-1711) was taken to America by her Somerset-born parents in 1639 and spent her life there. Together with letters, diaries, sermons, poems and travel accounts her narrative is one of the first instances we have of Colonial American English. The aim of this paper is a description of the language in this captivity narrative. Written about sixty years after the arrival of the Pilgrim Fathers to the New World, it already shows traces of what would become American English. This paper is part of a larger project to study the language in early Captivity Narratives.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Captivity narratives became a very popular genre ever since the publication in London in 1591 of Job *Hortop's* *The Travailes of an Englishman*, the story of a sailor under Sir John Hawkins who was captured by the Indians north of the Panuco River and taken to Mexico as a prisoner in 1567.<sup>1</sup> This is apparently the first story of the Indian captivity of an Englishman. Since then, hundreds were published and literally almost read to pieces on both sides of the Atlantic.<sup>2</sup> For the most part captivity narratives have attracted the attention of historians and literary critics and have also been recently studied because of their interest for gender studies. In many cases these narratives were written down by the captives themselves, or dictated to others by those who were illiterate. The expression “told in their

1. Cambridge, Mass. had the first printing press of North America, established in 1639.

2. Libraries housing noteworthy collections: American Antiquarian Society, American Philosophical Society, Boston Public Library, Brown University Library, Harvard University Library, Huntington Library, Kansas University Library, Library Company of Philadelphia, Library of Congress, Newberry Library, Rochester University Library, Rosenbach Museum, Texas University Library, Yale University Library, Univ. of California at Berkeley University Library, Van Pelt Library of the University of Pennsylvania.

own words” appears in the title of many of them. Captivity narratives, because of their emotional content, may, at times, be closer to speech than other kinds of texts. They are a rich source of information about how the captives dealt with a different culture, a different world, and about what life was like for those living in the North American colonies. Those published in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries can tell us much about how the English language taken to North America evolved into what would become American English. They form a rich corpus for the study of Colonial American English.

Already in 1740 we find a reference in the *Georgia Colonial Records* to “The American Dialect”, and the term American English actually appeared in print for the first time in 1782. Americanisms became a source of complaint for British people as early as 1735.<sup>3</sup> Evidently, the settlers were faced with a new environment, a different way of life, an alien native culture. The process of their acculturation in the New World must be reflected in their language. Unfortunately most of the texts that have come down to us only record a “formal”, literary, written sort of language. It is very difficult to know what their speech ways were like. We have very few documents that actually may contain speech, like the Salem Witchcraft Trials Records. Letters written by the immigrants are also of interest. However, the earliest ones are very scarce and were written by the few who were actually literate and therefore the most cultivated.

This paper is part of a larger project to compile a corpus of early captivity narratives which will then be linguistically analysed. It will allow for more information to be gathered about Colonial American English. My aim is to present just a sample of what such an analysis may yield. In many cases valuable information exists about the life and geographical origins of captivity narrative writers which allows us to reconstruct their linguistic biography. In the case in point, is it possible to find any traces of the south western British dialect that was Mrs Rowlandson’s mother tongue? A few selected lexical items of the language in her captivity narrative will be studied in an attempt at gleaning information about how the English spoken in the American continent began to differ from that used in England. For instance, what kind of Indian vocabulary found its way into the English language? Given that the audience for which the narrative was written was American and English, what techniques, if any, did Mrs Rowlandson use to make these new words understood?

Analysing syntactical and morphological variation within a bigger corpus will, of course, be of interest. For instance, present in Mrs Rowlandson’s narrative are the following items, to name but a few, that are deserving of an in depth study: Reflexive verbs, different ways of expressing possession, the genitive versus the of-construction, the use of the tenses, conditional clauses, the subjunctive, variation in the use of prepositions, the absence of the definite article in expressions that now require it, auxiliary do for negatives or lack thereof, the

3. See Kytö 1991: 6-26 for a good introduction to the subject of the study of Early American English. Mrs Rowlandson’s narrative forms part of the corpus used by her for her study of modal auxiliaries in Early American English.

use of yet, etc., etc. Samples of some of these items can be seen in Table 1. These are all questions that should be addressed. However, given the space constraints, they are beyond the scope of this paper. Meaningful conclusions about these aspects can only be reached through their study in a bigger corpus.

1	They would knock me in head
	They knockt him on head
	One was knockt on the head
2	Masters wigwam
	Captain Beers his fight
	King Philips wives sister
	great Laces sewed at the tail of it
	having nothing to revive the body, or cheer the spirits of her
3	He askt me , When I washt me?
	I gathered me some sticks for my comfort
4	My eldest Sister being yet in the house
	went to a farm house that was yet standing
5	I knew not
	I durst not
	the Lord suffered not this wretch to do me any hurt
	I saw them not

Table 1

## 2. MRS ROWLANDSON'S NARRATIVE.

Mary Rowlandson's narrative was written only sixty years after the foundation of the Massachusetts Bay colony. There is apparently no reasonable doubt that Mrs Rowlandson is the author of the narrative. The text was probably edited by her first husband, Joseph Rowlandson, and by the Puritan minister Increase Mather, who wrote its *Preface*, and took care of its publication. Reverend John Woodbridge Jr., who succeeded Joseph Rowlandson to the Ministry in Wethersfield, Connecticut, and his brother, Rev. Benjamin Woodbridge, were also involved in the editing of Rev. Rowlandson's last sermon, published with Mrs Rowlandson's narrative. It may well be that all or some of them revised or edited the text. Nevertheless it is generally thought that she is the sole author even if as Derounian-Stodola 1998:5 says "it seems almost certain that it was mediated to some extent".

The original ms of the narrative has not come down to us. It seems likely that the first edition, published in Boston, was based on the ms. (see Derounian-Stodola 1988:243). Unfortunately only 8 pages of this edition have survived.

The other three editions published in 1682, two in Cambridge, Mass. and one in London, were probably based on the Boston edition. As Derounian-Stodola 1988 shows, the type-setter of the second edition was probably an Indian, James the Printer or James Printer, who was actually involved in Mrs Rowlandson's ransom negotiations. He was apparently responsible for the misspellings and word omissions that the collation of the two extant editions published in Boston in 1682 show. A comparison of these two editions with the London edition shows spelling regularizations such as *knock'd* for *knockt*, *strip'd* for *stript*, *would* for *woold*, etc. There are also word omissions such as "Some of them told me, he [her husband] was dead, and they had killed him: some said he was Married again, and that the Governour wished him to Marry; and told him he should have his choice, and that all perswaded I was dead", which is changed to "and that all perswaded him I was dead" in the London 1682 edition. Neal 1997:60 n105 is of the opinion that "...there are good reasons to doubt that Printer was any less competent a speller than most literate colonists...the preface is noticeably free of such errors. Although Printer worked from the Boston text of the narrative, there is no evidence that that edition had a preface, so the one part that he may have composed from scratch was that with the fewest errors."

In my analysis I have collated the second 1682 edition (Van Der Beets 1973), published in Cambridge, Mass., and the fourth 1682 edition, published in London (Derounian-Stodola 1998)

### 3. MRS ROWLANDSON'S LINGUISTIC BIOGRAPHY.

In 1639 John and Joan White emigrated to Massachusetts from their hometown in Somerset, South Petherton. They had been married twelve years earlier in the parish of Drayton, a few miles north of South Petherton. They both belonged to Somerset families of this area in the south west of the county. They took with them their five children, the youngest of which was Mary White Rowlandson Talcott (c 1637-1711). She must have been about two years old at the time. John White became a landowner first in Wenham and then in Lancaster, Massachusetts. Nine years after his arrival in the New World he returned to England to settle some family affairs and he remained there at least until 1650. He also brought some money for a Tristram Dalliber in Stoke on Abbot, Dorset, whose brother had emigrated to Marblehead, New England.<sup>4</sup>

Mary Rowlandson's youth was thus spent in a household of Somerset English speaking parents who had friends who had also migrated from the south west of England and through the years kept in touch with their home country. Over sixty per cent of the Massachusetts Bay settlers came from the eastern part of England. However, the south-western part of the country was the source of a secondary centre of migration. These people from Somerset, Wiltshire and Dorset eventually settled in Connecticut, Maine and Nantucket (Fisher 1989: 31-42). This

4. About Mary Rowlandson's biographical data see Derounian-Stodola and Greene 1990, and Derounian Stodola 1998: 3-6.

pattern of migration coincides with what we know about Mary Rowlandson. She lived in Lancaster, MA, with her parents first, and later with her husband and children. After her ordeal, she moved to Wetherfield, Connecticut, where she married a second time, a first generation American, of Essex descent. She remained there till her death in 1711.

#### 4. SAMPLE ANALYSIS, LEXICAL ITEMS.

For my sample analysis of a few lexical items I have selected the Indian words in the text, some English words used to describe different objects, plants, food, etc in the New World, and also some English words that have now become obsolete, for the most part, in British English but have remained in American English. Only in one case has it been possible to trace a word, now obsolete in standard British English and in American English, to a south western English origin: *crickled*. It appears in the sentence "Some picked up ears of wheat that were crickled down." Its meaning, "trampled down and entangled, wheat and chaff mixed with the straw," is not recorded by the *Oxford English Dictionary* at all.<sup>5</sup> The meaning recorded by DARE in 1906 is probably a corruption for *crippled*. Halliwell defines this word as "to bend, to stoop." EDD records *crickle* as "to tangle" applied to ropes, laid corn" which seems to be closest to Mrs Rowlandson's use. This word was used in the late nineteenth century in Devon.

One other word deserves to be mentioned as a possible representative of south western English, *hirtleberry*. It has become *whortleberry* in Standard British English. OED's first citation dates from 1460. It is the fruit of the *Vaccinium Myrtillus*. Mrs Rowlandson probably applied it to the American *Gaylussacia* that would eventually be called *huckleberry*. EDD recorded *hurtleberry* in Somerset and Devon where it was considered a "posh" term.

Words such as *hartichoke*, *flap*, *bier*, *mess*, *pillowbeer*, *ridding*, *swam* or *tarry* already existed in British English. As can be seen more clearly in Tables 2 and 3, some of them were adapted to describe a different reality, a new plant, like *hartichoke*, or a strange kind of landscape, like *swamp*, or another sort of garment, like *flap*.

Hartichoke: DAE Jerusalem artichoke (*Helianthus tuberosus*) native in Canada and the Mississippi valley. 1st. citation 1649. OED 2 Jerusalem Artichoke: a Species of Sunflower (*Helianthus tuberosus*), a native of tropical America, cultivated in Europe, having edible tuberous roots, somewhat

5. Hereinafter OED. The *Dictionary of American Regional English* will be referred to from now on as DARE. The *Dictionary of American English on Historical Principles* will appear as DAE. EDD will stand for The *English Dialect Dictionary*. Halliwell will refer to James Orchard Halliwell's *Dictionary of Archaic words*. SEDDG is Upton's *A Survey of English Dialects: The Dictionary and the Grammar*. RH is *Random House Unabridged Dictionary*.

resembling the Artichoke proper in flavour. The name ... is considered to be a corruption of the Italian Girasole Articiocco, or Sunflower Artichoke, under which name it is said to have been distributed from the Farnese garden at Rome, soon after its introduction to Europe in 1617.

Indian Corn: The native grain as opposed to that brought from England, for sometime distinguished as English corn.

Flap: "Phillips Maid came in with the Child in her arms, and asked me to give her a piece of my Apron, to make a flap for it". DAE A breech cloth or similar garment worn by an American Indian. 1st citation 1701. OED No similar meaning recorded. It appears as "Any thing that hangs broad and loose, fastened only by one side" and "A pendant portion of a garment, hat or cap. Hence applied to the garment or hat itself (slang)".

Ground-nut: *Apios Tuberosa*.

Table 2

Some other words, in Table 3, became obsolete both in Standard British and American English, like *bier*, a portable cradle of basket work, or *pillow beer* for *pillowcase*, although they have continued to be used in British dialects. A few terms are no longer in use in Standard British English and have become Americanisms, like *mess* or *tarry*. Some others, like *ruff* or *riding* are not recorded with the same meaning in British and American English. In some cases it has been possible to antedate the first citations in OED or DAE.

Bier: <Bere, beare> "carried a great Indian upon a bier". OED Obs. Framework for carrying, a portable cradle of basket work.

Mess: "we had a mess of wheat for our supper": DAE: A quantity of food, as beans, potatoes, corn, sufficient for one or more persons at a single occasion".

1st citation 1697. OED: A quantity (of meat, fruit, etc.) sufficient to make a dish. Now dial. and US. EDD: sb 1. A dish of food, a sufficient quantity for a meal. w. Yks., Chs, nw Der., Bdf. sb. 3 a meal, a dinner, an allowance of food. Sc, Fif, Bdf. sb. 5 A number, a large quantity: Yks., Rut., Lin., Nhp., Bdf, Hnt., Nrf, w. Som. "There will be a mess of tatties this year".

Pillowbeer: DAE Pillowbere = Pillowcase. Obs. 1st citation 1638. OED Arch. 1st citation 1386 Chaucer. Pillowcase 1st citation a 1745 Swift. EDD Pillow-bere Sc., Irel., n Yks, Chs, Der., Lin., Shr., e An, Ken, Sus, Som, Cor. It was becoming obsolete. Amer. GREEN Virginia Folk Sp. (1899)

Ruff or Ridding: "he also gave me a piece of the Ruff or Ridding of the small Guts". OED. Rough sb 6 The rough, disagreeable part, side or aspect of any thing, that which is harsh or unpleasant. 16b obs. Sc. Raw, uncooked. 18b London slang coarse or stale food. Roughage dial. and US [f. Rough +-age] The

less useful or refuse part (of crops). Ridding OED sb 3 Clearings, refuse. rare. 1598 citation as “the riddings of the gardens”. EDD sb 11 Refuse, remains, n Yks. SEDDG ridding n. Scraps left after rendering lard. SEDIII.12.10 Nb, Du

Swamp x4 Swamps x1 OED First recorded as a term peculiar to the N. American colony of Virginia, yet probably in local use before in England. A tract of low laying ground in which water collects; a piece of wet, spongy ground; a marsh or bog. Originally and in early use in the N. American colonies, where it denoted a tract of rich soil having a growth of trees and other vegetation, but too moist for cultivation. EDD Obs. A low hollow place in any part of a field. 1691 Ray. e. Cy., s. Cy. “we came that day to a great Swamp, by the side of which we took up our lodging that night. When I came to the brow of the hil, that looked toward the Swamp, I thought we had been come to a great Indian Town”, “The Swamp by which we lay, was, as it were, a deep Dungeon, and an exceeding high and steep hill before it.” “they bade me go, and away I went: but quickly lost my self, travelling over Hills and through Swamps”, “Then we came to a great Swamp, through which we travelled, up to the knees in mud and water”. Mrs Rolandson’s use of this word as seen in the examples seems to be closer to the English sense of the word, and to the quality of a “low...place” in John Ray’s definition of the word in East Anglia and the southern counties.

Tarry: DAE To remain in place; to linger; to stay a while. OED Now chiefly literary in Great Britain, still colloquial in the USA. “I would have tarried that night with her, but they that owned her would not suffer it”, “but I had nothing to relieve him; but bid him go into the Wigwams as he went along, and see if he could get any thing among them. Which he did, and it seems tarried: a little too long; for his Master was angry with him, and beat him, and then sold him.”

Table 3

Most of the Indian vocabulary, in Table 4, which belongs to the Narragansett dialect spoken by the Indians who captured Mrs Rowlandson, has remained in both American and British English. Words such as *papoos, squaw or wigwam* are still commonly used. In most cases the acquaintances and relatives for whom Mrs Rowlandson originally wrote her narrative were familiar with them. The higher their frequency index in the text, the more likely it is that they had become common in the vocabulary of the settlers. It is likely that the English audience for whom this narrative also became a best-seller had heard them before. See, for instance, an indication of this in the 1675 citation in *The London Gazetteer* for *sagamore*.

Nux x1 “This morning I asked my master whither he would sell me to my Husband; he answered me Nux, which did much rejoyce my spirit” Not in any of the English or American English dictionaries checked.

Papoos x9, papooses x2. OED Algonquin word: In Narragansett papoos.

<p>A North American Indian young child. 1<sup>st</sup> citation 1634. All citations from American texts.</p>
<p>Powaw n x1, vb x1 “They got the company together to powaw”. “and the Powaw that kneeled upon the Deer-skin came home (I may say, without abuse) as black as the Devil”. DAE Narragansett. 2. A noisy conjuring or ceremonial rite hold or performed by Indians; a council or ceremony of Indians. 1<sup>st</sup> citation 1647. OED A ceremony of North American Indians, especially one where magic was practised and feasting and dancing indulged on: also, a council of Indians or conference with them. 1<sup>st</sup> citation 1663. Transf. Applied to any meeting compared to an Indian conference... chiefly US. As a vb. Transf. To confer, discuss, deliberate, talk.</p>
<p>Sagamore x1, Saggamore x1, saggamores x3. “Quanopin, who was a Saggamore and married Kig Phillips sister...”, the Council of the Saggamores”, “When the letter was come, the Saggamores met to consult”. DAE An Indian Chief or leader. Originally, among the Algonquian Indians, a lesser chief and the head of one of tribes in a confederation presided over by a sachem. At times, however, sagamore has been considered synonymous with sachem. 1<sup>st</sup> citation 1613. OED Penobscot= Sachem. 1<sup>st</sup>. citation 1675. London Gazetteer: “King Philip, the Indian Sagamore of those parts...”</p>
<p>Samp: “he took a dish, and gave me one spoonfull of Samp, and bid me take as much of the Broth as I would. Then I put some of the hot water to the Samp, and drank it up” DAE Coarse meal of Indian Corn, or a kind of porridge made from this. 1<sup>st</sup> citation 1643. OED US. Narragansett saump, lit. softened by water, applied subst. to “every kind of spoon meat, bouillon, or porridge”... Coarsely-ground Indian Corn; also some kind of porridge made from it. RH North Eastern US.</p>
<p>Sannup x2 “to make a shirt for her sannup”, “and she called her Sannup and would have had him gone...”. OED Narragansett. A married male member of the community; the husband of a squaw. 1<sup>st</sup> citation 1630. DAE An Indian brave who is married. Now Hist. 1st citation 1628.</p>
<p>Squaw x24, squaws x5. OED Narragansett. A North American Indian woman or wife. 1st citation 1634.</p>
<p>Wampum: “her work was to make Girdles of Wampom and Beads”, “he had Girdles of Wampom upon his head and shoulders. She had a Kersey Coat, and covered with Girdles of Wampom from the Loins upward”. DAE Short for wampumpeagh, now hist. Narragansett. Shell beads used by the Indians as ornaments and serving as a medium of exchange in early colonial trade. 1<sup>st</sup> citation 1627. OED [Adopted (in 16-17thc.) from the northerly dialects of the Algonkin language]. At the time of the earliest colonisation these were spoken in the East of the continent from Nova Scotia to Virginia.</p>
<p>Wigwam x30, Wigwams x10</p>

Table 4

In one case, *powaw*, the Indian word has continued to evolve semantically and now means also, "to confer, discuss, deliberate". Mrs Rowlandson's use of the word as a name is infrequent.

The word *nux*, "yes", is not recorded in any of the dictionaries I have checked. We have no way of knowing whether it was well known among the English settlers of this part of the North American continent. Nevertheless, Mrs Rowlandson makes its meaning clear from the context in which it appears. This is a well known stylistic technique used in the representation of a different dialect in literature.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

The historical study of the beginnings of American English has only begun to take place in earnest in recent years, thanks, basically, to the efforts of some of the compilers of the Helsinki corpus. A detailed, in-depth syntactical, morphological and lexical analysis of a corpus of early captivity narratives, following empirical and quantitative methods, would help us to reconstruct how American English came into being.

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## RESTORATION LITERATURE

Manuel J. Gómez Lara (University of Seville)

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Victoria Arreciado Charlo (University of Seville)

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## TROTting TO THE WATERS: SEVENTEENTH CENTURY SPAS AS CULTURAL LANDSCAPES

MANUEL J. GÓMEZ LARA  
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The concept of cultural landscape – the symbolic interaction between environments and humans- has been used in cultural geography and anthropology as a repository of information about social behaviour. I will borrow this conceptual frame to approach a series of Restoration works focusing on life at the spas. Shadwell's *Epsom Wells* (1674), Rawlins' *Tunbridge Wells* (1678) and several pamphlets and poems depict visitors to the wells drawing on several stereotypes: the mixture of social groups, the scatological effects of the waters, and the sexual freedom encouraged by a place where women often stayed on their own. I would like to argue that beyond its naturalistic character this picture of the spas provides some insights into the mechanisms through which several forms of satirical literature challenged and/or maintained discriminatory social categories. The literary renderings of this cultural landscape fed back into Restoration society by privileging a fashionable environment suitable to enact larger social conflicts, especially those of class and gender, and to expose the vices of the age.

The concept of cultural landscape – the symbolic interaction between environments and humans – has been used in cultural geography and anthropology as a repository of information about social behaviour. I will borrow this conceptual frame to approach a series of Restoration works focusing on life at the spas in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. Shadwell's *Epsom Wells* (1674), Rawlins' *Tunbridge Wells* (1678) and several pamphlets and poems depict visitors to the wells by drawing on several stereotypes: the mixture of social groups, the scatological effects of the waters, and the sexual freedom encouraged by an environment in which women often stayed on their own. I would like to argue that beyond its naturalistic character this picture of the spas provides some insights into the mechanisms through which several forms of satirical literature challenged and/or maintained discriminatory social categories. The literary renderings of this cultural landscape fed back into Restoration society by privileging a fashionable environment suitable for the enactment of larger social conflicts, especially those of class and gender, and for exposing the vices of the age. Eventually all these discourses contributed to the cultural construction of the spas as places of

mirth and fun in which everyday conflicts were to be left at bay, thus helping to redefine more accordingly to the interests of London citizens the boundaries between productive and leisure time.

## I

While preparing our edition of Shadwell's *Epsom Wells* we confronted serious difficulties whenever we tried to add stage references to the location of characters and their ensuing actions.<sup>1</sup> The reason for this was the asymmetry between the number of places needed to give the different subplots verisimilitude and the lack of such a diversity of places in contemporary topographical descriptions of Epsom. In fact, a detailed drawing of the Wells produced by a Dutch visitor in 1662 shows little else than barren land – the Downs – with a hut in the middle and shrubs interspersed with people.<sup>2</sup> Another witness of the life at the spas during the closing years of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the first decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Celia Fiennes, presents the developments undertaken during her traveling life in those places she visited. For instance when she arrived at Epsom for the first time in 1690 she complained that the wells were dirty, with no basin or pavement, and the town remained unsophisticated in all possible senses, offering only basic facilities. Nevertheless during her second visit in 1712 she noticed the growth of the weekend habit among visitors as well as major rebuilding and a new series of amusements and enterprises which were making the town flourish (Osborne & Weaver 1996: 36, 43).

How can we account for this lack of agreement between the physical reality of the spas and their literary rendering? It seemed as if the social life portrayed in the plays and poems produced between the period 1663-1684 takes precedence over any significant urban development at Epsom or Tunbridge; consequently the possibility of their use by a large number of people – a necessary requirement for ensuring the anonymity of the participants in the vibrant social life portrayed in the texts – sounds rather improbable. Nevertheless Carolina asserts in her opening words in *Epsom Wells*: “London is so empty, 'tis a very wilderness this vacation”. (2000: 1.2.14-5)

It is my contention that the literary spas helped to naturalise certain social practices before urban development in modern leisure towns had really taken hold. In fact the significant lack of topographical details in these texts can be explained simply because the authors could not rely on the audiences' knowledge of these places. In the poem, *Tunbridge Wells* (ca. 1675), Rochester fills the spa with references drawn from literary texts; and so, the first fool to appear is compared to “Sir Nicholas Cully”, a character in Etherege's *Love in a Tub* (1664) and later Rochester mentions three characters from Shadwell's *Epsom Wells*:

Poor foolish Fribble, who by subtlety  
Of midwife, truest friend to lechery,

1. For all references to Shadwell's *Epsom Wells* see Prieto-Pablos et al edition of the play.
2. A reproduction of Schellinks's sketch is included in the edition mentioned above; see xlvii.

Persuaded art to be at pains and charge  
 To give thy wife occasion to enlarge  
 Thy silly head! For here walk Cuff and Kick,  
 With brawny back and legs and potent prick,  
 Who more substantially will cure thy wife,  
 And on her half-dead womb bestow new life.  
 From these the waters got the reputation  
 Of good assistants unto generation. (1968: 139-48)

It seems as if Rochester, when looking for his readers' shared knowledge about the wells, was more confident referring to literary figures than their human counterparts.

In fact, the set of works that use the spa as a literary frame resort to a common series of motifs, characters and situations in their portrayal of social activity at the wells. No major change takes place in spite of the generic diversity – pamphlets, poems, plays, burlesque, satire and even popular romance – and one has the impression that the best literary achievement of the entire set was the first to appear, Shadwell's *Epsom Wells*. These ever-present topics are scatology, the exhibition of male and female desire, and the consequences of social medley. Although none of these is exclusive to the literary spas, the special way in which they are handled seems to show an awareness of the fact that the spas enhanced certain social practices which were native only to London social life, specially those merging on the illicit, the marginal or the grotesque. In this sense the relation between the spas, as natural places, and their literary counterpart is obscure and puzzling. I will argue that only a conceptual model encompassing both real and signified place may help us to an understanding of its cultural significance.

## II

The choice of special literary topographies has already been considered by Richard H. Perkinson in his article "Topographical comedy in the Seventeenth Century". Perkinson focused on comedy to assert that "the effect of locale, ... may be seen in the treatment of manners, in the plot and in the *Dramatis Personae* of a comedy" and argues its value as part of the strategies of realistic comedy: "Locale then performs a double and somewhat contradictory function: the particular place contributes to realism or credibility; its characteristic atmosphere or reputation, by extension and exaggeration, to improbability" (1936: 277).

Perkinson assumes the existence of fixed public images for the places he lists -walks, fairs, markets, wells- and makes no assertions about their different cultural significance during the second half of the 17th Century. For instance, the perception of traditional fairs and markets was very different to that of the spas. Fairs and markets had played a substantial role in economic life since ancient times and still did; spas, on the contrary, did not attract public attention for that reason but for their association with just the opposite of economic life – that is, leisure time. My aim then is to focus upon texts produced in a time-span of 40

years in order to analyse the cultural landscape they portray. I will argue that the use of the spa as locale – very roughly presented in most literary pieces – did not aim at evoking a specific topography but a set of social meanings at work. To articulate those questions concerning both the natural and the literary spas as part of one single reality created by its signifying practices, I am going to use a conceptual frame developed in the field of Cultural Geography by David Sack in two of his books: *Human Territoriality* (1986) and *Homo Geographicus* (1997).

For Sack, a certain natural space becomes a territory as the result of the intervention of human agency in three interconnected realms: meaning, social relations and nature.<sup>3</sup> The construction of a cultural landscape demands the interaction between the natural realm of space and the cultural realms of meaning and social relations. This interaction is visualised as a loop-movement between the three realms. This loop-movement can be originated at any of them although when the three realms are at work, each movement along the loop determines a new stage in the cultural construction of that cultural landscape.

The principles that hold the model could be summarised as follows. Firstly, all our knowledge of physical reality comes in the form of language. Meaning then moulds or influences other realms because we do not have any other form to apprehend either social relations or nature, unless we vehicle our knowledge into a symbolic system of communication. Secondly, places affect each other because they are connected in physical space. Places, as nodes, draw upon and weave together elements that move from place to place. Thirdly, places are sites which favour a circuit of three completely interrelated loops which circulate and redistribute meaning, nature and social relations.

Social relations are contained within the in/out loop. This stipulates what place includes and excludes (territorial rules). These rules of place require social power to stipulate and enforce them. As it overlaps the other realms, it socialises parts of nature and meaning, making them adhere to social norms (90-1). The physical aspects of nature which condition the cultural construction of place are visualised in the spatial interaction loop. Territorial rules are constructed to control and reorient spatial relations but the information flow about that use – assisted by whichever technology available – may problematise and question those same rules and, consequently the power system which they support (92-4). Finally, the realm of meaning is framed within the surface/depth loop. Reading a landscape always involves the issue of appearance and reality. Cultural landscapes may help to reify a hegemonic set of beliefs and disguise gender inequality or social injustice. But this loop engages meaning by problematising it, and by doing so it engages the overlapping elements of the other realms by questioning their meanings. Questioning a surface or appearance, and replacing it with another that was hidden, activates the other two loops by altering spatial relation and rules of in/out place. It also makes this new layer into another surface, which

3. Sack's uses the concept of territory as a dynamic image to describe the cultural construction of a natural space. For the development of the model see especially chaps. 2, 3 and 4 in *Homo Geographicus*, 27-126.

in turn can be questioned – and so the circuit continues. (97)

From this model we may define the Restoration spa – especially Epsom – as a cultural landscape in so far as its own existence is determined by meaning – literary and medical discourses – which in turn accounts for a whole repository of information about social behaviour. For Sack the meaning of a certain cultural landscape is determined by its nodal position in a network of places. This network of places is established on both mechanical and symbolic perceptions of distance and accessibility. This criterion will help us to discriminate among the spas and other topographical literary locales and even among the spas themselves. For the sake of our discussion, the distance between Epsom or Tunbridge and London and the possibility of covering that distance by public transportation emerge as two of the essential attributes of these two spas.

A clue to the cultural value of distance is provided by the anonymous *An Exclamation From Tunbridge And Epsom Against The Newfound Wells At Islington*, printed in London in 1684. The two spa-towns, in the first person, argue against the new well found on the outskirts of London voicing their advantages as

... staying out a Month or two, without being troubled with the peivish Yoak-fellow, save only on Saturday and Sunday Nights (on which you are sure to be very Sick) and all the rest of the Week as blyth as Batchellors, and free and uncontroled as the most absolute Monarches of the East, having nothing to doe, but Cajole the beleiving Fopp at Home with a few kind Lines, for a Supply of Cash, dictated by the obliging Miss or Gallant, to make the Sport more divertive. ‘Consider well all these Advantages of a remoter distance, consult your Interest, and abandon this upstart Haeresy of Flocking to Islington’.(1684: 2)

The “advantages of a remoter distance” indicate the complex relationship between London and its surrounding areas. London by 1675 was not just the City any more as its most immediate liberties had already been engulfed in the London conurbation. In this context of city growth, traditional symbolic dichotomies as those exploited by Steven Mullaney in *The Place of the Stage* prove too schematic, as the inside-outside relations multiply with the “promiscuous” growth of the city.<sup>4</sup> As King James had already prognosticated in 1616: “With time England will onely be London and the whole cuntry be left waste” (Manley 1988: 349).<sup>5</sup>

The literary spas’ dependence on the metropolis may be explained largely by the new symbolic spatial relations determined by the growth of London. In *Epsom Wells* when Clodpate, “an immoderate hater of London” (DRAMATIS PERSONAE), lists the vices of the city, he advances the actions and characters we are to discover at Epsom:

CLODPATE: There’s pride, popery, folly, lust, prodigality, cheating knaves, and jilting whores; ... Ay, and cards and false dice, and quarrels, hectors and reform’d officers to borrow a crown, and beat a man that refuses it, or asks for’t again;

4. See his discussion esp. 1-25.

5. James I, speech in Star Chamber, 20 June 1616 in *The Political Works of James* (1918), ed. C.H. McIlwain. Cambridge, Harvard UP., 343. Quoted in Manley, 349.

besides, I'll sum you up the beastly pleasures of the best of ye.

WOODLY: What are those?

CLODPATE: Why, to sit up drunk till three a clock in the morning, rise at twelve, follow damn'd French fashions, get dress'd to go to a damn'd play, choke yourselves afterwards with dust in Hyde-Park, or with sea-coal in the town, flatter and fawn in the drawing room, keep your wench, and turn away your wife, Gods-ooks. (2000: 1.1.213-30)

As Lawrence Manley has argued, the image of London changed drastically during the 17th century “as the cultural facts of urban life began to be conceptually opposed to nature”, and this idea of the unnatural landscape incorporated images of chaotic growth and spiritual and body diseases (1988: 350).

The overcrowded city was also a source of contagion and the experience of the plague had helped to publicise the healthy atmosphere of the country spas. Although figures are not quite conclusive, by the second half of the 16th century the city contained three quarters of the population of the metropolis and the suburbs a quarter; by 1680 the situation was reversed. Defoe in his

Tour through the whole island of Great Britain also emphasises this perception of the capital when he describes it, in its “modern acceptation”, as a “vast mass of buildings” without boundaries: “Whither will this monstrous city then extend? and where must a circumvallation or communication line be placed?” (288). This unnatural growth and the assimilation of larger parts of the surrounding areas to its economic and symbolic concerns may explain the interactive relation between city images and the spa fashion.<sup>6</sup> There was nothing new in this leaving the city behind, only the fact that the number of those who could do it had changed drastically and by doing so another symbolic line of discrimination started to blur. The plays and poems fed back into London society by privileging a visit to the spas; and by doing so, they raised expectations about certain usages of private time – traditionally linked to aristocratic practices – and, in this way, symbolically linked a frivolous visit to larger cultural constellations.

### III

Some of the wells had been known since Classical times and others came into use during the Middle Ages, but it was during the 17th Century that a large number of wells were rediscovered or newly found. The pamphlet *A True and Exact Account of Sadlers Well* (1684) provides us with a few clues about the history of some spas. As the author reveals, the well “was famed before the Reformation for several extraordinary cures” – hence its old name “Holywell”. At the time it

6. In James Howell's *Londinopolis* (1658), this unnatural growth and its symbolic meaning is exemplified in two opposed images: “a judicious Forreiner (...) said that she [London] bore no proportion with the land, but might serve a Kingdom thrice as big, and that England may be rather said, to be in London, then London in England, which made some compare her to the spleen, whose over-swelling, make the rest of the body languish; but it might be answered, that London is rather like the stomach, which digest the wealth of the land, and after a good concoction, siperseth it again in wholsom nutriment to all parts” (406-7).

was frequented by friars from the Priory of Clarkenwell who “made the people believe that the vertues of the Waters proceeded from the efficacy of their Prayers” (1684:1).

The well was closed following the Reformation as it was thought to be a place attended by the “superstitious”; and within a few generations it had “by degrees it grew out of remembrance” (1684: 1). Then, after an accident, the place was rescued from oblivion and the medicinal properties of the mineralised waters discovered. In this sense, scientific discourse was the first to re-signify the old religious beliefs. The special qualities of the water was not to be attested by episcopal bulls but by chemical testing, and the friars who aided the effect of the waters with their prayers were replaced by an army of doctors, quacks and chemists. This narrative makes clear the essential role played by medical discourse in the construction of the spas as a cultural landscape and how, in fact, literary texts exploit its gaps in meaning for their own purpose.

Rowzee’s *Treatise of the nature and vertues of Tunbridge Water* (London, 1632) is probably the best guide to the medical interpretation of the wells. In his opening section, Rowzee deals broadly with classical antecedents. The author explains that Pliny had already listed a whole set of wells whose waters had wondrous effects: the fountain Crathis, procured whiteness, Sibaris, blackness. He also talks of two Springs in Baeotia by the river Orchomenus, the first strengthened memory; the second, caused oblivion; and later “A fountaine in Arcadia called Linus preserveth conception and hindreth aborsement, and on the other side, the river called Amphrisus maketh women barren” (1632: 23-4). After these references, the general idea is that mineral waters show nature’s paradoxical workings, its contradictions and diversity: “... diverse springs draw sometimes contrary faculties, ... and from hence it happeneth that oftentimes one & the same medicinable spring cureth divers diseases, which are either contrary one to another, or at least have but small affinitie together” (1632: 29). This paradoxical effect – attributed to the fermentation of the mineral components – “maketh it excellent for most diseases, and as it were a generall Panpharmacon” (1632:30).

These scientific considerations about the diversity of symptoms the waters could be used for were honestly believed by some people, and secured the social diversity of those who gathered in the wells; but this diversity enabled those who did not believe in those effects to go there just to take advantage of the resulting social freedom. By conjuring the image of the panpharmacon which is not to be taken as a panpharmacon, the spas are evoked as a place to be avoided on moral grounds but also extremely inviting.

This paradoxical reaction may be linked to the perception of the capital as disease. Through this metaphor, the spa acquired a pastoral value, as a place free from the contagion of the city. The efficacy of the waters, sanctioned by empiric science, had also another advantage for most city dwellers, they were cheap: “For those obstructions being stubborne ... which in their owne nature are not incurable; but onely remaine uncured, either because the Patient is not able to willing undergoe such a course of Physicke, ... or because hee loveth his purse too well. But these Waters bring no charges, and after one hath bene used a

little while to them, the taking of them is not troublesome at all" (1632: 40-1).

In spite of Rowzee's final denial of the waters' panpharmacon effect, the list of diseases they are recommended for is impressive enough. It seems that the denial is just a way to ensure medical control of a remedy which could be administered by anyone and for nearly every purpose. So medical control was recommended even before getting to the wells and, as it happened with fasting and soul cleansing before undertaking a pilgrimage to a holy site, medical treatises insisted on the preparations of the body for drinking the waters. The explanations about diet at the spas provide another clue to their construction as privileged sites for displaying new attitudes towards health. Rowzee explains the special meaning of the term "diet" – "besides meate and drinke" – includes "ayre, motion, and quiet, things retained and voyded, sleeping and watching and the passions of the minde" (1632: 65). The fact that the air at the spas was "pure and wholesome" connected them to an ongoing discussion about the effects of air in human health and also to the visible effects of pollution in the city. As Raines, one of the wits in *Epsom Wells*, comments, "for conversation is to the mind, as the air we live in is to the body: in the good we by degrees suck in health; and in the ill, diseases" (2000: 1.1.128-30). London's bad air makes Clodpate roar:

CLODPATE: Ud's bud, I go to London! I am almost sick at Epsom, when the wind sits to bring any of the smoke this way, and by my good will would not talk with a man that comes from thence till he hath air'd himself a day or two. (2000: 1.1.208-11)

Another medical attribute of the spas is their role as a place for joy -in spite of the fact that most people there would be sick. In the section devoted to the "Preparation of the body," Rowzee asserts: "of the passions of the minde, when we wished all such as come to the Water, to compose and frame themselves to mirth, and to leave all cares and melancholy at home" (1632: 65-6) This advice connects the effects of the water to one of the traditional cures for melancholy and adds another imaginary quality to them: the wells must be a place of mirth and fun in which everyday conflicts must be left at bay.

In *A Short Treatise of Metal and Mineral Waters (...)*, edited in London in 1684, that is 50 years after Rowzee, the same passage above is rewritten with some significant changes. To start with, the passage is not included in the preparations but in the directions after drinking the waters: "Having drank your daily quantity of Water, you will do well to walk, or stir up and down, and compose your self to Mirth with some of the Company; for all cares and contrary passions of the Mind and Melancholly must be left behind" (1684: 44). The restrictive effect of "some" presents the possibility of choosing among the company and there is also a new emphasis on the need to be in the wells with a special state of mind in order to obtain the benefits of the waters. The text constructs a fantasy of a place in which cares, contrary passions and melancholy can – for sure – be left behind.

This fantasy seems to come true in Defoe's description of Epsom in his *Tour through the whole island of Great Britain*. He notices that "we see nothing of business in the whole conversation of Epsome. Even the men of business, who are really so when in London ... yet here they look a if they had left all their London thoughts

behind them, and had separated themselves to mirth and good company; as if they came hither to unbend the bow of the mind, and to give themselves a loose to their innocent pleasures; I say, innocent, for such they may enjoy here, and such any man may make his being here, if he pleases" (1971: 169). By publicising the spas, medical texts – very much as the plays and poem – worked as an invitation to a visit but this also naturalised into the modern concept of leisure the idea that holiday resorts should provide help to cure melancholy by breaking the rhythms of everyday life in the city.

But medical discourse – as the wits satirise it – could also take a completely different stand and criticise the democratic use of the wells: "all must be moderate, and thus much for dyet which if minded, there would not be any need of taking such uncertain remedies as Mineral Waters which have certainly been the utter ruin of many thousands" (Prat 1684: 64). It seems that the sudden spread of this habit was regarded by some physicians as a threat, in the same way that the presence of the citizens was regarded as a shame by the gentlemen of the town. Nevertheless, these discourses did not manage to exercise the control they aimed at and the wells prospered as a place to go to.

#### IV

Re-signifying a place also requires a temporal frame to provide a certain time of the year with a special cultural value. The seasonal quality of the visit to the spa was explained in medical discourse rather ambiguously: "Concerning the season of the yeare, Sommer is the fittest ... and the chieftest moneths Iune, Iuly, August, and September)" (50-1), says Rowzee 1632. But the relationship between "summer time" and "fittest time" is not particularly clear, since he adds that "whensoever the weather is cleare and dry, the water is then best, as well in Winter as in Summer, yea in hard frostie whether the Water is commonly strongest ..." (51). In another treatise, the advice adds a note of common sense to the explanation: "for the season of the year, Summer is the best, when the weather is commonly settled, warm and dry ..." (Prat 1684: 41).

The literary texts offer some clearer hints to explain the specific cultural notions on work and rest time attached to this summer vacation. In *An Exclamation against Islington Wells*, Epsom and Tunbridge remember the good old days when they were always crowded saying:

Loretto was scarce haunted with such swarms of Pilgrims as our Health-restoring Plains, nor Rome more crowded in a Jubilee, than we were, from merry May till after the Dog-starr had done Barking, and the more important Negotiations of Bartoldom-Fair, called home our customers. (1684: 1)

Bartoldom Fair took place at the end of August – in traditional calendars the autumn started around this time. If we compare this reference to those quoted in the medical treatises we notice that the temporal frame here is modelled on business time, that is leisure time is made dependent on the working schedule of city traders. Unlike the annual work and rest cycle of rural societies – controlled by natural rhythms – life in the spas is regulated by the rhythms of trade and

commerce. Epsom – or Tunbridge – time was conditioned by an utilitarian conception of time -time as a physical entity that needs to be efficiently used.<sup>7</sup> By regulating personal duties to a fixed temporal schedule, the mercantile calendar also opened to the idea of leisure time; that is, a time fit to encompass those activities which were not essential for economic welfare. These activities – in spite of their flimsy nature – contributed to the public image of those individuals and ended up affecting their welfare. When Edward Ward opens his poem *A Walk to Islington: with a Description of New Tunbridge – Wells and Sadler’s Music – House* (1699) saying: “In Holiday Time, when the Ladies of London/ Walk out with their Spouses (...)” (3), he is naturalising the idea that “Holiday time” is not one single day appointed by the liturgical calendar but a larger span of private time in summer that could be used for personal purposes. This was especially the case with women, who seemed to enjoy in the spas an unusual control in their own accessibility.

From the attendance at a place for the sick – a none-too-distant image from the pilgrims’ visit to holy places – to annual attendance at the spas as described by Defoe, we can attest the consolidation of an emerging fashion: “this place seems adapted wholly to pleasure, so the town is suited to it; ... that the people who come out of their confined dwellings in London, may have air and liberty, suited to the design of country lodgings” (1971: 169). Probably the plays and poems written during the period prior to Defoe’s account played an essential role in popularising the connections between the body healing effects of the waters and the enjoyment of leisure time.

## V

Once we have determined the spatial and temporal parameters signified by the wells, we can start looking more closely into the activities performed there. The link I would suggest between medical discourse and the plays and poems is the purging effects of the waters, an aspect that can be read in connection with the social medley of the wells and the display of female and male desire.

Activity at the wells started early in the morning: “when the Sunne is an houre more or lesse, high, is the fittest time to drinke the water”. According to Rowzee 1632, the reason was that “when the Sunne beginneth to be of force, it doth attract some of the minerall spirits, and the water looseth some of its strength” (53-4). In the literary texts the reasons are normally quite different: both for women and men this was a rare opportunity to see each other in public “Drest Dishabillee”, and this liberal outfit could always lead to some outrageous scenes: for instance, in Richard Ames’ “The Three-penny Academy”,

(...) Then a Young Sempstress of th’Exchange  
 In an Undress so loose and Strange,  
 that she was thought by every Man,  
 to come from China or Japan. (1691: 6)

7. On the concept of utilitarian philosophy of time see Zerubavel, 54-64.

For the gallants – the male poetic “I” of most poems and characters such as Tom Fairlove in Rawlins’ *Tunbridge-Wells*, or Bevil and Raines in Shadwell’s *Epsom Wells* – a bad night was normally the cause for taking the waters, thus transforming medical arguments into a sort of afterhours practice. “Fev’rish and Hot by Drinking Claret /...I left my Bed by Six i’th’ Morning” (1691: 1), says Ames; and Rochester: “At five this morn, when Phoebus raised his head/ From Thetis’ lap, I raised my self from bed,/ And mounting steed, I trotted to the waters ...” (1968: 1-3).

Another important aspect of drinking the waters was their ingestion, which should take place within a short time, and demanded that “their naturall heate should be something awaked and excited, because then the water will be the better attracted, and have the more speedie passage” (Rowzee 1632: 54). Hence while drinking, after every glass, or every two or three glasses, Rowzee recommends the taking of caraway confits, coriander seed, and other herbs to help the digestion and passage of the water and also a pipe or two of Tobacco. He also recommends exercise but – he says – “I utterly dislike it if it be too violent, as running, leaping, jumping, as some in wantonness use to doe” (1632: 55). Once more, medical directions did not prevent people from doing just the opposite: in fact, *Epsom Wells* opens with a scene in which one of the characters asserts: “CUFF: How the white aprons scuttle, and leap, and dance yonder; some of ‘em are dancing the hey” (2000: 1.1.20-1).

This opening would evoke in the audience an ideal situation of freedom and joy but also of “wantonness”. An association which would be even more obvious when reporting or portraying the passing effect of the waters. At this point we must consider what Gail Kern Paster has called “a semiology of excretion”, that is a way to implicate “an ostensibly natural behavior [like bodily functions of evacuation] ... in a complex structure of class and gender differences” (1993: 34-5).

The purging effect of the waters and their use as a panpharmacon introduced several images of democratic levelling in the spas. The first I will consider is the public performance of evacuation. The desired effect of the water was –and I quote Rowzee again – that “the greater part of those that drinke of it, are purged by stoole, and some by vomit, as well as by urine” (1632: 35-6). This gave to the wells a rather peculiar aspect. Schellinks, the Dutch visitor at Epsom in 1663, reported that the waters “work extraordinary well, with various funny results *-probatum est*. Gentlemen and ladies have here separate meeting places, putting down sentinels in the shrub in every direction” (Exwood and Lehman 1993: 88).

Schellinks’s account seems to agree with several other seventeenth-century reports that confirm the method employed at Epsom and other similar spas: people drank as many glasses – rather, pints – of mineral water as possible, after which they had to walk, jump, dance or even ride on a horse, so that the water might «pass well», leading to vomiting – especially if the person had been drunk the previous night – or simply «evacuating». Epsom wells were over half a mile away from the town, which meant that the company had to walk for 15-20 minutes in order to reach their lodgings. This would have been somewhat difficult

for those with urgent bodily needs, so the purgative effect of the waters was usually achieved among the bushes near the wells; hence the separate areas for men and women, and the convenience of those «sentinels in the shrub.» Pepys, who visited Epsom in 1663, wrote in his diary that «we drunk each of us two pots and walked away – it being very pleasant to see how everybody turns up his tail, here one and there another, in a bush, and the women in their Quarters the like» (26 July 1663).

The literary texts naturalize this sight by stressing the lack of prudery in talking about the purge, as happens in this fragment from *A poem on the New Wells at Islington* (1684):

Here you may see Spewing by your side,  
 A City Coxcomb by his Country Bride.  
 How does your Waters pass to Day? says Jenny,  
 I've drank six Pints that are well worth a Guiney;  
 They come so freely from me, and so Cool,  
 I vow to you this is the seventh Stool.  
 With this Discourse they pass'd away the time,  
 And wash away their nasty Filth and Slime. (1684: 2)

The “changing threshold of embarrassment and shame” -in Gail Paster’s words- varies from text to text. For instance in the pamphlet *Flos Ingenii vel Evacuatio Discriptionis. Being an Exact Description of Epsam, and Epsam Wells*, published in 1674, scatology is used as a rhetorical device for burlesque and as an instrument for social levelling. While London is a place for “closing” secrets, the spas are the place to make them open: “The Heath or Common on which the Well stands, is a place contra di stinkt to Hide-Park, for here many secrets are disclosed”(1674: 165).

This gaze upon the voiding body re-inscribes old concepts of the grotesque on a new environment, and by doing so they assimilate retrospective carnivalesque images of class confusion into modern concepts of leisure time.

And this they doe with the more confidence because there is none there that can tell tails they are so many. When the water drinker are in a Body on the Common as sometimes they are postur'd you would take them to be the Representatives of the Rump Parliament. How different soever they are in their judgements they meet there with one Consent. There are none idle there, but all at their Business. The Souldier he is presenting, and giving fire. The Phisician casting of his Water, the Apothecary at his Clister, the Lawyer waiting for his motion, the Archer nocking of his Arrows; the Gramarian at his *Ars in presenti*, the Musitian at his strain, but none of the sweetest, the Mathematician erecting his Telescope, the Seaman cleansing his Scupper hole, so that you would take it for a kind of Cacademy ... And as the silly Bustard ... thinks if his head be hid in a bush or brake, his whole body is invisible too, thus these water drinkers, so their Tayles be hid they care not if their heads, and all the rest of their bodies be seen. (1674: 165)

This description in *Flos Ingenii* stresses the levelling aspect of the grotesque as the purging effects make all equal in their imposture. If we agree with Stanley Cavell that shame is “the specific discomfort produced by the sense of being

looked at” and the response to shame “as the desire to cover up not your deed but yourself,”<sup>8</sup> then we have also to agree that the evacuating practices at Epsom were to be regarded as perfectly shameless, contradicting the new rules of conduct that was beginning to influence the behaviour of upper-class men and women. In many ways, this shows the liminality of the period as regards the construction of new male and female models of behaviour.

However, in spite of the proclaimed universal effect of the waters, it is generally female purging that comes under the scrutiny of the male poetic “I” in the literary texts. The speaker -a literary persona who likens himself to a peripatetick philosopher- ends up in all the poems in the ladies’ private areas:

But walking on with gentle pace,  
And musing thoughts that oft do clog us,  
I stepped into the women’s boghouse:  
Where four or five together sat  
Like Hunted Hares upon the squat. (*A Mornings Ramble* 1684:1)

In all cases the women react violently. However this reaction from the incontinent females, far from deterring the gallants, seems to incite their rhetorical incontinence, and eventually, in a rather peculiar example of mock heroic, they may adorn with mythological attributes a ladies’ miscalculations in her hasty run to the wells:

With that she Curs’t the fatal Hour,  
And trudg’d away to Secret Bower.  
...  
And e’re she reach’t the place design’d,  
As Cotton of his Dido feigned,  
A Yellow Aromatick Matter,  
Dropt down her Heels comix’t with Water. (*A Mornings Ramble* 1684: 1)

This type of scene is frequent in spa literature and mirrors common beliefs about women’s incontinence: on the one hand, it connected to the humoural theory of the female body which argued that women, being of colder temperament, were supposed to have urine lighter in color and greater in quantity than that of healthy male adults. This excess of fluid was even more obvious in the cultural landscape of the spa and its depiction another form of enhancing curiosity and desire in the audience. The development of sexuality is not exclusively linked in any of its stages to one single erogenous area; on the contrary these areas are continuously re-signified to provide substance for new fantasies: the orifice -the anus, the mouth, the vagina- is self-referential and any of the stages may be evoked by one of them. The purging effects of the wells allow scopic pleasure to enter this fantasy-place by locating the male gaze on the narrow realm of privacy allowed in the wells. If we consider that in the literary texts female characters prevail on their male counterparts, this male infantile pleasure in the evocation of the female anus seems to be a useless male revenge on women or if you like

8. Quoted in Paster 123.

the necessary scenario to project those fantasies.

This infantile voyeurism accounts in many cases for the lack of success in the sexual adventures undertaken by the male characters, as it can be seen in this section of *A Walk to Islington*:

By this time it happen'd, without Pill or Potion,  
Or help of the Waters, my Breech had a motion;  
Left Doxie alone, and the Place chanc'd to chuse,  
Assign'd for the Laxative Ladies to use;  
Not knowing my Error, I shut to the Door,  
In order to do what I hinted before;  
And who should come running immediately after,  
But a pretty young Damsel to scatter her water;  
Who being in haste, had the scurvie mishap  
To thrust open the door, and clap Arse in my Lap:  
Ads-wounds, said I, Lady Fair, as I am a Christian,  
I never deserv'd from your Sex to be pissed on. (Ward 1699:10)

The Lady runs out and then, when he recalls the situation, the scatological-erotic connection comes into focus:

A curse on the Hovel, if lighter't had been,  
Bless my Eyes! What a delicate sight had I seen?  
Her person denoted her on such a Genus,  
I dare to engage she'd a Bum like a Venus:  
So soft, that I thought, I for ever cou'd feed-on  
Such forbidden fruit, like an Adam in Eden. (Ward 1699:10)

As I have already suggested, in the literary texts the natural place of the spa is a feminized landscape open to male scrutiny. The Epsom Downs appear in *Flos Ingenii* “like a bare Buttock to be lasht by the Describer of it” (1674: 164). And a topographical description of Tunbridge Wells – “Two small springs contiguous together, about some four miles Southwards from the Towne of Tunbridge in Kent, from which they have their name” (Rowzee 1632: 34-5) –, can be transformed in a bawdy song into a description of the wells as female genitalia:

Joans was the first hole was found out,  
my Ladies hole next after,  
yet when you taste, you are in doubt  
which is the better water:  
But so it is, my Ladies hole  
doth stand so near to Joan,  
that if the people be too rude,  
they may break both holes into one. (*On the New-found Wells* 1676:16)

But women are something other than the objects of gendered gaze in the wells. Scientific discourse on medicinal waters substantiated the idea that paradox stands at the heart of nature but this paradoxical nature was particularly clear in the female body. “Yet must I not forget in the behalfe of women, to tell them that there is nothing better against barrennesse and to make them fruitfull ...” (Rowzee 1632: 47-8).

But, if it was “the property of all equivocal agents to varie their operations according to the varietie of their objects” (Rowzee 1632: 41), then the waters could also aid contraception. Hence this was the place where unwanted pregnancies could be more easily sorted out due, among other reasons, to the presence of midwives in the wells. In both cases female control of their reproductive lives figures out as a threat – rather more imaginary than real. This threat may be also linked to two other popular images: child bearing as disease and the belief that instant urination after copulation could help both as a contraceptive and against venereal diseases.

The literary texts also scrutinized this paradox about the procreative and abortive effects of the waters. The emphasis on their panpharmacon effect on the female body ends up by portraying the wells as a place for female regulation-disregulation:

Some drink the Waters to promote Child-bearing,  
Others to keep the Body in good wearing:  
Green-sickness Girls, they in whole Troops do come,  
To wash away the Dirt they’ve eat at Home:  
Others to Purge away unlawful Issues,  
Come in their Silks, their Sattins, and their Tissues.

(*A Poem on the New Wells* 1684: )

This paradoxical effect is also noted by Kick and Cuff in the opening scene of *Epsom Wells*:

KICK: Many a London strumpet comes to jump and wash down her unlawful issue, to prevent shame; but more especially charges.  
CUFF: Others come hither to procure conception.  
KICK: Ay pox, that’s not from the waters, but something else that shall be nameless.  
(2000: 1.1.22-7)

As Kick points out, male and female lust provides a rather more credible interpretation of the medical paradox. The dramatic performance of this “nameless” thing involves, in many cases, male prostitution. This practice was related to the myth of sexual potency attributed to low-class male bodies (and this included rural and exotic foreigners):

I entred in, and viewed the Place,  
With every squeamish Breeding Face,  
Of City Wives, who thither come,  
Whilst their poor Cuckolds wait at Home.  
...  
When they alas have no Design,  
Only to tittle off their Wine:  
And treat those Brawny Lads they Hire,  
To do the Drudgery they require. (*A Mornings Ramble* 1684: 1)

In *Tunbridge Wells* (1678), Owmuch, “a Gamster”, makes his money procuring help for childless women. In the following exchange, Owmuch talks to Parret, Mrs Paywell’s confidante, an alderman’s wife who, according to the *Dramatis*

*personae*, “imployes more of her husband estate in lewdness than in charity”:

OWMUCH: Now you speak reason. Ladies come down here for the common cause; and can you imagine that desires can be satisfied without their common remedy? Waters are but waters, Mrs. Parret, there goes more to the composition of an Heir than minerals.

PARRET: Now you come to me; and I've an Aldermans wife in chase to answer your full wishes, who wanting the conveniences her Sex requires, is kindly willing to spare the decrepit years of her Husband and to mannage his Cash to his ease, and her own satisfaction. (Rawlins 1678: 5)

## VI

The question of appearances and social status is obviously at stake in the spas and we must be careful when reading this evidence. The main target of satire in these texts is social medley, normally described in the same terms as the purging effect of the waters; this medley introduces -to the dislike of the gallants in the plays and the poetic “I” of the poems- a reciprocity that could endanger social hierarchy. As Richard Ames puts it:

Of either Sex whole Droves together,  
To see and to be seen flock thither,  
To Drink, and not to Drink the Water,  
And here promiscuously they Chatter. (1691: 3)

The comic potential of social and sexual promiscuity is particularly obvious when we get to the lodgings of the visitors. Pepys, Schellink and also the plays and poems make a point about the lack of convenient lodgings and the fact that people had to share rooms in a house. In *An Exclamation* we find an amusing picture of these lodgings:

Happy were they that could get shelter in our Illustrious Pallaces, covered with immortal thatch and delicately hung with the spinstry of Arachne, Vulgarly called Cloath of Cob-web. Three Families not seldom dwelt in one Chamber scarce so big as a Taffity Tart; and without any superstitious witness about difference of Sex, lovingly pigg'd in together (1684: 1).

This physical closeness stands as a visual signpost of social and sexual accessibility, one of the main features of this cultural landscape. The social medley viewed from the perspective of the gallant is a transformed version of the grotesque company of the carnivalesque performances of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. For Rochester, the wells are: “The rendezvous of fools, buffoons, and praters, / Cuckolds, whores, citizens, their wives and daughters” (1968: 4-5). But in spite of their difference, the social types that flocked to take the waters are in fact mixed, showing in this way another paradoxical aspect of the well:

But ne'er could conventicle, play, or fair  
For a true medley, with this herd compare.  
Here lords, knights, squires, ladies and countesses,

Chandlers, mum-bacon women, sempstresses  
 Were mixed together, nor did they agree  
 More in their humors than their quality. (1968: 80-5)

In this case the object of Rochester's satire is revealed only at the end. The spa becomes a distorted mirror which shows the true essence of humankind. The diversity of fools and ridiculous characters, "the social medley", shows, according to Rochester, the squalid nature of humankind:

Bless me! thought I, what thing is man, that thus  
 In all his shapes, he is ridiculous?  
 Ourselves with noise of reason we do please  
 In vain: Humanity's our worst disease. (1968: 166-9)

In other texts, the image of the social medley emphasizes the levelling effect of the visit to the wells by explicitly commenting on the sexual, social and ideological differences among the visitors:

We have been frequented by the Noble and the Gay, the fine and the fair, the roaring Fopps and the still, sly formall Coxcombs; the Swaggerers in Buff, the venerables in Satin; the Flaming Lasses and the simpering Dames, those that help others; and those that help themselves, the wits and the jilts, the fond Husbands and the more foolish maintainers, the miserly Fathers and the generous Sons, and the free sporting Daughters, and the procuring Cozens, the Hectoring Bullies, and the snuffling Precisians; the long Hair and the overgrown Ears; Whigg and Tory, Trimmer and all, were every Mothers son, our constant Customers. (*An Exclamation* 1684: 1)

The wells accept everybody as a customer as far as they are ready to engage in the strategies of negotiation which make possible coexistence. In this sense, courtship proves the most efficient tool for social intercourse and consequently the potential dangers of its control by women's will is also foregrounded. The hegemonic position of women in the literary spa is somehow naturalised in so far as the wells are viewed as a place devoted to mitigating the concerns of everyday life – among other aspects, married life. But the danger may also come not simply from their irresponsible appeal to pleasure but even from a more dangerous inclination to think and to act.

In this sense, radical female control of courtship at the spa can transform it into a threatening landscape for male integrity. In *The Revengeful Lady* (1679), the story opens at the wells with the introduction of a Gentleman who "wanted the government of the Tongue" (Poor-Robin 1679: 1). There he meets a "young Lady, beautiful in her Person, and pleasant in her Conversation" (1679: 1). After a first meeting – and a failed try at her virtue- he accepts the rules of courtship fixed by the lady. Once he has gained her trust he invites her to play a game in which he ties her hands with ribbons and then – "the Story says she cryed out Murder, but withal, that she Died only in the phrase of modern Poets" (1679: 3). After copulation he runs to tell a friend his adventure; but this friend, being secretly in love with the lady, reveals the whole story to her. Then the lady starts planning her revenge: "after pretending a greater fondness to her Gallant for the

sake of what had past" (1679: 5). One day she proposes a game: she will tie him this time but instead of ribbons she uses garters to fast him soundly and she also ties his feet to a bush: "The Fellow all this while pleased with the Conceptions he had of the amorous Stratagem, lay stock still" (1679: 5). Once she has placed him in this position she talks to him "in a more unpleasant dialect than perhaps became either her Sex or quality" (1679: 5). Then she becomes the revenger for all her sex and after withdrawing "a very sharp Pen-knife", she suggests: "I should make a Capon of you" (1679: 6). Once she has emasculated the gent, she sends for the doctor as a final act of humiliation. This "Ironical Baggage", as she is called in the text, manages to get her revenge and neither law nor man seems to be able to stop her. This popular romance presents an extreme picture of the potential dangers for male desire when confronted by female will and it certainly exemplifies some of the male fabrications about gender levelling.

## VII

The texts I have been commenting on present a wide range of images in which gender and social conflict are reinterpreted in relation to the special conditions of accessibility created in the wells. I have tried to disclose some of the discursive frames in which these images become legible. The loop movement proposed by David Sack has allowed me to draw the discontinuous line of interpretations that the visit to the spas might have provoked in Restoration theatre audiences and the reading public. From the semiotically safe grounds of medical discourse, the spas emerged during the Restoration as a particular site in which concepts of healing and leisure time could be re-signified in terms of wider social concerns. If we accept that culture is an ongoing production of social meanings, it is clear that the wells occupied a very special position in the social re-enactment of hierarchy and control in Restoration England. They were places especially suited to showing cultural and social institutions under the disturbing eye of parody and satire.

The emergent consumerism promoted new rituals directly connected to bourgeois practices of time and space. The visit to the wells was one of these new rituals and the conditions of "being there", as they are shown in the plays and poems, were an uneasy truce in which each social or sexual party respected, in so far as possible, the position of the other. This seems a necessary requirement for the existence of both commodity exchange and a culturally mediated version of the war of the sexes, such as we find in the literary texts. According to Charles H. Hinnant, "this form of socialising is antithetical in every respect to the moral basis of courtships and marriages that are dictated by an aristocratic, courtly code of values" (1995: 82).

The spatial and temporal co-presence of subjects previously separated by geographical and historical disjunctures, and whose trajectories now intersect, foreground the interactive, improvisational dimensions of these encounters so easily ignored or suppressed by diffusionist accounts of conquest and domination. This "contact" perspective emphasises how the subjects in the spas are constituted

in and by their relations to each other in spite of their asymmetrical relations to power. The emergence of the spa as a “contact zone” can also be connected to the new symbolic and economic relation between the metropolis and its surrounding areas. I have argued that the cultural landscape of the spa privileged the scrutiny of city life practices characterised by its liminality, either in terms of gender or social position. This symbolic dependence can be observed in the connection made in *An Exclamation* between the prosperity of the spa-towns and social stability in London. The wells complain that their crisis started “First Oates plot for two or three years frightened away our Roman Communicants ... And then the Whiggs must go Plott and so wee lose that party too” (1684: 2). As this reference to the period 1678-1682 makes clear, the spas could operate as a levelling ground for social difference only when ideological confrontation in the City was not too violent or engulfing.

This may help us to link the spas to the emergence of contemporary ideas about the individual’s property of free time and how to spend it. The concept of vacation time observed in the wells differed from the perception of continued leisure of the powerful and the Sunday rest of both the bourgeoisie and the manufacturing classes. Although it retained some of the cyclical characteristics of other festive periods of the year, the people visiting the spas travelled there on individual reasons and consequently for their own interests. This interest was originally related to health care but soon some particular aspects of the scientific discourse on the waters, caught the people’s imagination: namely, the sex-purge homology. The waters enhanced men’s sexual appetite; for women, it helped barrenness, chlorosis, and other related diseases; for both, it might be a practical treatment for venereal diseases.

Although the literary works presented to their audience a fantasy situation rather than one necessarily experienced, it helped to refocus satire. Affectation and social travestism and the whole casuistry of marriage targeted conflicts which included both the upper classes and the emerging citizenship. According to John S. Pipkin, during the Restoration period “the vanguard of an emerging non-aristocratic urban elite had to develop mores to deal with their betters at Court, in theaters, and in the places of public displays in which they were increasingly tolerated” (1990: 155). This awareness of the new central position of the citizens’ agency in the cultural landscape of the spas can be perceived in Sedley’s prologue to *Epsom Wells*, when following the conventional request for a positive reaction of the audience, he sketches the ambiguous position of the elite towards the city’s symbolic appropriation of the wells – or the theatre pit:

’Tis not fair play, that one for his half crown

Shou’d judge, and rail, and damn for half the town.  
 But do your worst; if once the pit grows thin,  
 Your dear lov’d masks will hardly venture in.  
 Then w’are reveng’d on you, who needs must come  
 Hither, to shun your own dull selves at home.  
 But you kind burghers who had never yet,  
 Either your heads or bellies full of wit,

Our poet hopes to please; but not too well;  
 Nor wou'd he have the angry critics swell.  
 A moderate fate best fits his humble mind,  
 Be neither they too sharp, nor you too kind. (2000: 19-30)

The relevance of the poetic “I” perspective in this construction should not be overlooked. As Charles Hinnant has pointed out: “The town gallant should be recognized as a signal precursor of the emergent consumerism ... what unites gallant and tradesman in a hierarchy of getting and spending is an acquisitiveness which is associated not with property ownership but with the pleasurable consumption of objects, persons and experiences”(1995: 79). The gallant’s role as a detached consumer is nevertheless challenged when the literary generic convention demands a change in the persona of the poetic “I”. In those cases, in spite of their privileged position, they have to acknowledge and come to terms with two traditional affected patients of their gaze: women and social inferiors.

In these texts the nature of the spa as contact zone materialises in negotiating consumption at leisure time.<sup>9</sup> If comedy works to uncover the metaphoric and symbolic undertones of this consumption, we can understand better the relevance of the purging effect of the waters and the presentation of sexual and social promiscuity as part of the new concept of leisure time displayed at the wells. The popularisation of the spa and its interpretation as a place for renewal, an imaginary site to escape from everyday conflicts – two favourite topics in the dialectics of vacation – installed them progressively in the citizens’ imagination as a privileged site for social and gender levelling. As this idea took hold, a new stage in its spatial configuration emerged.

The loop movement that we have tried to draw leads us into the urban development of the wells and the spa-towns during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In this remodelled spa, architectural design tried to fulfil the different requirements of leisure and health care providing a suitable urban frame for enjoying the advantages of personal accessibility, without the conflictive ambiguities that the poor conditions of the spa favoured during the Restoration. But that is an altogether different cultural landscape and the loop movement that this new site might engender, the topic for a different article.

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9. The concept of “contact zone” is an attempt to invoke the spatial and temporal co-presence of subjects previously separated by geographical and historical disjunctures, and whose trajectories intersect. A “contact” perspective emphasises how subjects are constituted in and by their relations

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to each other. It stresses copresence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices, often within radical asymmetrical relations of power. For a full development of the concept in the context of postcolonial studies see M. L. Pratt 1992: *Imperial eyes. Travel writing and transculturation*.



## THE DECLINE OF THE MONARCH'S PREROGATIVE: BANKS AND HIS IMITATORS

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*The Unhappy Favourite or the Earl of Essex* (1681) by John Banks is the first British play that deals with the love affairs of Elizabeth I and her favourite Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex. The success of this play, which was more than seventy years on stage, brought other British writers, Ralph, Jones, and Brooke, to imitate it during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The characters and plots of all these plays are almost identical, but there are many instances in which the decline of the monarch's power can be observed: Ralph hints that the monarch's power is not above justice, Brooke claims more freedom for the subjects, and Jones questions the divine origin of the monarch's power. So through one play we can appreciate the political change that the country was experiencing from 1681 on.

*The Unhappy Favourite or the Earl of Essex* (1681) by John Banks is the first British play about the love affairs of Elizabeth I and her favourite Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, that ended tragically with the earl's execution. This subject had been previously dealt with by Spanish and French playwrights, such as Coello, La Calpranedé and Thomas Corneille. In England, references to these historical facts had been made by Ben Jonson, Chapman and other authors, but the fear of censorship prevented the subject to be directly undertaken in Britain up to 1681.

All these plays – Spanish, French and British – focus their attention mainly in the sentimental aspects of the event, though in different degrees; the continental plays in addition are less accurate in what refers to historical events, and anachronisms are often introduced in order to get certain dramatic effects. Banks achieves a better balance between political and sentimental scenes. The success of his play, which was more than seventy years on stage, brought other playwrights to imitate it during the first half of the eighteenth century.

The changing process of the image of the royal prerogative will be checked through Banks's play and its rewritings. *The Unhappy Favourite's* great acceptance was

more than probable due to the “secret history” of relevant historical characters that is displayed. The historical events are just a pretext to build up a sentimental drama. But this does not mean that we should overlook the many hints about the monarch’s position given in Banks’s play as well as in his imitators’ – Ralph, Brooke, and Jones.

This can be followed mainly from the way characters address to the queen and also from many direct references to the monarch’s power. Before analysing these aspects, it is important to bear in mind some circumstances that influenced the facts and speeches that appear in the plays, and therefore must be taken into account in order to avoid misinterpretations: on the one hand, the historical facts narrated took place at the turn of the seventeenth century, so the authors are sometimes faithful to how things were at that time, and not to what was happening in their country at that moment. On the other hand, these are sentimental dramas, Elizabeth loves the Earl of Essex, and therefore the way sometimes other characters address her and her frequent doubts about how to manage different situations are due to her personal circumstance more than the result of a loss of power.

In fact, it is quite evident that these plays illustrate the political change that England was experiencing: during the 1680s the emergence of political parties was taking place, although not in the modern sense – they were based in political allegiance but lacked organisational structure. Important events like the Popish Plot (1678) or the Glorious Revolution (1688) indicated the people’s concern about the shift that the relationship between the crown and Parliament was experiencing, and so, it is not surprising that the playwrights should make references to the monarch’s role in their tragedies. Besides, the country had witnessed the execution of their monarch only thirty years ago (1649), so the writers’ point of view when building royal characters could not be the same as before this important historical moment.

As Harris explains, in 1660 “there was little consensus about what kind of monarchy should be restored” (1993: 6), this is, how much power the king should have and if it should be constrained by Parliament. The main political conflict in Restoration England therefore was “to achieve a balance of power between the crown and Parliament” (1993: 8). Still up to 1689, “the monarch determined all questions of policy and selected all ministers of state. He had the power to suspend or dispense with Parliamentary statute by his royal prerogative. Parliament had no independent existence, since the king had the right to determine its sitting, prorogation and dissolution” (1993: 14).

Banks builds the character of a queen with absolute power just in a moment when the debate about the extent of the monarch’s power was most intense. His main contribution in this sense is the importance given in *The Unhappy Favourite* to the counsellors and courtiers who surrounded the queen, diminishing her power. At the beginning of the play, when the queen feels her authority threatened, she passionately defends her position:



is wider than Ralph's: not only does he defend the subject's liberty, but also the monarch's, which could be a way of claiming equality:

QUEEN. — Dare not then  
 To dictate to me farther; I'm a Briton —  
 I was born as free as you, and know my priviledge  
 Henceforward you shall find that I'm your queen,  
 The guardian and protectress of my subjects;  
 And not your instrument to crush my people:  
 No passive engine for cabals to ply,  
 No tool for faction — I shall henceforth seek  
 For other lights to truth; for righteous monarchs,  
 Justly to judge, with their own eyes should see;  
 To rule o'er freemen, should themselves be free. (Brooke 1761: 13)

Brooke follows Banks in showing how the queen's authority is threatened. The loss of power of the monarch can be observed when the queen declares that she cannot protect Essex any more (Brooke 1761: 36). But his most important contribution in manifesting the decline of the monarch's prerogative is the moment in which a subject, Rutland, challenges the queen's supremacy. Banks had also made reference to the monarch's power over her subjects' lives, but not in such a subversive way:

RUTLAND. O yes, the Queen!  
 They say you've power of life, and death ——— Poor  
 Queen!  
 They flatter you. — You can take life away,  
 But can you give it back? (Brooke 1761: 75)

Finally Jones, only three years later, introduces other aspects - although he follows closely Banks and Brooke- that show significant changes in this process concerning the image of royal authority. The queen's position is also threatened several times in his play, but nevertheless she seeks incessantly to display a "democratic" image before her people, she longs to appear as what we could consider a "modern" monarch: "I'll nurse no party, but will reign o'er all, / And my sole Rule shall be to bless my People" (Jones 1753: 13). She's concerned with popularity and the preservation of a positive image:

QUEEN. The Public Good is all my Private Care.  
 Have I not ever thought the meanest Subject,  
 Opprest by Power, was, in his just Complaint,  
 Above a King? (Jones 1753: 39)

In spite of the evolution society had achieved at that time, she still claims the power over her subject's life (Jones 1753: 40). In contradiction to this, the queen mentions the laws as the ones that will condemn Essex. By keeping distance with judicial procedures, she consciously avoids to be identified with the instrument of Justice in a situation in which a subject is about to be sentenced to death.

Jones, in opposition to Banks, questions the divine origin of the monarch's power, he finds dangerous that too many people, born without privileges, could

influence the monarch's final decisions. If the sovereign's sacred rights confers him a powerful position, he cannot yield to the pressures of those who surround him, he must show more independence:

SOUTHAMPTON. Had sacred Right's eternal Rule, been left  
To crafty Politician's partial Sway?  
Then Power and Pride wou'd stretch th'enormous Grasp,  
And call their arbitrary Portion, Justice: (Jones 1753: 10)

In conclusion, we can observe that a successful play imitated very closely along a period of seventy years retains plot and characters almost identical to the original in the eighteenth century versions, but a progression in the changing role of the monarch can be observed, as the result of the political transformations that the country was experiencing. When Banks composed his play, authors like Milton in *Eikonoklastes* had already questioned the divine rights of monarchs, asserted the superiority of Parliament over the king and attacked the monarch's right over his subjects' lives (Milton 1955: 280-84). This evolution of thought can also be found in the plays mentioned above, although fiction went more slowly than radical political discourses. To speak about the monarch's position was possibly not the writers' aim, for these are not history plays but sentimental dramas, but they were immersed in a particular moment of the history of Britain, and it was unavoidable that the general state of opinion should influence the small variations introduced in their works.

It is also remarkable the choice made by these playwrights, who transformed a traitor to the crown into a national hero. This can be considered a way of challenging authority, but also as a sign that monarchy no longer held an absolute right to power.

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THE RAVISHED HEROINE IN RESTORATION TRAGEDY:  
*IBRAHIM THE THIRTEENTH EMPEROR OF THE TURKS* AND  
*THE CONQUEST OF SPAIN*

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In this paper I would like to analyse the features of the two ravished heroines of Mary Pix's *Ibrahim the Thirteenth Emperour of the Turks* (1696) and *The Conquest of Spain* (1705). In these plays Pix tackles the topic of the powerless woman, presented as the soft object of male desire, who is violently submitted to the phallic power. In Pix's plays, Morena and Jacinta fit the general pattern of the virtuous, passive and helpless heroine who must unwillingly submit to the sexual desire of the despotic power of the villain, typically represented by a lascivious king. In Restoration tragedy female sexuality is described in terms of passivity, chastity and silenced suffering. Violence and eroticism surround the powerless woman, whose body, in attracting male desire, will be the cause of her downfall. The last two decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century witnessed considerable enthusiasm for the scenes of rape, which entailed a new and erotically effective ingredient in Restoration drama.

In this paper I would like to analyse the features of the character of the ravished heroine in Mary Pix's *Ibrahim the Thirteenth Emperour of the Turks* (1696) and *The Conquest of Spain* (1705). In these plays Pix tackles the topic of the powerless woman who is violently submitted to the phallic power and who, consequently, is represented as the soft object of male desire. This new tendency would be most related to the arrival of the actresses upon the Restoration stage, innovating, at the same time, English drama. Furthermore, it would generate a new climate for sexual display and sexual politics.

The last two decades of the seventeenth century offered a considerable enthusiasm for the scenes of rape, which entailed a new and erotically effective ingredient in Restoration drama. In Pix's plays, Morena and Jacinta fit the general pattern of the virtuous, passive and helpless heroine who must unwillingly submit to the sexual desire of the despotic and imperative power of the villain, typically represented by a lascivious king. In Restoration tragedy female sexuality is described in terms of passivity, chastity and silenced suffering. Thus, violence

and eroticism surround the powerless woman, whose body, the object of male desire, will be the cause of their downfall. That is why the scenes of rape introduced in Restoration drama help to show archetypes of women sexually exhibited in a radical form. These scenes foregrounded the erotic body of the actresses showing visible signs of the female presence: breasts, bare shoulders, loose hair and ravished costumes. As Jean I. Marsden states: "Such coded signs identify the actress as the focus of desire, so that the rape becomes the physical manifestation of the desire perpetrated by the rapist but implicit in the audience's gaze. Thus the audience, like the rapist, "enjoys" the actress, deriving its pleasure from the physical presence of the female body" (1996:186). Therefore, the erotic and sexual display of the actresses stands for the main attraction in Restoration drama and, undeniably, it was not only a way to give a sexual characteristic to the virtuous heroine but also a means of female exploitation. Marsden asserts that the scene of rape is just another way of confronting goodness and evil: "The origin of these rapes [...] is male sexual appetite, a characteristic most visible in Restoration serious drama, where rape is portrayed as a simple matter of evil versus good, and where "bad" sexual desire results in sexual violence" (1996:187). The female body is regarded as the object of the spectacle, which is sexually and violently abused by male desire. Marsden maintains that the rape scenes divide gender into extremes of active masculinity and passive femininity and, accordingly, a series of gender clichés are transcribed in these scenes: active versus passive, dominant versus submissive, subject versus object and finally desiring subject versus desired object. These dichotomies were crucial components of the social construction of gender and the spirit of Restoration attitudes as regards gender.

Before going specifically into the issue of the present analysis, I wish first to make a summary of the plots of Pix's plays. *Ibrahim the Thirteenth Emperour of the Turks* is placed in the exotic Turkey. The sultan of Constantinople, Ibrahim, is a tyrant, a luxurious and lascivious king despised by the Mufti and Mustapha, aga of the Janizaries, since he is more concerned with sexual matters than with political ones. Ibrahim's favourite mistress, Sheker Para, has fallen in love with the son of Mustapha, general Amurat, a virtuous warrior in love with the equally virtuous Morena, the Mufti's daughter. In despair over Amurat's disdain, Sheker Para decides to take revenge on his loving Morena. The greedy visier, Azema, scorned by the Mufti and Mustapha, will help Sheker Para to carry out her vengeance, which will result in the rape of Morena by Sultan Ibrahim, delighted by Morena's beauty and virtue. Once the violation is committed, the Mufti and Mustapha will start a revolt against Ibrahim, while Morena feels so dishonoured that suicide is the only solution. She drinks poison, though when Amurat convinces her he still loves her and wants her to live, she calls for an antidote. However, it is too late and Amurat too commits suicide. Finally, Amurat's friend, Solyman, fights with Ibrahim and both of them are killed in the fatal encounter.

In her later play, *The Conquest of Spain*, Pix also applies the parameters of the raped heroine. Like Ibrahim, the king of Spain, Rhoderique, a tyrant and lascivious villain, is more attentive to libidinous affairs than to political ones. When the

Moors invade Spain, Rhoderique persuades his most loyal subject, general Julianus, to leave his retirement. But Rhoderique's secret plan is to possess the virtuous body of Jacinta, Julianus's daughter who is in love with Theomantius, allegedly dead in battle against the Moors. Clothario and Lodovicus, the king's sycophants, will bring Jacinta to the king's chamber in order for him to rape her. Margaretta, Jacinta's friend and Julianus's ward, is unable to help her. When the ravished Jacinta manages to reach the military camp in search of her father, she finds there her lover Theomantius, who did not die but was kept prisoner of the Moors. Antonio, Margaretta's secret lover, together with the courageous Theomantius and the Moor prisoner Mullymumen decide to take revenge on the king, despite General Julianus's reluctance. Once in the castle a bloody battle takes place. Jacinta is injured by a "friendly and anonymous" sword and dies in her lover's arms, who then commits suicide. King Rhoderique escapes without being punished, but Julianus is wounded and taken prisoner of the Moors. Before Julianus's dying, Mullymumen, general of the Moors, accedes to his final plea not to kill the remaining lovers, Antonio and Margaretta, the only ones who escape a tragic end.

I will then deal with the question of the ravished women and their features in these plays. The first thing that needs to be said about the heroines of these plays is that their chastity and virtue are their most valuable treasures. The heroines' beauty lies in those two conditions, which, although helplessly, they will always try to defend against male menace. However, the lust of the villains sexualizes them and turns them into their desired objects. Besides, the theatrical scenes focused on their bodies make them also victims of their sexual bodies. Thus, paradoxical as it may seem, in Ibrahim the sexual attractiveness of Morena lies in her chastity and purity, as the sultan claims:

*IBRAHIM:*

True, therefore we'll on and fathom  
His Designs, the Maidens Beauty  
Has inflam'd me —who dares oppose  
When I resolve Enjoyment? (Act III)

In *The Conquest of Spain* Jacinta's body also becomes the only obsession of king Rhoderique, whose lust will not be satisfied till he conquers his worthiest battle: the chaste body of Jacinta. For that purpose, his sycophants, Clothario and Lodovicus, will be the help he needs to carry out the crime:

*RHODERIQUE:*

Have you so long been Slaves to my Desires,  
And do you now forget your humble Business?  
When I have nam'd the Object of my Wishes  
Your Diligence shou'd still supply the Means. (Act I)

From all this, it follows that, on the one hand, the characters of Ibrahim and Rhoderique, capable of expressing their sexual desire, are represented as the active and powerful protagonists due to their double status as men and kings. On the other, Morena and Jacinta, their object of desire, perform the role of the

victim on account of their condition as women and subjects.

Let us now look in greater detail into the rape scenes, whose main appeal lies in the combination of both eroticism and suffering, a combination considered in the late seventeenth-century as pathos. According to Marsden:

This violent sense of pathos appears most conspicuously in the scenes of attempted rape, where violence represents an essential part of pathos and where the ravished woman becomes the source of voyeuristic pleasure. The effect of such scenes depends on the objectification of the heroine, on her representation as both object of pity and object of desire. (1996:188)

In Pix's plays the numerous pleas of the virtuous heroine to prevent being raped, together with the wanton desire of the villain, heighten the effect of pathos. The suffering of the defenceless heroine increases the male's sexual desire, resulting in a sadomasochist relation. In *Ibrahim* Morena's pleas are pointless since Ibrahim will not desist in his attempt:

*IBRAHIM:*  
 Slaves, why dally ye thus?  
 By Heaven rage is mixt with love,  
 And I am all on fire!  
 Drag her to yond Apartments! (Act III)

The scenes of rape show a helpless woman, who cannot face the phallic power of her victimiser. The woman is unable to act, her submission contrasts with the rapist's desire. She kneels, cries, weeps and, ultimately, calls for death. However, all of them are, inevitably, devoid of any power to stop rape. In *The Conquest of Spain* the virtuous Jacinta, though aware of her powerlessness, will beg for pity and compassion:

*JACINTA:*  
 'Tis all in vain:  
 Yet I will shake the Palace with my Cries,  
 I may be herald, there is a Power can save me,  
 At whose Command the subtle Lighting flies,  
 The Thunder roars, and trembling Earth gapes wide,  
 Either of these wou'd save me from undoing. (Act II)

Both Morena and Jacinta are unable to escape violation owing to their position of passive and powerless characters, whose lifeless response is just another feature of the virtuous heroine. Moreover, any form of activity will be interpreted as breaking their way of conduct.

After the rape, the ravished female character is represented as an erotic spectacle. Some parts of the female body are highlighted as mainly erotic symbols, such as the loose hair and the disordered clothes. The lost state in which the female character is exhibited proves the violence of the rape and her suffering. In *Ibrahim* a new scene in Act IV shows the tragic and erotic image of a distressed Morena with "her hair down and much disorder'd in her dress". This image of the violated Morena is constantly repeated all through Act IV, both visually and descriptively. In the Mufti's description about Morena's rape

erotic terms intermingle with the violent ones pinpointing the already mentioned erotic female symbols:

*THE MUFTI:*

Her dear hands in the Conflict cut and mangled,  
Dying her white Arms in Crimson Gore,  
The savage Ravisher twisting his  
In the lovely Tresses of her hair,  
Tearing it by the smarting Root,  
Fixing her, by that upon the ground: (Act IV)

Also, in *The Conquest of Spain* Jacinta makes reference to her “loosen’d Hair”, her “Bossom bruis’d” and her “Garments rent” when describing the horrible crime to her father Julianus:

*JACINTA:*

Her loosen’d Hair wound round the Villain’s Hand,  
Calling in vain on Heaven and her Father,  
Her tender Bossom bruis’d, her Garments rent  
With struggling to escape the foul Dishonour. (Act III)

Although the rape does not occur on the stage, the echoed visions of the violated woman establish a “coded tableau”, which presents sexual femininity as a signifier of the rape. Finally, the ravished heroine is displayed on the stage and in front of the audience as an erotic object.

As the result of the rape, the dishonour suffered by the virtuous heroines turns them into monsters. The monstrous violated woman represents the woman who has been devoid of any purpose in the patriarchal society. Marsden describes the violated woman: “Sexually experienced but virtuous, she is not virgin, wife, or whore and thus serves no legitimate function within a patriarchal society” (1996:192). In Pix’s plays Morena and Jacinta repeatedly describe themselves as abominable and contagious to human sight and even to themselves. The rape is not presented as an individual wrong, but as a conflict that affects the whole community; for instance, Morena describes herself as a “hated Image of my wrong” or “a sad Wretch whose loss is irreparable” and expresses the need of being driven to an isolated and dark place in order to hide her disgrace. In spite of the fact that she claims to have a virtuous soul, Morena’s ravished body is compared to a “polluted Cage” (Act V). As for Jacinta, she also considers herself too vile a sight, someone who must avoid human contact:

*JACINTA:*

Let me go  
From whence I never may again return.  
Where shall I find a Place to shroud my Shame?  
To Rocks, to barren Desarts let me fly,  
To dusky Caverns, far from human Sight (Act III)

The desolate, dark and devastated region she chooses for herself stands for her monstrous condition, which does not allow her a place in society. Indeed, Morena and Jacinta’s crime is a contagion that can only be cured with death. Their

uncleanliness makes them outrageous for patriarchal society, which, ultimately, considers them the ones to blame.

We are then drawn to the issue that suicide is the only way out for the ravished woman in a patriarchal society. Woman's passivity is shown by their capability of self-sacrifice, self-criticism and self-punishment. According to Jacqueline Pearson: "Some internalise the inflexible rules of patriarchy to the extent of punishing themselves for sins for which they are not to blame: paradoxically they demonstrate their real innocence by accepting and punishing their guilt" (45). All in all, order has to be restored and the only possible way is that of erasing the monstrous, the female body, which is represented as the source of disgrace and despised when proved unworthy. Nor is revenge a viable way of replacing good since it entails a new transgression. In Pix's plays *Morena*, incapable of taking revenge, asks for "an Opiate Draught to lull my sorrows, or some desperate compound that may turn my brain" (Act III) and which she describes as a "precious Juice". She will prove her innocence by drinking poison and that will be her last political act and the last exhibition of her powerlessness. Jacinta's display of her blood-stained bosom in front of her father conveys the ultimate representation of eroticism and violence in the female body:

*JULLANUS:*

A most immense, inevitable loss,  
But veil that Wound from my tormented Eyes;  
Believe me Child, these Drops more hardly flow  
Then all those Streams of Blood I lost in Battle.

*JACINTA:*

Alas, I cannot bear the killing sight,  
Oh, Weep no more. (Act V)

The "wound", the "streams of blood" and "the killing sight" allow two readings: physical violence as well as sexual intercourse. Once again, the female body, through self-punishment and self-sacrifice, stands for the object of desire and brutality. The psychological and physical wound of Jacinta, which she describes as "The welcome Present of an unknown Arm, who did not mean the kind Relief to me" (Act IV), will drive her to death, and finally she will be able to demonstrate her real innocence. It appears that the options for women under patriarchy are so limited that both *Morena* and *Jacinta* will just have to accept its rules and, consequently, die in order to prove their true moral standards.

Let us conclude then by saying that the arrival of the actresses in the Restoration stage favoured many theatrical aspects. Thanks to the actresses, many male and female Restoration playwrights exploited the female presence in the most morbid facets. The new combination of the two effective ingredients, eroticism and violence on the female body, emerged with the intention of motivating a different response in the (male) audience. However, although I will not concern myself here with other aspects of Pix's plays, it is worth mentioning that *Morena* and *Jacinta*'s bodies are not only eroticized but they are also endowed with political signification. *Morena* and *Jacinta* – Turkey and Spain – become politically sexed and sexually politicized by the sexual and political desire of male conquest.

Taking everything into account, it can be said that Restoration theatre helped to construct an idea of femininity based upon ideas such as powerlessness, passivity, self-sacrifice and self-punishment, which consigned women to a vulnerable status constantly threatened by men's desires.

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# THE SEARCH FOR FEMALE POWER IN CATHARINE TROTTER'S *AGNES DE CASTRO*

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Catharine Trotter's tragedy *Agnes de Castro* features two hostile female couples searching for the power that will position themselves above the rest of female characters in the play. That gaining the love of don Pedro—the prince and future king of Portugal—appears to be the real objective of their fight, diverts our attention from the real one. To get this power to rule over the other people in the Court, Elvira and her attendant Bianca try to undermine Constantia's—the queen-to-be—and Agnes' reputation through the use of gossip. Thus, speech is used as a source of power to convince both the audience and the rest of the characters in the play of their real intentions. The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate, by analyzing both their monologues and dialogues, that the use of speech by those female characters in the play is the vehicle to empower themselves.

The unfortunate story of the beautiful Castilian, beloved of the Portuguese monarch Pedro I, has always been attractive to European writers, poets and dramatists. For literary purposes, the woeful love story of Agnes de Castro has crossed Portuguese frontiers. There are instances of this tale in *Os Lusíadas* by Camoens, in the play *Reinar Después de Morir* by Vélez de Guevara, in the French version by Mlle de Brillhac and in British playwright Aphra Behn, whose version is a fictionalized translation of the French one already mentioned. For the purpose of this paper, and considering that Catharine Trotter's tragedy is very close to Behn's novel, I will only mention those British instances of this tragic piece of Portuguese history.

Agnes de Castro was a maid of honor to the second wife of Pedro I of Portugal. Her coming to Portugal raises the passion of the Prince—and future king of Portugal—, who forgets his marital obligations in favor of the beautiful girl. Once the princess is dead, Pedro is supposed to secretly marry Agnes disobeying both his father, King Afonso IV, and the king's counselors, who consider the possibility of remarrying the heir to the Crown for convenience. The secret discovered, the King is advised to murder the beautiful Agnes. The murder scene, with Agnes pleading for forgiveness and her children around her, has inspired one of the most

beautiful passages in Portuguese poetry and one of the climactic moments in the Spanish play. Pedro's subsequent vengeance murdering his beloved's assassins and obliging the Portuguese Court to kiss her hand after her death has also been attractive. Hence, it can be considered a version of the legend fictionalized by Aphra Behn (Summers 1967: 212). As Margarete Rubik summarizes, "the tragedy draws on one of Behn's novellas for its plot, which, possibly, accounts for its brisk pace and lively character drawing" (Rubik 1998: 68). Although Trotter's tragedy changes some key parts of the legend recorded by some chroniclers of the History of Portugal, it follows and enhances the story of female rivalry present in Behn's version. Thus, Catharine Trotter's *Agnes de Castro*, as Jaqueline Pearson remarks, "concentrates on women characters to a remarkable extent. Women open the play, wholly dominate the first act, and speak more than half the lines" (Pearson 1988: 23). Following Katherine Quinsey,

Women's writing of this period engages two dominant forms of masculinist discourse: first, libertinism, whose apparent commitment to individualism and the celebration of free sexuality masks a deep devotion to patriarchal domination and which overtly, sometimes violently, constrains, restrains, constructs, and even negates female sexuality and subjectivity; and, less obviously, scientific empiricism, which promotes gender-based oppression under the guise of objective inquiry. (Quinsey 1996: 4)

The play features two hostile female pairs of women searching for the power that will set one above the other. Being the love of Don Pedro—the prince and future king of Portugal—the object of their fight, diverts our attention from their real objective: power. As Quinsey maintains, Trotter's play displays "the roots of the tragedy to lie within the self-defeating and inconsistent nature of those patriarchal economies" and "celebrate[s] women who embody political and sexual power" (Quinsey 1996: 5). To get the power to rule over the other pair of women and in the Court, Elvira and her attendant, Bianca, try to undermine both the reputation of Constantia—the queen-to-be—and Agnes to get their position of power. According to Aphra Behn's novella:

Before his Divorce from Bianca, he had expressed some Care and Tenderness for Elvira Gonzales, Sister to Don Alvaro Gonzales, favorite to the King of Portugal; and this Amusement in the young Years of the Prince, had made a deep Impression on Elvira, who flatter'd her Ambition with the Infirmities of Bianca. She saw, with a secret Rage, Constantia take her place, who was possess with such charms, that quite divested her of all Hopes. (Summers 1967: 215)

In Trotter's version, the rivalry of both couples is set from the beginning of the play. Elvira is characterized as a villain from the very beginning, again according to Behn's novel: "[...] and the Credit of her Brother gave her so much Vanity, as all the Indifference of the Prince was not capable of humbling" (Summers 1967: 215). Her double talk, her reasoning of the righteousness of her plot of vengeance in front of her brother and of her attendant, Bianca, contrasts with the use of speech when she is alone on stage.

The first scene opens with Elvira and Bianca plotting the way in which

Constantia will find out the prince's love for Agnes and thus get rid of her. Bianca, sent by the princess to watch on the prince, has discovered he is in love with Agnes and has taken a poem he has carelessly dropped on the floor. Bianca's allegiance to Elvira makes her bring her the letter. Elvira, then, sees the opportunity to wrong all of them, the prince, Constantia and Agnes, by letting the princess know the secret of her husband, Prince Don Pedro:

[...] That poison, jealousy,  
 Destroys the strongest bonds of blood, or friendship.  
 Constantia cannot think the Prince loves Agnes,  
 But she must hate and treat her as a rival;  
 Or cou'd she be so tame to keep her here,  
 Distrust and coldness, rivalry will breed,  
 Which Agnes is too haughty to endure,  
 And, though not sent, will soon return to Spain. (I.i)

While Bianca returns to the princess' apartment to tell her the news, Elvira goes to her brother, Alvaro Gonzales. Thus, Elvira's position of power in the Court is dependent on her brother, since Alvaro is the king's favorite. Moreover, she also knows her brother is somehow in love with Agnes and, hence, plans to let her brother's "boundless rage and jealousy/ Inspire him with some resolution,/ That must be fatal to the Prince, or Agnes" (I.i). Still she knows her position to be precarious in her brother's esteem and, thus, she intentionally hides her own objectives in front of him when it is revealed to her that her brother intends to marry Agnes at all costs. When he leaves her after telling her he will marry Agnes even if he has to rape and kidnap her, Elvira says: "Trust me, to hinder her from being thine./ Alvaro's wife!" (III.i). And to her confidante, Bianca, she says: "My brother's fondness gives me apprehensions,/ Which at my soul's expense I wou'd shake off" (III.i).

Thus, with the use of her "artful strength"—as she names her intelligence and her use of speech—Elvira sets the plot in motion. Her aim is to achieve the destruction of Agnes' reputation and her banishment from the Court of Portugal, and thus it turns out that the ultimate purpose is to destroy Agnes since, without Agnes, the prince will "lose her he loves" (I.i) and therefore Elvira's revenge on the prince will be complete. Learning from Bianca that the love letter does not affect Constantia's closeness to Agnes, Elvira plots:

I'll write a note as from the Prince to Agnes;  
 It shall express a free converse with her,  
 And joy for having overcome her scruple,  
 Then beg her to obtain his wife's consent,  
 On the pretence of shunning him, to leave Coimbra,  
 That he may see her with more easy freedom  
 Than watchful eyes wou'd e'er permit him here. (II.ii)

As a matter of fact, Elvira's asides and monologues signal her as the typical villain with a twofold characterization. To her brother, she is the wronged maid. She is the humble girl despised by a powerful male:

Alvaro

I never can forget your injuries,  
 For which I've long borne hatred to the Prince.  
 The world remembers still those warm addresses,  
 Which rais'd the malice of the envious fair,  
 And made you lift your hopes to royalty,  
 Now turn'd to worse than hate, a cold neglect:  
 What can they think, but that he whor'd my Sister? (III.i)

To the audience, however, Elvira is a murderer and the ambitious woman. In her own words:

All that can contribute to plague the Prince  
 Is grateful to my thoughts. I know his temper;  
 The Princess's regrets will most torment him;  
 And then to lose his mistress; shall I see  
 The faithless traitor, who abandon'd me,  
 Punish'd in the same kind, lose her he loves:  
 That, that's the pleasing part. (I.i)

Thus, by means of her asides and her dialogues with Bianca, Elvira is opposed to Agnes, not only as a suitable object of affection and beauty but also as the negative prototype of femininity. Though Agnes sometimes confines on the antithesis of the type of behavior expected from a young woman, the audience is always reminded of her beauty of body and soul by the representation made of her by her supposed rival, Constantia:

Ah! She who robs me of my husband's heart,  
 Is all charm to plead for his excuse:  
 Young, beautiful, discreet, and chaste, as fair,  
 By nature form'd to captive ev'ry heart;  
 My reason must approve the Prince's choice,  
 For I myself prefer her to myself,  
 And love her too, as tenderly as he. (I.ii)

On the other hand, Agnes' use of speech in both her intimacy with Constantia and her role in the Court instead highlights how close she is to Elvira in her willingness not to be told what to do, that is, to be mistress of her own fate. Agnes tries to do her will all the time: "A king's request is but a milder name/ For his command; I will obey you, Sir" (II.ii). This humble answer contrasts with the following dialogue in which Agnes tries on all accounts to disobey the king's request to marry Alvaro. Thus, whereas Elvira is from the very beginning characterized as a villain for her pertness, forwardness, and her desire of retaliation, Agnes is redeemed by the special conditions around her. However, Agnes is defined from the beginning of the play as a cunning maid in search of the crown. When Alvaro asks the king to intercede in his proposal of marriage to Agnes, he says:

I fear se has too much ambition, Sir.  
 The Prince's love too may increase that flame;  
 She treats me as she were some mighty queen,  
 And I her meanest, despicable slave. (II.i)

Later on in the play, the king himself calls her "vain", "dissembler" and

“ambitious”. Hence, Agnes and Elvira exchange roles till the end of the play. However, as happened before with Elvira and Bianca, Agnes shows the audience the true nature of her character:

What is it for your sake I wou'd not bear!  
 Witness th'all-seeing pow'rs that know my heart,  
 If by my marriage I cou'd give you back  
 That love which barb'rous Fate has robb'd you of—  
 Though Don Alvaro's horror to my eyes,  
 Though my soul loathes him by antipathy,  
 I'd break through those strong bars which Nature's fix'd,  
 And sacrifice my own, for your repose.  
 But that, alas, cou'd never cure the Prince,  
 Still he wou'd look on me with criminal eyes,  
 And I am accessory whilst I stay. (II.ii)

The idea that Agnes can neither leave Coimbra nor stay stands for the climatic part of the play. Elvira's situation as the typical villainess of Restoration drama makes her Agnes' perfect counterpart, especially as uttered by Elvira herself: “The lot is cast, for Agnes, or Elvira; / If my good genius watch not for me now, / Let it forever sleep in dull neglect” (III.i).

Besides, Elvira's intention to murder Agnes has a twofold consequence in the play. On the one hand, the audience feels that Constantia's love and protection cannot save her friend. On the other the consequence of the attempted murder, which is the accidental murder of Constantia, and the subsequent accusation of Agnes makes her stand out as the wronged heroine whose life on earth is full of misfortune. Her wish to do her own will is in fact a pretext proposed in order to advise young ladies about the necessity to be protected by some male relative and the fatal consequences an immoral love relationship could have for those innocent maids, despite the fact that all turns out right in the end.

The fact that Agnes is not recognized as the heroine she is by the rest of the characters in the play is a device used by Trotter to show the problematic aspect of that willingness of her to do her will. However, in the end she is recognized as a wronged heroine and, thus, her description as a villainess is broken. However, Elvira is the one that is punished because her search for power over the rest of the characters is woman's sin *par excellence*. Her multiple nature, behaving as the perfect maid in front of the king, the wronged heroine in front of her brother and the mad murderess with Bianca and when alone on stage, does not confound the audience but builds suspense in the play. Her speech when found after the murder of Constantia proves this nature of hers:

This wound is witness of that horrid truth,  
 Which justice will not suffer me to hide.  
 Hither I came to visit Agnes, Sir,  
 But finding the unhappy Princess here,  
 And seeing both in heat, retir'd unseen:  
 I scarce had pass'd one room, when a shrill cry  
 Recall'd me, trembling, to a dreadful sight. (III.ii)

As regards Elvira, her ultimate punishment in adopting a too aggressive

behavior and exhibiting double talk could be regarded as the didactic purpose of Trotter's tragedy. Elvira is not only portrayed as unexemplary—"unnatural" as Rebecca Merrens labels—during the play but also her madness, her fury when seeing Constantia's ghost, stresses her misbehavior, since it is yet another manifestation of the recurrent image of the despised woman who does not control her emotions and so instead of being in control, she ends up at the mercy of her fate:

Furies and hell!! What's that? Where am I? Dead?  
 No, there's too gentle plagues in th'other world;  
 The Princess is come back to find worse here,  
 Or bring'em all to me, she'll murder me.  
 Ha! That was a hangman's voice, will he know me?  
 Let's see, is murder printed in my face?  
 Ah! Those are killing eyes—I'll stare the Prince to death—  
 Look how they flame, they'll burn him up to ashes;  
 But Agnes sets his heart and soul on fire;  
 I'll weep it out, I'll quench it with my tears. (IV.ii)

On the other hand, her rival, Agnes, after being accused of Constantia's murder, is kidnapped by Alvaro, who tries to force her to marriage. Agnes is released when the prince accidentally discovers the plot, taking her back to Coimbra. When both the prince and Agnes are questioned by the king on the subject of the second letter, the prince quickly understands it to be all Elvira's making and tries to free Agnes of any suspicion. It is in the end that the king is portrayed as an old man lacking the skill and penetration to govern his country while the young prince is the regenerative force that will set things right. Alvaro and Elvira are, thus, discovered as the villains they are, while Agnes' reputation is restored.

Even though the play focuses on female rivalry, there is also a great effort to stress the importance of renewal, especially in these situations in which power plays the most important part. As Rebecca Merrens asserts,

Women are figured as deceitful not only because they do often struggle against the repressive demands of a patriarchal culture that requires their silence, chastity, and obedience but also because, by blaming female characters for the dissolution of putatively ordered patriarchal communities, those communities are enabled to reconstitute themselves over, against, and through the literal and symbolic dissection of women's bodies. (Quinsey 1996: 33)

That is, to think that those pairs of women can take the leading role in matters of power and social standards destabilizes the pyramid of power in which social relations are based. On the other hand, the restoration of order in the end can be interpreted as both the idea of renewal mentioned above and the restoration of woman to her right place in society. The new figure that appears to be the paladin of the social cosmos not only breaks with the vicious *ancien régime*, but also places the women belonging to this new regime a place where they can only hold the power appropriate to their status. The prince stands as the future which, with his intelligence to discover the plot and his righteousness in accusing

the real villains, will prevent these situations from happening. As for the women entangled in the plot, there is a clear solution to their intruding in the sphere of power. Depending on the extent of their unlawful behavior they will die, be punished or rewarded. If Constantia dies in the end is it to show the limits that society has to set on women like Elvira to prevent the misuse of power and influence over men.

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## TOWARDS A FEMALE IDENTITY

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In England, all over the 17<sup>th</sup> century, some women contributed to the reshaping of the female identity. By means of literary and debating skills, they drew attention to their intellectual richness, in spite of their obvious lack of preparation in many fields. In this paper we propose to contrast the traditional, mainstream feminine view with new attitudes, from the women themselves. Francisco Manuel de Melo's *Carta de Guia de Casados*, translated into English at the close of the 17<sup>th</sup> century by Edgar Prestage under the title *The Government of a Wife*, will enable us to understand the prevalent ideas of women in general and their role within the family circle. Simultaneously, different female voices will be recalled. These voices question their own condition as opposed to the traditional feminine assignments they were attributed by men. Margaret Fell Fox's defence of women rights and Lady Mary Chudleigh's denouncement of masculine narrow-mindedness towards women will stand as examples of the new perspectives they held, both in the private and the public sphere. Far from the organized movements, which were to rise in time, these isolated gestures from 17<sup>th</sup>-century authoresses helped to build a new female identity.

In England, all over the seventeenth century, some women contributed to the reshaping of the female identity. By means of literary and debating skills, they drew attention to their intellectual richness, in spite of their obvious lack of preparation in many fields.

In this paper we propose to contrast the traditional, mainstream feminine point of view with new attitudes from the women themselves.

In accordance to the traditional roles society expected women to perform, they should circumscribe to the family circle and keep a discreet and supporting attitude in relation to the male figures of their domestic sphere, especially to their fathers and, later to their husbands. The only legitimate career for an adult woman being matrimony, they were carefully prepared for this secondary statute as wives, during all their infancy and adolescence (Proctor 1990: 1-5).

Man's superiority in every aspect justified the principle of obedience, which all of them were to respect no matter in what position they stood within the social hierarchy. Such principle found its reasons both in the biblical narrative and in the current biological conceptions. The feminine image derived from Eve concurred to the notion of a weaker mind, when compared with man's

(or Adam's), someone more easily prone to temptation, who, therefore, should receive some guidance during all her lifetime. From the biological perspective, women belonged to the more fragile part of humankind and should be protected from all possible physical dangers in order to secure the multiplication of the species (Stone 1990: 136; Proctor 1990: 3-6).

Francisco Manuel de Melo's *Carta de Guia De Casados*, is a quite good example of the current male expectations towards their female companions. Francisco Manuel de Melo's work was, furthermore, translated into English at the close of the seventeenth-century by John Stevens (or Stephens) under the title *The Government of a Wife* (the complete title being: *The Government of a Wife; or Wholsom and Pleasant Advice for Married Men; In a Letter to a Friend, Written in Portuguese, By Don Francisco Manuel, With Some Additions of the Translator. There is Also Added, A Letter upon the same Subject, Written in Spanish by Don Antonio de Guevara, Bishop of Mondoñedo; Preacher and Historiographer to Emperour Charles V*) (cf. Serra 1995).

Between the first edition of this moral treatise, 1651, and the publication of its English version only forty six years elapsed, during which several other editions had come forward, thus vouching its success. Edgar Prestage was one of the first, if not actually the first, to point out the importance of this translation regarding the diffusion of the Portuguese and the Spanish culture (Prestage 1905).

Francisco Manuel de Melo had dedicated his *Carta* to a cousin who was about to marry and had apparently asked for the former's advice on the matter, i. e., on the best ways to treat a wife in order to keep a happy marriage (de Melo 1996: 86).

Thus, Francisco Manuel de Melo's detailed answer to his cousin will enable us to understand the prevalent ideas on women in the several stations in life, as well as their role within the family circle. Throughout his moral treatise he peruses both the different types of women one may receive in wedlock, and whatever other female company present in a house, such as maids and impoverished friends or relatives (de Melo 1996: 100-109).

Within the walls of the domestic universe the most important rule to be acknowledged is the husband's supremacy as master of the whole property and of his wife's body and soul (de Melo 1996: 95-96).

In spite of the equality in fortune and social station between those who are about to be married, Francisco Manuel de Melo does not make the defence of conjugal equality. The proportioned conditions of husband and wife are just the basis for a harmonic social standard of living.

Furthermore, the marriage arrangements were carried out by the families, and not by those most directly interested. As Francisco Manuel de Melo states, property questions were not only of the utmost importance for both families, but would also reflect themselves on the newly married welfare (de Melo 1996: 93-94). Parents were also deeply concerned with the social standing of the prospective family members, and a similar station in life was considered most desirable.

However, from the very start of their married life, husbands must assert that they are the rulers in their private kingdom. Even simple seniority will help them to become their wives' worthy mentors. As far as women are concerned,

they should marry young in order to be more easily educated according to their husbands' notions of the ideal wife. A very close relationship with the woman's kin should be avoided to ensure that the only significant influence in her life comes from her husband (de Melo 1996: 97-98).

The stress laid on the spiritual and practical guidance of women, first by their fathers, and then by their husbands, derives from their intellectual and moral weakness, which may take different forms, in keeping with the dominant psychological features they exhibit. Thus, the author warns his reader against the irascibility and impertinence of women, which might be cause for serious inconveniences both at home, with family and servants, and in public, sometimes jeopardising their husbands' careers.

Foolish and prodigal women must also be dealt with harshly so the welfare of the family will not be endangered.

The subordinate role of women, even in their own homes is emphasised by the argument that, having no authority whatsoever to dismiss a servant, how could they be trusted to "send away" the family's assets? Curiously, Francisco Manuel de Melo adds that, should their husbands have the same defects, then it no longer matters, because men will just bear the consequences of their own ways (de Melo 1996: 104-105).

In matters of opinion the stubborn woman is not to be suffered. To acknowledge a difference of opinion would imply that husband and wife were on equal terms in judgement as well as in authority, something completely unacceptable:

Não venho em que com a mulher se litigue, que é conceder-lhe uma igualdade no juízo e império, coisa que devemos fugir. Faça-se-lhe certo que à sua conta não o está a entender, senão o obedecer e fazer executar, mas que não entenda. Mostre-se-lhe às vezes que, havendo quando se casou, entregado sua vontade ao marido, comete agora delito em querer usar daquilo que já não é seu. (Francisco Manuel de Melo 1996: 106)

Marriage implied that the woman had to renounce not only the management of her own property, be it her dowry or any other kind of legacy, but also her free will and judgement. Affection might lessen the strictness of home government. Nevertheless, this affection should also be measured. Too much love, or passion, would blind men, letting them live in an unruly, chaotic home. As for women, they should esteem their husbands with discretion, without the upheavals of jealous feats, or other embarrassing attitudes.

A paternal and condescending pattern of relationship also emerges when considering ugliness as a lesser evil, which might even be advantageous to feminine virtue. The same happens with the lack of health, or the impossibility of bearing children, misfortunes that must be endured with a Christian disposition (de Melo 1996: 101-102).

This tolerance should not extend to matters of honour, the most important feminine virtue. All the wife's relatives and servants have to be carefully examined in order to prevent the lady *offending* her husband. Again, her inability to judge defers to the husband the choice of servants and the avoidance of any friendly

relationship with any particular woman (not to mention men) who visits the house either in business or otherwise.

This notion of the male dominance in the family was not confined to the Portuguese conception of marital relations. On the contrary, it was vastly widespread throughout Europe and its foundation stems not only from custom and religious principle, but also from the political theories of well-known authors, namely Thomas Hobbes.

Hobbes, in *Leviathan* (1651) compared the familial domain to a commonwealth where there should be just one ruler:

Private Bodies regular, and Lawfull, are those that are constituted without Letters, or other written Authority, saving the Lawes common to all other Subjects. And because they be united in one Person Representative, they are held for Regular; such as are all Families, in which the Father, or Master ordereth the whole Family. For he obligeth his Children, and Servants, as farre as the Law permitteth, though not further, because none of them are bound to obedience in those actions, which the Law hath forbidden to be done. In all other actions, during the time they are under domestique government, they are subject to their Fathers, and Masters, as to their immediate Sovereigns. For the Father and Master being before the Institution of Common-wealth, absolute Sovereigns in their own Families, they lose afterward no more of their Authority, than the Law of the Commonwealth taketh from them. (Hobbes 1973: 124)

The omission of the female representative of this hobbesian private commonwealth is rather significant if compared with the recurrent reference to the “Father” or “Master” as the responsible for the whole. Moreover, the contractual dispositions which determine who holds the responsibility for the children are also referred by Hobbes as a means to overcome Nature’s rules. According to the natural laws the mother should be in charge of her offspring, because their need of her assistance is greater. Nonetheless, the whole matter changes in a commonwealth:

In Common-wealths, this controversie is decided by the Civil Law: and for the most part, (but not alwayes) the sentence is in favour of the father, because for the most part Common-wealths have been erected by the Fathers, not by the Mothers of families. (Thomas Hobbes 1973: 105)

Actually, Hobbes is here asserting the obvious facts. European societies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries fully recognised the patriarchal principle both in the families and in the civic sphere. Thus the female figure is either completely ignored or considered from a natural and biological perspective.<sup>1</sup> However, such hindrances had already been overcome by the rational advancements in science and social organisation.

Sir Richard Brathwaite, for instance, in his treatise concerning the English noblewomen also subscribed the same kind of relation. He reiterated the authority

1. Concerning women’s legal status cf. Dickenson, Donna 1997: *Property, Women and Politics. Subjects or Objects*. Cambridge, Polity Press. On the biological arguments for women’s subordination cf. Ornter, Sherry B: “Is Female to Male as Nature Is to Culture?” Ed. Joan Landes 1998. *Feminism, The Public and The Private*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

and superiority of the husband towards the wife and the latter's obedience towards him (1631, *The English Gentlewoman drawne out to the full Body: Expressing What Habilliments doe best attire her, What Ornaments doe best adorne her, What complements doe best accomplish her*).

Women writers, such as Hannah Woolley (1675, *The Gentlewoman's Companion, Or a Guide to the Female Sex*) would also stand by this most orthodox point of view, even when they claim for better educational opportunities to improve themselves.

In spite of the rigour of the law in restricting the status and rights of wives (and women in general) in the seventeenth century, one may wonder if it was matched by private reality.

Notwithstanding the acknowledgement of the male as the most powerful in the conjugal relationship, Francisco Manuel de Melo makes a subtle distinction between the subordinate standing of a married woman and that of a servant. He speaks of companionship instead of serfdom using a well-known simile of the husband as the sun and the wife as the moon, thus receiving a reflexive light (or power) from the former:

O marido tenha as vezes de sol, em sua casa, a mulher as de lua. Alumie com a luz que ele lhe der; e tenha também alguma claridade. A ele sustente o poder, a ela a estimação. Ela tema a ele, e ele faça que todos a temam a ela, serão ambos obedecidos. (de Melo 1996: 95).

Simultaneously, several female voices began questioning their own condition as opposed to the traditional feminine assignments and constraints they were attributed by men.<sup>2</sup>

Margaret Fell Fox (1614-1702), "the mother of Quakerism", as she was called, was also the wife of George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends. She dedicated most of her life to their cause, having been in jail as a religious activist. Meanwhile she published several treatises on polemic subjects, namely the vindication of religious freedom and equal rights for women.

*Women's Speaking Justified, Proved and Allowed by the Scriptures* (Augustan Reprint Society, 1979), a pamphlet that went to the press in 1666, argues for women's right to speak their mind in public about spiritual matters. Like Milton, she often supported her allegations with recourse to the Bible. There are, for instance, recurrent quotations of The Book of Genesis to emphasise the equal conditions of male and female creation: both man and woman were created at His own image. There were no signs of the discrimination men would later impose.

Years later John Locke would also find support in the Bible to forward his theory of a parental power, instead of a paternal one: "*Honour thy Father and thy Mother*, Exod. 20.12. *Whosoever curseth his Father or his Mother*, Lev. 20.9. *Ye shall fear every Man his Mother and his Father*, Lev. 19.4 *Children obey your Parents*, &c. Eph. 6.1" (Locke, 1988: 303).

Locke's aim was to demonstrate the groundless nature of absolute power. It did not originate in paternal power, because in the state of nature there should have prevailed the parental power, i. e., the shared power of father and mother

2. Regarding women's early vindications there is a very interesting article by Joan Kelly 1982. "Early Feminist Theory and the Querelle des Femmes, 1400-1789". *Signs*, 8, 1: 4-28.

over their minor children.

In a similar manner Margaret Fell Fox used the sacred text to disprove a prejudice against women's capability of thought and expression. So, she uses, among others, the episode of the serpent, Eve's tempter. Consequently, God decided to create an antagonistic relationship between the serpent and the woman and between the serpent's seed and her seed. Thus she evokes God's words to justify female free speech:

[F]or he hath put enmity between the Woman and the Serpent, and if the seed of the Woman speak not, the Seed of the Serpent speaks; for God hath put enmity between the Two Seeds, and it is manifest, that those that speak against the Woman and her Seed's Speaking, peak out of enmity of the old Serpent's Seed. (Fox 1996: 310-311)

Margaret Fell Fox's rhetoric revolves in a syllogistic way, using biblical sentences, episodes or religious symbols and institutions (such as the Church being called a Daughter of Christ) to arrive at always the same conclusion: God created two equal human beings and only men's foolishness brought forth these unfair discriminations.

However, the more recurrent sermons stressed the moral and intellectual feebleness of women. As Lawrence Stone notes, since 1562 onwards the *Homily on Marriage* became very popular on account of the Crown's order to read it in church every Sunday:

It left the audience in no doubt about the inferior status, rights and character of a wife: 'the woman is a weak creature not endued with like strength and constancy of mind, therefore, they be the sooner disquieted, and they be the more prone to all weak affections and dispositions of mind, more than men be; and lighter they be, and more vain in their fantasies and opinions. (Stone 1982: 138)

Nonetheless, the charitable disposition of their male guardians and the desire for a peaceful home prevented the beating of wives as unchristian behaviour.

It was this kind of argument that infuriated Lady Mary Chudleigh, née Mary Lee (1656-1710). She was a learned woman who corresponded with John Norris, a religious controversialist. She also met Mary Astell, one firm defender of women's equality of rights.

Her first work was *The Ladies' Defence* (1701) which ran more than one edition at the time. Later she published a collection of poems and essays under the title *Poems on Several Occasions* (1703). She also translated from the classics, but that work is still waiting to go to the print.

*The Ladies' Defence* emerged as a reaction to a sermon from John Sprint entitled *The Bride-Woman's Counsellor*. So, Lady Mary Chudleigh begins with a preface attacking that sermon and then evolves to a poem with several voices, as the complete title elucidates: "*The Ladies' Defence: or The Bride-Woman's Counsellor Answered: A Poem in a Dialogue between Sir John Brute, Sir William Loveall, Melissa, and a Parson*".

Lady Mary Chudleigh, through Melissa's voice then denounces the masculine narrow-mindedness towards women and the constraints some of them force on

their wives. Like Margaret Fell Fox, the freedom of speech and thought is here claimed. Melissa also deplors the traditional anathema of women's feeble mind. She defends that its origin lies not in nature, but in the want of an adequate education:

To have us wise was never your Design:  
 You'll keep us Fools, that we may be your Jest;  
 They who know least, are ever treated best.  
 If we do well, with Care it is concealed;  
 But every Error, every Fault's revealed:  
 While to each other you still partial prove,  
 Can see no Failures, and even Vices love. (Chudleigh 1993 vv.715-721)

The deliberate action of keeping women ignorant so that they remain dependent on men's guidance and protection against the worldly dangers is already seen as a weapon. Marriage is, thus considered a relationship of power where the woman lives as her master's subject.

The image of birds living happily in a cage that D. Francisco Manuel de Melo graciously uses is quite strongly objected to by Lady Mary Chudleigh in a short poem addressed To The Ladies:

Wife and Servant are the same,  
 But only differ in the Name:  
 (...)  
 Value your selves, and Men despise:  
 You must be proud, if you'll be wise. (Chudleigh 1993 vv.1-2; 23-24)

Although these authoresses do not reject women's usual roles as wives, mothers, nurses and administrators of their homes, they are already aware of a wider world. The confinement to the domestic sphere is no longer sufficient to these new women. They wish to think for themselves, they wish to be taught serious (masculine) matters in order to contribute to their society.

The notion of angel of the house or of the nation becomes a ghostlike identity, which no longer satisfies them.

Margaret Fell Fox found in religion the means to express herself as a complete human being, whereas Lady Mary Chudleigh, at the close of the century, proved through her writings the ability to judge and criticise the reality she knew.

Far from the organised movements, which were to rise in time, these isolated gestures stand as examples of the new perspectives these women writers held both in the private and the public sphere.

Their apology for education and serious consideration for their social status clearly reveals that a new female identity was afoot.

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## GENDER, DISGUISE AND THE POLITICS OF MARRIAGE IN ARIADNE'S *SHE VENTURES AND HE WINS*

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In spite of being considered as a minor dramatist, with *She Ventures and He Wins* (1695) Ariadne reopened the tradition of female playwrights after Aphra Behn's death. In the main plot of the play, Charlotte, a young and rich heiress, makes a deliberate use of crossdressing and disguise in order to test the man she herself has chosen to marry. Through the acquisition of a new identity, the female protagonist plays a joke both on the patriarchal power over women as regards the choice of a husband and also on the conventional terms of marriage, like money and social class, usually settled by male figures. Therefore, the aim of this paper is to trace the features of the active and manipulative heroine that Behn had already established in plays such as *The Rover* (1677) and to check the way in which Ariadne complies with those principles.

The notion of an original or primary gender identity is often parodied within the cultural practices of drag, cross-dressing, and the sexual stylization of butch/ femme identities... In imitating gender, drag implicitly reveals the imitative structure of gender itself -as well as its contingency. (Judith Butler)

The control of the patriarchal system over women's identity pervaded many of the plays of the English Restoration period. Very frequently, playwrights portrayed the different ways in which men exercised their authority and restrained women from behaving beyond the codes of obedience and submission. Within the family, the unavoidable rule of the male heads of households –either fathers or brothers– obliged women to comply with the conditions and circumstances that superior male figures had set for their future, which meant above all the attainment of a secure and profitable marriage. Traditionally, men established their own foundations for the only possible relation between man and woman and they made plans for marriage contracts that granted wealth and a high social position to the family, without considering the individual interests of women.

This practice of arranged marriages turned women into merchandise that could be bought and sold for the sake of a successful deal. As a result of this, the revision of the politics of marriage from a female perspective became one of the major concerns of women and women writers of the period:

From about the mid-1680s until 1713 or thereabouts, unprecedented numbers of

women wrote on women's conditions [...] It was the first sizable wave of British secular feminist protest in history. Many were inspired by the general philosophical shift towards a rational and empirical analysis of life that rejected tradition and encouraged self-confidence and independent thought. (Ferguson 1985: 15)

The appearance of works by authors such as Aphra Behn gave rise to a widespread criticism of this sexual inequality in which women had been trapped for long, and very frequently women writers used their works to challenge the stability of the patriarchal system. The standard codes of female behaviour began to be strongly rejected and there was a tendency to deconstruct the stereotypes that enclosed women in the only possible roles of virgins, bound for marriage or religious life, and prostitutes. Disguise and crossdressing were then two of the most common strategies used by these authors in order to provide female characters with the agency and independence that they had been denied. In spite of being considered as a minor dramatist, Ariadne's *She Ventures and He Wins* (1695) meant not only the recovering of plays by female playwrights to be performed after Aphra Ben's death, but also the continuation of the features of the active and manipulative heroine which Behn had inaugurated in plays like *The Rover* (1677) or *The Feigned Courtesans* (1679).

The play deals with the deeds of a young and rich heiress –Charlotte–, who rebels against social and familiar expectations and tries to find a man that may marry her not for money but for love. Far from submitting to male rules, she decides to take up a fake identity and step into the male realm where virtuous women were not supposed to enter. That change is performed by means of crossdressing which, together with the complicity from other female characters, enables her not only to gain the love of Lovewell, the man she herself has chosen for her future husband, but also to test his truthfulness and constancy. Hence, this strategy becomes a tool to defy both the power of patriarchy and the traditional terms in which marriage is defined.

The analysis of the relation between female use of disguise and the politics of marriage can be structured in three main sections within the present study. First, we will trace the meanings and implications that transvestite women represented at the time in which the action is set, considering issues like its reception and the subversion of social and sexual roles that it conveyed. Secondly, the proceedings of the plans of the heroine in Ariadne's play will be explored, taking into account the reasons and strategies to develop her project. And finally, the last step will be the interpretation of the way in which the protagonist manages to break patriarchal impositions and to succeed in shaping the kind of marriage she wants for herself, without threatening her virtue.

Although it was a recurrent motif in the plays of the English Restoration, previous writers had already displayed in their works the experiences of characters that made use of transvestism in order to achieve their aims. Yet, the main innovation lies in the performative means in which it was acted on stage, since with the entrance of actresses on the stage in 1660, female writers could think of their heroines to be performed by women, in contrast with the theatrical rules that had left them out so far (Howe 1992: 20). In this sense, the social and

theatrical circumstances that were incorporated in this period contributed to the re-articulation of this device from new, feminist perspectives.

Nevertheless, the reception of transvestite women was not systematic among the seventeenth century audience. As Jacqueline Pearson points out, "men in the audience do not seem to have found it threatening, though female spectators may have been offered a 'sense of release' by watching women escaping the constrictions of a conventional female role" (1988: 102). Male spectators used to perceive this theatrical custom as an erotic stimulation, that involved both the pleasure of watching the body of real actresses in men's clothes and also a sort of 'homo-erotic fantasy' that turned this type of performance into an excellent method to exorcise their hidden homosexual tendencies. The effect contrasts ironically with the intention of the writers, which was mostly to mock male behaviour and subvert the traditional notions of gender differentiation that had always marginalized women to the level of material property. On the contrary, with female characters that adopt many different identities and conceal their supposedly "natural" gender, women dramatists question the common belief that marked these acts as dangerous, and they suggest that not only is gender not stable but also that its boundaries can be easily transgressed. Both ideas are indeed present in *She Ventures and He Wins*, where, like Behn had done before, Ariadne deals with an active heroine that decides to pretend to be someone else as a means to redefine the politics of marriage from the point of view of women. At the beginning of the play Charlotte examines these conventions that used to be set by men and she tells her cousin:

I'm not obliged to follow the world's dull maxims, nor will I wait for the formal address of some ceremonious coxcomb, with more land than brains, who would bargain for us as he would for his horse [...] No, my Julia, I'll have one who loves my person as well as gold and please myself, not the world, in my choice. (I. 1. 35-53)

The heroine creates her own version of a prosperous marriage and throughout the play she insists in checking that her lover wants her out of true love and not because of her money. Disguise is then her best vehicle to make sure that love and marriage take place according to her interests and she undermines the possible results of her acts upon the established social order.

In her process to test Lovewell's constancy and truthfulness, Charlotte makes different uses of crossdressing and disguise, starting with her approach to the male realm in which she can have closer contact with men. With a male appearance, the heroine can address her lover directly and even share some sort of complicity with him:

CHARLOTTE: I have evidences enough confirms me, you're the man that has cruelly robbed a near and dear relation of mine of her repose for ever, and except you restore it her by reciprocal love, I fear the worst effects of this unhappy passion.

LOVEWELL: Oh sir, I find you design to divert yourself instead of me.

CHARLOTTE: By honour, trust, and all that's sacred, I'm serious.

LOVEWELL: Well sir, bring me to the lady; I'm so cruelly inclined to let a pretty

woman for any civil kindness I can do her. (I. 3. 45-53)

This is, according to conventional standards of female behaviour, a very challenging act for a woman, but, by adopting a typically male attire, Charlotte manages to speak openly to this man and even demand attention and favour from him. Thus, through this resource women like her can escape from their confined scope of private, submissive settings since “when women took men’s clothes, they symbolically left their subordinate positions and enclosed spaces. They became mobile, masterless women, and this threatened overthrow of hierarchy was discursively read as the eruption of uncontrolled sexuality” (Howard 1994: 101).

Charlotte’s skill to progress in her plans is also displayed through the way in which she continues deceiving Lovewell. Once she has teased him and inflicted suspense upon him, she makes sure that he turns to her own brother –Sir Charles Frankford–, asking about her, and after that, she arranges a meeting in which the mentioned lady will meet him in a mask. At this moment, as an alter ego of the author that directs and organizes the actions, Charlotte is the very one who is in control of the situation and she is able to set the conditions for the future relation between them: “and if you have courage to venture on me as you see me, here’s a hand and heart, and all that’s mine to be entirely yours” (III. 3. 31-33). Again, the heroine tries to check if he would marry her whatever her physical and economic circumstances may be, and she becomes the very director of their future.

These particular performances of crossdressing and disguise in the first three acts of the play result into their marriage, which they celebrate in a tavern, a space virtuous women were required to avoid, because of its traditional association with prostitution. Anyway, ignoring this threat to her female virtue, Charlotte develops her aspirations further: to puzzle her lover by means of fake identities. At the tavern, Charlotte suddenly leaves Lovewell with no other company than a purse with some money, and, following Sir Charles’s directions, he goes to the village where she has suddenly fled after their wedding in order to give her a letter. At this stage, Charlotte had decided that her cousin –Bellasira–, would pass herself off as Charlotte so that, again, she can test whether he loves her for herself or because she is sister to a prosperous and respectable man. Being completely deceived by Bellasira, the effect of this strategy favours her projects again, as Lovewell admits to Bellasira:

Forbear, dear madam, to distract me with this angel’s goodness, I am not worthy of the least of all this mighty kindness [...] I love with all the ardour of prevailing passion, a false ungrateful woman, and what renders my folly inexcusable, one I know not, nor ever perhaps may see again. (IV.4. 33-44)

Thus, Lovewell renounces the high social position and benefits that his marriage to whom she believes to be Sir Charles’ sister could bring forth, but, on the contrary, he declares in despair that he is in love with another woman. In spite of his rage, Charlotte still attempts to develop her plans further. This time she relies on the complicity of her own brother and his friend Roger, who, all along the play have complied with her actions and decisions, against all expectations

of the patriarchal authority that they represent. Once they check that Charlotte's aims are "honourable", both of them forsake the part of the patriarchal power of the missing father to help her in her aims: "to find which he has most esteem for, my person or state" (V.1.6-7). They imprison Lovewell for keeping the money from that purse in the tavern and, it is in the prison where, sent by Charlotte, Bellasira tries to tempt him again:

BELLASIRA: Is it so hard to love? I have youth and fortune, is that no charm?  
 LOVEWELL: ...I must tell you, to justify myself from that ingratitude, you justly might reproach me with: I am to my destruction married, married, dear lady.  
 (V.1. 148-150)

Hence, after all her efforts to create a different notion of marriage and the relation between its members, Charlotte succeeds in her attempts. On the one hand, the very last consequences of her cunning strategies demonstrate that they have been effectively developed, for Lovewell is completely amazed when he sees the Charlotte he was in love with approaching him when he was still in jail. Even in the last scene of the play, she keeps him under her control telling him that Roger, her brother's friend, had loved and proposed to her long ago. But, however cruel she is to him, and when all misrecognitions are solved, Lovewell replies: "Well, I will live with thee, for heaven knows I love thee; and though you have used me thus, will always use you well" (V. 1. 245-247). Like all throughout the play, he admits his constant love for her and that confirms the importance of all her resources for the attainment of her happiness.

On the other hand, regarding social order, these particular cases of crossdressing and disguise prove that although women can break traditional gender distinctions, they can still keep their honour unspoiled. In the play, Charlotte tricks and deceives her lover repeatedly as part of her teasing game, but when Sir Charles reveals that she is his sister –the very same woman that Lovewell loves and a rich heiress with a state–, he answers: "dear madam, from the sincerity I ever used to you, 'tis the least part of my joy; but I have, by my knowledge who you are, an unquestioned proof of your virtue" (V. 1. 270-273). Somehow, Charlotte never did lie to him but just *used* him for honourable interests like love and marriage and, in spite of using women's bodies as her main tools, she could never be accused of looseness or prostitution, with which crossdressing was strongly associated.

That gender differentiation was a widespread concern in Early Modern England can be inferred from works like *Hic Mulier*, the anonymous Renaissance tract in which this differentiation is assigned to God, who dictated that man's clothes were "fit for his labour, the woman's fir for her modestie" (Keeble 1994: 245-246). According to this, gender categories could not be violated since any change of identity could generate a break in the patriarchal hierarchy that placed men in a superior position. However, in *She Ventures and He Wins*, Ariadne follows the trend of other female playwrights who rejected that separation of gender by means of using active heroines that decide to take up an *unnatural* appearance. These women challenge the permanence of that system and, as Judith Butler

infers, their acts show how “genders can be neither true nor false, neither real nor apparent, neither original or derived. As credible bearers of those attributes, however, genders can also be rendered thoroughly and radically *incredible*” (1990: 141). Charlotte then, turns out to be a symbol for Ariadne’s defence of women’s right to play with their bodies, as she tries to prove that it is legitimate to validate the use of transvestism and disguise as a means of achieving a sort of marriage in which women may take an active and independent part.

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# TRANSFORMATIONS OF COURTLY ENTERTAINMENTS: RESTORATION ODES

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Court odes are one of Restoration musical-literary genres. As it seems to be customary with other kinds of literary output produced for the celebration of the court, these pieces have been neglected by contemporary criticism. A minor genre built on music and sycophantic texts, panegyrics and ephemeral, is now analysed in musicological terms only. In their time, however, court odes were regarded as innovative, although clearly associated to Jacobean, Caroline and French courtly pageantry and musical forms. An account of the development of the genre and of the multiple cultural influences it absorbs will help to place it in the context of Restoration England. On the basis of the frequent occurrence of the genre throughout the period, this paper seeks to study the composition and performance of these works in the light of the cultural politics of the new monarchy, i.e., their function as political vehicles to celebrate the restored court and monarch. By comparing this new type of pageantry to former early 17<sup>th</sup>-century court performances this analysis will try to demonstrate the experimental nature of the ode and, more generally, courtly entertainments, as well as their ability to transform and suit various cultural circumstances within the history of English monarchy.

The Restoration of English monarchy in 1660 introduced many important changes in the cultural system, both courtly and popular, of late seventeenth-century England. The reopening of theatres and the active dramatic life associated with it was but one of the transformations supported by the pleasure-seeking king. There appeared other minor dramatic genres which have been customarily neglected by modern criticism because of their dubious literary quality and extremely specific, at times unknown, context of production and performance. One of these was the court ode or song, a genre built on music and sycophantic texts, panegyric and ephemeral, written as a tribute to the king in three determined occasions: his birthday, 1st January, and his return to London after his annual autumn visits to Newmarket and Windsor.

The fact of being composed of music and poetry has resulted in a common interest of musicologists, who regard the ode as a small cantata, and has precluded the literary critics from studying it because of its musical nature<sup>1</sup>. There is only one serious work on English court odes which is not exclusively musical, that of Rosamund McGuinnes, though her approach is too formal and avoids a cultural analysis of the genre. She offers a rather tenuous definition of its textual component when she writes that they are “lyrical in expression, stately in structure, and serious in tone”, to conclude with “they have a considerable gnomic element, a prominence of myth, and an emotional unity” (McGuinnes 1971: 2). Because of its sheer overgeneralization, this formal definition departs from the understanding of the ode as an important agent in the creation of a monarchical mythology. Its apparition in this particular period and its long existence throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries prove meaningful enough as to analyse these texts in terms of their quality as cultural vehicles of royalty.

According to McGuinnes the origins of the ode can be traced back to the Jacobean period, when they originated in Ben Jonson’s ode *A New-yeares-Gift Sung to King Charles*, which was extracted from his masque *Pan’s Anniversary* written for King James I in 1620. Jonson’s composition of occasional poetry is not surprising, but his connection with the ode is closer than this almost anecdotal instance. In the context of Jacobean political propaganda, the odes composed by Jonson were similar in nature (sycophantic texts celebrating monarchic absolutism), though not in performance, to the fashionable masque. In this light, it seems more advisable to approach Restoration odes as the direct successors of the Jacobean and Caroline masques, rather than as original and innovative works based on them.

Thus, this paper aims at analysing the development of Jacobean courtly pageantry into the Restoration as a continuous movement, even without any gaps during the Interregnum. For that reason, instead of tracing with detail the likely formal antecedents of the ode, which has been successfully achieved by McGuinnes, it is more necessary to find out the performance conditions and circumstances of court productions in both periods.

Most of the early seventeenth-century court productions were centred in the annual performances of masques: lavish entertainments where the courtiers and even the royal family took part as main actors. They all shared similar characteristics: a complex fable that supported a symbolic eulogy addressed to the king, which was accompanied by ritual dances, songs and revels. This form of celebration of royalty coexisted with minor productions reserved for either less powerful courtiers, or acted exclusively during some uncommon economic, political or simply practical circumstances, which limited the performance of an ordinary masque. Progresses, festivals and entertainments offered in private

1. Recently some articles have appeared dealing with either musical aspects of the genre or its literary and political dimensions within the cultural context of the Restoration: Adams, Walking, Spink.

houses and odes could be found among these pageants.

The radical changes brought about by the Commonwealth and, above all, the extinction of the very context of the royal court, cut off the natural development of these productions. A few of them continued to be performed during the Interregnum either in the houses of some members of the gentry or former courtiers, or in public hospitals and schools; all these supposedly 'illegal' performances set the mode of the forthcoming Restoration masques at court. Indeed, some of the most outstanding playwrights who wrote in the Interregnum, would continue their work into the Restoration: James Shirley, Richard Flecknoe and William Davenant among others. These variously called *Interregnum pieces* resembled the Jonsonian masque in their complex interaction of poetry, music and elaborate scenery, although the allusions to the king were, obviously, missing.<sup>2</sup> However, this trend was absorbed during the Restoration where the few plays called masques, even if they were performed by the royal family itself, did not spin around the figure of the king as the main compositional element in the fable. This short historical account of the evolution of early Stuart pageantry serves as a starting point to discern, by comparison, the situation of court performances after 1660.

Used to dramatic performances while in exile in France, Charles II had a determined and politically profitable love for theatre. The re-opening of the stage clearly proves that, but his interest in festivities and thirst for pleasure modified the royal demeanour expected in an anointed and sacred monarch. This shift in attitude reflected a clear metamorphosis both in his natural and his body politic. Contrary to all of his immediate predecessors, Charles did not hesitate to visit the public theatre that, though its audience was mainly composed of courtiers, provoked a humanisation and vulgarisation of the symbolic image of the king. He seldom attended his own theatre at court, the Cockpit-in Court, and undoubtedly preferred the public spaces. Nevertheless, as it was customary in the previous reigns of his father and grandfather, some of the plays acted at court were also performed in the public theatres. In any case, there existed a very specific arena devoted to the enactment of the theatricality of royalty, one of the mechanisms supporting the emblematic system of absolutist monarchy, that is, the space where the court reflected itself rhetorically. In the Restoration this is found in a few pieces written and acted for, at and, sometimes, by the court. Here two hybrid genres arise with some importance: the multifaceted reformed masque, which relied on poetry, stage machinery, dance and music, and the court ode, mostly composed of music and poetry.

The term *Restoration masque* presents a different definition from that of its antecedents. Whereas early Stuart masques were mostly performed at Whitehall, with the courtiers as actors and with the unavoidable presence of the king, those of the Restoration appear mainly in the dramatic operas and plays of the

2. Masques, moral representations, dramatic pieces or even operas, are but some of the titles Interregnum authors gave to their dramatic works. Cf. Dale B.J. Randall, especially chapter 9 on Mungel Masques, pp.157-183.

public stage, and in a few recorded works acted privately at court. Nicoll lists a small number of these pieces,<sup>3</sup> though only two belong to the court: John Blow's *Venus & Adonis* and John Crowne's *Calisto*. *Venus & Adonis* is, in spite of its very title, an opera, and the reason why Blow called it a masque might be connected to its mythological plot and characters, rather similar to those of *Calisto*. The important difference lies, apart from the all-sung text of the former, in that the performers were the royal family and courtiers themselves. It seems that throughout the Restoration the genre of the masque implies a dramatic production, which involves any of the following: mythological characters, a heroic plot, highly formulaic language and music. The apparition of monarchs as main performers, the defining factor of all previous masques, is transformed into an accessory circumstance.

The fragmentary nature of the masque and its ability to stretch out of the limits of either literary genres or political and artistic spaces contrast with the more fixed ode. Recently, Andrew R. Walkling has considered that “during the Restoration, the strategies by which political messages were both concealed from and revealed to their audience became far more elaborate and complex than in earlier reigns” (Walkling 1995: 53). Although he only proves his statement with *Dido and Aeneas*, an opera which he defines as masque, he avoids other forms of political messages, such as the ode that stands for a more straightforward and evident herald of the crown's politics.

Although there are extant odes dating as early as 1660, those set to music by Henry Purcell will be analysed here. Purcell started his compositions in 1680, during Charles's reign, and kept his post as royal composer until his death in 1695, under William. His work as a musician has helped to gather about twenty-five odes, which stretch over the three reigns of the Restoration. The number of pieces written for each monarch varies. He wrote five welcome songs for Charles II, three for James II and six for Mary's birthdays. He never wrote the music for any New Year's ode, although he composed a few for Saint Cecilia's Day. In any case, those odes concerned with the monarchs seem more suitable for this study, since the New Year's odes are far more general and less sycophantic.

The texts of the odes share a varied stock of topics dealing with the monarch and England. Following the premises of epideictic discourse, and in McGuinness

3. In “Handlist of Restoration Plays” in *A History of English Drama*, Allardyce Nicoll introduces seven entries of masques. He does not distinguish between masques performed at court and at the public theatres, though this may be inferred from the fact that some of them are accompanied by the name of a play, which, obviously, contained it:

John Blow: *Venus & Adonis* (1680-7)

John Crowne: *Calisto* (1675)

John Dryden: *The Secular Masque*, in Vanbrugh's *The Pilgrim* (1700)

Sir Francis Fane: A masque made at the request of the late Earl of Rochester for the tragedy of *Valentinian* (1685).

P.A. Motteux: *The Loves of Mars and Venus*, acted with Ravenscroft's *The Anatomist* (1696).

*Europe's revels for the Peace*: Dialogue from *Post Boy* (1697).

Anon: *The Rape of Europe by Jupiter* (1694)

*The Rectory* (1673)

wording:

In all odes each monarch is THE ONE of whom the Delphic oracle and the Druids spoke. Each is divinely chosen; the Best, and in this sense, the FIRST; Perfection personified, possessing all virtues known to man. Each rules over ALL things, chief among them Nature, and all things of Nature pay tribute to each one. Each will be the most famous in times to come and therefore will, and indeed MUST, have eternal life [...] Each monarch is represented as a Father-figure and is more often than not identified with Caesar, Augustus, or Jove, and equated with the sun. (McGuinnes 1971: 64-5)

Examples of this complete stock of absolutist flattery can be found in all odes written for the three kings. Each of the two occasions involved in the odes, namely, the king's return to London and his birthday, are celebrated with several commonplaces. Far from the subtlety of Jacobean and Caroline masques, the monarch is addressed literally as the embodiment of all virtues and power. One commonplace not recorded by McGuinnes depicts the king as the foremost need of English people. In the ode written for James's birthday in 1687, *Sound the Trumpet, Beat the Drum*, the anonymous poet shows this need:

Let Caesar and Urania live,  
Let all delights the stars can give  
Upon the royal pair descend,  
Let discord to the shades be driven,  
While earth and sky our song attend,  
And thus our loyal vows ascend:  
O, O preserve them, Heaven!

Another common cliché in both birthday and welcome odes is the constant view of the restored monarchy as a fragile system, continuously threatened by rebellions, but fortunately in the hands of Charles, James and William who are its heavenly safeguards. In the same ode is written:

While Caesar like the morning star  
Our British sphere shall grace,  
No more alarms of rebel war  
Shall Albion's beauteous soil deface.  
His arms did first the rebel host confound,  
His godlike mercy next the conquest crowned.  
His fame, like incense, mounts the skies,  
While never, never more to rise  
Pride and Discord headlong go  
Down to the deep abyss below.

This apparent fragility functions as a poetic device to enhance the beneficial qualities of the monarchic regime, which elsewhere is metaphorically depicted as a Golden Age, the new Great Britain surpassing all nations. In 1682 another anonymous poet wrote a Welcome song for Charles II in which Britain's revived glory is asserted.

Ah! Had we, Sir, the power or art  
To grant the wishes of our heart,

Your long and glorious reign should be  
 One entire piece of harmony.  
 No day should an ill aspect wear,  
 But, smooth as seas when calms appear,  
 All hearts should smile as at that hour  
 When you from exile blest our shore,  
 And the ill omens o'er us placed  
 Should vanish with the time that's past.  
 Then would we conclude that our Isle, which of old  
 Was the Fortunate called, had her name but foretold  
 By some learned bard, who in times past foreknew  
 How in ages to come she'd be happy in you.

Many other examples could offer similar accounts of the flattery and highly politicized contents of odes. On the basis of the frequent occurrence of the genre throughout the period, it appears that its ultimate aim lies in its success as informing the necessary existence of monarchy. Though many doubts have arisen about the actual performances and circumstances of their composition, the texts clearly signal their function as political vehicles to celebrate the restored court and monarch. In this sense, these works stand for new means of celebration within a long English tradition. It has been considered that the odes, as voices of royal propaganda, resembled those of the French court. But, as McGuinness puts it, “the writing of court odes was not simply a custom borrowed from the French court where Charles II was supposed to have heard and seen literary and musical forms glorifying Louis XIV” (McGuinness 1971: 2). Whatever French elements court odes may have, and these are more evident in the musical scores, they are typically English celebratory programmes, standing as the recipients of the traditional courtly festivities originated in the fifteenth century.

The celebration of monarchy becomes an essential issue in order to continue and support absolutism. However, both the historical and political events, which transform the politics of monarchy, as well as the changes in taste, are mirrored in court festivals. The ode glorifies the king in a way similar to the masque. But, in so far as the masque loses its celebratory capacity and is adopted as a public dramatic entertainment, there appears a vacuum in the machinery working to preserve the mythological and symbolic system of monarchy. During the Restoration the customary masque, which survives with similar splendour although without kingly referents, is replaced by the ode in this function. Nevertheless, the circumstances of the performance of court odes also varies greatly with those of early Stuart and even Restoration masques. This might reveal the minor involvement of the courtiers in them, which, on the other side, proves a practical issue. Lacking dances and symbolic acting, the odes require, more than any other court-biased production, only professional singers and musicians. The figure of the king is only needed as recipient of the celebratory discourse, but it is no more pivotal in the construction of the performance. These encomiastic addresses resemble the common trend of political texts in terms of their being complete and meaningful themselves. The references to the king are the *raison d'être* of their composition, but their performance is not necessarily linked to the

monarch's presence. The audience's expectations are fulfilled in the very verses of the odes which, besides, could be read as simple poetry independent of the musical score. Music seems to serve a two-fold function: it embellishes the poetry and, in a way, enhances its meaning; but, unlike in masques, its inclusion could be regarded as more incidental.

The metamorphosis of the Jonsonian masque into the ode illustrates the experimental and multiple nature of this kind of celebration. The comparison between this new type of pageantry with former early seventeenth-century court performances has tried to demonstrate how the ever-changing nature of the ode and, more generally, courtly entertainments, possesses an ability to transform itself and meet the needs of various cultural circumstances throughout the history of English monarchy.

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## CATHARINE TROTTER'S *AGNES DE CASTRO*, OR THE REVISION OF FEMALE VIRTUE

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In her first tragedy, *Agnes de Castro* (1695), Catharine Trotter re-elaborates the traditional notions of 'vice' and 'virtue', and presents them as arbitrary concepts, especially when attributed to femininity or to women's actions. The villainess Elvira, for example, manipulates those concepts, and considers her revenge on the Prince as an act of virtue and justice, whereas his own unruly passion for Agnes appears as vicious. Specifically, Trotter redefines the scope of female virtue, claiming political virtue as women's moral purpose. In fact, her female characters even subordinate their reputation and good name to their loyalty to and their friendship with other women: Elvira and Bianca are united by revenge and ambition, Constantia and Agnes by sincere affection. In contrast to male characters like the Prince, who follow their instincts and neglect their political duties, women in the tragedy put reason before sexual passion. Unfortunately, the feminine principle is smothered at the end of Trotter's play, and the patriarchal social order is restored when women die or disappear from public life.

If the aim of true tragedy, as drama critics insist on underlining, is always to "bring chaos into an ordered world" (Wilson 1968: 52), the Restoration playwright Catharine Trotter, one of the three "Female Wits",<sup>1</sup> succeeds in doing so, not only at the basic level of plot and story, but more clearly at the level of characterization and gender roles. In compliance with the tastes of the Restoration audience, as many other tragic authors, in *Agnes de Castro* Trotter chooses a source which provides her with numerous scenes of intrigue, jealousy, revenge and murder on-stage. These hallmarks of sensationalism were also to appear in later fiction. Yet already in the plays of the period we are witness of the virtuous or vicious behaviour of royal and noble figures, who are most times rewarded or punished accordingly: the wicked usually die as a result of their villainy and ambition, but some benign characters also end tragically and the original order is restored.

*Agnes de Castro* is a play with a romantic plot written by Catharine Trotter at the age of sixteen, a tragedy of historical origin. The scene is the King of Portugal's palace at Coimbra, and the main plot revolves around the love triangle between Prince Don Pedro, his new Spanish wife, Princess Constantia, and her bosom friend, the Spanish aristocrat Agnes de Castro. The tragic development is set

1. For a comprehensive analysis of the "Female Wits" and of their influence in the British drama of the turn of the century, see Rubik 1988: 57-ff.

in motion when Don Pedro's secret devotion for Agnes is brought to light by the villainess of the story, Elvira, the Prince's former mistress, who is moved by jealousy and a feeling of revenge on him and on the object of his love. By mistake, Elvira finally stabbed Constantia, and aided by her friend Bianca, blamed the Princess' murder on Agnes. Judging by these evidences, and by Agnes' former disobedience of the King in rejecting his order to marry Don Alvaro, she is imprisoned and even abducted by Alvaro's henchmen. However, her reputation is cleared when Elvira, in her madness, stabs Bianca and the latter's confession absolves Agnes from every guilt. However, her life was not to last, since in Alvaro's attempt to kill the Prince, he accidentally kills Agnes, who with her last breath admits her love for him. Desperate, and about to commit suicide, Don Pedro is prevented by his father from a sure death, and lives the rest of his days for his country.

The central motive of Trotter's tragedy was taken from a previous account of the story, Aphra Behn's novella *Agnes de Castro: Or the Force of Generous Love* (1688), itself an almost literal translation from the French original by Mlle. de Brillac (Todd 1996: 394; Gosse 1916: 1036). Trotter's tragedy deviates slightly from its models, basically as regards plot: the villainess' accomplice in Trotter's story, Bianca, had been presented by Behn as the Prince's first wife and the daughter of Don Pedro, King of Castile (Behn 1969: 159); secondly, there is a source of enmity between Don Alvaro and the Prince, previous to their rivalry for Agnes' love, since the Prince had humiliated him in public. Moreover, in Behn's version of the tale, long after Constantia's death, Agnes and Don Pedro get married, in spite of her initial rejection, as Behn phrases it, her "barbarous virtue", which was about to end with the Prince's life (1969: 196). Finally, although Don Alvaro in Trotter's play is punished by Agnes' murder, in Behn's precedent he leaves Coimbra with a number of servants (Behn 1969: 202).

What's the reason for these alterations of the original? Probably Trotter's aim was to precipitate the events that in Behn's short novel took between four and five years, and in Trotter's play they covered a lapse of a couple of days, to heighten dramatism –especially as regards Agnes' accidental death–, and to support once more the ideal of "female virtue" that Agnes and Constantia embody. In fact, in *Agnes de Castro* Catharine Trotter reelaborates the traditional notion of "virtue" when attributed to femininity and to women's actions. Particularly, Trotter redefines the scope of the term, claiming political virtue as women's real moral purpose, and not just as their chastity and the preservation of their good name.<sup>2</sup> In the play, sympathetic female characters like Constantia and Agnes herself subordinate their honour and reputation to their loyalty towards and their friendship with other women. Male characters like Don Alvaro and the Prince, follow their instincts to the point of neglecting their political duties, and by so doing they risk the survival of basic patriarchal institutions like the family and the monarchy. In contrast to them, women in the tragedy put reason before

2. In fact, Pearson claims that in women's plays of the period the double standard applied to the concept of "virtue" becomes a source of analysis, since these female playwrights, Trotter clearly among them, "emphasise that women can be distinguished for virtues other than chastity, for courage, wit and intelligence" (1988: 72).

sexual passion. Unfortunately, the feminine principle is “smothered” at the end of Trotter’s play, and the patriarchal social order is restored when all the women disappear from public life.

As Jacqueline Pearson puts it, virtue is a key term in Trotter’s production, in her tragedies as much as in her comedies and works of fiction. In fact, she had a tendency to develop good characters at the expense of villains and villainesses, who remained minor characters (Pearson 1988: 184). Trotter reveals, thus, as one of the initiators of the sentimental vein, inaugurated in the 1690s, especially as she usually presents a moral conflict which affects female characters, and which must be resolved during the play. In this respect, the tragedy is the most favourable medium to idealise extreme versions of female virtue. This insistence in delineating female virtue especially on stage comes from Trotter’s inclination to moral reform. In a time in which love and its ways held the audience’s attention, Trotter extends the grip of women far from the realm of emotions to the public sphere of politics. Trotter’s originality consists, precisely in her first tragedy, in benefitting from the genre to expose gender reindications: *Agnes de Castro* represents both at the same time the traditional extremely virtuous heroine and the courageous female hero, and in that peculiar combination lies the difference between her and her friend Constantia. Yet this audacity on Trotter’s side was not new. Already in 1693 in *Olinda’s Adventures*, an epistolary and semi-autobiographical short novel, she showed young Olinda’s devotion for her friend Cleander, and her prospective suitors whom she would take a great deal of effort to reject. Olinda’s most salient feature is precisely her virtue, which foretells the famous prototype of Pamela, though with a humorous twist.

It seems interesting to note how the arbitrary concepts of “vice” and “virtue” are manipulated in Trotter’s tragedy, depending on whom are those terms applied to, men or women. The villainess Elvira, for example, presents her revenge on the Prince as an act of virtue and justice, whereas his unruly passion for Agnes, a sign of weakness, as vicious:

Revenge is justice, born in noble souls.  
 ‘Twas some mean spirited fool that first taught patience,  
 Weak cowardice, that preach’d up dull forgiveness,  
 And call’d the lasie impotence, a virtue. (I.i.42-45)

Elvira has accepted the normative roles conventionally assigned to the sexes, and the gendered view of virtue male characters promote, consciously or not, in *Agnes de Castro*. As her behaviour shows, though Elvira seems to reject the passivity associated to virtuous femininity, she does so at the expense of accepting the gendered view of virtue promoted by male values. Therefore, although Elvira and her friend Bianca actually seem to support a proto-feminist agenda, in so far as they suggest that women should be no “trifle[s] to be played with” (I.i.49), their mistake lies in trying to quench their thirst for revenge not exactly on the agents of their mischief, but on other women. They ruin, thus, female bonds of friendship and mutual loyalty, as more moderate figures, like Constantia and Agnes, spare.

The virtue men display is related to their relevance in public life. We are told that the Prince's war campaigns and his boldness in battle are clear manifestations of his virtue (II.i.246-48), as actions which perpetuate the *status quo*. Allusions to traditional views on female virtue are common in the discourse of these male characters, especially in those of the King and Alvaro. Agnes' flat refusal to marry the latter is contested by violent means: the King advises the jilted suitor to obtain by force what she readily denies:

Don Pedro's absence favours the design,  
 And when she's in your pow'r, you've nought to fear  
 He'll lose his hopes by seeing her your wife;  
 She'll make a virtue of necessity,  
 And dutifully seem at least to love.  
 I need not sure instruct a lover more. (II.i.268-73)

Not only is female virtue as sheer chastity redrawn in *Agnes de Castro*, but also preconceptions about women are proved wrong. One of those flaws, according to the King, is their ambition, "a part essential in a woman" (II.i.2) which would make Agnes accept Alvaro as her future husband. Though pressed to comply with a marriage of convenience, she shows her firmness by promoting a union based on mutual love, which goes beyond the ties of marriage.

Once more Don Alvaro exposes his manly vision of virtue, and challenges Agnes' appropriation of the concept, restricting it to those who can afford it: "The great are only virtuous. What but pow'r/ Makes actions right or wrong? Accept my love,/ And you shall see yourself above control,/ Where none, in thought, dare tax you of a fault" (III.ii.43-46). On the contrary, the virtue women present in Trotter's play amounts to a curse for male characters like the Prince, who follows his passions and shows his human frailty: "The virtue of my wife too proves my curse,/ And I'm constrained to wish for my relief/ What others shun as the worst plague of life" (I.ii.329-31). Though by the end of the tragedy he had witnessed Constantia's and Agnes' virtue in times of trouble, the Prince tries to stab himself, and cannot help a final sign of weakness, and thus, a lack of virtue that may endanger their authoritative positions, especially as regards their place as heads of family and state, as the king observes:

Your valour never made you do before,  
 But what a coward sometimes does for fear,  
 'Tis in these wars, the combats of the mind,  
 Where courage from false brav'ry is distinguish'd,  
 And if you fly from them to death, 'twill show  
 There was danger which you durst not meet. (V.i.472-77)

Except for the villainess of the play, the rest of female figures propose a more egalitarian view of virtue, a reinvigoration they make by means of a role reversal. Constantia and Agnes are probably the bravest characters of the play in contrast to their male counterparts, Don Pedro and Don Alvaro. To a great extent the moral dilemmas in *Agnes de Castro* rest on women's shoulders, who should choose between personal loyalty and sexual passion. Female figures are vindicated as

the leaders of the moral regeneration of the country, a task traditionally entrusted to men. This manly behaviour of women is established by Trotter from the very beginning, already in Agnes' depiction of Princess Constantia as "the sun" and "the bright mind" (I.ii.6-7). She is the first one to be associated to virtue in the play, "that virtue that mankind adores" (I.ii.32). Moreover, her use of reason and her moderate composure at the time of suffering are set as an example even for virtuous Agnes, who doesn't have a thought for herself, but only for the well-being of her friend's marriage and of the crown of Portugal. Constantia confesses to Don Pedro her uneasiness at Agnes' extreme self-renunciation: "I dread the effects of her severity,/ Which may instead of curing, more engage you,/ Charm'd with that rigorous virtue that undoes you" (I.ii.12-14). Nonetheless, Agnes' virtue is tried especially when, aided by faithful Lorenzo, she has the chance to escape from her imprisonment, but once more she prefers to behave honourably and accept her fate (IV.i.144-47). Agnes also refers to virtue as a "privilege" of noble souls, who far from the senses concentrate on the "riches of the mind" (IV.i.181-ff.). That is another reason why the villainess of the tragedy, Elvira, cannot be appraised as virtuous, precisely because she does not use reason, but follows the dictates of the senses. In that light, Elvira, as much as the male characters in Trotter's play, cannot embody that virtue Agnes represents. For her, this concept also implies a degree of self-sacrifice, which must not be identified with passivity, but once again with honour:

Most noble prince, you urge the king too far,  
I ask for no defence, but innocence;  
No arms, but argument, but truth, and virtue;  
If they are without effect we must resign:  
Death's welcomer than life with infamy. (V.i.146-50)

When she is finally absolved by means of Bianca's confession, and is free to love the Prince, now a widower, or to go away freely, she chooses to stay, once more at the cost of her name.

In choosing Agnes as a model of female virtue, Trotter does not only foster a reconsideration of gendered terms like the one proposed, but more than that, the playwright announces a new version of femininity altogether, the birth of the sentimental woman, that later writers of fiction like Defoe and Richardson will exploit in their novels, only to bring them back to the fold of domesticity and public anonymity. In that sense, intrinsically self-renunciating figures like Princess Constantia and Agnes herself in *Agnes de Castro*, were soon to be divested from the cloak of moral regenerators in the sense Trotter implies. From then onwards, at least for a long time, as is made plain at the end of the play, women's efforts to stand out in worldly matters are going to be thwarted, sometimes even tragically to the cost of their lives.

The existence of Elvira and Bianca also contributes to this very purpose. Rebecca Merrens attributes the frequent appearances of sinful women in Restoration tragedy, like these two characters in Trotter's play, to the need to constitute them as the site of sociopolitical warfare:

... women are figured as deceitful not only because they do often struggle against

the repressive demands of a patriarchal culture that requires their silence, chastity, and obedience but also because, by blaming female characters for the dissolution of putatively ordered patriarchal communities, those communities are enabled to reconstitute themselves over, against, and through the literal and symbolic dissection of women's bodies. "Unnatural" female characters become the means by which anxiety-and conflict-ridden homosocial networks reestablish themselves as seemingly coherent and by which they mask the internal divisiveness of the patrilineal system. (1996: 32)

Ultimately, this strategy also works for masking the real purpose behind blaming women for being the agents of mischief, and that is the disguise of the intrinsic contradiction and the excess of violence within the patriarchal order itself, a system that already at the beginning of the 18th century revealed itself as crisis-ridden. Finally, the progressive feminisation of "weak" male characters like the Prince, also the precedent of the later sentimental man, especially due to his capacity for suffering and to his need of redemption through works of virtue. Figures like Don Alvaro became old-fashioned, very much like his sister, since both are the ones who initiate the two bloody revenge scenes of the play. Specifically, their tragic death shows Trotter's concern for suppressing manly excesses, and for promoting more moderate, and thus feminised positions instead.

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## RENAISSANCE AND RESTORATION CULTURAL STUDIES

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# AN APPROACH TO ENGLISH ANTI-CATHOLICISM THROUGH THE ANALYSIS OF SOME 17<sup>th</sup> CENTURY ANTI-JESUITICAL PAMPHLETS

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The birth and quick spread of the Company of Jesus was one of the most significant religious and cultural events of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Their attack against Rome's abuses, interest and influence on education and tolerance regarding minorities, such as women, Jews or Arabs made the Jesuits become a serious threat for the status quo. Despite this subversive attitude, their strength was commonly associated by the Protestant world with Rome and the Spanish Empire. The three together were constructed as a unified "other" where the Anglicans projected their own frustrations and fears. This paper attempts to present some aspects of this discursive construction in 17<sup>th</sup>-century England through the analysis of four anti-Jesuitical pamphlets. I will explore the different discursive strategies through which they elaborated a specific image of the Company, Spain and Rome and the unique enemy they had to defeat.

The birth and rapid development of the Company of Jesus was one of the most significant religious and cultural events of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries in Europe. Their attack against Rome's abuses, their interest and influence on education and their tolerance regarding minorities, such as women, converts or manual workers made the Jesuits a serious threat to the *status quo*. Despite this subversive attitude, their strength was commonly associated by the Protestant world with Rome and the Spanish Empire. The three together were constructed as a unified "other" where the Anglicans projected their own frustrations and fears. This paper attempts to present some aspects of this discursive construction in 17<sup>th</sup>-century England through the analysis of four anti-Jesuitical pamphlets. I will explore the different discursive strategies through which they elaborated a specific image of the Company, Spain and Rome as the unique enemy they had to defeat.

*The Legend of the Jesuites*, written in 1623, is a brief anonymous pamphlet which

presents in a direct and concise way the different accusations against the Jesuits in France. The text describes the serious conflict between the Company and the Sorbonne in Paris, which considered the Jesuits' schools and faculties to be hard competitors. The Jesuits offered free education at high levels, which provoked a true pedagogical revolution in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and provided them with considerable power, supported by the Valois and the Pope himself (Lacouture 1991: 300-30).

The pamphlet adopts the form of a historical chronicle as it makes extensive use of authorities and references to contemporary people and events. One of the most cited sources is Saint Bernard (1090-1153), who preached the second crusade in France and defended Innocent II against Anacletus in their respective fights for the papacy. The author of the pamphlet mentions several parts of his discourse against Anacletus in order to attack the Pope's temporal power, that is, to "shew the incompatibilitie that is betweene Spirituall government and Temporall domination, and that these two being separated powers, cannot be confounded together, neither depend one upon the other" (b3).

The other source is the Sorbonne's decrees against the Jesuits' work. They point out the danger the Company represented due to their aggressive policy, based on snares, disputes and charges that provoked schisms and general discontent: "Haec Societas periculosa in negotio fidei, multas in populo querelas, multas lites, amulationes, disidia, contentiones, variaque schismata inducit, ... potest pacis Ecclesia perturbativa, Monastica religionis everfura, & magis destructionem quem in edificationem ordinata" (b2). In any case, and according to Jean Lacouture, it was the Jesuits who complained about the Sorbonne's attempts to humiliate and intimidate them, for example, when the university forbade them to teach Theology (1991:325).

References to contemporary characters are also frequent. Although some individuals censored by the Company are mentioned (b4), the pamphlet mainly alludes to certain Jesuits, such as Belarmino and Mariana. In order to make clear the threat the Company represented to any European monarch who opposed the Church of Rome, the pamphleteer accuses these Jesuits of murdering Henry III of France. The claim of a threat to monarchies is, in fact, one of the most recurrent commonplaces in anti-Jesuitical rhetoric. However, the reality was more complex and the Jesuits' words were often manipulated by Protestant propagandists. Juan Mariana provides a clear example of this. In his book *Del rey y de la institución de la dignidad real*, he explains the dangerous consequences of a tyrant king's attitude, as it can provoke the rebellion of his subjects, who, unhappy with his policies, can go so far as to murder him. The Jesuit is radical, always preferring the welfare of the Republic to the king's. Thus, it is not strange that his words should deeply concern the monarchs of this period:

Y ¿hemos de consentir en que un tirano veje y atormente a su antojo a nuestra patria, a la cual debemos más que a nuestros padres? Lejos de nosotros tanta maldad, lejos de nosotros tanta villanía. Importa poco que hayamos de poner en peligro la riqueza, la salud, la vida; a todo trance hemos de salvar la patria del peligro, a todo trance hemos de salvarla de su ruina. (1930: 109)

Mariana's speech was perhaps too revolutionary for his time, but we should keep in mind that the object of his attack was the Spanish king Philip III, not the English monarch. Moreover, he demanded liberties for Spain and autonomy against Lerma's economic policy; Mariana even criticised his own order's hierarchy, which led him to be persecuted by the Inquisition. Protestant Reformers ignored all this and presented him as a clear ally of the Spanish Empire and a constant threat to Protestantism. The same occurs with Belarmino, accused of parricide and considered the worst enemy of the Reformation. One of the most important teachers and priests of the Company, he defended the English Catholics' right to rebel against their king according to their conscience, something which was inadmissible in an absolute monarchy such as James I's. But funny enough, this was the policy practised by radical Protestants rather than by Catholics. Therefore, the pamphlets project outside a conflict which undermined the strength of the Reformist faction. Belarmino became, in this sense, the focus of the Reformers' attacks and a symbol of the Catholic threat, together with the Pope and Ignatius of Loyola.

The omission, exaggeration and manipulation of data is more evident when the author of the pamphlet identifies Henry IV's murderer as a Jesuit. In fact, Francisco of Ravallac was not a Jesuit, but an ex-Dominican who confessed the reason for his crime was the protection given by the king to the Protestants. This last idea allows the writer to establish a simple association between the assassin and the Company of Jesus:

Which is but too well acknowledged in that infernal Fury *Ravallac* who in his answers gave infallible proves of this doctrine: He said that the King was a Tyrant, and that he was Excommunicated *de facto*, (though there was no expresse excommunication out against him) by reason he suffered the Heretiques against the wil of the *Pope*. Could he learn this lesson in any other Schoole but the *Jesuites*?  
(c,c2)

The references to papal bulls that favoured them (b4, c3, c4), their confrontations with other orders – mainly, the Dominicans (b3) –, the Gunpowder Plot (c2) and the allegedly uncontrollable spread of the Jesuits' schools and faculties (b4) are also cited. The multiple enumerations, rhetorical questions, hyperboles and imperatives mark the text as a passionate discourse that tries to convince the reader of a quite distorted reality.

*The State Mysteries* (1623) complements many of the ideas presented in the previous pamphlet. At first, the author, Peter Gosselin, seems to be transcribing the text, which seems to create a rhetorical distance conferring credibility to his words. With this technique, the author introduces a fictitious dialogue between a Jesuit and a novice where he comments on the different points defended by the Company and attacked by the Protestants. The writer succeeds in creating a considerable dialectic dynamism between the male character – old, intelligent and dominant – and the young and innocent woman, who, despite her doubts, finally falls in the Jesuit's snares.

It is significant that Gosselin chooses a woman as the Company's victim, thus conjuring up two commonplaces of the period: the seducer Jesuits and the

female weakness against their power of persuasion. The Company's connection with women could not be denied, but the nature of this relationship was very different from Protestant ideas about it. In Gosselin's pamphlet, the Jesuit mentions Ignatius's work with single mothers (c3), an attitude that was highly criticised not only by the Reformers, but also by Rome itself. On the other hand, the Jesuits were the spiritual advisers of very important ladies in 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries in Spain. They became their benefactresses, which provoked envy among members of other orders and perverse commentaries about the Jesuits. However, despite these ladies' attempts to join the Company, the Jesuits always refused this proposal, since they considered women a constant temptation. As we can see, this attitude completely contradicts the image of the seducer-Jesuit, so widely exploited by Protestants propagandists.

The most significant parts of the pamphlet are those alluding to the absolute obedience to the Pope (17-20) and to the deposition of princes (21-50). In order to introduce these two topics to the reader, the writer quotes several authors and works of the Company. In any case, this was not necessary, since these doctrinal points had been discussed already in the previous century, and the Protestants' arguments against them were well-known. It is true that in this pamphlet the Jesuitical texts are not distorted, but their reception is contrary to their original message: they appear in an Anglican context, which does not recognise the Pope's authority inherited from the apostles, a principle that, according to Rome, justifies the ecclesiastical immunity and the clergy's independence from royal authority.

The reader is not provided with Catholic arguments which might question these attacks. In this regard, in the fourth book of Francisco Suárez's work *La defensa de la fe* (1613) (often cited in Gosselin's pamphlet), we find a defense of the idea that "el Papa en la tierra no tiene superior que pueda juzgarle ni coaccionarle" (391), which Suárez justifies through numerous authorities on canon law, through historical references and through passages from the Gospel. Suárez finally makes use of a logical argument to defend papal immunity and his independence from civil law and any emperor:

Pues bien, de este dogma tan antiguo y constante, deducimos que este privilegio del Sumo Pontífice, no es humano sino divino. En efecto, él mismo no se hubiese atrevido a arrogárselo de hecho si no hubiese podido arrogárselo de derecho, porque la Iglesia y los príncipes cristianos no lo hubiesen admitido tan fácilmente y tan de común acuerdo, sin ninguna violencia ni coacción, coacción que, por cierto, los mismos Papas no podían ejercer... Ahora bien, si ha recibido de Cristo autoridad para sustraerse a toda jurisdicción humana, sin duda está exento de ella por derecho divino. Tampoco es creíble que ese derecho lo recibiera de los emperadores. Lo primero porque ese dogma se conoció en la Iglesia antes de los emperadores cristianos. Lo segundo, porque este privilegio el emperador no podía concederlo respecto de todos los reyes y pueblos no sujetos a él; y sin embargo, en el dicho Sínodo Romano aquel juicio se dio en general y respecto de todos. Lo tercero y último, porque los concilios y los Papas ese dogma no lo basan en un beneficio del emperador sino en la excelencia de la dignidad de la Sede Romana. Por eso juzgan que tal privilegio es perpetuo y absolutamente

firme e inmutable, cualidad que no podría tener si su origen hubiese estado en el emperador. (Book 4, 392)

This kind of argument is omitted in the pamphlets. The main problem is the lack of a double perspective: everything is polarised and the “other’s” reasons are ignored or highly disapproved, so that any compromise becomes impossible.

*The Abuses of the Romish Church Anatomizèd* (1623) has the same structure as the previous pamphlet. The author criticises each and every alleged vice of the Roman Church in each of its sections, as he indicates in the prologue: “their abominable Lying, Whoring, Swearing, Blaspheming, Pride, Drunkenesse, Covetuousness, and the like” (a3). The writer’s goal is to show Rome’s permanent corruption. This tendency is presented as inherent to the Roman Church, as justification for Anti-Catholic policies in the English country and, ultimately, as reason to defend England from the Catholics.

The illustrative, almost didactic tone of the pamphlet is clear in the extensive use of words and expressions such as “witness” (a4, a6, a8, b, b3, b4, b6), “amplify” (b), “testimony” (b2) or “prove” (a8), which are reinforced with several references to Roman emperors as Augustus and Claudius, described as defenders of truth and justice (a4). In opposition to them, the writer presents contemporary Rome as the antithesis of such virtues: “If the same order were among the Papall Frye still in force, ‘wee might hope, that either wee should have more Truth-tellers, or fewer Lyers: But that custome is now abolished, and this vice of Lying raignes more among these Mass-monging Priests, than any people under Heaven” (a4).

Together with these pseudohistoric accounts and some other forced comparisons – the Pope, for instance, is associated with the Roman dictator Sulla (c5) –, the pamphleteer defends his ideas by appropriating Sophocles’s (b6), Virgil’s (b7, c) and Homer’s (c4) words. The figure of Marcus Aurelius, a model of pacific and stoic governance, well-known in the Renaissance and Restoration period, often appears in the pamphlet where he attacks Rome in an almost apocalyptic style: “O cursed Rome, cursed thou hast beene, art, and wilt bee: As by thy Tyrannie thou hast made thy selfe Lady of Lordes, so the time will come, when thou with Iustice shalt returne to bee Servant of Servants” (c6).

There are also several allusions to certain people who were very familiar to the contemporary readers, such as Pasquino – a 17<sup>th</sup> century shoemaker famous for his satires against Rome (c2) – or Edmund (c5) – archbishop of Canterbury in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, who was described by the Reformation as a fierce polemicist against the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Other popes, most of them from a recent past, are mentioned to relate their cruelty, as well as their alleged blasphemies and lechery. In this sense, Alexander V (b3, b), Alexander III (b4), Paul III (a8), Leo X (b4), Julius III (b4) and Boniface VIII (b4) are introduced by means of a purely inductive method, as examples of the general corruption of the institution. On the other hand, the pamphleteer criticises James I’s tolerant policy, in opposition to other English monarchs. The writer emphasises, for instance, Elizabeth I’s and Richard the Lionhearted’s reigns. The former is treated as a saint and victim of the Catholic Church’s abuses (b8), while the latter provides a legendary figure

who attacks Rome in the following way:

The King apprehensive of his meaning, replied, My pride I bequeath to the haughtie Templers and Hospitallers, who are as proude as Lucifer himselfe: My Covetousness I give to the White Monkes of Cisteaux Order, for they covet the Devill and all. And as for my Lecherie, I can bestowe it no where better, than on the Priestes and Prelates of our times, for therein have they their most felicitie. (c4)

Finally, the pamphlet deals with a wide variety of texts including historic or pseudohistoric accounts, classic works, different peoples' testimonies and even poems, especially epigrams (b3) and epitaphs (b). The text offers a stylistic complexity uncommon in this kind of writing, as it can be observed in the considerable number of quotations in Latin (a6, b, b2, b3, b6, b7, c, c2, c3, c4, c6) and Greek (c3). The detailed documentation, the frequent enumeration, hyperbole and rhetorical questions add a especial emphasis necessary to maintain the reader's attention, who, after such an exhibition of data, could surely do nothing but agree with the author's arguments.

The interest of *An Arrow against Idolatry* (1624) by Henry Ainsworth derives principally from his chapter about idolatry, in which he adopts the literary conventions of the essay to discuss, according to the reformers' perspective, the different reasons why Rome has become, for all intents and purposes, this vice's origin.<sup>1</sup> Idolatry was considered the worst sin as it disobeyed explicitly the second Commandment (and implicitly the first). This explains the frequent references to Old Testament prohibitions of this kind of images, which becomes a main source for the pamphleteer to attack Rome.

Iconoclasm reaches its most radical point when the text attacks not only physical, but also mental representations: "And Numa, the King of the antique Romans forbade them to think that the image of God, has the shape of a man, or form of other living creature" (99). In this regard, the author attempts to invalidate Rome's defence of the veneration of images by opposing Catholic discourse (represented here by Belarmino) to the Bible itself: "Yet Rome that now is alloweth *the image of God the Father, in form of an old man; and the Holy Ghost in form of a dove*. Though the holy Prophet inveighing against this vanity, demandeth, *To whom will ye liken God, or what similitude will you set up unto him?*" (99-100).

The final mechanism by which the author denies the Church of Rome's authority is to deprive it of the Catholic tradition that defined it as unique and true as opposed to the new Protestant faiths. Thus, Rome is not authentic, but only – in the words of the pamphleteer – a "pseudocatholike Church, or false Ecclesiasticall Monarchy" (88-90); here the reformers have appropriated, by extension, the authority their enemies had enjoyed for centuries. In the same way, the multiple quotations from the Bible show how Rome has detached itself from the primitive Church's divine project, which can only be continued now by the Protestants. This argument serves to defend the Anglicans' Episcopal organisation, in contrast

1. Henry Ainsworth (1571-1622) was a moderate Puritan who founded the Brownists' Church in 1596. His extensive work specially includes commentaries on the Bible as well as other writings related to the religious polemic of the period (Smith 191-4).

with the Pope's centralised power: "Of which Catholike society so combined, we finde no record in the holy Apostles Writ, where every Congregation of the Saints, is shewed in every Citie to be compleat in itself [...] every one under the guidance of many Bishops; and not all under the government of one" (89-90).

Once more, the hyperbolic and enumerative tendency creates an accumulative, almost hypnotic effect that aims to eliminate any possible doubts the reader might harbour:

Out of this smoky furnace, have come the many heresies and whoorish doctrines of Free will, merit of works, limbus, purgatory, pardons, indulgences, vowes, prayer to and for the dead, penance, pilgrimages, auricular confession, and extreme unction, with sundry other like; which by this Churches supreme authority, have been concluded Catholike, Orthodox and Authentically. (93-4).

After the analysis of these pamphlets, we might wonder about their role in the elaboration of an anti-Catholic discourse in England during these years (1620s). I have found that there prevails a certain rhetoric against Popes (and Papal supporters) and the Company of Jesus, who, although in reality represented very different groups and followed very different interests, often appear conflated in many of these writings. Uniting these two factions of Catholicism (together with the Spanish) to construct a common enemy constitutes a mechanism that functions according to the Rhetoric of Opposites, or what Peter Lake calls "a process of binary opposition" (1989: 73). This explains the obsessive emphasis on the enemy's alleged cruelty, corruption and falsity (usually forgetting about their own praise). Through the construction of this unified and powerful "other", the Anglican Church projects its own weakness in attempting to define itself. Anglican propagandists needed the Catholic-Spanish enemy to establish their own conflictive identity and, to do so, they elaborated an antagonist that represented a negative portrait of themselves: James I had already written about the possibilities of this kind of rhetoric in 1597:

Doubtleslie who denyeth the power of the Devill, would likewise denie the power of God, if they could for shame. For since the Devill is the verie contrarie opposite to God, there is no better way to know God, then by the contrarie; as by the ones power (though a creature) to admire the power of the great Creator: by the falshood of the one to consider the trueth of the other, and by the injustice of the one, to consider the mercifulnesse of the other: And so forth in all the rest of the essence of God, and qualities of the Devill. (38)

The pamphleteers insisted, then, in describing in detail those "qualities of the devil" in an attempt to assume "the essence of God". The problem is that this sort of reflective mechanism was not totally symmetrical and the positive image they intended to achieve also laid bare their rhetorical artifice and self-interested intention, as well as their own weakness and fears.

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# ABANDONADOS AND AFORTUNADOS: THE PROSECUTION OF CORSARIOS BY THE MEXICAN INQUISITION

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Following the battle of San Juan de Ulúa in 1568, a large group of Englishmen were stranded in New Spain. Because a number of ships were sunk, Sir John Hawkins, the ranking officer, found himself with inadequate space –and provisions– to see all of his men safely home. The story of the *abandonados* represents the quintaessential early modern saga of Atlantic world confrontation. After the *abandonados* fled the battle scene and put ashore, they were set upon by Indians. Some of their party were killed. The survivors were captured by the Spanish. Martín Enríquez de Almansa, the new viceroy of Mexico, was presented with a dilemma: what to do with a large number of heretical foreigners. Incarceration was not an alternative. Mexico lacked both facilities and money to deal with a conundrum of such magnitude. Enríquez distributed them among Mexico's leading families. This quasi-servitude benefited both the viceroy and their custodians. Enríquez cemented his power base while the elite of New Spain enjoyed the labors of the *abandonados*. The arrangement was spoiled in 1571 by the arrival of Pedro Moya de Contreras, Phillip II's newly appointed archbishop of Mexico. Contreras held strong views about the respective roles of church and state. The *abandonados* presented Contreras with an opportunity to diminish the viceroy's power, gain favor in Madrid, and, purportedly stamp out heresy in New Spain. The conflict between the viceroy and the archbishop permits many avenues for investigation. Their quest for power substantiates, at its outset, that the Mexican Inquisition was –like its predecessor, the Spanish Inquisition– a pragmatic and political tool. The exploitation of the *abandonados* sheds a new perspective on the unfolding drama between Elizabeth I and Phillip II and the complexity of the expanding early modern Atlantic world.

## I

Too often, individuals become merely flotsam in the wake of history. Persons considered of little significance escape notice in the turbulence following moments of great change. But their frequent exclusion should not automatically suggest a conscious effort to elevate others. Often the absence of information on those who physically supply the muscle that drive events is partly due to a paucity of records. The confrontation between the Englishman, John Hawkins, and Martín Enríquez de Almansa, the viceroy of Mexico, at San Juan de Ulúa on

16 September 1568, fits into this category –or so it might seem. What happened to the participants after the Battle of San Juan de Ulúa is accorded little importance. In this article, by contrast, the fate of the ordinary English seamen is crucial. With their stories, I intend to revisit the institution of the early Mexican Inquisition, correcting a few historical inaccuracies, and describe –in some small measure– how the Inquisition interacted with colonial government.

Following their capture, the Englishmen sank into historical oblivion. Some traces of them exist, but the records are scattered over several continents. A consolidation of primary sources is woefully lacking and reliable secondary sources are virtually nonexistent. Even primary sources such as trial records, correspondence, and chronicles written by two *abandonados* are fraught with inaccuracies and often present an incomplete picture.<sup>1</sup>

My study was undertaken as a small step toward finally establishing an accurate record. Obviously, identifying the English participants by name was the logical place to start. As losers in the confrontation they were subjected to the Spanish legal process. Not all records of trial, interviews under torture, or judicial hearings survive, but the names of most of the Englishmen surface in other contemporary manuscripts. From these records and the few peripheral studies referencing them, I was able to reconstruct a roster of the *abandonados*. This census became the foundation of this study.

As the list of individuals and details of their lives took on an ordered form, it became apparent that most historians who touched the subject were either misled by some of the primary documentation or accepted another historian's account as reliable. This resulted in the mutation of certain "truths" which inured to the battle (and its aftermath) and were then told and retold. Perhaps the grossest misconception is that the *afortunados* were treated with leniency because of their youth.<sup>2</sup> Because of the disparity of treatment the Englishmen received, the idea of a monolithic and dogmatic Mexican Inquisition is brought into question (Kamen 1999; Homza 2000).<sup>3</sup>

There is no disagreement that some *abandonados* received lesser punishments than their contemporaries. Most accounts identify only six such men.<sup>4</sup> My census proves that this presumption is flawed. It clearly shows that more than six men received leniency. The use of youth (*niños* –a term used by court) as a mitigating factor is misleading and possibly fallacious since there were so many other men of identical age. The Spanish judges used this, in my opinion, as an excuse to

1. *Abandonados* is a term coined by Conway (1920). I use his term throughout this essay to identify the English as a group. I am indebted to the Cambridge University Library for maintaining, and making available, the Conway Collection. The collection contains photocopies of *procesos* found in The Mexican National Archives as well as Simancas and Seville.

2. The term *afortunados* is my designation of a subgroup of Englishmen who escaped the punishment visited on the majority of their shipmates.

3. Both Professors Kamen and Homza revise some of the long-held tenets of the Inquisition finding them long on legend (Black) and short on proof.

4. Williamson (1949) extrapolates and stresses the testimony that leniency should be (and was) granted to *niños*. Evidence of the age issue, although somewhat contradictory, can be found in the full text trial transcripts found in Jiménez Rueda (1945b).

mask a pragmatic handling of those Englishmen who developed influential social or political ties in Mexico during the three years between their seizure and their trials.

To challenge an Inquisitor's motivation from a position four centuries removed may seem presumptions, but the evidence supports this conclusion. The records show that those treated leniently were subjected to trials more secular in character than the standard ecclesiastical treatment received by the others. In addition, both the database, and the extant narratives imply that personal relationships created a powerful protective shield for the *afortunados*. This leniency can be interpreted on several levels. However, it is my intent to demonstrate that the Holy Office, upon establishment in Mexico, quickly adopted political and social aspects to fit the needs of the community.

## II

In 1568 Spain and England were still on reasonably amicable terms. The English could trade in the New Spain but only under strict conditions (Andrews 1978). All trade was routed through Seville. The English occasionally took the liberty of violating their licenses by stopping off to trade in unauthorized ports. Despite the lack of permission, the need for slaves which the English used as currency presented an irresistible commodity to the labor-starved communities.

John Hawkins' third voyage to the Indies began with reasonable success. However, time and season began to work against him. After being at sea for over a year, his small fleet was low on provisions and in dire need of repairs. Struggling against unfavorable winds, Hawkins decided to put into the small harbor at San Juan de Ulúa. The undermanned garrison, thinking the approaching sails were the anticipated *flota* making its scheduled stop before returning to Spain, offered no resistance –initially. Shortly thereafter the treasure fleet arrived and a fight ensued.

The English lost so many ships in the fight that there was neither room on board the three surviving vessels for the crews nor adequate provisions to see them home. As it was, one of the fleeing ships, the *Minion*, put ashore several times attempting to secure water and food. There was precious little available. One hapless sailor commented that:

Hunger constrained us to eat hides, cats and dogs, mice, rats, parrats and munkies, our hunger was so great that wee thought it savourie and sweete whatsoever wee could get to eat. (Hakluyt 1968: 320-23)

The terrible condition of the ships coupled with the lack of stores forced Hawkins to make a dreadful request of the seamen. He solicited volunteers to remain in Mexico with the promise that he would return the following year to retrieve them.

## III

The two contemporary English resources by Miles Philips and Job Hortop, initiated a pattern of misinformation that dogged this investigation (Hakluyt

1968:320-23). With their assistance alone, a reconstruction of events, and in particular the fate of the crew, was impossible. Ultimately, the Spanish archives held the key, mainly in the form of the trial records of the *abandonados*. Some English witnesses testified against their fellow countrymen and, in so doing, a manifest of sorts became part of the record.

The trial transcripts began three years after the battle, not because of a slow Spanish legal system, but for political reasons discussed below. There is some question as to the accuracy of the transcripts, but that too must wait. The point, however, is that the Spanish neglected to make a roster of the *abandonados* when they were taken into custody. Or perhaps, given the Spanish bureaucracy's penchant for making lists, it may be reasonable to assume that no list survived.

Viceroy Enríquez disposed of most of the *abandonados* by assigning them to Spaniards as quasi-slaves after receiving a promise that their new masters give them up for trial on demand. They would not be returned for trial until three years later. During that time, many of the *abandonados* assimilated into the community. As the database shows, many ended up in the mines of Zacatecas. Their Spanish overseers, for the most part, used them to supervise work gangs. These jobs allowed many to accumulate considerable fortunes which were later confiscated by the *Santo Oficio*. The database also exhibits a diversity of professions among the Englishmen, some of whom were prized for their skills. The group included tailors, locksmiths, butchers, barbers, a firework maker, and even a musician.

Paul Horseywell, whose name appeared infrequently in the record, became a servant to Pedro de los Ríos. He was the secretary of the court that was charged with prosecuting the *abandonados*. The fact that Ríos was the official keeper of the record might explain the absence of Horseywell in the transcripts. There seemed to be a conscious effort to keep Horseywell out of the spotlight. This unusual and singular treatment of Horseywell prompted my search for *afortunados*. It seemed odd that such deferential handling was extended to some and not to others. It became apparent that there were motives other than those stated by the judges in their *niño* pronouncements (Jiménez Rueda 1945).

The reason the *abandonados* were entrusted to civilians, although technically still in custody, represents the nature of justice in Mexico. Disposition of the intruders was a controversial issue even before they entered the legal system. Francisco de Luján—the top military officer in Mexico—grumbled to Philip II in a letter dated October 20, 1568:

Y según lo ha comunicado conmigo el virrey quiere que todos [Englishmen] que vayan en la flota: yo le he dicho mi parecer e lo que hiciera según vuestra majestad me lo manda por su instrucción si él no me hubiera ido a la mano, porque entiendo que demas de ser herejes, tuvieron gran atrevimiento en deservicio de vuestra majestad por todas las partes destas Indias... (Paso y Troncoso 1939-42)

Despite Luján's suggestion, Enríquez chose to retain the *abandonados*, a strategy uncontested by Madrid. Political expediency inspired the Viceroy to release the Englishmen to the custody of his friends. This was a most unusual action given some important facts: the English had invaded sovereign territory, they committed crimes against property, traded illegally, killed Philip's subjects, and,

worse yet, they were heretics.

When Archbishop don Pedro Moya de Contreras arrived, he came with the spirit of the Council of Trent and was armed with the king's mandate (Poole 1987).<sup>5</sup> The *cédula*, dated 16 August 1570, established a permanent tribunal under the authority of the Holy Office. Contreras oversaw the new power structure. He considered heresy a real and present danger. The Viceroy did not welcome Contreras. Their struggle for power triggered an intense feud (Larrey 1965). The acrimony between Enríquez and Contreras was not contained within the borders of the New World; both invoked their hierarchical positions and sent sharply worded complaints to Philip hoping to dislodge the other from royal favor. The *abandonados* became pawns in this struggle.

The Englishmen were the first individuals to be tried by the permanent Holy Office in Mexico. They were the centerpiece of the first *auto de fe* administered by Contreras. The majority of the English were tried as heretics. However, as previously suggested, the degrees of punishment meted out for similar accusations were strangely divergent—especially for the *afortunados*.

The matter of punishment inevitably surfaces in discussions centered on the Inquisition, as does process and reform. Epitomizing the genre—and specific to the period under investigation—is a book by Antonio F. García-Abasolo (1983). His work was essential in this study because it detailed the reforms which I believe were triggered by the English presence. However, Abasolo, too, fell heir to misstatement because an accurate history was not readily available. His words validate my argument:

Por herejía manifiesta—luteranismo y judaísmo—, o proposiciones heréticas más o menos graves, se cuentan sobre 45 procesados, de los cuales 34 eran extranjeros—veinticuatro ingleses, siete franceses, un portugués, un flamenco y un irlandés—. De éstos, seis fueron entregados al brazo seglar para ser relajados; el resto fue reconciliado y sentenciado a penas varias, consistentes preferentemente en servicios en galeras, azotes dados públicamente por las calles de México, o servir a personas escogidas por el tribunal durante un número determinado de años, en los cuales habían de vestir el sambenito. Entre los relajados, Jorge Rively, Pedro Monfrie, y el irlandés Guillermo Cornells pertenecían a la armada de Hawkins; Marin Cornu y Guillermo Corcel eran franceses, pertenecientes a una flota corsaria que había actuado en Nombre de Dios y Yucatán a principios de 1571. (García-Abasolo 1983: 319)

The number of trials is incorrect. The head count of nationalities is incorrect. The identities of the individuals executed are also incorrect. The tendency to dismiss this type of reporting as trivial is tempting. However, that would be a mistake.

The errors are easy to come by. In fact, many of the latter are attributable not only to secondary works but, in many instances, to primary sources. Job Hortop, an *abandonado*, reached out across the centuries and told Abasolo about Pedro

5. Poole provides a marvelous insight into the depths of his subjects religious fervor. He devotes little time to the *abandonados* but clearly sees them as a major point of conflict between Contreras and the Viceroy.

Monfrie's death, but there is no record, nor fragment, to support the information. Monfrie's demise, repeated over time, became legitimized. The numbers cited by Abasolo most likely came from José Toribio Medina, or J. A. Williamson, who may have misunderstood one of Conway's works (Williamson 1949; Toribio Medina 1952). Conway mentions thirty Englishmen and provides citation from their respective trial transcripts. Nowhere does he suggest that other trials did not exist. In fact, *Libro primero de votos de la Inquisición de Mexico 1573-1600*, lists more than thirty trials (1949). Although Conway rescued, compiled, and researched the documents pertaining to the *abandonados*, his only work that presents just a fraction of the documentation he possessed is *An Englishman and the Mexican Inquisition*. Oddly enough, it was not about an *abandonado* but about one of three Englishmen who were put on trial in Mexico prior to 1571.

Spanish primary resources far exceed those in English archives regarding the *abandonados*. Not just in trial records but in correspondence between Mexico and Madrid.<sup>6</sup> The wrangling over jurisdiction, reporting the disposition of trials, orders from the Holy Office to familiars, rumor, gossip, and a wealth of other minutiae appear in the most unexpected places. An area unresearched, but one that would certainly pique the interest of social historians, is that of the *abandonados* assimilation. Apparently, the subject teased a few scholars who mentioned the English integration in passing. But, more frequently than not, more disinformation resulted. As a result, credible scholars, such as Abasolo, working from flawed data, reach conclusions such as: "De otro lado, una vez cumplidas sus sentencias, la mayoría permaneció en Nueva España y algunos contrajeron matrimonio con españolas o mestizas más o menos ricas" (García-Abasolo 1983: 319). The following chapter upsets this notion as well as others previously mentioned.

#### IV

The facts show that the majority of the *abandonados* were not married, nor did they remain in Mexico. Ten Englishmen left with the *flota* within days of the battle. Ten died from wounds inflicted by Indians (Martínez del Río 1943: 241-94). Three avoided capture altogether (Unwin 1960). Thirty-five of them were sent to Spain to serve in the galleys as a result of judicial proceedings. And three were executed. That accounts for sixty-one individuals, the majority, that left Mexico –dead or alive. Out of the *known* population of eighty-seven, only seven were married –less than ten percent.

Philips is probably to blame for the mischaracterization of marital status of

6. The following volumes contain either direct or peripheral information involving the battle, trials, procedural matters, protocol, expenses, general intelligence about the Englishmen. Some trials involving Spaniards who crossed the paths of the English are found in several of the sources, two will be discussed below. *Cartas de Indias* (1877); *Cinco cartas de Illmo. y Excmo. Señor D. Pedro Moya de Contrera* (1962); García Icazbalçeta (1886-1892) and (1941); Cuevas (1914); *Colección de documentos inéditos* (1842-1845); *Documentos inéditos o muy raros* (1905-1911); Paso y Troncoso (1905-1906).

the Englishmen. He claimed that his compatriots were pressured to marry. He theorized that the Spanish thought a spouse provided a set of eyes for the Holy Office, encouraged sentence compliance, and insured against a relapse. Philips, however, was not speaking of the entire group of *abandonados* but only of the *afortunados*. Of the seven recorded marriages, six were those of the fortunate ones; those who received leniency at trial. The seventh, John Martin, burned for his confessional differences.

Philips avoided matrimony with the express purpose of escape. His sentence, three years labor in a Jesuit mission, allowed relative freedom. He was in a position to stay in touch with his fellow *afortunados* thereby passing along extremely accurate information, but only about them. The seven *afortunados* identified by Philips are: David Alexander, Robert Cooke, Thomas Ebren, Paul Hawkins, John Story, Richard Williams and himself. This is no record of an Ebren marriage, however, the other five were wed: two of the *abandonados* were married.

Abasolo's contention that "algunos contrajeron matrimonio con españolas o mestizas más o menos ricas," can also be challenged (García-Abasolo 1983: 319). Of the *afortunados*, two (Alexander and Storey) married "negro" women (Hakluyt 1968: 431). One was married to a *mestiza*. And a doubly lucky *afortunado*, Richard Williams, not only received minimal punishment but wed a rich widow from Vizcaya. Williams's union is the only one where wealth, marriage, and a Spanish born bride are mentioned in any record. There may have been another. Philips confirmed that William Lowe "is now married" but failed to provide details.

Two *abandonados* married: John Moon and John Martin. Marriage did not save Martin from the stake, nor did it keep Moon from a penalty of 200 *azotes* and 6-8 years in the galleys. Neither of them married *peninsulares* but Martin exemplifies the mythic *abandonado*. After splitting away from his fellow shipmates at Tampico, he found his way to the town of Trinidad, Guatemala. Martin worked as a barber and a surgeon. He fathered one child. After his execution nothing more was heard of Martin's widow, his child, or any grandchildren. However, contrast the total disappearance of Martin from the record with just one of the *afortunados* who left a distinct trail: Paul Hawkins.

Paul Hawkins, (Horsewell) apart from his marital state, was the quintessential *niño*: one of those who was purportedly granted leniency by the court because of youth. Williamson's reading of the transcripts found several instances (as have others) of the court's determination that "those who had been small children when Elizabeth came to the throne, and had therefore never had any Catholic instruction, were for the most part sentenced to a period of menial service in a monastery, where they could be taught their new faith. However, many of the same age were not treated in a similar manner making it inappropriate for Williamson to make such a leap. The following data destroys even the judges' attempt at rationalization, or better said, their own self interests. The political and social reality of the punishments meted out to the Philip's *afortunados* render the *niño* argument indefensible.

The *afortunados*, Alexander, Cooke, Hawkins, Lowe, Philips, Storey, and Williams are generally acknowledged as the group that received leniency predicated on

their youth. Whether name similarities or outright misidentification created the problem, or whether there was too much reliance placed on Philips' chronicle, one thing is certain: there were more *afortunados* than contemporary or later reports allowed. John Evans at 21 years of age received a three year sentence in a monastery. Thomas Ebrén was 18 when sentenced to serve the church. John Perrin, age 19, was born in Flanders but raised in England. He was originally sentenced to monastic service but behaved in a manner that later condemned him to the galleys. These three, added to the number originally discussed, refute Toribio's claim of seven individuals receiving special handling.

The misidentification of the *afortunados*, or for that matter the number of them, is understandable. However, more significant are the ages of twenty five other *abandonados* which clearly suggest that they were also *niños* if one uses the court's criteria. Notwithstanding their tender years, most suffered the *auto de fe*, "y que se le den doscientos azotes por las calles públicas de esta ciudad, en forma de justicia, y sea desterrado a las galeras de S. M., donde sirva al remo por galeote sin sueldo alguno ocho años, y el hábito se le quite a la lengua del agua" (*Libro primero* 1949: 39; penalty summary of John Lee in 1573).

Besides my ten *afortunados*, two others fared well: Roldán Escalart and Andrés Martín (Archivo General Nacional 55.4). Even though neither was English, both are included in the database because the Spanish considered them part of the Hawkins group. They were French. Both men professed the true faith and were not found wanting by the Inquisitors –they were acquitted.

If the two acquitted and the ten treated leniently (a twofold increase in the historic group of *afortunados*) are compared with thirteen others of the exact same age group the disparate treatment is stark. The thirteen received –at minimum– 200 lashes and time in the galleys, which undermines any idea of a consistent sentence. In fact, it destroys the accepted historical argument of an elite group treated with deference solely because of their age. The few that avoided the seemingly inescapable sentences imposed by the Holy Office were not just lucky. They owed their *afortunado* status to either political connections, kinship, societal value, or sometimes a combination of each.

Hawkins' status as a page was not missed by the court. Most pages were not drawn from the ranks of commoners and usually had notable connections. Hawkins was the nephew of John Hawkins, Captain-General of the Fleet of England, and master of the *Jesus of Labeck*, a vessel owned by Elizabeth I. Paul's father was Robert, paymaster of the Elizabeth's navy. His uncle, William, was the mayor of Plymouth, a safe haven for Spanish ships seeking refuge from the Sea Beggars. The second time Hawkins was taken into custody (first by the Viceroy, second by the Inquisition), he became the servant of Ríos, secretary to the tribunal. His case evidently caused great consternation amongst the judges, who, after sentencing the *afortunado* to only one year of monastic seclusion, referred the case to the Supreme Council in Spain. Hawkins was released into the custody of Juan de Marquina of Mexico in 1577 for instruction in the Catholic faith. He remained in Mexico.

David Alexander, John Perrin and Miles Philips were also pages to fleet

captains. They received sentences varying from three to five years in monasteries. Perrin, whose father was a cook for Philip II and Mary Tudor, violated the terms of his sentence and was sent off to the galleys despite his father's culinary connection. Philips escaped Mexico via Spain and wrote his famous chronicle. Alexander served Spain in the Philippines.

Richard Williams was a servant (page?) to Robert Barrett, the first mate of the *Jesus of Lübeck*. Williams, who was slightly older than the other *afortunados*, married a rich Vizcayan widow. Despite depositions extracted from William Callens and Morgan Tillert accusing Williams of zealous Lutheranism, his acquired wealth and family connection served him well: his sentence was five years service in the monastery of San Francisco. Williams was "released as a good Christian on 10th [sic] March 1578" (Conway 1920: 160).

Another who served an English ship's master, John Evans, also begs the question of *niño* status. He was 21 at the time of his trial, yet he definitely falls into the *afortunado* group because of his light sentence. His penalty of three years of monastery service was completed in 1577. No *abandonado* who served as a page, cabin boy, or personal servant to John Hawkins' officers fell under the lash nor went to the galleys.

## V

Clear evidence of the regionality and the flexibility of both Spanish governance and the Inquisition abound in the story of the *abandonados*. Between 1568 and 1574, a new governor, while trying to establish authority, suffered a foreign invasion of sorts. The Englishmen captured after the battle of San Juan de Ulúa presented both an opportunity and a problem. The English were heretics by confession and criminals by their acts against Spain. However, used advantageously, they enhanced the Viceroy's standing within the *peninsulare* community in New Spain. The Viceroy released the English into the custody of individuals whose pledge to return them for trial carried some weight. In other words, persons of honor and status. This somewhat unusual disposition of prisoners can only be seen as a politically utilitarian act.

The Viceroy's dispensation may have gone unchallenged had it not been for archbishop Contreras's intervention. He clearly intended to wrest away the Viceroy's jurisdictional domain. The *abandonados* were unwitting participants of the political and ecclesiastical battle. Contreras caught Enríquez in an awkward position. Three years earlier, Enríquez established the criminality and heresy of the English in a legal forum.<sup>7</sup> He could hardly object to the charges Contreras lodged against them since the accusations were almost identical. As acrimonious as their relationship appeared to be, there was apparently either a tacit understanding,

7. Robert Barrett and William Orlando were tried before 1571 prior to the arrival of the regular Inquisition. Their trials differ in length and were more secular nature than those that followed.

or some type of accommodation made, to avoid vigorously prosecuting all of the *abandonados*.

Both men were pragmatists: they knew a cohesive and strong community relied upon mutual cooperation between governing entities and leading families. As much as Contreras may have wanted Enríquez's power diminished, Enríquez was still the Viceroy, and, as such, could not be undermined completely. It was political suicide to try to eliminate the king's chosen representative. At the same time, the societal damage of a wholesale prosecution, conviction, and removal of community assets (the *afortunados*) was counterproductive. The Inquisitor needed the elite as much as the Viceroy.

Spain still needed England –or, at least a neutral England. The surest way to antagonize an early modern monarch, or a powerful family, was to attack their property or detain (or kill) their relations. The treatment of the *afortunados*, Paul Hawkins especially, reflects the concern for international stability. Severe punishment of an individual who possessed direct family or personal relationships with important personages –in England, Spain, or Mexico– might have precipitated diplomatic difficulties.

It is difficult not to take an original document at face value despite the warnings of historians who went before. The inherent danger of ignoring that advice is evident in the primary and secondary resources that tell the story of the *abandonados*. The historical record, once sorted and organized, pokes holes in the fabric of a four-hundred and thirty year old tale. Toribio's *Historia*, Greenleaf's *Mexican Inquisition*, or other tales of the Mexican Inquisition that portray a blind monolith applying the Spanish rule of law, need tempering (Greenleaf 1969). Even at inception in 1571, despite a feud at the highest levels, pragmatic solutions were found which benefited the immediate community, the perception of justice prevailed, God's work was done, neither the Church nor the State lost status, and an attempt was made to minimize the international repercussions. The judges, who I claimed earlier were disingenuous in their characterization of some of the *abandonados* as *niños*, were not prevaricating to subvert the record. Instead, their justification was the welfare of the community. All parties were winners, except the *abandonados*.

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## THE DAYS OF THE MOON: SCIENCE, MAGIC OR POETRY?

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*The thirty days of the moon* is a widely spread medieval poem in rhyming couplets preserved today in nine manuscripts copied in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, two printed editions (1528 and 1547) and two 16<sup>th</sup>-century manuscript copies. The poem, as the title suggests, dealt in its 754 lines with the characters, things and qualities associated to any of the 30 days of the moon. Biblical parallelisms for each day, predictions of the future by the day of birth, appropriateness of each day for the consecution of ordinary things (travelling, getting recovered from illness, getting married, letting blood, realization of dreams), or possibilities of escaping for fugitives or of recovering lost property are the main points of the poem. The purpose of this paper is to try to determine the status of this poem both in the late medieval period and in the Renaissance. By examining some textual and extra-textual factors, such as the authorship, the audience or readers, the textual contexts, the language, the purpose of the poem, the role of astrology, and the literary theory, I will try to establish the position that this poem occupied within the corpus of astrological tracts of a more learned tradition or among the literary pieces of the time.

*The thirty days of the moon* is a medieval poem preserved in nine manuscript copies of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, two early printed texts (one of 1528 and another one of 1547), and two 16<sup>th</sup> century manuscripts copied from the printed editions. This poem has been classified under the name of “Lunary” or “popular moonbook that take heed of the moon alone, giving perpetual prognostications according to the thirty days of the moon” (Taavisten 1988: 23). The genre seems to comprise texts in prose and in verse with a common principle: all the texts represent a form of lunar prognostics. This particular poem, which in one of the printed editions appeared under the title of *De Cursione Lune*, was composed in rhyming couplets and it is 754 lines long. It starts with a prologue and the poem itself is divided into thirty sections that correspond to the thirty days of the moon cycle, being the first day that of the new moon.

The same structure is repeated along the poem for each of the days. In the first place, there are biblical parallelisms which provide each of the days with certain features proper to the significance of the event that happened on the same lunar day. This is followed by predictions for the future personality of the child born on that day, and the everyday life things that should be done or avoided.

Among these, we find advices for travelling, getting married, letting blood, or predictions for getting recovered from illnesses, realisation of dreams, possibilities of escaping for fugitives and possibilities of recovering lost property.

In a way the contents of the poem could be considered a medieval counterpart of our zodiacal signs, although zodiacal predictions lived together with lunar predictions at that time. The first day of the moon cycle is described in this way:

The fyrst day of the moone Adam  
 Our forfather into this world cam  
 That day is good witouten syn  
 All thyng for to begyn  
 The childe that is borne that day  
 He shall be noble and wise parfay  
 And of longe lyfe withouten fayle  
 But often he shall be in great trauayle.  
 And who so that day take sycknesse  
 He schall langure longe as I gesse  
 With great payne scope he shall  
 And therefore thanke god of all.  
 And what thou metest in thy slepe  
 God in his mercy therof take kepe  
 For it shall tourne the to ioy and blysse  
 Therof giue vs grace not to mysse.  
 But that day is ne tyme gode  
 In no maner to be leten blode  
 To let the blode on no vayne  
 Who so wyll be withouten payne.

My purpose in this paper is to try to establish the status of this poem in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, to determine what position occupied among other astrological texts, if its orientation was of a scientific nature, or whether it was more connected with the literary activities of that time, or if this connection between poetry and science derives into something closer to popular magic.

Astrology during the early middle ages, in the Christian world, lost part of the power and impact that it had previously enjoyed in the classical period. The Fathers of the Church condemned the astrological theories since these were essentially against one of the basic principles of Christianity, that is, that man has been created free to choose. Astrological determinism was not compatible with the idea of free will. St. Augustine, for example, in his *De Doctrina Cristiana* says that “to desire to predict the characters, the acts, and the fate of those who are born from such an observation, is a great delusion and great madness” (St. Augustine: II, 22). But in spite of the efforts of the Church, astrology was part of people’s lives and eventually some of the astrological principles were accepted. St. Isidore of Seville in his *Etymologiae* made a distinction between what he called “astrology” and “astronomy”, being astronomy acceptable since it was just a descriptive science making no judgements. The conflict between them continued during the middle ages, but by the time of the composition of the

poem astrological elements and Christian elements could intermingle showing no trace of this conflict. In fact, the Christian elements are used in the poem to give it verisimilitude and to grant it a kind of respectability, eliminating at the same time the fear produced by the dark and unknown world of “what cannot be explained”, by connecting well-known images and characters with the associations between the position of the stars and human life, showing in this way the influence of the macrocosm in the microcosm, and giving God a special role within the macrocosm.

These connections do not occur in treatises of technical astrology, in those texts that conformed the discipline that was one of the Seven Liberal Arts, and that had the status of a science. Even in the poetical dissertation on astrology made by John Gower in his *Confesio Amantis* connections of this kind are absent. The reason for this may be that the readership of the learned treatises was quite different from the audience or readers of popular lunaries in verse. The former were read by people who sought knowledge, the latter were read to or by those that wanted to get a practical benefit from that knowledge. The group of readers of learned treatises were then, those that saw astrology as something theoretical and at the same time did not question its scientific status. The group of readers of popular lunaries saw it as something practical, something which triggers relations of cause and effect which are not based on rational experiences, and in this sense this practical astrology gets close to sympathetic magic.

The biblical references serve here a magic function as well, because given that like is known by like, each biblical character or event gives each day specific properties formerly attached to any of these characters. So the Christian elements which are part of the poem to make a distinction between astrology and the hermetic tradition, that is, to avoid the superstition traditionally associated with magic, become new elements incorporated to the same system.

At the same time, these Christian elements taken mainly from the Old Testament, provide the poem with a kind of fictionality which is not proper of the scientific treatises either, but fits perfectly within the literary works of the time of the composition of the poem. The references are the same as those we may find in most of the stories of the Mystery Plays that were performed in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, and even the beginning of the prologue is quite similar to the beginning of the *Noah* play in the Chester Cycle:

God that all this worlde hath wrought  
And all mankynd hath made of nought (*The Thirty Dayes of the Mone* 1-2)

I, God, that all this world hath wrought  
Heaven and yearth, and all of nought (*Noah* 1-2)

These were in fact popular prayers which were, according to Rossell Hope Robbins, in wide circulation within the corpus of Middle English verse. Moreover, the poem was probably composed to be performed in front of an audience, an audience which was supposedly from all social levels as we can deduce from what we read in the prologue: “Therefore, lordynges, lesse and more/, Lysten all to my lore” (23-4) and “How we shuld here, heyghe and lowe/, Our destenyys

and our happys knowe" (49-50).

The idea of a unified general audience does not seem plausible, and these lines should be considered probably just as literary formulas, although within the context of astrological determinism "the high" and "the low" are going to become equals, since the destiny marked by the position of the moon at the moment of birth is the same for those born under the same lunar circumstances. In any case, it seems that the audience for whom this poem was composed was not the most literate part of the population. The topics dealt with, and the language used to compose the poem (a plain language intended for being understood by everyone) indicate that this poem was not for the instructed.

The audience of the poem and its purpose are closely linked. It is intended for the lower classes and the purpose, then, must meet their needs. In the prologue of the poem it is stated that the poem "wryten they be for ouer profyte/ for oure solas and our delyte" (11-12). So, profit, comfort and delight are then supposed to be the three main functions of the poem, functions that, are clearly connected to those attributed to both the poetics and the rhetoric during the Middle Ages: *docere*, *movere*, and *delectare*. The poem has a didactic function, and it teaches truth, not fiction, as we read on lines 19-20: "For I shall tell you no fable/ But thynges bothe good and able". So to begin with, it teaches that there are forces in the universe that man cannot control, and it teaches that our destiny does not depend entirely upon us, but at the same time it shows that on everyday life the human being has the possibility of choosing, and it teaches how one should choose. Secondly, the poem provides comfort for those who choose according to the advise given in the poem, since their election will give them a better living, and all this will help them to make the misfortunes of their lives more acceptable. Lastly, the poem, when performed before an audience or when read, represents a form of entertainment according to the taste of that time, and as such it provides delight. Considering that it serves this threefold function (*docere*, *movere*, and *delectare*), the text would be more in the literary tradition than in the scientific tradition where the texts do not need to be a form of entertainment, although they must have a didactic function and in many cases they must provide comfort as well.

In a sense, from the Aristotelian point of view the theme of the poem would not conform to the principles that would make it poetry, since the form (verse) is not what determines its nature, and its partly scientific status cannot be considered a form of imitation (Preminger et alii 1974: 108); on the other hand, for Plato and the Neoplatonists the poem would perfectly fit under such denomination. Proclus, for example, in his work *On the Nature of the Poetic Art* distinguished three kinds of poetry related to the three faculties of the soul: the poetry produced by divine inspiration which is related to intuition, the poetry produced by reason, related to the rational soul, and the poetry produced by fancy (Preminger et alii 1974: 314). The second type, that produced by reason, is essentially didactic and presents the lore of science in attractive forms (Preminger et alii 1974: 312). This is precisely the kind of poetry we are dealing with in *The Thirty Days of the Moon*.

When the poem came to the printer in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the editors who decided

to print this text, decided at the same time about its nature. Robert Wyer, who was one of these editors, became a famous English printer who printed mainly religious and scientific treatises. The fact that this poem was printed at least in two occasions is probably indicative of its wide diffusion and popularity. The most important difference between the poem in manuscript form and the poem in print, lies in the fact that in the 15<sup>th</sup> century this piece of work was anonymous and in both renaissance editions the poem was attributed to Aristotle. According to A. Minnis “works of unknown or uncertain authorship were regarded at that time as apocryphal and believe to possess an *auctoritas* far inferior to that of works which circulated under the name of *auctores*” (Minnis 1984: 13). Scientific works relied mainly on authorities that were their basis and their support and as Foucault says “scientific texts were accepted as ‘true’ only when marked with the name of their author” while literary pieces “were accepted, put into circulation, and valorised without any question of the identity of their authors” (Foucault 1969: 149). Taking into account these appreciations, we could say that in the 16<sup>th</sup> century the nature and status of this poem changed even though the text was not altered at all. At this time it was considered science more than anything else, even if it shares very few features with other scientific works of the time. It was probably just the projection of a popular view of the scientific lore, widely accepted and understood during the 16<sup>th</sup> century by a great part of the population.

This view would agree with that of several authors in the Renaissance. Sidney, for example, in his *Defence of Poesie* states that the form that is used to compose this particular work, that is, verse is “but an ornament and no cause to Poetrie, since there have bene many most excellent Poets that never versified, and now swarme many versifiers that need never ansvere to the name of Poets” (Duncan-Jones 1989: 218). So probably in accordance with the taste of the people of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the emerging literary theory, the new conventions adopted for poetry, the topics dealt with in the poetry of the Renaissance and the general changing of attitude, what was composed a century earlier for profit, comfort and delight will eventually lose its primitive function and, consequently, should have acquired a new one: as any other *auctoritas* it should have served as basis for other works, it should have been a model, it should have been cited by other authors and it should have remained as time went by. Nevertheless, the destiny of this poem was nothing of that kind. Beyond the 17<sup>th</sup> century there are no traces of the poem at all. It was of no interest for science and it was of no interest for literature, so it was forgotten.

From our perspective, the nature or the status of this poem is then difficult to establish. It was science, magic and poetry during the time in which it circulated and was popular, but apart from the diachronic variation in its nature, there are different levels in which any of these three conceptions (magic, science and poetry) have a distinctive relevance. At the textual level, due to the implications of what we read, we cannot but consider the poem “poetry.” At an interpretative level, due to the relations that are established within the poem, it should be considered “magic.” And at a contextual level that goes beyond the text itself, its literal or anagogic interpretation, the poem could be considered “science.”

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DOGMA AND THE LIMITS OF HETEROGLOSSIA  
IN SIR THOMAS MORE'S  
*DIALOGUE CONCERNING HERESIES* (1528)

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While the very genre of Humanistic Colloquium is supposed to give voice to antagonistic perspectives, its situation as a genre placed in the interstices between fiction and reality brings strong pressure to the articulation of the speakers' interaction. In the case of Sir Thomas More's *Dialogue upon Heresies*, commissioned by Cuthbert Tunstall as a polemical response to the growth of Lutheranism in Britain (and published in 1529, the same year in which More rose to the position of Lord Chancellor) the opposition that is drawn between the theology of the Reformation and the Erasmian notion of *Milia Christi* is particularly representative of this problem. The text is built upon a strong monological framework (the Catholic Church); the dialogue acknowledges the existence of other voices in the contemporary theological debate (the voices of Luther and his followers) but it carefully demarcates the plurality of the debate so as to prevent their direct participation in it. The concerns and doubts of the honest Christian are expressed by the character of the Messenger in More's dialogue, but only so far as they border the limits of Catholic doctrine, and in order to be dismantled by a combination of socratic and scholastic rhetoric and a vigorous use of exempla. This does not imply that the dialogue operates monologically. On the contrary, I would suggest that it operates precisely in order to prevent a true plurality of perspectives. More's text goes beyond this simple dialectical frame and seems to reach a meta-dialogic level by having some of his exempla told in the form of dialogues. Such a multi-layered exchange of voices is required in order to explore the most difficult theological aspects of "heresy" while preserving a sense of distance, but it is especially necessary in order to legitimise the notion of consensus in the interpretive tradition of Church, and in its approach to the Vulgate: no individual can have a direct, individual understanding of scripture without basing him/herself on the communal, authorised interpretation of the sacred text. What the dialogue excludes is, for More, just as important as what it silences. For it is on the basis of these exclusions and silences that the controlled heteroglossia of the humanistic debate can be allowed to develop in the context of the spread of Lutheranism in Britain.

The very title of Thomas More's *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* must have called attention in the moment of its first edition, in 1528: while the very concept of "Dialogue", if understood in the Erasmian sense, seemed to promise a relaxed and tolerant exchange in the *sermo humilis*, the subject concerned was perhaps the

most controversial, and even dangerous, that could be treated in the England of the late 1520s. There had already been a solemn burning of heretic (Lutheran) books in Oxford, at the start of the year, following the same pattern of the 1526 burnings; and the official campaign against anti-Catholic publications had increased systematically since the start of the decade. To what extent could the very genre of the *Dialogue* open itself at this point, or allow within its fabric, the viewpoints or perspectives of the Lutherans? It is precisely in the answer to this question that the interest of the *Dialogue* as a piece of rhetoric rests, even for early twenty-first century specialists: for it is the very dialectical structure of the Erasmian *Colloquium*, and its capacity for giving voice to contrasting viewpoints (in Bakhtinian terms: its heteroglossia), that is at stake here.

This essay will be centered on a specific moment in the development of English and European humanism; a moment when the flexibility and capacity for integration of the humanist *ethos* is questioned by the growing awareness of a major crisis inside of Christianity itself. My intention here is to consider Thomas More's *A Dialogue Upon Heresies* not only as showcasing the last phase of Henrician anti-Lutheranism, but as the main textual exponent of the growing tension between European Humanism and the Reformation at the end of the 1520s, and as a text that effectively signals the end of the Erasmian dream of eccumenical reconciliation between the different Christian factions, both in the English context and in European culture. The interest of this relatively obscure piece of More's canon lies not only in its value as a historical document, but mostly in the fact that it exemplifies the effective exclusion of the new theological voices from the project of the *Militia Christi*, the limitation of its heteroglossia and the strengthening of the notion of Catholic dogma as a precondition for the very existence of dialogue.

Let us consider, in the first place, the way in which European humanism had tried to assimilate the onset of the Reformation before More, and, specifically, the role that the genre of the *Colloquium* had had in that process: it is necessary to see the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* as the final link in a chain of humanistic dialogues that had tried, since 1524, to come to terms with the new theological voices. The first text that must be considered in this tradition is Erasmus's *Inquisition into Faith*, published four years before More's *Dialogue*, in the second edition of the *Colloquia* (1524). Erasmus had only been able to write it from his voluntary retreat in Basilea, where he had fled in 1523 to escape the pressures put on him by the Catholic hierarchy and by the emperor Charles V, who sought to enlist him in their open campaign against the Reformation. The *Inquisition*, being the only piece in the collection that was centered on the subject of religious anathema, presents a conversation between Aulus, an orthodox Christian, and Barbatius, upon whom excommunication has fallen. Aulus questions Barbatius on his beliefs, and, to his surprise, notices his absolute agreement with all of them:

- AUL.: Do you believe in Almighty God, who created heaven and earth?  
 BAR.: And whatever is contained in heaven and earth, including the angelic minds.  
 AUL.: When you say "God," what do you mean?

- BAR.: I mean a mind existing in eternity, having neither beginning nor end, than which nothing can be greater, wiser, or better.
- AUL.: Most reverently expressed.
- AUL.: You seek nothing, then, fear nothing, and love nothing save God alone?
- BAR.: If I revere, love, or fear anything save him, I revere, love, and fear it for his sake, referring all to his glory, always giving thanks to him, whether good or evil befalls me, whether life or death be decreed for me.
- AUL.: Certainly your answers are admirable. (Erasmus 1989: 212-222)

This representation of a common understanding of the Gospels between Catholic and Lutheran Christians is at the origin of the historical process that it will be part of my intention to investigate here. Barbatius's answers are "admirable indeed" and, we could add, remarkably orthodox, coming from someone who has been identified as a heretic by the authorities of the Church. As always in Erasmus, theological speculation is discarded in favour of sincere devotion; the key factor that unifies the positions of both believers is not allegiance to obscure matters of dogma, but rather the belief in the essential importance of the existence of God, the sacrifice of Christ and in the belief in the resurrection of the flesh. The brief dialogue concludes, as might have been expected, with a feast; a lunch between Christians that culminates a relaxed exchange. The dialogue has not confronted different voices, but has rather based all its effect in the recognition of an essential homogeneity underlying any honest approach to Christian doctrine. There is a conspicuous absence of debate among the speakers, as Aulus keeps jumping from one question towards the other ("What do you think of the communion of the saints?", "Do you believe in the resurrection of the flesh?"), each of which is answered by Autarchus in a brief speech, in which the essential, traditional contents of Christian doctrine is exposed. The ironic intention of this structure (in its regular pattern of *questiones* followed by rigorous, satisfactory definitions) must have been immediately apparent to the reader back then in a way that is lost on most twentieth-century readers; the expected confrontation between Catholic and Lutheran has adopted, in fact, the form of the most rigorous and orthodox method of indoctrination: the Catechism. And the Catechistic tone employed throughout appears to be most bitterly ironic when the reader considers that the truth of Christianity comes here from the mouth of one who has been termed "heretic" by the official church. But if Erasmus's text is serenely optimistic in its hopes for a common understanding between Christians, it is visibly written in the context of an institutional campaign against Protestants such as Barbatius; a conflict that was already making impossible the very notion of Christian unity that had been imagined in the *Inquisition into Faith*.

At this point, Luther had already developed his own theological system, and he would prove the following year, through the failure of the exchange between himself and Erasmus, that the difference in religious languages was not only an artificial political problem but a theological reality. In 1525, Erasmus finally sought to mediate actively in the conflict between the various Christian factions, but Luther's exhaustive, aggressive response to his treatise *De Libero Arbitrio* brought about the end of his hopes for a reconciliation: it was now clear that the

complexity of Lutheran theology (his negation of the traditional concept of free will, but also his questioning of transubstantiation and his positions concerning priesthood) went far beyond the minor difference in perspective sketched by Erasmus in the *Inquisition into Faith*. This year also marked the end of Erasmus's attempts to mediate in the confrontation between Lutheranism and the Empire: his subsequent writings (most especially the letters written during 1526) show his increasing scepticism before a political context that was quickly complicating the untroubled regeneration of Christian practice he had imagined in the past. In his final letter to Luther in 1526, Erasmus accuses him of having brought dialogue to an end with his continual attacks on the church and on himself: "You are a man, as you write, of violent temperament, and you take pleasure in this remarkable argument...(Others) attack you personally and attack you with insults, while my diatribe was a courteous disputation" (Huizinga 1984: 241). What Erasmus had earlier imagined as dialogue, and had actually tried as "courteous disputation" was quickly turning in the political arena into an "argument"; the ideal exchange proposed two years earlier by the *Inquisitio* was progressively becoming impossible. The final alliance between the Papacy and the empire against the Lutheran states would not come after the invasion of Rome by the imperial troops in 1525, after a long dispute over the control of the city-state of Milan. Still, the excesses and the violence of the invasion, that was immediately known as the Sack of Rome, required the public exoneration of the Emperor, and it was in this context that the imperial secretary and notorious Erasmist, Alfonso de Valdés, wrote his *Dialogue on the Events that Occurred in Rome* (*Diálogo de las Cosas Acaecidas en Roma*), a text that sought to strengthen the moral legitimacy of the Empire after the Sack, and to insist in its determined opposition to the spread of the Reformation. This is yet another link, then, in the chain of dialogues leading to Thomas More's *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*.

In contrast with Erasmus's *Inquisition into Faith*, Alfonso de Valdés's dialogue identifies two different kinds of deviation from Catholicism; one occurring inside of the structure of the church (and which is the main subject of the dialogue; see Bataillon 1951: 369-382), and another, the Lutheran apostasy, occurring outside of it. The two speakers in the text are Arcidiano, a horrified Roman cleric who witnessed the Sack of his city, and Latancio, a defender of Imperial policy, who tries to convince Arcidiano (and, implicitly, the reader) of the exclusive responsibility of the corrupt Catholic hierarchy in the disaster. The existence and the strength of Lutheranism, however, are repeatedly acknowledged in the *Diálogo de las Cosas Acaecidas en Roma*. Arcidiano is quick to point out the specific role of the German soldiers in the defilement of the sacrament brought about by the imperial troops, even though he is immediately forced to admit that the Spanish soldiers were not slow in their blasphemous behaviour; and he suggests the inadequacy of employing non-Catholic soldiers in the Imperial troops. The threat of Lutheranism, and the suggestion of its harbouring a worse kind of corruption than the one brought about by the Catholic Church, are invoked at several moments; they are even mentioned by Latancio as being the worst result of the Pope's irresponsibility, but they are never openly discussed or given

room in the dialogue. Characteristically, once the subject has been introduced, Latancio forces Arcidiano to admit that the very existence of Lutheranism is the direct result of the Pope's oversight and irresponsibility. When, at the beginning of the second part, Latancio lists the causes that have made the Sack of Rome inevitable, he interprets the messages of both Erasmus and Luther as historical warnings to the institutional framework of the Church:

LATANCIO: Among several and many good teachers and preachers that God has sent to us in past times, he sent in our days that excellent man Erasmus of Rotterdam, who very eloquently, and with great care and modesty, in several of the works he has composed, has exposed the vice and deceit of the Roman court, and of ecclesiastic men...And since none of this was taken into account by you, God desired to have you convert by other means, and he suffered that monk Martin Luther to rise; a man who not only lost all shame in declaring their vices, but who took many nations from obedience to their prelates.

ARCIDIANO: That's correct. But that monk not only spoke against us, but also against God, in several heresies that he has written.

LATANCIO: That is true; but if you had put a remedy to the evils he criticized at first, and had not provoked him with your excommunications, perhaps he would never have lost his sense nor written the various heresies that he wrote afterwards, and those he is writing now, nor would there have been such a loss of bodies and souls as there has been in Germany (Valdés 1992:137-138).

The word and language of Lutheranism are rigorously excluded from the dialogue, but they fit in seamlessly with the providential world-view that is delineated in it. The subsequent phenomena of Erasmism and Lutheranism are perceived as indicative of a historical situation, but it is necessary to observe that, while they both are presented as symptoms of the decadence of Catholicism, they are still perceived as antithetical: Erasmus was "sent" by God, while Luther was simply "allowed to arise", causing the loss of many German souls; the rise of this new heresy is the direct result of the mistakes of the church and the ultimate proof of its present corruption. For Alfonso de Valdés, the Erasmian warnings against the corruption of the Church had "been sent by God" to prevent the moral downfall that brought about the Sack of Rome; Lutheranism, on the contrary, is the most dramatic result of such a degeneration. In 1528, the Emperor would finally be crowned in Rome by the Pope himself; the alliance between church and empire that Alfonso de Valdés had imagined and worked for had become a reality, and one that would soon become far more belligerent against the Lutheran states. But at this point, the humanist dialogue had already registered, and staged, that growing distanciation, and to appreciate adequately its stylistic and ideological implications within the genre of the *colloquium*, we must turn to the discussion of Thomas More's *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* (1528).

By 1528, when More began working on the *Dialogue*, Erasmus's own distance from the Reformation had also grown: he was now not unwilling to let military repression be used against it; he had referred to the spread of Lutheranism in Britain as an "epidemic", and had suggested that it was to be more easily contained because it "depends entirely on the will of one man": Henry VIII, of course (Allen et al. 1958: 56). At this point both Erasmus and Charles V had

good reason to believe that Britain would remain as a bastion of Catholicism: Henry himself, being the emperor's brother-in-law, had taken good care, up to that moment, to keep the problems in his marriage to Catherine of Aragon far from any religious considerations. Moreover, the trade between Antwerp and London had been reduced because of the spread of Lutheranism in Holland; and the first proclamation against books containing heresies would be issued in 1528. It is in this context that cardinal Tunstal requested More to write the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*. This was the second time that More confronted Lutheranism in an open debate: after all, the text of the *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*, signed by Henry VIII in 1533 and addressed to Luther, had been largely the work of More himself. But in this new occasion, More was to adopt the far more didactic form of the dialogue, written in the vernacular language: this was not only a work of theological controversy, but one which aimed to reach beyond the limits of the learned audience of the humanists, towards those who had lately become tempted by the new religious fashions; a work addressed to the younger scholars who might fall under the influence of heresy in one of the main universities. The dialogue is supposedly addressed by "Morus," More's own persona, to a friend of his who has sent him a secret Messenger; this Messenger is a young scholar who has become fascinated by the new forms of religious thought; one of the many that, at this point, have been influenced by the Lutheran forces at the University, or who have been impressed by William Tyndale's theological works. The dialogue occurs between "Morus" and this messenger; thus opposing, from the start, age and an extensive humanistic training to a candid perspective and a relative lack of scholarship.

The situational paradigm that is being reproduced here is far from the image of the conversation between equals (as that between Barbatius and Aulus in Erasmus's *Colloquia* or even, despite their differences, that between Latancio and Arcediano in Valdés's *Diálogo*): dialogue is here a didactic exchange, very much in the Socratic tradition, between a young disciple and a mentor, and, consequently, by the end of the dialogue, the Messenger has adopted most of More's positions and rectified his own initial mistakes. The transition from a position that is sympathetic to Reformed thought towards one of orthodox Catholicism is also a process of intellectual disciplining: the Messenger has to become a reader in the tradition of the *studia humanitatis*, learning to place the text in their proper context, to interpret it correctly and to conflate it with the tradition of Patristic thought. The scholarly interpretation of the Bible has to be conflated with the whole body of the *consensus fidelium*: and that consensus has not been reached only by scholarship, but by the inspiration that must be found behind the ancient traditions of the Church. It is above all this individualistic pride, this belief in an unmediated interaction between self and sacred text (the solitary encounter with *sola scriptura*, without the support of gloss or interpretation), that Morus works hard to disallow.

The main aim of the *Dialogue*, therefore, is to question the notion of free interpretation of scripture; but this cannot be done without actively exemplifying the impossibility of reaching truth from the isolation of individualism. It is

especially necessary, therefore, to deconstruct the illusion of intellectual autonomy, which the dialogue identifies as the main form of pride; dialectical exchange destabilises the belief in direct, unmediated communion with God and works towards the establishment of a firm, common theological knowledge. Accordingly, the conversation carried out in the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* often takes the form of a Socratic exchange, with Morus forcing his disciple, the messenger, to question the limits and basis of his own knowledge through a series of interrelated questions:

I pray you, quod I, that our lord was borne of a vyrgyn how know you?  
 Mary, quod he, by scripture.  
 Howe know you, quod I, that ye sholde bylue the scripture?  
 Mary, quod he, by fayth.  
 Why, quod I, what doth fayth tell you therin?  
 Fayth, quod he, telleth me y holy scripture is thynges of trouth wryten by the secrete techyng of God.  
 And wherby know you, quod I, that ye sholde buleue God?  
 Wherby, quod he? this is a strange questyon, Euery man quod he may well wete that.  
 That is trouth, quod I. But is there any horse or any asse that wottyth that?  
 None, quod he(...)for man hath reason and they haue none.  
 Ah, well then, quod I, reason must he nedes haue then that shal perceyve what he sholde byleue. (More 1981: 131)

Morus's relentless questions lead the Messenger to admit the impossibility of asserting his own, personal authority on the subject of religious dogma; in this case and throughout the dialogue, the very form that the exchange adopts, with the older scholar questioning, modifying and strengthening the intellectual discourse of the younger one, exemplifies the need for consensuated interpretation and for the sharing of a theological discourse. Humanistic dialogue is, in itself, one of the best forms of speculation on religious matters; against the intellectual isolation of the Lutheran subject, More emphasises the rational understanding of spiritual matters brought about by the Catholic tradition in the form of the *consensus fidelium*. This insistence on rationality is essential to the desauthorisation of Reformed theology, because the use of abstract reasoning in religious matters had been, at this point, repeatedly impugned by Luther as a form of intellectual deception and even of blasphemy. There had been in all of Luther's work during the start of the twenties (specifically in the *Freedom of a Christian* and in *De Servo Arbitrio*, his response to Erasmus) a strong mistrust of intellectual speculation, and especially of any serious attempt to explain Christian belief on rational terms. For Luther, "reason...is wedded to the pleasure of that beast which is the opinion of righteousness" (Luther 1984: 323); any attempt to explain or understand the acts of God in intellectual terms is an act of Pride, seeking to reduce transcendence to a purely human measure. For More, this rejection of theological rationalism isolates the Lutherans not only from scholasticism, but, more importantly, from the rich tradition of Patristic erudition (against which Luther and Tyndale are constantly contrasted in the text); the ultimate result of

this process will be the reduction of the believer to his/her individuality, and it is against this growing isolation of the subject that the *Dialogue* positions itself.

Such an polemical engagement, and such a constant contrast between the tenets of the Reformation and those of the Patristic tradition, cannot simply exclude the perspective of Lutheranism in the same way that Valdés's *Diálogo* had done. The debate against heresy, the active questioning of its tenets, seems to require the integration of other voices besides those of the two speakers; and it is in the difficulty of articulating this *heteroglossia*, this confrontation of different theological voices, that the dialogue truly reveals its ideological presuppositions. This is particularly visible in the fourth and longest part of the *Dialogue* (which I will be discussing in the following paragraphs), where Morus discusses the history and doctrinal contents of Lutheranism. The Fathers of the Church, for instance, are quoted *verbatim*: whole fragments from St. Jerome, and even Thomas Aquinas, who had been relatively ignored by the humanists, are integrated in the text; and these quotations are often followed by an accurate discussion of their Biblical sources and their relevance in the history of the Church. But the way in which the voices of the Protestant thinkers is woven into the dialogue is significantly different: while the Patristic texts are integrated in the dialogue as quotations; and while More himself tends to provide the adequate glossary for each of them, the voice of the Reformers rarely appears in direct reproduction from their texts; and, when it does, it is framed, interrupted and contradicted by Morus's comments. Luther's theological thought, for instance, is not discussed through direct quotations from his work, but through the listing of the key tenets of his doctrine ("Item, in the sacrament of the order he sayth that all preste and all holy orders be but a fayned invencion. Item, that every man or crysten woman is a preste. Item, that every man may consecrate the body of Cryst"... More 1981:353) briefly itemised in a list, and then directly discussed by Morus with the Messenger. The very structure of humanistic dialogue demands that none of these items may be left without a detailed, reasoned explanation; hence, the Messenger ("your frende") often demands such an explanation for More, leading to a brief commentary on them:

He techeth also that no man or woman ys bounden to kepe and observe any vowe that he had made to god of vyrgynitye or widowed, or other chastyte out of maryage, but that they maye mary at theyr liberte, their vowe not wythstanding. And how proveth he that, quod your frende?

Mary, quod I, by the brekyng of hys owme when he maryed the nunne. And now he ralyeth agaynste all chastite and sayth that yf a preste lyue chaste he is lyke to the prestys of the ydole Sibeles. (More 1981: 360)

The dialogic structure is here made to work directly against the intellectual dignity of the doctrine that is being discussed. The messenger, following the usual pattern of the humanistic dialogue, asks for the rational justification of the breaking of the vow of chastity ("how proveth he that?"); yet Morus's answer ("quod I, by the breakyng of his owne") explicitly denies the possibility of following a pattern of humanistic ratio in the discussion of the subject. From Morus's perspective, Luther's doctrine cannot be rationalised, justified in a detailed

*expositio* or contextualised in a series of examples given *per auctoritas*. The pattern of humanistic dialogue, and the messenger's various questions, seems to create the expectation of a rational understanding of Reformed theology; but such an expectation is repeatedly raised only in order to be destroyed. Instead, Morus sets up the negative example of Luther's own life as the only explanation for the heresy. It is as if the heresy itself was beyond the possibility of being explained by humanistic rhetoric; and instead, it is only the events in Luther's own life and morality that can contextualise it, especially in the aspects where they differ most from the Catholic tradition.

Throughout the *Dialogue*, the glossary and commentary of the texts that are presented as "heretic" disallow their authority: the quotations from Lutheran texts and doctrines are constantly framed by the voice of Morus, that immediately reduces their impact by pointing out their moral shortcomings and reducing their *dignitas*. When quoting, for instance, the words with which Luther alluded to himself at the conclusion of his first treatise, "this holy devout man therefore even borne to teche and preserve the gospell of God", Morus goes on to ask himself "where shold a man finde so very a vaingloryouse fole...that wold not in hymself be ashamed ...to thynke such thyngys" (More 1981: 363). The dialogue often simulates an intellectual opposition between Church fathers and Reformed theologians; but even while it is doing so, it is disallowing not only the intellectual position, but the actual dignity of the Reformers (especially through their breaking the vow of chastity):

Seeth on the one syde Saynt Cypriane, saint Hyerome, saynt Ambrose, saynt Austyne, saynt Basile, Saynt Chrysiostem, saynt Gregory, and all the vertuous and coneng doctors by row from ydeth of Christ and the tyme of his apostles till now... and seeth on the other syde none other doctours of this new secte but frere Luther and his wyfe, prest Pomerane and his wyfe, frere Huyskins and his wyfe, frere Lambert and his wyfe, pres Cardelandus and his wyfe, dan Otho, monke, and his wyfe, franktyke Colyns and more, frantyke Tyndall ye sayth all prestes monkes and freres must nedes have wyfes. (More 1981: 434)

But the rhetorical attack against the Reformers goes beyond these *ad hominem* arguments, and shapes also the way in which Morus goes on to include, in his explanation of the key aspects of Lutheran doctrine, the possible responses from his theological adversaries (for other examples of similar derogatory techniques in other works by More, see Martz 1995: 23-27 and Greenblatt 1980: 84-106). When the importance of good deeds for personal salvation is discussed and Morus uses St. James as the biblical basis for his, Morus exposes the Lutheran belief in salvation through faith alone, and immediately asks himself whether "they (Luther and Tyndale) go about to sette Saynt James to schoole." In the discussion of the Wittenberg theses, Morus ventriloquises Luther himself, stating clearly that "I care not for Austayn, I care not for a hundred Cyprians, I care not for a thousand Hieromis, I care not but for Scripture alone, and it is plaine on my part..." and immediately after this impersonation, Morus adds, in his own voice: "...as if none of those old holy cunnynge men had understande any scripture tyll he came" (More 1981: 367).

There is an ironic impersonation of Morus's adversaries occurring at specific moments of the *Dialogue*: the text itself seems to suggest an imaginary response from its ideological adversaries, and to stage a polemical confrontation; but that mimicking of the Reformer's voices is the only actual opposition that the *Dialogue* allows. The perspective of the Messenger himself is not that of an apostate, but the impressions received by an inexperienced young man; he reports the doctrine of the Reformers exclusively on the basis of hearsay ("I herde", "They sede", etc); the diffusion of heresy is represented here as the passive acceptance of a series of tenets that are communicated orally, without a proper accuracy for the interpretative tradition that has framed them for fifteen centuries. The whole construction of heresy seems to be built, according to this dialogue, on the combination of free interpretation and oral transmission; in itself, this combination can be seen as a parody, or an inverted image, of the Catholic *consensus fidelium*, which is built on the combination of authoritative scholarship and the consensus of the popular tradition of the believers.

It was precisely this tradition, and its institutional articulation in the Papacy, that More would give his life for in 1535, after having implemented the prosecution of Lutheranism from his position as Lord Chancellor, during the three years after the publication of the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*. The text can be thus seen as the key theoretical exposition of what More's theological position would be during the remainder of his life and activity; but if the text is seen retrospectively, and in contrast with the allusions to Lutheranism in other *Dialogues* that I have briefly discussed, it can appear as the textual representation of a rift that had been growing steadily since the first moments of the encounter between Erasmism and the Reformation. By 1528, the voice of Lutheranism had been differentiated from the various voices of Catholic humanism; it had been effectively "othered", and ultimately excluded from the genre of the *Colloquium*. While the very concept of dialogue is supposed to give voice to antagonistic perspectives, its situation as a genre placed in the interstices between fiction and reality brought, at this particular historical juncture, a strong pressure to the articulation of the speakers' interaction; the manipulation of the character's voices came to vary between parody or the direct silencing of the implied adversaries of the author. In the case of Thomas More, there is a strong monological framework (the Catholic Church) that imposes itself on the *Colloquium* from without; the text acknowledges the existence of other voices in the contemporary theological debate (the voices of Luther and of the Protestants) but it carefully demarcates the plurality of that dialogue so as to prevent their direct participation in the exchange.

The doctrinal *consensus fidelium* of Catholicism gives, then, its ideological framework to More's text; but it does so while rigorously preventing a questioning of its own dogmatic authority. The humanistic *colloquium* is built not on the basis of an ongoing interaction between dialectic and dogma, but on a subtle conditioning of dialectic by dogma, in which the latter sets up the limits of what can be uttered dialectically, but also establishes a space for the exchange to occur. The heretical languages and voices that are discussed in the dialogue are, at the same time, excluded from it: as long as heresy is mimicked or parodied, there cannot be a

direct, dialectical engagement against it; heretical voices are the subject of the dialogue, but they are not allowed to participate in it and to balance the exchange. By 1528, the evolution of humanistic dialogue, in its growing exclusion of the new theological voices, and in the variety of the strategies that it had adopted for preserving its own *monoglossia* under the façade of a polyphonic debate, had assimilated and duplicated all the pressures against heterodox theology that had occurred in the institutional church. The unproblematic monologism among honest Christians of any denomination that Erasmus had dreamed up in 1524 had already become impossible; during the following decades, Barbatius and Aulus would not be able to sit together to dinner again.

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# THE UN-MERRY LAWS: MARRIAGE, WIDOWS AND ADULTERY IN TWO 1656 TRACTS<sup>1</sup>

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This paper continues research into mid-seventeenth century attitudes to marriage, as it evolves into the central institution of modern life. I will analyse two tracts published in 1656: the first is entitled “pray be not angry: or the Women’s New Law” and the second, “Now or Never: or a New Parliament.” The first is supposedly written by a Mr. G. Thorowgood and addressed to men of all ages in order to help them distinguish between “a honest woman” and “an enticing whore,” a necessary skill for a successful marriage. The advice given is not original, but what make this text interesting is its style, overloaded as it is by classical references and heaps of metaphors and similes. It suggests that the fate of Holofernes is a warning to the imprudent. The second text is prefaced by Lucretia Rodomant, who urges women to take on their Egyptian taskmasters and to follow the example of Judith. Speeches are given by an old and young maid. The former laments her lack of lovers, and, surprisingly, so does the “lusty” young maid, who complains bitterly that men are more interested in money than marriage. This materialist note is perhaps the only unexpected twist in two texts whose ideological message is rarely subverted, despite Lucretia and Judith.

Last year, I analysed an anonymous 1646 tract, “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.”<sup>2</sup> My major conclusion was that this witty, erudite parody of parliamentary procedure transferred to public politics the traditional tropes of the war of the sexes. I argued that it contained sufficient subversive elements, in particular its leitmotif of the Amazons, to make classification in terms of binary oppositions not as satisfactory or as convincing as the few commentators who had analysed these texts had suggested. I will now turn my attention to two

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2. *SEDERI 10* (1999): 111-19.

tracts, published a decade later, which have very clear ideological outlines. After analysing them, I will then argue that an exact location of their historical context enables us to unravel evidence of a major ideological shift which is obscured by their burlesque of women.

The first tract is “Pray be not Angry: or THE WOMENS NEW LAW WITH their Several, Votes, Orders, Rules, and Precepts, to the London-Prentices, both in Cheap-Side, Lumbard-Street, Gracious-Street, Broad-Street, Fleetstreet, Newgate-Market, the Strand, Covent-garden; and all the places whatsoever, in and about the City of LONDON, or Parts adjacent. LIKEWISE Their Rare Presidents and Instructions both to young-men and old, for the choosing of a good Wife, or virtuous Mistress; and how they shall know and distinguish an honest Woman from an enticing and dissembling whore,” dated August 11<sup>th</sup>, 1656, printed in London for George Horton.<sup>3</sup> The second is entitled “NOW Or NEVER, A New Parliament of Women ASSEMBLED and met together neer the Popes-Head in Moor-Fields, on the Back-side of All-Such; adjoining upon Shoreditch, WITH Their Declaration, Articles, Rules, Laws, Orders, and Proposals to all London-Prentices, Young-men, Batchelours, and others...” Then follows a list of twenty-four professions, and we are informed that the tract ends with a “Love-Sonnet.”<sup>4</sup> This second text was printed in London, likewise for George Horton, a week later on August 18<sup>th</sup>.

“Pray be not angry...” is prefaced with a note by G. Thorowgood; prefaces might traditionally be perfunctory devices, but this is not the case here. The appeal to antiquity, and therefore to authority, cites Plato and “Semiramis of Babylon, that both and after her husbands death, she wax so unsatiable in carnal lust, that two men at one time not satisfie her desire;” the emphasis on “at one time” is obsessive, leaving plenty of imaginative possibilities for the cuckolded and/or deceased. Such open misogyny is compounded in an extremely clichéd image, “for there is no so good, but may amend knowing that the cleerest River that is hath some dirt in the bottome.” In other words, the whole sex is condemned, for either as an individual or as a whole there is always “some dirt in the bottome.” Even the purest of women are not pure, making the initial proposition of the tract, to give instructions to men as how to “distinguish an honest Woman from an enticing and dissembling whore” an impossible task, as “honest”, according to G. Thorowgood, when attached to women must mean “dissembling.”

The tract is little more than a tirade against women, and its major interest lies simply in a certain skill in the manipulation of images and classical allusions. Its taxonomy of women begins with its description of the likening of a “lewd and froward [sic] woman..to a Pumice-stone; for which way soever you turn it, it is full of holes.” It would be difficult to make up a more repugnant image than a grey piece of volcanic stone used for cleaning one’s skin. “Full of holes” is so crude a phrasing that it requires no comment. Other comparisons do demonstrate certain literary skill, “Is there not an old saying, *That when a Dog wags his tayl, he loveth*

3. British Library shelfmark E.885.(7.)

4. British Library shelfmark E.885.(9.)

*his Master?* So many think, that if a woman smile on them, she is presently over head and ears in love..." The implication is that whereas a dog is honest, a woman's smile is necessarily false. The suggestion that if this is the case, it says as much about the master's ingeniousness as it does about the dog's strategy is a remote possibility, but we should not lose sight of the fact that both "*wags his tayl*" and "head over ears" point to a sexual tumble of some sort. In addition, the text's insistence that women's sweetness is a pretext for the obtention of money for, unexpectedly, clothing, not only places the women in the role of prostitute, as she exchanges her body for cash, but the possibility of withdrawing her favours if money is not forthcoming, additionally casts her as blackmailer and her husband as victim.

The vitriolic tract reserves its particular venom for widows, as this humorous extract shows:

Beware also how thou matchest unto a *Jezabel* widow, for she will be cause of a thousand woes; if rich, then she will govern; if poor, then thou art plagued both with beggary and bondage: If thou shew sparing, she will say, thou shalt not pinch her of that which is her own; and if thou do any thing contrary to her mind, she will say, her other husband was more kind: If thou chance to dine from home, she will bid thee go up with thy harlots abroad; if thou go abroad and spendest any thing before thou comest home, she say, *a beggar I found thee, and a beggar thou intendest to leave me*. If thou stay at home she will say, *Thou art happy thou hast gotten a wife that is able to maintain thee idle*. If thou carve her the best morsel on the Table, though she take it, yet she will take it scornfully, and say, *She once had a husband that would let her cut where she like her self*. And if thou come in well disposed, thinking to be merry, and intreating her with fair words, she will call thee dissembling hypocrite, saying, *Thou speakest me fair with thy tongue, but thy heart is on thy Minions abroad*. Besides this...

The emphasis on food and therefore on sexual appetite gives the phrase "*that let her cut where she like*" additional innuendo. However it is unclear whether writer and reader are immediately aware of the irony in the final instance of purgatory, when the husband is called a "dissembling hypocrite," exactly the terms used by Thorowgood to describe women in general. Whatever we think of the account of life with a widow, the text goes on to tell three grotesquely politically incorrect and rather silly jokes: On a trip across the channel, a sudden storm arose; the captain ordered the sailors to "throw over-board all the heaviest goods..." It takes no great power of imagination to work out what the man married to Jezabel jettisoned. If that is bad, consider the following:

For note, that one having married with a Widow, being one day at a Sermon, heard the Preacher say, *whoever will be saved, let him take up his Cross and follow me*. This mad fellow after the Sermon was ended; took his wife upon his *back*, and came to the Minister, saying, *Here is my Cross, I am ready to follow thee whither thou wilt*.

Although the narrator is prudent enough to insist that the man was mad, no precaution is taken with the third joke, which I find too offensive to cite.

As I suggested before, the most outstanding formal feature of the tract is its extensive use of allusion, which becomes a long roll-call of victims in the tract's final paragraphs. The expected cast is present. A wry joke is made about St.

John Baptist losing his head; Dalilah is also there; Eve was tempted and fell not because the apple was sweet but because the serpent “shewed himself like a fair young-man;” Judith and Holofernes are cited, too, but in this case it is “the great Captain Holofernes” who “was slain by a woman” rather than Judith as heroine slaying a tyrant. Mythological interpretation is given a new reading when the text admits that Jupiter, Neptune and Mercury turned themselves into a bull, a horse and a goat respectively not primarily in order to overcome resistance from their victims, but as a safety-measure to avoid suffering the ignominious fate of the strongest of mortals, Samson and Hercules. In other words, the gods, by taking greater precautions in their affairs with women, show much greater intelligence than men. In addition, the tract, both at its beginning, with its reference to Plato, and at its end, with its reference to Socrates, emphasises that the great philosophers, as representatives of Western epistemology, were very wary of marriage. Perhaps the most peculiar instance of playing with cultural markers is its allusion to Venus and Vulcan: “Sure I am, men may live without women, but women cannot live without men: for *Venus*, whose beauty was excellent fair, when she heed a mans help, she took Vulcan, a club-footed Smith.” One would hardly expect Vulcan to consider himself a mere “club-footed Smith,” yet the ideological message is clear enough: women consume men, and so insatiable is their appetite that the most divine beauty will settle for a “club-footed smith” only to leave him with Vulcan’s mark, that of the cuckold.

The second tract, like the first, is prefaced, Thorowgood giving way to Lucretia Rodomant, “Signed by Special Order and Command.” Her style is straightforward and forthright, and allusions function correspondingly, leaving no room for doubt:

It is unknown to all the World, how We have been, and still are deprived of our Liberties, living in the bonds of servitude, and in Apprenticeship of slavery, (not for term of years, but during life) there we held it no amiss, to assemble ourselves together in counsels whereby we may find out a way to rid ourselves, and our posterity after us, from those *Aegyptian* Task-masters (men)... We do and shall disclaim that Tyrannical Government, which men have over us...

The immediate impression is that the complementary tract reverses arguments of the first by demanding that women have “such privileges, as are fit for free-born women.” The last phrase and certain others from the longer quotation, “assemble ourselves together in counsels” or “Tyrannical Government” approximate us to the language of parliament and pulpit and distance us from the attempt at sophistication of the 1646 first tract. Other words and phrases worth noting are law and lawful, subject and subordinate, and so on.

The preface is followed by three speeches, the first by “a Grave Matrone of the Assembly,” very much follows the argument and style of Lucretia Rodomant. She addresses her “Dear and Well-Beloved Sisters” to persuade them of the real reason for their subjection. In a reversal of Calvinist doctrine, the assembly is told that “Of all Creatures in the Creation, it is most fit, that women should have the sovereignty” because they are perfect creatures: “I am wrapt up into an extasie of admiration of their perfections, they being made of the purest mould.” Women

should no longer be subject to “the frowns, threats, and blows of every drunken Rascal, and have no redress.” The Grave Matrone is at pains to emphasise both verbal violence, threats, and physical violence, blows. The practise of courtship and marriage reveal the absurdity of the situation. It is curious, she implies, that during courtship, suitors are obsequious, “O how pliable were they with their hats in hand at every turn, with, your Servant: Lady”. The little detail of “with their hats in hand” is not only evocative but itself suggests physical movement, bowing, itself an example of physical bending, pliability. But as soon as marriage takes place, the address, “your Servant: Lady” is overturned, and the Lady actually becomes the servant. The “Grave Matrone” then introduces her one scriptural allusion:

Let us look back into former times, and we shall find women to have performed great achievements. I must [?] mention one, the which was Judeth; what a great deliverance did she bring to her countrey, by cutting off Holofernes head. Truly we have many Holofernes's to deal with...

“The Grave Matrone” neatly reverses the arguments of the first tract by vilifying Holofernes and glorifying Judith, and, in a most telling fashion, turns Holofernes into a representative tyrant in both the domestic and political sphere. “The Grave Matrone” has no qualms in demanding direct action.

The tract then radically changes direction and reverts to burlesque. The next speech is delivered “by an ancient Maid.” She takes advantage of the fact there is “a free toleration for all to speak” and sets forth her grievance. She takes the former speaker to task for concentrating on couples and ignoring maids. This is unjust, as marriage serves a peculiar function for male desire, “what care they [young men] for marrying as, so long as they can satisfy their appetites with other mens wives.” Instead of simply supplying a curious reason for the importance of marriage, it also has a backhanded effect in lowering the value of single women for young men. “Other mens wives” are the most desirable commodity in the marketplace of desire to the detriment of maids. The ancient maid then breaks out into an exclamation and description of her plight:

Oh if I could but live to enjoy that happinesse, I should think my self in a Paradise!  
O the weary nights, the longing and the many sighs, that we (poor Souls) fetch!  
Is it not a vexation to lie underneath our Master and Mistress in a Trundle-bed,  
and think what is in agitation over us: for a Cat to pen'd up in a Cage, and all the  
Mice about her ears, and cannot come at them; who can endure it...?

The image of the creaking “Trundle-bed ” is certainly graphic, but difficult to judge for its explicitness and unpleasantness. The cat and mouse image might make no sense at first reading, but at second reading illustrates that we are returning to the misogynist rhetoric of the first tract; here the old maid reveals her voracious appetite by imagining herself as a cat and men as mice, and hence her victims. She concludes her intervention by suggesting a more equitable situation would be achieved by “inflicting a severe punishment on all Whores... and limiting a time how long they [suitors] shall continue Batchelours.” These are hardly original ideas, but they are nonsensical in the light of her theory

of the desirability of wives; in other words her measures would not solve the problem she outlines.

The final speaker is a young maid who expresses solidarity with her “Dear and Well-Beloved Sisters,” though her outlook on the situation is much bleaker:

One forsooth is this, and another is that; one is a bad husband, another is an idle fellow, another he is no workman of his Trade, one is too old, another is too young: Thus do they toss us from post to pillar, until such times as the flower of our youth be past, and them may we sit till our breeches grows to the stool.

The alliterative post to pillar is a very expressive term, and “breeches to the stool,” evidently scatological. The young maid illustrates the injustice of the situation when she describes the plight of wealthy maids. Initially, one would expect that wealth would give them a certain advantage, putting them in the situation of consumers able to choose. However, money turns to be a hindrance, as social pressure on the young maid persuades her that every suitor is really only a gold-digger. Thus she suggests that “we may like the man with whom we marry more then [sic] our friends; and we may not be constrained to match with any against our wills, and that that we may have our choice, be he rich or poor, whether our friends will or not.”

Her speech concludes with renewed emphasis on freedom of choice. The “Laws and Orders made by the New Assembly of Women” begin with the major legislative innovation, “That women bear rule, and have power over their husbands.” Others follow, requiring men to behave courteously, to refrain from verbal and physical violence, to feed their wives properly, “Capons, Rabbits, Cawdles, Sack-possets”; bachelorhood will end at twenty-four, and a fine of £3 a year imposed on infractors; the punishment for infidelity harks back to an earlier period and language: “That if any woman cornute her husband, and tells him of it, that she shall be stoned to death by Hospital Girls, with peny hot Pudding-pyes.” If we recall that one of the Republic’s major long-term reforms was the codification of law into English, reading the “Laws and Orders made by the New Assembly of Women” makes it hard to reconcile an admirable objective, making the law accessible to a greater section of the population, with the absurdity of the proposals.

The tract finishes with a poem, though not a sonnet as previously advertised, but a longer poem, in the more flexible meaning of a sonnet, a short poem, entitled “Cupid’s Revenge. Or, Bad News for Poor Maids.” Cupid is all in a rage and “hath tipt his Dart with Gold.” Both title and first line are very conventional stuff, as are the references to wounds, illness, cures, doctors etc., but there is a twist to this poem: “Poor Maids” means they are poor, to be pitied, because they are poor, they have no money. In this materialist age, the language of love is materialised, brought down from the metaphorical to the financial. The poem laments that once, but not now, “Virtue” was admired, nowadays, “men cannot love without a bag or two” of gold: “The Wound without, it proves a Gangerine,/ No Cure performed, but by this Golden Mine.” The message is clear; the rhyme extremely feeble. The traditional language of chastity, it is a treasure to be highly

valued, is now literalised, as the only treasure that is highly valued is treasure.

Wert thou like Hellen, Rosamon, or Shore,  
 Chaste as Penelope, with virtues man:  
 Yet now a days, these to men are eye-sores,  
 Hast thou not wealth, to have the will not any:  
 Virtue away, Beauty I thee defie,  
 These are no graces mixt with Poverty.

The clash of contemporary values is evidenced by the way in which the graces have become eyesores, and the object of adoration is money. The inability of the maids, both young and old, to acknowledge the situation has led them to erroneous conclusions about the nature of male desire. The poem closes in a highly moralistic way, urging men and women to overcome materialism, but the advice to men, “Ballance her virtues, and not her estate” is moderate and moral but completely out of line with the rest of the poem, and hence the final verse looks more like an afterthought tacked on the end of the poem than its convincing conclusion.

In my analysis of the 1646 tract, I argued against contemporary critics’ view that the document was simply a royalist lampoon equating women and parliamentarians as subversive elements threatening the rule of royalists in the public and men in the domestic sphere. In reviewing the two 1656 tracts, we are offered the same possibility, and, it has to be added, their overt misogyny adds fuel to such argumentation. However, great care has to be taken here, as although the 1656 tracts are simpler than the 1646 one, the political situation, the context, is radically different. One example will make this abundantly clear. Both 1656 tracts allude to Judith and Holofernes, and other couples in which one partner has lost his head. In the light of the execution of Charles I in 1649, first, we are immediately aware that these references have a strong political connotation, but, second, the fact that Judith and Holofernes are cast in different roles in each text makes the identification of the allusions a more difficult task. Take another example, that of John the Baptist; what is he supposed to add to the battle of the sexes? What has most radically altered the picture in the decade separating the tracts is precisely the question of authority. If women and parliamentarians are conceivably subversive to monarchical authority in 1646, this is inconceivable in 1656. Authority is now firmly in the hands of Cromwell, who, in this decade, has dissolved the Rump and the Barebones Parliaments, been Lord Protector since 1653, experimented with a form of non-parliamentary government, the major-generals, and is one step away, and one year away, from the very real possibility of becoming King Oliver. In a sentence, the authority that is the subject to satire is the Republic. It might be tempting to suggest that this still leaves open the possibility that these are again, Royalist lampoons, but this can only be maintained as long as one is willing to argue that Royalists would identify themselves with the kind of women present in these tracts. In the light of gender and class, this is extremely unlikely.

How can one unravel this puzzle? I will use two strategies: first, pinpoint

the exact moment of publication, and then make some pertinent considerations about the Protectorate (1653-1658) and mid-century attitudes towards sexuality. As I stated at the beginning, these two tracts were printed in August 1656. During that summer, the escalating costs of the expensive and initially unsuccessful colonial expedition to the West Indies had made it obvious that extra funding was urgently required. The *Instrument of Government* did not necessarily allow for another Parliament until the autumn of 1657," but this was too far off. So, "writs were issued on 20 August for a Parliament to meet on 17 September" (Fraser 1981: 582). This, then, is the moment of publication. But the question of finance was not the only the problem facing Cromwell: the other was succession. Three options presented themselves: hereditary succession, the major-generals and Parliamentary government. The former looked unlikely, both for its unequivocal similarity to monarchy as for the individual talents of his two sons; Richard, in particular suffering from that traditional bugbear, his alleged homosexuality, hence the nickname "Queen Dick." The major-generals had been an unmitigated failure: not only was the scheme unpopular at local government level but also failed to raise sufficient funds. It has to be said that Barry Coward reckons the failure owes more to myth than fact. So what about parliament? The elections returned a Parliament full of crypto-royalists, and over a hundred MPs were barred. Though the elections themselves and the exclusion orders are events that took place after the publication of the tracts, this in no sense lessens the fact that the series of events gives us a remarkable sense of *déjà vu*: here is Cromwell acting out the part of the monarch he opposed. Here is the Lord Protector, as if he were a Stuart, recalling parliament after a long period of autocratic rule because of urgent financial needs. Here is the Lord Protector, as if he were a Stuart, unsure of what Parliament might say, resorting to physical means to exclude those who might vote against his programme. To cap it all, his highness would be the object of an assassination plot on day of the opening of Parliament. Such analysis adds ironic and pertinent commentary to Marvell's on the "First Anniversary of the government under the Lord Protector" (1655). Therefore, when we read the several references to people losing their heads, it is difficult to know what is going on.

However, there is one lead I would like to follow. Barry Coward's *The Stuart Age* is a very balanced account. He states that the principal effect on Cromwell of the failure of the Western Design was thus to reinforce his view that 'the liberty and prosperity of the nation depend upon [moral] reformation,' which accounts for his determination to use the major-generals as agents for promoting it. Even the first draft of the instructions to the major-generals on 22 August 1655 reflected the need 'to encourage and promote godliness and virtue and discourage all profaneness and ungodliness'. During the next few weeks, coinciding with Cromwell's crisis of conscience triggered by the news from the Caribbean, the council reinforced the major-generals' 'moral order' functions. Their final instructions, issued in October 1655, including an order to put into effect 'the Laws against Drunkenness', Blasphemy, and taking of the name of God in vain, by swearing and cursing, Plays and interludes, and prophaning of

the Lord's day, and such like wickedness and abominations'. They were also instructed to control the number of alehouses and London brothels. 'The sole end' of the major-generals' experiment, Cromwell said later, 'was the security of the nation and the suppression of vice and encouragement of virtue, the every end of magistracy' (Coward 1994 :271-272).

It is not difficult to see why the major-generals came in for so much stick, as they are, in a replay of *Measure of Measure*, the agents of morality doing the unpleasant work while the shadowy duke, Cromwell, manipulates events from the centre of power. The tracts, in true carnivalesque fashion, break all the rules of moral reform, and their own rules and regulations are a clear burlesque of the whole process, reinforcing the popular image of sour-faced Puritanism. But I think we can go even further.

Barry Coward mentions an earlier piece of legislation enacted with the same aim of curbing excesses.

To add to the radicals' fury the Rump passed severe measures in the summer of 1650 against religious nonconformity, and revealed its obsessive fear and hatred of the excesses of the Ranters by enforcing observance of the sabbath, suppressing "the detestable sin of prophane swearing and cursing", and prescribing the death penalty for those guilty of adultery, fornication and incest. (Coward 1994: 227)

Rather than general disorder, if Barry Coward's assumption is correct, certain beliefs or myths about the Ranters were the principal motive for the 1650 act. Such a Draconian measure could be forced through, he argues, due to the leverage the army wielded at that time. This is not simply a general comment on the politics of the time, but the consequence of the monumental defeat inflicted upon the Scottish army at the battle of Dunbar. The Ranters were the object of popular suspicion and Cromwell's distrust of radicalism. The Ranters were often accused of extreme licentiousness, due to their ideological cocktail of pantheism and antinomianism. Thus, as a result of the former, God is in all things, and therefore there can be no sin, as this would mean the refutation of God's existence, and as a result of the latter, that salvation is open to all, it is not difficult to imagine how they became depicted as drunks, blasphemers and fornicators. This convincing evidence indicates that both tracts satirise the Protector's autocratic rule, a republican, who, occupying Whitehall as if he were an absolute monarch, views all those who do not share his views as lunatics.

In order to reach such a convincing conclusion, one further obstacle has to be overcome: how can we account for the gap of six years? How can we argue that a satire of 1656 actually refers continually to an ineffective piece of legislation passed years earlier? Surely the fact that the major-generals were given direct orders by Cromwell himself to enforce similar regulations proved how little the bill of 1650 had affected everyday life. Other historians disagree with Barry Coward's account of the events of 1650, most notably Keith Thomas, who argues:

If any single measure epitomizes the triumph of Puritanism in England, it must surely be the Commonwealth's act of 10 May 1650 'for suppressing the detestable sins of incest, adultery and fornication'. This was an attempt, unique in English history, to put the full machinery of state behind the enforcement of sexual

morality. (Thomas 1982: 257)

Severe punishments were to be meted out. The scourge of the law would fall on incest and adultery. Few convictions on incest are recorded, as the question of who denounces the felony, as it had become, is always going to be problematical. Perhaps the main point of the law, and a fact which is often glossed over in the damning of Puritan morality, is that it was a deliberate attempt by a centralised state to regulate sexual conduct by removing jurisdiction from the church courts. Keith Thomas argues that not only was the bill controversial, but he also highlights 1655 and 1656 as moments when amendment and reform of the law were debated, hence Cromwell's directive to the major-generals.

Of all the stipulations of the bill, the one that is most surprising is the death penalty for adultery. It has to be said that conviction was made virtually impossible, as spouses could not testify against each other. Bearing in mind that the cuckold had been the figure of ridicule for centuries, and that both tracts freely talk about the seduction of other men's wives, the debarring of the afflicted party finds an echo in the tracts' nonchalance towards adultery. Thomas argues that "[a]s in New England, where death sentences for adultery, though legally mandatory, were exceedingly infrequent, the importance of the 1650 act was primarily symbolic" (Thomas 1982: 280). At the same time, as Keith Thomas points out, the death penalty as punishment for adultery has a long pedigree. In *Utopia*, the first offence was punishable by slavery, but for a second offence, Thomas More resorts to the traditional penalty of death. Keith Thomas also points out that Margaret Cavendish suggested it would be fitting that unfaithful wives should be executed by their husbands. Unsurprisingly for the times, the main authority for the death penalty is the Mosaic laws of Leviticus and Deuteronomy. We have, unfortunately, to remind ourselves, that adultery is still punished by stoning in some parts of the world. It is with all this evidence at hand, that we turn to one of the laws of the second tract: "That if any woman cornute her husband, and tells him of it, that she shall be stoned to death by Hospital Girls, with peny hot Pudding-pyes." The phrase "and tells him of it" refers to the complexity of the legislation, the stoning, to the biblical origins, and the "Hospital Girls" and "hot Pudding pyes" to the general absurdity of the legislation. Thus I think Keith Thomas's widening of scope, that the bill was not directly aimed at the Ranters but to regulation by the state of sexual behaviour in general, a more convincing argument.

Keith Thomas's article also helps us to understand another peculiarity of the second tract, its conventional poem. After, such cruel and bitter satire, why do we return to Cupid and the tediously flat final line "Ballance her virtues, and not her estate"? I believe this is because it is, after all, arguably the tracts' most important regulation. Keith Thomas argues that from 1543 onwards, many attempts at passing legislation with severe punishments against adultery had been made. This was not necessarily just vindictive punishment but a subtler, more Foucauldian form of regulation, that of promoting marriage. In other words, the celebration of connubial bliss, and the emphasis on physical and social partnership which

we are so familiar with in the fourth book of *Paradise Lost* is just that: the example we are most familiar with. With this view in mind, it is interesting to note how both tracts combine Mosaic law with the promotion of modern marriage. The search, as the tracts make clear, is for a marriageable person willing to direct his sexual energy toward his spouse rather than towards the traditional object of desire, pleasure in adultery.

As a brief conclusion, I have argued that these tracts enable us to see how the language of desire is being transformed from the old to the modern model. At the same time, the tracts cannot hide their suspicion that the Lord Protector is possibly a wolf in sheep's clothing; an absolutist, who, like all absolutists, becomes intractable when his mad ideas cannot be enacted; he becomes, if not a Ranter, a ranter. In addition, with the aid of Keith Thomas, I hope to have demonstrated how these tracts provide some of the clearest evidence that modern marriage was one of the major concerns of the world turned upside-down, and hopefully ongoing research into the Thomason Collection will provide further illustrations.

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## FOLKLORE: OPIATE OF THE PEOPLE OR THE SOCIAL CEMENT OF MIDDLE ENGLAND?

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Much cultural conflict during the reign of James I and Charles I centred on the *Book of Sports* (1617/8, 1633); puritan and royalist alike assumed the connection between popular royalism and traditional culture. It is too easily overlooked that Jonson and Brome were involved in this cultural debate and that the royalist side was a church with its own "schisms." Jonson, Brome, and William Cavendish, then Earl of Newcastle, gave prominence to rural pastimes and much that today we should call folklore, in their writings, and satirised aspects of French, Spanish and Italian culture influential at court. They represented English traditions as essentially masculine and conducive to social harmony. Brome's drama in particular can be properly understood only in the light of his use of folk material.

From James I's advice to his son Henry on the conduct of Kingship, *Basilikon Doron* (1599, revised in *Complete Works*, 1616) to the Duke of Newcastle's advice to Charles II just before his restoration, such rural pastimes as maypoles, morris dancing, wassails, churchales, football, wrestling and much else occupied a central ideological position as never before or since in English political history, partly of course, because these activities commonly took place on Sundays.

James recommended traditional popular pastimes to his son Henry as a remedy against fractiousness, "to allure them to a common amitie among themselves... [by]... delighting the people with publick spectacles of all honest games" (McIlwain 1965:27). William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, who had been tutor to Charles II during his minority, in a letter presented to Charles in the spring of 1659, recommended the restoration of all the old holidays in merry England because "these Devirtismentes will amuse the peoples thoughts And keepe them in harmless actions, which will free your Majestie from Faction, & Rebellion" (Slaughter 1984: 63-4).

Leah Marcus has been the most notable critic of recent years to argue that James regarded traditional English customs as an integral branch of his power (1986: 4). Certainly the above quotations indicate a degree of autocratic self

interest, even cynicism, in the minds of James and an old Tory like Newcastle, as if popular pastimes were a sort of opiate and instrument of social control. In fact, however, their other writings highlight other concerns than mere expediency such as social cohesion, the peace and concord of civil society and Englishness or national identity.

In 1618 James issued a proclamation, widely called the *Book of Sports*, which his son Charles I re-issued in October 1633. The full title is *The King's Majesty's declaration to his subjects concerning lawful sports to be used* (Gardiner 1889: 99). James' own reason for making the declaration was as follows:

Whereas we did justly in our progress through Lancashire rebuke some Puritans and precise people, and took order that the like unlawful carriage should not be used by any of them hereafter, in the prohibiting and unlawful punishing of our good people for using their lawful recreations and honest exercises upon Sundays, and other Holy-days, after the afternoon sermon or service, we now find that two sorts of people wherewith that country is much infected, we mean Papists and Puritans, have maliciously traduced and calumniated those our just and honourable proceedings: and therefore, lest our reputation might upon the one side (though innocently) have some aspersion laid upon it, and that upon the other part our good people in that country be misled by the mistaking and misinterpretation of our meaning, we have therefore thought good hereby to clear and make our pleasure to be manifested to all our good people in those parts. (Gardiner 1889: 100)

In present day political parlance, James was supporting 'middle England' and fending off both kind of extremist, Puritan and Papist. His position on popular pastimes aligns him with Elizabeth's settlement. Newcastle's 1658/9 letter harks back to Elizabeth "whose Government Is the beste presedent for Englandes Govermente, absolutly" (Slaughter 1984: 45; Newcastle's spelling suggests he was partially dyslexic). Charles' reissuing of the same declaration carries a prefatory paragraph:

Our dear father of blessed memory, in his return from Scotland, coming through Lancashire, found that his subjects were debarred from lawful recreations upon Sundays after evening prayers ended, and upon Holy-days; and he prudently considered that, if these times were taken from them, the meaner sort who labour hard all the week should have no recreations at all to refresh their spirits: and after his return, he further saw that his loyal subjects in all other parts of his kingdom did suffer in the same kind, though perhaps not in the same degree: and did therefore in his princely wisdom publish a Declaration to all his loving subjects concerning lawful sports to be used at such times. . . (Gardiner 1889: 99)

In appealing for the support of his 'loyal subjects' Charles also implicitly appeals for the support of middle England. A distinguishing feature of Charles' re-issuing the declaration was the active collaboration of the Anglican Church under Archbishop Laud. Charles' court however was very different from that of James; whereas James had actually liked popular pastimes, Marcus argues that under Charles these were distanced from the court and sacramentalized, by which she presumably means, fell under the protection of the established

church (Marcus 1986: 5). Of course the Stuart programme of encouraging old folk and calendar customs met with strong opposition and became a focal point of political and religious controversy. The best summary of this controversy still remains that of Christopher Hill. I refer you to his 'Uses of Sabbatarianism' in *Society and Puritanism* (1964: 194-206).

Leah Marcus remarks that her book is not concerned with anthropology or ethnography but "to establish connections between royal theory and specific literary practice" (1986: 7). I believe that any such connection between royal theory in respect of traditional pastimes and literature is far more problematic than Marcus is acknowledging. Of course many recent communist states did appropriate folklore into what Althusser would have called a state ideological apparatus. However, we may question how far such folklore remains folklore. She quotes Herrick's argument of *Hesperides* (1648):

I SING of  
*Brookes, of Blossomes, Birds and Bowers*  
 Of *April, May, of June and July* - Flowers.  
 I sing of  
*May-poles, Hock-carts, Wassails, Wakes,*  
 Of *Bride-grooms, Brides, and of their Bridall-cakes;*

and mentions his dedication to Prince Charles, the future Charles II. However, these rural customs are listed for decoration and prettiness and incorporate other literary traditions, pastoral and classical. This lyrical invocation of country customs is more sentiment than sacrament. It seems peculiarly inert.

The focus of Marcus' argument is even more difficult to hold if we move from lyric verse to drama. Let us reflect for a moment upon Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and ask a question which students are never asked nowadays: what is the function of folk material in the text of this play and how should it be staged?

Well, first we have to agree what the folk material is and we may well disagree; traditions of marriage and mid-summer for example. But just for the moment, let us consider Robin Goodfellow and the fairies. My response to this question would be that folk material has been reworked and gentrified to remind us comically of human coupling and copulation. However, to answer the second part of the question, so much would depend upon the actual production. Max Reinhardt's film with Mendelssohn's music conveys an ethereal dream world; present day productions often emphasise a Freudian interpretation and Bottom not infrequently has a huge penis in the love scenes. Nothing is known for certain of the first production of this play, though it is fair to assume that some in that audience believed in the reality of fairies.

Shakespeare was dead when the *Book of Sports* was proclaimed from many pulpits in 1618, and the *Dream* belongs to the fifteen nineties. This example may however warn us that the re-cycling of folk material in English Renaissance drama is a vast topic and fraught with problems which Marcus' formulation "to establish connections between royal theory and specific literary practice" cannot

confront; folk material can be very unruly, particularly if we include carnival, skimmingtons, chari-vari and the subversive potential of comic inversion. We cannot know precisely how or how much folk material was performed on stage. We surely should, however, take up the anthropological or ethnographical challenge and make an imaginative effort to penetrate some of the abundance of folk motifs, popular pastimes, folk song and dance material surviving in the drama, and not surrender to a dry critical formulation.

There is a further issue: the London commercial theatre did not, in general, have the resources to commission songs and dances from composers and dancing masters; only the Court, and possibly the companies of boy actors drawn from choirs like St. Paul's and the Chapel Royal, could do that. Dramatists therefore supplying the commercial theatre drew upon popular ballads, published songs and music, and dances from all over the British Isles and from Europe, notably France, Italy and Spain as ready-made material. *Twelfth Night* contains at least ten songs as well as several instrumental pieces (Mahood 1984: 194-205). These songs derive from both traditional and published material. Ophelia's snatches of song in her madness in Act IV scene V of *Hamlet* are all drawn from popular ballads (Jenkins 1990: 536-43). The Bergomask dance at the end of the play within a play in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was a rustic dance for two very appropriate to the play's content; the play itself ends in a song and dance in which all participated, an '*omnium gatherum*' for as many as will, thereby emphasising social cohesion. Self evidently such folk and popular material was part of stage semiotics, reinforcing aspects of personality, states of mind, coupling and community and so on. It was not a digression or gratuitous diversion but tightly integrated. Shakespeare may have been the most outstanding practitioner but the use of song and dance for stage semiotics was integral to all theatrical practice before the Civil War. The use of folk material in the drama therefore especially in circumstances that would seem 'prima facie' to exemplify royalist support for folk customs, deserves our close attention. The folk material identified may not be inertly programmatic like the folk dance displays of old communist regimes, but may prove in context subtly subversive or surprisingly polyvalent. We should further bear in mind that a distinction between popular and élite culture should not be drawn too tightly. There was an obvious osmosis; court masques and entertainments commonly re-worked folk material for an élite audience.



Two of the most obvious adaptors and re-workers of folk material for the Stuart stage were Ben Jonson and Richard Brome. They are also obvious candidates for the possible exemplification of Marcus' royalist theory of the politics of mirth on the stage; she devotes much of her book to Jonson. I have elsewhere argued in an article published by the *Folk Music Journal* in December, 1999, that Brome may well have had a hand in the most important collection of English country dances, the Playford collection of 1650/51 a very large number of which were derived from or used in plays (Whitlock 1999: 548-78). I do, of course, speak of

the private as well as the public stage.

It is important not only to read Brome with Jonson, but also Jonson with Brome. Jonson was a largely self educated classicist. His early entertainments and masques are very learned and shaped by his reading of the classics. His *Masque of Queens* of February 1609 however marks a change, for it was this masque which, as Jonson diplomatically states, at the behest of Anne of Denmark, contained an antimasque: "Some *Dauunce*, or shew, that might praecede hers, and have the place of a foyle, or false-*Masque*" (Herford and Simpson 1941: 7.282). The witches of this anti-masque seem literary and derivative. This anti-masque device is not developed in the next two masques, *Oberon* and *Love Freed From Ignorance And Folly* (1611). It is the anti-masque of *Love Restored*, Twelfth Night 1612, which marks a new voice with reworked folk material and reference to morris dancing, ballads, wild music, Robin Goodfellow, country-maids, hot-cockles, in short "rude good fellowship" (Herford and Simpson 1941: 379). There is indeed a significant change in voice. James is addressed directly and familiarly. It is folk material reworked, knockabout that James enjoyed. Perhaps a familiarity with James inspired Jonson's confident writing. Leah Marcus comments that this masque (or its anti-masque) "inaugurates the important Jonsonian theme of asserting a tie between humble devotion to the King and a love of traditional pastimes" (Marcus 1986: 29). Perhaps, but there is also no precedent in Jonson's writing for folk material, which from this time onwards, became such a feature of Jonson's antimasques, and entertainments; and Jonson's record suggests that humble devotion was not his style. A contemporary poem like *Penshurst* written before the death of Prince Henry in November 1612, strongly confirms an organicist, conservative social philosophy.

Now, the chronology of the relationship between Jonson and Brome is one of English Renaissance drama's great mysteries. Brome's date of birth and origins are not known. The first surviving reference to him is in *Bartholomew Fair* (1614) a sort of city of London folk festival: "(I am looking, lest the Poet heare me, or his man Master Brome, behind the Arras)," says the Stage-Keeper in his Induction (Herford and Simpson 1941: 6.13). Brome's position behind the Arras suggests an assistant's role. Jonson's well known dedicatory verses to Brome's *The Northern Lass* acted 1629, published 1632, praises Brome for having served his stage apprenticeship. Perhaps Jonson educated and trained Brome; but Brome's joining Jonson's service has a close chronological coincidence with the incorporation of folk material in Jonson's masques and entertainments.<sup>1</sup> The folk dance and ballad material in Brome's comedies is so abundant that strictly he wrote a form of ballad opera. *The Antipodes* (acted 1638) alone has upwards of twenty musical items, ballads, dances, instrumental pieces and ends in a masque to Harmony. Anyone seeking to demonstrate the use of music on the Stuart commercial stage could not choose a more exemplary text. *A Jovial Crew* (acted 1641) was repeatedly revived from the Restoration and converted into a comic opera in 1731, which had a long stage life (Brome 1968: xii). No modern production does him justice.

1. The best discussion is Kaufman 1961, chapter II.

Brome was clearly a master of dialect, northern, middle Cornish and Cockney in *The Northern Lass*, Somerset in *The Sparagus Gardens* (1635), song and dance (Brome 1966).<sup>2</sup> Jonson never admitted collaboration. Perhaps he was too proud; but physically he was himself a most unlikely dancer. The records tell us that the dancing masters of the masques commonly were paid more than Jonson or Inigo Jones that is, librettist or stage designer; but these dancing masters, often French, rehearsed the aristocrats. Who advised the professional actors who played in the anti-masques where so much folk material was concentrated and reworked? It is possible to discern a collaborative role for Brome. Hence my remark that we should also read Jonson with Brome.

Such a possibility may throw an unexpected light upon Jonson's well known anger that his own play *The New Inn* notably failed in January 1629, whereas Brome's *The Love-Sick Maid* was acted at court by the same King's men the following April, with great success. Perhaps *The Love-sick Maid* is not a lost play but the earlier title of *The Northern Lasse* also acted by the King's men in July 1629. Both titles fit the content. The revised title names the play after a ballad used in the performance. The surviving text contains eleven songs, a masque with willow garlands, a song sung to mock a female scold, at least three instrumental pieces and a remarkable incident in which a lady's man and gentleman usher, Humphrey Howdee is promised fresh employment with the heroine Constance who is 'diseas'd with melanchollie' and inducted into his new job by executing the courtesies of honouring and the dance reprises standard to the country dances of Playford's *The English Dancing Master* (Brome 1966: 3.71). Brome's play was a smash-hit. Jonson's anguish may have arisen at his being forced to recognise that Brome's entertainment skills exceeded his. The key to those skills was a mastery of folklore and popular culture. In his dedicatory verses to Brome's publication of *The Northern Lasse* (1632) Jonson notably praised his former servant as 'my loving friend'. Perhaps Jonson still needed his skills. Since 1626 Jonson had suffered from dropsy and palsy and became bed-ridden.

In *Love's Welcome at Bolsover*, 30th July 1634, Jonson pilloried Inigo Jones and in consequence was dismissed from writing masques. The incident is very well known, and often treated as a clash of two huge and jealous egos, or more abstractly, as a profound difference between the importance of the words and the importance of scenery and setting. I know of no analysis of the folk material directed against Jones. First some facts:

The Earl, later Marquis and Duke of Newcastle, employed Jonson to create two masques to entertain Charles and Henrietta at Welbeck and Bolsover in Nottinghamshire. Jonson's differences with Jones went back to 1612 and in 1619 he told Drummond that Jones was 'an arrant knave' (Herford and Simpson 1941: 1.145). In *A Tale of A Tub* 1635, Jonson in an early suppressed draft caricatured Jones as Vitruvius Hoop. A strong feature of both Newcastle masques or entertainments is the volume of reworked folk material which they contain. Newcastle was a patron of Jonson and a Brome dedicatee (*The Covent*

2. The editing is minimal, there is no line numbering, and the texts are virtual facsimiles.

*Garden Weeded*) and attitudes towards popular folk culture may well be a linking shared interest.

The offending passage in the last masque or entertainment that Jonson wrote is the following:

*After the Banquet, the King and Queene, retir'd, were entertain'd with Coronell Vitruvius his Oration to his Dance*

of Mechanickes.

VIT. Come forth, boldly put forth, i' your Holy-day Clothes, every Mothers Sonne of you. This is the *King*, and *Queenes*, Majesticall Holy-day. My Lord has it granted from them; I had it granted from my Lord: and doe give it unto you *gratis*, that is *bonâ fide*, with the faith of a Surveyour, your Coronell *Vitruvius*. Doe you know what a Surveyour is now? I tell you, a Supervisor! A hard word, that; but it may be softned, and brought in, to signifie something. An Overseer! One that oversee-eth you. A busie man! And yet I must seeme busier then I am, (as the Poet sings, but which of them, I will not now trouble my selfe to tell you.) O Captaine *Smith!* o(u)r Hammer-armed *Vulcan!* with your three Sledges, you are our Musique, you come a little too tardie; but wee remit that, to your polt-foot, we know you are lame. Plant your selves there, and beat your time out at the Anvile. *Time*, and *Measure*, are the Father, and Mother of Musique, you know, and your Coronell *Vitruvius* knowes a little. O *Chesil!* our curious Carver! and Master *Maul*, our Free-Mason; *Squire Summer*, our Carpenter, and *Tnybil* his Man; stand you foure, there, i' the second ranke, worke upon that ground. And you, *Dresser*, the Plomber; *Quarrel*, the Glasier; *Fret*, the Plaisterer; and *Beater*, the Morterman; put all you on i' the reere, as finishers in true footing, with Tune, and Measure. *Measure* is the Soule of a Dance, and *Tune* the Tickle-foot thereof. Use Holy-day legges, and have 'hem: Spring, Leape, Caper, and Gingle; Pumpes, and Ribbands, shall be your reward, till the Soles of your feet swell, with the surfet of your light and nimble Motion.

Well done, my Musicall, Arithmetticall, Geometricall Gamesters! or rather my true Mathematicall Boyes! It is carried, in number, weight, and measure, as if the Aires were all Harmonie, and the Figures a well-tim'd Proportion! I cry still; Deserve Holy-dayes, and have Ôhem. I'le have a whole Quarter of the yeare cut out for you in Holy-dayes, and lac'd with Statute-Tunes [perhaps like a statute-cap, to be played and danced on Sundays and holidays], and Dances; fitted to the activitie of your Tressels, to which you shall trust, Ladds, in the name of your *Iniquo Vitruvius*. Hay for the Lilly, for, and the blended Rose. (Herford and Simpson 1941: 7.809-10)

Jones is caricatured as a military overseer, and like Chaucer's Man of Law, very self important; but the knife goes deeper: Jones is a gaffer of a morris side of mechanicals – the scene is organised around four couples of male dancers – honouring Charles and Henrietta with a popular form of folk dance at that time executed by men only. Jones died unmarried and very possibly was gay. Clearly he had successfully assimilated himself to the court – Van Dyck painted his portrait – and he complained to Charles of this caricature and thereby got Jonson the sack.

Why was Jones so annoyed? Well, Jonson had broken the rules of the game as set out in the Induction to *Bartholomew Fair*, he had put an identifiable figure on

a stage. Jonson had also reminded Jones of his origins as an apprentice cooper, a mechanical. We do not know what took place on stage or in the acting space, but commonly the gaffer of a morris side marshalls his team, is drunk and carries an inflated pig's bladder with which he bashes his dancers on the bottom to liven them. He also commonly gets involved in back chat with the watching spectators too. Jones has been stripped of status and reduced to anti-masque. Further Jones is a Welsh surname and doubtless Inigo, though born in London, was the son or descendent of much satirised immigrants into London. The capital had been flooded with Welsh, Irish and Scots immigrants. The speech reads like a send-up of a Welsh speaker of English. Dylan Thomas would have been proud!

No incident could more clearly highlight the gulf between Charles' Court and the rural pastimes allegedly espoused under royal protection. There is another feature: Jones had brought classical and Italian architecture to London, indeed at that very moment was involved in planning the new piazza and church at Covent Garden which we see today. Under his influence, London was abandoning Tudor for Italian design. Jonson is attacking a skilful and domineering social climber for being un-English, and possibly un-masculine.

Folk material is then reworked for the stage to emphasise values of Englishness. It is coming free of the Court party and what has been described in the contemporary Spain of Philip III as neo-aristocraticization, and becoming part of an ideological contest for the political middle ground with or without Crown support.

Brome continued Jonson's concept of comedy as both entertaining and reforming society. In some dedicatory verses to Brome's *Five New Plays* printed and published by Andrew Crook in 1659, addressed to Andrew Brome, apparently not a relation, T. S. wrote:

When he strook *nice*, he let the *person* go,  
Wounded not *men* but *manners*; nor did do  
Like him who when he painted *heaven and hel*,  
Amongst the *damm'd* shades and those that fell,  
Did draw his Enemies face. (Brome 1966: 2)

Brome does not exhibit Jonson's aggression. He is a conciliator who uses a sort of holiday disorder to generate social harmony and moral renewal.

Brome's *The Covent Garden Weeded* (probably 1635) obviously relates to Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*; Justice Cockbrain who would like to weed Covent Garden states that he imitates Justice Adam Overdoe. The play opens with discussion of the speculative building of Covent Garden and the involvement of the Surveyor Inigo Jones: "Here's Architecture exprest indeed! ... How he [i.e. Inigo Jones] has wedded strength to beauty; state to uniformity; commodiousnesse with perspicuity!" (Brome 1966: 2.1-2); "[The speculative builder Rooksbill] has pil'd up a Leash of thousand pounds in walls and windows there (Brome 1966: 2.2). There is then irony at the expense of Jones; houses are in rows or terraces, Italianate red and white has replaced Tudor black and white, have balconies, and are constructed to attract wealthy provincials to set up in town. A wealthy West countryman Crosswill turns up with his family to take a lease. His elder

son, Gabriel had been a lively young gentleman in Somerset, but after a love affair miscarried has turned Puritan or precisian. So Gabriel must be cured and we have a typical Brome plot of comic inversion. Of course James had wanted the gentry to remain in the country to foster old customs and social harmony. Crosswill has brought his family to live in an Italianate environment, of Italian fiddle playing, and of Italian courtesans. Gabriel's period as a Puritan killjoy in effect represents those who do not support music, song, dance and old customs of good cheer as un-masculine and effete, hence Crosswill's blunt question to Gabriel: "I will now put a question to you concerning the flesh. What think you of yond Virgin there, his daughter?" (Brome 1966: 2.32). Gabriel is tongue-tied and can only hum an evasion. He appears to have lost any sex drive and has no wife in the coupling of the dénouement. In contrast, before his conversion to Puritanism, Gabriel

was the Ring-leader of all the youthful Frie, to Faires, to Wakes, to May-games, footbal-matches, anything that had but noise and tumult in it; then he was Captain of the young train-band, and exercised the youth of twenty parishes in martial discipline. O he did love to imitate a souldier the best, - and so in everything, that there was not an handsom maid in an whole County could be quiet for him. (Brome 1966: 2.51)

Gabriel's younger brother, Mihil, in contrast, is a jolly spendrift student of Law who loves the Christmas revels at the Inns of Court and is set up as a comic opposite. It is important to remember that young men went to the Inns of Court from all parts of the British Isles as much to acquire social graces and become skilful dancers as to master Law and that the Inns of Court became a social focus for the transmission of folk culture and its gentrification in the Court masque:

The antimasque dances (or antics, as they were also called) ... were usually performed by professionals (and sometimes by the highly skilled dancers of The Inns of Court), .... the Inns of Court men, many of whom were from the remoter countries, introduced elements of popular country entertainments like mummings' plays, sword dances, morris dances and maypole dances. Many of these dances are parts of seasonal rituals and are symbolic representations of fertility, sustenance, or resurrection. (Sabol 1978: 12, 14)

The foreword to Playford's *The English Dancing Master* (1650/51), very possibly written by Brome, pays tribute to "the Gentlemen of the Innes of Court, whose sweet and ayry Activity has crowned their Grand Solemnities with Admiration to all Spectators" (Dean-Smith 1957: 2). Playford's title stresses Englishness. Mihil tries to stage a study session for his father who has just come up to town, and thus conceal his rakish life, for the following to ensue:

*Cross.* Away with books. Away with Law. Away with madnesse. *I,* God blesse thee, and make thee his servant, and defend thee from Law, *I* say. Take up these books, sarrah, and carry them presently into *Pauls* Church-yard dee see, and change them all for Histories, as pleasant as profitable; *Arthur of Britain, Primalion of Greece, Amadis of Gaul,* and such like de see.

*Mi.* I hope he do's but jest.

*Cross.* And do you heare, Sirrah.

*Belt.* *I* Sir.

*Cross.* Get *Bells* work, and you can, into the bargain.

*Belt.* Which *Bell*, sir? *Adam Bell*, with *Clim o'th'Clough*, and *William of Cloudefley*.

*Coss.* *Adam Bell* you Asse? Valiant *Bell* that kill'd the Dragon.

*Belt.* You mean St. *George*.

*Cross.* Sir *Jolthead*, do I not. I'll teach you to chop logick, with me.

*Mi.* Sfoot, how shall I answer my borrow'd books? Stay *Belt*. Pray Sir, do not change my books.

*Cross.* Sir, sir, I will change them and you too: Did I leave thee here to learn fashions and manners, that thou mightst cary thy self like a Gentleman, and dost thou wast they brains in learning a language that I understand not a word of? ha! I had been as good have brought thee up among the wild *Irish*. (Brome 1966: 2.23)

Crosswill wants his son to read tales of knight-errantry and learn the fashions and manners of a gentleman at the Inns of Court. This, of course, is English 'downrightness'. Too many Puritans were lawyers.

Brome's folk ballad opera technique, is equally clear in *The English Moor or the Mock Marriage* (1637; Brome 1966: 2. 13-16). Within very few lines Brome has young Millicent who is unhappy in an enforced marriage with a miserly old city plutocrat singing traditional ballad bawdy; a sow-gelder blows a horn, then a masque skimmington (or chari-vari) and a masquers' dance follow. Clearly for Brome music and dance were like processes of thought. Millicent's old usurer husband Quicksands is found already to have a child by marriage with a servant in the provinces, Norfolk, and she is freed from the marriage. There is a lot of comic disguise – indeed blacking up – as in Jonson's *Masque of Queens* which is actually cited in the text (Brome 1966: 2.38) and is a reference highly suggestive that Brome had witnessed or been associated with the performance in 1609. Interestingly in this play Brome caricatures inherited gentility in the character of Buzzard who says of himself "I am a gentleman, though spoil'd i'the breeding. The *Buzzards* are all gentlemen. We came in with the Conqueror" (Brome 1966: 2.43). Brome is no sycophantic court hanger on and his play *The Queen and Concubine* (probably 1635-36), a reworking of the Patient Griselda motif, is partly a direct attack upon court sycophancy; and rural pastimes, dancing, song, wassail-tide – indeed folklore – have a clear role in purging a corrupt court.

*The New Academy* (possibly 1635) has some relationship with William Cavendish's play *The Variety*, to which Brome wrote dedicatory verses. Both convey a mockery of French dancing masters against which are set "Bull beef and Mustard English looks" (Brome 1966: 2.87). The comedy of the play partly derives from the fact that French and English gentlemen have swapped the education of their offspring, but the play ends with an '*English Omnium Gatherum*' or what is commonly called, a dance for as many as will. English country dancing has the last word.

*The Antipodes* (acted in 1638), to be revived at the Globe theatre in August 2000, has been much worked over in terms of 'the world turned upside down,' that is, the politics of pre-Civil War English society. I have strong reservations. Comic inversion, chari-vari, skimmington, carnival are all such common features of Brome's dramatic technique that there is nothing surprising in a young man Perigrine, melancholy mad, whose wife is still a virgin after three years of

marriage. He has a longing to travel, and is cured by a pretended journey to a land where sexual and social roles are reversed. The deception of the young husband is achieved by actors in the employ of a Lord Letoy. The character of Lord Letoy could well reflect the qualities Brome admired in Newcastle:

But tell me *Blazge*, what say they of me, ha?

*Bla.* They say my Lord you look more like a pedlar,  
Then like a Lord, and live more like an Emperor.

*Let.* Why there they ha' me right, let others shine  
Abroad in cloth o'bodkin, my broad cloath,  
Pleases mine eye as well, my body better,  
Besides I'm sure tis paid for (to their envy)  
I buy with ready money; and at home here  
With as good meat, as much magnificence,  
As costly pleafures, and as rare delights,  
Can satisfie my appetite and senses,  
As they with all their publique shewes, and braveries.  
They runne at ring, and tilt 'gainst one another,  
I and my men can play a match at football,  
Wrastle a handsome fall, and pitch the barre,  
And crack the cudgells, and a pate sometimes,  
Twould doe you good to see't.

*Bla.* More then to feel't.

*Let.* They hunt the Deere, the Hare, the Fox, the Otter,  
Polcates, or Harlots, what they please, whilst I  
And my mad Grigs, my men can runne at base,  
And breathe our selves at Barley-breake, and dancing.

*Bla.* Yes my Lord i'the countrey when you are there.

*Let.* And now I am here i'th city, Sir, I hope  
I please my selfe with more choyse home delights,  
Then most men of my ranke.

*Bla.* I know my Lord

Your house in substance is an Amphitheater  
Of exercise and pleasure.

*Let.* Sir, I have

For exercises, Fencing, Dancing, Vaulting,  
And for delight, Musique of all best kindes;  
Stage-playes, and Masques, are nightly my pastimes.  
And all within myselfe. My owne men are  
My Musique, and my Actors, I keepe not  
A man or boy but is of quality:  
The worst can sing or play his part o'th' Violls,  
And act his part too in a comedy.

For which I lay my bravery on their backs;  
And where another Lord undoes his followers,  
I maintaine mine like Lords. And there's my bravery.

*Hoboyes.* *A service as for dinner, passe over the stage, borne by many Servitors, richly apparreld, doing honour to Letoy as they passe.*

*Ex.*

Now tell me *Blazge*, looke these like Pedler's men? (Brome 1966: 3.244-46)

*The Antipodes* is unique for the presence of what today we should call a psychiatrist, Hughball, who advises on a cure for Perigrine's condition. Part of that cure lies in the recreational practices of Lord Letoy who remains close to his retainers and shares their traditional pastimes and customs. He is not a bankrupt courtier imitating French or Spanish ways. He is a cultured English aristocrat, who flaunts his Englishness. The play ends in songs, dance and a short masque of Harmony's triumph over Discord. As so often in Brome, the play's comic resolution lies in music, song and communal celebration.



Leah Marcus' book *The Politics of Mirth* sought to establish a connection between Stuart royal theory and specific literary practice by reference to the *Book of Sports*, but leaving out any detailed account of the folklore involved. In the drama her argument fails. Folklore is something done, performed. In dramatic contexts it is exceedingly polyvalent perhaps uncontrollable. Jonson's caricature of Inigo Jones shows folklore, officially espoused by the court, turned against a favoured courtier. In the hands of Jonson and Brome we find folklore used not to justify any explicit absolutist programme nor to apologise for royalist theory but to emphasise values of harmony, Englishness, good cheer, tolerance, a conservatism gradualist and expedient, which has a very long history in English politics. We have only to think of Burke's

*Reflections upon the Revolution in France* and his hostility to societies new cast upon political theory. Jonson and Brome seem to regard folk or communal celebrations as a sort of community cement.

I have elsewhere argued that Brome probably wrote the foreword to Playford's *The English Dancing Master* of 1650/51 and possibly had a hand in the selection of dances. One of these is called *Brome* (number 74) and is the eponymous tune from his play *The Northern Lass* (1632). Another of the dances in that collection is called *The Shepherds' Holy day* (number 101). This was the alternative title to Jonson's masque *Pan's Anniversary* which was probably performed on King James' birthday 19 June 1620. Pan represents James as the presiding genius of rural sports. Another (number 77), a fine melody and still extremely popular dance almost certainly was one of those performed at Welbeck or Bolsover, perhaps at the very occasion when Inigo Jones was savaged. Its title is *Newcastle*. Playford's dances came out after the death of Charles I and must be seen as in part an attempt to reach across a fissured society not by referring its readers and dancers back to autocracy and divine right but to fellowship and good cheer and Englishness.

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