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EDITORS' FOREWORD

This issue of SEDERI comes with 25 articles, which are the result of the selection of 44 papers. There came professors from forty one universities, eleven of them from abroad (from the United States and from different European countries). Besides the papers, four plenary lectures were submitted at the XII SEDERI conference held in Valladolid (Feb. 2001). The lectures correspond to Prof. Sandra Clark (Birbeck College, U. of London), Prof. Gerald Hammond (U. of Manchester), Prof. Pilar Hidalgo (U. of Malaga, and Prof. Brian Vickers (ETH Zentrum, U. of Zurich). Most of the articles in this issue are papers concerning matters that defy traditional classifications and arrangements. The variety of topics and approaches have increased the usual difficulties of a typological and topical classification of material, therefore in this occasion we have decided a flat alphabetical organization of the articles, all the other possible organizations would entail overlapping in some central Renaissance subjects.

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In spite of the hard task of organization of a Conference and the difficulties, sometimes unexpected, of the edition of a volume of these characteristics, we all agree that the high standards reached are worthwhile the effort.

The editors

**DEEDS AGAINST
NATURE: WOMEN AND
CRIME IN STREET
LITERATURE OF EARLY
MODERN ENGLAND**

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This paper examines some representations of women who kill in early modern news writing, including pamphlets, ballads, and some domestic tragedies, and considers how they were shaped to fulfil certain cultural functions. The situation of such women, particularly those who murdered their husbands or their children, was problematic in a culture where such behaviour lay far outside the boundaries of what was considered natural to each sex. In this period gender roles were clearly defined, and the ideology of the “good woman” informed the culture in various ways, both in legislation and at a popular level in social life and cultural practices. News writing, however sensational, was at this time invariably informed by a didactic imperative, and where possible structured so as to constitute evidence for a providentialist vision of human life. According to such a vision, even the most deviant of criminal acts might be utilised to reveal the mercy of God and the value of penitence. I discuss accounts of two kinds of female crime, husband murder and infanticide, in order to consider the narrative strategies whereby the writers attempt both to handle the difficult question of female agency and to render the crimes culturally intelligible.

This paper deals with a topic of perennial fascination: women who kill. Images of such women acquire and retain a potency rarely accorded to those of men; murders by men have to be deemed exceptionally horrific, as for example those committed by serial killers, to achieve the same notoriety, whereas women who kill are still, by nature, exceptional. In modern Britain, the face of Ruth Ellis, the last woman to be hanged for murder in 1955 is still a familiar one, and her story was made into a play and two films. More notorious still is Myra Hindley, the so-called Moors murderess, who was sentenced in 1965 for her part in the killings of several children, and still remains in jail, one of the country’s longest-serving prisoners. Whenever the possibility of her release is mooted, there is a huge public outcry.

In early modern England, when news in printed form designed for a large-scale readership was only beginning to develop, accounts of murders committed by women assumed an importance entirely disproportionate in relation to their

actual occurrence. For example, statistics on domestic homicide in this period show that the murder of wives by husbands was at least twice as common as the reverse, but the actuality is by no means reflected in the accounts of domestic murder in pamphlets, ballads, and plays (Dolan 1994). Crime news, then as now, typifies the preference of all news for the deviant over the normal. It rejoices in what is sensational, exploiting the elements of deviance in what is constructed as the criminal performance, or spectacle. And women who killed literally constituted a public spectacle of extraordinary interest. In a pamphlet of 1608 the appearance in London of a woman thought guilty of murder (erroneously so, as it turned out) is greeted by a large and eager crowd assembled specially to see her:

Such was the desire of all eyes to see her, that their eyes might beare witness if women could bring forth a woman so detestable, as she was, being carried through the streets, the people that came to behold her were infinite.

(The Apprehension, Arraignment, and Execution of Elizabeth Abbot, alias Cebrooke, for a cruell and horrible murther, 1608)

The execution of Anne Sanders for the murder of her husband was attended by “so great a number of people as the lyke hath not bene seene there together in any mans remembrance, for almost the whole fields, and all the way from Newgate, was as full of folke as coulde well stande by one another” (Golding 1577: 170).

Although strong efforts were made to induce all condemned criminals to make an open and public confession, there was a special concern that women should be seen to do so, and the justice of the state thus vindicated. In Elizabeth Abbot’s case, the anonymous reporter is anxious to testify to the fairness of the proceedings:

I cannot with silence pass over, the care which our honourable Magistrates, tooke of her soule, labouring by all meanes to have her make it plaine by confession, which was so cleere by evidence. (sig. C3)

But Abbot refused to comply, and even at the place of execution, as the reporter notes with some exasperation, “she persisted in her deniall.”

What I hope to do in this paper is to draw some tentative conclusions about representations of women who kill in early modern street literature, and to consider the cultural function of such representations; in particular, to explore ways in which the problematic situation created when a woman acts so far outside the boundaries of what culture deems natural to her gender is resolved in the narratives of pamphlets, ballads, and plays so as to affirm a providentialist vision of human life. This will involve some brief consideration of the relationship of this writing to changing concepts of social disorder and of

female agency. I have used two separate terms to denote the body of texts which I discuss: news, and street literature. The notion of street literature is often used now¹ to invoke ideas of a large body of anonymous popular writing, produced in cheap formats, and designed to be sold in the open, at markets and fairs, hawked by pedlars and chapmen, in towns and throughout the countryside; in ballad form, this material could be delivered orally, by street performers, and thus might appeal to those who could not read. Plays, which dramatised recent domestic events, functioned similarly to ballads in this respect, conveying news, in the form of a particular representation of a sensational crime to a large number of individuals simultaneously. The term “news” carries ideological implications. There are, of course, huge differences between the operations of modern news media and those of the informal, irregular, and inconsistently regulated production of news in the early modern period, and it is also important that topicality was not necessarily a particular attraction of early modern forms of news. Nonetheless, Raymond Williams’ s view of newspapers as “a signifying system through which necessarily... a social order is communicated, reproduced, experienced and explored” seems appropriate to the media with which I am concerned (Williams 1981). This early news writing functions ideologically, like all news, by bringing events into an already constituted “realm of meanings” (Hall 1973: 337) in order to make them culturally intelligible. The status of news writing and street literature generally at this time was in dispute, it was a source of profit and in demand by printers for whom it was said (by Nashe) that small pamphlets such as almanacs were “readier money than ale or cakes” (Nashe 1958: 3, 105), but at the same time the writers and purveyors of such material were universally reviled, and the popular appetite for it seen as greedy and diseased. But the writers themselves regularly drew attention to the moral and social functions of their work —its role in revealing the ubiquity of God’s guiding providence, its revelation of hidden misdeeds, its correction of rumour and false report. And in some ways the stories of crimes committed by women might be shaped to serve these purposes particularly well.

Representations of such crimes were much sought after in this period, and a particularly notorious crime, such as the murders by Alice Arden, Anne Sanders and Eulalia Page (in the Page of Plymouth case) of their husbands or those of children committed by the innkeeper’s wife Annis Dell or, in the later seventeenth century, the midwife Mary Compton, would generate numerous accounts in different literary forms. For example, the murder of Thomas Arden, committed in 1551, was retold in chronicles by Stowe and Holinshed, a play of 1592, a ballad of 1633, and mentioned in tracts and pamphlets for nearly a hundred years afterwards. In a pamphlet of 1635, *The Adultrresses Funerall*

¹For example by Joy Wiltenberg (1992).

Day, it is mentioned in passing as one of the many terrible crimes of modern times, worthy of a place in “a most approved Chronicle,” although by this time it belonged to an earlier age, more than 80 years before. At this point I want to consider certain aspects of the cultural formation of early modern England which clarify the basis for contemporary assumptions about what constituted normal women’s behaviour, and hence the particular nature of the impact of women’s crimes such as these. They are: the ideology of the “good woman” as wife and as mother as defined theoretically, and its implications for gender relations; and various types of social evidence for the strength and influence of this ideology in practice, including legislation.

The “good woman” as defined in sermons and conduct books from the Middle Ages on, was chaste, modest, obedient; she was patient and long-suffering; her voice, like Cordelia’s, was “ever soft, gentle, and low.” A well-known seventeenth-century mother’s advice book, *The Mothers Legacies* (1624) by Elizabeth Jocelin, advocates an upbringing in domestic duties and moral virtue for her daughter:

I desire her bringing up may be learning the Bible... good housewifery, writing, and good workes: other learning a woman needs not. (sig. B6)

Marriage in post-Reformation England was the ideal condition for an adult woman, and in marriage a good woman acknowledged her secondary role; William Perkins, in *Christian Oeconomy* (1590), calls the wife “the other married person, who being subject to her husband yieldeth obedience to him,” one who is “wholly to depend on him, both in judgment and will.”² The ideal woman was the good mother, and in the Bible St Paul says that although woman transgressed first in Eden, “she shall be saved in child-bearing” (1 Timothy 2.15). This whole conception was predicated on a view of woman as weak and inferior, requiring both support and control, which was institutionalised in the Homily on Matrimony, written to be read out in parish churches as officially sanctioned doctrine of the Anglican church. It stated that:

The woman is a weak creature, not endued with the like strength and constancy of mind [as men]: therefore they be the sooner disquieted, and they may be more prone to all affections and dispositions of mind, more than men be; and lighter they be and more vain in their fantasies and opinions.³

Therefore, for a woman to assume power, except within the circumscribed sphere of the household, was questionable, and in that context there was considerable scope for problems to arise. It has been suggested that the role of the mother itself was becoming a cause of anxiety at this time, and undergoing

²Cited from Keith Wrightson (1982: 90).

³Cited in Simon Shepherd (1985: 25).

changes in ways that relate quite directly to constructions of the woman as criminal (Willis 1995). Among the elite, these changes stem from the increasing exercise by mothers of their legal rights to make decisions about property and inheritance, sometimes to the disadvantage of their children. More generally, a new emphasis in conduct literature on the role of the wife as “nurturer and caretaker of small children” (17) is thought in part responsible for “a new sense of women’s potential for... malevolent nurture” (18), which is often reflected in representations of the infanticidal mother.

A woman’s role as wife might also be open to paradoxical division; the Homily on Matrimony hints at its duality, when the woman was allowed to exercise power over the children, but required to submit to her husband:

To obey is another thing than to control or command; which yet they may do to their children and to their family; but as for their husbands, them they must obey. (Shepherd 1985: 26)

In Post-Reformation England the state of matrimony was highly valued, and for a woman marriage was exalted over the pre-Reformation idealization of virginity. But the combination of power and subservience in the wife’s position could prove problematic; in *The Mothers Blessing* (1616), a popular conduct book written by an educated gentlewoman, Dorothy Leigh, husbands are advised on the delicate balance to be maintained in relations with their wife: “If she be thy wife, she is always too good to be thy servant, and worthy to be thy fellow.” As the literature of husband-murder shows, there was a potentially dangerous ambiguity in the definition of a wife’s power relative to her husband’s. This was particularly so in a cultural climate where women’s power was commonly perceived as disorder, and conversely, “their disorderliness as power.” (Wiltenberg 1992: 7)

For the requirement for female obedience in marriage was believed to be directly antithetical to women’s natural inclination, and sustainable only by “vigilant suppression of their unruly drives” (98). The “good woman” was constructed as a model for women to aspire to; but their natural propensities, as daughters of Eve, were believed to run counter to it, as the popularity of such contemporary female stereotypes as the scold, the shrew, the gossip and the witch demonstrates. The basis for such stereotypes is male anxiety about women’s power and disorderliness, particularly sexual disorderliness. Chastity was the preeminent virtue of the good woman —“a woman that is truly chaste is a great partaker of all other vertues,” wrote Dorothy Leigh, in *The Mothers Blessing*;⁴ “If chastity bee once lost, there is nothing left prayse-worthy in a woman” (M.R., *The Mothers Councell*) (Beilin 1987: 283). The concern with

⁴Cited in Elaine Beilin (1987: 298).

chastity was not due purely to the economics of a patriarchal society, where a man needed to ensure the succession of his truly-begotten heirs; it was also a reflection of the view that a woman's being was centred in her sexuality, and that her representative vice was adultery. If a woman lost her reputation for chastity, then nothing else mattered.

That this belief-system was deeply interiorised in early modern England is evident in social history. It influences numerous pieces of legislation, two branches of which are particularly relevant here. The first concerns the different punishments for husband-murder and for wife-murder where the former was deemed the more heinous as an act of rebellion against natural order. In law from the mid-fourteenth century on, husband-murder was defined as petty treason, a separate crime from murder as such, and analogous to high treason, the intent to assault or the assaulting of a monarch and his government. The Statute of Treasons, dated 1352 (not abolished until 1838) provided that "if any servant kill his Master, if any woman kill her husband, or any secular or religious person kill his Prelate to whom he oweth obedience, this is treason."⁵ The reason for differentiating between murder by spouses, according to a legal handbook of the period (Michael Dalton, *The Countrey Justice*, 138)⁶ is that "the one is in subjection and oweth obedience, and not the other." The punishment for a woman who committed petty treason was the same as that for anyone who committed treason against the monarch: burning at the stake. In contrast to this specific attention accorded to wives by the Statute of Treasons, within the state of marriage women had no legal position, no rights; they "ceased to exist as legal individuals" (Amusen 1988: 72). In legal terminology the married woman was a "feme covert," that is "veiled, as it were, clouded and overshadowed" (T. E. *The Lawes Resolution of Womens' Rights*).⁷ Man and wife became one person, and, legally, that person was the husband. The husband's legal preeminence was further confirmed in a sexually discriminatory Act of 1650 which made adultery by the wife a capital offence.

The second branch of legal discourse concerning the punishment of women for criminal behaviour interpreted as sexually transgressive was the Statute of 1624, "An Act to prevent the destroying and murthuring of bastard children," (21 James 1 c. 27), according to which "a woman who had concealed the death of her bastard child was presumed to have murdered it," and condemned to death (Jackson 1994: 21). Previously those suspected of murdering new-born infants were tried according to common-law rules of evidence, by which the prosecution had first to prove that the child had been born alive before

⁵Cited in Dolan (1994: 21).

⁶Cited in Dolan (1994: 22).

⁷Cited in Dolan (1994: 27).

proceeding to the question of murder. Under the new act, which in effect criminalised unmarried women who bore children, the onus was on the plaintiff to prove that the child hadn't been born alive, which was not the case for married women. Some historians of the period write of an "infanticide wave" (Sharpe 1984: 64) in seventeenth century England which have might have been responsible for the deaths of more women than the witchcraft craze. Analogies between infanticide, as constructed by this act, and witchcraft are suggestive: both are crimes of the socially marginalised woman associated with deviant behaviour, particularly sexual, which has to be concealed. Women found guilty of either act were commonly described as "lewd."

That disorderly sexual behaviour was an issue of concern at a popular level appears from such cultural practices as the skimmington ride, a rural ritual in which the wife who beat or dominated her husband, along with the shamed husband, were represented by dressed up effigies seated backwards on a horse and drawn through the public streets to the accompaniment of mocking music. Women found guilty of outspoken and offensive speech, known as scolds, were subjected to public punishments such as ducking in ponds or rivers; in parish records such a woman is referred to as "a settler of discord through her evil tongue," a person who "abused her tongue," or "one suspected to live incontinently and to be busy with her tongue and unquiet" (Emmison 1973: 57, 64). Communities played an important part in law enforcement in this period, both in the detection of crimes and malpractices and in the legal processes themselves.⁸ In particular they policed sexual conduct, especially women's; pamphlets of husband-murder or infanticide often refer to the crucial part played by a neighbour in the discovery of the crime. For example, in Thomas Kyd's account of the murder of John Brewen, a goldsmith, by his wife Anne, the crime goes undetected until neighbours overhear an argument between Anne and her lover John Parker, who persuaded her to commit the crime. Anne wants John Parker to marry her; he refuses:

Out arrant queane! (quoth he); thou wouldst marry me to the end that thou mightest poyson me, as thou didst thy husband; but for that cause I meane to keepe me as long out of thy fingers as I can, and accurst be I, if I hazard my life in thy hands. Why, thou arrant beast (quoth shee), what did I then, which thou didst not provoke me to do? if my husband were poysoned (shameles as thou art) it had never been done but for thee... These speeches thus spoken betweene them in vehemencie of spirite, was overheard of some that revealed it to the magistrates... and then she and Parker were both arraigned and condemned for the murder. (Kyd 1863: 1, 14-15)

⁸For more detail, see Malcolm Gaskill (2000: chapter 7).

Similarly the testimony of neighbours is crucial in convicting Mary Goodenough, a widow of Oxford, of responsibility for the death of her newborn illegitimate baby:

They declar'd; and she acknowledg'd... that she call'd not out for Help [at the birth], and as also with relation to the Child afterwards, That it perish'd for want of suitable Help and Attendance. (*Fair Warning to Murderers of Infants*, 1692:1)

Juries then, which were of course all male, had considerable power to determine punishments, and so the extent to which a female plaintiff presented herself in conformity with accepted gender stereotypes could be crucial to her fate. Although Margaret Ferneseede, who was a London brothel-keeper, denied, even at the stake, that she had murdered her husband Anthony, and there was no direct evidence to convict her, she was still burnt, because two men lodging at her house heard her through the walls arguing with her husband and testified at the trial that she had called her husband “slaue and villaine” and had said the words “I will before God be reuenged of him (nay ere long) by one meanes or other” (Anonymous 1609: sig. B4). The author of the pamphlet states that “Among many other circumstances that was availablest to condemne her, this was one and the chiefest” (*The Araigment and Burning of Margaret Ferne-seede*, sig. B4).

Popular belief, then, as exemplified in neighbourly watchfulness or the behaviour of witnesses and juries in trials, could be a powerful instrument in the regulation of sexual conduct. Communal norms helped maintain sexual discipline, and recent studies of women’s history show how women themselves often assumed responsibility for the “sexual honour” of their community (Kermode & Walker 1994: 13), keeping a watchful eye especially on the behaviour of their own sex. In the absence of a regular police force, prosecutions often came about through the actions of those offended by deviant behaviour; and the lack of distinction in the period between crime and sin (as can be seen in the legislation of infanticide and adultery) helped to make it a litigious age. There was a contemporary perception that order was breaking down, which focussed on gender relations, though modern historians are not all agreed that such a crisis existed in reality.⁹ Those who do, speak of “a ferment in the ordering of relations between the sexes” (Wiltenberg 1992: 215) and record a sense that sexual laxity was on the increase (Bridenbaugh 1968: 355). They also note a change in the pattern of concerns about the causes of disorder mid-century, in that “these concerns cease to be displaced directly onto women”

⁹Modern historians who do take this view of gender relations include Carl Bridenbaugh (1968), David Underdown (1985) Dolan (1994) and Wiltenburg (1992). For an opposed view see Garthine & Walker (1994: 71).

(Dolan 1994: 17) after about 1660. In accounts of domestic violence the interest starts to shift from the adulterous wife to the transgressive husband,¹⁰ and stories of wife-murder take over from those of husband-murder, perhaps concomitant with “a change in the audience’s sensitivity to the dangers of male or female disorderliness in marriage” (Wiltenberg 1992: 221). Attitudes to infanticide also shift, though a little later. Whereas in the seventeenth century it is widely assumed that “pregnant, unmarried women were lewd and sinful, that only lewd and unnatural women would murder their children,” in the early eighteenth century “the suspects were more often described as modest, and sometimes virtuous, women than as lewd harlots,” and the argument that only modest women would feel the degree of shame necessary to drive them to kill their babies starts to appear (Jackson 1994: 70).

After this very summary construction of a context in ideology and in social history for a discussion of women as murderers in the early modern period, I want now to examine more directly the ways in which accounts of husband-murder and infanticide in news and street literature are written up so as to render what are regarded as acts of the gravest sexual disorder “culturally intelligible” (Wiltenberg 1992: 209). I will discuss first the literature of husband-murder, then that of child-killing, and draw them together with some tentative conclusions about their functions.

Accounts of husband-murder are especially prominent between 1590 and about 1630 (214). The murder of Thomas Arden of Faversham by his wife Alice, dramatised in a play of 1592, was the most frequently cited example of the period, and Alice’s role was to become emblematic. As Catherine Belsey sees it, this is not so much on account of the violence involved or the degree of premeditation (Arden, a wealthy landowner is murdered by Alice, her lover Mosby, and six other people including two hired assassins), but on account of the “scandal... in Alice Arden’s challenge to the institution of marriage” (Belsey 1985: 130). Alice murders her husband because she wants power over her own sexuality; she loves another man.

... nothing could enforce me to the deed
 But Mosby’s love. Might I without control
 Enjoy thee still, then Arden should not die;
 But seeing I cannot, therefore let him die. (ll. 273-6)

Chronicle sources for the crime suggest that Arden was a complaisant cuckold; Alice was of higher social status than he, and he benefitted from the social prestige she brought to the marriage. But in the play he stands unequivocally for the notion of the husband’s proprietary control of his wife’s

¹⁰See Lena Cowen Orlin (1994: 238), and Wiltenburg (1992: Chapter 9).

body. His rights over Alice are absolute, and he regards Mosby, her low-born lover, as someone out to rob him by “base brokage” (1.26), and to usurp his sovereign position in his household. Alice encourages Mosby in his insurrectionary ambition, and so becomes a petty traitor, as envisaged by the law, against Arden’s authority. Domestic and political order are analogous. Alice declares rebelliously:

Sweet Mosby is the man that hath my heart,
 And he [Arden] usurps it, having nought but this,
 That I am tied to him by marriage.
 Love is a god and marriage is but words,
 And therefore Mosby’s title is the best. (1.98-103)

Marriage becomes the site of a struggle for power, and Alice’s resistance to her husband’s authority is one conspicuous model for the depiction of marital discord in popular literature. The progression from adultery to murder is a key feature of the story; Alice’s irregular behaviour in one area almost inevitably leads to the other. This reflects the early modern view of woman’s insatiable sexual appetite, and the uncontrollable quality of her passionate nature, once aroused. In a pamphlet with a similar narrative to that of the Arden story, *A Briefe Discourse of Two Most Cruell and Bloudie Murthers* (1583), Mrs Beast, wife to the well-reputed Thomas Beast, “an honest Husband-man,” falls in love with her husband’s handsome young servant, Christopher Tomson:

Often times they would carnally acquaint themselves together, till lust had gotten so much power of the Woman: as she began altogether to loathe and dislike her Husband... so much, as she must needs seeke and practise the death of her Husband. (B2v)

She persuades Christopher Tomson to undertake this, and sharpens the stake with which he murders Thomas Beast in the forest. In prison the lovers parade their passion; she sends him love tokens and he carries around a lock of her hair. Both are executed, Mrs Beast burnt at the stake. “Oh most horrible and wicked Woman, a woman, nay a devill” (B3), exclaims the author, who urges “chaste & grave matrones” to stop their ears at the story.

By infiltrating a lover into the household, and allowing him to usurp the place of the husband, wives like Alice Arden and Mrs Beast violate the domestic ideal, as exemplified in marriage manuals and conduct books of the period. The notion of domesticity, a concept which, with its connotations of the home and the local as opposed to the outside world, the foreign and the strange, was then gaining currency,¹¹ is central to these stories in various ways. A woman is criminalised as much by conduct inappropriate to her in her role as

¹¹See the discussion by Diana E. Henderson (1997).

wife as by actual deeds of violence. In the ballad *Anne Wallens Lamentation for the Murthering of her Husband* (1616) Anne Wallen, who narrates her own story, blames herself for shrewish behaviour:

My husband having beene about the towne,
And coming home, he on his bed lay down:
To rest himselfe, which when I did espie,
I fell to railing most outragiously.

I cald him Rogue, and slaue, and al to naught,
Repeating the worst language might be thought
Thou drunken knave I said, and arrant sot,
Thy minde is set on nothing but the pot.¹²

The reciprocal violence of the husband, who apparently brawled with and beat her, is played down. Men were, after all, permitted to chastise their wives if they considered it appropriate. That the wife bore responsibility for the regulation of domestic economy emerges strongly in a pamphlet which actually deals with wife-murder, *Two Horrible and Inhumaine Murders done in Lincolnshire, by two Husbands upon their wives* (1604). The author in fact implies that one of the wives was to blame for her fate because although she was mild and gentle in public, she was “sharpe, bitter, and biting at home” (sig. B2v). He uses the murder as an exemplary lesson in domestic conduct, directed—and this is significant—at wives. Husbands are urged to take care

that they give not any cause of offence to their honest wives: for if the hatred of a woman be once rooted in her heart, tis no way to be dissolved, but by death. And for Wives, they shall doe as well, if in modest and milde manner, they observe the humours of their husbands (to whom they are tied by God...) not reproving them boldly so bitterly when they are very merrie, very melancholy, or before company, lest they drive them to unmanly cruelty, which will (in time) proove hateful tyrannie. (sig. C2)

In such accounts the household becomes a volatile environment. It is not surprising that the weapons to which murderous wives resort are commonly those which are closest to hand in the house. Anne Wallen, whose husband was a joiner, picks up his chisel; Katherine Francis, in the ballad *A Warning for Wives* (1629), stabs her husband in the neck with a pair of scissors (Rollins 1922: 299-304), which is also the weapon used by Sarah Elston in *A Warning for Bad Wives* (1678). Wives who planned their crimes in advance often laced their husband’s food with poison, killing in the guise of nurturing. Anne Brewen, in Kyd’s account, makes her husband “a measse of suger soppes (for it was the weeks before shrovetide),” into which she has put poison secured by her lover; Elizabeth Caldwell puts ratsbane into oat-cakes. In Henry Goodcole’s

¹²In Hyder E. Rollins (1922: 84-88).

The Adultresses Funerall Day (1635) Alice Clarke's lover urges her to use her husband's favourite delicacy as the disguise for the poison, "to pop him up with white bread and milke, and to put something else into it, to choak or stuffe up his throat" (sig. C1v – C2).

The accomplice is a ubiquitous and essential figure in these narratives. Almost every wife is helped or encouraged by another person, whose role in the actual killing is often the greater. Commonly this is a lover, as in the cases of Alice Arden and Mrs Beast, of lower class or status to the husband, which heightens the treasonous aspect of the crime. In the case of Anne Hamton, the central figure in a short but vivid pamphlet called *Murther, Murther* (1641), the accomplice is another woman, but the author, by presenting the women's relationship as a sexually unnatural female pact against a man who is an exemplary husband, actually enhances the treasonous implications. Anne Hamton, described as "a light housewife" (2) lives with her husband in the house of her friend Margaret Harwood. She complains untruthfully to Margaret Harwood about her husband, saying he "was an enemy to good fellowship, and continually wrangled and brawled at her, because she affected it" (4). The devil makes an intervention in the situation, tempting not the wife herself, but Margaret Harwood, "with bloody cogitations, for she hearing her Ningles unjust complaint, she cried out that it was her own fault, for letting such an abject villain to live" (4).¹³ At first Anne refuses to listen, but the devil goes to work on her also, and she administers to her husband five drams of poison "enough to have destroyed ten men." Then she runs to Margaret Harwood who after ascertaining the dosage approves the act: "Well done, said she, if five will not be enough, ten shall, and thereupon they went up to see him, but he was then burst" (5).

In such accounts the prominence of the accomplice's role often diminishes the extent of the wife's agency, though not of course her responsibility in law. But in many other accounts the wife is technically only an accessory to the crime, which is carried out by a man; but she more than shares his guilt, even though her part in the actual killing may have been negligible and is also condemned to death. In the notorious "Page of Plymouth" murder of 1591, George Page is actually killed, with great brutality, by two hired assassins, who "laide him overthwart the bed, and against the bedside broke his neck," having first beaten and strangled him. Mrs Page is alone in another room at the time. But at her trial she readily accepts responsibility, saying that "she had rather dye with Strangwidge [her lover] then to live with Padge," and the couple are

¹³"Ningle" or "ingle" is an unexpected word here, more commonly used to refer to a male homosexual lover. The Oxford English Dictionary defines it as "a boy favourite (in a bad sense), a catamite."

executed along with the two assassins (Anonymous 1591: sigs. B3, B4). The issue of agency may be handled with considerable complexity. In the play *A Warning to Fair Women* (1599), as in *Murther, Murther*, the wife has a female accomplice; but in this instance the husband's murder is actually carried out by the woman's lover, and there is less evidence of the wife's complicity in it. The play dramatises events of some twenty years earlier which were, like those of *Arden of Faversham* and *Page of Plymouth* cited in numerous chronicles and pamphlets; in the play's depiction, Anne Sanders, the wife, is shown being drawn into a conspiracy to murder her husband almost against her will. She is desired by Captain Brown, a soldier, who bribes her confidante, Anne Drury, into seducing Anne Sanders on his behalf. Anne Drury, known to possess "such a sweet tongue as will supple a stone," regards Anne Sanders as malleable: "She is young and fair / And may be tempered easily like wax." Anne has in fact spurned Browne's advances, and he himself regretfully describes her as steadfastly chaste: "So demure, so modest are her looks... as do repulse love's false artillery" (23-5).

Anne Drury gets her opportunity through an occasion in which she, characterised as a knowing widow, is able to exploit the wife's contradictory position within marriage, as servant but also fellow. Sanders is a merchant, and experiences temporary cash-flow problems; simultaneously Anne has placed orders for goods with a draper and a milliner, and needs £30 in cash, which she has asked her husband's man to bring her. But Sanders has for the moment commandeered all the household cash, and, in front of the tradesmen the manservant refuses to give Anne the money she needs. She is angry and humiliated:

I am a woman, and in that respect
Am well content my husband shall control me:
But that my man should overawe me too,
And in the sight of strangers, Mistress Drury,
I tell you true, does grieve me to the heart. (IV.91-5)

Drury not only takes the opportunity to fan the flames of marital discontent ("Your husband was too blame, to say the troth, / That gave his servant such authority") but also plays on Anne's gullibility, suggesting that in her foresight it has been revealed to her that Anne will marry a second husband. This, of course, is to be Captain Brown. Even so, Anne is not excited at the prospect ("I do not find me any way inclined / To change of new affection." IV.193), and her agency is at every point downplayed. There is no subject-position for her as murderous wife, and her involvement in the murder plot, evolved between Drury, her servant Roger, and Browne, is not depicted in the play's action, but only indicated only in symbolic dumb show. Tragedy rubs the hands of Browne, Drury, and Roger with blood, though Anne is shown to dip only one finger: but after a personified Lust has invited Browne to cut down a great tree,

representing the husband Sanders, Browne and Anne embrace, and Chastity appears “with her hair dishevelled” in distress. At the end of the play Anne, with Drury, Roger and Browne, is tried; at the trial the white rose she wears in her bosom turns red. On the scaffold she confesses to provoking God’s anger by her sins, “Not only by consenting to the death / Of my late husband, but by wicked lust.”

The play intersperses scenes of symbolic dumb show with scenes of narrative throughout. The gap between the narrative, or representational level, whereby Anne Sanders is tricked and manoeuvred into an act which she has not willed, and the symbolic level, on which she becomes unambiguously guilty of lust and, by extension, of murder, seems to represent the problematic issue of female agency. The contrition Anne is shown to feel at the end of the play, depicted in a scene where she says farewell to her children before her execution and gives them each a “book of holy meditations,” appears to be an attempt to recuperate for her an appropriate female role, that of good mother. In the account of Elizabeth Caldwell’s attempt to poison her husband in *A True Discourse of the Practises of Elizabeth Caldwell* (1604) by Gilbert Dugdale there is a very similar scenario: Caldwell is wooed by a neighbour, Jeffery Bownd, in her husband’s absence; she resists, and is only persuaded to take him as a lover when Isabel Hall, a widow, pleads his case. It is Jeffery Bownd who buys ratsbane, and Isabel Hall who sees that it is incorporated into oatcakes baked for Elizabeth Caldwell’s husband. The husband actually survives the murder attempt, but since a child is accidentally killed by the poisoned cakes, Caldwell, along with Bownd and Hall, is executed. The pamphlet describes in detail how in prison Caldwell, a well-born woman, becomes a model of penitence, reading the Bible every day, and counselling other prisoners, such that “there was many of all sorts resorted to see her, as no fewer some daies then three hundred persons” (sig. B2), and a strong movement, supported by Caldwell’s aristocratic patron, Lady Cholmsley, grows to have her pardoned (Dugdale 1604). Many of these accounts lay a strong stress on the penitence of the condemned woman, and the part played by the consolations of religion in her last days. So great was the penitence of Sarah Elston during her last fortnight in prison when she prepares herself for the scaffold on account of the murder of her husband, that the author of the pamphlet considers the committing of the crime almost worthwhile: “Had not one foot slipt into the mouth of Hell, she had never been in this forwardness for Heaven” (Anonymous 1678: 4).

The part played by gender-expectations in these accounts of husband murder is related to the handling of agency. The connection may be highlighted through a contrast between two accounts of criminal women, the story of Alice Clarke, told by Henry Goodcole, Chaplain of Newgate prison, in *The*

Adultrresses Funerall Day (1635), and the anonymous account of *The Arraignment and burning of Margaret Ferneseed* (1608). Alice Clarke killed her husband with a pennyworth of mercury, the money supplied for the purpose by her lover, Henry White. When questioned by Goodcole she initially she denies her responsibility, on the grounds that her husband himself removed the poison from her pocket which he “had rifled, upon hope to finde some drinke or money there” (B3). At this point in the narrative Goodcole refers to her as “this obdurate Malefactor... who in Adultery was so rooted, and insensible of the heavy Burthen” (B4v). Subsequently she confesses not only to the poisoning, but to having had previous lovers who had encouraged her to kill her husband. But here the narrative seems to change direction, and Alice is transformed from the villain to the victim of her own life. We now learn that she was a servant who became pregnant by her master; and that he married her off to the much older Fortune Clarke, who abused her and regularly mistreated her. He used “not only to beate her with the next cudgell that came accidentally to his hand, but after tying her to his bed-post, to strippe her and whippe her, etc”(B1v). Thus Goodcole creates two conflicting views of Alice: as battered wife, “almost compelld... to what she did” and as murderous strumpet. He is enabled to opt for the first when Alice makes not only a full and voluntary confession in prison but also a good death : “with hearty prayer, and sweet tone of voice [she] surrendered her soule into the hands of the Lord Jesu” (sig. C2). He sees her now as a “poor wretched creature;” the considerable involvement of other men in the murder makes her less, not more, of an agent, and her behaviour in prison and full confession at the scaffold transforms her from unruly woman into penitent sinner.

Margaret Ferneseede, on the other hand, never admits to the murder of her husband Anthony whose corpse is found with its throat cut some distance from her home. She may well not have done it, but this account is from the start that of a guilty woman who is also a liar. Margaret is described as a “woman that... was given to all the looseness and lewdnesse of life, which either unlawfull lust, or abhominable prostitution could violently cast upon her” (A3). She is an independent woman who works as a brothel-keeper, and is believed by neighbours to have taken a young lover. When informed of her husband’s death she does not behave like a grieving widow: “neither did the grudging of an afflicted countenance gal her remembrance, but as if it had been the report of some ordinarie or vulgar newes she imbraced it with an irespective neglect and carelesnes” (sig. A4). She does not weep at the sight of the corpse, she answers the magistrate’s questions carefully, and denies the murder “with such a shameles constancie, that she strooke amazement into all that heard her” (B1). There is no direct evidence to connect her with the murder, which has been committed with physical violence rather than the woman’s more usual weapon, poison, but she is imprisoned and tried for it. In prison she continues to behave

badly, being “rather a provoker than an appeaser of dissensions, given to much swearing, scarce praying but continually scolding” (B1). She is convicted on circumstantial evidence, and although she confesses to other crimes such as living off immoral earnings and receiving stolen goods, she goes to her death at the stake “still obstinately” denying the murder. It is clear in this case that Margaret Ferneseede’s refusal to adopt an acceptable model of female conduct is what condemns her; she is openly licentious and also impenitent. In a culture where the ideology of the “good woman” was so powerful in all aspects of society, it was easy to conflate such deviant and threatening behaviour with husband-murder.

What, then, of the mother who kills her child, an act imaged not only as monstrous and unnatural but also as peculiarly female? “It is too manifestly known, what a number of Stepmothers and Strumpets have most inhumanly murdered their children,” wrote John Taylor in *The Unnaturall Father* (1621); “But in the memory of man (nor scarcely in any History) it is not to be found, that a Father did ever take two Innocent Children Out of their beds... to drown them”(17). The infanticide statute of 1624 underpins this gendered view of the crime, definitively associating it with “women, bastardy, and poverty” (Dolan 1994: 129) and the very fact that such a piece of legislation found its way onto the statutes demonstrates the anxiety generated by evidence of disorderly female sexuality as well as by the crime itself. But popular accounts of child-murder do not usually address this anxiety in a direct way, as I hope to show; and as Frances Dolan notes, they “differ markedly from accounts of other kinds of domestic crime, especially regarding the subjectivities they create for the murderers and how they depict the relationship between perpetrator and victim” (Dolan 1994: 139).

According to legislation, the typical child-killing was the murder of a newborn baby by an unwed mother. In a ballad by Martin Parker with the heading “No natural mother, but a Monster. Or, the exact relation of one, who for making away her owne new borne childe about Brainford neere London, was hang’d at Teyborne, on Wed the 11 of December, 1633,” an unnamed servant bears an illegitimate child, smothers it, then guiltily reveals the corpse to her mistress and is condemned to hang. Written in the familiar mode of warning, or “goodnight,” the ballad takes the form of the woman’s lament before execution:

My carriage was too wild, / Woe is me, woe is me
 And I was got with child / Take heed fair Maidens,
 The father on’t was fled, / And all my hopes were dead,
 This troubled soe my head, / Woe worth the folly.

How I my fault might hide, / Still I mus’d, still I mus’d
 That I might not be spide, / Nor yet suspected,

To this bad thought of mine, / The Deuill did incline
To any ill designe, / He leads assistance.

The first person mode implies agency, the woman's voice; but the oral delivery, by a professional singer, in all probability a man, to the well-known tune "Welladay," might subvert this, presenting the woman, in Brechtian manner, rather than impersonating her. As often, the crime and also its discovery are imputed to divine not human agency, as the work of the devil and God who substitute in this period for an explanation of the criminal act derived from psychopathology. After the woman has smothered her baby, she is smitten by conscience, which is rendered as the prompting of God "that sits on high / With his all-seeing eye," and she confesses her "barbarous wickednesse." But even in ballads, this sort of infanticide narrative is uncommon. Popular representation prefers the sensational, the abnormal, to the typical. It functions not as a record, but as a construct or a deterrent fable (Gaskill 2000: 213), exploring and interrogating the ideology of motherhood through fictions of its imperfect operations. It emphasises the horror of the crime, defining it as the perversion of domesticity and natural impulse. More typical is the case of *The Cruel Midwife* (1693), one of many accounts in pamphlets and ballads of the crimes of Mary Compton, which opens by rhetorically constructing the infanticidal mother as a monster outside the realms of nature and civilization:

Every thing is carried on by a natural Instinct, to the Preservation of it self in its own Being: And by the same Law of Nature even the most brutish amongst the Bruits them selves, may be observed to retain a special kind of Indulgence and Tenderness towards the young.

The barbarity of the infanticidal women "must be imputable to their savage nature, and the bloodiness of their disposition."¹⁴ In popular presentations these women are usually wives or widows whose instincts for the nurturing of their children and the preservation of their households have been perverted. The outrage created by such deviance has to be differently addressed from the scandal of husband-murder; the relation between perpetrator and victim is differently balanced and the issue of rebellion against patriarchal authority does not arise. Diabolic agency is frequently invoked to explain how a woman, especially a mother could behave in so troubling a fashion. Thus the devil urges Mary Cook, a wife and mother of a large family and "of very civil sober life and conversation" to make away with her youngest child and then to kill herself; in another account, *Murther will Out* (1675), a Stepney widow is troubled by a sleepless child:

¹⁴*The Cruel Midwife* 1693, in H.E. Rollins (1922: 1, 7).

Its continual crying a nights made its mothers life very uncomfortable, but this poor woman bore up under it as well as could be expected for a weak Vessel (2).

Well, that is, until the devil tempts her to get rid of it. The titlepage of *A Pitiless Mother. That most unnaturally at one time murdered two of her owne children at Acton within sixe miles from London uppon holy Thursday last 1616* depicts a menacing devil with wings, scaly body, and animal feet offering cords to a woman who is strangling two children on an elaborate bed. In this instance the significance of the diabolic prompting is enlarged by a further factor: the mother, Margaret Vincent, a well-born woman “graced with good parts,” happily married for at least twelve years, is suddenly “converted to a blinde beliefe of bewitching heresie” and persuaded that “it was meritorious, yea, and pardonable, to take away the lives of any opposing Protestants.” She decides to kill her three children because “they were brought up in blindness and darksome errors,” and claims, after two are dead, that “they are Saints in heaven, and I nothing at all repent it” (A4v). From her perspective, the violent act is one of altruism; from the normalising view of the writer, it is one of self-destruction:

[She] by nature should have cherished them with her owne body, as the Pellican that pecks her owne brest to feed her young ones with her blood (sig. A3v).

But instead she sheds “the blood of her owne body” (sig. B), “her owne deare blood bred in her owne body, cherisht in her own wombe with much dearness full forty weekes” (sig. A4). The unacknowledged contradictions in this account implicitly testify to the complexity of the motivations behind child-murder, and to the overlapping of discourses. Here, as elsewhere, can be traced an underlying humanitarian narrative in which the mother acts from desperation, born of a wish, however misguided, to save her child from something worse by killing it. In *Blood for Blood* the suicidal Mary Cook fears for her child’s life should she herself die. She decides

she had better rid that of life first, and then all her fears and cares for it would be at and end, and so she should put an end to her own miserable life, which was so burdensome to her. (15)

In another infanticide ballad, “The Unnatural Mother,” (1690) written in the mode of a moral lesson directed at wives who lack patience, Jane Lawson kills herself and her two children after an assault from her drunken husband:

And then he did her give / A box upon the ear,
 Long after that she did not live, / Nor her poore children dear:
 Two of them then she caught, As severall neighbours tell;
 These babes destruction then she wrought / with her own, in a well.

In the pamphlet *The distressed mother: OR, Sorrowful Wife in Tears* (?1699), Katherine Fox is married to a wastrel husband who spends all the household money on drink and leaves her and two young children without food. Confronted by the cries of her starving children, she is full of despair; the writer renders her plight in direct speech:

Where shall I get it? Your father hath lost his Patience, with his Wealth, and we our Hopes, with his Mishaps: Alas! Alas! What shall become of me, or who shall succour you, my Children? Better it is to Die with one Stroke, then to languish in a continual Famine. So pressed by these Miseries, and brought to Despair, she took a knife in her Hand, and cut her Childrens Throats from ear to ear, setting herself down purposely to Die, and perish in her Sorrows.

In such contexts the distinction between murder and mothering, destruction and protection, becomes uneasily blurred (Dolan 1994: 148). But rather than articulate and explore this confusion, most writers wish to recuperate the infanticidal woman for femininity and so fall back on the same strategy as in the accounts of husband-murder, stressing the woman's penitence, and if possible the exemplary nature of her death. The account of Mary Cook typifies this approach; in prison she makes elaborate spiritual preparations for death, and a huge crowd gathers to watch her die. She ascends the scaffold in the sight of "thousands of spectators beholding her with a general compassion," and as she is hanged, she lifts up her hands to God "in a most fervent manner while sense remained, which was about half a quarter of an hour" (48). The description of the crime of another infanticidal mother, Mary Goodenough, in *Fair Warning to Murderers of Infants* (1691), concludes with a ten page letter in the form of a Puritan sermon, supposedly written (or dictated) by Mary on the night before her execution, and addressed to her surviving children, reminding them that "without Christ you can do nothing... all your sufficiency is of God" (6-7). This late pamphlet is exceptional in its clear attempt to write Mary Goodenough's act not in the discourse of monstrosity but that of social failure. In the prefatory letter to the reader the author addresses himself not just to the "murderers of infants" but also to "negligent parents," to "Adulterers and Adultresses," and to the unknown father of Mary's baby:

As to that man who had the first and principal hand in this Womans and her Infants Tragedy, I would desire some neighbours... to ask him some Questions such as these. Whether he did not act the Devils part, when he tempted this woman, as Sathan did our Saviour.

The responsibility of the community is, unusually, also acknowledged:

Who knows how far your Uncharitableness hiding yourselves from your own Flesh, from this poor Womans Wants, contributed to the strength of that temptation which brought her to that Sin and Punishment which have left these Children Motherless. It was for want of Bread she said: If her Modesty

did make her asham'd to beg, did not her meagre Look, her starved Children,
her meanly furnish'd House and Table beg from you?

As I have suggested, the connection between domestic crime and social failure is not commonly made in this literature. More typically, representations of both husband-murder and infanticide are typically fashioned so as to make a case for a providentialist vision of human life. Crimes and their perpetrators are revealed in surprising and quasi-miraculous circumstances. Corpses gush blood in the presence of the murderer. Hidden murders are revealed when wells are drained or orchards dug. The cries of a dog trapped in a privy lead rescuers to the body of an infant, thus demonstrating that “God, either by beasts of the field, foules of the ayre, fishes in the seas, wormes in the ground, or things bearing neither sence nor life will by one meanes or other make deedes of darknes cleare as day” (*Deeds Against Nature, and Monsters by Kinde*, 1614, sig. A4v). In the two accounts of the Annis Dell murder case, a tongueless child regains the power of speech four years after she has been mutilated and her baby brother murdered, and identifies the murderer. “If we look,” says one of the authors, “into [the case] with the eyes of natural reason and human sense it will be thought incredible and impossible. But with God nothing is impossible.”¹⁵ The prison confessions and repentances of murderers serve a similar reinforcing function; through the public exhibition of penitence, particularly by a woman, the circle created by the transgression of social order, the inversion or subversion of gender-roles, and reaffirmation of social and gender order was closed off (Lake 1994: 270). The stories of women’s criminality tend to support the general view expressed earlier, that the pattern of concerns about the causes of social disorder was changing: the proportion of husband-murders in relation to that of wife-murders in news accounts does decrease, and infanticide narratives are increasingly constructed to interpret the act in socially comprehensible terms. Within these representations notions of female agency remain problematic; yet a space is beginning to open for the expression of a female subjectivity, albeit that of the woman attempting to construct the man as other, against whom she defines herself. I end with a striking quotation from the official examination in 1688 of Mary Hobry (Anonymous 1688), convicted for the murder of her husband who came home in a drunken rage. After he had

acted with such Violence upon her Body in despite of all the Opposition that she could make, as forced from her a great deal of Blood... [she lay] in Torments both of Body and of Mind, thinking with herself, What will become of me? What am I to do? here am I, threatned to be Murder'd, and I have no Way in the World to Deliver myself, but by beginning with him. (Anonymous 1688: 33-34)

¹⁵Cited in Peter Lake (1994: 271).

By showing Hobry in the act of choosing to kill, a violent response to violence committed, this author challengingly offers his readers, particularly women, a female subject-position with which to identify. But it was still the case that Hobry, who, if her testimony is to be believed, suffered the greatest mental and physical cruelty from her husband for many years, was found guilty of petty treason and burnt at the stake.

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MARY SIDNEY'S PSALMS AND THE USES OF HISTORY

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Beginning with an account of Andrew Marvell's poem "Bermudas" this lecture explores the ways in which the historicizing of texts can enlarge our experience of them or, conversely, reduce it. My main focus is on the Psalms of Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke. My question is to consider how we should read these texts: as part of a Protestant or gender polemic or as poems generated by an essentially lyric impulse, setting them out of time. The key text which I analyse is her version of Psalm 52.

Andrew Marvell's 'Bermudas' is a poem steeped in history. In fact, it is a consciously historical poem, a reconstruction, some thirty years later of an event which happened in the 1620s.¹ This, in itself, is an interesting phenomenon for it is not common to find a lyric poem used in such a way, history being more commonly the substance of narrative. The poem becomes even more interesting when we consider why so historically aware a figure as Marvell should have written so simple, even naïve, a poem —and we may see that a key to it lies in the role a poetic genre played in the emergence of early modern English culture:

Where the remote Bermudas ride
In the ocean's bosom unespied,
From a small boat, that rowed along,
The listening winds received this song.
 "What should we do but sing his praise
That led us through the watery maze,
Unto an isle so long unknown,
And yet far kinder than our own?
Where he the huge sea-monsters wracks,
That lift the deep upon their backs,
He lands us on a grassy stage,
Safe from the storms, and prelate's rage.
He gave us this eternal spring,
Which here enamels everything,

¹The poem is probably based on the experiences of John Oxenbridge, in whose house Marvell lodged in the mid 1650s. Oxenbridge had made two trips to the Bermudas in the 1630s to escape Laudian persecution. See Donno 1972: 266.

And sends the fowls to us in care,
 On daily visits through the air.
 He hangs in shades the orange bright,
 Like golden lamps in a green night,
 And does in the pom'granates close
 Jewels more rich than Ormus shows.
 He makes the figs our mouths to meet,
 And throws the melons at our feet,
 But apples plants of such a price,
 No tree could ever bear them twice.
 With cedars, chosen by his hand,
 From Lebanon, he stores the land,
 And makes the hollow seas, that roar,
 Proclaim the ambergris on shore.
 He cast (of which we rather boast)
 The gospel's pearl upon our coast,
 And in these rocks for us did frame
 A temple, where to sound his name.
 Oh let our voice his praise exalt,
 Till it arrive at heaven's vault:
 Which thence (perhaps) rebounding, may
 Echo beyond the Mexique Bay."
 Thus sung they, in the English boat,
 An holy and a cheerful note,
 And all the way, to guide their chime,
 With falling oars they kept the time. (Marvell, 116-17)

The poem fits well into Marvell's general concern with liminal states or experiences, as in "Little TC in a Prospect of Flowers" or "Young Love," poems which explore the transition from childhood to maturity. In the case of "Bermudas" it is not an individual but a state whose transition is explored, the poem fixing on a moment central to the founding Puritan experience of exile to the Americas. The nation building which they embarked on there, which is the subject of the hopes and prophecies which the people in the boat sing about, is now, at the time of Marvell's writing, very relevant to the land they left since a new English state is being constructed by the same people, or at least their fellow travellers. In short, the poem is an observation, by way of the "frame" of the first four lines and the last four, of what those who believe they have been chosen by Providence will do in their new found land and, by extension, of what they will now do in England.

In this case, in gauging the distance between the poet and his subjects we can use not only the historical distance between him and them but also the poem's form. Its defining feature is its primitive simplicity. It consists of rhyming octosyllabic couplets, an almost total metrical regularity, and

emphatically obvious rhymes often achieved by syntactic inversions. All of these elements make it a poor poem from the point of view of its style, a quality which is spectacularly at odds with its frequently powerful imagery.

In part the stylistic crudity can be explained by its narrative context. "Bermudas" is a rowing song whose metrical regularity marks the beating of the rowers' oars. Marvell, from everything we know about him a highly sophisticated man, is cunningly taking us into the heart of the Puritans' work ethic which is also the Puritans' art ethic. Just as the paradise of Bermuda has to be worked at, its total sufficiency where figs and fowl are provided in abundance still being insufficient for a people who want to proselytise Catholic Mexico, so art in its purest lyric form must have a function too. Here it is a double one: praise of God's abundance and the engine which drives the boat towards the shore.

In making his poem work like this Marvell is explaining not only the history of a newly potent cultural force but also the history of a genre as well, for "Bermudas," or at least the inset portion of it, reads like a metrical psalm. So much is signalled by the phrase "sing his praise," for every reader of an English Bible would know that the Psalms were the archetypal songs of praise, as the marginal note explaining the book's title "Psalms" in the Geneva Bible puts it:²

Or, praises, according to the Hebrewes: and were chiefly instituted to praise and give thanks to God for his benefits. They are called the Psalmes or songs of David, because the most part were made by him.

It is not an actual Biblical psalm, so it is not literally a translation, but it is a "taking across" of the style and content of the most popular form of sixteenth-century psalm translation. The cultural marker of the nascent Puritan movement within English Protestantism was its communal singing of Thomas Sternhold's (1638) metrical psalms rather than the version, derived from the Great Bible, which was used in the Anglican Book of Common Prayer.³ Chanted by multitudes throughout the second half of the sixteenth century and well into the seventeenth, these "poems" were the popular art of the day, and the day lasted well into the seventeenth century, as in this example of a "Sternhold and

²The Geneva Bible, published in the first years of Elizabeth's reign, was the Elizabethan Bible, selling some half a million copies and retaining its popularity right up to the Restoration, in part because of the Puritan orientation of its notes. The Hebrew word for psalms which is referred to here is *tehillim*, from the verb *hillel*, "praise."

³Sternhold's *Certayne Psalmes*, first published in 1549, set the pattern for the English metrical psalm. John Hopkins added seven of his own psalms to Sternhold's thirty-seven, and throughout the next hundred years "Sternhold and Hopkins" metrical psalms appeared in many varied versions often bound up in the additional material of Geneva Bibles and Authorized Versions. See Zim 1987: 124-25.

Hopkins' psalm (Psalm 47) taken from the additional material printed in the back of a 1638 Authorized Version:

Ye people all with one accord
 clap hands and eke rejoyce:
 Be glad and sing unto the Lord
 with sweet and pleasant voice.
 For high the Lord and dreadfull is,
 with wonders manifold:
 A mighty king he is truly,
 in all the earth extoll'd.

The people he shall make to be
 unto our bondage thrall:
 And underneath our feet he shall
 the nations make to fall.
 For us the heritage he chose
 which we possesse alone,
 The flourishing worship of Jacob
 his wellbeloved one.

Our God ascended up on high
 with joy and pleasant noise:
 The Lord goes up above the skie
 with trumpets royall voice.
 Sing praises to our God, sing praise,
 sing praises to our King:
 For God is King of all the earth,
 All skillfull praises sing.

God on the heathen reignes, and sits
 upon his holy throne:
 The princes of the people have
 Them joyned every one.
 To Abrahams people for our God,
 which is exalted high,
 As with a buckler doth defend
 the earth continually.

To see how these metrical psalms were used for communal and national ends we can take the accounts of Francis Drake's circumnavigation of the globe in the late 1570s. There is first the record of psalm singing as a means for Drake and his crew to purge themselves in the aftermath of the great crisis of the voyage which had culminated in the execution of Thomas Doughty, followed by the renaming of the *Pelican* as the *Golden Hind*. According to Francis Fletcher's contemporary notes,

This gracious exercise ended with prayer to God for Her Most Excellent Majesty, her honourable council and the church and the commonweal of England, with singing of psalms and giving thanks for God's great and singular graces bestowed upon us from time to time, we departed from the Bloody Island and Port Julian, setting our course for the supposed strait with three ships only. (Hampden 1972: 209)

Later in the voyage, just off San Francisco, Fletcher describes the potentially proselytising effect which the English psalms had upon the native inhabitants:

In the time of which prayers, singing of Psalms, and reading of certain chapters in the Bible, they sat very attentively: and observing the end of every pause, with one voice still cried, "Oh," greatly rejoicing in our exercises. Yea, they took such pleasure in our singing of Psalms, that whensoever they resorted to us, their first request was commonly this, "Gnaah," by which they entreated that we would sing. (179)

And of chief importance, as it was to Marvell's puritans who used their psalm to define themselves against official Anglicanism ("prelate's rage"), there was in the sixteenth century the need to define the role of militant Protestantism, as demonstrated by the behaviour of Drake and his crew when they attacked the port of Guatalco on the west coast of central America. This is John Cummins's recent account, based on contemporary Spanish sources:

The few Spaniards who could be mustered, together with a few Indians who were decorating the church for Holy Week, put up a brief resistance, but as soon as the small vessel fired her artillery most of them retreated into the woods overlooking the town and watched impotently as the English ransacked it... the church was pillaged, its plate, bell and vestments stolen, its altarpiece and crucifixes hacked to pieces, and the holy waters scattered and trampled.

The priest,... a relative of his,... and the Crown factor... were captured and taken aboard the *Golden Hinde*... The prisoners were put below deck, and Drake went ashore to oversee the plunder. On his return he ate a good meal with them... after which there was an hour-long service of prayers and psalms, sometimes accompanied by four viols. (Cummins 1995: 112)

So, in some ways Marvell's "Bermudas" is itself a meditation on the nature of art. It sets popular art against high art, the poet in his frame, using poetry for the high cultural purposes of history, reflecting coolly and with some detachment upon the picture of the people in their boat who use their art for its immediate functionality; and as part of this contrast he sets the idea of art as a private and meditative thing against the idea of art as something public and communal. He is, of course, writing just after the high point of the first great period of English lyric poetry, being the successor of Donne and Herbert as a writer of Metaphysical verse, and also feeding off those other two dominant

Renaissance English modes, the Jonsonian / Cavalier and the Spenserian / Miltonic. In all three of these modes, the Metaphysical, the Cavalier, and the Spenserian we can increasingly see the part played by the sixteenth century's fascination with the Biblical book of Psalms which underlies "Bermudas." The Psalms, many of which are set as intimate dialogues between the psalmist and his God, offered a model to the emerging English lyric for the personal, reflective, essentially introspective poetry of the Metaphysical poets. They also functioned as public poetry of praise, thereby reinforcing the development of the Jonsonian and Cavalier lyric; and in their national role, celebrating the triumphs of Israel and the defeat of its enemies, they informed Spenserian and Miltonic lyric and epic modes.

Now that we have the splendid second volume of Mary Sidney's Works we can more fully see how vital the Psalms, and in particular her Psalms were to the development of the English lyric poem.⁴ Most obviously the influence was a matter of content. The Psalms offer a model for isolation and introspection, as Thomas Wyatt's earlier versification of the Penitential Psalms had demonstrated. Writing just after the Reformation, Wyatt was making an essentially Protestant point when, in the narrative lead up to Psalm 130, *De profundis clamavi*, he emphasised the interior rather than exterior nature of repentance.⁵ Repentance is not a matter of acts or signs but of thoughts and the heart:

But when he weigh'th the fault and recompense,
He damn'th his deed and findeth plain
Atween them two no whit equivalence;
Whereby he takes all outward deed in vain
To bear the name of rightful penitence,
Which is alone the heart returned again
And sore contrite that doth his fault bemoan,
And outward deed the sign or fruit alone. (ll. 648-55)

This move, from the exterior to the interior is a key move in Elizabethan writing, found in the secular as well as in the religious lyric, as in the opening sonnet of Philip Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella*, in which the poet effectively rejects all external influences and decides to listen to his Muse who tells him to look in his heart and write.

The opening two verses of Psalm 130 in the Geneva Bible read simply, "Out of the deep places have I called unto thee, O Lord. / Lord hear my voice: let thine ears attend to the voice of my prayers." It is revealing to compare

⁴All quotations from Mary Sidney's verse which follow are from Hannay (ed. 1998).

⁵Wyatt's narrative within which his psalm translations are set is modelled upon Pietro Aretino's *I Sette Salmi de la Penitentia di David* (1534).

Thomas Wyatt's versification with Mary Sidney's. Psalm 130 is the sixth of the seven penitential psalms; and it is observable that Wyatt's paraphrases became less wordy as the sequence developed.⁶ Nonetheless, Wyatt's eleven line paraphrase, marked by an insistence upon "depth," is representative of one extreme of psalm paraphrasing which recurs throughout the sixteenth century, which was to embellish and accumulate:

From depth of sin and from a deep despair,
 From depth of death, from depth of heart's sorrow,
 From this deep cave of darkness' deep repair,
 Thee have I called, O Lord, to be my borrow.
 Thou in my voice, O Lord, perceive and hear
 My heart, my hope, my plaint, my overthrow,
 My will to rise, and let by grant appear
 That to my voice thine ears do well intend.
 No place so far that to thee is not near;
 No depth so deep that thou ne mayst extend
 Thine ear thereto. Hear then my woeful plaint. (213-14)

Contrast this abundance with the austerity of Mary Sidney's version of the same two biblical verses, which forms the first stanza of a six stanza poem:

From depth of grief
 Where drou'd I ly,
 Lord for relief
 To thee I cry:
 my earnest, vehment, cryeng, prayeng,
 graunt quick, attentive, heering, waighing.

It is difficult to argue against the view that Sidney's version is much the more impressive adaptation of the biblical original. While Wyatt gets his effects from repetition and from the development of the metaphor of despair as a kind of Stygian abyss, Sidney moves swiftly through the metaphor of the drowning man in the first four lines into the urgency of abstraction in adjectives and participial nouns in the final two, in which there is the sense of revising upwards, "earnest" being sharpened to "vehement" and "crying" to "praying," then "quick" being intensified to "attentive" and "hearing" to "weighing." The most striking contrast between the two English versions is in their form. Wyatt's *terza rima*, always difficult to pull off in English, underpins a stately, contemplative version of the psalm. The form is something of a dead end in English: poets continued to experiment with it after Wyatt but, as H.A. Mason observes, it is significant "that we still refer to it as *terza rima*, for all the successes in the form are Italian, where it is comparatively easy to meet the

⁶See Robert Rebholz's comment that Wyatt draws away from his primary source Aretino in the later psalms "partly because of the Italian's verbosity" (1978: 454).

obligation to rhyme three times on every line-end word” (1986: 156). Reading Sidney’s version, however, we might well be reading something by a later Metaphysical poet, such as Henry Vaughan. The stanza rhymes ababcc, the first four lines each of two feet ending in strong rhymes, and the fifth and sixth each of nine syllables with weak rhymes. Neither Wyatt nor Sidney is writing anything remotely near the simple regularities of Sternhold or Marvell’s “Bermudas,” an observation which begins to reveal the wonderful malleability of the Psalms for whatever the sixteenth and seventeenth-century poets wished to do with them, but Sidney’s is the most interesting of these three ways to approach a psalm. She seldom departs far from her original text but she constantly experiments with form and structure —so much so that it may not be too fanciful to claim that in her versification of Psalms 44-150 we find the first fully developed realisation of the possibilities of the English lyric poem.

Now, it is certainly possible to find in Mary Sidney’s Psalms a variety of interests, from the point of view of gender issues or court or national politics, which might encourage us to use them principally as keys to unlock some of the essential concerns of the early modern period. But if we do so we run the risk of losing sight of her primary concern which was to make the Psalms work technically as pieces of living poetry. Her main challenge was to understand and reproduce in equivalent English forms, many of which she invented, their forms and the development of their ideas.

Consider a stanza from Psalm 65 which might seem to offer a good opportunity for a political reading. It paraphrases these two verses, given here as throughout this paper from the Geneva Bible:⁷

6. He establisheth the mountains by his power: and is girded about with strength.

7. He appeaseth the noise of the seas, and the noise of the waves thereof, and the tumults of the people.

In Sidney’s version there is a noticeable redirection of focus, away from the grandeur of the mountains and the restlessness of the seas towards the more human, political element of civil unrest. Indeed, she makes the primary ocean image of the original psalm, as presented in the Geneva Bible, merely a figurative vehicle to convey the tumult of the people:

Thy vertue staies the mighty mountaynes,
Girded with pow’r, with strength abounding:
The roaring damm of watry fountaines
Thy beck doth make surcease hir sounding

⁷The Geneva version was only one of a number of sources which Sidney used; but as the standard English Bible of the day it serves as a default source for her version.

When stormy uproares tosse the peoples brayn
That civill sea to calme thou bringst agayn.

It is tempting to historicise this, or new historicise it, and read into Sidney's refocusing of the images an anxiety about the prospect of rebellion, a reading which might fit nicely into our perception of a major late Elizabethan concern with popular unrest. And certainly Sidney's stanza has embedded into it a potentially political vocabulary, setting "pow'r" and "strength" against the more subversive "roaring" and "uproars." Nonetheless, I think such an approach tends to play down the creative pleasure which informs all of Sidney's version of the Psalms as she continuously takes on the challenge of trying to understand the poetic logic of an original which, even in the reasonably literal translation of the Geneva Bible, she can only see through a glass very darkly.⁸ In this case her challenge lay in trying to reconcile the last member of verse 7 with the natural imagery which has preceded it. What seems to be simply praise for God's power in creating and controlling vast natural forces—the kind of thing which Marvell imitates in "Bermudas"—suddenly and unexpectedly redefines itself down to praise for His controlling the peoples' rebellion. Instead of simply reproducing the apparently puzzling development of ideas in the original she boldly restructures them, making the mountain and the ocean merely metaphors for a rebellious people. In her stanza, rather than being an odd appendage to the main line of natural images, the political discontents become the whole point: and this is done not, I suggest, as a new historicist might argue, because of her or her culture's anxieties but much less passively because she tries to make coherent the psalm's development of its images.

As this Psalm develops it moves into a joyful celebration of God's watering of the land:

8. Thou waterest abundantly the furrows therof: thou causest the raine to descend into the valleies thereof: thou makest it soft with showres, and blessest the bud thereof.

9. Thou crownest the yeere with thy goodnesse, and the steps drop fatnesse.

10. They droppe upon the pastures of the wildernesse: and the hilles shall be compassed with gladnesse.

11. The pastures are clad with sheepe: the valleys also shall be covered with corne: therefore they shout for joy, and sing.

⁸For instance, she would have had no conscious understanding of the basic parallelistic form of Hebrew poetry in the Old Testament, its nature not being revealed until Robert Lowth's work two hundred years later.

Mary Sidney's translation of this passage is one of the most rousing things in her sequence, not least because she has in her mind's eye an English landscape of ploughland and hedgerows:

Drunck is each ridg of thy cupp drincking;
 Each clodd relenteth at thy dressing:
 Thy cloud-born waters inly sincking
 Faire spring sproutes foorth blest with thy blessing.
 the fertile yeare is with thy bounty crown'd:
 and where thou go'st, thy goings fatt the ground.

Plenty bedewes the desert places:
 a hedg of mirth the hills encloseth:
 the fieldes with flockes have hid their faces:
 a robe of corn the valleies clotheth.
 Desertes, and hills, and fields, and valleys all,
 rejoyce, showt, sing, and on thy name doe call.

It is a truism of criticism of early modern English poetry that it generally lacks engagement with the natural world, outside Shakespeare's sonnets and his comedies. When John Donne, for example, writes a poem about the primrose it turns out not to be in praise of the beauty of the flower but is instead, because of the number of its petals, a disquisition on the number five. Here, however, is genuine English nature poetry marked by a close observation of the details of the landscape and a luxurious intensification of the imagery of the original. "Thou waterest abundantly the furrows" becomes an image of the land inebriated with its bounty, focused on the detailed ridging of the ploughland, "Drunck is each ridg of thy cupp drincking;" and the Bible's rather general praise for the rain watering the valleys until the ground becomes soft is more vividly related through Mary Sidney's relenting clods and water sinking into the ground. Indeed, "clods" alerts us to the ways in which a much later poet, William Blake, responded to the Bible's naturalism. Very Blakean also are the effects in the second of these stanzas in which the Bible's "and the hills shall be compassed with gladness" is transformed into an image of singing hedges and the landscape is humanised by the idea of the fields hiding their faces because they are covered by such abundant flocks, rather than the Bible's clothing image, "the pastures are clad with sheep."

A key to all of this, and a true anticipation of English Romantic poetry particularly as expressed in Blake's *Songs of Innocence*, is the sensation of joyfulness which Mary Sidney's imagery and rhythms convey. This is not, incidentally, an innocent point for it is in the quality of celebration which underpinned the singing of communal psalms that English Puritanism found aesthetic support for its ideology. As Barbara Lewalski reminds us, the impulse to sing songs of praise was reinforced by two New Testament verses: Col. 3:16,

“Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom, teaching and admonishing one another in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord;” and Eph. 5:19, “Speaking to your selves, in Psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord.” (Lewalski 1979: 37).

So, while the Psalms encouraged a poetry of lyric introspection and even alienation, something which Mary Sidney was well capable of following Thomas Wyatt in conveying, they paradoxically encouraged the alternative values of community and extrovert pleasure. Such a range is a demanding one and it took a poet of extraordinary talent to accomplish it. While there were dozens of attempts to paraphrase or translate the Psalms in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries only Mary Sidney's version found a range of lyric forms capable of appropriating into English the range of experience which the Psalms covered. In doing this her work became a major influence upon the lyric poetry of the next two generations.

Having invoked Blake in an effort to summarise the joyous pastoralism of Mary Sidney's versification of Psalm 64, I need to invoke another nineteenth-century poet to convey the strangely detached effect of her translation of Psalm 127. This is the Psalm as it appears, in the Geneva Bible:

1. Except the Lord build the house, they laboure in vaine that build it:
except the Lord keepe the citie, the keeper watcheth in vaine.
2. It is in vaine for you to rise early, and to lie downe late, and eate the
bread of sorrow: but he will surely give rest to his beloved.
3. Behold, children are the inheritance of the Lord, and the fruite of the
wombe his reward.
4. As are the arrowes in the hand of the strong man: so are the children
of youth.
5. Blessed is the man, that hath his quiver full of them: for they shall not
bee ashamed, when they speake to their enemies in the gate.

The striking thing about this small psalm is how politicised it becomes in the annotations which were attached to this version.⁹ To “citie” (v.1) the marginal note reads, “The publike estate of the common wealth;” to the first clause of v.3 it reads, “Which watch and ward, and are also Magistrates, and rulers of the citie;” and to “they shall not bee ashamed” in the final verse, the margin adds, “Such children shall bee able to stop their adversaries mouthes when their godly life is maliciously accused before judges.”

⁹The Geneva version's copious annotation included occasional comments which came to be seen as politically dangerous, hence James I's injunction to the Authorized Version translators not to supply any interpretive notes.

So, those who would see political or other subtexts in Sidney's work might reflect on how carefully she avoids in her translation of this psalm any word or image which has a specific political or even social significance. Instead in her hands it is transformed into a haunting lyric which emerges as one of the first great Calvinist poems in English. Its message, even more than in the biblical original, is that all human endeavour, civic or domestic, is doomed unless the doer is one of God's elect:

The house Jehova builds not,
we vainly strive to build it:
the towne Jehova guards not,
we vainly watch to guard it.

No use of early rising:
as uselesse is thy watching:
not ought at all it helpes thee
to eate thy bread with anguish.

As unto weary sences
a sleepe rest unasked:
soe bounty commeth uncaus'd
from him to his beloved.

Noe not thy children hast thou
by choise, by chaunce, by nature;
they are, they are Jehovas,
rewardes, from him rewarding.

The multitude of infantes,
a good man holdes, resembleth
the multitude of arrowes,
a mighty Archer holdeth.

Hys happines triumpheth
who beares a quiver of them:
noe countenance of haters
shall unto him be dreadfull.

The poet I have in mind is one of the last inheritors of the English nonconformist tradition which sprang from Elizabethan and Jacobean Calvinism, namely Emily Dickinson. In its rhythms and its curious formality, this experimental piece of verse, the last of eight consecutive psalms which Sidney wrote in quantitative metre without rhyme, here in anacreontics, has just the quality of detachment with which the later American poet observed the inscrutable workings of Providence. The effect is nearly proverbial, a series of sententiae which work out simultaneously the vanity of human effort and the

happiness which greets human achievement, with the corresponding wisdom to know that in each case the human himself is merely a pawn of God.

If we look at the way the poem is structured onto its biblical original, then we can see how flexible, within an essentially conservative treatment of her model, Sidney could be. In the Geneva text the opening verse clearly reproduces the biblical parallelism, allowing Sidney to write the first four lines of her opening stanza in exact correspondence.¹⁰ This pattern continues into stanza two, except that the third and fourth lines of the stanza represent an expansion of just the third member of the biblical verse, "and eat the bread of sorrow." Then stanza three in its entirety paraphrases only the final member of verse two, "and he will surely give rest to his beloved." Here the image of an irresistible sleep overtaking the one who resists it as an equivalent for God's bounty showering upon the undeserving is the one major element in the poem which is not in the biblical psalm, but it is the true hinge of Sidney's poem, linking as it does the theme of fruitless effort in the first half of the poem with that of effortless reward in the second half.

In the fourth and fifth stanzas Sidney then gives two lines to each of the two members of verses 3 and 4, but in her versification of verse 4 notice that she reverses the biblical order. By doing this she creates an easier link into the final stanza. In this final stanza the first two lines, describing the archer's full quiver, are equivalent to the first member of the biblical verse, while the final two lines reverse the order of the last two members of the biblical psalm, allowing her to bring her poem to a halt on the wonderfully expressive word "dreadful."

In every psalm in her collection we may see Mary Sidney working in an equally creative way, experimenting with a huge variety of verse forms, appropriating and adapting the biblical imagery, and making full intelligent use of the English biblical language which went back at least to William Tyndale and probably to the late fourteenth-century English manuscript Bible. In the first two stanzas of Psalm 83, within a form in which each stanza rhymes abccab, the ab rhymes belonging to lines of eight syllables and the c rhyme to six syllable lines, she again begins by sticking very close to the original. She incorporates as much of its language as she can into her version in the first stanza and then she picks up the merest hints from the Bible to develop her own set of images in the second:

Be not, O be not silent still
Rest not, O god, with endlesse rest:
For lo thine enemies

¹⁰This is spite of her not knowing about biblical parallelism: see note 8 above.

with noise and tumult rise;
hate doth their hartes with fiercnes fill,
and lift their heades who thee detest.

Against thy folk their witts they file
to sharpest point of secret sleight:
a world of trapps and traines
they forge in busy braines,
that they thy hid ones may beguile,
whom thy wings shroud from serching sight.

These three opening verses in the Geneva version are fairly clearly constructed each of two members:

1. Keepe not thou silence, O God: be not still, and cease not, O God.
2. For lo, thine enemies make a tumult: and they that hate thee, have lifted up the head.
3. They have taken crafty counsel against thy people, and have consulted against thy secret ones.

In her version Mary Sidney gradually expands her response. Her opening two lines correspond to the Bible's first verse. The last four lines of the first stanza then correspond to the two members of verse 2. Then the whole of the second stanza corresponds to the two members of verse 3. Upon this structure she cleverly adapts the language and imagery of her biblical original. "Be not," which opens the poem and is then repeated in the first line, in itself an implicit challenge to God's self definition of one who absolutely is, is taken across from the second member of the biblical verse; "silence" becomes its adjective "silent" and "still" changes its sense, from the idea of not moving in the Bible to "always" in the poem. And the Bible's "cease not," meaning "continue your work," is revised into the image of "endless rest," as if God had withdrawn into an infinite sabbath. And while the remainder of the stanza picks up "lo thine enemies" and "tumult" from the Geneva text, Sidney expands the lifting of the heads image with a parallel filling of the heart, embedded into a neat chiasmus which links "hate" and "detest." Noteworthy, too, is the way in which the ab rhymes work to maximum effect, matching God's stillness and rest with His enemies' active hostility in "fill" and "detest."

All of this is wonderfully creative translation; but the second stanza is perhaps more accurately described as paraphrase. Taking her cue from "crafty counsel" and "consult" Sidney develops her own image of the blacksmith making traps and snares to hunt down the fledgling nation protected under God's wings. Sidney's editors, incidentally, describes this as a development of the bird imagery in the psalm, "showing a struggle between the people hidden under God's wings and the falconer who attempts to ensnare them" (Sidney 1998: 395). I do not think this is quite right, not least because I can not see any

bird imagery in the psalm. It is probably better described as an example of Sidney's transplanting a familiar image from elsewhere in Old Testament in order to develop here the image of the mysterious, brooding silence of God with which the psalm opens.

In the past, partly because it was a work of translation and translations seldom receive the recognition of a primary work, partly because it was done by a woman, and partly because its subject was biblical and we still have not recognised the vital role played in the emergence of high as well as low culture by the Bible, Mary Sidney's Psalms were seriously undervalued. Thanks to the pioneering work of scholars like Coburn Freer, Gary Waller and Mary Sidney's editors, we may now see these psalms for the remarkable achievement which they are: a laboratory for English lyric poetry, the working space for a powerful creative mind to think in a most concentrated fashion about a set of texts which had become central to her culture. As a result, not only did her work strongly influence English poetry but she also found different, often revolutionary ways of interpreting the psalms themselves.

A good example of this latter point is to see what she does to Psalm 119. The longest psalm in the book, it is an alphabet acrostic, consisting of twenty-two octaves, the first beginning with *aleph*, the second with *beth*, and so on. So, Mary Sidney begins the first poem of Psalm 119 with the letter *A*, "An undefiled course..." the second begins "By what correcting line..." the third, "Confer, O Lord..." and so on down to "Yield me this favour Lord" (she omits *J*, *U*, *X* and *Z*).¹¹ But remarkably, unlike the major precedents for versified psalms from which she worked such as the French version by Clement Marot, she gives each of the sections an entirely different form, making the whole psalm itself a little anthology of the English lyric. In formal terms the effect is sometimes astonishingly prophetic, as in *D*, where the first stanza anticipates what Henry Vaughan will do half a century later:

Dead as if I were,
 my soule to dust doth cleave:
 lord keepe thy word, and doe not leave
 me here:
 but quicken me a new.
 when I did confesse
 my sinnfull waies to thee,
 as then thy eare thou did'st to me
 adresse:
 soe teach me now, thy statutes true.

Compare this with a stanza from Vaughan's poem "Burial" (1976: 182):

¹¹The Hebrew alphabet has twenty-two letters.

And nothing can, I hourly see,
 Drive thee from me,
 Thou art the same, faithful, and just
 In life, or dust;
 Though then (thus crumbed) I stray
 In blasts,
 Or exhalations, and wastes
 Beyond all eyes
 Yet thy love spies
 That change, and knows thy clay.

In *F*, with its metronomic metre and simple rhymes, she produces a poem from the low culture of the English metrical psalm, rather as Marvell was to do in “Bermudas” (first two stanzas):

Franckly poure O Lord on me
 saving grace, to sett me free:
 that supported I may see
 promise truly kept by thee.

That to them who me defame,
 roundly I may answer frame:
 who because thy word and name
 are my trust, thus seeke my shame.

And in *P* she creates, as George Herbert will do in *The Temple*, a shaped poem, in stanzas which take the form of a column on a base, signaled at the opening of the second stanza by the request to God to “Be my Pillar, be my stay.”

Accordingly, to read Mary Sidney’s Psalms merely as poems allows us to recognize the major contribution which they made to the development of the English lyric; but to do this only is to miss the point about them, that they are in every respect responsible translations which do what the best translations do, namely attempt to understand the meaning and purposes of the original. Tending towards dynamic rather than formal equivalence, as any poetic translation is likely to do, they frequently explore the structure of the original. The best example I can find to illustrate this quality is Psalm 52, a poem which, addressed to the wicked, contrasts his inevitable downfall with the protection which God offers to the good. This is first the psalm as it appears in the Geneva Bible:

Why boastest thou thy selfe in thy wickednesse, O man of power? the
 loving kindnesse of God endureth dayly.
 Thy tongue imagineth mischief, and is like a sharpe rasor that cutteth
 deceitfully.
 Thou doest love evill more then good, and lies, more then to speake the
 trueth. Selah.

Thou lovest all wordes that may destroy, O deceitfull tongue!
 So shall God destroy thee for ever: he shall take thee and plucke thee
 out of thy tabernacle, and roote thee out of the land of the living. Selah.
 The righteous also shall see it, and feare, and shall laugh at him, saying,
 Behold the man that tooke not God for his strength, but trusted unto the
 multitude of his riches, and put his strength in his malice.
 But I shall be like a green olive tree in the house of God: for I trusted in
 the mercie of God for ever and ever.
 I will always prayse thee for that thou hast done this, and I will hope in
 thy Name, because it is good before thy Saints.

In the Geneva translation the contrast between the good and the wicked is only implicit in the opening verse of the psalm, something which Mary Sidney addresses by importing a "since" to make the second half of the stanza an explicit answer to the question posed in the first two lines:

Tyrant whie swel'st thou thus,
 of mischief vantage?
 since helpe from god to us,
 is never wanting?

Lewd lies thy tongue contrives,
 lowd lies it soundeth:
 sharper then sharpest knives
 with lies it woundeth.

Falshood thy witt approves,
 all truth rejected:
 thy will all vices loves,
 vertue neglected.

Not wordes from cursed thee,
 but gulphes are powred.
 Gulphes wherin daily bee
 good men devoured.

Think'st thou to beare it soe?
 God shall displace thee
 God shall thee overthrow,
 Crush thee, deface thee.

The Just shall fearing see
 theis fearefull chaunces:
 and laughing shoot at thee
 with scornfull glaunces.

Loe, loe, the wretched wight,
 who god disdainig,
 his mischief made his might,

his guard his gaining.

I as an Olive tree,
 still greene shall flourish:
 Gods howse the soile shall bee
 my rootes to nourish.

My trust on his true love
 truly attending,
 Shall never thence remove,
 never see ending.

Thee will I honor still
 lord for this justice:
 There fix my hopes I will,
 where thy saints trust is.

Thy saints trust in thy name,
 therin they joy them.
 protected by the same
 nought can anoy them.

Read simply as a poem, Sidney's psalm is a triumphant display of the capabilities of the English lyric. Its rhythmic effects are determined in nearly every stanza by an initial trochee. The form of alternating six and five syllable lines in each stanza makes the psalmist's confrontation with the wicked abrasively urgent, as if there is not quite time to achieve a regular balance of line lengths, an effect intensified by the use of weak rhymes for lines 2 and 4 in each stanza. There is, too, throughout the poem a haunting pattern of repetition, launched in the second stanza by the play on "lewd lies" and "loud lies" and underscored in the last two by the repetition of "thy saints trust" with "trust" a noun in the penultimate stanza and a verb in the last.

Most interesting of all, however, is the sense Mary Sidney has made of her original, subtly correcting its emphasis and balance. Following stanza one, in which her "since" brings out more fully the contrast between the wicked man, the tyrant who vaunts his mischief, and "us", the good who receive God's help, she translates the following six stanzas quite conservatively, thereby matching verses 2-7 in the biblical psalm. Then, her last four stanzas much less conservatively expand on only two verses of the original, numbers eight and nine. Why does she do this? The answer must be that she reinterprets the original to make it exactly equal in balancing the wicked and the good. In the biblical psalm, apart from the first verse, which is equally divided between the two, five of the remaining eight verses describe the wicked (nos 2-5 and 7) and three describe the good (no 6 and 8-9). In Mary Sidney's poem stanza one's equal division introduces an equal division in the rest, with five stanzas

describing the wicked (nos. 2-5 and 7) and five describing the good (no 6 and 8-11). Consequently her poem has a clear balance to it, its structural fulcrum being the see-saw stanzas 6-7 which tip it from a confrontation with evil towards a celebration of goodness. This new structure makes much more logical to the English reader the shift from the general to the personal at the end of the psalm, where it is the psalmist who celebrates his own certainty of salvation through the image of the properly rooted olive tree.

I began this paper with a psalmic poem by Andrew Marvell, in order to show how with some historical contextualising it is possible to read a text in a new and unexpected way. By thinking of "Bermudas" as an exploration into the mind-set of those who sang metrical psalms we can see the poem as a shrewd piece of political analysis, fit to set beside "An Horatian Ode on Cromwell's Return from Ireland," rather than an example of Marvell himself innocently rhapsodising the beauty of creation. But with Mary Sidney's Psalms my aim has been the opposite, to argue against historicising them; for much of the history of their analysis so far has tended toward the reductive, either in the hands of gender historians or new historicists. This is the point of my analysis of the structure of Psalm 52. In her generally excellent biography of Mary Sidney Margaret Hannay, taking her cue from historicist approaches, chooses to discuss her Psalms almost entirely in political terms. Presented to Elizabeth I in 1599, they represent, she argues, a sustained exemplification of the militant Protestantism for which she and her brother had worked and an exhortation to the Queen and her ministers to continue a fierce anti-Catholic foreign policy (Hannay 1990: chap. 24).

In arguing this case Hannay adduces plenty of evidence that the biblical psalms were so used from the Reformation onwards, with particular psalms carrying very specific political loading. Psalm 52 is a case in point. It had become "an explicit parallel for the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre" and she quotes from several English sources to show how it was read "as a direct accusation against those in Rome who were boasting of the massacre" (93). But when we look at the structure of Sidney's Psalm 52 we see something quite different. Rather than a public propaganda piece, made up largely of a direct accusation against the tyrant, she reconfigures it into a poem which merely uses the tyrant in its first half in order to explore and celebrate the nature of the saint in the second half.

What her Psalm 52 demonstrates is not the primary impulse of the politician or propagandist but instead the impulse of a translator and lyric poet. Not that these two impulses are necessarily at odds: lyric poetry, as in the case of poets like Herrick, Lovelace or Marvell, can often convey intense if subtle engagement with contemporary issues. But another impulse at the heart of lyric

poetry is a meditative and introspective one, prizing the private and intimate over the public and patriotic. In Mary Sidney's work of translation we see a double pleasure. First the pleasure of what is difficult as she works continuously, perhaps over seventeen years, to find forms and structures to convey the sense of a distant and alien original. The second pleasure is the development of the private poem, to such an extent that even Psalm 52, a notoriously propagandist piece against tyrants and the persecutors of Protestants, emerges in her version as something quite different, a moving meditation upon the poet's contented realisation of how deep-rooted and enduring is her love of God —not a call to arms but a call to sit under the olive tree.

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**ON READING HAROLD
BLOOM'S
SHAKESPEARE: THE
INVENTION OF THE
HUMAN**

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The publication in 1998 of *Shakespeare: The Invention of the Human* marks Bloom's onslaught against what he calls "the School of Resentment," or in other words the feminist, cultural materialist and new historicist critics who are now hegemonic in Shakespeare studies. The analysis of some recent, and divergent, historicizing approaches brings to the fore Bloom's obstinate refusal to consider the possibility that Shakespeare's characters inhabit a world at the very least situated in history. Bloom of course counteracts what he sees as the hegemonic disregard for character. The chapter on *As You Like It* seems in principle a good place where Bloom could have acknowledged some contemporary contributions, since he, like feminist critics, privileges Rosalind. But once again Bloom shows a cavalier disregard for the realities of contemporary critical practice which, as far as Rosalind is concerned, has focused on the temporary nature of her empowerment in the Forest of Arden, the sexual ambiguities to which the masculine disguise gives rise within the comedy, and the historicizing of such matters as the presence of transvestite women in early modern society, and of boy actors on the stage. The chapter on *Hamlet* is crucial to Bloom's thesis about Shakespeare's invention of the human. He obviously does not join the ranks of post-war scholars who have displaced *Hamlet* in favour of *King Lear* as the Shakespearean tragedy. But then Bloom's total concentration on the Prince makes him overlook a good deal of what the play has to offer, not only regarding character, but also language and structure. By focusing first on two of the most adversarial chapters and last on the one which is probably the least contentious, I have tried to convey something of the style and thrust of *Shakespeare: The Invention of the Human*. It seems to me evident that Bloom voices misgivings about trends in literary studies which are widespread in the profession, and that are by no means restricted to the field of Shakespeare scholarship. But the failure to engage with the arguments and practice of feminist and historicist critics undermines Bloom's case.

There is something in philology that appeals to the worst in man.
(George Steiner, "Homer and the Scholars")

With the 400th anniversary of Shakespeare's death only fifteen years away, we can begin to take stock of the main developments in XXth century

Shakespeare studies, which have been marked by the hegemony of academic criticism. But despite its sophistication and the enormously increased number of its practitioners, academic criticism seems not to be much appreciated outside the groves of academe. In Margaret Atwood's latest novel, *The Blind Assassin*, the protagonist, now an old woman, receives inquiries about her late sister (a famous novelist) from budding and established literary scholars, and is dismissive of what she perceives as their pretentious jargon and ignorance:

Dear Miss X., I acknowledge your letter concerning your proposed thesis, though I can't say that its title makes a great deal of sense to me. Doubtless it does to you or you would not have come up with it. I cannot give you any help. Also you do not deserve any. "Deconstruction" implies the wrecking ball and "problematize" is not a verb. (Atwood 2000: 286-87)

Although it is literary scholars who are most often subjected to this kind of criticism, they are not the only ones. In "The Chinese Lobster," the last piece in A.S. Byatt's *The Matisse Stories*, Dr Himmelblau reflects on Perry Diss, a distinguished specialist in art history whom her younger colleagues find "rambling and embarrassing":

Dr Himmelblau, personally, is not of this opinion. In her view Perry Diss is always talking about something, not about nothing, and in her view, which she knows to be the possibly crabbed view of a solitary intellectual nearing retirement, this is increasingly rare. Many of her colleagues, Gerda Himmelblau believes, do not *like* paintings. Perry Diss does. (Byatt 1994: 98. Emphasis Byatt's.)

It is perhaps worth remembering that both Atwood and Byatt read English at highly prestigious institutions, and that the latter was Lecturer and Senior Lecturer in English Literature at University College London from 1972 to 1983. Dr Himmelblau's reference to "nothing" when thinking about contemporary critical work resonates in an uncanny manner when placed next to Harold Bloom's statement, in conversation with Gurpegui, to the effect that he has become "the Sterling Professor of Nothing" (Gurpegui 1996: 167). This conversation is mostly about Bloom's previous work on the Western Canon, but he mentions his intention of going on to write on Shakespeare:

In some sense this book, on the Western Canon, is a prolegomenon to a study of Shakespeare and originality, because, as I say a hundred times in this book, Shakespeare is the Western Canon. I mean one also says that Shakespeare and Dante and Cervantes and Tolstoy are the Western Canon, but above all else Shakespeare is the Western Canon. I mean, if Shakespeare does not manifest what it means to have supreme aesthetic value, then indeed there is no such thing as aesthetic value, which of course I don't believe for a second. (168)

As Bloom has made very clear in the course of this interview and in many other public pronouncements, the need to assert the importance of Shakespeare, and of great imaginative literature in general, is the result of a new *trahison des clercs* perpetrated in the last twenty years by academics. The publication in 1998 of *Shakespeare: The Invention of the Human* marks Bloom's onslaught against what he calls "the School of Resentment," or in other words the feminist, cultural materialist and new historicist critics who are now hegemonic in Shakespeare studies. This bulky volume (745 pages in the paperback edition), without notes, bibliography or index, incorporates in its title the thesis, easy to dismiss, that Shakespeare invented human personality as we have known it ever since. Bloom places himself in the critical tradition of Samuel Johnson, William Hazlitt, A.C. Bradley and Harold Goddard (the latter one of the few contemporary critics, together with Graham Bradshaw, that he admires) and locates the genius of Shakespeare in his extraordinary capacity to endow his characters with cognitive and imaginative powers. Of all the characters created by Shakespeare, Bloom singles out Falstaff, Hamlet and Cleopatra (Rosalind almost makes the grade), and proceeds to analyse each play in great detail and in a manner which purposefully negates the practice of modern literary critics who, for him, have "the sadistic aestheticism of Iago" as their ancestor. (Bloom 1999 (1998): 452)

New historicism is Bloom's mighty opponent in his discussion of *Henry IV* and *Henry V*. He begins by locating the centre of the *Henry IV* plays (he rejects the term "Henriad" in favour of "Falstaffiad") on Falstaff, who "speaks what is still the best and most vital prose in the English language" (275) and who, free himself, "instructs us in freedom" (276). He is scathing on scholars, old style and new, who see in Henry V the embodiment of political order and the model for Shakespeare's own political ideal: "I join the now derided 'humanist' critics—including Dr. Johnson, Hazlitt, Swinburne, Bradley and Goddard—in dismissing this idea of order as irrelevant nonsense. To reject Falstaff is to reject Shakespeare." (278)

Bloom is rarely explicit about what specific works or critics he has in mind, but I think we can guess his target when he asks himself: "Just how does the representation of charisma, in Shakespeare, differ from charisma itself? Charisma, by definition, is not a social energy; it originates outside society." (280) We can see in this a swipe at Greenblatt's attempts to explain, in his Introduction to *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England*, how what he calls "cultural objects, expressions and practices," plays by Shakespeare included, acquired compelling force.

When it comes to defining the kind of social energy that circulates through the stage and that the stage makes circulate, Greenblatt mentions¹ power, charisma, sexual excitement, collective dreams, desire, anxiety, religious awe. When he talks of the four essays on Shakespeare's plays that follow, Greenblatt refers to genres as markers of different zones of circulation and different types of negotiation. In the history plays, a theatrical acquisition of charisma through the subversion of charisma; in the comedies, an acquisition of sexual excitement through the representation of transvestite friction. In the tragedies, an acquisition of religious power through the evacuation of religious ritual, and in the romances, an acquisition of salutary anxiety through the experience of a threatening plenitude (Greenblatt 1988: 20).

After this allusion to charisma, Bloom ignores in his discussion of the "Falstaffiad" the reading strategies Greenblatt deploys in "Invisible Bullets," one of his best-known works and one that has been often reprinted. Originally published in *Glyph* in 1981, a revised version with the title of "Invisible Bullets: Renaissance Authority and Its Subversion, *Henry IV* and *Henry V*" was included in *Political Shakespeare* (Dollimore and Sinfield eds., 1985) and in other collections of essays. It is easy to understand the impact the essay made since it is in itself an excellent sample of early new historicist strategies, and was also instrumental in the reactivation of the history plays in the 1980s as texts privileged by politicized critics. Greenblatt's methodology here is paradigmatic: he begins with an anecdote, follows with a relatively obscure social text before finally reaching *Henry IV* and *Henry V* and issues of power, subversion and containment. The question whether subversion (intellectual subversion, that is) was possible in the Renaissance is central to many controversies around the new historicism. In "Invisible Bullets," Greenblatt's argument tends to demonstrate that what looks like subversion is not really subversion and in order to do that, as Carolyn Porter observes in a brilliant dissection of Greenblatt's essay, he begins by displacing the site of subversion from society to the texts of the dominant discourse (Porter 1988).

The initial anecdote Greenblatt tells in the revised version of his essay is well-known: the report that the spy Richard Baines made to the authorities about the activities of Christopher Marlowe. What really interests Greenblatt in the report is Baines's mention of a "Heriot," who turns out to be Thomas Harriot, great mathematician and expert in cartography and optics, and possessor of a dangerous reputation as an atheist. Harriot is also the author of the first original book on the first English colony in America. Greenblatt's hypothesis is that we can find in *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1588) traces of that religious heterodoxy that Baines's report

¹In what follows, I draw on chapter 7 of Hidalgo (2001).

attributed to Marlowe, and that the study of the relationship between orthodoxy and subversion in Harriot's text can provide a model capable of helping us to understand the far more complex problem posed by Shakespeare's history plays (23).

As I said above, "Invisible Bullets" is perhaps Greenblatt's best-known essay and a number of scholars have taken issue with his arguments, which is something Bloom does not attempt. Roughly speaking, we can classify the responses in two groups: those who accept to a greater or lesser extent Greenblatt's methodology but emphasize different historical circumstances, and those who radically question his methodology and conclusions in "Invisible Bullets." I will deal with one example each of both kinds of response.

At the beginning of his "Pilgrims of Grace: *Henry IV* Historicized," Tom McAlindon mentions both Greenblatt's essay and Graham Holderness's *Shakespeare Recycled: the Making of Historical Drama* (1992) as examples of historicizing approaches that privilege power, dominion and class conflict, although he is aware of a basic difference between the two: whereas Greenblatt establishes an analogical connection between the conflicts of the reigns of Henry IV and of his son and the colonial experience of the Elizabethans in Virginia, Holderness rejects the connection with sixteenth-century politics and sees instead in Shakespeare's plays an analysis of the contradictions of fifteenth-century feudalism (McAlindon 1995: 69). What McAlindon misses in both Greenblatt and Holderness is the presence of the high politics of Tudor England, and he tries to demonstrate that the two *Henry IV* plays exhibit great affinities with sixteenth-century political and religious struggles, specifically with the so-called Pilgrimage of Grace of 1536.

The Pilgrimage of Grace was the most important rebellion in Tudor England, a forerunner of the North rebellion during Elizabeth's reign in 1569-70. The grievances were both political and economic but the main reason was Henry VIII's onslaught against "the old religion," that is, Catholicism. The pilgrims were traitorously defeated. The King invited the leaders to London under false promises and once they arrived there, had them arrested and executed. McAlindon examines traces of the Pilgrimage of Grace in the collective memory of the time, and comes to the conclusion that when Shakespeare wrote the *Henry IV* plays, England was (or believed itself to be) in a situation of political insecurity originating in the threat of Catholic forces, both in the case of the Irish rebellion and in the fear of a second Armada.

Once he has established a historical context in which the rivalry between Catholicism and Protestantism had become acute, McAlindon traces in Shakespeare's plays the presence of concepts that played a special role in the ideological conflict: "grace" and, to a lesser extent, "rebuke". The Gaultree

episode with Prince John of Lancaster presents itself irresistibly as an analogy of the manner in which Henry VIII defeated the Pilgrimage of Grace rebels, and the author singles out other examples of parallels between the time of the house of Lancaster and that of the Tudors, before reaching the conclusion that:

The analogies adumbrated by Shakespeare between the reign of Henry IV and the Tudor period indicate that his interpretation of English history is here affected at every level by ideas derived from the major political and cultural experiences of his own time, as well as by notions of historical recurrence long established in western historiography (83).

McAlindon tries to fill the gaps regarding historical context that he perceives in Greenblatt's "Invisible Bullets." Leeds Barroll's "A New History for Shakespeare and His Time" has greater scope and deals with key issues in new historicist methodology and its renewed efforts to situate Shakespeare historically. Barroll starts from two historical *loci* privileged by historicist criticism in the early 1980s. The first belongs to the reign of Elizabeth I: the performance at the Globe of a *Richard II* play, presumably Shakespeare's, on the eve of the Essex rebellion. The second is the widespread belief that the coming to the throne of James I entailed a new relationship between the monarch and the stage, so that drama became part of the royal political project.

Barroll focuses on the use that both Greenblatt and Dollimore have made of the connection between *Richard II* and the Essex rebellion. He traces the source of the narrative of the connection between Shakespeare and Essex to "a nineteenth-century aristocratic ideology that constantly sought to raise Shakespeare to the status of confidant with the peerage" (Barroll 1988: 443). Against the one-sided reading of the *locus* by recent historicist critics, Barroll undertakes the examination of Elizabethan documents pertaining to the enquiry that followed the failure of the conspiracy, in order to gauge the reaction of power to the performance of *Richard II*. A review of the punishments meted out to those who attended the performance and those who did not, but were involved in the conspiracy, leads Barroll to the conclusion that "if the performance of *Richard II* was indeed dangerous to the state, those who raised the danger were treated rather lightly" (446).

Once he has proved that Elizabethan power did not find dangerous the performance of *Richard II* on the eve of the Essex rebellion, Barroll searches for a different origin of the well-known identification between Queen Elizabeth and her predecessor in the course of a conversation with William Lambarde six months after Essex's execution: "I am Richard II, know ye not that?" The traditional narrative identifies this use of Richard II with Shakespeare's play mainly on account of the suppression of the deposition scene in the Quarto

editions until 1608. Barroll on the other hand reads the “suppression” of the scene quite differently:

The concept of a deposition scene as “suppressed” is a curious and distressing intellectual position for critics who are interested in new approaches to and apprehensions of the history of Shakespeare's time. For the traditional view of a suppressed deposition scene is based on a limited concept of textual transmission in Shakespeare's quartos as well as on formalist assumptions about *Richard II* itself. (448)

Barroll follows those scholars who think that Shakespeare revised his plays and that the presence of new material in later Quartos or in the First Folio does not mean that it had been previously censored. Furthermore, the role of the figure of Richard II in the Essex conspiracy can be examined from another *locus*, from different documents. The deposed and murdered monarch had appeared in a prose history written by John Hayward and published in 1599 under the title *The first part of the life and raigne of king Henrie the III*. Barroll reviews the connections between this work and the Earl of Essex, which go beyond the dedication in the Latin preface. The author was sent to the Tower and questioned several times about the historical sources of his account. In Barroll's summing-up, the interest that the Crown showed in Hayward's history makes the attention lavished upon the performance of *Richard II* look trivial.

The second *locus* that Barroll perceives in new historicist criticism concerns the involvement of the theatre in James I's political theory and rule, and that monarch's supposed preference for the stage. Both Jonathan Goldberg in *James I and the Politics of Literature*, and Leonard Tennenhouse in *Power on Display* have supported the hypothesis, mainly on the grounds that the number of performances at Court increased after James came to the throne. But as Barroll proves from a painstaking analysis of Court records and other contemporary evidence, James was frequently absent from the Court at the time of the performances and engaged in his favourite leisure activity: hunting. It was the Queen and Prince Henry who attended the theatrical performances, and it was the Queen and a group of aristocratic ladies who sponsored the masques as the characteristic spectacle at the Jacobean Court. Barroll does not deny that the theatre played a social role during the time of Shakespeare's career, but he observes that many of the narratives deployed by new historicists are limited by old narratives of a special relationship between the theatre and the state or the person of the monarch. Barroll also calls attention to the peculiar shortsightedness of new historicists concerning gender issues when he remarks that “it was, in fact, the countesses with Queen Anna who sponsored and enacted the masques Ben Jonson is so often said to have written for King James” (463-64).

To return to Bloom after these brief considerations of some recent, and divergent, historicizing approaches, means to confront the obstinate refusal to consider the possibility that Shakespeare's characters inhabit a world at the very least situated in history. Bloom of course counteracts what he sees as the hegemonic disregard for character: "Though most current Anglophone scholars refuse to confront Shakespeare's peopling of a world, that remains his appeal to almost all who attend performances of the plays, or who continue to read them" (280). We could say that whereas Bloom emphasizes "peopling," historicizing scholars choose to emphasize "world," though even when they touch upon character, their interest may lie elsewhere. In "Invisible Bullets," for example, Francis the drawer gets more attention than Falstaff.

Bloom's method when discussing the *Henry IV* plays combines assertion, extensive quotation, and *ad hominem* attacks. It is his personal commitment that endows Bloom's claims, however traditional, with some original flavour:

And it cannot be affirmed too often that Falstaff's most salient qualities are his astonishing intellect and his exuberant vitality, the second probably not so outward a personal endowment of the man William Shakespeare. (287)

And he is capable of making some illuminating connections:

His superbly supple and copious prose is astonishingly attractive. Samuel Johnson and Oscar Wilde's Lady Bracknell (in *The Importance of Being Earnest*) alike are legatees of Falstaff's resourcefulness of speech. (294)

Far less interesting are the repeated *ad hominem* attacks (in a book which is rather repetitive as a whole), particularly if we remember that the common reader almost certainly does not know which *homines* Bloom has in mind. The wilful refusal to engage with the arguments advanced by other scholars is accompanied by the denunciation of academics as a class: "After a lifetime surrounded by other professors, I question their experiential qualifications to apprehend, let alone judge, the Immortal Falstaff" (281). And commenting on four extracts from Falstaff's speeches:

I do not hear mere *knowingness*, which is the professional disease of resentful academic clerks who see Falstaff, like themselves, as questing for room at the top. (284. Emphasis Bloom's.)

In a brief comment on *Shakespeare: the Invention of the Human*, Neil Forsyth states that Bloom's "refusal to grant a central place to the insights of performance means he misses much of what is interesting in the contemporary Shakespeare world" (Forsyth 2000: 70). It seems to me that Bloom does not neglect performance, but rather that the performances he approves of seem all to have taken place at least fifty years ago. He was lucky enough to have seen Ralph Richardson as Falstaff, and Laurence Olivier play Hotspur in the

afternoon and Shallow in the evening in the Old Vic production of 1946, and for him the decline has been steady ever since:

I have suffered through recent performances of the *Henry IV* plays that debased Falstaff into a cowardly braggart, a sly instigator to vice, a fawner for the Prince's favor, besotted old scoundrel, and much more of that sort of desecration of Shakespeare's actual text. (283)

In the end, since for Bloom the magnificent Falstaff cannot be adequately explained by contemporary critics (they do not even try to) or brought to life by contemporary stage productions (he does not mention Orson Welles's Falstaff in *Chimes at Midnight*), the critic finds the only possible way of acknowledging his greatness by positing Shakespeare as secular religion:

Shakespeare secularists should manifest their Bardolatry by celebrating the Resurrection of Sir John Falstaff. It should be made, unofficially but pervasively, an international holiday, a Carnival of wit, with multiple performances of *Henry IV, Part One*. Let it be a day for loathing political ambition, religious hypocrisy, and false friendship, and let it be marked by wearing bottles of sack in our holsters. (306)

Bloom's brief chapter on *Henry V* seems to me especially wrongheaded in his insistence that modern scholars prefer the King as an embodiment of order, to Falstaff. He had already dismissed "academic puritans and professorial power freaks" (282) for siding with Henry, on the premise that "to reject Falstaff is to reject Shakespeare" (278). But no one familiar with new historicist, feminist and cultural materialist critics would share Bloom's assertion that modern scholars side with the King. As a matter of fact, to give just one but significant example, when discussing the destruction of the Bower of Bliss in *Renaissance Self-Fashioning from More to Shakespeare*, Stephen Greenblatt remarks that "like Falstaff's banishment, Othello's suicide speech, and Volpone's harsh punishment, the close of book 2 of *The Fairie Queene* has figured in criticism as one of the great cruxes of English Renaissance literature" (Greenblatt 1984: 170).

The chapter on *As You Like It* seems in principle a good place where Bloom could have acknowledged some contemporary contributions, since he, like feminist critics, privileges Rosalind, whom he sees as, of all Shakespeare's comic heroines, "the most gifted, as remarkable in her mode as Falstaff and Hamlet are in theirs" (203). The chapter opens with a brilliant quotations from Bernard Shaw to the effect that the popularity of Rosalind is due to three causes: that she only speaks blank verse for a few minutes, that she only wears a skirt for a few minutes, and that she makes love to the man instead of waiting for the man to make love to her (202). Bloom immediately alludes darkly to "specialists in gender politics" (presumably feminist critics) who sometimes

give us a lesbian Rosalind. This comment shows a cavalier disregard for the realities of contemporary critical practice which, as far as Rosalind is concerned, has focused on the temporary nature of her empowerment in the Forest of Arden, the sexual ambiguities to which the masculine disguise gives rise within the comedy, and the historicizing of such matters as the presence of transvestite women in early modern society, and of boy actors on the stage.

Bloom dismisses Wilson Knight and Camille Paglia's (not the usual suspects for once) hypothesis about the androgyny of Shakespeare's disguised heroines, on grounds that seem quite persuasive to me: "her (Rosalind's) sexual desires entirely center upon Orlando, a Herculean wrestler and by no means a diffident young man" (208). But if the heterosexual reading of the play is plausible, we cannot ignore the involvement of the heroine in male attire in situations which are, at the very least, potentially ambiguous, as Rosalind herself foregrounds in the metatheatrical Epilogue.

Bloom's comments on *As You Like It*, though sometimes interesting in themselves, lack polemical force as a critique of poststructuralist practice because he makes the common mistake of lumping together feminists, Marxists, cultural materialists, those he calls *nouveau* historicists (even occasionally old historicists), as if there were not important differences both in theoretical underpinnings and critical practice between them. As a matter of fact, *As You Like It*, together with *King Lear*, was one of the textual sites of the critical battles between feminists and new historicists / cultural materialists in the 1980s and early 1990s (see Boose 1987; Neely 1988; Thompson 1991; Hidalgo 1996). He should have noticed feminist criticism of the tendency in materialist readings to erase female characters and gender issues, of which I have selected the following sample.

In Louis A. Montrose's "The Place of a Brother" in *As You Like It: Social Process and Comic Form*, primogeniture is the Elizabethan social process which serves as point of entry into Shakespeare's comedy. Against the previous general tendency to consider Act 1 as a mere device to set the characters on their way to the Forest of Arden, Montrose dwells on the situation of Orlando as Oliver's younger brother. There is widespread evidence about the precarious position of younger brothers in early modern society, and like a good number of literary critics in recent years, Montrose follows Lawrence Stone's analysis of the Elizabethan family. He classifies his approach as socio-anthropological and not psychoanalytic, even though he is aware that the elder brother-younger brother conflict can be read as a projection of the Oedipal rivalry between father and son (Montrose 1981/95: 48). After referring to the role of younger brothers in Shakespeare's plays (Gloucester, Claudius, Edmund and Antonio, besides the decisive role of Duke Frederick in *As You Like It*), Montrose highlights the

anthropological dimension when he observes that conflict between brothers occupies a prominent place in cultural fictions all over the world (58). To a certain extent, Montrose reaffirms the traditional dichotomy literary text / social context, and simultaneously gives the literary work a more active role: *As You Like It* not only reflects a conflict in Elizabethan society generated by the institution of primogeniture, but through its denouement in which Orlando achieves the social and personal rewards usually denied to younger brothers, the comedy offers a theatrical source of social conciliation (66).

Bloom completely overlooks this sort of historization and the fact that it is at odds with feminist approaches. He castigates the excessive emphasis on the role of transvestism in the play, and sees in the Epilogue the moment when Rosalind, rather like Prospero, transcends the boundaries of the play, and becomes a figure for Shakespeare himself. We may agree that perhaps recent Shakespeare scholarship has overinvested in cross-dressing as a site for destabilizing gender boundaries in the comedies, and that there has been excessive speculation surrounding the boy actor and his likely effects on the audience. (See Dusinberre 2000 for the latest contribution from a scholar who was a pioneer in this field). Some scholars have observed that we have to consider first the historical evidence that no actor, whether adult or boy, was ever accused of homosexuality. It is difficult to tell whether the Renaissance audience took the boy actor as a convention or whether they had a metatheatrical consciousness of the female characters' true sexual identity, but there is little doubt that the function of clothes in establishing gender had to undergo a destabilizing process similar, though not equal, to that of the presence of transvestite women on the streets of London.

Because of his refusal to make detailed arguments against the now hegemonic readings of feminist and materialist critics, let alone their theoretical tenets, Bloom is in my opinion most perceptive where he is less combative. He gives a lucid, precise and witty account of *Love's Labour's Lost*, a play from which he derives most unmixed pleasure than from any other by Shakespeare (122). His judicious use of quotation serves him well in his commentary on this difficult text, and his wide-ranging reading allows him to make an unexpected connection when he quotes from Thomas Mann's *Doctor Faustus* on the operatic quality of the Shakespearean play (122). The linguistic and thematic similarities between *Love's Labour's Lost* and the Sonnets have been often pointed out; not so much, I think, the fact that the play "shares with *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *As You Like It* an amiable mingling of social classes" (130). Perhaps part of the attraction of the play lies in that Bloom sees in Berowne a linguistic prefiguration of Falstaff. He credits Act V as "Shakespeare's earliest triumph at closure" (136), and after considering the Spring and Winter songs at the end of the play, concludes that "Shakespeare's

most elaborately artificial comedy, his great feast of language, antithetically subsides in natural simplicities and in country phrases". (147)

The chapter on *Hamlet* is crucial to Bloom's thesis about Shakespeare's invention of the human. He obviously does not join the ranks of post-war scholars who have displaced *Hamlet* in favour of *King Lear* as the Shakespearean tragedy (see Foakes 1993). As a matter of fact, Shakespeare's most famous tragedy has been comparatively neglected by recent criticism (feminism excepted), perhaps because the play's investment in the personality of the Prince is not congenial to current interests. Bloom's reading starts from his acceptance of Peter Alexander's hypothesis that Shakespeare was the author of the *Ur-Hamlet*, written around 1589. This view of *Hamlet* as a revised play in which a crude, Marlovian cartoon created by an author at the beginning of his career, was transformed by a mature Shakespeare into "the leading Western representation of an intellectual" (383) leads to the conclusion that "with the *Hamlet* of 1600-1601, Shakespeare becomes his own precursor, and revises not only the *Ur-Hamlet* but everything that came after it, through *Julius Caesar*" (400).

Bloom's *Hamlet* is very much the Prince's play; he shows scant interest in the rest of the characters, both male and female. Claudius the shrewd politician has no appeal for him, and he disdains the countless Freudian readings in which Gertrude figures prominently, reminding the reader that in his book on the Western canon, he gave a Shakespearean reading of Freud (429-30). Ophelia is just "poor Ophelia," a girl whom Hamlet drives to madness and suicide. Horatio is colourless, Fortinbras a bully boy, and Osric (what else?) a fop. The Prince is very much an intellectual, but his problems as a dramatic character have little to do with the traditional opposition between the man of action and the thinker. Bloom quotes with approval from Nietzsche in *The Birth of Tragedy*:

Knowledge kills action; action requires the veils of illusion: that is the doctrine of Hamlet, not that cheap wisdom of Jack the Dreamer who reflects too much and, as it were, from an excess of possibilities does not get around to action. Not reflection, no —true knowledge, an insight into the horrible truth, outweighs any motive for action, both in Hamlet and in the Dionysian man. (394)

Hamlet's cognitive powers, and what is variously called inwardness, personality and consciousness, are for Bloom the root of his greatness as a literary character. The origin of this internalization of the self has often been connected with Protestant doctrine, but Bloom never wavers in his view of Shakespeare's work as secular. Nor does the actual behaviour of the Prince detract from his attraction: Bloom lists his manslaughter of Polonius, treatment of Ophelia, and his gratuitous dispatch of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern to their

deaths, and concludes that there is indeed a considerable case against Hamlet, but that he remains “the Western hero of consciousness” (409).

Revision, personality and change are the key words in Bloom's presentation of the play. The Prince undergoes the most significant and mysterious change between Act IV and Act V. Searching for a word to describe Hamlet's attitudes to life and death in Act V, Bloom cites stoicism, scepticism, quietism, nihilism, only to discard them and settle for “disinterestedness” (429). Bloom does not attempt to solve the puzzle of Hamlet's personality and the power of eliciting interpretation that it has shown in the last three centuries. In the end the Prince's personality becomes “the canonical sublime” (431).

Bloom mentions Dr Johnson's opinion that *Hamlet* was particularly excellent as a play for its variety, and comments that, for him, this seems truer of the Prince than of the drama. But then, as I said above, Bloom's total concentration on Hamlet makes him overlook a good deal of what the play has to offer, not only regarding character, but also language and structure. To give just one example: T. S. Eliot, whose view of the play as an artistic failure Bloom rightly dismisses, observed nevertheless that the first scene of *Hamlet* is “as well constructed as that of any play ever written” and went on to describe the opening twenty-two lines as:

Built of the simplest words in the most homely idiom. Shakespeare had worked for a long time in the theatre, and written a good many plays, before reaching the point where he could write those twenty-two lines... No poet has begun to master dramatic verse until he can write lines which, like these in *Hamlet*, are *transparent*. (Quoted in Kermode 2000: 97)

Frank Kermode provides an example of the sort of variety Dr Johnson perhaps had in mind when he details the material we can find in the scene in which Polonius produces his famous generic catalogue:

The beginning of the Rosencrantz and Guildenstern plot, the successful return of the ambassadors from Norway (diplomatic plot), Polonius's theory that Hamlet is mad for love of Ophelia, Hamlet's teasing of Polonius... the brilliantly sharp first dialogue between Hamlet and Rosencrantz and Guildenstern... the arrival of the players, gossip about the successes of the London boys' companies... more teasing of Polonius when he comes in with stale news about the actors' arrival, further allusions to his daughter, Hamlet's welcome to the players and the recitation of part of an old play, the planning of *The Mousetrap*, the leading actor's tears and, to conclude, Hamlet's soliloquy “O, what a rogue and peasant slave am I!” (96-7)

If Bloom fails to acknowledge the dramatic context, crowded with incident, that Shakespeare provides for the Prince, he is furthermore oddly silent about one of the glories of the play: its stylistic variety and inventiveness. He

mentions the Prince's linguistic range, and reminds the reader of the fact that Shakespeare used more than 21,000 separate words, whereas Racine used fewer than 2,000. He also refers to Harry Levin's analysis of the copiousness of Hamlet's language, of his command of the resources of English syntax and diction, but while he quotes liberally from almost all the plays, the only extended quotation from *Hamlet* is from the Player King's speech in 3.2.

We might say that the usual suspects are missing from the chapter on *Hamlet* because the new critical paradigms have made comparatively little impact on the play. Greenblatt devoted some attention to *Hamlet* in the second half of the 1990s, from his paper at the 1996 Los Angeles World Shakespeare Congress, to the plenary lecture entitled "Hamlet in Purgatory" that he was to have given at the annual meeting of the Spanish Association for English and American Studies at León in 1999. His Introduction to the play in the *Norton Shakespeare* touches on points which are similar to Bloom's, as when he argues that "*Hamlet* seems to mark an epochal shift not only in Shakespeare's own career but in Western drama; it is as if the play were giving birth to a new kind of literary subjectivity" (Greenblatt 1997: 1661). It is true that Greenblatt does not follow Peter Alexander and Bloom in taking Shakespeare for the author of the *Ur-Hamlet*, and that he attaches greater importance to the textual problems posed by the Second Quarto ("*Hamlet* is a monument of world literature, but is a monument built on shifting sands," 1659), but on the whole his presentation of *Hamlet* differs little from the traditions of Shakespeare criticism.

Feminist criticism has invested more on *Hamlet*, although a good deal has been on the cultural reproduction of the text rather than on the text itself. Rebecca Smith's "A Heart Cleft in Twain: The Dilemma of Shakespeare's Gertrude" deals with Hamlet's mother and the way she has been interpreted on the stage and in three film versions: Olivier's (1948), Kozintsev's (1964) and Richardson's (1969). A detailed account of everything Gertrude says and does in *Hamlet* makes Smith conclude that her character, as created by Shakespeare, does not justify her customary portrayal as a sensual and lascivious woman. This conclusion may not look excessively striking now, but the role that male critics and directors have played in the reception of Shakespeare's female characters had remained unstated until feminist scholars uncovered the masculinist assumptions about women that underlie the reproduction of the Shakespearean text (Smith 1980). In a similar vein, Elaine Showalter focuses on the iconography of Ophelia in paintings and drawings, and analyses what it tells us about the cultural construction of femininity and madness (Showalter 1985).

Feminist psychoanalytic criticism has undertaken more radical readings of the play itself. *Hamlet* is central to Adelman's controversial thesis about the return of the maternal body, and is in any case a play in which the mother

determines masculine identity, both the father's and son's (Adelman 1992). In "Hamlet —the *Mona Lisa* of Literature," first published in 1986, Jacqueline Rose approaches Shakespeare's tragedy from the perspective of T. S. Eliot's famous essay in which he combines a critique of *Hamlet* with the introduction of the concept of the objective correlative. Rose is surprised that the origin of the term in Eliot's devaluation of Gertrude as an insufficient cause for the Prince's distress should have been overlooked. She observes that femininity has been at the roots of psychoanalytic interpretations of the play, even before Ernest Jones stated in his famous 1949 study that "Hamlet was a woman" (Rose 1986: 104). Rose finds fascinating that femininity should have played such a central role both in an aesthetic theory (Eliot's) and in a psychoanalytic theory that at that time was focusing on the Shakespearean play described by Freud as an emblem of "the secular advance of repression in the emotional life of mankind" (105).

I cannot obviously give a complete account of Bloom's bulky study. I hope that, by concentrating first on two of the most adversarial chapters and last on the one which is probably the least contentious, I have managed to convey something of the style and thrust of *Shakespeare: The Invention of the Human*. It seems to me evident that Bloom voices misgivings about trends in literary studies which are widespread in the profession, and that are by no means restricted to the field of Shakespeare scholarship. It is Shakespeare's unique status that multiplies the impact of anything which enhances or diminishes his work. As Frank Kermode observes, "in the end you can't get rid of Shakespeare without abolishing the very notion of literature" (viii).

Kermode's comment shows that Bloom is not alone in deploring the effects of poststructuralism on literary criticism and the subsequent devaluation of literature. To quote Kermode again: "Every other aspect of Shakespeare is studied almost to death, but the fact that he was a poet has somehow dropped out of consideration" (vii). Even some of those who work within the new paradigms have expressed concern about the swerve from literature. In the special number celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the journal *English Literary Renaissance*, A. C. Hamilton points out the cost incurred by a paradigm shift from a formalist criticism which privileged literary form, to a contextual one which privileges content, particularly when applied to a Renaissance literature characterized by elaborate artifice (Hamilton 1995: 372). Hamilton grants new historicism the merit of having revitalized Renaissance studies, but at the cost of having replaced the study of literature by cultural critique.

The refusal to engage with the arguments and practice of feminist and historicist critics undermines Bloom's case in several ways. First, he overlooks

the differences between feminists and new historicists, new historicists and cultural materialists, or indeed within feminism and new historicism, and seems to believe that they are all intent on debunking Shakespeare, which is patently untrue. Secondly, he tends to give the impression that all contemporary work on Shakespeare is poststructuralist, and neglects previous critiques by Vickers (1993), Leeds Barroll (1988) and Levin (1988, 1989), among others. Finally, he exaggerates the degree of radicalism and novelty in the new readings, and overestimates their capacity of altering the status of Shakespeare's works.

Although I think Bloom's central argument is flawed, *Shakespeare: The Invention of the Human* deserves more attention than it has got (See Kerrigan 1998). At a time when literary scholars are overspecialised, Bloom's range is remarkable: besides references to works by Shakespeare and other Renaissance playwrights and poets and to literary critics past and present, in his chapter on *Hamlet* he makes use of Tolstoy, Nietzsche, Milton, Joyce, Montaigne, Kierkegaard, Auden, Eliot, Wilde, Beckett, Brecht, Kushner, Swinburne, Yeats, Blake, Mackenzie, Goethe, Emerson, Carlyle, Huxley, Dostoevsky, Hart Crane, Rabelais, Plato, Socrates, and Scott Fitzgerald. He is a very good reader, possesses a capacious mind and exhibits both commitment to and knowledge of literature, rare qualities that the profession ignores at its peril.

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THE IDEA OF THE RENAISSANCE, REVISITED

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The idea of the Renaissance as a historical period was first formulated by Jacob Burckhardt in his book *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* (1860). In this lecture I want to review some of the many directions taken by Renaissance studies since then, and to make some suggestions for future work.

In this essay I am going to revisit the beginnings of the Renaissance, a project which I intend to have two senses: the actual historical period, starting in fifteenth-century Italy, but also the beginning of a modern consciousness of that period, which I place in nineteenth-century Switzerland. Both projects are massive, obviously enough, so I shall only be able to pick out a few of the processes through which the Renaissance took shape, and also some of the agents responsible for shaping it. And I take “agents” to refer not only to human beings, such as Petrarca, but also to social roles (teacher, publisher...), books, and indeed languages (such as Greek).

Since history as a discipline involves a direct link between past and present, then the historian is always in some way trying to carry himself back to the past. Some words of Francis Bacon may stand as a motto for my enterprise:

For to carry the mind in writing back into the past, and bring it into sympathy with antiquity; diligently to examine, freely and faithfully to report, and by the light of words to place as it were before the eyes, the revolutions of times, the characters of persons, the fluctuations of counsels, the courses of actions, the bottoms of pretences, and the secrets of governments; is a task of great labour and judgement.... (1857-74: IV, 302).

I

One way of making sense of the past is to divide it up into epochs or periods, units of time which are thought to share some constants of structure,

behaviour, attitudes, marking them off from periods before or afterwards. It is easy to make fun of this periodization of history, as George Orwell once did:

When I was a small boy and was taught history —very badly, of course, as nearly everyone in England is— I used to think of history as a sort of long scroll with thick black lines ruled across it at intervals. Each of these lines marked the end of what was called a “period,” and you were given to understand that what came afterwards was completely different from what had gone before. It was almost like a clock striking. For instance, in 1499 you were still in the Middle Ages, with knights in plate armour riding at one another with long lances, and then suddenly the clock struck 1500, and you were in something called the Renaissance, and everyone wore ruffs and doublets and was busy robbing treasure ships on the Spanish Main. There was another very thick black line drawn at the year 1700. After that it was the Eighteenth Century, and people suddenly stopped being Cavaliers and Roundheads and became extraordinarily elegant gentlemen in knee breeches and three-cornered hats. They all powdered their hair, took snuff and talked in exactly balanced sentences, which seemed all the more stilted because for some reason I didn’t understand they pronounced most of their S’s as F’s. The whole of history was like that in my mind —a series of completely different periods changing abruptly at the end of a century, or at any rate at some sharply defined date.

Now in fact these abrupt transitions don’t happen, either in politics, manners or literature. Each age lives on into the next —it must do so, because there are innumerable human lives spanning each gap. And yet there are such things as periods. We feel our own age to be deeply different from, for instance, the early Victorian period, and an eighteenth-century sceptic like Gibbon would have felt himself to be among savages if you had suddenly thrust him into the Middle Ages. Every now and again something happens — no doubt it’s ultimately traceable to changes in industrial technique, though the connexion isn’t always obvious— and the whole spirit and tempo of life changes and people acquire a new outlook which reflects itself in their political behaviour, their manners, their architecture, their literature and everything else. No one could write a poem like Gray’s “Elegy in a Country Churchyard” today, for instance, and no one could have written Shakespeare’s lyrics in the age of Gray. These things belong in different periods. And though, of course, those black lines across the page of history are an illusion, there are times when the transition is quite rapid, sometimes rapid enough for it to be possible to give it a fairly accurate date. One can say without grossly over-simplifying, “About such and such a year, such and such a style of literature began.” If I were asked for the starting-point of modern literature —and the fact that we still can call it “modern” shows that this particular period isn’t finished yet— I should put it at 1917, the year in which T. S. Eliot published his poem “Prufrock.” At any rate that date isn’t more than five years out. It is certain that about the end of the last war the literary climate changed, the typical writer came to be quite a different person, and the best books of the subsequent period seemed to exist in a

different world from the best books of only four or five years before.¹ (1971: ii. 229-30)

Yet, as his conclusion suggests, Orwell was able to make a good case for 1917 as a dividing point marking the beginning of a modern age. The dominant English writers up to 1914 were Hardy, Shaw, Wells, Galsworthy, Arnold Bennett, A.E. Housman, all of whom were “untouched by any European influence,” being mostly preoccupied with English bourgeois society, its values and its typical activities. They had little sense of history (even Hardy), were not greatly interested in technique, and some of them (Shaw, Wells) had a crude sense of progress based on scientific discoveries and social engineering. Writers of the modern generation —T.S. Eliot, James Joyce, D.H. Lawrence— had little faith in civilization as automatically improving human life, and were cultural pessimists rather than optimists. As Orwell sums up his argument, “They broke the cultural circle in which England had existed for something like a century. They re-established contact with Europe, and they brought back the sense of history and the possibility of tragedy” (240). If Lawrence was more conventional in terms of form, Eliot and Joyce were deeply conscious of technique, and made far-reaching experiments with form. One can make quite a good case for the modern age as stretching to the 1960s, perhaps...

Concepts of periodization have their validity, then. No less a figure than R.G. Collingwood, author of perhaps the most important work on historiography written by an Englishman, *The Idea of History* (posthumously published and edited by T. M. Knox, as we are now beginning to realize, with considerable editorial interventions) defended periodization in the course of summarizing medieval attitudes to history:

The great task of medieval historiography was the task of discovering and expounding this objective or divine plan. It was a plan developed in time and therefore through a definite series of stages, and it was reflection on this fact which produced the conception of historical ages each initiated by an epoch-making event. Now, the attempt to distinguish periods in history is a mark of advanced and mature historical thought, not afraid to interpret facts instead of merely ascertaining them; but here as elsewhere medieval thought, though never deficient in boldness and originality, showed itself unable to make good its promises. (1946: 153-4)

As Collingwood went on to show, medieval Christian historiography considered past, present, and future as being all part of a divine plan, with the future “as something foreordained by God and through revelation foreknown to man.” However, Collingwood asserted, “the historian’s business is to know the

¹“The Rediscovery of Europe”: broadcast talk, 10 March 1942; repr. in Orwell (1943), and in Orwell and Angus (1971: ii. 229-30).

past, not to know the future,” and any theory which divides “the historical process into two separate things,” with God’s objective purpose imposing a plan upon history “quite irrespective of man’s subjective purposes,” soon loses the ability to pursue “that prime duty of the historian, a willingness to bestow infinite pains on discovering what actually happened” (54-5) —and, I add, to discover what the events so painstakingly reconstructed meant then, and what they mean now.

As a historical period, the Renaissance became a widely-shared concept thanks to the Swiss historian Jacob Burckhardt (1819-1897). During his two-year teaching spell at the Polytechnikum, Zürich, as it was then called (today the Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule Zürich), his first university appointment (1855 to 1857),² Burckhardt began the labour of analysing books and copying out excerpts for the work which appeared in 1860 as *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien. Ein Versuch*. Burckhardt owed some of his attitudes and ideas to Hegel’s two sets of *Vorlesungen*, one *Über die Philosophie der Geschichte* (1837), the other *Über die Geschichte der Philosophie* (1833-36), and he also drew on Jules Michelet, the sixth volume of whose *Histoire de France*, called *La Renaissance*, appeared in 1855. Both Hegel and Michelet had seen the Middle Ages and the Renaissance as antithetical, with the Renaissance as a secular liberation movement, freeing the human spirit from the chains of feudalism and religion. Burckhardt, whether consciously or not, absorbed categories and terminology from both writers, as scholars from Wallace K. Ferguson to E.H. Gombrich have shown, and he borrowed from Michelet a phrase characterising the Renaissance as having effected “the discovery of the world and the discovery of man.”³ But Burckhardt made a much larger and more systematic coverage than any previous writer, and must be credited for having put the idea of the Renaissance into wide circulation.

Burckhardt collected hundreds or thousands of quotations from his reading, which he cut up and mounted into quarto size books, still extant in the Basler Stadt Archiv (Kaegi 1947-1982: iii. 647-769, especially 656-7). He arranged this material under six main section headings:

INHALT

- Der Staat als Kunstwerk [The State as a Work of Art]
- Entwicklung des Individuums [Development of Individualism]
- Die Wiederweckung des Altertums [The Revival of Antiquity]
- Die Entdeckung der Welt und des Menschen [The Discovery of the World and Peoples]
- Die Geselligkeit und die Feste [Society and Festivals]
- Sitte und Religion [Morality and Religion] (1943: 11)

²See Kaegi (1947-1982: iii. 559-644).

³See especially Gombrich (1969: 6-25) on Hegel and his influence on Burckhardt.

We know that this outline does not correspond to Burckhardt's original plan, for he had originally intended to include a substantial treatment of Renaissance art (he was, after all, an art-historian). We also know that Burckhardt was himself conscious of major omissions, such as economic history. Indeed, scholars have compiled quite a large list of major subjects missing: Renaissance philosophy and science, for instance. W.K. Ferguson summed up some of the book's failings in 1948:

After generations of revisionism, it is easy to discern the faults in Burckhardt's synthesis. It was too static, too sharply delimited in time and space, the contrast with the Middle Ages and the other European countries too strong. It was limited moreover, as Burckhardt himself was at times aware, to the upper classes of Italy. It omitted the economic life of Italy almost entirely and underestimated the effect of economic factors. It overstressed the individualism, and with it the immorality and irreligion of Renaissance society, as well as its creative energy. Finally, the whole synthesis was built upon an insecure foundation, upon the doubtful assumption that there was a specific spirit common to Italian society for a period of two hundred years, that it was born of the mystical cohabitation of the antique spirit with the Italian *Volksgeist*, and that it was essentially modern, the prototype of the modern world. Yet for all its faults of exaggeration, it contained much brilliantly penetrating analysis, and a great deal of evident truth. And it was no more one-sided than many of the later revisions. (1948: 194)⁴

II

Despite its deficiencies, Burckhardt's book remains a stimulating introduction to some aspects of Renaissance life and art. If we ask where recent scholarship has improved on Burckhardt, we would soon have a long list,⁵ inevitably enough for any work written 140 years ago—that we can even pose such a question is already a tribute! We know a great deal more about the history of Italian politics in the period from 1400 to 1600, about economic life, urbanization, social history—especially hitherto marginalized groups, such as women and homosexuals. Huge amounts of archive material have been sorted, read, and analyzed, such as the Florentine *catasto*, the detailed tax returns started in the 1420s under the economic pressure of the war against Milan. We

⁴For other critiques of Burckhardt see, e. g., Huizinga (1959: 243-87); Klein (1979: 25-42); Sax (1986); Nelson (1933); Becker (1972); Ganz (1988); Farago (1994).

⁵The most comprehensive survey of modern scholarship was assembled by Rabil, Jr. (1988).

know a great deal more about Platonism, Neo-Platonism, Aristotelianism, and the universities, but not as much as we ought to know about Stoicism and Epicureanism. Our knowledge of all the sciences —physics, mechanics, astronomy, mathematics, botany, biology, as well as the occult arts —astrology, alchemy, magic— is vastly greater than it was even 40 years ago, and has now gone beyond the mental capacity of any one individual to master. And so on: few areas of the Renaissance have not been studied, although of course there is much left to do —fortunately for the young!

I should like to pick out one area close to my own interests in which our understanding has advanced considerably since Burckhardt, namely the basic metaphor of the Renaissance: what exactly was this “rebirth”? What was “reborn;” when; how; and with what consequences? The term is not a modern invention, but was coined by men in the Renaissance to describe their belief that they had decisively broken with the Middle Ages, and renewed some key aspects of Greek and Latin culture. They summed up their interest in the past in the term *studia humanitatis*, which, as the late Paul Oskar Kristeller showed so well, described “a well-defined cycle of studies,... which included *grammatica*, *rhetorica*, *poetica*, *historia*, and *philosophia moralis*, as these terms were then understood. Unlike the liberal arts of the earlier Middle Ages, the humanities did not include logic or the *quadrivium* (*arithmetica*, *geometria*, *astronomia* and *musica*),” nor did they include the main subjects taught at universities during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, “such as theology, jurisprudence and medicine, and the philosophical disciplines other than ethics, such as logic, natural philosophy and metaphysics. In other words,” Kristeller reminds us, “humanism does not represent, as often believed, the sum total of Renaissance thought and learning, but only a well-defined sector of it” (1988: 113-14). The *umanista* or humanist, then, was not —as a modern parlance— a worshipper of “humanism” as a secular creed opposed to religion, but someone who studied the humanities. Humanism began outside the universities, in private circles and in the grammar schools of Northern Italy, and gradually infiltrated the universities, which —often after initial reluctance— established chairs of rhetoric and poetry, history and moral philosophy.

According to a long-established tradition, Renaissance humanism was born in Florence in the last third of the fourteenth century. This still seems largely true, but it must also be recorded, as Billanovich and Weiss showed some years ago, that a surprisingly detailed knowledge of the Latin poets existed in Padua already in the second half of the thirteenth century. These “prehumanists,” as they are now called, including Lovato Lovati, Geremia da Montagnone, and Albertino Mussato, knew the poetry of Lucretius, Catullus, the *Odes* of Horace, Tibullus, Propertius...; Seneca’s *Tragedies*, Ovid. But Padua was isolated as a cultural centre, Italian political life fragmented, and the work of this group of

writers remained unappreciated until the 1950s. Their work also represents the end of a tradition, not the beginning of a new one. The Renaissance attitude to antiquity is quite different to the medievals', for it attempts "to get closer to the classical spirit and to relive and rethink the past in terms of the present" —and viceversa (Reynolds and Wilson 1974: 110). In this respect the traditional account can be endorsed, in which the pioneer was Francesco Petrarca (1304-74).⁶ He was the first to use "the expression 'the Dark Ages' as a term of periodization" in order to describe the period between the end of the Roman Republic and his own age (1959: 109). As Theodor Mommsen showed, Petrarch took over the traditional Christian metaphor contrasting "the light, which Christ had brought into this world, with the darkness in which the heathen had languished before his time" (108), and applied this metaphor to secular history, dismissing the whole history of the Roman Empire once it became ruled by "barbarous' nations" and non-Roman emperors as "an era of *tenebrae*, or 'darkness'" (118, 121). Where medieval historians "continued the history of the Empire straight through to their own time... Petrarch introduced a new chronological demarcation in history" (125), so anticipating the scheme used by fifteenth-century historians. He saw himself as living in a period of decline, but in some utterances he looked forward to a brighter future —as in the conclusion of his epic *Africa* (1338ff):

My fate is to live amid varied and confusing storms. But for you perhaps, if as I hope and wish you will live long after me, there will follow a better age. This sleep of forgetfulness will not last for ever. When the darkness has been dispersed, our descendants can come again in the former pure radiance.
(*Africa*, IX. 451-7; tr. Mommsen: 127)

Martin McLaughlin (1988) has extended Mommsen's analysis showing that "elsewhere in the *Africa* Petrarch sees himself as a second Ennius halting the Muses' light from Italy (II.443-45) or rather recalling them to Italy after their long exile (IX. 222-31); and Petrarch regards himself as a protagonist in this renaissance partly because of his revival of the laurel ceremony in 1341 'after a gap of 1,200 years'" (132-3). The fact that Petrarch had himself crowned with a laurel wreath on the Capitoline hill, the first time a poet had been so honoured since Statius in 80 AD, was seen by Boccaccio and later writers as a cultural event of great significance, which would "usher in a golden age of poetry" (134). Petrarch's successors celebrated him as the writer who heralded this new light-bringing age, and many historians of the 15th and 16th centuries gave him main credit for the *rinascità*. One of the fullest and most explicit accounts was given by Leonardo Bruni (1370-1444), the great Greek scholar who was Chancellor of Florence for the last sixteen years of his life. In his *Life of Petrarch* he wrote:

⁶ See Mommsen (1942); repr. in Mommsen (1959: 127).

Quickly his fame began to spread; he came to be called not Francesco Petracchi, but Francesco Petrarca, his name made greater out of respect for his virtues. He had such grace of intellect that he was the first to bring back into the light of understanding the sublime studies, so long fallen and ignored. Having grown since then, they have reached their present heights, of which I want to speak briefly. So that I may be better understood, I would like to turn to earlier times.

The Latin tongue and its perfections and greatness flourished most at the time of Cicero, for previously it was neither polished nor precise nor refined, but its perfection increased slowly until at the time of Cicero it reached its summit. After the age of Cicero it began to fall, and sank as in his time it had risen; not many years passed before it had suffered a very great decadence and diminution. It can be said that letters and the study of Latin went hand in hand with the state of the Roman republic, since it increased until the age of Cicero, and then after the Roman people lost their liberty in the rule of the emperors, who did not even stop at killing and ruining highly regarded men, the good disposition of studies and letters perished together with the good state of the city of Rome... Why do I bother with this? Only to show that as the city of Rome was devastated by perverse tyrannical emperors, so Latin studies and letters suffered a similar destruction and diminution, so that at the last hardly anyone could be found who knew Latin with the least sense of style. And there came over into Italy the Goths and the Lombards, barbarous and foreign nations who in fact almost extinguished all understanding of letters, as appears in the documents drawn up and circulated in those times; for one could find no writing more prosaic or more gross and coarse...

Francesco Petrarch was the first with a talent sufficient to recognize and call back to light the antique elegance of the lost and extinguished style. Admittedly, it was not perfect in him, yet it was he by himself who saw and opened the way to its perfection, for he rediscovered the works of Cicero, savored and understood them; he adapted himself as much as he could and as much as he knew how to that most elegant and perfect eloquence. Surely he did enough just in showing the way to those who followed it after him. (1987: 96-7)

Petrarch was not the only writer to be hailed as the renovator of poetry or ancient culture. Guido da Pisa had praised Dante: "Dante truly revived the art of poetry and made the ancient poets live again in our minds... for he brought dead poetry out of the darkness into the light" (McLaughlin tr. 1988: 133). In the *Decameron* Boccaccio praised Giotto ("avendo egli quella arte ritornata in luce": VI, 5) and celebrated Dante and Petrarch in similar terms. In 1395 Coluccio Salutati gave credit to Albertino Mussato, Geri d'Arezzo, Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio (134-5). This sense of a cultural rebirth having taken place in Italy in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries is found clearly expressed in Matteo Palmieri, *Della vita civile* (1435); Leonardo Alberti in *Della Pittura* (1435); Lorenzo Valla, in the preface to the first book of his *Elegantie Lingue Latine* (1444); Flavio Biondo, *Italia Illustrata* (1456-60); and

so on. By the time that Giorgio Vasari wrote *Le Vite de' più eccellenti Architetti, Pittori, et Scultori Italiani de Cimabue insino a tempo nostri* (Florence, 1550; enlarged edn. 1568), the metaphor of *rinascità* had been grafted on to a biological model of the birth, growth and decline of the arts (taken from Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*) in which the idea of a "renaissance of the arts" is extended to describe "the perfection to which they have attained in our own time."

Bruni's celebration of Petrarch as the renewer of culture emphasizes two inter-related acts: his rediscovery of classical Latin texts, and his ability to write a Latin style much closer to Cicero's than anyone had been able to do for over 1,000 years. The story of how the humanists recovered Latin authors was told brilliantly by Raffaël Sabbadini (1905-14, repr. Garin 1967) and it still has some of the excitement of a detective story. The manuscripts they recovered were copies made by scribes in the 9th to 11th centuries, but Petrarch and his successors were in a new position, conscious of being able to reconstruct a distant culture which had long lain in darkness, as they put it. These rediscoveries brought them into a direct contact with Roman authors as human beings: the fact that Petrarch discovered Cicero's letters to his friend Atticus (*Ad Atticum*) in 1345, in the Chapter library of Verona, made him, so to speak, a recipient of Cicero's correspondence, and he was moved to write a letter back to him, that famous epistle in which he reproached Cicero for having left the life of studies to take part in the rough and tumble of politics, with such fatal consequences (1985: 317-18). Petrarch also discovered Cicero's speech *Pro Archia Poeta* (in 1333, in Liège), which he quoted from in his own speech, composed for his coronation in 1341. As Michael D. Reeve recently pointed out, in his copy of *Pro Archia* Petrarch marked the passage where Cicero used the phrase *de studiis humanitatis ac litterarum*, which is the source for the phrase *studia humanitatis*, which gave Renaissance humanism its self-definition (1996: 21-2).

The most important discoveries in this early, formative period were of major texts in Roman rhetoric. At Lodi (near Milan) in 1421 Gerardus Landrianus, Bishop of Lodi, found a manuscript containing all three books of Cicero's major work, *De Oratore*, known until then in an incomplete text; the full version of his *Orator* (previously incomplete), and his *Brutus*, hitherto totally unknown. This manuscript was copied, and effectively deciphered by Gasparino Barzizza, a remarkably gifted classical scholar who ran a school at Padua between 1407 and 1421 which was more like a research institute in editing classical texts, and subsequently in Pavia and Bologna.⁷ Barzizza is the first of what I describe as the agents who propagated the Renaissance, doing so in his roles as teacher and editor. His pupils included Francesco Filelfo, George

⁷Cf. Mercer (1979), and the general study by Grendler (1989).

of Trebizond, Francesco Barbaro, Pier Candido Decembrio, Antonio Beccadelli (Panormita), Antonio da Rho, and L. B. Alberti. When that other great schoolmaster, Guarino of Verona, received a copy in 1422, he thanked his friend for the present: “I have heard that the complete *Orator* of Cicero has — by divine aid, I believe— returned from exile and from a long period of obscurity... Cicero on his renaissance (*renascens*) to the upper world fittingly chose you, Barzizza, as the first person on earth he would stay with...” (tr. McLaughlin 1988: 137) —that is, Cicero had been called back out of Hades. Equally important was the discovery by Poggio Bracciolini in 1416 of the complete text of Quintilian’s *Institutio oratoria* in the monastery of St. Gallen. Poggio announced this discovery, also to Guarino Veronese, in a letter which perfectly expresses the new Renaissance sense of rhetoric as a discipline fundamental to humanity, not a purely technical and vocational achievement as it had been in the Middle Ages, but an accomplishment that every educated person should acquire, essential both to his intellectual development and to the well-being of society. Indeed, the rhetorical treatises of the European Renaissance, and England in particular, emphasize the functionality of rhetoric as an expressive medium —as George Puttenham has put it, “a figure is ever used for a purpose, either of beauty or of efficacy.”⁸ Over the last sixty years scholars have recovered a great deal of information concerning rhetoric in the Renaissance, and we have begun to realize that it constituted an ever-present resource. The Psalm translations of Mary Sidney, as described by Gerald Hammond, are full of rhetorical figures. Shakespeare was perhaps the greatest rhetorician of all time. I once counted the number of times he used rhetorical figures in the *Sonnets* —it’s about 1,500.⁹ I am working together with Stefan Keller on a project to count and analyze his use of rhetorical figures in a representative sample of plays from all periods. We find that Shakespeare uses figures up to 2,000 times in a play, one figure every 2 or 3 lines. This is just an instance of the many important research topics awaiting young scholars.

The rediscovery of these classical texts opened up a new perception of the unity of Latin culture. It also had an immediate effect on the humanists’ own Latin style, for they took over from the Roman authors the technique of *imitatio*, that process of learning to copy an existing model until one has absorbed its essential elements and can reproduce them in a different language, writing on different themes. This was how the Romans themselves had absorbed and emulated Greek literature, philosophy, and other disciplines, and in the writings of Quintilian, Seneca and others the early humanists, beginning with Petrarca, found a fully-worked out theory of *imitatio* which they applied in the first instance in order to master classical Latin. As Martin McLaughlin has

⁸Cf. Vickers (1997: 332, ch. 6, “The Expressive Function of Rhetorical Figures”: 294-339)

⁹See Vickers (1984).

recently shown, while the Latin style of Petrarch and Boccaccio still retained unclassical elements from medieval Latin, Coluccio Salutati's epistolary Latin was transformed by his own discovery of Cicero's *Letters to his Friends (Ad Familiares)* in 1392 (McLaughlin 1995: 49, 69, 71). From this point on Salutati avoided non-classical diction and imitated Ciceronian formulae. The recovery of classical Latin was so rapid in Florence, McLaughlin shows, that Leonard Bruni's *Dialogi ad Petrum Paulum Historum* (1401-6) stylistically, "as well as ideologically, inaugurate a new era. The language is the first instance of a total return to classical Latin, and of a complete mastery of the dialogue form..." (84). By the mid-fifteenth century Lorenzo Valla, in his dispute with Poggio Bracciolini, had attained a complete sensitivity to classical Latin, not only lexis but construction and syntax (132-3), with a remarkable awareness of linguistic and stylistic developments within Latin.

But the concept of *imitatio* also affected literary composition, with fruitful consequences for the Renaissance. In Roman literary theory *imitatio* was the first step, *emulatio* the second. A writer imitated his model but then went beyond it. He was supposed to ingest the original, absorb it into his metabolism, and then produce something new out of this exchange process, just as a bee converts pollen into honey.¹⁰ English Renaissance literature abounds with examples of creative imitation, which we can only appreciate if we know the model. Many of Ben Jonson's poems work off a classical text. You can read that lovely poem "Inviting a friend to supper" (*Epigrams*, CI), with its genial account of enjoying the other's company, sharing a very English meal, and discussing some literary topic, without knowing that it's in part a close imitation of two epigrams by Martial.¹¹ Once you know that it adds another dimension to your enjoyment of the poem, as you see Jonson taking over some elements, reshaping others, and fitting them into a new context that changes them still further. Shakespeare has many examples of creative imitation —the first 17 Sonnets, urging the young man to marry, are based on a model Epistle by Erasmus on the same topic.¹² Our recognition that *imitatio* was being practised all the time means that if we read the authors that Jonson and Shakespeare read, we will pick up many subtle details. Just before what turns out to be his final battle, Antony says "Let's have one other gaudy night," a phrase usually glossed as "celebration." But in the *Aeneid* Virgil describes the feasting that took place in Troy the night before the fatal entrance of the huge model horse, as a "*gaudia noctem*." In his 115th Epistle Seneca took the phrase for his text,

¹⁰See White (1935; 1965, 1973).

¹¹See Jonson (1975: 70-1).

¹²See Vickers ed. (1999: 22-39, and Index, p. 653, s. v. "*imitatio*").

moralizing on the folly of sensual indulgence. Shakespeare sets an echo going in the reader's mind who knows Virgil or Seneca.¹³

The recovery of Cicero's authentic texts, and the practice of *imitatio*, are two factors which account for the renaissance of classical Latin in the early fifteenth century. But one other factor I have yet to consider, "something that" — as Michael Reeve has recently put it — "overshadows all other advances in the Renaissance and more than anything else entitles it to that name: the return of Greek to Western Europe" (1996: 32). Petrarch had owned manuscripts of Greek authors, Homer and Plato, which he revered but could not read. Petrarch actually took Greek lessons briefly in 1342, when he was in Avignon, from a Calabrian monk named Barlaam, who had spent some time in Constantinople, and again in 1359-60, from another Calabrian called Leonzio Pilato, who was hired to teach Greek in Florence in 1360 (Mann 1996: 15-16). These were recognitions of a need, perhaps, but one which was not properly met until the visit to Florence in 1390 by a Byzantine diplomat, Manuel Chrysoloras, who led an embassy from Constantinople to seek help against the Turks. Six years later the University of Florence invited Chrysoloras to come and teach Greek grammar and literature, in a letter written probably by Coluccio Salutati himself (Reeve 1996: 33-4). Chrysoloras arrived in 1397, and taught in Florence for ten years. Some idea of the excitement that his visit aroused can be gained from the recollection that Leonard Bruni set down some forty years later:

At this time I was studying the Civil Law, though I was not an ignoramus in other subjects. For it was my nature to feel a burning passion for studies, and I had devoted no little effort to dialectic and rhetoric. Thus I was actually of two minds when Chrysoloras arrived, as I thought it shameful to abandon the study of the law, and at the same time a sort of crime to miss such an opportunity to learn Greek. So, in a youthful spirit, I would often ask myself: "When you have a chance to see and converse with Homer and Plato and Demosthenes and the other poets and philosophers and orators, about whom such wonderful things are said, and to acquire the wonderful education that comes with their study, will you leave yourself in the lurch and deprive yourself of it? Will you pass up this god-given opportunity? For seven hundred years now, no one in Italy has been able to read Greek, and yet we admit that it is from the Greeks that we get all our systems of knowledge. What a contribution to your knowledge, then, and what an opportunity to establish your reputation, and what an abundance of pleasure will the knowledge of this language bring you! There are plenty of teachers of the Civil Law, so you will always be able to study that, but this is the one and only teacher of Greek; if he should disappear, there would be nobody from whom you could learn."

¹³See Vickers (1999).

Overcome by such arguments, I took myself to Chrysoloras, with such an ardor to study that what I learned in my waking hours during the day, I would be working over at night even in my sleep. (Bruni 1926: 23-4)

Chrysoloras represents the second of my agents in the growth of the Renaissance, the schoolmaster as mediator between ancient and modern cultures, a figure of enormous cultural importance. His pupils included many of the intellectual avant-garde of Florence, “the leading minds of the age. He numbered Guarino, Bruni, d’Angeli and Vergeri among his pupils. He corresponded with Filelfo and Barzizza; and he became an intimate friend of Niccolò Niccoli” (Bolgar 1954: 268-9). When Chrysoloras returned to Constantinople for awhile in 1400 one of his outstanding pupils, Guarino, followed him there and spent five years studying Greek. Filelfo also went to study in Byzantium, and “married the daughter of J. Chrysoloras, the master’s nephew and successor. Datus who had studied under Filelfo and had then imitated Guarino’s pupil, Valla, united the two traditions” (432). Two years of Chrysoloras’ teaching in Florence enable Leonardo Bruni to translate Plato’s *Phaedo* into Latin, and laid the basis for his long career as a translator of major texts by Plato and Aristotle. Chrysoloras is being increasingly seen in recent work on the Renaissance as a key figure, in several respects. First, he produced the first Greek Grammar in modern times, the *Erotemata* (“Questions”), which Guarino adapted, and from which Erasmus and Reuchlin learned Greek. Secondly, Chrysoloras’ instruction in Greek was carried out in Latin, and he must have had an excellent command of that language, which rubbed off on his pupils. Martin McLaughlin has recently attributed Leonardo Bruni’s suddenly-acquired “sensitivity to lexis and prose rhythm that allowed him to arrive at an almost perfect imitation of Ciceronian periods” to the “expertise in Greek” which he acquired from Chrysoloras (1995: 85). In another recent book, Christine Smith draws attention to the surprising fact (as she sees it) that the many praises of Chrysoloras following his death in 1415 referred to his having “restored the splendor and dignity of the Latin language” (1992: 133-6). As Smith rightly deduces, “the critical and methodological tools with which he provided the Italians enabled them to pursue Latin learning,” too (135). Smith shows that Chrysoloras was heir to the Byzantine rhetorical tradition, unbroken from the Hellenistic period to the Middle Ages, and that he undoubtedly introduced his Florentine pupils to later Greek rhetoric, such as the Second Sophistic authors, Hermogenes, and the rhetorical genres developed in Byzantium, “such as the *encomion*, the *ekphrasis*, and the *comparison*” (136). She convincingly argues that Chrysoloras influenced the *laus urbis* (or “Städtelob”) produced in Florence, such as Pier Paolo Vergerio’s description of Rome of around 1398 (174ff.), by his own expertise in the genre, seen in his *Comparison of Old and New Rome* written in Rome in 1411, a copy of which he sent to Guarino in Florence who disseminated it among other humanists (150-

170). Professor Smith has opened up several important avenues for future research, which I hope will be pursued.

But in addition these specific effects on his Florentine pupils' Latin style and knowledge of rhetorical genres, it can be argued that it was Chrysoloras' teaching methods which had the greatest influence, at the basic level of the grammar school classroom. It is no accident that the revolution in teaching which made the Renaissance an educational phenomenon came from the schools, not the universities. Then as now, universities are complex systems which are very hard to change. Innovations, as Roberto Weiss said, are easiest to implement when one gifted individual can put them into practice, and the new grammar schools which sprung up in the early 15th century became the centres for the growth of humanism. Chrysoloras had a number of outstanding pupils who were so inspired by his teaching that they themselves wrote educational treatises expounding his new approach: Pier Paolo Vergerio's *De Ingeniis moribus et liberalibus studiis adolescentiae* (1400-02), Guarino's translation of Plutarch's *De Liberis educandis* (1411), Bruni's *De studiis et litteris* (c. 1425), and the treatise by Battisto Guarino, *De modo et ordine docendi et discendi* (c. 1459), which explicitly records the teaching methods of his father. As Robert Bolgar, one of my teachers at Cambridge, put it, "Chrysoloras laid the strongest possible stress upon reading. It was to be wide, attentive, and analytical. The student was to note every expression which struck him as apt or colourful; and he was to impress them upon his memory by a constant repetition until their use became second nature to him" (1954: 87). Chrysoloras' "new method" encouraged teachers "to look beyond the general structure of the writings they expound. They are to pay more attention to the minutiae on which literary excellence ultimately depends," not just words but "tropes, figures and all the ornaments of style" (269). The complementary advice concerns what Bolgar calls "that humble auxiliary without which the most painstaking analysis would have been to no purpose," the note-book (269). "Reading was always analytical": material was collected to be re-used, for the teacher should combine reading and composition (270), in a constant process of recycling knowledge, imitation leading to emulation. The methods taught by Chrysoloras and expounded by Bruni and Guarino spread throughout Italy by the mid-fifteenth century, and were duly taken up by some of the most influential figures in the Renaissance north of the Alps: Rudolph Agricola, Juan Luis Vives, Erasmus, and many others (271-5). Erasmus suggested that every scholar should read the whole of ancient literature twice, once for the content and once for the style, taking notes as he went. He followed his own advice, and inspired generations of students to follow him. The note-books of many Renaissance writers have survived, and would repay further study. Certainly we can say that without the notebook technique much of Renaissance literature would have been impossible: think of Rabelais, Montaigne, Francis Bacon,

Shakespeare, Milton. The commonplace book had an enormous influence on Renaissance habits of thought, as Ann Moss (1996) has shown. The essentially utilitarian manner in which Renaissance humanists approached literature, as an arsenal of resources which could be re-used in their own composition, soon gave rise to a new genre of book, in which the raw materials for writers were selected and arranged in some useful sequence, often alphabetical. Industrious compilers produced ever more comprehensive dictionaries of proverbs, comparisons, similes, metaphors, phrases, and rhetorical figures. The budding writer no longer need to read the whole of ancient literature: modern middlemen were doing it for him.

III

The “idea of the Renaissance,” then, is not a simple chronological label, but implies a definite attitude to the near and the remote past. As Herbert Weisinger, a pioneer in documenting the Renaissance’s self-awareness, put it, “the term ‘Renaissance’ is a Renaissance invention and it carries with it a theory of history. It assumes an identity between the Renaissance and classical times, or at least a community of interests, and insists that in the period between the fall of Rome and the middle of the fourteenth century or thereabouts the spirit which distinguished the ancients and the moderns was absent” (1945: 467). Renaissance scholars also shared a common desire to reconstruct past culture. They deliberately sought out classical texts, re-edited them with an increasingly rigorous system of textual criticism, which reached a high point already in the work of Poliziano (Reeve 1996: 29-30). They developed a historical sensitivity to authentic Latin style in the course of its evolution, so that Lorenzo Valla in 1440 was able to dismiss the *Donation of Constantine* as a forgery on linguistic grounds. The reading and writing methods taught by Chrysoloras and his pupils spread throughout Europe, influencing all forms of composition, in poetry and prose, from imaginative literature to technical treatises.

A second and larger wave of Greek influence took place in the 1450s, following the fall of Byzantium to the Turks in 1453. The Byzantine emigrés included many outstanding scholars and translators, such as Johannes Argyropoulos, who taught at Florence and Rome, and translated six major works of Aristotle into Latin, displacing Bruni’s pioneering versions. Another key figure was Bessarion, a Byzantine monk who rose to become a Cardinal in the Roman Catholic Church, and made an excellent version of Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*, still the standard Latin translation up to the 19th century. Bessarion had a huge library, including some 500 Greek books alone, and the fall of the

Greek empire made him form the plan of building as complete a collection possible of Greek books for those of his fellow-countrymen who had fled to Italy. He presented it during his lifetime (in 1468) to the city of Venice to form the basis of a public library. Bessarion's protégés included other outstanding scholars, such as Theodore Gaza, George Trapezuntius, Poggio, and Valla. These in turn produced gifted disciples —Gaza's included Ermolao Barbaro, a formidable scholar. Bessarion is an outstanding example of the third type of agent I single out: the collector of manuscripts.

But the influence of antiquity was not limited to questions of language and literary form. The confrontation with Greek (especially) and Roman writings on mathematics, mechanics, engineering, architecture, painting, music, medicine, biology, botany, rhetoric and politics had an enormously stimulating effect on all those subjects in the Renaissance. When Greek botanical texts were rediscovered and translated into Latin in the sixteenth century publishers wanted to illustrate them with elaborate woodcuts, but the artists found that the plants they were drawing did not correspond to the written descriptions. This discrepancy stimulated a whole new discipline of botanical description.¹⁴

I could follow any of these subjects, but as a particularly interesting example of cultural influence I shall choose mathematics. The Australian scholar Paul Rose (1975) has shown that the Renaissance of mathematics in the 16th century derived directly from the confrontation with Greek mathematical texts by a gifted line of humanist scholars whose knowledge of Greek and Latin enabled them to restore the original texts, purged of medieval distortions. The precursor of the Italian mathematical renaissance was Regiomontanus (Johannes Müller, b. 1436), who studied at the University of Vienna with the humanist and astronomer Georg Peurbach. Regiomontanus represents the fourth type of agent I wish to mention, the scholar editor / translator, who makes the basic texts available in accurate reliable editions. Cardinal Bessarion, the great collector of Greek manuscripts, visited Peurbach in Vienna in May 1460, and urged him to revise and write a new commentary on Ptolemy's *Almagest*. After Peurbach's premature death in 1461 Regiomontanus accompanied Bessarion to Venice in 1462, who taught him Greek and encouraged his humanistic studies. The *Epytoma Almagesti* (finished in 1462; printed at Venice, 1496) proclaimed the great "significance of Greek for the renewal of astronomy" (1975: 93-4), a theme to which Regiomontanus returned in many subsequent writings during his time as professor of mathematics at the University of Padua. Moving back to Northern Europe, Regiomontanus issued at Nuremberg in 1474 a *Programme* of the writings on mathematics which he intended to edit or translate, the first list to give an idea of the scope of Greek mathematics. The authors listed include

¹⁴See the classic study by Arber (1912; repr. 1990).

Euclid, Archimedes, Theodosius, Apollonius, Hero, Proclus and others, on all of whom he worked (104-6). As Rose puts it, Regiomontanus “set the pattern for the combination of mathematics and humanist learning so typical of the renaissance of mathematics” (107). Like his successors, he moved between the “main centres of European humanism” (109), and had access to great manuscript libraries, including Bessarion’s own collection (99) —his patron had set out to collect the whole of Greek literature.

Copernicus learned Greek during his studies at the University of Bologna between 1496 and 1500, perhaps taught by Antonio Codro (120). The Greek dictionary that he used, the *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum Johannis Chrestonii* (Modena, 1499), is still extant in the University Library at Uppsala, and there is ample evidence of his study of Greek authors, both in the original language and in translations (129). The University of Bologna “was the most distinguished school of mathematics in Renaissance Italy,” with up to eight professors at a time (145). But knowledge was not limited to the north: Francesco Maurolico, “perhaps the greatest geometer of the sixteenth century,” grew up in Messina, the son of a Greek physician. His father had studied under Constantine Lascaris, who had been nominated to the chair of Greek by Bessarion (159), and whose pupils included cardinal Pietro Bembo (161). Maurolico wrote to Bembo in 1540, inviting him to become the patron of a renaissance of mathematics based on a fresh collation of old manuscripts (161-2). He had already edited Euclid, Hero’s *Pneumatica*, Archimedes, and Apollonius. Maurolico was unusual within the humanist tradition in that he did not simply reprint the ancient text, being “concerned purely with the mathematical aspects of the text,” rather than “its literary integrity.” So he reworked entirely the first four books of Apollonius’ work on conics, “adding, shortening and omitting proofs” as he pleased. Unorthodox his approach may have been, but “the result... was the first advance in the theory of conic sections since antiquity” (166). Maurolico published a collection of nine works on spherics and astronomy in 1558, mixing Greek texts by Theodosius and others with his own mathematical works. He lectured in mathematics at the Jesuit university of Messina, and had close contact with the Jesuit mathematician Christopher Clavius (175), but his remote position and lack of patronage meant that he never achieved the influence he deserved.

A greater recognition of the importance of Greek mathematics was achieved by three distinguished teachers from Urbino, Federico Commandino and his pupils, Guidobaldo dal Monte and Bernardino Baldi, both of whom praised their master as the restorer of mathematics (185). Commandino studied at Rome in the 1530s with Gian-Pietro de Grassi, mathematics tutor in the service of cardinal Niccolo Ridolphi, “one of the great humanist bibliophiles of the sixteenth century,” whose “remarkable collection of over 600 Greek

manuscripts” included “43 important Greek mathematical texts” (186). Commandino himself moved permanently to Rome in the early 1550s under the patronage of the Farnese, through whom he came into contact with a distinguished amateur of mathematics and collector of mss., cardinal Marcello Cervini, who made his remarkable collection available to him. “Like his predecessors, Commandino seems to have been galvanised by recognition of the poor state of contemporary mathematics” (214), and launched an astonishing series of texts, publishing a large edition of Archimedes in 1556 (194-6), followed by the *Planispheria* of Ptolemy and Jordanus in 1558. Subsequently he published a further work by Archimedes, *On Floating Bodies* (1565), together with his own *De Centro Gravitatis*, addressing an important problem in Renaissance mathematical thought, the centre of gravity of solids (202). In 1566 Commandino brought out a “magnificent edition of Apollonius” in translation, and in 1572 an edition of Euclid with an important preface on the history of mathematics. As Rose observed, Commandino agreed with Regiomontanus and Maurolico “that the best way to... restore mathematics was to revive the Greek mathematicians, a notion evident in the preface to his 1572 Euclid and reiterated in most of his works” (214). Commandino died in 1575: posthumously published were his translations of Hero in 1575, and of Pappus in 1588 (209-11).

Commandino’s pupil Guidobaldo dal Monte published in 1577 his *Liber Mechanicorum*, which was “recognized as the most authoritative treatise on statics to emerge since antiquity, and... remained pre-eminent until the appearance of Galileo’s *Two New Sciences* of 1638. It marks the highpoint of the Archimedean revival of the Renaissance” (222). In 1588 he brought out a *Paraphrasis Archimedis*, sending a copy to Galileo (226). Guidobaldo’s range was wide: his writings cover “mathematics, mechanics, optics and astronomy,” over a thirty year period (229). Guidobaldo corresponded several times with Galileo between 1588 and 1606 (225-7), and exerted an influence on him which Galileo publicly acknowledged in the *Two New Sciences* of 1638, and in a letter of the following year (233-4), recording his debt to Guidobaldo as the transmitter of some important Archimedean ideas.¹⁵ As Paul Rose summed up this tradition,

The fact that Commandino, Maurolico and Regiomontanus all concentrated upon reviving the same authors indicates that the programme necessary for the restoration of mathematics was a fairly obvious and agreed one. Thus, for all of them Archimedes was the most important, followed by Euclid, Apollonius and Diophantus. The benefits of this revival were immediate, as may be seen in the flourishing of researches on conics, sundials, and centres of gravity which characterises the latter half of the sixteenth century.

¹⁵ See the admirable recent edition by Besomi and Helbing (1998).

Ultimately, too great a reliance on Archimedean purity was to make it difficult for such of Commandino's disciples as Baldi and Guidobaldo to go beyond Greek mechanics. But within 25 years of Commandino's death the first step in founding the mechanics of the seventeenth century was to be taken by Galileo when, in criticising the inclined plane theorem of Pappus, the Tuscan mathematician adumbrated the notion of inertia. This step was not taken in an intellectual vacuum, but represented the culmination of the mathematical renaissance that had been achieved by the *restauratores*. (214)

A recent history of seventeenth-century philosophy has thrown fresh light on Galileo's debts to Greek mathematics (Garber & Ayers 1998).¹⁶ Peter Dear shows that Galileo's advocacy of geometrical analysis derived from Pappus of Alexandria's *Collectiones mathematicae*, published in Latin in 1589 (151); Alan Gabbey's account of "new doctrines of motion" brings out well Galileo's individual development of Peripatetic theories (651-2), while Michael Mahoney acutely shows both the advantages and limitations of Galileo's inheritance from Archimedean mechanics and scholastic kinematics (706-14).

A similar involvement with Greek mathematics can be traced in the work of Johannes Kepler, who was instructed in Greek at the monastery schools of Adelberg and Maulbronn, then at the university of Tübingen, under the prominent Greek scholar Martin Crusius. In his first job as mathematics teacher at the Lutheran school in Graz (1594-5) Kepler was "asked to teach Vergil and rhetoric as well as arithmetic" and mathematical astronomy (Gingerich 1973: 289). As Nicholas Jardine and Alain Segonds have shown, "Aristotle pervades Kepler's Works: he is the fourth most frequently cited author, after Brahe, Copernicus and Ptolemy" (1999: 206). Kepler knew "almost the entire Aristotelian and pseudo-Aristotelian corpus," and was able to translate part of *De caelo* into both Latin (c. 1600-01) and German (c. 1614). He used Book 12 of *Metaphysica* to reconstruct Eudoxean and Calippean planetary models (207), and even reinterpreted the text to claim that Aristotle retained traces of a Pythagorean heliocentric system (222-30). If Kepler used Aristotle as "a source of the most ancient astronomical doctrines," he was equally at home in the Platonic tradition. His first published work, the *Mysterium cosmographicum* (1596), was "the first unabashedly Copernican treatise since *De revolutionibus* itself" (Gingerich 1973: 291), but its central idea derives from Plato's *Timaeus*, with its theory of matter "described entirely in terms of geometrical properties and geometrical relationships, that is, in terms which can only be applied to mathematical entities" (Field 1998: 3). Starting with the basic triangles, Plato describes the five convex regular polyhedra, the cube, the tetrahedron, the octahedron, the dodecahedron, and the icosahedron (6-7). Kepler took the five Platonic solids as the basis of a cosmological theory to explain the gaps between

¹⁶ See also my review in *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 54, forthcoming.

neighbouring planetary orbits (36ff.), claiming that it confirms Copernicus' theories (51). Throughout his career Kepler drew inspiration from Greek mathematics: his *magnum opus*, the *Harmonices Mundi libri quinque*, grew directly out of his confrontation with Euclid's *Elements* —indeed, Kepler said that “if Proclus had left a commentary on Book X of Euclid's *Elements* then he, Kepler, would not have needed to write the present work” (99).

A quotation from Proclus' Commentary on the First Book of Euclid's *Elements* appears on the title page of Book One of Kepler's *Harmonices Mundi* in the original Greek: in translation it reads:

Mathematics also makes contributions of the very greatest value to physical science (i. e. the study of nature). It reveals the orderliness of the ratios according to which the Universe is constructed and the proportion that binds things together in the cosmos... It exhibits as every where clinging fast one to another in symmetry and equality, the properties through which the whole heaven was perfected when it took upon itself the figures appropriate to its particular region. (1970: 19)

As Judith Field has commented, although Books I and II of the *Harmonices Mundi* “are constructed as series of axioms, definitions and propositions, reminiscent of the *Elements* not only in their style but also in their mathematical rigour,” what Kepler offers is rather more than a commentary on Euclid (1998: 101). He goes his own way, of course, but it was a way inspired by the recovery of Greek mathematics. Kepler called Euclid “the thrice-greatest philosopher” (177), and he also made no secret of his debts to Proclus (167-171), Plato (171-6) and to Ptolemy, whose work on music theory, the *Harmonica*, inspired much of the later books of the *Harmonices* (163-6).

With Galileo and Kepler we have reached the turning-point from the renaissance to what is now known as the Early Modern Period, and what used to be called the Scientific Revolution. My point is that the humanist tradition carried right on through into the seventeenth century, as scholars are now beginning to recognize. Jill Kraye of the Warburg Institute published a very useful “state-of-the-art” handbook in which the authors discuss “the survival of humanism into the seventeenth century and beyond” (1996: xv). Throughout this period the Greek mathematical texts continued to play a fertilizing role. Michael Mahoney has recently documented the ongoing fruits of the Italian humanists' recovery of Greek mathematical texts, most notably in the work of the great French mathematician, François Viète. In a number of books published between 1591 and 1615, Viète drew on Pappus's *Mathematical Collections* and other works by Euclid, Theon, and Apollonius, as edited by the humanists, to formulate new conceptions of analysis and synthesis, combining Greek mathematics with Arabic algebra. In his *Géometrie* (1637) Descartes, although

objecting to the “barbarous” notation of Arabic algebraists, followed Viète and extended his analytic programme, drawing on Apollonius’s *Conics*, as did Pierre de Fermat in his roughly contemporary work on plane and solid loci (726-30). These new techniques of geometrical-algebraic analysis opened the way for the great break-through of Leibniz’s calculus, and it is significant that in a letter written to Huygens in 1691 Leibniz admitted the debt that contemporary mathematicians owed to the Greek tradition, describing his calculus as “giving us all the advantages over Archimedes that Viète and Descartes have given us over Apollonius” (738).

IV

My account of the gradual shift from the Renaissance to the “Early Modern” period avoids the error mocked by George Orwell, of defining historical periods as a series of “abrupt transitions” at “some sharply defined date,” and endorses his view that “Each age lives on into the next.” But the case I have been making goes rather further than that. I am claiming that the work of Kepler, Galileo, François Viète, Fermat, and Leibniz could not have taken shape without the achievements of the (largely Italian) humanists. They could not have been exposed to Greek mathematics if their predecessors had not had the scholarly knowledge necessary to produce a more or less coherent and accurate text; those editors could not have done their work if bibliophiles and far-sighted collectors had not amassed Greek manuscripts; and the whole enterprise would have been impossible had not the need to study Greek, and the practical possibility of mastering that language, been presented as an essential goal by Chrysoloras and his pupils. And they, in turn, could not have started that enterprise had they not received a grammar-school education which had given them a firm grasp of Latin, a realization that ancient texts could be restored by careful philological work, and above all a belief that the past could be recaptured.

Such being the relationship between Renaissance humanism and the new sciences as I understand it—drawing on the work of scholars much more learned than myself—I may be allowed to express my unhappiness with a recent fashion, deriving from the great upheaval in intellectual attitudes that has been going on since the 1960s, which would like to banish the term “Renaissance” altogether. Jonathan Bate recently commented on the need for

a sustained rehabilitation of the word that used to serve as shorthand for the high European tradition and its classical inheritance: “Renaissance.” This

term has been banished from *bien-pensant* academic writing, on the grounds that it is offensive not only to the era which Renaissance boosterism unfairly dismissed as the “Middle” or “Dark” Ages, but also to the people of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries who —it is assumed— did not benefit from the rebirth of ancient learning (non-aristocratic women, the illiterate, the colonized et al.). (2001: 6)¹⁷

Certainly the programmatic celebrations of a *rinascità* by Petrarch and others were unfair in some respects to the Middle Ages, but there must be few Renaissance scholars today who share that failing. Most of them are keenly aware of what the Renaissance owed to its predecessors, and in what ways they innovated. It is true that non-aristocratic women did not benefit from the new learning, indeed it is one of the scandals of the whole Western educational tradition that women have not been granted equal educational rights until very recently. But that seems a poor ground for denying the term Renaissance to a period which accomplished the rebirth of an intellectual and cultural heritage. It energetically developed that heritage, and passed it on in a form that stimulated further growth.

One representative of this “*bien-pensant*” school is Derek Attridge, who observed with satisfaction that in a recent symposium

The term “Renaissance” [had been] displaced by “Early Modern Europe,” implying a tension between an encomiastic and an objective approach, between a cultural and temporal emphasis, between a Eurocentric and a global perspective, and between a cyclical and a linear view of history. In spite of the parturitive metaphor, “Renaissance” points, with a few notable exceptions, to male achievements within the dominant social and economic class; early modern opens up a much wider, and less immediately glamorous, field. In a variety of modes, and with varying degrees of success, the authors of these essays rewrite the Renaissance as early modern Europe, focusing on the question of sexual difference —or more accurately, assessing the power and strategies of patriarchy during this period and the place of women within and against it. (1987: 810-11)

But these dismissive dichotomies are ideologically motivated, not reflecting actual historical writing. I know of no one at work today whose idea of the Renaissance corresponds to the negative side of this division, being “encomiastic” —that is, involving praise— “glamorous,” “Eurocentric,” “cultural,” and “cyclical.” The favoritism is simply too crude —almost worthy of Plato¹⁸— by which Early Modern is said to be an “objective” term, having a “temporal” emphasis and “a global perspective,” opening up “a linear view of history.” The animus emerges most clearly when the term “Renaissance” is

¹⁷Reviewing Ginzberg (2000) — a work which notably fails to attempt such a rehabilitation.

¹⁸ See Vickers (1990).

described as celebrating “male achievements” in the dominant class, using “patriarchy” to keep women down. But Attridge’s tidy dichotomies collapse when put under pressure: while the Renaissance is indeed a “cultural” concept it was also a global culture, for wherever European culture spread, that cultural system re-established itself. One can follow the export of rhetoric to Latin America in the 16th century, and to Russia in the 17th century.¹⁹ The Renaissance is hardly “cyclical,” since although it revived classical culture it was forced to re-interpret it to fit a quite different series of political and social contexts. It is certainly temporal, for all recent historians concur in noting the often speedy developments within each discipline, and by contrast, their slow dissemination throughout Europe north of the Alps. Rather than the naive social model favoured by some feminists, with all the power going to the men, all the suffering to the women, the fact is that a majority of both sexes lived lives of dependence in a survival struggle at the mercy of bad weather, epidemics, and war. While some men had favoured lives, so did some women, who often outlived their husbands and achieved considerable independence outside or beyond marriage. The great strength of Renaissance studies over the last 50 years, surely, has been its breadth, both vertically, within societies, and laterally, across the inhabited world. Social history, economic history, medical history, to name but three, have pursued with an open-minded curiosity all aspects of existence, far beyond elites. Of course, women were underprivileged then, as now, but neither Renaissance nor modern scholars have been unaware of that.

This fashionable dissatisfaction with the term Renaissance, however poorly argued, continues to find expression. *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, after 25 years’ existence under that name, recently removed *Renaissance* from its title, replacing it with *Early Modern*. According to the new editors, the journal has been

redefined in recognition of the broad intellectual shifts that have occurred in the academy over the last decade. In particular, some versions of poststructuralism and postmodernity especially favored in the United States offer considerable resistance to history. Theoretical inquiries and a wide range of political initiative have transformed the context in which we work.

Well, I am tempted to say, if “some versions of poststructuralism and postmodernism... offer considerable resistance to history,” then it is up to the rest of us to advocate the cause of history even harder, until that resistance collapses! And as for the politicization of American universities, many American scholars have testified to its disastrous effects. To name only one diagnosis, John Ellis (1997) has painted an extraordinarily bleak picture. To any

¹⁹See, e. g., Murphy ed. (1983); Spanish translation by Garrote Bernal *et al.* (1999).

upbeat descriptions of these “broad intellectual shifts” we must reply that change is not always for the good.

The larger issue is whether discussions of the past which are driven by modern Theory and modern political attitudes —largely adversarial, iconoclastic— can ever achieve that kind of projection of the imagination into a remote age which Francis Bacon described, with its goal of bringing the mind “into sympathy with antiquity.” Some writers in these schools manage to do so; others merely project present discontents onto the past in order to create an echo which will endorse their own value-system.

These are larger issues than I can deal with here. But any attempt to erode the idea of the Renaissance altogether simply removes a period concept which has a considerable explanatory power. In short, if the Renaissance did not exist, it would be necessary to invent it. But since it did exist, then one valuable function that the Spanish Society for English Renaissance Studies can perform is to promote the study and understanding of a period which transformed men and women’s perception of the world they lived in, and the possibilities it offered.

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**AN APPROACH TO THE
EMBLEMATIC
TRADITION IN 17TH
CENTURY ANTI-
CATHOLIC PAMPHLETS**

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The symbolic images of Christian Humanism —emblems, iconologies and hieroglyphics— are one of the most important components of the anti-Catholic rhetoric. Their universal and didactic character provided the pamphleteers with a wide range of possibilities to transmit moral and political messages to all kinds of readers (we cannot forget that in the seventeenth century, emblems were less elaborated and were written in the vernacular). In this paper, I will analyse these symbolic images in twelve anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish tracts of the 1620s, which made use of the multiple, different and even contradictory interpretations these emblems and iconologies offered. I will concentrate mainly on the most significant groups, that is, those related to the animal world, to the Classical mythology and to the Bible. Nevertheless, I will also make references to other types, so we can get a general perspective of the variety and extension of these visual metaphors.

Anglo-Spanish relations deteriorated after the Protestant reformation, as national interests were contaminated by religious conflicts. In 1606, however, there was a significant change, as James I's initial mistrust of Spain gave way to negotiations for a marriage between Prince Charles and the Spanish princess Mary, which began in 1611. The Spaniards demanded freedom of conscience in England and the immediate release of the Catholic priests in prison (Loomie 1994: 238). Apart from that, James I's tolerant attitude was openly attacked by Parliament and many English Protestants, mainly after the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War in 1619. The English king held an ambiguous position: on the one hand, he supported his daughter Elizabeth, who was married to the Palatine elector, the head of the Protestant movement in Europe; and on the other, he continued the Spanish negotiations, which eventually failed. In the meantime, however, he managed to free over four thousand Catholic priests in 1622, which increased the already existing hatred towards Rome and Spain. The obstinacy of Spain together with the pressures of the English people on James provoked the end of the projected marriage in 1623.

Those events and the controversy that ensued were transmitted to the English population through a complex and distorting discursive net. Many pamphlets and plays presented and criticised each single point in the monarch's policy regarding the Spanish match. In this process, they elaborated a Catholic and Spanish "other," which, despite its inconsistency, was extremely helpful in reinforcing the English Protestant position. One of the main tools they used was the symbolic value of images such as emblems and hieroglyphics. Their universal and didactic character provided the pamphleteers with a wide range of possibilities for conveying moral and political messages to all kinds of readers (it must be kept in mind that in the seventeenth century, emblems became less elaborate and were being written in the vernacular). This paper analyses such symbolic images in six anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish tracts of the first half of the 1620s,¹ which made use of the multiple, different and even contradictory interpretations those emblems and icons offered. I will focus on the most significant groups, that is, those related to the animal world, to Classical mythology and to the Bible. Nevertheless, I will also make reference to other types, so we can get a general perspective of the variety and extension of these visual metaphors.

Similes referring to animals are frequently used to describe or recreate the enemy. In addition to its animalising effect, each image had several meanings which were attributed to the social groups the pamphleteers tried to attack.

A donkey appears in *An Experimentall Discoverie of the Spanish Practises* to ridicule the sophists and scholars of the Church of Rome (Scott 1623: 2), who are associated with this animal because of their ignorance. George Goodwin, for instance, attributes stupidity and falsity to Spaniards by comparing them to an ass disguised as a lion which is finally disclosed and mocked (Goodwin 1624: 35). Many emblems of this period present this same interpretation, as can be seen in Alciato's seventh emblem, *Non tibi, sed religioni*, where a stupid and proud donkey shows off in front of a crowd of people. The animal thinks they are worshipping him, but in fact, they just worship the image he is carrying.²

The Spaniards and the Catholic clergy are presented as pigs—which is even more common due to the offensive connotations of impurity and immorality applied to this animal—in such texts as *An Experimentall*

¹*An Arrow against Idolatry* (1624), *The Abuses of the Romish Church Anatomized* (1623), *Babels Balm* (1624), *The Anatomie of the Romane Clergie* (1623), *An Experimentall Discoverie of the Spanish Practises* (1623) and *Englands Ioy for Suppressing the Papists and Banishing the Priests* (1624).

²Cesare Ripa points out the negative connotations of this image in his iconographic portrayals *Arrogancia* (Ripa 1987: 1.112), *Ignorancia de todas las cosas* (Ripa 1987: 1.504), *Impiedad* (Ripa 1987: 1.510), *Indocilidad* (Ripa 1987: 1.517), *Obstinación* (Ripa 1987: 2.141), *Pereza* (Ripa 1987: 2.195-96) and *Mofa* (Ripa 1987: 2.92).

Discoverie (Scott 1623: 31), *The Abuses of the Romish Church Anatomized* (1623: B2) and *Babels Balms* (Goodwin 1624: 78, 89). Through this simile, which plays a central role in Ripa's iconographies *Avidez, Gula* (Ripa 1987: 1.127, 239, 472), *Ocio* (Ripa 1987: 2.143) and *Perfidia* (Ripa 1987: 2.197), the Protestant authors criticised the alleged incontinence and excessive carnal appetites of the papists.

An Experimentall Discoverie (Scott 1623: 1, 31) and *Babels Balm* (Goodwin 1624: 50) compare the Spaniards and the Pope to an owl. Its negative meanings in emblematic literature, such as death, the night or vile thoughts serve to justify this identification for these authors: "The popes Soules darknesse, and his friends retraite. / It also shewes, that papists hate Day-light, / And, most like Owles, see best in the darkest Night." (Goodwin 1624: 50).

The owl also appears in Ripa's representation of *Escarnio* (Ripa 1987: 1.350), *Superstición* (Ripa 1987: 2.334-42) and *Caudal* (Ripa 1987: 1.184), concepts which form part of the attack against the Church of Rome, often described as a market whose only objective was to get rich using the ignorance and superstition of their followers. However, the pamphleteers ignore the positive aspects associated with this animal, which was also the symbol of Pallas Athena, the Greek goddess of wisdom.

Something quite similar happens to the image of the peacock, which *The Abuses of the Romish Church* (1623: B5) and *An Experimentall Discoverie* (Scott 1623: 31) link with Spain and papal pride. Although in Christian art this metaphor was considered a symbol of immortality and the uncorrupted soul (Cirlot 1958: 337), the Protestant authors focus only on opinions that defined it as an arrogant and presumptuous bird (Ripa 1987: 1.112, 271-72, 319; Ripa 1987: 2.5, 92), which in fact agree with Thomas Scott's description of Spaniards as "bragging peacocks" (Scott 1623: 31).

They are also accused of ignorance through the monkey, which represents insolence (Ripa 1987: 1.269), stupidity (Whitney 1988: 240, 268) and, in Goodwin's pamphlet, falsity and incontinence. The identification of this animal with the devil was also frequent in contemporary texts, such as James I's *Daemonologie* (James I 1597: 15), Samuel Heron's *Works* (Heron 1607) and William Perkin's *A Discourse of the Art of Witchcraft* (Perkin 1608: 119), an idea that, although not present in an explicit form in the pamphlets, would be part of the readers' common knowledge.

The lion's³ fierceness is mentioned by James I when he refers to the devil who "could find waies inough without anie helpe of others to wrack al

³The lion figures in multiple iconographic representations and emblems, such as *Ambición* (Ripa 1987: 1.81-82), *Ira* (Alciato 1985: 99), *Furor et rabies* (Alciato 1985: 93 and Whitney

mankinde: whereunto he employes his whole study, and *goeth about like a roaring lion* (as Peter saith) to that effect..." (James I 1597: 21). This would indirectly emphasise the accusation found in the pamphlets that the Pope was the Antichrist (Goodwin 1624: 24). The lion is, in addition, a symbol of royalty and the capacity to judge and punish, as we see in Ripas's iconographic portrayals *Castigo* (Ripa 1987: 1.183-84) and *Venganza* (Ripa 1987: 2.390), which present him as a frightening and terrible being. All these characteristics are attributed to the Head of Rome, who is described in the pamphlets as a merciless tyrant who coerces and threatens his followers.

This comparison is reinforced with other metaphors, such as the wolf and the locust, that refer to the destructive power of the papacy and appear in *The Abuses of the Romish Church* (1623: C3) and *Babels Balm* (Goodwin 1624: 38, 46, 51, 78-9). Northern mythology considers the first one the principle of evil (Cirlot 1958: 268), while the second one symbolises, according to Ripa, "el castigo divino que envía Dios sobre los pueblos" ("divine punishment which God sends down upon the nations of the Earth"). In the pamphleteers' opinion, the Papists become a punishment for the true Christian, whom they seek to destroy.

Finally, an animal metaphor which is constantly alluded to in most pamphlets is the serpent, as it is shown in *An Arrow against Idolatry*, in which the Roman Church is accused of having "for the parent of it, the dragon or Divill, that old Serpent, who used his most utmost skil, cunning and craft, to beget and bring forth this his soulest child" (Ainsworth 1624: 89). Emblematic literature points out the multiple negative meanings attributed to this figure, such as cunning, falsity, heresy, lust or envy, but also proposes several positive connotations, such as wisdom, spiritual strength, prudence or health, which are, of course, ignored by the pamphleteers.⁴

1988: 45), *Cólera* (Ripa 1987: 1.199-200), *Irritaci3n* (Ripa 1987: 1.539) and *Furor ind3mito* (Ripa 1987: 1.453).

⁴For the negative meanings, the reader may consult Ripa's *Discordia* (Ripa 1987: 1.287), *Dolor* (Ripa 1987: 1.292-3), *Insidia* (Ripa 1987: 1.530), *Odio* (Ripa 1987: 2.10), *Guerra* (Ripa 1987: 2.187), *Pecado* (Ripa 1987: 2.187-88), *Peligro* (Ripa 1987: 2.188-89), *Fraude* (Ripa 1987: 1.444), *Herejía* (Ripa 1987: 1.474-75), *Injuria* (Ripa 1987: 1.526-27), *Engaño* (Ripa 1987: 1.340), *Desprecio y destrucci3n de las malas pasiones* (Ripa 1987: 1.273-74), *Apetitos inferiores* (Ripa 1987: 1.246) and *Envidia* (Ripa 1987: 1.341). See also Whitney's emblems *Remedium tempestium sit* (Whitney 1988: 171), *Si deus nobiscum quis contra nos* (Whitney 1988: 264), *Invidia integratis assecla* (Whitney 1988: 118) and *Invidiae descriptio* (Whitney 1988: 192), and Peacham's *Dolus* (Peacham 1612: 47), *Virtutem aut vitium sequi genus* (Peacham 1612: 49) and *Libidinis effecta* (Peacham 1612: 152). For the positive connotations, *Malis moribus bonas leges* (Peacham 1612: 34), *Initium sapientiae* (Peacham 1612: 2), *Fortaleza del ánimo* (Ripa 1987: 1.437-40), *Prudencia* (Ripa 1987: 2.5-6) and *Salud* (Ripa 1987: 2.290-91) can be consulted.

In opposition to the serpent, we find the image of the sheep traditionally attributed to Christ's followers. *The Legend of the Iesuites* (1623: B2) and *Babels Balm* (Goodwin 1624: 8, 46-8, 79, 85) show many examples that subvert the biblical image of the good shepherd and present a Pope that tortures and destroys his flock: "Alas, hee's not Sheeps feeder, but Confounder: / Black-cakered Conscience, ovide, Sheep-wounder" (Goodwin 1624: 48). With the word "ovicide," Goodwin not only accuses him of being an assassin of the Church, but of God himself, as Jesus is considered "the innocent lamb" of the New Testament (Ainsworth 1624: 111).

The symbol of the sheep in these writings can have two possible interpretations. The first one, based on the Bible, means innocence (Ripa 1987: 1.529), humility (Ripa 1987: 1.499) and moderation (Ripa 1987: 2.89) and opposes other emblems such as *Vini energia* (Peacham 1612: 157) or iconographic representations, such as *Desidia* (Ripa 1987: 1.271) and *Estulticia* (Ripa 1987: 1.387), where it is drawn as a simple and confused animal. The pamphlets employ both meanings to characterise, on the one hand, the true God, and on the other, what they considered the ignorant and stupid mass that followed the Pope and the Catholic clergy.

The multiple and diverse metaphors relating to Classical mythology show the pamphleteers' and readers' familiarity with this tradition. In contrast with the images of the animal world, these tropes are quite homogeneous and do not present double interpretations or paradoxical meanings; that is why the authors always use identical figures to attack each single individual or group.

The Pope's identification with Mars —"Hee's Frantick, frets, Mars-like molestteth all: / With two-edged Swords, doth fight and brawle" (Goodwin 1624: 16)— was quite helpful for the Protestant writers, as he personified the need for violence in all cosmic orders. Ripa is much more graphic in his iconography *Carro de Marte* (Ripa 1987: 1.168), where he draws the god of war as a terrible and fierce man surrounded by arms and monsters that underline his capacity to frighten and threaten the enemy. By means of this metaphor, Lasider and Goodwin point out the responsibility of the Papacy in the European conflicts of this period, which, according to these authors, was part of a strategy to spread his dominion. He is not considered a spiritual guide, but a political man without scruples.

His allegedly excessive power allows him to be compared with Jove, the supreme deity of the ancient Romans: "Why maist not call him Iupiter, Earth's thunder, / Yet Elohim? The Worlds great God of Wonder?... / That all the World must bow to th' Pope of Rome..." (Goodwin 1624: 5). The symbolism of his attributes, explained in Ripa's iconography *Carro de Jupiter* (Ripa 1987: 1.168-69) was extremely useful: the lance as supremacy, the ray as punishment,

the eagle as power and the throne and the crown as majesty; all of them mark the absolute authority of the Head of Rome and the threat he presumably represented for the Protestant world (see Whitney's sixty-first emblem, *Tecum habita*).

Finally, he is also compared to Pluto, the ruler of the underworld, linked, by extension, to hell and the devil. The description of Rome as a "stygian chaos" (Goodwin 1624: 34, 37, 44, 79), as well as Proserpine's rape reinforce this interpretation. The latter is one of the most common episodes connected with this mythological character, which would add a clear reference to accusations of papal lust. Moreover, if we consider the possible confusion that could be created between Pluto and Plutus, the god personifying wealth, we could assume that they would indirectly add another feature to this representation: the Pope's alleged extreme desire for riches.

This negative portrait is supported by his identification with extremely violent and deformed mythological beings, such as the monsters and the giants. In this sense, he is compared to Briareus (Goodwin 1624: 5), Tifeus (Goodwin 1624: 9), Titius (Goodwin 1624: 12) and the Cyclops (Goodwin 1624: 43, 65, 82), whose physical deformity was considered a proof of their moral degradation. Anteus, one of the Cyclops, is, in fact, the central element in Ripa's iconography *Combate de la razón con el apetito* (Ripa 1987: 1.193-94), where he stands for what is purely material and corporeal. Through these metaphors, the Bishop of Rome is deprived of his intellect or spirituality, an attack which is also present when he is compared to the Titans (Goodwin 1624: 17), specially, Chrono, who rebelled against his father and devoured his own children in order to protect his power. The pamphleteers made use of this figure to accuse the Pope of provoking the disobedience of the Catholic subjects to their Protestant monarchs, something portrayed as unnatural as an attack against one's progenitor or offspring.

On the other hand, Rome is normally linked to goddesses and female monsters characterised by their seductive and destructive power. Goodwin likens her to Diana, the moon and also deity of hunting, an emblem of the aggressive and uncontrollable woman. James I includes in his *Daemonologioe* (James I 1597: 51) one of the meanings associated with this goddess which is very close to the general image of Rome in *Babels Balm*, that is, the female ruler of the underworld. This interpretation had been very influential in medieval witchcraft (James I 1597: 125) and is probably the sense referred to by the pamphleteers due to its connection with the superstition that, according to the reformers, defined the Church of Rome.

Finally, the Church of Rome is likened to the Sirens, emblems of prostitution and dangerous temptations (Goodwin 1624: 52) and to the Gorgon

(Goodwin 1624: 64-5), who, because of her incontinence, is, together with Bacchus, the clearest representation of the Papist clergy.

Regarding biblical references, the multiple parallels with the Old Testament were extremely helpful for praising the English monarchy. Margaret Aston explains the use of the *Book of Kings* in order to create continuity between the Tudor dynasty and the main rulers of Judah (Aston 1993: 43). Henry VIII, Edward VI and Elizabeth I were presented as the true descendants of David, Solomon, Josiah or Hezekiah, after the long parenthesis of confusion and fraud that had characterised, according to the Church of England, the Catholic period. This tradition continued with James I, who is compared in these pamphlets to significant figures of the Old Testament.

Englands Ioy describes this monarch as a new Nehemiah⁵ (Scott 1624: 3, 9, 10) who returns to reform London and clean it of its sins. London becomes therefore the New Jerusalem, God's chosen city, whose king has liberated it from the Papist weed. Other figures he is likened to are Jeremiah (Scott 1624: 5) —who saved the Ark of the Covenant from Nebuchadnezzar,— Jacob (Scott 1624: 9) —the father of the founders of the twelve tribes of Jerusalem,— Abraham (Scott 1624: 10), Moses (Scott 1624: 13), and finally, Josiah (Scott 1624: 8, 16), David (Scott 1624: 10) and Solomon (Scott 1624: 13) —three of the most important kings of Israel, well known for their struggle against idolatry and corruption.

The reference to Solomon is problematic, as he was also influenced by his foreign wives and worshipped other gods. This episode, which formed part of many illustrations of the medieval Bible, receives a new meaning in the Reformation. The Jewish King could stand for the mad man who was once afraid of God. His idolatry shows how even the wisest person can be mistaken. In this sense, the relation created between him and James I in the pamphlet may imply that the English monarch's attention is being drawn in the Jesuit and Papist threat. His laws against them are praised, but they are not considered.

The figure of Josiah was important too. He was defined by two actions: his fight against the cult of Baal and the recovery of the Book of the Law. In the Protestant period, this king was associated with Edward VI and sixty years later this image was recovered to refer to a king with clear pro-Catholic tendencies. The parallel between James I and Josiah was probably to draw attention again to a king who did not behave as the true Head of Anglicanism. For many of his subjects, Edward VI had been sent from heaven to complete his father's work; now, it was James's duty to continue his ancestors' actions.

⁵A Hebrew leader of the fifth century B. C., he reconstructed the walls of Jerusalem and later became its governor introducing multiple reforms to eliminate corruption.

The Papists are likened to biblical characters who are clearly opposed to those describing the English monarchs. The Pope is compared to tyrannical and idolatrous kings, such as Jeroboam (Ainsworth 1624: 90, 93) and Nebuchadnezzar (Goodwin 1624: 20), as well as with Baal himself. The figures of the New Testament belong to two groups: on the one hand, to the political-religious rulers who persecuted Christ, such as Caifas (Goodwin 1624: 6, 17, 38), Anas (Goodwin 1624: 38), Herod (Goodwin 1624: 66), Pilate (Goodwin 1624: 6) and Judas (Goodwin 1624: 6); and on the other hand, those referring to hell (Ainsworth 1624: 90), to the apocalyptic beast (Ainsworth 1624: 89) or Satan (Goodwin 1624: 6, 12, 35, 36, 47, 82).

There are also many parallels between Rome and several corrupt women of the Biblical tradition. Good examples are Jezebel (Ainsworth 1624: 90) and the whore of the Apocalypse since they represent the Papists' alleged falsity and idolatry, as well as the seductive and deceitful power of their church. This is also compared to cities such as Sodom (Ainsworth 1624: 115; Goodwin 1624: 77), Babylon (Ainsworth 1624: 97, Goodwin 1624: 38, 76), Gomorrah (Goodwin 1624: 80) and Babel (Ainsworth 1624: 97), all of them symbols of human pride and vanity. The relation between Babel and Babylon was a commonplace from 1560 onwards, so the link between Rome and the latter permitted a connection between the destruction of Babel and the fall of the Pope (Aston 75). Ainsworth and Goodwin seem to continue this tradition and announce the imminent end of proud and corrupt Rome, which could not be different from that of her ancestors.

The Bible was not only one of the main sources of the pamphlets, but also a powerful instrument to justify and legitimise Protestant England. The idea that the Pope was considered the Antichrist, that Rome was a symbol of perversion or that James I had been sent by God to save his subjects from the Papists were not simple stories believed by just a few. They were an essential part of the ethos of the Church of England, which considered itself the inheritor of the divine project begun by the Jewish kings and confirmed by Christ himself. Rome had interrupted it and now it was their duty to restore it.

It is impossible to sum up all the different types of icons found in these six pamphlets. They belong to very diverse groups related to war, nature, the family and of course, those analysed in this paper, linked with the animal world, Classical mythology and the Bible. All of them were part of a didactic strategy whereby images were thought to facilitate the reading of texts, an idea based on Platonism, which defended the sense of sight as the best way to attain knowledge (González de Zárate 1987: 23). The pamphleteers made extensive use of the possibilities this tradition offered them and manipulated the different and sometimes even contradictory meanings these visual metaphors presented.

The result was the construction of a unified “other” —the Catholic, the Spaniard, the Pope— in which they projected their own weakness. However, the emblematic language was well-known to the common reader, who could probably observe some paradoxes behind the intentional omissions of the writers, paradoxes that revealed the artificiality and inconsistency of this process of alterity.

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**HIDDEN SPANISH
TREASURE IN A
SEVENTEENTH-
CENTURY TEXT: THE
STRANGE CASE OF DR
GARCÍA AND MR
HOWELL**

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The paper deals with a previously undetected case of literary borrowing by the Anglo-Welsh letter-writer and pamphleteer James Howell (1594?-1666), best known for his *Familiar Letters* of 1645-55. I have discovered that Howell lifted quite large chunks of material for his second book (*Instructions for Forreine Travell*, 1642) from a text by the obscure and mysterious Spanish writer, Dr Carlos García, who published his *Antipatía de los franceses y españoles* in Paris in 1617. (This was an influential book in its day, running to several editions in various languages). In my paper, I will also consider the biographies of the two men and discuss the interesting possibility that Howell and García might have met and known each other in Paris, during Howell's first travels on the Continent.

The Spaniard is pleased to compare himself to a *tesoro escondido*, to a hidden treasure. Richard Ford, *A Hand-book for Travellers in Spain and Readers at Home* (London, 1845)

And who, in time, knows whither we may vent
The treasure of our tongue? To what strange shores,
This gain of our best glory shall be sent,
T'enrich unknowing nations with our stores?
Samuel Daniel, *Musophilus* (1599)

INSTRUCTIONS FOR FORREINE TRAVELL

In her well-known study of seventeenth-century English travellers in Spain, published in 1981, Patricia Shaw Fairman quoted extensively from Sections V and VI of James Howell's *Instructions for Forreine Travell* of 1642, claiming that these sections provided useful insights into British notions about their contemporary European neighbours, and in particular Spain (Shaw 1981: 46).¹ In this paper, I would like to suggest that this claim is in need of refinement.

Instructions for Forreine Travell is a short book, running to about 20,000 words in its first edition, and divided into nineteen brief sections. (A second edition in 1650 incorporated a six-page appendix on "Turkey and the Levant parts," places which it is unlikely that Howell ever visited). Although the main purpose of the *Instructions* was to advise and prepare gentlemen on the practicalities of travel and the learning of languages abroad, Howell's literary aspirations are clear throughout the text, and they are reflected in the frequency and quality of his digressions from the main subject. Some idea of this diversity of material can be gained from reading the preliminary two-page "Substance of this Discours," a list of contents which begins as follows:

Of the advantage, and preheminance of the Eye.
Of Forraine Travell, and the progresse of Learning.
What previous abilities are required in a Traveller.
A caveat touching his Religion.
Precepts for learning the French Language.
What Authors to be made choyce of, for the Government and History of France.
Of Books, in generall.
Of Historians, and a method to reade them.
Of Private Meditation.
Of Poets.
An estimat of the expences of a Nobleman, or of a private Gentleman a broad.
Advertisements for writing of Letters. (Howell 1869: 9)

¹In this full-length study, Patricia Shaw repeated and extended assessments of Howell's work which had previously been formulated in her article on Howell (1976). For more on Howell, see Jacobs (1890 and 1892). Jacobs' introduction to the *Familiar Letters* remains the best general account of Howell's life and work. See also the introduction to Bennett (1890); and Sydney Lee's entry for James Howell in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, which, however, contains some mistakes. For more recent work, see: Nutkiewicz (1990); Woolf (1993). Potter (1989) contains references to Howell. Useful remarks can also be found in Sánchez Escribano (1996).

As can be seen, Howell covers a lot of ground in the *Instructions*, and this extract from the list of contents refers only to the first four of the nineteen sections in his book.

Of all the digressions in the *Instructions*, one of the most memorable and effective is that which spans Sections V and VI, in which Howell deals in a strikingly humorous way with supposed differences in character and customs between contemporary Frenchmen and Spaniards. In a strangely pithy or “Senecan” style which contrasts sharply with the more leisurely prose in the rest of his book, Howell presents the men of the two nations as “antipathetic” in almost every respect: whereas one wears his hair long, the other wears it short; one always buttons his doublet downwards, the other upwards, and so on. These were the passages quoted by Patricia Shaw in her survey of seventeenth-century travellers in Spain,² although she was certainly not the first commentator to feel their attraction. Sections V and VI had already been specifically recommended to readers by Edward Arber, editor of the 1869 reprint of the *Instructions*. Rather optimistically describing the *Instructions* as “our first Handbook for the Continent,” Arber pointed readers in the direction of Sections V and VI:

In itself the book is very discursive. A survey of foreign politics, much shrewd speculation in language, descriptions of foreign customs; and in particular, a notable discrimination of the differing characters of the Frenchman and the Spaniard of his day... (1869: 5)

Over a century later, Patricia Shaw followed Arber in highlighting these passages on the Frenchman and Spaniard of Howell’s day, and went so far as to describe parts of Section V as “párrafos magistrales” which she held it “worth copying almost entirely, because in a way they certainly summarise the ideas held in England at that time about the character and mentality of the Spaniards” [my translations] (Shaw 1981: 146). The paragraphs in question are reproduced below:

Having passed the Pyreneys hee [the foreign traveller] shall palpably discern (as I have observed in another larger Discours) the suddenest and strangest difference ‘twixt the Genius and Garb of two People, though distant but by a very small separation, as betwixt any other upon the surface of the Earth; I knowe Nature delights and triumphs in dissimilitudes; but here, she seemes to have industriously, and of set purpose studied it; for they differ not onely Accidentally and Outwardly in their Cloathing and Cariage, in their Diet, in their Speeches and Customes; but even Essentially in the very faculties of the Soule, and operations thereof, and in every thing else, Religion and the forme of a Rationall creature only excepted; which made Doctor Garcia thinke to

²For an introduction to seventeenth-century guidebooks, see Maczak (1995: 152-157). This book was first published in Polish in 1798, and contains some interesting references to Howell. A truly abominable Spanish translation also exists: Maczak (1996).

aske a Midwife once, whither the Frenchman and Spaniard came forth into the World in the same posture from the womb or no.

Go first to the Operations of the Soule, the one [the Frenchman] is Active and Mercuriall, the other [the Spaniard] is Speculative and Saturnine: the one Quick and Ayry, the other Slow and Heavy; the one Discursive and Sociable, the other Reserved and Thoughtfull; the one addicts himselfe for the most part to the study of the Law and Canons, the other to Positive and Schoole Divinity; the one is *Creatura sine Praeterito et Futuro*, the other hath too much of both: the one is a Prometheus, the other an Epimetheus; the one apprehends and forgets quickly, the other doth both slowly, with a judgement more abstruse and better fixed, *et in se reconditum*; the one will dispatch the weightiest affaires as hee walke along in the streets, or at meales, the other upon the least occasion of businesse will retire solemnly to a room, and if a Fly chance to hum about him, it will discompose his thoughts, and puzzle him: It is a kind of sicknesse for a Frenchman to keep a Secret long, and all the drugs of Egypt cannot get it out of a Spaniard.

The French capacity, though it apprehend and assent unto the Tenets of Faith, yet he resteth not there, but examines them by his owne reason, debates the businesse *pro et contra*, and so is often gravelled upon the quick sands of his own brain, the Spaniard cleane contrary by an implicate Faith and generall Obedience beleives the Canons and Determination of the Church, and presently subjects his Understanding thereunto, he sets bounds to all his Wisdome and Knowledge, and labours to avoyd all Speculation thereon, fearing through the frailty of his Intellectuals, to fall into some Error.

(*Instructions for Forreine Travell*, Section V)³

These paragraphs hold some curious observations on national characteristics which retain a genuine if stereotyped interest even today, and the analysis continues in the same vein for several more pages in the *Instructions*, often very amusingly. This is taut and powerful writing, which combines insight and a sense of detached fun in an undeniably seductive way, and it is not surprising that these pages have attracted the attention and praise of commentators down the years. Unfortunately, however, the true role of these passages in the development of James Howell's writing career has probably been misunderstood until now. Little of this material can easily be attributed to the original genius of Howell, for the simple reason that most of it made its first appearance elsewhere, in a bilingual French-Spanish treatise published some twenty-five years before the first edition of *Instructions for Forreine Travell*.

³Howell (1869: 30-31); Shaw Fairman (1981: 146-147).

LA ANTIPATIA DE FRANCESES Y ESPAÑOLES

Almost everything in Sections V and VI of the *Instructions* is translated from a bilingual French-Spanish treatise first published in Paris on 8 April 1617, approximately at the time of James Howell's first visit to the city. The full title of Howell's source text is *La Oposición y Conjunción de los dos grandes luminares de la tierra o La Antipatía de franceses y españoles*. The author of the *Antipatía* was one Doctor Carlos García, an enigmatic and little-known Spanish exile living in Paris.⁴

The treatise itself can only be fully understood in the precise contexts of the time and place of its publication: it was, above all, a late contribution to a very public debate about the so-called *Mariages Espagnols* of 1615. These double Royal marriage agreements, by which Philip III's eldest daughter Anne of Austria was married to Louis XIII whilst his ten-year-old son Philip, the future Philip IV, married Louis' sister Isabella of Bourbon, confirmed the existence of a new Franco-Spanish understanding after years of political and military antagonism. In France, "*les mariages*" were greeted by a barrage of pamphlets, many of them written in praise of the new accord. Nevertheless, it is clear from contemporary reports that anti-Spanish feeling in Paris, which dated back well into the previous century, was not extinguished overnight as a result of the marriages. A group of newly-marginalised courtiers ("*les malcontents*") who were opposed to the pro-Spanish turn of events had little trouble mobilising Hispanophobic sentiment in popular demonstrations against the Crown, and despite official efforts, these feelings also found their way into print. A debate ensued on the convenience of the *mariages* pact with Spain, and García's *Antipatía* must be seen as a direct contribution to that debate.⁵

As one might expect from a Spaniard living in France, García in the *Antipatía* comes down strongly in favour of friendship between the two nations and he greets the new opportunities provided by the marriage agreement. His

⁴All quotations from the *Antipatía de franceses y españoles* are taken from C. García (1979). Bateau's edition contains a very useful introduction, in which he provides detailed coverage of what is known of García's life and work. The *Antipatía* itself was an immediately successful book, going through seven French-Spanish editions by 1638. It was translated into Italian in 1636, and rapidly went through thirteen editions in that language by 1702. German and English translations also appeared in the course of the century (see note 7).

⁵See C. García (1979: 17-39). Bateau is particularly good on the political context and frenzied pamphleteering activity at the time of the publication of the *Antipatía*; he names more than forty pamphlets in the course of his introduction, and provides close analysis of several of them.

treatise mostly consists of an elaborately-structured framework of arguments justifying the “conjunction” of the two nations, together with explanation of the beneficial effects for European Christendom of the realisation of this union. However, as the title itself indicates, the *Antipatía* also contains a great deal on the supposed “natural enmity” between the two countries and even has a whole chapter (Chapter X) on García’s first-hand experience of Parisian Hispanophobia (he describes his first months in the city, when he claims that it was impossible for him to go out onto the streets without being surrounded by crowds of mocking children, who identified him as a Spaniard from his clothing, and he relates in detail an incident at a streetmarket when he was pelted with fruit and vegetables)⁶ (1979: 17-39). The book thus appears to lay itself open to the charge of ambiguity, and there is no question that its liveliest passages, chapters XI to XVII, are precisely those which seem to work against the main thesis by exploring the theme of antipathetic national characteristics. It is interesting to note that these are the passages which came to Howell’s mind when he was casting around for material with which to pad out his *Instructions for Forreine Travell* in 1642. By homing in on chapters XI to XVII of the *Antipatía*, Howell was to demonstrate from the start of his writing career that he had a journalist’s, or rather an editor’s, ability to recognise and remember good copy. It seems likely that the London publication in 1641 of the first English translation of the *Antipatía* may have jogged Howell’s memory of the book, but it is equally clear that his *Instructions* is based on his own use of the original French-Spanish text rather than the later English version.⁷

The strongest hint that Howell in the *Instructions* is about to lean heavily on the *Antipatía* is of course his mention of “Doctor Garcia” in the first paragraph quoted above, from the beginning of Section V. Howell’s phrase, “which made Doctor Garcia thinke to aske a Midwife once, whither the

⁶García (1979: 206-220). A very similar street incident, strongly reminiscent of the one described in the *Antipatía*, occurs in the anonymous picaresque novel *La vida y hechos de Estevanillo Gonzalez*, first published in Antwerp in 1646. See the following edition, which mentions García in a footnote: Carreira and Cid (1990: 251).

⁷The first English translation of the *Antipatía* was that by Robert Gentilys in 1641. Although it is striking that this translation of García’s book should have appeared just a year before the publication of Howell’s *Instructions*, Howell does not seem to have used it as the basis of his text. There is much that is different about Gentilys’ and Howell’s versions of García’s original. Thus there is no coincidence in phraseology between Gentilys and Howell: whereas Gentilys’ version is generally faithful, literal and somewhat dull, Howell takes more liberties as a translator, usually in the interests of concision, and he frequently hits upon more memorable solutions. Crucially, Gentilys appears to be working solely from the French version of the *Antipatía*, whilst Howell takes ideas from both the French and Spanish texts, which differ slightly at many points. Thus, to give one example, Howell uses the idea, only present in the Spanish version of the text, that a Frenchman wears his coat so short “that one might give him a Suppositor with his Cloake about him, if need were.” There is no mention of suppositors in Gentilys. Shaw Fairman (1976: 405, note); Shaw Fairman (1981: 146, note).

Frenchman and Spaniard came forth into the world in the same posture from the womb or no” (1869: 30), is itself a loose translation of the remark with which García opens Chapter XI of the *Antipatía*, the first of a series of chapters on French and Spanish characteristics. García’s exact words are as follows:

Mil veces he tenido tentación de pedir a las parteras de cual suerte salen del vientre de su madre los Franceses. Porque según la contrariedad que veo entre ellos y los Españoles tengo por imposible que nazcan todos de una mesma manera. (1979: 222)

This is one of two places in the *Instructions* where Howell specifically names García (1869: 30, 34), but at no point does he reveal the extent to which he is relying on García’s text, and this reliance has passed unnoticed until now. As far as I can tell, Patricia Shaw is the only previous commentator even to have attempted to identify “Doctor Garcia;” in 1976 and again in 1981, she suggested that Howell “probably refers to Dr. Pedro García Carrero,” a Court physician who rose to prominence under Philip III, retained his position under Philip IV and “also wrote comedies and poetry” [my translations]. Shaw did not state her reasons for the “probability” of this assertion; neither did she give any quotation from García Carrero’s work which might plausibly support it⁸ (1976: 405 note) (1981: 146 note).

In fact, Howell’s “midwife” phrase and the whole of the following two paragraphs can easily be shown to be based on passages from Chapter XI of the *Antipatía*. For example, when Howell writes that “the one [the Frenchman] addicts himselfe for the most part to the study of the Law and Canons, the other [the Spaniard] to Positive and Schoole Divinity” (1869: 30), this is his version of the following brief paragraph by García:

La mayor parte de los entendimientos franceses se dan al estudio de las leyes y cánones y muy pocos aman la teología positiva y escolástica; y entre los Españoles muy pocos, o los menos, estudian el drecho [sic] y casi todos la teología. (1979: 224)

When Howell writes about a Spaniard’s need “upon the least occasion of busnesse” to “retire solemnly to a room and if a Fly chance to hum about him,

⁸Claudio Guillén, in a recent collection of essays on comparative literature (1998: 336-367) dedicates an entire chapter to “Imágenes nacionales y escritura literaria” in which he shows himself to be familiar both with Shaw’s *España vista por los ingleses del siglo XVII* and Carlos García’s *Antipatía de franceses y españoles*. Strangely, however, Guillén fails to make the connection between Howell, whose borrowings from García feature so prominently in Shaw’s book, and García himself, whose *Antipatía* is nonetheless well described by Guillén as a “curious mixture of abstract, quasi-scholastic thought and realistic, quasi-picaresque satire” (“una curiosa mezcla de pensamiento abstracto, casi escolástico, y de sátira realista, casi picaresca”).

it will discompose his thoughts, and puzzle him” (1869: 31), he is also borrowing directly from Chapter XI:

Todo lo cual es contrario al entendimiento de un Español, porque si tiene algún negocio entre manos que requiera la consideración, se retira en un lugar solitario y es tan enemigo de la compañía y tumulto, que si una sola mosca le pasa cerca del oído cuando está engolfado en un negocio, le impedirá la resolución dél. (1979: 226)

Equally, where Howell has that “the Spaniard cleane contrary by an implicite Faith and general Obedience beleeves the Canons and Determination of the Church, and presently subjects his Understanding thereunto, he sets bounds to all his Wisdome and Knowledge, and labours to avoyd all Speculation thereon, fearing through the frailty of his Intellectuals, to fall into some Error” (1869: 31), it is not difficult to show that he is again translating from García:

El entendimiento del Español es muy medroso y cobarde en lo que toca a la Fe y determinación de la Iglesia, porque en el punto que se le propone un artículo de Fe, allí para y mete raya a toda su sciencia, sabiduría y discurso. Y no sólamente no procura saber si es, o no es, lo que la Fe le dice, pero hace toda suerte de diligencia por no especular licenciosamente sobre ello, temiendo, con la fragilidad del entendimiento, dar en algún error. (1979: 224)

Even the apparent non-sequitur at the end of Howell’s second paragraph above, about the inability of Frenchmen to keep a secret for long, and how “all the drugs of Egypt cannot get it out of a Spaniard” (1869: 31), is taken straight from the *Antipatía*. In García’s text, however, it occurs in a much more logical position over twenty pages later at the end of Chapter XV, a section which deals with contrasts in speech habits. The only (trivial) difference between the two versions is that Howell writes “Egypt” where García had written “India”:

No puede negarse que toda la industria del mundo será bastante para hacer callar un secreto a un Francés, pues no puede reposar hasta que lo publica; y para sacar una cosa secreta del pecho de un Español no tendrán virtud ni fuerza todas las drogas de la India. (1979: 250)

It would be perfectly possible to continue with such comparisons for the entirety of Sections V and VI of the *Instructions*. Just about everything in Howell’s lengthy digression has its origin somewhere in Chapters XI to XVII of the *Antipatía*.⁹ I do not, however, propose to account for every sentence in this way. I would, however, like to comment briefly on certain aspects of Howell’s translation methods. Howell’s procedures here are particularly interesting for

⁹Some parts were also taken from Howell’s own *Dendrologia. Dodona’s Grove, or the vocall forrest* (Howell 1640). See note 10.

the light they shed on his development as a writer: to some extent, the techniques of appropriation which he can be seen acquiring as he writes his *Instructions* were precisely those which were to prove useful in the composition of many of his other works, including even the *Familiar Letters*.

The most curious aspect of Howell's translation technique is perhaps the selective way in which he raids different parts of García's text, skipping back and forth as he sees fit, sometimes to the detriment of the logical development of the original ideas. Carlos García's treatise is a highly-organised piece of writing, with strict sense divisions between chapters, but Howell is unable or unwilling to accommodate these qualities in the *Instructions*. The order of ideas in García's original is rarely respected. Sentences translated from one chapter of the *Antipatía* are placed in Howell's text alongside sentences taken from another chapter, very often on a different subject altogether. One example of this is the sentence about keeping secrets quoted immediately above, but there are several other places in the *Instructions* where Howell indulges in this sort of mixing.

A good example is provided by the following long paragraph from Section V of the *Instructions*. Most of it is based on Chapter XIV of the *Antipatía*, a very short chapter on "Antipathy in Walking" ("De la Antipatía del andar") (1979: 242-245), but with García's ideas reduced in length and presented in a completely different order. García begins by describing how Frenchmen walk up and down the streets in a "disorderly" way by comparison with Spaniards, but Howell chooses to open with material taken from later in the chapter, on the speed at which each nationality proceeds. Howell follows this with García's opening point about disorderliness, then another from later in Chapter XIV on eating in the street, and so he goes on, in his usual irregular way. In addition, this passage rather illogically contains material first used by Howell in his *Dodona's Grove* two years earlier, mostly about differences between Frenchmen and Spaniards when playing tennis or shuffling cards ("The one like the Wind in the Fable... plays his game more cunningly")¹⁰ (Howell 1640: 7); and finally, it closes with a translation of a single phrase extracted from the end of an entirely different chapter of the *Antipatía* altogether, Chapter XII, on different styles of clothing ("for when hee goeth to the Field...") (1979: 238). This passage is thus a typical example of the jumbled and derivative way in which Howell had learnt to write:

¹⁰Howell had written there: "The one takes the ball before the bound; The other stayeth for it, and commonly fetcheth a surer stroke: The one in the cariage of his designes is like the Wind, the other like the Sunne in the Fable; when they went to try their strength upon a passenger's cloake: The one knows how to shuffle the Cards better; The other playeth his game more cunningly."

Go to their Gate, the Frenchman walks fast, (as if he had a Sergeant always at his heeles,) the Spaniard slowly, as if hee were newly come out of some quartan Ague; the French go up and down the streets confusedly in clusters, the Spaniards if they be above three, they go two by two, as if they were going a Procession; the French Laquays march behind, the Spaniards before; the one beckons upon you with his hand cast upwards, the other downward; the Frenchman will not stick to pull out a Peare or some other thing out of his pocket, and eate it as he goes along the street, the Spaniard will starve rather than do so, and would never forgive himselfe, if he should commit such a rudenesse; the Frenchman if he spies a lady of his acquaintance, he will make boldly towards her, salute her with a kisse, and offer to Usher her by the hand or arme, the Spaniard upon such an encounter, useth to recoyle backward, with his hands hid under his Cloack, and for to touch or kisse her, he holds it a rudenesse beyond all barbarisme, a kind of sacriledge; the Frenchman is best and most proper on Horseback, the Spaniard a foot; the one is good for the Onset, the other for a retreat: the one like the Wind in the Fable, is full of ruffling fury, the other like the Sun, when they went to try their strength upon the Passengers Cloake. The one takes the ball before the bound, *A la volée*, the other stayeth for the fall; the one shuffleth the Cards better, the other playes his game more cunningly; your Frenchman is much the fairer Duellist for when hee goeth to the Field, he commonly puts off his doublet and opens his breast; the Spaniard cleane contrary, besides his shirt, hath his doublet quilted, his coat of maile, his cassock, and strives to make himselfe impenetrable. (Howell 1869: 32)

It is not immediately clear why Howell mixes his material like this —his text certainly cannot be said to gain coherence as a result, when he starts a paragraph with a phrase like “Go to their Gate...” and ends it with discussions of tennis, card-shuffling and duelling. Whatever the reason, it can be said generally to support a notion first put forward by Verona Hirst:

I have found, in a study of Howell’s other works, especially his histories, that he regularly uses a particular method of compiling his books. He takes other writers’ works and, usually without acknowledgement or by-your-leave, snips them up to his own purposes, taking a little here or a lot there, digesting, abstracting and condensing as necessary, leaving the dull bits out like the good journalist he was. (1959)

This is in fact a fair description of what Howell does with García’s text, and as Hirst pointed out forty years ago, it may well be the sort of procedure that Howell applied to the raw material of his own original letters when he set out to compile his *Familiar Letters* in 1645. The answer to the much-vexed question of the “authenticity” of Howell’s *Familiar Letters* is quite possibly to be found here: if Howell used his own original material in the same way that he used the *Antipatia* and other books, “taking a little here or a lot there,” this might explain the *Familiar Letters*’ confusing juxtapositions of descriptions of

events from entirely different periods, and it might account for the difficulties associated with their dating.¹¹ Even so, it is not easy to decide exactly what this tells us about Howell's writing methods when he was working on his *Instructions*. Does it suggest something about the way he stored notes in a commonplace book (a practice he specifically recommends to gentlemen travellers in *Instructions for Forreine Travell*), or is it perhaps best interpreted as a deceitful, if rather naive, attempt to conceal his original sources? It may well be that Howell's work as a spymaster for Thomas Wentworth, collecting and collating reports from sources all over Europe and preparing them for his master's consumption, had made him something of an expert in this sort of summary-writing even before he became an established author. The techniques of "digesting, abstracting and condensing" might already have been second nature to Howell when he set out on his new career in literature, having spent so many years doing precisely the same thing for his master.

It is worth noting that Howell continues to translate from the *Antipatia* in Section VI of the *Instructions*, even when he appears to be expressing personal views of his own about the numerous examples of "antipathy" he has just cited. Reproduced below is the opening paragraph of Howell's Section VI, immediately followed by the first paragraph of Chapter XVII of García's *Antipatia*. Howell can be seen here clearly attempting to pass off as thoughts of his own a series of ideas which were first elaborated by García at the time of the *mariages espagnols* debate. On introducing them, Howell seems to "over-compensate" in his desire to convince readers that the ideas originate with him, by stressing the amount of mental labour he has supposedly undertaken in order to arrive at his conclusions:

And truly I have many times and oft busied my spirits, and beaten my brains hereupon, by taking information from dead and living men, and by my own practicall observations, to know the true cause of this strange antipathy betwixt two such potent and so neare neighbouring Nations, which bringeth with it such mischief into the World; and keepes Christendome in a perpetuall alarme: For although the Ill Spirit bee the principall Author thereof, as being the Father and fomenter of all discord and hatred (it being also part of the Turkes letany, that warres should continue still betweene

¹¹Discussion of the *Familiar Letters* has tended to concentrate almost exclusively on the issue of their possible "authenticity." See Jacobs (1890 and 1892: lxiii-lxxxii); Hirst (1959); Warner (1894). The *Familiar Letters* include references to events from different periods as if they were completely contemporaneous, and the dates which they contain are, in Jacobs' words, "perfectly untrustworthy." This has made it difficult to reconstruct several parts of Howell's biography: the *D. N. B.* is particularly misleading for the period of Howell's first foreign travels, saying that he left London in 1616 and did not return until 1622, which contradicts Howell's own account of his "three years' Peregrination by Land and Sea" (Jacobs 1890: 99) and does not leave him anything like enough time to carry out the working engagements which are known to have occupied him before he travelled to Madrid in the spring of 1623.

these two potent Nations) to hinder the happy fruit that might grow out of their Union: yet nevertheless it must bee thought that hee cannot shed this poyson, and sow these cursed tares, unlesse hee had some grounds to work his designe upon. (1869: 33-34)

Mil veces he procurado con particular especulación buscar la causa fundamental del odio y ojeriza entre estas dos naciones, porque si bien es verdad que el Demonio ha sido el autor principal desta antipatía y mortal discordia por estorbar el fruto que podía nacer de la unión de ambas naciones, con todo eso se debe creer que halló algún fundamento y raíz en ellas para multiplicar tan maldita cizaña y pernicioso veneno. (1979: 262)

Howell follows this paragraph almost immediately with what is his second reference in the *Instructions* to “Doctor Garcia,” stating that the author is on record as attributing the antipathy of the two nations to influences of the stars. Howell’s partial recognition of his original source is quickly succeeded by another brief paragraph in which he repeats the procedure I have just explained above, i.e. he peddles material from the *Antipatía*, about Hippocrates, as if it were the result of his own reading rather than the straightforward translation from García that it really is:

Some as Doctor Garcia, and other Philosophicall Authors, attribute this opposition to the qualities of the clymes and influences of the Stars, which are known to bear sway over all Sublunary bodies, insomuch that the position of the Heavens, and Constellations, which hang over Spaine, being of a different vertue and operation to that of France, the temper and humours of the Natives of the one, ought to bee accordingly disagreeing with the other.

An opinion which may gaine credit and strength from the authority of the famous Hippocrates, who in his Book of Ayre, Water, and Climes, affirmeth that the diversity of Constellations, cause a diversity of Inclinations, of humours and complexions; and make the bodies whereupon they operate, to recive sundry sorts of impressions. Which reason may have much apparance of truth, if one consider the differing fancies of these two Nations, as it hath reference to the Predominant Constellations, which have the vogue, and qualifie the Seasons amongst them. (1869: 34)

Algunos atribuyen esta contrariedad a la diferencia de los astros e influjo de las estrellas, como causas universales destes inferiores. Y así dicen que siendo el sitio del cielo y constelación de España muy diferente dél que tienen los franceses, por necesidad el temperamento y humores de entrambos serán muy diversos. La cual doctrina fortifican con la que el grande Hipocrates dejó escrita en el libro: *De aere, aquis, et locis*, afirmando que la varia constitución de los astros es causa de la variedad y mudanza de los temperamentos, complexiones y humores del hombre. (1979: 262)

Howell continues to borrow from the *Antipatía* for most of the rest of Section VI, making occasional authoritative first-person statements which are in fact always direct translations from García’s work. He introduces one of

García's anecdotes about Louis XI with the phrase "I read it upon record in the Spanish Annales....," as if he had dug up the story himself; he reproduces disparaging comments of García's about the kind of Gascoigne and Bearnese "scumme" who make it over the border into neighbouring Spain¹² (1869: 34-37); and then he comes to an abrupt halt when he appears to realise, several pages into his digression, just how far he has wandered from his original aim in a text purporting to give practical advice to foreign travellers:

But I have been transported too farre by this speculation, considering that I proposed to my selfe brevity at first in this small discours. (1869: 37)

Section VI ends suddenly with this sentence. With the exception of one short paragraph in Section VII¹³ (1869: 39), Howell ceases to borrow from García at this point.

CONCLUSION

This is not the place to consider Carlos García or his work in any detail.¹⁴ It seems reasonable to assume that James Howell might have become familiar with the *Antipatía de franceses y españoles* during the period of his first travels on the European Continent, which coincided roughly with the publication date of García's book. The two authors may even have had the chance to meet in Paris between about 1617 and 1619, although there is no direct evidence that this ever happened.

¹²For a parallel example of another Royalist writer given to the appropriation of "not only the words but the experience of his predecessor," see Lois Potter's comments on work by the pamphleteer Samuel Sheppard in Potter (1989: 122-130). Especially relevant to my discussion of Howell and García are the following words on Sheppard's blatant borrowings from John Suckling: "Personal and confessional passages... are among the most attractive in Sheppard's work, so it is disconcerting to find that they are neither personal nor confessional."

¹³Howell writes of a "Spanish doctor, who had a fancy that Spanish, Italian, and French, were spoken in Paradise, that God Almighty commanded in Spanish, the Tempter perswaded in Italian, and Adam begged pardon in French."

¹⁴For the mysterious García, see García (1979: Introduction); Pelorson (1969); Pelorson (1994); López-Barrera (1925). As López-Barrera pointed out in 1925, there is an intriguing, and none too flattering, contemporary description of "el dotor Garcias" in Fernández (1655).

My examination of *Instructions for Forreine Travell* has revealed a Spanish influence as yet undetected by commentators of Howell, the unveiling of which should serve as a corrective to some previous appraisals of the book. My intention is not so much to denounce Howell for plagiarism—a fairly anachronistic procedure, in any case—as to study one of the ways in which he borrows from a foreign text in order to develop his art. A further and more general intention is, by implication, to advocate the placing of all seventeenth-century English literature in a more appropriately European context. I have shown that in the case of at least one English writer, a foreign literary model inspired imitation in a way which has remained unsuspected for 350 years. It seems likely that further readings of Howell might throw up evidence of other foreign influences and tell us more about his working methods as a writer: above all, such research might be expected to cast new light on the process by which he put together the work for which he is best known, the *Epistolae Ho-Eliaanae*, or *Familiar Letters*, of 1645-55.

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**HIDDEN SPANISH
TREASURE IN A
SEVENTEENTH-
CENTURY TEXT: THE
STRANGE CASE OF DR
GARCÍA AND MR
HOWELL**

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The paper deals with a previously undetected case of literary borrowing by the Anglo-Welsh letter-writer and pamphleteer James Howell (1594?-1666), best known for his *Familiar Letters* of 1645-55. I have discovered that Howell lifted quite large chunks of material for his second book (*Instructions for Forreine Travell*, 1642) from a text by the obscure and mysterious Spanish writer, Dr Carlos García, who published his *Antipatía de los franceses y españoles* in Paris in 1617. (This was an influential book in its day, running to several editions in various languages). In my paper, I will also consider the biographies of the two men and discuss the interesting possibility that Howell and García might have met and known each other in Paris, during Howell's first travels on the Continent.

The Spaniard is pleased to compare himself to a *tesoro escondido*, to a hidden treasure. Richard Ford, *A Hand-book for Travellers in Spain and Readers at Home* (London, 1845)

And who, in time, knows whither we may vent
The treasure of our tongue? To what strange shores,
This gain of our best glory shall be sent,
T'enrich unknowing nations with our stores?
Samuel Daniel, *Musophilus* (1599)

INSTRUCTIONS FOR FORREINE TRAVELL

In her well-known study of seventeenth-century English travellers in Spain, published in 1981, Patricia Shaw Fairman quoted extensively from Sections V and VI of James Howell's *Instructions for Forreine Travell* of 1642, claiming that these sections provided useful insights into British notions about their contemporary European neighbours, and in particular Spain (Shaw 1981: 46).¹ In this paper, I would like to suggest that this claim is in need of refinement.

Instructions for Forreine Travell is a short book, running to about 20,000 words in its first edition, and divided into nineteen brief sections. (A second edition in 1650 incorporated a six-page appendix on "Turkey and the Levant parts," places which it is unlikely that Howell ever visited). Although the main purpose of the *Instructions* was to advise and prepare gentlemen on the practicalities of travel and the learning of languages abroad, Howell's literary aspirations are clear throughout the text, and they are reflected in the frequency and quality of his digressions from the main subject. Some idea of this diversity of material can be gained from reading the preliminary two-page "Substance of this Discours," a list of contents which begins as follows:

Of the advantage, and preheminance of the Eye.
Of Forraine Travell, and the progresse of Learning.
What previous abilities are required in a Traveller.
A caveat touching his Religion.
Precepts for learning the French Language.
What Authors to be made choyce of, for the Government and History of France.
Of Books, in generall.
Of Historians, and a method to reade them.
Of Private Meditation.
Of Poets.
An estimat of the expences of a Nobleman, or of a private Gentleman a broad.
Advertisements for writing of Letters. (Howell 1869: 9)

¹In this full-length study, Patricia Shaw repeated and extended assessments of Howell's work which had previously been formulated in her article on Howell (1976). For more on Howell, see Jacobs (1890 and 1892). Jacobs' introduction to the *Familiar Letters* remains the best general account of Howell's life and work. See also the introduction to Bennett (1890); and Sydney Lee's entry for James Howell in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, which, however, contains some mistakes. For more recent work, see: Nutkiewicz (1990); Woolf (1993). Potter (1989) contains references to Howell. Useful remarks can also be found in Sánchez Escribano (1996).

As can be seen, Howell covers a lot of ground in the *Instructions*, and this extract from the list of contents refers only to the first four of the nineteen sections in his book.

Of all the digressions in the *Instructions*, one of the most memorable and effective is that which spans Sections V and VI, in which Howell deals in a strikingly humorous way with supposed differences in character and customs between contemporary Frenchmen and Spaniards. In a strangely pithy or “Senecan” style which contrasts sharply with the more leisurely prose in the rest of his book, Howell presents the men of the two nations as “antipathetic” in almost every respect: whereas one wears his hair long, the other wears it short; one always buttons his doublet downwards, the other upwards, and so on. These were the passages quoted by Patricia Shaw in her survey of seventeenth-century travellers in Spain,² although she was certainly not the first commentator to feel their attraction. Sections V and VI had already been specifically recommended to readers by Edward Arber, editor of the 1869 reprint of the *Instructions*. Rather optimistically describing the *Instructions* as “our first Handbook for the Continent,” Arber pointed readers in the direction of Sections V and VI:

In itself the book is very discursive. A survey of foreign politics, much shrewd speculation in language, descriptions of foreign customs; and in particular, a notable discrimination of the differing characters of the Frenchman and the Spaniard of his day... (1869: 5)

Over a century later, Patricia Shaw followed Arber in highlighting these passages on the Frenchman and Spaniard of Howell’s day, and went so far as to describe parts of Section V as “párrafos magistrales” which she held it “worth copying almost entirely, because in a way they certainly summarise the ideas held in England at that time about the character and mentality of the Spaniards” [my translations] (Shaw 1981: 146). The paragraphs in question are reproduced below:

Having passed the Pyreneys hee [the foreign traveller] shall palpably discern (as I have observed in another larger Discours) the suddenest and strangest difference ‘twixt the Genius and Garb of two People, though distant but by a very small separation, as betwixt any other upon the surface of the Earth; I knowe Nature delights and triumphs in dissimilitudes; but here, she seemes to have industriously, and of set purpose studied it; for they differ not onely Accidentally and Outwardly in their Cloathing and Cariage, in their Diet, in their Speeches and Customes; but even Essentially in the very faculties of the Soule, and operations thereof, and in every thing else, Religion and the forme of a Rationall creature only excepted; which made Doctor Garcia thinke to

²For an introduction to seventeenth-century guidebooks, see Maczak (1995: 152-157). This book was first published in Polish in 1798, and contains some interesting references to Howell. A truly abominable Spanish translation also exists: Maczak (1996).

aske a Midwife once, whither the Frenchman and Spaniard came forth into the World in the same posture from the womb or no.

Go first to the Operations of the Soule, the one [the Frenchman] is Active and Mercuriall, the other [the Spaniard] is Speculative and Saturnine: the one Quick and Ayry, the other Slow and Heavy; the one Discursive and Sociable, the other Reserved and Thoughtfull; the one addicts himselfe for the most part to the study of the Law and Canons, the other to Positive and Schoole Divinity; the one is *Creatura sine Praeterito et Futuro*, the other hath too much of both: the one is a Prometheus, the other an Epimetheus; the one apprehends and forgets quickly, the other doth both slowly, with a judgement more abstruse and better fixed, *et in se reconditum*; the one will dispatch the weightiest affaires as hee walke along in the streets, or at meales, the other upon the least occasion of businesse will retire solemnly to a room, and if a Fly chance to hum about him, it will discompose his thoughts, and puzzle him: It is a kind of sicknesse for a Frenchman to keep a Secret long, and all the drugs of Egypt cannot get it out of a Spaniard.

The French capacity, though it apprehend and assent unto the Tenets of Faith, yet he resteth not there, but examines them by his owne reason, debates the businesse *pro et contra*, and so is often gravelled upon the quick sands of his own brain, the Spaniard cleane contrary by an implicate Faith and generall Obedience beleives the Canons and Determination of the Church, and presently subjects his Understanding thereunto, he sets bounds to all his Wisdome and Knowledge, and labours to avoyd all Speculation thereon, fearing through the frailty of his Intellectuals, to fall into some Error.

(*Instructions for Forreine Travell*, Section V)³

These paragraphs hold some curious observations on national characteristics which retain a genuine if stereotyped interest even today, and the analysis continues in the same vein for several more pages in the *Instructions*, often very amusingly. This is taut and powerful writing, which combines insight and a sense of detached fun in an undeniably seductive way, and it is not surprising that these pages have attracted the attention and praise of commentators down the years. Unfortunately, however, the true role of these passages in the development of James Howell's writing career has probably been misunderstood until now. Little of this material can easily be attributed to the original genius of Howell, for the simple reason that most of it made its first appearance elsewhere, in a bilingual French-Spanish treatise published some twenty-five years before the first edition of *Instructions for Forreine Travell*.

³Howell (1869: 30-31); Shaw Fairman (1981: 146-147).

LA ANTIPATIA DE FRANCESES Y ESPAÑOLES

Almost everything in Sections V and VI of the *Instructions* is translated from a bilingual French-Spanish treatise first published in Paris on 8 April 1617, approximately at the time of James Howell's first visit to the city. The full title of Howell's source text is *La Oposición y Conjunción de los dos grandes luminares de la tierra o La Antipatía de franceses y españoles*. The author of the *Antipatía* was one Doctor Carlos García, an enigmatic and little-known Spanish exile living in Paris.⁴

The treatise itself can only be fully understood in the precise contexts of the time and place of its publication: it was, above all, a late contribution to a very public debate about the so-called *Mariages Espagnols* of 1615. These double Royal marriage agreements, by which Philip III's eldest daughter Anne of Austria was married to Louis XIII whilst his ten-year-old son Philip, the future Philip IV, married Louis' sister Isabella of Bourbon, confirmed the existence of a new Franco-Spanish understanding after years of political and military antagonism. In France, "*les mariages*" were greeted by a barrage of pamphlets, many of them written in praise of the new accord. Nevertheless, it is clear from contemporary reports that anti-Spanish feeling in Paris, which dated back well into the previous century, was not extinguished overnight as a result of the marriages. A group of newly-marginalised courtiers ("*les malcontents*") who were opposed to the pro-Spanish turn of events had little trouble mobilising Hispanophobic sentiment in popular demonstrations against the Crown, and despite official efforts, these feelings also found their way into print. A debate ensued on the convenience of the *mariages* pact with Spain, and García's *Antipatía* must be seen as a direct contribution to that debate.⁵

As one might expect from a Spaniard living in France, García in the *Antipatía* comes down strongly in favour of friendship between the two nations and he greets the new opportunities provided by the marriage agreement. His

⁴All quotations from the *Antipatía de franceses y españoles* are taken from C. García (1979). Bareau's edition contains a very useful introduction, in which he provides detailed coverage of what is known of García's life and work. The *Antipatía* itself was an immediately successful book, going through seven French-Spanish editions by 1638. It was translated into Italian in 1636, and rapidly went through thirteen editions in that language by 1702. German and English translations also appeared in the course of the century (see note 7).

⁵See C. García (1979: 17-39). Bareau is particularly good on the political context and frenzied pamphleteering activity at the time of the publication of the *Antipatía*; he names more than forty pamphlets in the course of his introduction, and provides close analysis of several of them.

treatise mostly consists of an elaborately-structured framework of arguments justifying the “conjunction” of the two nations, together with explanation of the beneficial effects for European Christendom of the realisation of this union. However, as the title itself indicates, the *Antipatía* also contains a great deal on the supposed “natural enmity” between the two countries and even has a whole chapter (Chapter X) on García’s first-hand experience of Parisian Hispanophobia (he describes his first months in the city, when he claims that it was impossible for him to go out onto the streets without being surrounded by crowds of mocking children, who identified him as a Spaniard from his clothing, and he relates in detail an incident at a streetmarket when he was pelted with fruit and vegetables)⁶ (1979: 17-39). The book thus appears to lay itself open to the charge of ambiguity, and there is no question that its liveliest passages, chapters XI to XVII, are precisely those which seem to work against the main thesis by exploring the theme of antipathetic national characteristics. It is interesting to note that these are the passages which came to Howell’s mind when he was casting around for material with which to pad out his *Instructions for Forreine Travell* in 1642. By homing in on chapters XI to XVII of the *Antipatía*, Howell was to demonstrate from the start of his writing career that he had a journalist’s, or rather an editor’s, ability to recognise and remember good copy. It seems likely that the London publication in 1641 of the first English translation of the *Antipatía* may have jogged Howell’s memory of the book, but it is equally clear that his *Instructions* is based on his own use of the original French-Spanish text rather than the later English version.⁷

The strongest hint that Howell in the *Instructions* is about to lean heavily on the *Antipatía* is of course his mention of “Doctor Garcia” in the first paragraph quoted above, from the beginning of Section V. Howell’s phrase, “which made Doctor Garcia thinke to aske a Midwife once, whither the

⁶García (1979: 206-220). A very similar street incident, strongly reminiscent of the one described in the *Antipatía*, occurs in the anonymous picaresque novel *La vida y hechos de Estevanillo Gonzalez*, first published in Antwerp in 1646. See the following edition, which mentions García in a footnote: Carreira and Cid (1990: 251).

⁷The first English translation of the *Antipatía* was that by Robert Gentilys in 1641. Although it is striking that this translation of García’s book should have appeared just a year before the publication of Howell’s *Instructions*, Howell does not seem to have used it as the basis of his text. There is much that is different about Gentilys’ and Howell’s versions of García’s original. Thus there is no coincidence in phraseology between Gentilys and Howell: whereas Gentilys’ version is generally faithful, literal and somewhat dull, Howell takes more liberties as a translator, usually in the interests of concision, and he frequently hits upon more memorable solutions. Crucially, Gentilys appears to be working solely from the French version of the *Antipatía*, whilst Howell takes ideas from both the French and Spanish texts, which differ slightly at many points. Thus, to give one example, Howell uses the idea, only present in the Spanish version of the text, that a Frenchman wears his coat so short “that one might give him a Suppositor with his Cloake about him, if need were.” There is no mention of suppositors in Gentilys. Shaw Fairman (1976: 405, note); Shaw Fairman (1981: 146, note).

Frenchman and Spaniard came forth into the world in the same posture from the womb or no” (1869: 30), is itself a loose translation of the remark with which García opens Chapter XI of the *Antipatía*, the first of a series of chapters on French and Spanish characteristics. García’s exact words are as follows:

Mil veces he tenido tentación de pedir a las parteras de cual suerte salen del vientre de su madre los Franceses. Porque según la contrariedad que veo entre ellos y los Españoles tengo por imposible que nazcan todos de una mesma manera. (1979: 222)

This is one of two places in the *Instructions* where Howell specifically names García (1869: 30, 34), but at no point does he reveal the extent to which he is relying on García’s text, and this reliance has passed unnoticed until now. As far as I can tell, Patricia Shaw is the only previous commentator even to have attempted to identify “Doctor Garcia;” in 1976 and again in 1981, she suggested that Howell “probably refers to Dr. Pedro García Carrero,” a Court physician who rose to prominence under Philip III, retained his position under Philip IV and “also wrote comedies and poetry” [my translations]. Shaw did not state her reasons for the “probability” of this assertion; neither did she give any quotation from García Carrero’s work which might plausibly support it⁸ (1976: 405 note) (1981: 146 note).

In fact, Howell’s “midwife” phrase and the whole of the following two paragraphs can easily be shown to be based on passages from Chapter XI of the *Antipatía*. For example, when Howell writes that “the one [the Frenchman] addicts himselfe for the most part to the study of the Law and Canons, the other [the Spaniard] to Positive and Schoole Divinity” (1869: 30), this is his version of the following brief paragraph by García:

La mayor parte de los entendimientos franceses se dan al estudio de las leyes y cánones y muy pocos aman la teología positiva y escolástica; y entre los Españoles muy pocos, o los menos, estudian el drecho [sic] y casi todos la teología. (1979: 224)

When Howell writes about a Spaniard’s need “upon the least occasion of busnesse” to “retire solemnly to a room and if a Fly chance to hum about him,

⁸Claudio Guillén, in a recent collection of essays on comparative literature (1998: 336-367) dedicates an entire chapter to “Imágenes nacionales y escritura literaria” in which he shows himself to be familiar both with Shaw’s *España vista por los ingleses del siglo XVII* and Carlos García’s *Antipatía de franceses y españoles*. Strangely, however, Guillén fails to make the connection between Howell, whose borrowings from García feature so prominently in Shaw’s book, and García himself, whose *Antipatía* is nonetheless well described by Guillén as a “curious mixture of abstract, quasi-scholastic thought and realistic, quasi-picaresque satire” (“una curiosa mezcla de pensamiento abstracto, casi escolástico, y de sátira realista, casi picaresca”).

it will discompose his thoughts, and puzzle him” (1869: 31), he is also borrowing directly from Chapter XI:

Todo lo cual es contrario al entendimiento de un Español, porque si tiene algún negocio entre manos que requiera la consideración, se retira en un lugar solitario y es tan enemigo de la compañía y tumulto, que si una sola mosca le pasa cerca del oído cuando está engolfado en un negocio, le impedirá la resolución dél. (1979: 226)

Equally, where Howell has that “the Spaniard cleane contrary by an implicite Faith and general Obedience beleeves the Canons and Determination of the Church, and presently subjects his Understanding thereunto, he sets bounds to all his Wisdome and Knowledge, and labours to avoyd all Speculation thereon, fearing through the frailty of his Intellectuals, to fall into some Error” (1869: 31), it is not difficult to show that he is again translating from García:

El entendimiento del Español es muy medroso y cobarde en lo que toca a la Fe y determinación de la Iglesia, porque en el punto que se le propone un artículo de Fe, allí para y mete raya a toda su sciencia, sabiduría y discurso. Y no sólamente no procura saber si es, o no es, lo que la Fe le dice, pero hace toda suerte de diligencia por no especular licenciosamente sobre ello, temiendo, con la fragilidad del entendimiento, dar en algún error. (1979: 224)

Even the apparent non-sequitur at the end of Howell’s second paragraph above, about the inability of Frenchmen to keep a secret for long, and how “all the drugs of Egypt cannot get it out of a Spaniard” (1869: 31), is taken straight from the *Antipatía*. In García’s text, however, it occurs in a much more logical position over twenty pages later at the end of Chapter XV, a section which deals with contrasts in speech habits. The only (trivial) difference between the two versions is that Howell writes “Egypt” where García had written “India”:

No puede negarse que toda la industria del mundo será bastante para hacer callar un secreto a un Francés, pues no puede reposar hasta que lo publica; y para sacar una cosa secreta del pecho de un Español no tendrán virtud ni fuerza todas las drogas de la India. (1979: 250)

It would be perfectly possible to continue with such comparisons for the entirety of Sections V and VI of the *Instructions*. Just about everything in Howell’s lengthy digression has its origin somewhere in Chapters XI to XVII of the *Antipatía*.⁹ I do not, however, propose to account for every sentence in this way. I would, however, like to comment briefly on certain aspects of Howell’s translation methods. Howell’s procedures here are particularly interesting for

⁹Some parts were also taken from Howell’s own *Dendrologia. Dodona’s Grove, or the vocall forrest* (Howell 1640). See note 10.

the light they shed on his development as a writer: to some extent, the techniques of appropriation which he can be seen acquiring as he writes his *Instructions* were precisely those which were to prove useful in the composition of many of his other works, including even the *Familiar Letters*.

The most curious aspect of Howell's translation technique is perhaps the selective way in which he raids different parts of García's text, skipping back and forth as he sees fit, sometimes to the detriment of the logical development of the original ideas. Carlos García's treatise is a highly-organised piece of writing, with strict sense divisions between chapters, but Howell is unable or unwilling to accommodate these qualities in the *Instructions*. The order of ideas in García's original is rarely respected. Sentences translated from one chapter of the *Antipatía* are placed in Howell's text alongside sentences taken from another chapter, very often on a different subject altogether. One example of this is the sentence about keeping secrets quoted immediately above, but there are several other places in the *Instructions* where Howell indulges in this sort of mixing.

A good example is provided by the following long paragraph from Section V of the *Instructions*. Most of it is based on Chapter XIV of the *Antipatía*, a very short chapter on "Antipathy in Walking" ("De la Antipatía del andar") (1979: 242-245), but with García's ideas reduced in length and presented in a completely different order. García begins by describing how Frenchmen walk up and down the streets in a "disorderly" way by comparison with Spaniards, but Howell chooses to open with material taken from later in the chapter, on the speed at which each nationality proceeds. Howell follows this with García's opening point about disorderliness, then another from later in Chapter XIV on eating in the street, and so he goes on, in his usual irregular way. In addition, this passage rather illogically contains material first used by Howell in his *Dodona's Grove* two years earlier, mostly about differences between Frenchmen and Spaniards when playing tennis or shuffling cards ("The one like the Wind in the Fable... plays his game more cunningly")¹⁰ (Howell 1640: 7); and finally, it closes with a translation of a single phrase extracted from the end of an entirely different chapter of the *Antipatía* altogether, Chapter XII, on different styles of clothing ("for when hee goeth to the Field...") (1979: 238). This passage is thus a typical example of the jumbled and derivative way in which Howell had learnt to write:

¹⁰Howell had written there: "The one takes the ball before the bound; The other stayeth for it, and commonly fetcheth a surer stroke: The one in the cariage of his designes is like the Wind, the other like the Sunne in the Fable; when they went to try their strength upon a passenger's cloake: The one knows how to shuffle the Cards better; The other playeth his game more cunningly."

Go to their Gate, the Frenchman walks fast, (as if he had a Sergeant always at his heeles,) the Spaniard slowly, as if hee were newly come out of some quartan Ague; the French go up and down the streets confusedly in clusters, the Spaniards if they be above three, they go two by two, as if they were going a Procession; the French Laquays march behind, the Spaniards before; the one beckons upon you with his hand cast upwards, the other downward; the Frenchman will not stick to pull out a Peare or some other thing out of his pocket, and eate it as he goes along the street, the Spaniard will starve rather than do so, and would never forgive himselfe, if he should commit such a rudenesse; the Frenchman if he spies a lady of his acquaintance, he will make boldly towards her, salute her with a kisse, and offer to Usher her by the hand or arme, the Spaniard upon such an encounter, useth to recoyle backward, with his hands hid under his Cloack, and for to touch or kisse her, he holds it a rudenesse beyond all barbarisme, a kind of sacriledge; the Frenchman is best and most proper on Horseback, the Spaniard a foot; the one is good for the Onset, the other for a retreat: the one like the Wind in the Fable, is full of ruffling fury, the other like the Sun, when they went to try their strength upon the Passengers Cloake. The one takes the ball before the bound, *A la volée*, the other stayeth for the fall; the one shuffleth the Cards better, the other playes his game more cunningly; your Frenchman is much the fairer Duellist for when hee goeth to the Field, he commonly puts off his doublet and opens his breast; the Spaniard cleane contrary, besides his shirt, hath his doublet quilted, his coat of maile, his cassock, and strives to make himselfe impenetrable. (Howell 1869: 32)

It is not immediately clear why Howell mixes his material like this —his text certainly cannot be said to gain coherence as a result, when he starts a paragraph with a phrase like “Go to their Gate...” and ends it with discussions of tennis, card-shuffling and duelling. Whatever the reason, it can be said generally to support a notion first put forward by Verona Hirst:

I have found, in a study of Howell’s other works, especially his histories, that he regularly uses a particular method of compiling his books. He takes other writers’ works and, usually without acknowledgement or by-your-leave, snips them up to his own purposes, taking a little here or a lot there, digesting, abstracting and condensing as necessary, leaving the dull bits out like the good journalist he was. (1959)

This is in fact a fair description of what Howell does with García’s text, and as Hirst pointed out forty years ago, it may well be the sort of procedure that Howell applied to the raw material of his own original letters when he set out to compile his *Familiar Letters* in 1645. The answer to the much-vexed question of the “authenticity” of Howell’s *Familiar Letters* is quite possibly to be found here: if Howell used his own original material in the same way that he used the *Antipatia* and other books, “taking a little here or a lot there,” this might explain the *Familiar Letters*’ confusing juxtapositions of descriptions of

events from entirely different periods, and it might account for the difficulties associated with their dating.¹¹ Even so, it is not easy to decide exactly what this tells us about Howell's writing methods when he was working on his *Instructions*. Does it suggest something about the way he stored notes in a commonplace book (a practice he specifically recommends to gentlemen travellers in *Instructions for Forreine Travell*), or is it perhaps best interpreted as a deceitful, if rather naive, attempt to conceal his original sources? It may well be that Howell's work as a spymaster for Thomas Wentworth, collecting and collating reports from sources all over Europe and preparing them for his master's consumption, had made him something of an expert in this sort of summary-writing even before he became an established author. The techniques of "digesting, abstracting and condensing" might already have been second nature to Howell when he set out on his new career in literature, having spent so many years doing precisely the same thing for his master.

It is worth noting that Howell continues to translate from the *Antipatia* in Section VI of the *Instructions*, even when he appears to be expressing personal views of his own about the numerous examples of "antipathy" he has just cited. Reproduced below is the opening paragraph of Howell's Section VI, immediately followed by the first paragraph of Chapter XVII of García's *Antipatia*. Howell can be seen here clearly attempting to pass off as thoughts of his own a series of ideas which were first elaborated by García at the time of the *mariages espagnols* debate. On introducing them, Howell seems to "over-compensate" in his desire to convince readers that the ideas originate with him, by stressing the amount of mental labour he has supposedly undertaken in order to arrive at his conclusions:

And truly I have many times and oft busied my spirits, and beaten my brains hereupon, by taking information from dead and living men, and by my own practicall observations, to know the true cause of this strange antipathy betwixt two such potent and so neare neighbouring Nations, which bringeth with it such mischiefe into the World; and keepes Christendome in a perpetuall alarme: For although the Ill Spirit bee the principall Author thereof, as being the Father and fomenter of all discord and hatred (it being also part of the Turkes letany, that warres should continue still betweene

¹¹Discussion of the *Familiar Letters* has tended to concentrate almost exclusively on the issue of their possible "authenticity." See Jacobs (1890 and 1892: lxiii-lxxxii); Hirst (1959); Warner (1894). The *Familiar Letters* include references to events from different periods as if they were completely contemporaneous, and the dates which they contain are, in Jacobs' words, "perfectly untrustworthy." This has made it difficult to reconstruct several parts of Howell's biography: the *D. N. B.* is particularly misleading for the period of Howell's first foreign travels, saying that he left London in 1616 and did not return until 1622, which contradicts Howell's own account of his "three years' Peregrination by Land and Sea" (Jacobs 1890: 99) and does not leave him anything like enough time to carry out the working engagements which are known to have occupied him before he travelled to Madrid in the spring of 1623.

these two potent Nations) to hinder the happy fruit that might grow out of their Union: yet nevertheless it must be thought that hee cannot shed this poyson, and sow these cursed tares, unlesse hee had some grounds to work his designe upon. (1869: 33-34)

Mil veces he procurado con particular especulación buscar la causa fundamental del odio y ojeriza entre estas dos naciones, porque si bien es verdad que el Demonio ha sido el autor principal desta antipatía y mortal discordia por estorbar el fruto que podía nacer de la unión de ambas naciones, con todo eso se debe creer que halló algún fundamento y raíz en ellas para multiplicar tan maldita cizaña y pernicioso veneno. (1979: 262)

Howell follows this paragraph almost immediately with what is his second reference in the *Instructions* to “Doctor Garcia,” stating that the author is on record as attributing the antipathy of the two nations to influences of the stars. Howell’s partial recognition of his original source is quickly succeeded by another brief paragraph in which he repeats the procedure I have just explained above, i.e. he peddles material from the *Antipatía*, about Hippocrates, as if it were the result of his own reading rather than the straightforward translation from García that it really is:

Some as Doctor Garcia, and other Philosophicall Authors, attribute this opposition to the qualities of the clymes and influences of the Stars, which are known to bear sway over all Sublunary bodies, insomuch that the position of the Heavens, and Constellations, which hang over Spaine, being of a different vertue and operation to that of France, the temper and humours of the Natives of the one, ought to be accordingly disagreeing with the other.

An opinion which may gaine credit and strength from the authority of the famous Hippocrates, who in his Book of Ayre, Water, and Climes, affirmeth that the diversity of Constellations, cause a diversity of Inclinations, of humours and complexions; and make the bodies whereupon they operate, to recive sundry sorts of impressions. Which reason may have much apparence of truth, if one consider the differing fancies of these two Nations, as it hath reference to the Predominant Constellations, which have the vogue, and qualifie the Seasons amongst them. (1869: 34)

Algunos atribuyen esta contrariedad a la diferencia de los astros e influjo de las estrellas, como causas universales destes inferiores. Y así dicen que siendo el sitio del cielo y constelación de España muy diferente dél que tienen los franceses, por necesidad el temperamento y humores de entrambos serán muy diversos. La cual doctrina fortifican con la que el grande Hipocrates dejó escrita en el libro: *De aere, aquis, et locis*, afirmando que la varia constitución de los astros es causa de la variedad y mudanza de los temperamentos, complexiones y humores del hombre. (1979: 262)

Howell continues to borrow from the *Antipatía* for most of the rest of Section VI, making occasional authoritative first-person statements which are in fact always direct translations from García’s work. He introduces one of

García's anecdotes about Louis XI with the phrase "I read it upon record in the Spanish Annales....," as if he had dug up the story himself; he reproduces disparaging comments of García's about the kind of Gascoigne and Bearnese "scumme" who make it over the border into neighbouring Spain¹² (1869: 34-37); and then he comes to an abrupt halt when he appears to realise, several pages into his digression, just how far he has wandered from his original aim in a text purporting to give practical advice to foreign travellers:

But I have been transported too farre by this speculation, considering that I proposed to my selfe brevity at first in this small discours. (1869: 37)

Section VI ends suddenly with this sentence. With the exception of one short paragraph in Section VII¹³ (1869: 39), Howell ceases to borrow from García at this point.

CONCLUSION

This is not the place to consider Carlos García or his work in any detail.¹⁴ It seems reasonable to assume that James Howell might have become familiar with the *Antipatía de franceses y españoles* during the period of his first travels on the European Continent, which coincided roughly with the publication date of García's book. The two authors may even have had the chance to meet in Paris between about 1617 and 1619, although there is no direct evidence that this ever happened.

¹²For a parallel example of another Royalist writer given to the appropriation of "not only the words but the experience of his predecessor," see Lois Potter's comments on work by the pamphleteer Samuel Sheppard in Potter (1989: 122-130). Especially relevant to my discussion of Howell and García are the following words on Sheppard's blatant borrowings from John Suckling: "Personal and confessional passages... are among the most attractive in Sheppard's work, so it is disconcerting to find that they are neither personal nor confessional."

¹³Howell writes of a "Spanish doctor, who had a fancy that Spanish, Italian, and French, were spoken in Paradise, that God Almighty commanded in Spanish, the Tempter perswaded in Italian, and Adam begged pardon in French."

¹⁴For the mysterious García, see García (1979: Introduction); Pelorson (1969); Pelorson (1994); López-Barrera (1925). As López-Barrera pointed out in 1925, there is an intriguing, and none too flattering, contemporary description of "el dotor Garcias" in Fernández (1655).

My examination of *Instructions for Forreine Travell* has revealed a Spanish influence as yet undetected by commentators of Howell, the unveiling of which should serve as a corrective to some previous appraisals of the book. My intention is not so much to denounce Howell for plagiarism—a fairly anachronistic procedure, in any case—as to study one of the ways in which he borrows from a foreign text in order to develop his art. A further and more general intention is, by implication, to advocate the placing of all seventeenth-century English literature in a more appropriately European context. I have shown that in the case of at least one English writer, a foreign literary model inspired imitation in a way which has remained unsuspected for 350 years. It seems likely that further readings of Howell might throw up evidence of other foreign influences and tell us more about his working methods as a writer: above all, such research might be expected to cast new light on the process by which he put together the work for which he is best known, the *Epistolae Ho-Elinae*, or *Familiar Letters*, of 1645-55.

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**THE LIAR AND THE
BARD: DAVID INGRAM,
WILLIAM
SHAKESPEARE AND *THE
TEMPEST***

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A few of the men that John Hawkins stranded in Mexico in 1568 wrote chronicles of their escape or captivity. By and large they penned unremarkable works most of which were featured in Richard Hakluyt's *Principals of Navigation*. The chronicles are not literary masterpieces by any stretch of the imagination but offer a marvelous opportunity to visit the minds of ordinary Elizabethan seamen.

Besides the inclusions in Hakluyt, two other sources offer up even more unique narratives. Neither story was in the first person: both were oral testimonies. William Collins spoke with officials of the Inquisition regarding the state of religion and other wide-ranging social issues under Elizabeth. Collin's amazing testimony numbers two hundred and fifty pages. The second individual, David Ingram, left a legacy that lives today.

Ingram is still the darling of American historians consumed by the notion of the noble savage. Ingram's quasi travel narrative was delivered before a British Admiralty Commission in 1586 some twenty years after his escape from Mexico. His testimony included descriptions of an ordered society that was technologically and politically superior to that of England. This meaty information, however, is surrounded by beasts as mythical as those conjured up by John Mandeville. It presents those who use his words in support of a utopian Native American culture with a conundrum: was Ingram lying?

By synthesizing the English narratives, whether written or testamentary, a marvelous picture of an Elizabethan lower-echelon subject appears. Granted, their language lacks the wit and erudition of their literary contemporaries, but what they said probably influenced the Elizabethan concept of the New World, Spain, and the glory of discovery. The fact that some of the recollections are flawed—whether intentionally or not—sends a powerful message to those who rely on language to interpret motive or historical truth.

I'll believe both;
And what else want credit, come to me,
*And I'll be sworn tis true: travellers ne'er did lie,
Though fools at home condemn them.* (3.3.26-27)

William Shakespeare's Antonio made this rather startling pronouncement about unicorns, phoenixes, and the veracity of travelers in *The Tempest*. A few

years after Antonio's observation, the Reverend Samuel Purchas took a rather different position:

As for David Ingram's perambulation to the north parts, Master Hakluyt, in his first edition [1589], published the same; but it seemeth some incredibilities of his reports caused him to leave him out in the next impression; the reward for lying being, not to be believed in truths. (Purchas 1905-1907: IV, 179)

Was one of Antonio's fools the most Reverend Purchas? Was the New World traveler David Ingram a liar? (Hakluyt 1589).¹ And, was there a literary bond between Antonio's creator and Purchas's liar? I propose that David Ingram's perambulation was the inspiration for Shakespeare's *Tempest*.

While this idea challenges previous scholarship—some over three hundred years old present here compelling new evidence that has been previously overlooked. Before presenting the information, however, it is essential to place Ingram in context. His story challenges some directions taken in recent analyses of *The Tempest*. Reviewing these should demonstrate the misidentification of some of Shakespeare's literary or historical resources. Finally, a partial line for line analysis between Ingram's *Relation* and Shakespeare's play suggests that David Ingram and William Shakespeare were de facto collaborators of *The Tempest*.

Ingram led one of the groups of survivors which split up after being landed close to Panuco. Some felt their very existence hinged on contacting the Spanish, while others feared reprisal for the recent battle. Ingram's group, which eventually diminished to three men, decided to strike out for Florida. Their destination was a French outpost where the English had been welcomed on previous voyages to the New World (Markham 1878).² Little did they know the tiny French sanctuary had been eliminated by Spanish troops that very year. Thus began the incredible journey of David Ingram.

By Ingram's account, he and his companions walked over 3,000 miles. Their path began near Tampico, Mexico and ended, according to Ingram, around Cape Breton, Nova Scotia. Ingram's knowledge of Cape Breton was

¹The specific chapter that is the subject of this essay is "The Relation of David Ingram" found on pages 557 through 562.

²Hawkins provided victuals for the French who were so hard pressed that their leader, identified as Laudonier, sustained a mutiny. He was so impressed by Hawkins aid and assistance that he wrote a laudatory account which was published in Paris in 1586. It was translated by Richard Hakluyt and reprinted in the aforementioned publication (1589: 65).

easy to come by, Hawkins prior voyage focused on that area.³ It was there, so the story goes, that they were picked up by a French trading vessel and returned to France, hence they made their way back to England. This path would have taken them along the eastern seaboard of the North American continent: a region mostly untouched by Europeans. While Ingram's reappearance in England was somewhat miraculous, his recollection of the odyssey was fraught with problems.

Most scholars doubt that Ingram and his fellow travelers made it as far as Nova Scotia in the one year which elapsed from their stranding in Mexico (Williamson 1949). I say "most" because a few historians who specialize in Amerindian history seize on Ingram's accounts as gospel to advance the argument for the noble savage and a native society that was just as civilized as that of Europe. However, it is most likely that Ingram and his companions were rescued in Florida. For Ingram and his mates to traverse the land portion, hit the sailing season just right, encounter an eastbound vessel, and return to England are nigh impossible. The route Ingram claimed, even under the best of circumstances, could not have been negotiated in fewer than three years.

While problems with time and distance are enough to challenge Ingram's story that is not what branded him a liar in Samuel Purchas's eyes; it is what Ingram purportedly saw. He claims to have seen creatures every bit as fanciful as those described by Shakespeare's Antonio. Unlike some of his fellow *abandonados*, Ingram did not write an account of his adventure.⁴ Instead he was the deponent at a hearing convened by Sir Francis Walsingham in 1582 some thirteen years after the episode. Walsingham, Elizabeth I's Secretary of State, was seeking information that might be helpful to some of the individuals who were proposing to colonize the very regions that Ingram claimed to have visited. His testimony, recorded in Hakluyt's 1589 edition of *Principal*, is the basis of my argument.

The 1589 edition is important in that it was replaced some eleven years later without David Ingram's input. If you recall, Purchas indicated it was left out as a "reward for lying." I propose the 1600 edition became the most commonly used Hakluyt work thereby keeping the 1589 Ingram account hidden from view. Other works of the period, some extrapolated from antiquity, have direct links to the play but none possess the overwhelming connectivity as those found in David Ingram's "Relation."

³The Second Voyage of Sir John Hawkins contains vivid descriptions similar to what Ingram more than likely heard from shipboard chats with the veterans of Hawkins prior ventures (Markham 1878).

⁴Both Miles Phillips and Job Hortop's accounts occur in Hakluyt (1589).

Two relatively recent articles in *Shakespeare Quarterly*, one by Charles Frey (1979) and the other by Meredith Ann Skura (1989), delve into the probability that travel narratives influenced *The Tempest*. Frey convincingly links a god to Caliban. His main source is Richard Eden, who published *The History of Trauayle in the West and East Indies* in 1555.⁵ Eden's account was not first hand; his was an abridged and translated version of Antonio Pigafetta's story of Magellan's circumnavigation. Eden (through Magellan and Pigafetta) told of a Setebos who was the god of the natives of Patagonia. Setebos is mentioned —by name, not inference— in Acts I and IV of *The Tempest*. Frey also located a passage describing the nature of the Patagonian natives in a contemporary travel narrative but it is not as compelling as the Setebos reference (Frey 1979: 35).⁶ A comparison of Eden and Ingram's Amerindian characterizations follows.

Skura's approach to *The Tempest* differs considerably from Frey's. She emphasizes the language (or, to use her term, "discourse") of colonialism. While Frey attempted to locate the exact passages that Shakespeare appropriated for this play, Skura takes an interpretive approach embracing many travel narratives. But, she sees Purchas's *Pilgrimes* as the primary resource for *The Tempest*. This allows her to connect the English Virginia and Bermuda colonization efforts to the play. This is a pitfall into which many have previously fallen. Since *The Tempest* was first performed in 1611, and Purchas's volumes were not published until 1623, the Virginia and Bermuda episodes she embraces were not yet in print. However, to her credit Skura acknowledges that Shakespeare consulted both Richard Eden's and Richard Hakluyt's anthologies while writing *The Tempest* (Skura 1989: 54). However, she, and most likely anyone else who searched Hakluyt's narratives overlooked, was his 1589 edition which contained David Ingram's testimony. Skura is somewhat dismissive of the travel narratives and laments a certain lack of resources: "In 1611 there were in England no literary portrayals of new world inhabitants and certainly no examples of colonialist discourse"(57).

In the current context, perhaps Skura's point is well taken, especially if one considers one of Stephen Greenblatt's works, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (1992). Greenblatt saw all travel narratives as lies perpetuated by differing world views, wonderment, and an inability to describe new discoveries without using familiar points of reference. However, using the Greenblatt or Skura ideas of fallacious discourse, or as Skura asserts the lack of

⁵*The Decades of the New World of West India* (1555) is another Eden work that Frey believes may have influenced Shakespeare.

⁶Francis Fletcher, Sir Francis Drake's chaplain wrote lengthy descriptions of the Patagonian Indians and mentioned their god Setebos but Frey feels that Fletcher lifted the term from other sources.

contemporary literary resources, why would Shakespeare even bother to look at the travel narratives?

Stephen Orgel, however, takes the position that *The Tempest* is “more historically determined than traditional views have allowed” (1987).⁷ He sees great merit in Frey’s approach to *The Tempest*. To wit, Orgel is certain of one historical resource: “We know he did in fact turn to Montaigne’s [essays], where he found the other elements of the topos as well: that the natives have a utopian government and sanction adultery” (34). Orgel also attempts to link the Virginia and Bermuda adventures to the play and presents a fairly compelling argument. The problem with his theory, as with the others mentioned previously, revolves around timing. Was there enough time for these writings to influence Shakespeare? There may well have been but remember David Ingram, his account predates all of them. Not only would the publication of Ingram’s account give Shakespeare more than adequate time to ponder the idea of the New World, it gave a solid foundation on which to layer some of the other narratives that began cascading into early modern England. Orgel emphasized the predominant themes of the sixteenth-century travel narrative: “Cannibalism, Utopia, and free love reappear throughout the century as defining elements of New-World societies” (34).

If Orgel’s list of common travel-narrative elements are adopted as a litmus test and applied to *The Tempest*, Ingram’s account has a perfect score. This is evident from just scanning the marginalia. The most striking margin comment is one word: “Tempest” (Hakluyt 1589: 560). Obviously, finding the word “Tempest” alone should not send one rushing to conclusions, but the accompanying marginalia leave little doubt that William Shakespeare read and adopted David Ingram’s ideas. Of the fifty-seven margin subject headings, well over fifty percent relate to topics in Shakespeare’s play, not just tangentially but sometimes in direct paraphrase. What follows are the main and most obvious links to *The Tempest*.

Orgel’s list included cannibalism, Utopia, and free love; Ingram had something to say on all three subjects. Under the margin note “Canibals,” he tells of their physical and social traits, not from first hand knowledge but descriptions provided by the Indians with whom he came into contact:

The people in thofe Countreys are profelled enemies to the Canibals or men eaters: The Canibals doe moft inhabite betweene Norumbega, & Bariniah, they have teeth like dogs teeth, and thereby you may know them. (Hakluyt 1589: 558)

⁷The cited commentary is from the rear cover of Orgel’s book.

Note the spelling of “Canibal,” Orgel, as many before him, are certain that Canibal [*sic*] is nothing more than a Shakespearean anagram for Caliban (1987: 34). In Act II of *The Tempest*, there are many inferences to the monstrous and quite bestial appearance of Caliban. One in particular is worthy of note, Trinculo joins in the ongoing denigration of Caliban by stating:

I shall laugh myself to death at this puppy-headed monster. A most scurvy monster! I could find in my heart to beat him. (2.2.148-150)

Why select a dog’s head when describing cannibals? Was it essential for Shakespeare to have Trinculo make a canine reference? Orgel would have us believe that Shakespeare’s concept of cannibals came from Montaigne’s essay “On Cannibals.” Montaigne’s cannibals did not possess dog-like features.

Furthermore, they [cannibals] live in a country so exceedingly pleasant and temperate situation that, as my testimonies have further assured me, they never saw a man either shaking with palsy, toothless, with eyes drooping, or crooked and stooping through age. (1603: I.100-107, Ch. 30, “On Cannibals”)

Montaigne’s man-eaters bear no resemblance to Ingram’s nor Shakespeare’s, assuming, as many suggest that Caliban was a New World cannibal. Nevertheless, Orgel felt so strongly about Montaigne’s contribution to *The Tempest* that the essay “On Cannibals” was made an appendix to *The Oxford Shakespeare*.

Another item on Orgel’s list is Utopia. He argues that Shakespeare was also partly influenced by Montaigne in this regard. Again, Ingram trumps Montaigne for his Utopian descriptions mirror those in *The Tempest*. Consider, however, the Utopian nature of Ingram’s narrative, to this day he is cited by those who would adopt the Noble Savage and unspoiled land of milk and honey paradigm. Ingram reported “large precious stones, gold, silver, “Iron and Mineral falt,” “pearles,” “fine fures,” “Sweete turfe,” “The fertilitie of the foyle,” great forests of different types, marvelous “Clofes and pastures,” the never-ending uses of the palm, fruits, wines, flowers, and all manner of wild and domesticated animals. All of these represent a mere fraction of Ingram’s account. He was as laudatory of the peoples (except for the cannibals). They were “noble men,” physically attractive, courteous, loyal, excellent city planners, great architects, capable shipwrights, and very wise. Not everything was perfect; Ingram related some disturbing anomalies. He found the people of the New World heretical, adulterous, and polygamous.

Those sins of heresy, free love, and polygamy complete the conditions set forth by Orgel in his effort to prove the Montaigne connection. While the examples he cited, and the ones I mention above, may seem peripheral on their

face, other passages from Ingram's testimony are far more convincing. Two commentaries in particular virtually jump out of Ingram's narrative straight into the dialog of *The Tempest*. One has to do with a mythical creature, the second to the nature of Prospero's island and Caliban's role as a dispossessed monarch serving a European.

Of the many odd creatures that populate both Ingram's account and Shakespeare's play, one in particular is so outlandish that it defies all rules of coincidence. A long-winded Gonzalo described the beast:

Faith, sir, you need not fear. When we were boys,
 Who would believe that there were mountaineers
 Dewlapped like bulls, whose throats had hanging at'em
 Wallets of flesh? —or that there were such men
 Whose heads stood in their breasts? (3.3.43-47)

Compare the description with that offered by Ingram: "Hee did also see another strange Beaft bigger then a Beare, *he had neither head nor neck: his eyes and mouth were in his breast.*" (Hakluyt 1589: 560). While fanciful beasts predate the sixteenth century, the similarity of description is too precise to cast aside as circumstantial.

Why did Shakespeare strand his characters on an island? Could there be any connection with the plight of the *abandonados*? After all, Ingram was put ashore without an immediate means to return home. He endured the same type of tribulations and experienced an almost parallel set of circumstances. And what of Caliban as a deposed king? Why portray Caliban as a slave? Are the colonial aspects alluded to in *The Tempest* a polyglot of contemporary travel narratives or contrivances of modern scholars? The final passage of David Ingram's testimony, I believe, virtually sets the stage for Shakespeare:

Also the sayd examine sayth, that there is an Island called Corrafau, and there are in it five or six thousand Indians at the least, and all of those are governed by one onely Negro, who is but a slave to a Spaniard. And moreover the Spaniards will send but one of their slaves with an hundred or two hundred of the Indians, when they goe to gather golde in the Rivers descending from the mountaines. And when they shall be absent by the space of twentie or thirty dayes at the least, every one of the Indians will nevertheless obey all the Slaves commaundments with as great reuerance, as if he were their naturall King, although there be never a Chieftan neere them by the space of a hundred or two hundred miles: which greatly argueth the great obedience of those people, and how easly they may be governed when they be once conquered. (Hakluyt 1589: 562)

Shakespeare made sure that his audience understood Caliban's status as a slave. While attached to Stephano, his servitude is taken advantage of by all

other characters who come in contact with him. Caliban's obedience is unwavering even though he often voices strong opposition to his rather shoddy treatment. Was Caliban modeled after Ingram's "Negro?" Perhaps not, one of Ingram's fellow *abandonados* wrote of the Chichimici Indian nation that was ruled over by a "negroe" (Hakluyt, 310).⁸ This account was also in the 1589 edition of Hakluyt. The black chieftain came to his position after escaping from his "cruel spanishe Master" (312).

No matter the color of Caliban, he did have a white master, and have a technically stronger claim on Prospero's usurped domain: the right of succession:

This island's mine by Sycorax my mother,
Which thou tak'st from me. When thou cam'st first,
Thou strok'st me and made much of me; wouldst give Me
Water with berries in't and teach me how
To name the bigger light and how the less,
That burn by day and night; and then I loved thee,
And showed thee all the qualities o'th' isle,
The fresh springs, brine pits, barren place and fertile—
Cursed be that I did so! All the charms
Of Sycorax, toads, beetles, bats light on you!
For I am all the subjects that you have,
Which first was mine own king, and here you sty me
In this hard rock, while you do keep from me
The rest o'th' island. (1.2.331-343)

Was Caliban Ingram's Negro king that was slave to a Spaniard? Perhaps, Ingram also observed that some of the peoples he met had "faces and skins the colour like an olive" (Hakluyt 1589: 558).

Notice the similar language of Ingram and Caliban. This is the colonial discourse that Greenblatt, Skur, and Orgel find so crucial. And they are right: exploitation and subjugation dominate both dialogs. Ingram was shown the "qualities" of the New World by his hosts but sees them, and their land, as a potential English asset. Caliban descriptions are like Ingram's as he explains to his exploiters the bounty of his island and rues the day they came ashore. The relationship of slave and master is clear in both passages, as is the co-option of commodity and personal freedom. David Ingram's words haunt *The Tempest*.

Ingram was not the only *abandonado* that left a holographic legacy. Three others did as well. Two left written accounts and the other gave testimony somewhat similar to Ingram's. The published accounts, one by Miles Phillips and the other by Job Hortop, appeared in various editions of the Hakluyt

⁸This is Philips's account.

volumes. Phillips's account appeared in the same 1589 edition as Ingram's, but it would appear that Shakespeare found nothing in Phillips memoirs worthy of use in *The Tempest* with the possible exception of the "Negroe king." Phillips told mainly of his captivity and escape from Mexico, nothing fanciful or marvelous. Hortop's recollections were just as mundane, at least from a literary perspective. However, both chronicles offer a wealth of valuable information for historians. The other account, that of William Collins, was completely unavailable to Shakespeare. It is a lengthy trial record of Collins' prosecution by the Mexican Inquisition.

Phillips, Hortop, and Collins provide records of great historical value, most of what they said can be corroborated and explained. Ingram, on the other hand, left a rather questionable legacy. While Shakespeare found his "relation" useful, how could a historian take Ingram seriously? This is the man who reported elephants and "a Monftrous beaft twife as big as an Horfe... Thefe Beasts hath two teeth or hornes of a foote long growing straight forth by their nofethrilles" (560). Ingram also saw the devil, not the Biblical Satan, but the Amerindian God "Colluchio" who "[s]peaketh unto them [the Indians] fometimes in the likenefle of a blacke Dogge, and fometimes in the likenefle of a blacke Calfe" (561). Shakespeare's probable fascination with Ingram is easy to understand, but Ingram's historiographical clout is incomprehensible.

Purchas recognized Ingram as a liar more than four hundred years ago. More recent challenges to Ingram's veracity exist. Frank Aydelotte recognized that Hakluyt "came to consider it so improbable that he omitted it [Ingram's account] from the final edition of 1599-1600" (1942: 5). Rayner Unwin was even more derisive: "As leader they chose David Ingram, a common sailor whose gifts of fortitude and resolution were only exceeded by his erratic imagination" (1960: 234). Why, then, do some historians insist upon using Ingram's testimony?

Ingram well serves those historians who adhere to the concept of the noble savage, a Utopian Amerindian society, and a people destroyed by European exploiters. Ingram shows up in *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest* (Jennings 1975). Another title in which Ingram makes an appearance is *American Slavery American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (Morgan 1975). While neither author endorses Ingram as entirely credible, both give his testimony the power to have moved the likes of Sir Humphrey Gilbert.

Gilbert, if not known by, was surely acquainted with Shakespeare for he was well known in court circles. There is no question that Gilbert knew members of the Virginia Company, men such as the Lords Southampton and Pembroke, Christopher Brooke, or Dudley Digges (Orgel 1987: 32). These men

were so familiar to Shakespeare that two of them show up in dedications of his work (32).⁹ It is difficult to believe that Shakespeare's familiarity with so many explorers of the New World, that he would be unfamiliar with Ingram's tendency to exaggerate.

While sixteenth-century historians —and would be explorers— debunked Ingram, their twentieth-century counterparts saw fit to resurrect him. Ingram is to North American colonial historians what Bartolomé de las Casas is to those who endorse the Black Legend: a spoiler. In other words, an individual whose existence becomes the foundation of legends or propaganda. In the case of las Casas, the unshakeable concept of the cruel and genocidal Spaniard as an exploiter and waster of all he touched became a truism. In a like manner, some twentieth-century historians surgically removed specific passages of Ingram's testimony to argue popular views: that Amerindians led a Utopian existence before the Europeans spoiled their world, or that travel narratives —such as Ingram's— drove people like Gilbert to consider the Amerindians as savages ripe for conquest. A historian, telling a story from either standpoint is sure to be controversial.

And so the question becomes, was Shakespeare a social commentator or an imaginative playwright who saw in David Ingram's story nothing more than a basis for a marvelous play? That we may never know. Ingram's island, an enslaved king, Utopia, mythic beasts, and other unique descriptions live in Shakespeare's play. Yes, there are shadows of Ovid, Montaigne, Richard Eden, and others in *The Tempest*, but nothing that comes close to the overwhelming influence of Ingram the *abandonado*.¹⁰ I would argue that those who seek historical connections to the play as late as 1610 are misguided. David Ingram inspired William Shakespeare's *Tempest*. However, that being said, the words of Charles Frey are worth remembering when considering *The Tempest*: “and as I have tried to suggest, in order to explore the meanings implicit in the play's peculiar merger of history and romance, interpreters must travel and labor still onward.”

⁹The works were *Venus and Adonis*, *The Rape of Lucretia*, and *The Folio*. The dedicatees were Southampton and Pembroke respectively.

¹⁰Orgel suggests (as others he cites) that Ovid's *Metamorphoses* was the source of Caliban's mother's name and character (1987: 19).

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***ASTROPHIL AND
STELLA: AN
UNPROFITABLE
RELATIONSHIP?***

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In his *Defence of Poesie*, Sidney insists on poetry as a means of attaining “fruitful knowledge” and thus he underlines its profitable nature. This seems quite coherent with the spirit of his narrative production, but reading closely his sonnet sequence, *Astrophil and Stella*, the same conclusion is not so obvious. The poems are quite controversial as regards their moral benefit, and moreover the story-line that can be traced is one of loss and frustration. To what extent can these sonnets be read as a profitable composition? The dialogue that can be established between the *Defence* and *Astrophil and Stella* will lead the argumentation put forward in this paper.

On the SEDERI Conference at Huelva, we delivered a paper in which we analysed how Sidney’s *Defence of Poesie* is pervaded by a vocabulary that makes of poetry a puritan value based on the ideas of profit, usefulness and action. Inspired by the suggestion of an attendant at that lecture, we have decided to pursue this topic, only this time searching for that same idea of fruitfulness and profit in Sidney’s actual production of poetry and, more specifically, in his sonnet sequence *Astrophil and Stella*.

Defence of Poesie and *Astrophil and Stella* were both written between the first composition and the revision of the *Arcadia* so we can group them together in one period of Sidney’s career and assume that they should share some common ideas about the value and purpose of poetry. However, when read together, it is outstanding how apparently contradictory they are.

In the first place, in the *Defence*, Sidney does not even assume the role of himself as a poet. He goes as far as considering himself a “paper blurrer,” but when it comes to the title of poet he confesses: “I never desired the title, so have I neglected the meanes to come by it, onely overmastered by some thoughts, I yeilded an inckie tribute unto them.” And with this “them” he definitely excludes himself from the group of acknowledged “poets.” It is also surprising how when he comes to analyze the “Lyricall” mode he advises that it should better be employed in praising “the immortal bewtie, the immortall goodness of

that God,”¹ whereas love poets are dismissed as false and awkward: “If I were a mistress, would never persuade me they were in love.” This seems totally inconsistent with the spirit of a man that wrote 108 sonnets plus eleven songs inspired by the love of a woman. Such considerations should place the composition of *Astrophil and Stella* after and not before the composition of the *Defence*, that would make more sense, at least from the point of view of internal evidence in the text; however, important critics believe it was written in the opposite order, which creates an apparent inconsistency in Sidney’s words.²

But the greater incongruity is apparently manifest when we try to come to terms with the moralising position of the *Defence* as regards *Astrophil and Stella*. The love story that is portrayed in the sonnet sequence is one that, despite the claims of the star lover to cultivate a virtuous love (sonnets 25 and 64), is burdened by the unavoidable presence of desire and sexual attraction. Moreover, the lover, halfway through the sequence, assaults the sleeping lady to rob her of a kiss and is clearly unsatisfied with the timidity of his act as he recriminates himself “fool for no more taking” (2nd song). Later on, his penitence is not a question of repentance for the sexual course his love has taken, but just of sorrow for having lost the favour of Stella (sonnets 94 to 99).

The aim of Sidney when writing these poems does not seem to follow exactly the precepts he exposes in the *Defence* regarding the mission of the poet: “to draw us to as high a perfection, as our degenerate souls can be capable of” or, in another passage, to “teach to make them (the readers) know that goodness whereunto they are moved.” The reader of the sonnet sequence would not be moved to “vertuous action” because the example of the lover leads us away from virtue into frustration and passivity. The sequence does not “giveth praise, the reward of virtue to vertuous acts,” on the contrary, action is counterpoised by passivity and virtue by lust and sexual desire as is seen in sonnets (52, 63, 72 and songs 2 and 8, among the most notable). Sidney seems to make real in writing his sonnets the very same arguments he attributes to “poet haters” in the *Defence*: “that poets abuseth mens wit, training it to wanton sinfulness and lustfull love.” But instead of refuting this type of argument, Sidney admits that poesie being abused “can do more hurt than any other army

¹The same idea was to be found a few years later in the essay by Robert Southwell In Praise of Religious Poetry (Vickers 1999: 395). Actually, that was the course that lyric poetry would follow at that time. Lyric poetry, and love poetry particularly, was one of the main targets of the attacks of the puritans. More or less timid defences of it can be found in works such as Elyot’s *The Value of Poetry in Education* and Puttenham’s *English Poetics and Rhetoric*.

²In his edition of Sidney’s *Defence*, B. Vickers assumes it is probable that the sonnets were written before the *Defence*, but also admits the oddness of Sidney’s words in such a case: “Only, overmastered by some thoughts, I yielded an inky tribute unto them” (1999: 379). Katherine Duncan Jones quotes these same words to illustrate Sidney’s contribution to love poetry (1986: 174).

of words,” and the only solution he suggests is to put poesie “upon the right use.”

Can *Astrophil and Stella* be considered the right use of poetry? It is at least enigmatic. Whereas in *Defence of Poesie* Sidney puts great emphasis in the profit that the reader should obtain from literature through its moral teaching, the sonnet sequence cannot be easily considered as an example of virtuous action; therefore, the profit of the reader at this level might be discarded at first. Still, we can ask ourselves what other profit, if any, could have Sidney obtained from writing *Astrophil and Stella*. We only need to read the first verses of the first sonnet of the sequence to learn what is Astrophil’s (not necessarily Sidney’s) confessed object in writing the sonnets:

Loving in truth, and faine in verse my love to show,
That the deare She might take some pleasure of my paine:
Pleasure might cause her reade, reading might make her know
Knowledge might pitie winne, and pitie grace obtaine.

Astrophil wants to obtaine the grace of his “deare She” (which is the conventional purpose of all lovers in this type of compositions), and his declared means of obtaining this grace is through the process of stimulating in his lady pleasure and pity. This sounds extremely familiar with the “delightful teaching” that Sidney ascribes to poetry in the *Defense*. Poetry should “delight to move men to take that goodnesse in hand, which without delight they would fly as from a stranger.” And here we can find a clear connection between both works in that the means of obtaining a benefit, be it didactic or emotional, is sustained on the idea of pleasure, pleasure as a kind of bait to facilitate access to his goal. Pleasure drives us towards literature and therefore towards learning in the *Defense*, whereas in the sonnet sequence Astrophil uses this same pleasure of poetry to try to obtain Stella’s favour. Pleasure and delight are therefore the recurring elements in both works.

However, this strategy turns out to be a failure when put to practice, at least in the outcome of *Astrophil and Stella’s* plot. Astrophil never gets Stella’s favour, all he gets is a stolen kiss and later on reproach and disdain. Read from this perspective, *Astrophil and Stella* recounts a story where no profit is obtained from either part. Images of loss and poverty can be read in different sonnets and the sequence traces a metaphoric process that leads Astrophil from an initial state of poverty to the ambition of Stella’s richness, to total bankruptcy at the end.

To illustrate this we can start by quoting sonnet 18, where a conceit with poverty is developed as the lover recognises he is “bankrout”:

Unable quite to pay even Nature's rent,
Which unto it by birthright I do owe:

The cause of this bankruptcy, however, is not the lady as could be expected, but is attributed to his own fault as having been incapable of proving worthy of his initial expectations in life.

It is well known, both to his contemporary audience and to later generations, how Sidney led a life of social frustrations as the positions and titles he was expecting to inherit were lost when his uncle, the Earl of Leicester, married and had a son at an unexpected advanced age. Moreover, the incident in which he sent a letter to the queen advising her against her marriage to the French Duke of Alençon discredited him for a time as unfit for official offices at a high level. This biographical evidence has led a number of critics to interpret *Astrophil and Stella* as a political metaphor in which Astrophil's impossible love should be interpreted as a symbol of Sidney's unsuccessful social career.³ Sonnet 18 is an evident comment on his status in court which he laments, but all the responsibility derives from his own fault:

And which is worse, no good excuse can show
But that my wealth I have most idly spent.
My youth doth waste, my knowledge brings forth toys,
My wit doth strive those passions to defend,
Which for reward spoil it with vaine annoyes.
I see my course to lose my selfe doth bend:
I see and yet no greater sorow take,
Then that I lose no more for Stella's sake.

Stella is only mentioned in the last verse, appearing as a secondary concern which should be mentioned for the sake of conventionality, and even then it is ambiguous whether he wants to keep the little he has got left for Stella's benefit or whether he is afraid to lose more by Stella's cause. In any way that we interpret it, the result is the same, the poetical persona is pictured in deprivation and in the rest of the sequence this state of shortage is sought to be overcome thanks to Stella's richness. No matter if we prefer to read the sonnets as a story of love or as a story of material self seeking in the context of the court, the final result is unprofitable. A sad story of hope and loss.

The pun that Sidney plays in sonnets 24, 35 and 37 with Penelope's married surname, "Rich," is sufficiently known and has been an important clue to identify the historical inspirer of Stella's character: Penelope Devereaux, married at the age of 18 to Lord Rich. But we can find more instances in which

³Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass affirm: "Even within the poems, the supposedly private sphere of love can be imagined only through its similarities and dissimilarities to the poetic world of the court" (1984: 34).

the metaphors of poverty and wealth recur. In sonnet 3 he says that “strange things cost too deare for my poor sprites,” in sonnet 62 we can read: “Alas, if this the only metal be / Of Love, new-coind to help my beggery, / Deare, love me not, that you may love me more.” In sonnet 68 he calls Stella “world of my wealth,” in sonnet 79 he describes the kiss he has stolen from Stella as “poore hope’s first wealth,” in the 5th song Astrophil accuses Stella: “But thou rich in all joyes, doest rob my joyes from me,” in the ninth song, once more against Stella, he calls her “only rich in mischief’s treasure,” and in the eleventh song he finally declares: “Let my change to ruin be.”⁴

Notwithstanding all these considerations, the overall structure may be understood as pointing at a moralizing aim, if we assume a threefold division such as: 1) Infatuation within the Petrarchan tradition, in which the sexual aspect of love is clearly made explicit, 2) period of bliss, 3) serious disappointment. The key is found in the last two lines of sonnet 107, the penultimate of the sequence when Astrophil says: “O let no fools in me thy works reprove, / And scorning say, ‘see what is to love’.” But the sequence comes to an end in sonnet 108, and the petition of the poetic persona is not given a chance, rather proving what Astrophil is afraid it might prove, that love is a frustrating and destructive experience. This is the teaching that readers would obtain from this work, totally in agreement with the conception of literature underlying the *Defence*, according to which good and evil are imitated to encourage the one and discourage the other (Vickers 1999: 14).

The sonnets are also the best literary illustration that Sidney did ever produce of the *Defence*’s dictum that “since our erected wit maketh us know what perfection is... our infected will keepeth us from reaching unto it.” The struggle between virtue and desire is nowhere better exemplified as in sonnet 71, with its so well-known ending:

As fast thy Vertue bends that love to good:
“But ah,” Desire still cries, “give me some food.”

Sidney is several times stating his personal plight as one of frustrated expectations in the socio-political arena:⁵

⁴In relation to this topic of material wealth, Richard M. Berrong analyses in an interesting article Sidney’s change of attitude in his *Arcadias*. Whereas in the first version, nearer to the composition of *A&S* than the other one, there is a fascination with wealth, as a sign of social and, moral quality, in the second the Protestant disdain of opulence is made explicit through a “...critique of wealth... aimed specifically at those who sought it without needing it or intending to use it” (1991: 340).

⁵In a reading in which love discourse is equated to the discourse of political ambition, Arthur F. Marotti states: “Lady Rich was for him, as was Anne Boleyn for Wyatt, a fit symbol of his unattained and unattainable social and political goals” (1982: 400).

For since mad March great promise made of me,
 If now the May of my yeares much decline,
 What can be hoped my harvest time will be?

What could that harvest be expected to be at this time of Sidney's life? Where could he find a way out for him to satisfy his personal ambitions? Clearly the activity he is carrying out in writing not only this sonnet sequence but the *Defence* itself and the *Arcadia*, with its revision, suggests that fame by poetry is what he was actually seeking, at least within the coterie readers he could find at court. Dorothy Connell states that "In redefining his way of being useful to the state, Sidney had already before 1580 begun to gravitate towards performing services of a literary nature at court" (1977: 102). His denial of this possibility in sonnet 90 is rather a confirmation of it than anything else: "Stella think not that I by verse seek fame." What need is there for such an unexpected declaration to be made nearly at the end of the sequence? Could it not be taken as proof of his bad conscience about the whole business? It is the same kind of statement as that mentioned at the beginning of this paper when in the *Defence* Sidney declares that he never desired the title of poet for himself. Who else but one who felt himself a poet could have written such a fervent defence of poetry? Thomas P. Roche considers that *Astrophil and Stella* responds absolutely to literary convention put to serve personal expectations: "Sidney as well as any other sonneteer knew that passion defeated in poetry could become praise, and thus he began his Penelope game not out of love but out of love poetry..."⁶ (1985: 222).

The language of loss and poverty in which *Astrophil* presents himself in these sonnets stresses the idea that his only wealth at the end of the sequence is that which may derive from his activity as a poet. In this way, *Astrophil and Stella* might be read as a supplement to the *Defence* as regards the issue of love poetry, proved through its practice to be profitable both for the reader and the author,⁷ and thus finally deserving the title of poetry in its best sense as understood in the *Defence*.

⁶Not only was he creating an image of himself as poet, but also, in Katherine Duncan-Jones' words, "Like many other Renaissance poets, the young Sidney fashioned a literary myth of himself as lover" (1986: 174).

⁷Thomas Elyot paraphrases the words of the puritans in their attacks against lyric poetry as follows: "...in the works of poets is contained nothing but bawdry (such is their foul word of reproach) and unprofitable (sic) leasings" (Vickers 1999: 65).

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**“BEFORE WORDS”:
SEEING AND PRIVACY
IN RENAISSANCE
POETRY**

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At the very start of his book *Ways of Seeing*, the art critic John Berger says: “Seeing comes before words. It is seeing which establishes our place in the world.” This paper will explore ways of being in the world through different ways of seeing portrayed in the texts of three English Renaissance poets: Sir Philip Sidney, Edmund Spenser and Mary Wroth. In those texts in which seeing, though a threat to an order, leads to a positive vision of the private, there is an unavoidable depiction of the physical and its transgression, its violation; but when the text presents a condition rather than a physical space, when seeing rather than as transgression is defined as an aspiration, then the physical, in dilution, gives place to more discursive conceptions of the private.

At the very start of his book *Ways of Seeing*, the art critic John Berger says: “Seeing comes before words.” (Berger 1972: 7) And he continues: “There is also another sense in which seeing comes before words. It is seeing which establishes our place in the world.” The question is what place does one attain when it is difficult to see, or when there is no looking at all, in the dark for instance, in solitude. Anomalies in described acts of seeing generate a different kind of text, one in which the delineation of the space portrayed provokes its inhabitants to dwell in a faulty state.

Two types of texts will be analyzed. In the first group, a section of book VI of *The Faerie Queene* and a poem of Sir Philip Sidney, the look, seeing, is not only central to the conformation of a defined space. In fact seeing illustrates space beyond the mere narrative frame, claiming an emblematic quality while presenting a positive vision of the private. This vision shows that harmony in those spaces is vulnerable and that their violation runs parallel to a questioning of courtly values, of virtue. The second group of texts presents spaces which are more a condition, an aspiration to make sense in a poetic discourse which excludes certain ways of seeing. In the poems of Lady Mary Wroth, the impossibility to express openly the dialogism lover-beloved, when it translates into she-he, projects itself onto an amorous space restricted to the realms of the

night, of the dreaming. As it has also been pointed out in the case of Spenser, the texts delineate not only a space for love, or better to talk about love, but also the defining traits of a certain idea of privacy, one which does not lose sight of the discourse of love but suggests an alternative version of seeing.

According to Berger, seeing is in western culture a masculine prerogative:

Men act and women appear. Men look at women. Women watch themselves being looked at. This determines not only most relations between men and women but also the relation of women to themselves. The surveyor of woman in herself is male: the surveyed female. Thus she turns herself into an object of vision: a sight. (Berger 1972: 47)

Berger's words provide us with a starting point to approach the first text, an episode of Book VI of *The Faerie Queene*, a pastoral world. Calidore, who is looking for the blatant beast, appears in a place full of shepherds. In an apparent harmony, this locus defines itself primarily by its detachment from a courtly environment where looks and seeing govern. Despite this pretended isolation, the rules of courtesy are present, and they appear obvious to the reader when failure to observe them takes place. Such a failure turns the place, until then secluded from sight, into an unbalanced context due to undesired eyes which redefine the space making the original amorous space into a space of violation, of intrusion.

Aladine and Priscilla, knight and lady, are the protagonists of an encounter in a perfect place for secrecy where love could be appropriately sheltered resulting, however, into a physical as well as ideological conflict. The two lovers

...chaunst to come foreby a covert glade
 Within a wood, whereas a Ladie gent
 Sate with a Knight in ioyous iolliment
 Of their frank loves, free from all gealous spyes:
 Faire was the Ladie sure, that mote content
 And hart, not carried with too curious eyes,
 And unto him did shew all lovely courtesies. (VI. 2. 16)

The private encounter takes place in a "covert glade" inside the forest, as Spenser specifies; it is there where the lovers may surrender themselves to the "ioyous iolliment" of their "sincere" love. And yet the most essential condition must be fulfilled, to be away from intruders, from "gelous spyes," so that Priscilla can show Aladine "all lovely courtesies."

The forest shelters and defends the lovers against "too curious eyes." Essential as it is as context for pastoral, the forest and its protective function end

up being emblemized as Henry Peacham shows in his emblem book *Minerva Britanna* under the motto “Nulli penetrabilis”:



A shadie wood, pourtraicted to the sight,
 With uncouth pathes, and hidden waies unknowne:
 Resembling Chaos, or the hideous night,
 Or those sad groves, by banke of Acheron
 With baneful ewe, and ebon overgrowne:
 Whose thickest boughes, and inmost entries are
 Not peirceable, to power of any starre. (126)

As the emblemist later says, the forest is a place “unsearched with outward eies.” Aladine and Priscilla can be imagined but not seen. The description provided by the epigram renders a place free from intruders but also potentially dangerous and uncertain. We face a locus which discourages exploration at the same time it invites entering. It is perhaps because of this duality that both lovers are interrupted by The Discourteous Knight. Priscilla has been caught in the act, Aladine wounded and the “covert glade” has lost its protective function. Aladine is saved by Tristam and Calidore, champion of courtesy, who later on will help Priscilla avoid her father’s most obvious questions. What initially was an amorous space has turned into a space of transgression defined not only by the action of the intruder but also by the lovers themselves.

In another example, the long romance *Urania*, Mary Wroth uncovers for the reader the reasons for such a desired isolation on the part of the lovers. According to Wroth it is a matter of idoneity. The shady woods are the adequate context for love:

Loue among the clouds did houer
 Seeking where to spie a louer:
 In the Court he none could find,
 Townes too meane were in that kind,
 At last as he was ripe to crying,
 In Forrest woods he found one lying
 Vnder-neath a tree fast sleeping,
 Sprit of Loue her body keeping. (296)

Cupid, ready to cry, is not able to find a true lover at court but fortunately “in Forrest woods he found one lying.” The rejection of the court constitutes an ideological axis for pastoral scenes where love feelings open the floor for melancholy. Court / country, as operating opposition, is a commonplace which the author may have read in poems such as this one, by her uncle Sir Philip Sidney:

DYSPRAYSE OF A COURTLY LIFE
 Walking in bright Phoebus blaze
 Where with heate opprest I was
 I got to a shady wood,
 Where greene leaves did newly bud.
 And of grasse plenty dwelling,
 Deckt with pyde flowers seweetly smelling.
 In this wood a man I met,
 On lamenting wholly set (Kermode 1972: 141)

The poem criticizes court life from the very title. The solitary inhabitant of the forest is caught in the middle of his lamentations and confesses his reasons to a tree not to his interlocutor: “Daring not to tell to mee, / spake unto a senceless tree.” The shepherd, now at court, misses the fields, the sheep, the context in which the only effort is love: “Never striving but in loving.”

Love and melancholy share the same environment. It is always an isolated place, fit for love as well as for the lack of it. Peacham, gain, lets us read and see how the forest and solitude mark the basic premises of melancholy:



Heere Melancholly musing in his fits,
Pale visag'd, of complexion cold and drie,
All solitarie, at his studie sits,
Within a wood, devoid of companie. (126)

Urania also announces her condition as lover and melancholic in the first sonnet interspersed in the romance. Her complaint, as in the case of the relocated shepherd, is directed against the surroundings:

Vnseene, vnknowne, I here alone complaine
To Rocks, to Hills, to Meadowes, and to Springs,
Which can no helpe returne to ease my paine,
But back my sorrowes the sad Eccho brings. (2)

The essential thing in this quatrain is that Urania stresses the importance of being alone so that the complaint can take the desired form and be directed to “Rocks, to Hills, to Meadowes, and to Springs.” But Urania adds more conditions to the scheme presented in the previous poem. Being alone needs qualification. This time solitude has to be guaranteed no intrusions: “Unseene.” The melancholy moment, the lover’s complaint, becomes not only a moment of retirement, of isolation, but also a moment of estrangement, “unknowne.” The forest does not seem to be able to provide any longer those safe places because they always end up being transgressed by intruders. For Urania, the space of love or its complaint transcends “Hills, Meadowes.” In fact pastoral geography redoubles the complaints: “Thus encreasing are my woes to me, / Doubly resounded by that monefull voice.” Urania, in a monologue, compares herself with the sheep while revealing the true nature of her complaint: “worse art thou now than these thy lambs, for they know their dams, while thou dost live

unknown of any” (4). It is not only a matter of seeing and being seen, but also of being considered or ignored.

The spaces for love presented so far coincide in a similar topography which suggests visually or explicitly an opposition to court. In all of them there is an intervention which destabilizes the parameters of sight. Sight has a pre-established direction and, whether it happens in court, hills, or springs, the feminine figure has a prominent a passive position, as Berger points out (1972: 46). In order to displace those parameters Mary Wroth sets out to re-evaluate not only her role at court but also her usage of the literary artifice. In essence what comes out is a re-evaluation of the self away from courteous looks, as in sonnet 23:

When euery one to pleasing pastime hies,
Some hunt, some hauke, some play while some delight
In sweet discourse, and musicke shewes ioyes might:
Yet I my thoughts doe farre aboue these prize.
The ioy which I take is, that free from eyes. (12)

The goal is again not to be seen, to be “free from eyes;” but it is now a goal which implies a certain degree of personal achievement, of personal happiness. “the ioy which I take” takes the place of games, hunting, music, and delineates a new hierarchy, “my thoughts doe farre above these prize.” In this exercise of contempt for courtly life, the only valuable outcome is a drive for retirement, for isolation, but not of the kind the shepherds sought. This time the shady grooves of Spenser are not enough:

When others hunt, my thoughts I haue in chase;
If hauke, my minde at wished end doth flye:
Discourse, I with my spirit talke and cry;
While others musicke choose as greatest grace. (12)

Once thought has been liberated from sight, mind and body carry out a frenetic activity. The literary convention of a retired life and the all seeing-social milieu of the readers of such a commonplace seeks conflation. Wroth proposes sleep, the dream, as realm where seeing stops controlling her actions. Now the “Nulli penetrabilis” is embodied in a space of impossible measure, free from intruders and limited by the body itself, a space where Venus and Cupid take hold of the self as in the opening illustration of Vaenius’ *Amorum Emblemata*, an emblem book published in England in 1608 and dedicated to William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, cousin and lover of Lady Mary Wroth:



With this image in mind (and sight), let us read the first sonnet of the sequence *Pamphilia to Amphilantus*,

When night's blacke Mantle could most darknesse proue,
 And sleepe (deaths Image) did my senses hyre,
 From Knowledge of my selfe, then thoughts did moue
 Swifter then those, most [swiftnesse] neede require:
 In sleepe, a Chariot drawne by wing'd Desire,
 I saw: where sate bright Venus Queene of Loue,
 And at her feete her Sonne, still adding Fire
 To burning hearts, which she did hold aboue,
 But one heart flaming more then all the rest,
 The Goddess held, and put it to my breast,
 Deare Sonne now [shoot], said she: thus must we winne;
 He her obey'd, and martyr'd my poore heart.
 I waking hop'd as dreames it would depart,
 Yet since, O me, a Lover I haue binn. (1)

The first sonnet of *Pamphilia* is structured in several movements: night, loss of control of the senses, dream, vision, awakening. It would be simplistic to say that this is just a dream, because Wroth pays special attention in telling the dream. It is, then a report of a dream. Shakespeare helps us establish the polarities between which the report is completed: “Before, a joy is proposed; behind, a dream” (sonnet 129). Between “joy” and “dream” the report and the vision, are framed. This sonnet exiles joy and makes of love an unavoidable, not negotiable, state which appears at night and arrests the senses. There is here no seeing because in sleep there are no spaces to violate. The look is replaced by the vision in search of a more private context where the *descensus amor* can take place. Sleep is the “covert glade” in which the senses do not count —“did my sense hyre, / From knowledge of my selfe.” This state, as Wroth defines

near death, appears beyond the persona's control and also beyond the control of any intruder. The action of Venus is for Wroth the most private experience.

If in the first texts the contact of verse and body is established by means of a look which aspires to become vision, in *Pamphilia* the reader finds the opposite movement, a vision which might be materialised in seeing, but only once seeing has been deprived of its predefined nature and direction. Mary Wroth situates the beginning of her sonnet sequence beyond sight without superseding conscience, in an attempt to conciliate public and private. It is another way of pointing out what is in sight and what not, what is a desirable view, and what must and must not be shown.

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**“THE MASTER
MISTRESS OF MY
PASSION”: CROSS-
DRESSING AND GENDER
PERFORMANCE IN
*TWELFTH NIGHT***

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Shakespeare presents a fascinating exploration of the manipulation and construction of gender and identity in *Twelfth Night*. Through a common theatrical practice of disguise in drama, the bard explores the significance of gender and identity in relation to performance, bringing in the performative aspect of gender and identity. Throughout the play text, Viola-Cesario's identity, especially her / his gender, remains elusive. She / he sexually appeals to both man and woman: Olivia is attracted by “him,” and so is Orsino. In disguising as a man, Viola constructs a male semblance through an imitation of the image of her supposedly dead brother Sebastian, a gesture hinting at the cultural construction of one's gender identity, a construction that culminates here in the sumptuary codes and gender performance.

Viola's cross-dressing disguise explicitly illustrates the fashioning of one's identity through clothing. It is a fashioning reflecting socially imposed and regulated construction on one's gender identity. Moreover, the performative aspect of gender intelligibility in Viola's disguise as Cesario highlights the volitional construction of one's gender identity on the stage. The ambiguity inherent in the character of Viola-Cesario challenges the belief in a coherent and stable gender identity. The meaning and nature of sexual identity, therefore, are not fixed, stable, or permanent, as they seem to be. Moreover, the sense of ambiguity and split inherent in Viola's disguise does not evaporate with the final revelation of her identity. On the contrary, the split male part is to be materialized and subsumed in the character of Sebastian, facilitating Olivia's transference of passion from Cesario to Sebastian.

Dost thou think, though I am caparisoned like a
man, I have a doublet and hose in my disposition?
As You Like It, 3.2.191-93¹

Shakespeare presents a fascinating exploration of the manipulation and construction of gender and identity in *Twelfth Night*. Through a seemingly common theatrical practice of disguise in drama, the bard, however, explores

¹Unless otherwise specified, all quotations from Shakespeare are from D. Bevington's edition (1992).

the implication of gender and identity in relation to performance, thereby illustrating the performative aspect of gender and identity. Like *Comedy of Errors*, *Twelfth Night* develops its exploration of identity with twins. But the issues of identity are much more complex in the latter because of the twins' gender difference. With its heroine's cross-dressing, the play complicates its development with the theatrical disguise and brings forward the comic plots of an entanglement involving Orsino, Olivia, Viola, and Sebastian.

Viola, after surviving from a shipwreck, disguises as a male page, Cesario, thereby assuming a male appearance. In disguising as a man, Viola constructs a male semblance through an imitation of the image of her supposedly dead brother Sebastian, a gesture hinting at the cultural construction of one's gender identity, a construction that culminates here in the sumptuary codes and gender performance. In other words, the example of Viola's sexual reversal through cross-dressing disguise brings to the foreground the cultural and social construction of gender identity, illustrating the fashioning of one's identity through clothing. The convention of Elizabethan transvestite stage, or boy actors playing female roles (male cross-dressing), makes gender issues even more complicated, often raising the implication of homoeroticism. The boy actor, playing the female character Viola, who then disguises as a male page Cesario, becomes a contention site for gender identities competing to become intelligible with each gender configuration.

Judith Butler points out the hegemonic nature of the concept toward gender within a heterosexual framework: "[T]he 'unity' of gender is the effect of a regulatory practice that seeks to render gender identity uniform through a compulsory heterosexuality" (1990: 31). Under the constraints of compulsory heterosexuality, gender is rendered as a binary system of feminine / masculine, female / male, or woman / man. Such a framework not only reifies gender configurations for the purpose of fitting them into the model, but also excludes those other than the prescribed gender identities. As Butler puts it,

The cultural matrix through which gender identity has become intelligible requires that certain kinds of "identities" cannot "exist" —that is, those in which gender does not follow from sex and those in which the practices of desire do not "follow" from either sex or gender. (Butler 1990: 17)

Cesario, an example of female cross-dressing in the theatrical representation at hand, dramatizes a gender identity which is difficult to be categorized within the binary framework. The play text plays on the abundant implications of such an ambiguous gender identity. For example, Malvolio describes Cesario, who is waiting to see Olivia outside, in following comparisons:

Not yet old enough for a man, nor young enough for a boy; as a squash is before 'tis a peascod, or a codling when 'tis almost an apple. 'Tis with him in standing water between boy and man. (1.5.153-156)

The elusiveness of Viola-Cesario's gender identity provides a contrast to the more traditional gender identity formulated under a binary framework. The ambiguity inherent in the character of Viola-Cesario destabilizes the belief in a coherent and stable gender identity.

First, I would like to discuss the performative aspect of gender intelligibility. The play text begins Viola's encounter with Olivia with playacting metaphors, calling attention to the underlying structure of role-playing in Viola's disguise. As requested, Viola-Cesario plays a role of wooer on behalf of "his" master. "He" uses language full of playacting implications in defining "his" mission, addressing to Olivia in words reminiscent of an actor's profession:

I pray you, tell me if this be the lady of the house, for I never saw her. I would be loath to cast away my speech; for besides that it is excellently well penned, I have taken great pains to con it. (1.5.167-70)

As it turns out, Cesario does effectively *act* Orsino's woes with "his" histrionic power to charm Olivia in their very first encounter.

Cesario makes it clear that "he" *acts* on Orsino's behalf. In other words, "he" comes to Olivia under a mission, which is largely defined in histrionic terms. But "his" acting does not provoke a revulsion of being merely pretense. On the contrary, the performance is taken at its face value by Olivia, who equates the proxy-wooer to the wooer, and involuntarily falls in love with the proxy. Similar to a play-watching experience, the audience (Olivia) cannot help identify the actor (Cesario) with the role he impersonates. Like plague, love creeps quickly and stealthily into Olivia's heart right after her first meeting with Cesario: "Even so quickly may one catch the plague? / Methinks I feel this youth's perfections / With an invisible and subtle stealth / To creep in at mine eyes" (1.5.290-93). Not only does Olivia unwittingly fall in love with a woman in disguise as a man, but also relinquish a vow to live in seclusion. As in his other romantic comedies, the bard here ridicules the irrationality and blindness of love in presenting Olivia's immediate passion for the young Cesario.

Viola is trapped in a triangular relation when she learns of Olivia's love for her. Not knowing how to untangle the knot, she leaves everything to time. In appearance, Viola impersonates a man, thus suggesting a lack of resolution in a man. In a sense, Cesario's rather timid and soft personality somehow undermines the traditional masculine value given to a male subject. Of course, we should remember, the representation of Cesario's feminine temperament,

despite the male appearance, is also a reminder of her underlying female identity. In contrast to Viola's passiveness to her baffling situation, Olivia, a counter-example of gender stereotype, is much more active and out-spoken. She plays a leading role in the relationship with Cesario and Sebastian. She daunts and mocks at Cesario in a defiant gesture to disrupt the patriarchal value when the latter tries to praise her beauty on the one hand, and blame her cruelty on the other, in the Petrarchan conceit:

O, sir, I will not be so hardhearted. I will give out divers schedules of my beauty. It shall be inventoried, and every particle and utensil labeled to my will: as, item, two lips, indifferent red; item, two gray eyes, with lids to them; item, one neck, one chin, and so forth. (1.5.239-44)

Olivia, in her comic and satirical ridicule of Viola's urge to accept Orsino's love, refuses to be assimilated into the Petrarchan tradition by ridiculing the poetic device of blazoning her physical parts. Her active role in a love relation, with either Cesario or Sebastian (mistakenly taken for Cesario), is reminiscent of other Shakespearean unruly heroines, who are not afraid to go forward and pursue their love and marriage.

The gender issues become even more complicated and slippery when the boy actors cross-dressing as female characters is taken into consideration. On a meta-theatrical level, boy actors play female roles on the stage, mimicking the female voice, gesture, pose, and so on. As the term "gender role" indicates, gender intelligibility relies heavily on socially expected behavior, a configuration involving performance. The Elizabethan transvestite convention, having boy actors playing female roles, acts out and repeats the construction of gender. Phyllis Rackin points out the playacting nature of gender roles on the Elizabethan stage:

On a stage where female characters were always played by male actors, feminine gender was inevitably a matter of costume; and in plays where the heroines dressed as boys, gender became doubly problematic, the unstable product of role-playing and costume, not only in the theatrical representation but also within the fiction presented on stage (1987: 29).

To further differentiate the double layers of meanings in a Renaissance theatrical representation, Dymphna Callaghan terms the theatrical representation (the play) as the "primary level of Renaissance practice" (2000: 31), and the fiction presented on the stage (the disguise or the play-within-the-play) as the "secondary level of the text's fiction" (30). On the secondary level, Viola, concealing her female identity, crossdresses as a male page (an "eunuch") Cesario to serve in the Duke's household after her survival from a shipwreck. She assumes not only a new identity, but a new gender in Illyria. This disguise illustrates, as Jean E. Howard argues, "that gender differences are culturally

constructed and historically specific, rather than innate, and that the hierarchical gender systems based on these differences can therefore be changed” (1988: 419).

The performative aspect of gender intelligibility, in Viola’s disguise as Cesario, highlights the volitional construction of one’s gender identity on the stage. Viola’s disguise as a man calls attention to the “primary level” of representation, that is, the theatrical convention of male cross-dressing characterized on the early modern England stage—a disguise that foregrounds the theatrical illusion of accepting female roles played by young boys. Stephen Greenblatt illustrates the ambiguity of gender on the transvestite stage with Orsino’s comparison of Cesario’s boyishness to a woman’s part:

This perception of ambiguity, rooted in early modern ideas about sexuality and gender, is one of the elements that enabled a boy actor in this period convincingly to mime “a woman’s part.” (Greenblatt 1997: 1766)

In his introduction to *As You Like It*, Greenblatt gives an account of the early modern ideas about sexuality and gender. In short, according to the Renaissance anatomical theory, “men and women had the same anatomical structures:”

[W]omen’s genitalia were just like a man’s—with the vagina and ovaries corresponding to the penis and scrotum—except that they had not been pushed outside the body as a man’s had been. (Greenblatt 1997: 1595)

In a sense, gender becomes a matter of clothing and performance. As explicitly defined in the Induction to *The Taming of the Shrew*, the page (or a boy actor), who is assigned to play a female role, should adopt the “grace, / Voice, gait, and action of a gentlewoman” (Ind., 131-32). With female attires and cosmetics, young boys playact female roles on stage. In like manner, Viola assumes male attires and gesture to become Cesario.

Seen against this consideration of the Elizabethan transvestite stage, Viola-Cesario appears to be feminine to other characters like Shakespeare’s other cross-dressing heroines. For example, Orsino calls attention to Cesario’s feminine appearance and physical characteristic: lips more smooth and rubious than Diana’s, a small pipe as “the maiden’s organ, shrill and sound,” and “all is semblative a woman’s part” (1.4.33, 34). Orsino’s comments emphasize the underlying feminine characteristics of Viola’s male disguise, which, in turn, calls attention to the performative nature of the boy actor’s histrionic performance of mimicking a female role in disguising as a male page.

Cesario’s feminine quality and youthfulness turn “him” into an object of desire for both men and women. Being a young and beautiful “boy,” like Adonis in *Venus and Adonis*, Cesario is characterized as an “androgynous” youth (“an eunuch”) with both masculine and feminine qualities. Orsino utilizes

Cesario's attraction to women as his messenger: "It shall become thee well to *act my woes*; / She will attend it better in thy youth / Than in a nuncio's of more grave aspect" (1.4.26-28, emphasis added). But what Orsino does not consciously aware is the possibility that a young boy, not yet reaching full maturity as a man, possesses a unspeakable attraction for being like a woman. The boy arouses a hidden homoerotic desire in Orsino, a possibility suggested by Orsino's sudden shift of passion from Olivia to Viola (Cesario) in the final recognition scene. In an exchange about men's and women's constancy, Orsino boasts his incomparable love for Olivia: "Make no compare / Between that love a woman can bear me / And that I owe Olivia" (2.4.101-03). When he learns of the secret marriage between Olivia and Cesario (actually Sebastian), he even threatens to kill the latter in a fit of jealousy. But within a few minutes, when he finds out Viola's true identity, he is ready to marry Viola right away, putting Olivia all behind. It will be difficult to make sense of Orsino's change unless the hidden homoerotic desire, which will surface to account for the arbitrary ending and provide a possible explanation for Orsino's sudden shift of love from Olivia to Viola, is taken into consideration. But, with the revelation of Cesario's "true"² sexual identity, the unspeakable homoerotic desire is changed into a heterosexual desire.

Next, I would like to look at the fashioning of identity through clothing. The imposition and construction of one's gender identity with the assumption of male / female attires become explicit in the plot of Viola's disguise. The stricter the sumptuary rules, the easier the fashioning of identity through costume. The formation of gender identity is exemplified through Viola's assumption of male costume. Cesario swears to Olivia "I am not that I play" (1.5.180) —a description bringing into double layers of meanings at once. On the primary, or dramatic level, Cesario is not a young man "he" appears to be. On the secondary, or meta-theatrical level, the boy actor, playing the role Viola, is not a woman he dramatizes. As mentioned earlier, the histrionic metaphor calls attention to the performative aspect of the construction of gender identity. In *As You Like It* the boy actor playing Rosalind concludes the play with the epilogue:

If I were a woman I would kiss as many of you as had beards that pleased me, complexions that liked me, and breaths that I defied not; and I am sure as many as have good beards or good faces or sweet breaths will, for my kind offer, when I make curtsy, bid me farewell. (Epilogue, 16-22)

The boy actor's disruption of the dramatic illusion once again highlights the construction and fiction of gender identity.

²On the "secondary level," Cesario is Viola, a woman. But the fact of male cross-dressing convention on the stage makes it difficult to fix the sexual identity of Cesario.

However, the dramatic illusion will not be dismissed sometimes even after the fact has been disclosed. It persists and lingers, turning illusion into reality. Take Viola’s disguise for instance. By assuming the male garb, Viola transforms herself in appearance into a man. The transformation goes even further beyond the surface, as implied in the play, with a possible change of the essence of her sexual identity. The Elizabethan sumptuary codes set up strict regulations of clothing for people of different social ranks and gender. Viola’s cross-dressing disguise explicitly illustrates the fashioning of one’s identity through clothing. It is a fashioning reflecting socially imposed and regulated construction on one’s gender identity. Viola calls herself “poor monster” (2.2.34), lamenting her dilemma of being a man in appearance and a woman in reality.³ The sense of monstrosity Viola mentions about her disguise arises from the fashioning capacity of the male clothes since the moment she assumes. Her painful lamentation explains the making of one’s identity with the assumption of clothes. Stephen Greenblatt also points out the constitution of gender with the assumption of clothes when he glosses the implication of “poor monster” in his introduction of the play:

“Poor monster”: in *Twelfth Night*, clothes do not simply reveal or disguise identity; they partly constitute identity —or so Viola playfully imagines— making her a strange, hybrid creature. (Greenblatt 1997: 1761)

The duplicity of Viola-Cesario’s gender identity endows her / him a gender configuration difficult to be classified within a conventional gender framework. The role of Viola-Cesario becomes a site for the contesting forces of gender representation, and thus puts the conventional binary framework of gender into question.

The implication that the assumption of clothes has a deeper imprint on one’s identity than it might appear is further reflected in Orsino’s insistence on calling Viola, Cesario, with the male attires still on “her” when Viola’s real identity has been disclosed. Through Orsino’s insistence, it is implied that Viola’s feminine self will be acknowledged only when she returns to her female costume.

Finally, I would like to discuss the elusive boundary between the copy and the original involved in Viola’s disguise. Viola imitates her supposedly dead brother Sebastian when she assumes the male disguise, signalling the formation of identity through mirror image in the imaginary register (Lacan 1977: 4). Mistakenly recognized as Sebastian by Antonio, Viola, surprised and

³Or, in meta-theatrical level, the boy actor laments his being a woman in appearance and a man in reality.

confounded by the possible survival of her twin brother, reveals her role model for her male disguise:

I my brother know
 Yet living in my glass; even such and so
 In favor was my brother, and he went
 Still in this fashion, color, ornament,
 For him I imitate. (3.4.379-83)

In other words, Viola's assumption of male role is an imitation of a role model, her brother Sebastian. Thus, the construction of a male identity here is depicted in terms of mirror image. Viola constructs a male identity with the imaginary projection and imitation of her brother. The mirror image also captures a sense of split ego Viola suffers in her disguise. The sense of split ego becomes a source of torture: Being a man in appearance, "he" woos Olivia on Orsino's behalf, and wins her love; being a woman in reality, "she" has to suppress love for Orsino.

The implication of Viola's disguise becomes more and more slippery. At certain point, the copy could even usurp the original. In the final recognition scene of the twins, the metaphor of perspective Orsino uses to characterize the identical twin resonates with a ring of ambiguity:

One face, one voice, one habit, and two persons,
 A natural perspective, that is and is not! (5.1.216-17)

Hyder Edward Rollins enlists many explanations to the term "perspective." For example, Capell interprets "perspective" as "reflection": "this last enterer [Sebastian]... is surely a reflection of the other, an appearance of nature's forming that seems a body and is none" (Furness 1901: 299). Capell's interpretation turns Sebastian a reflection, thus an imitation, of Cesario—a reversal of the disguise plot. Another critic Halliwell takes "perspective" to mean a "mirror": "Shakespeare probably here means a simple mirror, such as either a looking-glass, or the natural mirror of water and other substances; or, perhaps, a mirror thus made by nature, which really is a reflected substance, but is merely a shadow, when considered in reference to its being a mirror" (299). Rollins himself annotates: "by '*natural* perspective' Orsino means that an effect has been produced by nature which is usually produced by art" (300). These different interpretations partly reflect the difficulty to settle down the complication of Viola's disguise into a simple conclusion that Viola is a copy of her brother Sebastian.

Antonio's ensuing remark of the division of self further illustrates the difficulty to distinguish the original from the copy:

How have you made division of yourself?
An apple cleft in two is not more twin
Than these two creatures. (5.1.222-24)

Cesario and Sebastian are as mirror reflections of one another to the other characters. But, who is substance, and who is shadow? To the other characters, Sebastian is a reflection, a shadow, of Cesario. But to Viola herself, her male disguise Cesario is a reflection, a shadow, of Sebastian. The final resolution, however, relies on the implication to take Sebastian as a reflection of Cesario.

In a sense, the male part of Viola-Cesario created from the disguise is assimilated into the twin brother: the figure of Cesario will be subsumed by Sebastian. Olivia’s seemingly problematic and arbitrary transference of passion from Cesario to Sebastian will be less arbitrary if the sumptuary imprint on one’s identity is taken into account. Olivia could substitute her object of love from Cesario to Sebastian because Viola impersonates her brother Sebastian when she disguises as a man. Since Olivia cannot marry Cesario, she could love another “Cesario” —Sebastian, making the latter a replacement of the former. In this connection, Sebastian becomes a reflection of Cesario. Sebastian comically comments on Olivia’s mistake in marrying himself in a misconception of a union with Cesario.

So comes it, lady, you have been mistook.
But nature to her bias drew in that.
You would have been contracted to a maid,
Nor are you therein, by my life, deceived.
You are betrothed both to a maid and man. (5.1.257-61)

Sebastian first points out the fact of mistaken identity in his betrothal with Olivia, who has married a total stranger, and concludes with a note of intervention from nature on their marriage with an emphasis on Olivia’s “correct” choice. But a “maid and man” in the last line is very interesting and produces many guesses. J. M. Lothian and T. W. Craik, the Arden edition editors, adopt Mahood’s widely accepted annotation of “a maid and man” as “virgin youth” (1975: 145). Some scholars try to excavate different implications from the last line. Joseph Pequigney, for example, plays with the following possibility:

That “you are betroth’d both to a maid and man” is not a deception but precisely right: to “both” twins, the maid who elicited your love and whom you thought you were contracting to marry, and the man who accidentally and unbeknownst to anyone substituted for her, and to whom you are in fact engaged. (1995: 183)

Pequigney argues the line to favor his reading of the major characters, Orsino, Olivia, Viola, and Sebastian, to be bisexual (1995: 182). But for my part, the

last line serves as a textual suggestion for the conflation of identities in the character of Sebastian, making Olivia's marriage with him less problematic. Olivia's (lack of) response to the marriage due to mistaken identity indicates her acceptance of Sebastian. The masculine identity Viola creates in her disguise as Cesario does not disappear after the final disclosure of identities. It is incorporated into Sebastian. Sebastian becomes Cesario.

In conclusion, Viola's cross-dressing disguise illustrates the construction of gender identity through gender performance and clothing. The elusiveness of Viola-Cesario's gender identity suggests the fashioning capacity with female / male attires. Moreover, the male identity created from Viola's disguise does not evaporate with the final revelation. On the contrary, the fictional male part is to be materialized and subsumed in the character of Sebastian, facilitating Olivia's transference of passion from Cesario to Sebastian.

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**“SLEEP FY POSSESS
MEE NOTT”: THE
RETURN OF THE
REPRESSED IN LADY
MARY WROTH’S
*PAMPHILIA TO
AMPHILANTHUS,*
SONNETS 16 AND 17 [P18
AND P19]¹**

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Despite recent feminist and gender-oriented interest in Lady Mary Wroth’s sonnets, her worth as a sonneteer has been misconstrued as traditionally Petrarchan and as an imitator of both Sir Philip and Sir Robert Sidney. However, as I first introduced in another paper, Wroth’s persona (Pamphilia) must be considered not as a traditional Petrarchan speaker that in its female version incorporates a figure of the Patient Griselda type with whom female readers must identify—as it has often been interpreted—but as a figure from whom women must actually distance in order to be aware of patriarchal impositions and restrictions.

It is my aim to discuss in this paper how actually Wroth shows in two of her sonnets that Pamphilia’s self-imposed faithfulness to her philanderer lover—following a self-effacing internalisation of patriarchal values—provokes her sexual repression that finds an outlet in sexual dreams with the result that they become a further source of suffering for Pamphilia and one of the arguments in Wroth’s implicit denunciation of women’s plight in her time.

My discussion will centre on an analysis of the texts from the point of view of a combination of Freudian and Lacanian psychoanalysis as well as Otto Vaenius’s emblems (*Amorum emblemata*, 1608), a text available to Wroth and which, it is most likely, she used as a source for her imagery dealing with love, sex and dreams.

¹The discrepancy between the numbers of the sonnets and the numbers in square brackets is the result of Roberts’ double numeration. Roberts establishes two different numeric series, one for sonnets and another one for songs, and also gives a number preceded by the P that stands for *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus* to each poem in order to indicate the position of each poem in the sequence. Thus sonnets 16 and 17 are in fact poems 18 and 19 since there are two songs: Song 1 [P7] between sonnets 6 and 7, and Song 2 [P14] between sonnets 12 and 13. Hereafter, I will only use the sonnet numbers 16 and 17 to refer to the texts I will discuss.

Surprisingly, despite the steady growth and development of feminist and gender studies in academia, critics have failed to do justice to Lady Mary Wroth's sequence of sonnets *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus* (1621), and in fact they have actually misread and misinterpreted it. Basically, the main reason for this misconception is the persistent consideration of Lady Mary Wroth (1587-1653) as a mere imitator of Petrarch and her uncle Sir Philip Sidney (1554-1586) as well as her father Sir Robert Sidney (1563-1626). As a consequence, Wroth is denied an independent personality as a writer, even by feminist and gender-studies critics, who consider her as inadequate since she does not create an independent female speaker given the lack of referents or a tradition of a female discourse in sonnet sequences.²

Contrary to this opinion, I do think that Wroth did in fact manage to create an independent female voice with a distinctively female discourse. My contention is that she participates of some of the characteristics of *écriture féminine*, such as the use of masquerade and the introduction of gaps that the reader has to fill up if he or she is to decode the message properly.³ A message that I consider to be proto-feminist.

²For a discussion of the bibliography on and interpretations of Wroth's *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*, see Cora (fthc). Krontiris correctly identifies Wroth's psychological skills: "...the author's psychological insight into the effects on the female mind of notions like constancy, and her awareness that the value of such notions is culturally produced and therefore not permanent" (Krontiris 1992: 138), but she falls short in her interpretation of Wroth's *Urania* and *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus* when at the end of her section dealing with this author (Krontiris 1992: 140) she sees that Wroth attempts a reconciliation of criticism of patriarchal values with Pamphilia's constancy and incurs in hesitations and contradictions because she lacked models in contestation. During the process of preparing this article for publication, our colleague and fellow member of SEDERI, Jorge Casanova (University of Huelva), informed me of his own contribution to Wroth studies with his M.A. dissertation (Casanova 1999) and he most kindly forwarded me a copy of it, thus offering far more information to our previous conversations (SEDERI, Huelva, 2000) on the importance of *Amorum emblemata* (1608) by Otto Van Veen (Otho Vaenius). In his dissertation, Casanova explores the relationship between Wroth's sonnets and those of both Sir Philip and Sir Robert Sidney respectively, and her debt to books of emblems, especially those of Van Veen, Thomas Combe (*The Theatre of Fine Devices*, 1593) and Henry Peacham (*Minerva Britanna*, 1612) to create a female discourse that focuses on Pamphilia's private space as an exile from court—as a contrast to the public space and disclosure of male sonneteers—, and the body as an alienating element—particularly, because of miscarriage or abortion—, that he discusses in the light of Julia Kristeva's notion of abjection. In his study, Casanova shows how Wroth does, indeed, offer very different images from those of the male sonneteers and, therefore, creates a discourse of her own. However, Casanova downplays the subversive and transgressive character of Wroth's sonnets, which is precisely what I emphasise with my psychoanalytical reading of the sonnets subordinated to the characterisation of Wroth's sonnets as an example of *écriture féminine*.

³For an introduction to the characteristics of *écriture féminine*, see Jacobus (1986), Jones (1986) and Cixous (1995). The first two essays are metacritical in scope as they discuss criticism,

Pamphilia to Amphilanthus is a collection of eighty sonnets and nineteen songs (and six unpublished poems in a manuscript kept at the Folger Library, Folger MS Va104) divided into four different sections (Roberts 1983: 44-45). A first section comprises fifty-five poems (P1-P55) and opens with a dream vision in which Pamphilia is overcome by love and deals with her inner conflict provoked by the contending forces that prompt her to both resist and yield to passion. However, Pamphilia decides that she will accept love as something she chooses, not as imposed by the gods. In the second section (P56-76), after an interlude of five songs (P57-62), the sonnets (P63-P72) develop Pamphilia's negative feelings of doubt, jealousy and despair, and her complaints about the whimsical, Anacreontic Cupid figure, whom she accuses of playing with human affections. Eventually, Pamphilia reconciles with Cupid and promises to write a crown of praise which actually forms the following section. In the crown (P77-P90), she acknowledges Cupid's power as a just monarch, only to change her opinion again in the fourth and last section (P91-P103). First, in a group of four songs (P91-P94), she considers what the best account of Cupid is, whether a positive or negative one, and then ends up (P95-P103) accepting pain as the unavoidable counterpart of love and the unpredictable character of human feelings which make her turn her hopes to heavenly love in the two final sonnets.

The whole sequence is appended with separate pagination to Wroth's lengthy, unfinished prose romance *The Countesse of Mountgomerie's Urania* (1621) in which she tells the adventures and misadventures of noble Pamphilia in her search for her missing love Amphilanthus who happens to be inconstant and unfaithful to her. Pamphilia decides to embrace chastity to offer a living contrast and example to the inconstancy of men and her sonnets are the expression of her private feelings and musings on love and her protestations of chastity and constancy elicited by the absence of Amphilanthus, her missing, inconstant love. If read independently from the *Urania*, Pamphilia's chastity will appear to be the endorsement of the speaker's attitude to accept the position

whereas the second one is a primary source in criticism and a central one in *écriture féminine* theory. Jones is particularly critical with French theories of *féminité* and favours social, materialist considerations over psychosexual and “mystic” ones. Although dealing with masquerade in the social world, Finucci's essay (1994) is also interesting for understanding the constructed character of the female and male roles in society, and how women actually manage to subvert conventions by overemphasising the socially accepted characteristics of this role and also assuming a female role of a higher class than the one that they belong to. Her section on the history of the concept of masquerade in psychoanalysis and feminist studies (Finucci 1994: 65-66) is really useful. However, Finucci studies how a man, Ludovico Ariosto, uses this subversive strategies to characterise women in his epic poem *Orlando furioso* (1532), and she gets to the conclusion that femininity can only be defined, played, or subverted when put in relation with a male standard and conception of femininity.

of passiveness and masochism favoured by the patriarchal order. However, if read in the light of key passages from the romance, especially the words against constancy of Urania, Amphilanthus' younger sister—the eponymous though secondary character in the romance, but in fact Wroth's true voice—we will see that Pamphilia must not be considered as an example of female virtue or, for that matter, a patient Griselda figure.⁴ Urania tells Pamphilia at a given stage in the romance:

'Tis pitie said Urania, that ever that fruitlesse thing Constancy was taught you as a vertue, since for vertues sake you will love it, as having true possession of your soule, but understand, this vertue hath limits to hold it in, being a vertue, but thus that it is a vice in them that breake it, but those with whom it is broken, are by the breach free to leave or choose again where more staidnes may be found; besides 'tis a dangerous thing to hold that opinion, which in time will prove flat heresie. (*Urania*, p. 400, cited. in Krontiris 1992: 138)⁵

Urania's words actually invite the reader, especially the female reader, to read *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus* against the grain and establish some distance from Pamphilia's acceptance of the patriarchal model of female virtue. Wroth introduces a gap, a liminal space that both separates and protects the sequence from patriarchal reading assumptions. Therefore, Pamphilia must be seen as an instance of how patriarchal values only work in detriment of women's minds, for in the sequence, Pamphilia's chastity induces melancholy, sexual repression and eventually neurosis.⁶

⁴For patient Griselda, see Chaucer's "Clerk's Tale" as the first appearance of this archetypal character in English literature. For a discussion of the fortunes of this character in the Renaissance or Early Modern Period, see Bronfman (1990).

⁵Krontiris quotes from the original, seventeenth-century Folio, not Roberts' edition.

⁶On discussing feminist criticism in the section entitled "Reading as a Woman" (1987: 43-64), Jonathan Culler criticises feminist reading and points out to this liminal space that I speak of, not as created by the writer within the text, but within the female reader herself:

[f]or a woman to read as a woman is not to repeat an identity or an experience that is given but to play a role she constructs with reference to her identity as a woman, which is also a construct, so that the series can continue: a woman reading as a woman reading as a woman. The non coincidence reveals an interval, a division within woman or within any reading subject and the "experience" of that subject. (Culler 1987: 64)

Later, he also broadens the perspective and applies the same *caveat* to any reader: "To read is to operate with the hypothesis of a reader, and there is always a gap or division within reading" (Culler 1987: 67). Of course, Culler does this as a move to problematise "stories of reading" and uphold Deconstruction's practices. See Wynne-Davies (1992) for an interesting discussion of the same practices in Wroth's masques inset in the *Urania*. Wynn-Davies holds that in these masques "...it is possible to locate a genuinely female voice in the discursive practices of a feminised masque.... It is through these fissures in the official court discourse... that the female voice was

The aim of this paper then is to offer a commentary of Sonnets 16 and 17 in Wroth's *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus* to show that Pamphilia's repression also provokes the return of the repressed in her dreams and this phenomenon is part of Wroth's depiction of Pamphilia's psyche. My approach will combine close reading, the interpretation of iconography and emblems, and some notions from Freud's *The Interpretation of Dreams*, and Lacan's concepts on the Symbolic Order and metonymy.

First of all, though, I would like to point out as an introductory remark that, as part of those features in Wroth's poetry that coincide with the characteristics of *écriture féminine*, we find the strategy of masquerade, *i.e.*, female expression undercover of an apparently male discourse and tradition.⁷ Masquerade is actually substantiated in *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus* by means of the use and subversion of Petrarchan and Sidneian imagery that both hides and discloses the expression of female desire and sexual appetites. Ultimately, however, this subversion relies on and finds its explanation on certain common iconographic elements that, no doubt, Wroth was familiar with.⁸

The first sonnet in *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus* constitutes a proof—almost an “ocular proof”—of Wroth's inspiration on emblems and contemporary iconographic material. The description of the chariot of Venus (ll. 5-9) in Pamphilia's dream-vision with which Wroth opens her sequence is nothing but an ekphrastic rendering—*i.e.*, a depiction with words—closely based on the illustration showing the chariot of Venus in Giordano Bruno's *De imaginum, signorum et idearum compositione* (1591), a handbook on the creation of poetic

able to escape, so that the tensions in the masque often became those of gender, replete with political as well as sexual signification” (Wynn 1992: 81; 82).

⁷In a note in Finucci (1994: 83 n17), there is a clear statement of what masquerade really entails: “Masquerade is the very definition of femininity precisely because it is constructed with reference to a male sign” (Rose 1982: 43).

⁸Paulissen points out that Wroth was influenced by emblems and iconography, and Giordano Bruno's ideas on the composition of images as explained in his *Degli eroici furori* (1585), however her discussion of Wroth's sonnets in this light remains general in outlook and does not propose a relationship between specific emblems or sources and particular sonnets. For references to emblematic influence, see Paulissen (1982: 12, 20, 33, 35, 39, 69, 123). Her commentary on Bruno's influence is equally basic and broad in scope (Paulissen 1982: 119-131), although some of her observations are worth considering as possible avenues of investigation. On the other hand, Jorge Casanova, as I explained above in n2, does explore the connection between Van Veen's emblems as well as other emblem books and Wroth's sonnets. Actually, I am most grateful to Jorge Casanova for his remarks on the influence of Van Veen's emblems on Wroth as he showed me the way for some of the developments that I present here. Casanova offered his remarks in a private conversation as part of his response to my Cora (Unpublished) in which I discussed Donne's probable use of Van Veen's emblems and other iconographic material as a source for his conceits (this paper remains unpublished as I have found further material that will allow me to offer a fuller discussion of the issue).

images for that merges the visual aspect of the art of memory (*ars memoriae*), combinatorics as well as a basic technique of association of ideas. Wroth's description has the same elements as those present in the woodcut (see *FIGURE 1*): "wing'd Desire" points to the doves that draw the chariot of Venus, who is sitting with her son, Cupid, at her feet, who is said to be "adding fire" to the various flaming hearts that she holds in her hand "above." Cupid's "adding fire" can be plainly understood as his shooting the arrows of love as the illustration shows, whereas the discrepancy between the illustration and the sonnet as to the number of burning hearts that Venus grasps and how and where she holds them, for in the woodcut she keeps just one close to her bosom, can be easily eased out either as a slight distortion on account of her writing not with the illustration before her, but visualising it imperfectly in her memory, or, alternately, as a fully intentional, individual variation and development from the original material.



FIGURE 1. As the observation of this woodcut and the reading of Sonnet 1 in Wroth's *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus* will show, the description of the chariot of Venus is closely modelled on its iconographic representation in Giordano Bruno's *De imaginum, signorum et idearum compositione. Ad omnia Inventionum, Dispositionum, & Memoria genera. Libri tres* (Francofurti: Apud Ioan. [W]echelum & Petrum Fischerum consortes, 1591). There is another representation of the chariot of Venus in Otto Van Veen (Otho Vaenius), *Amorum emblemata, figuris Aeneis incisa* (1608), another most likely source for Wroth's imagery, however, as regards to this particular element, the description in the sonnet and the woodcut are far too dissimilar to establish any possible relationship (see *FIGURE 2*). The woodcut from Bruno's volume is reproduced from Bruno (1991: 209).

1

When nights black mantle could most darknes prove,
 And sleepe deaths Image did my senceses hiere,
 From knowledg of my self, then thoughts did move
 Swifter then those, most swiftnes need require:
 In sleepe, a Chariot drawne by wing'd Desire 5
 I sawe: wher sate bright Venus Queene of love,
 And att her feete her sonne, still adding fire
 To burning hearts which she did hold above,
 Butt one hart flaming more then all the rest
 The goddess held, and putt itt to my brest, 10
 Deare sonne, now shutt sayd she: thus must wee winn;
 Hee her obay'd, and martir'd my poore hart,
 I, waking hop'd as dreames itt would depart,
 Yett since: O mee: a lover I have binn.

(Text reproduced from Wroth 1983: 85)

May N. Paulissen misses this in her general discussion of the “neo-platonic” influence of Bruno, especially his *Eroici furori* (1585), on Wroth (1982: 119-130). Josephine Roberts (1983: 85) has suggested that this vision shows a resemblance to the description of the Chariot of Cupid in the opening of Petrarch’s *Trionfe d’Amore* (c.1352), and R. E. Pritchard (1996: 21) has also suggested the influence of Dante’s *Vita Nuova* III, 27-31 as regards the element of the flaming heart, however, the parallelisms between Wroth’s description and those of the Italian authors are not as patent as those with the woodcut in Bruno’s volume.⁹

On the other hand, there is another representation of the chariot of Venus in Otto Van Veen (Otho Vaenius), *Amorum emblemata, figuris Aeneis incisa* (1608), another most likely source for Wroth’s imagery, as I will discuss later. Nonetheless, the description in Wroth’s sonnet does not show as many similarities with this particular woodcut (see *FIGURE 2*) as with the one in Bruno’s book.¹⁰ The chariot is drawn by doves, and Venus and Cupid occupy the same positions in it, but there is a big difference in the evident absence of the depiction of burning hearts. On the other hand, Wroth’s description of

⁹See Cora (fthc.) for further details on the classical influences and sources on Wroth’s depiction of the Chariot of Venus.

¹⁰In his dissertation, to which I had access only when revising this article for publication, Casanova discusses the connection between Wroth’s first sonnet and Van Veen’s illustration of the chariot of Venus too (Casanova 1999: 55-57), and he points to the differences with Alciato’s representation of the Triumph of Cupid (Emblem CV: “Potentissimus affectus amor”) to stress the filiation between Wroth’s sonnet and Van Veen’s woodcut. However, he does not refer to the connection with the woodcut in Bruno’s volume.

Cupid adding fire to the burning hearts of lovers can be at the most linked to Van Veen's representation in as much as Cupid bears a torch that stands for passion. At any rate then, Wroth's description of the Chariot of Venus would be a composite based on the woodcuts in Bruno's and Van Veen's volumes. The connection between Wroth's sonnets and Van Veen's emblems must be restricted to other parallelisms between the sonnets and other illustrations and admit combination with other sources of iconographic representations, a practice that, after all, is consistent with the art of memory and its use of emblems, emblematic title-pages and other visual elements taken from printed books.

Coming back to the text itself and its poetic diction, *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus* is dominated by the images opposing the binary pairs of light / darkness, day / night, and warmth / cold subordinated to the apparently Petrarchan commonplace references to the lover's face in which the eyes as stars have a key role. Pamphilia repeatedly complains about the absence and inconstancy of her lover whose Sun-like face and only occasionally his star-like eyes are the sources of the "light," "day" and "pleasure" she would like to enjoy, and also the seat of the "might" that would make her feel "warmth." As he is away and betrays her love with other women, she is condemned to suffering "night" and "cold" "paine," "sorrowes," "woes," "harms," "torments," "disdaine," "despaire." She utters "groans" "sighs" and "wilings" (wailings), ever longing for "joys," "Loves force," "delights," "his might," "blisse" that springs from her lover's much repeated "sight."

Actually, this type of conceit involving astronomy and sex, although possibly owing much to Bruno's *Degli eroici furori* (Paulissen 1982: 123-128), is analogous to Fulke Greville's in *Caelica* (published in 1633), LVI, in which, significantly, he also employs the word "throne" to refer to the genitals of his Cynthia ("Look where lies the milken way, / Way unto that dainty throne, / Where while all the gods would play, / Vulcan thinks to dwell alone." Lines 21-24).¹¹

Bearing in mind Freud's theory of wit (*Witz*), whose main elements are also the foundation for his interpretation of dreams, Wroth's imagery retains the Petrarchist and Sidneian condensation (*Verdichtung*) appertaining metaphor, but also introduces a conceptual displacement (*Verschiebung*) that, indeed, involves a literal displacement of the female beholder's focus of attention on the male anatomy from the face to the crotch. This is best illustrated by the very frequent

¹¹See APPENDIX for the whole text and my emphasis added to the lines that include sexual puns similar to those that Wroth uses. I am indebted to Moira P. Baker's article (1991) for my knowledge of Greville's poem.

type of zodiacal and astrological illustrations in which allegories for planets and zodiac signs hide their sexual organs with a representation of the planet who also happens to show a face, as the representation of Leo and the Sun in *FIGURE 3*. The reading of *Pamphilia and Amphilanthus*, Sonnet 2 in connection with *FIGURE 3*, as if they became a virtual pairing of *pictura* and epigram in an emblem, will show that Wroth’s witty use of Petrarchan topical metaphors does in fact allow her to express what is repressed by dominant patriarchy.¹²

PROH QVANTA POTENTIA REGNI EST VENVS ALMATVI,

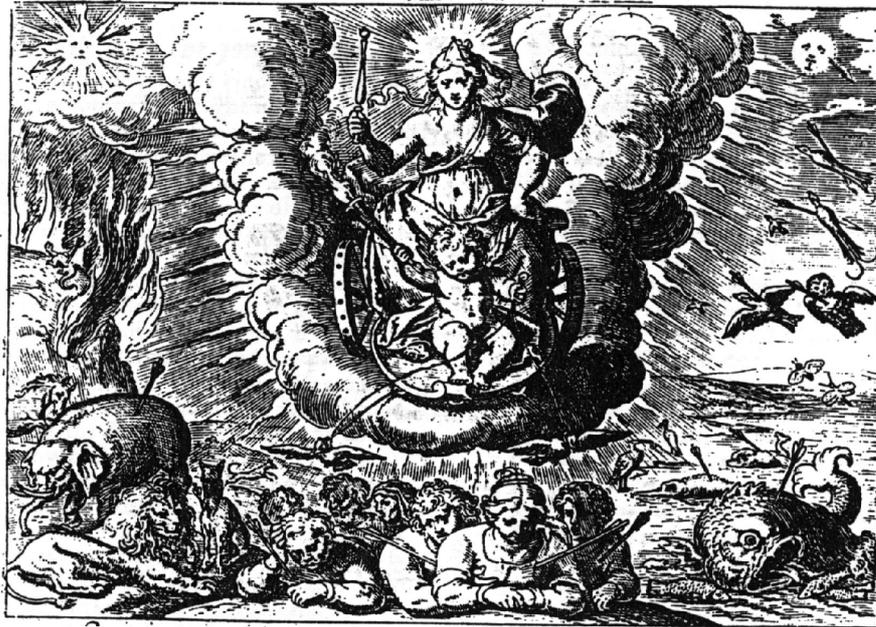


FIGURE 2. Chariot of Venus in the introduction to the book of emblems by Otto Van Veen (Otho Vaenius) *Amorum emblemata* (1608). Reproduced from Vaenius 1996: n.p.

As Jacques Lacan points out in his composite theory, based on Saussure’s and Freud’s ideas, of the unconscious being organised like a code (the letter of the unconscious) that can and must be interpreted, metonymy is central to both dreams and symbolism, and the connection that metaphor establishes between two signifiers is based on metonymy as it is the displacement of one word for another (Lacan 1997: 157).¹³ In Wroth’s poetry, the Sun and eyes of Petrarchan

¹²For a discussion of this pairing between Sonnet 2 and the illustration, see Cora (fthc).

¹³In her feminist introduction to Lacan’s psychoanalysis, Elizabeth Grosz clearly establishes Lacan’s identification between condensation and metaphor, displacement and metonymy, and desire and the “movement” from one term to its substitute. She explains that:

and Sidneian metaphors are transformed by virtue of displacement into a metonymy for the expression of female desire, as the vehicle of the metaphors refers to a different tenor, a new anatomical location being substituted for the traditional one. Wroth's particular use of imagery confirms the difference between metaphor and metonymy as being essentially "male" and "female" respectively (Culler 1987: 60), and also Lacan's view that metonymy has the power to circumvent the obstacles of social censure by making its very oppression its vehicle of expression (Lacan 1980a: 158) and that "the symptom *is* a metaphor whether one likes it or not, as desire *is* a metonymy, however funny people may find the idea" (Lacan 1997: 175).¹⁴ Furthering the Lacanian approach, it can be said that Wroth benefits from as well as subverts the Name of the Father. In this particular case, the Name of the Father being the conventions of the male sonneteers as to figures of speech and symbolic order.¹⁵

Metaphor, the substitution of one term for another, is identified by Lacan with the Freudian process of condensation. He equates metonymy with the process of displacement, that "veering off of signification" which primary processes utilize to evade the censor. The metaphoric process, the submersion of one term underneath another, provides the general model for the unconscious symptom: the term having "fallen below the bar," becomes repressed, and the signifier which replaces it or [*sic*] becomes its symptom. In metonymy, unlike the hierarchical, repressive structure of metaphor, relevant connections are not so much modelled to the relation between the latent and manifest as based on the connection between a term and what substitutes for it. In this movement from one term to its substitute, Lacan will recognize the movement of *desire*. Desire too is based on a chain of substitution whereby the first (lost) object of desire generates a potentially infinite chain of (only partially satisfactory) substitutes. (Grosz 1990: 100)

¹⁴In the work I mentioned in the last note, Culler sees three different moments or stages in feminist criticism, one in which women identify with the concerns of female characters, in a second moment, women free themselves from the identification with the male reader and read as women, drawing from their own experience, and realising that male readings are not the exclusively rational ones, and a third moment in which women identify the ways in which notions of the rational are linked and equated with male interests. In his analysis of the third moment of female criticism, he relates Freud's explanation of the establishment of patriarchy in *Moses and Monotheism* and Dorothy Dinnerstein's "psychology of nurture arrangements" and their influence in society and its construction of genders, and points out that as a consequence of a man's uncertainty about whether his progeny is really his own, man privileges the symbolic and abstract with metaphor as it is based on substitution, whereas women do metonymy, which is based on contiguity. I think it is worth while quoting the pertinent excerpt:

Men's powerful "impulse to affirm and tighten by cultural inventions their unsatisfactorily loose mammalian connection with children" leads them to value highly cultural inventions of a symbolic nature [Dinnerstein 1976: 80-81]. One might predict an inclination to value what are generally termed metaphorical relations —relations of resemblance between separate items that can be substituted for one another, such as obtain between the father and the miniature replica with the same name, the child— over metonymical, maternal relationships based on contiguity. (Culler 1987: 60)

¹⁵For Lacan's theory of the Name of the Father, see Lacan (1997).

This use of iconography is part of Wroth’s dependence on emblems and other printed illustrations will inform my close readings of the sonnets. Wroth’s most likely inspiration on iconographic sources does in fact offer a link with Freud’s interpretation of dreams as it seems most likely that she was inspired by emblems dealing with the particular significance of dreams in the context of a love relationship.



FIGURE 3. Zodiacal sign of Leo. Reproduced from Agrippa von Nettesheim (1998: 432). Reading the text of the sonnet in conjunction with this image completely changes its interpretation from Petrarchan imitation to that of a text of an independent female voice who expresses desire.

2

Deare eyes how well (indeed) you doe adorne
That blessed sphaere, which gazing soules hold deere:
The loved place of sought for triumphs, neere:
The court of glory, where Loves force was borne:
How may they terme you Aprills sweetest morne
When pleasing looks, from those bright lights appeere
A sun-shine day; from cloudes, and mists still cleere:
Kind nursing fires for wishes yet vnborne!
Two starrs of Heaven, sent downe to grace the Earthe,

5

Plac'd in that Throne which gives all joyes theyr birthe; 10
 Shining, and burning; pleasing yett their charmes;
 Which wounding, even in hurts are deem'd delights;
 Soe pleasant is their force! Soe great theyr mights
 As, happy, they can triumph in theyr harmes.

(Text reproduced from Wroth 1983: 85-86).

Quite appropriately, on the other end of the time-line, and closing the circle of my referential framework, Freud interprets dreams as if they were hieroglyphics and emblems for, indeed, he discovered that the language of dreams is a symbolic language like that of emblems in which a symbol is a symptom of what is repressed. As he himself points out *The Interpretation of Dreams*, the visual nature of the dream work is comparable to this type of images and their enigmatic content:

The dream-thoughts and the dream-content lie before us like two versions of the same content in two different languages, or rather, the dream content looks to us like a translation of the dream-thoughts into another mode of expression, and we are supposed to get to know its signs and laws of grammatical construction by comparing the original and the translation. Once we have learnt what these are, the dream-thoughts will be easy for us to understand without any further ado. The content of the dream is given as it were in the form of hieroglyphs whose signs are to be translated one by one into the language of the dream-thoughts. We would obviously be misled if we were to read these signs according to their pictorial value and not according to their referentiality as signs. (Freud 1999: 210)

Lacan himself also develops this idea and extends the association of symbols as symptoms with the iconographic material so prevalent in the Renaissance and underlines their enigmatic nature. Lacan explains:

Hieroglyphics of hysteria, blazons of phobia, labyrinths of the *Zwangsneurose*—charms of impotence, enigmas of inhibition, oracles of anxiety—talking arms of character, seals of self-punishment, disguises of perversion—these are the hermetic elements that our exegesis resolves, the equivocations that our invocation dissolves, the artifices that our dialectic absolves, in a deliverance of the [i]mprisoned meaning, from the revelation of the palimpsest to the given word of the mystery and to the pardon of speech. (Lacan 1997: 69-70)

This quotation reveals that the exegesis and hermeneutics of emblems and that of dreams is not that dissimilar and, consequently, only proves that such a linkage was not only possible in its origin as a source of inspiration for poetry, especially if considering, as I will show, that there are emblems dealing with the world of dreams and the “psychology” of love, but it also results in a most pertinent instrument for interpreting poems such as Wroth’s sonnets 16 and 17.

The addressee of sonnet 16 is Sleep that is allegorised throughout the text only apparently following the Petrarchan and Sidneian practice. However, the first indication of the feminine voice and its subversion of the Name of the Father, *i.e.*, the whole symbolic order of male sonneteers, as part of the expression of female desire, is the first part of the first line in which Pamphilia begs Sleep not to possess her. The injunction “possess mee nott” introduces the notion of violent sexual intercourse and rape that is further developed in the rest of the line and in line two, as the traditional, commonplace comparison between sleep and death is transformed into an apparently threatening allegory that causes the speaker’s fear. Wroth herself introduces such a common identification between sleep and death in sonnet 1 when she refers to sleep as “deaths Image” (line 2, see text above), but in sonnet 16 the dead metaphors even by Renaissance standards that describe the characteristics of deep sleep, *i.e.*, its heaviness and resemblance to death, expressed in the words “heavy” and “deathlike”, are resuscitated—so to speak—by the sexual puns that “deathlike” and “death” also offer in Renaissance English, and as a result these metaphors simultaneously endow this allegorical figure with physicality and fleshiness. Therefore, Sleep not only resembles death in the usual association between them, but also assumes the form, or, rather, plays the part, of a rapist whose heavy and mighty frame menaces the bodily integrity and the very existence of the vulnerable female speaker. In lines 3 and 4, Sleep’s moral character is further tainted as he is a counterfeiter, even a supplanter of death, and this apparently only provokes Pamphilia’s moral revulsion and indignation. Therefore, lines 3 and 4 might be interpreted as Pamphilia’s brave disdain for the *simulacrum* of death and a yearning for the real experience of life’s end springing from her zeal for truth and honesty and also her melancholy for having been abandoned by Amphilanthus as the *Urania* tells us. The lines could even be read as an example of female modesty and honour in accordance with the strictures demanded from women by patriarchy: since Sleep is represented as a rapist, supplanter and liar, then, implicitly, Pamphilia’s rejection of Sleep and desire for death is enriched by the implication, prompted by patriarchal order and its notions of honour, that death would be preferable to a destiny that is only “worse than death” as the absurd Victorian euphemism used to term it.

Obviously, these limited interpretations are the only ones that are possible if the verses are read unimaginatively, superficially, and too closely in the wake of Petrarch, Sir Philip and Sir Robert Sidney, that is, taking for granted that Wroth imitates these male authors and respects their symbolical order. But in fact this is not so, and we can actually see that the first quatrain also introduces the notion of sexual dreams and the voicing of female desire, that is later developed in the rest of the sonnet as I will show.

In lines 3 and 4, quite paradoxically and surprisingly too, Pamphilia reveals herself as not being so much afraid of Sleep-Death or even Sleep the rapist, as annoyed and spiteful because of the very unreality of Sleep's male body. The *non sequitur* formed by the two halves of the quatrain shifts focus from the connotations of rape to the delusions of sleep and the indignation they provoke in the speaker because of their very inexistence. Consequently, Wroth's Pamphilia accepts this rape scenario *qua* fiction, as it just belongs to the realm of dreams, and she directs all her resent towards the fictitious nature of sexual intercourse in dreams, rather than the menacing and negative form and trappings it takes.

Curiously enough, we find an early example of rape dream fantasy that confirms what E. Ann Kaplan points out in her interesting article "Is the Gaze Male?" (Kaplan 1984) in which she deals with the objectification of women in cinema from a psychoanalytical point of view. Kaplan explains that films directed by men show sadism in the form of voyeurism and fetishism with which the male spectator is prompted to identify.¹⁶ Women in films are relegated to being the object of desire in a masochistic and passive role, and the female spectator is to identify with this role. On discussing the relationship between films and dreams, Kaplan points out that such positionings of women in male films do actually reflect women's sexual fantasies. Kaplan refers to the work of Nancy Friday (1981) and states that her books:

... provide discourses on the level of dream, and, however questionable as scientific evidence, show narratives in which the woman speaker largely arranges the scenario for her sexual pleasure so that things are done to her, or in which she is the object of men's lascivious gaze. Often, there is pleasure in anonymity, or in a strange man approaching her when she is with her husband. Rarely does the dreamer initiate the sexual activity, and the man's large, erect penis usually is central in the fantasy. Nearly all the fantasies have the dominance-submission pattern, with the woman in the latter place. (Kaplan 1984: 328)

In the case of Wroth's *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus* we actually find a woman writer who not only shows that such fantasies do in some cases populate the female mind, but also benefits from them in order to build the psychology of her female speaker. The great difference with literature or films created by men

¹⁶These ideas were first formulated by Laura Mulvey in a ground-breaking essay (1999). Kaplan also draws from and develops Mulvey's political application of psychoanalysis to cinema, especially as to the connection between agency, sadism and fetishism and the male gaze and passiveness, masochism and woman as object that is contemplated by the male gaze. Whereas Mulvey identifies camera work in mainstream cinema as the articulation of a male gaze, Kaplan opens the way for a consideration of how films by women do and should create a female gaze, heterosexual or lesbian.

is, of course, that Wroth uses this dream fantasy not to perpetuate the masochistic position of women, but to portray a mind that is tortured by repression induced by her speaker’s total internalisation of the patriarchal value of female constancy. As I pointed earlier, Wroth does not create Pamphilia as an example of virtue that should be adopted by her female readers, but as an illustration of the negative condition of women subjected to an order that privileges men.

The second quatrain in the sonnet continues the development of Pamphilia’s reproach to Sleep about the insubstantiality of what she sees in her dreams and confirms the characteristics of the female sexual fantasy as summarised by Kaplan. Pamphilia complains that the false figures that scare her in her dreams are sometimes anonymous male figures, sometimes her own love, *i.e.*, Amphilanthus. Although Wroth introduces the feeling of fear in the first line, as part of the labyrinthine style she creates a paradox that points to gratification and pleasure by describing what Pamphilia sees as the “liknes of a hopefull spright,” the vague adjective “hopefull” admitting quite a range of interpretations, among them the suggestion of a knightly, virile, well-endowed saviour or rescuer who can satisfy her delicately in all her needs as opposed to the rapist figure in the preceding quatrain.¹⁷

Pamphilia’s paradoxical feelings in dreams are further complicated by the vision of her elusive and unfaithful love, Amphilanthus. Here, Pamphilia’s

¹⁷Being a rescuer or saviour of the damsel in distress / fallen woman / *femme fatale* is precisely one of the male sexual fantasies and also one of the ways—together with investigating, watching the woman (voyeurism) and substituting an object for the absent penis (fetishism)—to cope with the castration anxiety with which the male unconscious associates woman and her anatomy. Mulvey points out:

The male unconscious has two avenues of escape from this castration anxiety: preoccupation with the re-enactment of the original trauma (investigating the woman, demystifying her mystery) counterbalanced by the devaluation punishment or saving of the guilty object (an avenue typified by the concerns of the *film noir* [or chivalric romance for that matter]); or else complete disavowal of castration by the substitution of a fetish object or turning the represented figure itself into a fetish so that it becomes reassuring rather than dangerous (hence over-valuation [*sic*] the cult of the female star). (Mulvey 1999: 591)

Kaplan, following another book by Nancy Friday (1980), indicates this nature of male fantasies in which the man has a heroic behaviour and is the wielder of power and control and adds to the idea of male voyeurism:

It was predictable that many of the male fantasies in Friday’s book *Men in Love* would show the speaker constructing events so that he is in control: again, the “I” of identity remains central, as it was not in the female narrations. Many male fantasies focus on the man’s excitement arranging for his woman to expose herself (or even give herself) to other men, while he watches. (Kaplan 1984: 328)

Male voyeurism as a negotiation of the dangerous female sex in Renaissance poetry is precisely one of the main concerns in the essay by Baker (1991).

reproach to Sleep stems from the marred happiness and frustration that, on waking up, produces the realisation that the dream is only a fantasy and Amphilanthus remains unattainable. Pamphilia is embittered because, in Freudian terms, the dream is just a case of wish-fulfilment, a compensation for what she cannot get in reality, as well as a manifestation of her repressed libido on account of her chastity and faithfulness to her unfaithful love.

Moreover, the paradox of this dream in being both a source of fear and pleasure is consistent with Freud's theories of the uncanny and dreams (even anxiety dreams) being a mechanism of wish-fulfilment. Thus, Sleep depicted as a rapist that seems to threaten Pamphilia complies with the mysterious figure of the uncanny for it is, as Freud points out in his essay dealing with this phenomenon: "undoubtedly related to what is frightening —to what arouses dread and horror" (Freud 1955: 219, cited in Finucci 1994: 77), and at the same time this fearful unknown springs from what has been repressed. Freud summarises this filiation in the conclusion to his essay:

In the first place, if psycho-analytic theory is correct in maintaining that every emotional affect, whatever its quality, is transformed by repression into morbid anxiety, then among such cases of anxiety there must be a class in which the anxiety can be shown to come from something repressed which *recurs* [or *returns*, for that matter]. This class of morbid anxiety would then be no other than what is uncanny, irrespective of whether it originally aroused dread or some other affect. In the second place, if this is indeed the secret nature of the uncanny, we can understand why the usage of speech has extended *das Heimliche* into its opposite *das Unheimliche*, for this uncanny is in reality nothing new or foreign, but something familiar and old — established in the mind that has been estranged only by the process of repression. (Freud 1998: 166)¹⁸

That is, the disquieting and ominous figures of Sleep and those other "men" who appear in Pamphilia's dreams share the unfamiliar-familiarity of the uncanny and its origin in anxiety produced by sexual repression.¹⁹ Furthermore, their fear-pleasure ambiguity also corresponds to the paradoxical effect caused by anxiety. Actually, in his theory on the interpretation of dreams, Freud explains that even anxiety dreams are wish-fulfilment dreams, although they

¹⁸Unfortunately, as the two previous parenthetical references clearly indicate in my text, I have been unable to use *Standard Edition* of Freud's works. For the benefit of those who have access or would be willing to consult the *Standard Edition*, the reference for the essay on "The Uncanny" is Freud 1955: 219-252.

¹⁹For an interesting study on the Uncanny, the return of the repressed, and classical and Renaissance epic poetry see Bellamy (1994). For an essay on the female body as the source of attraction and fear for men and, hence, the Uncanny, see Baker (1991).

introduce an element that risks their own wish-fulfilment function. Freud states that:

... anxiety in dreams can be psychoneurotic originating in psychosexual excitations, and in their case the anxiety corresponds to repressed libido. In such instances, this anxiety has the significance of a neurotic symptom, as the entire anxiety-dream does, and we are standing on the border where the dream's wish-fulfilling intention breaks down. (Freud 1999: 182)

The connection between anxiety and pleasure in this dream sonnet is further explained because it is anxiety what precisely allows dreams to have a content undisguised by censorship. As Freud points out:

...an anxiety-dream only comes about if the censorship has been entirely or partially overcome, while on the other hand the censorship is overcome the more easily if anxiety is already present as a current sensation deriving from somatic sources. (Freud 1999: 205)

Thus, Freud's psychoanalytical theory provides the background against which the psychology of Pamphilia is identified as that of a neurotic condition induced by an excessive morality and, clearly, provides arguments to interpret Wroth's creation of Pamphilia as her intention of depicting a “psychological profile” —if the anachronism is allowed— that reflects the victimisation of women when they obsessively assimilate chastity as a response to their husband's inconstancy as demanded and favoured by the patriarchal order. In fact, this is consistent with her interest in the minds of her characters in the *Urania*, for in the fourth book, just to mention an example, Wroth deals with magic and the enchantment in the “Hell of Deceit” as a psychological device to explore the motivations for the estrangement between Pamphilia to Amphilanthus.

Within the frame of the relationship between emblems and dreams that I discussed earlier in this paper, it is most likely that Wroth found inspiration in Van Veen's *Amorum emblemata*. Possibly as a result of a suggestion by the author of the English epigrams for the London edition of the emblems, R[ichard] [Rowlands] V[erstegen] (c. 1550-1640),²⁰ the volume was dedicated both to Philip Herbert (1584-1650), Earl of Montgomery, and most significantly, William Herbert (1580-1630), Earl of Pembroke, who also happened to be Lady Mary Wroth's cousin and lover as well as the father of two of her children, and most probably, the “Will” of some of Wroth's sonnets. Therefore it is quite possible that the Earl of Herbert owned a copy of Van

²⁰I have drawn my information on the English edition of Van Veen's emblems from Porteman's introduction (1996: 1-20). See this introduction (7-9) for further details on the English edition and translator.

Veen's book and that Wroth had access to it may have been included in John Florio's bequest of Italian books to the Earl of Pembroke which was to be kept "either at Wilton or Baynards Castle in London," i.e., Lady Mary's family home (*Dictionary of National Biography*, VII, 336-337, cited in Paulissen 1982: 88).

As regards to sonnets 16 and 17, the influence of Van Veen's book of emblems seems to have its precise origin in emblems 148 and 167, for they deal with love and amorous obsession and the dreams they provoke in the lover.²¹

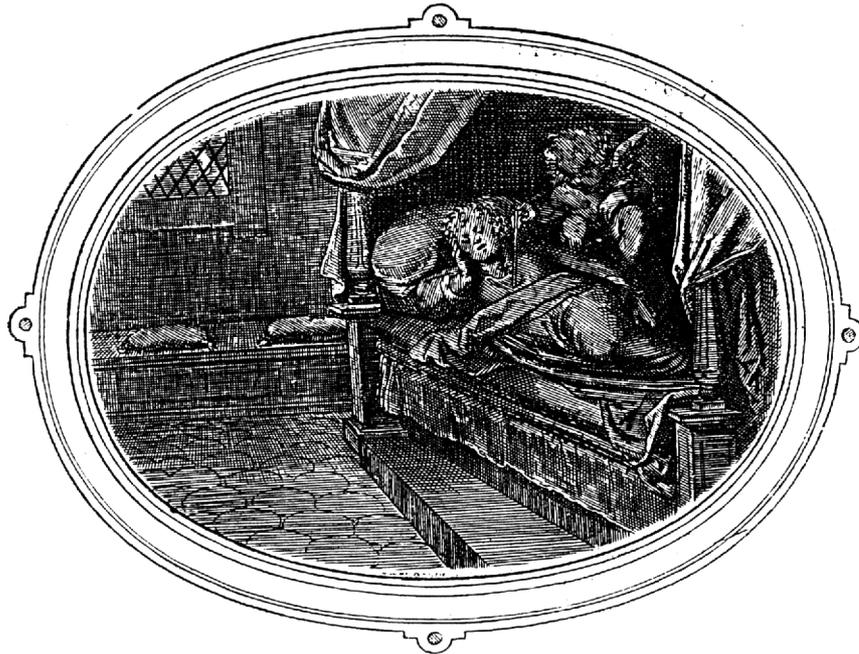
Thus, sonnet 16 shows coincidences with emblem 148 (see *FIGURE 4*) because the allegory of Sleep in the sonnet is as troublesome a figure that prevents rest as Cupid in the Latin epigraph of the emblem. The difference is, naturally, that in the sonnet Sleep is certainly a more ambiguous personification because of its sinister nature, as I have already explained. Besides, Sleep is also related with "joy" and "delight" and we find the same connection between Repose and "joy" and "delight" in the English epigram to the emblem. Wroth benefited from this relationship and built on it her own more paradoxical and cryptic version to convey her sexual meaning.

The motto in emblem 167 states that the lover sees his love in dreams (see *FIGURE 5*) and the English epigram explains that these dreams "do produce joy" and the lover "doth enjoy" his "desired blisse," but it also shows the disappointment inherent to wish-fulfilment dreams when the dreamer wakes up, so the content and phrasing are very similar to Wroth's sonnet 16, but for the exception of Wroth's sexual puns. Curiously enough, although many ambiguous Latin epigrams add sexual connotations to Van Veen's emblems, that is not the case in emblem 167. On the other hand, "enjoy" and "desired blisse" are sufficiently ambiguous so as to allow a sexual meaning. Wroth changes the sex of the dreamer, reproduces this vocabulary throughout her sequence from the starting point in sonnet 2, and it does acquire sexual overtones, as does the opposition between light and darkness, warmth and cold, that is best understood by the analogy with the astrological allegories of the zodiacal signs and planets as I have shown before. Thus, in sonnet 16, the ambiguity of "Joying" and "delight" is enhanced by its connection with the sexual aspect introduced in the first quatrain. These words could be interpreted as mere contentment of seeing again the object of her love, but they point to the joys and delights of the flesh, the satisfaction of the repressed libido that only finds an outlet in dreams.

²¹Casanova (1999: 60-64) pairs these sonnets with the same Van Veen emblems, however, he emphasises the neoplatonic nature of such dream-visions and, therefore, misses the sexual content of both Van Veen's emblems and Wroth's sonnets.

A M O R V M.

149



T 3

P[ublius] Syr[us]. AMOR DIVRNVS NOCTVRNVSQVE COMES.

*Quám fidus Pylades Amor est noctu[que] diu[que]!
Quám turbat somnos sæpè Cupido meos!
Somne quies rerum, placidissime somne Deorum,
Huc huc ad nostros lumina verte lares.*

[P(ublius) Syr(us). LOVE IS A COMPANION NIGHT AND DAY.

Pylades, how faithful is Love, both day and night!
How often Cupid troubles my dreams!
Sleep, the quiet of all things, most placid sleep of the gods,
Here and there, turn the lights to our protector gods.]

Loue night and day attendant.

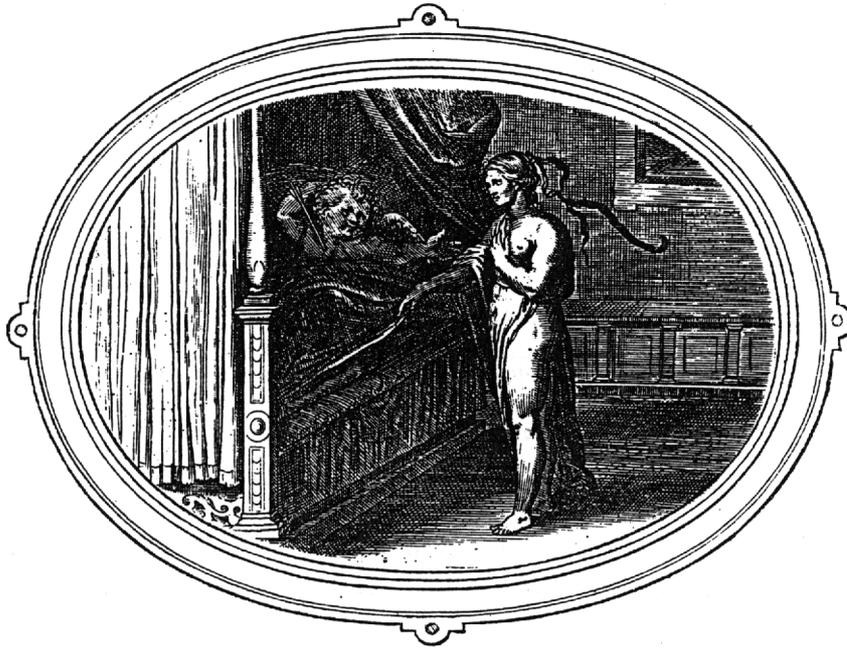
Loue alwayes doth attend the loue day and night,
For if hee sleep or wake still with him will hee bee,
Awake to him hee speakes, In dreames hee doth him see,
Repose enioyd of all, denyeth him delight.

FIGURE 4. Emblem 148 in *Amorum emblemata* by Otto Van Veen (Otho Vaenius). The translation of the Latin text is my own. Reproduced from Vaenius (1996: 148, 149). Wroth's

Pamphilia to Amphilanthus, sonnet 16 shows coincidences with the emblem, because the sonnet's Sleep is a troublesome figure as in the Latin epigraph, and it is related with "joy" and "delight" as in the English epigraph to the emblem. The latter must be understood as "Delight denyeth him repose enjoyd of all", which in fact leaves room for a sexual interpretation. Wroth establishes the relationship in a more paradoxical and cryptic form to convey her sexual meaning. See sonnet 16 below.

A M O R V M.

167



P[ublius] Syr[us]. AMANS QVOD SVSPICATUR, VIGILANS SOMNIAT.

Ouid. *Ante meos oculos præsto est tua semper imago,
Et videor vultus mente videre tuos.*

Terent. *Hi qui amant, ipsi sibi somnia fingunt.*

[P(ublius) Syr(us). The lover dreams of what he admires while awake.

Ovid. Your image is always ready before my eyes,
And it seems to me I see your features in my mind.

Terence. Those who love, delude themselves with dreams]

Dreames do produce ioy.

Loues fancies in the day, turne into dreames by night.
Then thinks hee that his loue before him present is,

And that hee doth enioy his hartes desyred blisse,
But waxing once awake hee loseth that delight.

FIGURE 5. Emblem 167 in *Amorum emblemata* by Otto Van Veen (Otho Vaenius). The translation of the Latin text is my own. Reproduced from Vaenius (1996: 166, 167). Wroth may have been inspired by possibilities of the words “joy,” “enjoy,” “desired bliss” and “delight” in the English epigraph of Van Veen’s emblem. See sonnets below.

16

Sleepe fy possess mee nott, nor doe nott fright
Mee with thy heavy, and thy deathlike might
For counterfetting’s vilder then deaths sight,
And such deluding more my thoughts doe spite.
Thou suff’rest fauldest shapes my soule t’affright 5
Some times in liknes of a hopefull spright,
And oft times like my love as in dispite
Joying thou canst with mallice kill delight,
When I (a poore foole made by thee) think joy
Doth flow, when thy fond shadows doe destroy 10
My that while senceles self, left free to thee,
Butt now doe well, lett mee for ever sleepe,
And soe for ever that deare Image keepe,
Or still wake, that my senses may bee free.

17

Sweet shades why doe you seeke to give delight
To mee who deeme delight in this vilde place
Butt torment, sorrow, and mine owne disgrace
To taste of joy, or your vaine pleasing sight;
Show them your pleasures who saw never night 5
Of grieffe, wher joyings fauning, smiling face
Appeers as day, wher grieffe found never space
Yet for a sigh, a groane, or envies spite;
Butt O on mee a world of woes doe ly,
Or els on mee all harmes strives to rely, 10
And to attend like servants bound to mee,
Heat in desire, while frosts of care I prove,
Wanting my love, yett surfett doe with love
Burne, and yett freeze, better in hell to bee.

(Texts reproduced from Wroth 1983: 95-96)

The sexual nature of Pamphilia’s dream is confirmed by her having an orgasm as the first tercet indicates, however cryptically. In this tercet, Pamphilia offers more details about her “delight” that is almost destroyed by the impression of seeing Amphilanthus. It is remarkable that this danger of losing “delight” coincides with a very specific moment as the repeated connector

“when” indicates. In that very instant, Pamphilia, completely deluded by her dreams, *i.e.*, made a fool by Sleep, thinks “that joy / Doth flow”, an expression that associates both a sudden burst of current of energy and lubricity to the mere feeling of happiness. A sudden release that is caused the very moment that the figures that appear in the dream “destroy” her, the very word harking back to the *double entendre* of the “deathlike might” of Sleep the rapist. The complete defencelessness and abandon to Sleep’s possession contained in the third line of the tercet only underline this orgasmic moment in Pamphilia’s dream, even if, paradoxically, she reminds us that in fact she is only dreaming as she, indeed, is “senceless”, that is, unconscious.

Having reached climax, Pamphilia asks Sleep to allow her to keep the Image of his Love most likely to stay in a state of “bliss” in which this fantasy of copulation with her loved-one would be carried out endlessly as in a sexual coma. The other option for Sleep is to leave her alone so that she is able to regain full control of her consciousness, her conscience, her sex, and indeed her chastity.

Sonnet 17 also deals with dreams but is even more dramatic than the preceding one and Pamphilia is more adamant in rejecting this type of sexual dreams. So we can actually see that Pamphilia is so neurotic a character that she even resents having dreams of a sexual content. Still figures of men try to give Pamphilia “delight”, that is, she dreams of men in a sexual context, but this clashes with her rejection of sexuality and adoption of chastity. Therefore, her mind is tortured as she refuses to “taste of joy,” a phrase that introduces the very frequent connection between eating and sex,²² a linkage that is emphasised and developed by adding implications of oral sex by the end of line four if we understand “vaine pleasing sight” in a further association with the zodiacal iconography that I indicated earlier.

In the second quatrain, the sexual character of these figures becomes more evident with the use of the word “pleasures” to refer to what the “Sweet shades” have to offer, an interpretation that again benefits from the Freudian displacement and Lacanian metonymy of the superposition of face and crotch that qualifies the light and warmth imagery in the sonnets and that we can identify in “joyings fauning, smiling face / Appears as day.” It is evident that Pamphilia is angry with this kind of visions that only are a source of torment for

²²See for instance John Donne’s “Elegie [XVIII]: Loves Progress” and Shakespeare’s *Much Ado about Nothing*. In the latter the metaphors involving eating, “cannibalism” and sex are recurrent throughout the text. Another Shakespearean example is *The Taming of the Shrew* in which Petruchio tames Kate by depriving her of food and sexual intercourse. In *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*, such relationship is established in sonnet 13 [P15]: “Deare fammish nott what you your self gave food.”

her as her relationship with Amphilanthus is disrupted by his absence. She only deems such dreams as justifiable or welcome in the case of an untroubled, sincere, faithful relationship in which sex between the two members of the couple is based on mutual trust and fidelity.

In the first tercet, Pamphilia’s “woes” and “harms” acquire physicality very much like Sleep the rapist in the previous sonnet, and they “lie” on her, pointing not only to the metaphorical burden of miseries, but also to a sexual assault and rape because of the very terms allegorised (especially “harms”). The last line even seems to introduce the notion that male servants try to occupy the place of Amphilanthus in Pamphilia’s bed, thus adding a twist, implying some kind of entanglement, to the primary meaning of “bound” that points to the usual, customary obligations of servants.

The last tercet groups Petrarchan paradoxes to express Pamphilia’s state of confusion, and their higher sexual charge makes the sexual content of the sonnet evident and reveals that Pamphilia’s dreams are erotic. Her “Heat in desire” corresponds to her longing for Amphilanthus, but also to what she experiments in those dreams, whereas “frosts of care” are her mortification, her shame caused by the conflict between having these dreams and her obsessive morality. She misses and desires the man she loves, but she is also the object of the love and sexual desire of those men she sees in dreams. The oneiric event is expressed with a metaphor that links eating and sex and also suggests orality. The paradox in the last line opposing “burne” and “freeze” summarises the two levels of her experience: the oneiric one in which censorship is overcome by the full charge of the repressed, and the conscious one, in which she actually hates and tries to avoid what takes place in the erotic dreams only adding, in a vicious circle, to her obsessive neurosis by reinforcing repression, the very mechanism that provokes her anxiety and her sexual dreams.

As a conclusion then, these two sonnets and their depiction of Pamphilia’s psychology, that is best explained by a framework combining iconography and psychoanalysis, show that Wroth’s sequence is far too different from following the tradition or the Name of the Father that creates the symbolic order of Petrarchan and Sidneian sonnet sequences. In fact, Wroth’s sonnets encodes a proto-feminist message that is utterly misinterpreted if her message is read exclusively in the light of the male symbolic order. Wroth genders the genre and quite paradoxically, as her own style is paradoxical, she puts the return of the repressed in her speaker’s mind and dreams to the service of creating a female gaze and voice that allow for what from a gender- and sociologically speaking point of view has also been termed the “return of the repressed.”²³

²³I cannot agree with Jennifer Laws (1996) who holds that Wroth’s poems are not gendered:

APPENDIX.

FULKE GREVILLE'S *CAELICA*, LVI.

I have added emphasis for those lines and sections that show parallelisms with Wroth's Sonnet 2 and may have actually served her as a precedent for this type of astronomical, zodiacal and sexual conceit. The text is reproduced from Greville (1973: 26-28). The notes are my own.

LVI

All my senses, like beacon's flame,
 Gave alarum to desire
 To take arms in Cynthia's name,
 And set all my thoughts on fire:
 Fury's wit persuaded me,
 Happy love was hazard's heir,
 Cupid did best shoot and see
 In the night where smooth is fair;
 Up I start believing well
 To see if Cynthia were awake; 10
 Wonder I saw, who can tell?
 And thus unto myself I spake:
 "Sweet God Cupid where am I,
 That by pale Diana's light
 Such rich beauties do espy,
 As harm our *senses with delight?*
 Am I borne up to the skies?
See where Jove and Venus shine,
Showing in her heavenly eyes
That desire is divine: 20
Look where lies the milken way,
Way unto that dainty throne,^a
Where while all the gods would play,
Vulcan thinks to dwell alone.

contrary to our expectations, Wroth is not particularly interested in gender issues in this sequence (I am not making any claims about her other writings or her personal values); but in this sequence she appears to be concerned not so much with gender as with genre: "The lack of interest in gender informs the whole sequence..." (Laws 1996).

^aSee *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus*, sonnet 2, line 10 above for an analogous use of "throne" as a metaphor for the genitals.

Nor, if rivers be unkind,
 Turn away or leave to love. 60
There stand I, like Arctic pole,
Where Sol passeth o'er the line,^c
Mourning my benighted soul,
Which so loseth light divine.
 There stand I like men that preach
 From the execution place,
At their death content to teach
All the world with their disgrace:^d
He that lets his Cynthia lie,
 Naked on a bed of play, 70
To say prayers ere she die,
 Teacheth time to run away.
 Let no love-desiring heart,
 In the stars go seek his fate,
 Love is only Nature's art,
 Wonder hinders love and hate.
None can well behold with eyes,
 But what underneath him lies.

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^cA metaphorical reference to his erection also playing with the notion of the cold of frustration and the loss of the heat of excitation.

^dGreville uses as a conceit the erection provoked (often even reaching ejaculation) as part of the effects on man of the execution by hanging. It both emphasises the idea that the satisfaction of his desire remains "hanging," that is, unsatisfied, delayed, frustrated, and also introduces the connection between death and "the little death" or sexual climax that is later developed in the poem and is a Renaissance commonplace.

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**“BETWEEN THE PALE
COMPLEXION OF TRUE
LOVE AND THE RED
GLOW OF SCORN”.
TRADITIONS OF
PASTORAL LOVE IN
SHAKESPEARE’S *AS YOU
LIKE IT***

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In his well known *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama* (1959: 215), W.W. Greg explains how by the opening days of the sixteenth century, romance became chivalric in Spain and courtly in France, reaching England in three main streams: the eclogue borrowed by Spenser from Marot, the romance suggested to Sidney by Montemayor, and the drama imitated by Daniel from Tasso and Guarini. But Maybe the most interesting thing about this statement is the fact that he explains that once there, these traditions blended with other influences and native traditions, giving place to a particular dramatic work not to be found in any other European nation. Because following this theory by Greg, Shakespeare’s *As You Like It* (1600) turns out to be one of these “particular dramatic works” gathering together a variety of the different pastoral conventions established by authors such as Virgil, Marot or Mantuan, and Sannazaro or Montemayor. Not in vain, the most immediate source for this play is to be found in Thomas Lodge’s pastoral romance entitled *Rosalynde: Euphues’ Golden Legacy* (1590), for which Thomas Lodge was not only indebted to Sidney; but also to the ancient pastoral tradition, the Italian Sannazaro, and the Portuguese Jorge de Montemayor. Moreover, the characters of Shakespeare’s play can be organized by couples into three different groups: the group of the idealized shepherds, that of the courtly characters who are not shepherds but are disguised as such; and finally, the group of those other characters who are neither one thing, nor the other. That is the reason why once these couples of characters turn out to be three couples of lovers, each of them is going to be representative of a particular type of pastoral love. And in this sense, this paper is going to analyze these three types of love relationships with the intention of connecting each of them with one of the three different conventions of pastoral love already considered.

In his well known *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama* (1959: 215), W.W. Greg explains how by the opening days of the sixteenth century, romance became chivalric in Spain and courtly in France, reaching England in three main streams: the eclogue borrowed by Spenser from Marot, the romance Sidney

adopted from Montemayor, and the drama imitated by Daniel from Tasso and Guarini. But maybe the most interesting thing about this statement is the fact that the critic explains that once there, these streams blended with other influences and native traditions, giving place to a particular dramatic work not to be found in any other European nation. Because following this theory by Greg, Shakespeare's *As You Like It* (1600) turns out to be one of these "particular dramatic works" gathering together a variety of the different pastoral conventions of the time. Not in vain, the most immediate source for this play is to be found in Thomas Lodge's pastoral romance entitled *Rosalynde: Euphues' Golden Legacy* (1590), for which he was not only indebted to Sidney, but also to the ancient pastoral tradition, the Italian Sannazaro, and the Portuguese Jorge de Montemayor. Moreover, the characters of Shakespeare's play can be organized by couples into three different groups: the group of the idealized shepherds, that of the courtly characters who are not shepherds but are disguised as such; and finally, the group of those other characters who are neither one thing, nor the other. That is why once these three couples of characters turn out to be three couples of lovers in the course of the play by Shakespeare, each of them is going to be representative of a particular convention of pastoral literature and pastoral love.

The audience of *As You Like It* can see how some courtly characters such as Rosalind, Orlando, or the clown Touchstone, disguise themselves as shepherds and come temporarily to live in the forest of Arden where they get in contact with shepherds who already inhabit the forest such as Audrey, Silvius, Phoebe, or Jaques, the malcontent traveller. But not all the shepherds who actually belong to the forest can be classified as members of the same group: whereas Audrey is a real, illiterate goatherd who devotes herself to the care of her flock, Silvius is an idealized shepherd who knows the literary pastoral tradition well enough to convince Phoebe, an idealized shepherdess as well, to accept his love. For that reason, while Silvius and Phoebe belong to the group of the idealized shepherds who know the pastoral tradition, Rosalind and Orlando would be part of that other group of courtly characters who are disguised as shepherds and live in the forest temporarily. Neither Audrey nor Touchstone are really part of any of the groups already mentioned. Since Audrey is not an idealized shepherdess and Touchstone is not a nobleman who keeps his courtly manners in spite of living in the forest, they can be said to conform a third group of characters on their own. But anyway, each of these three couples of lovers follow the pastoral models established by Virgil, Mantuan, or Sannazaro and Montemayor depending on their respective social positions or groups. Thus, they allow the intended audience to identify each of their love relationships with one of the three different conventions of pastoral love which were widely known at the time.

In his chapter about pastoral to be found in *The Legacy of Rome*, Richard Jenkyns distinguishes three different conventions of pastoral love. This distinction is basic to relate each of the couples of lovers in the play to a particular tradition of pastoral love. According to this critic, Theocritus was the first writer to establish the conventions defining this literary genre, but Virgil was the first Latin writer to follow Theocritus' tradition, and the most influential one. Jenkyns also explains that Virgil was the first author who introduced real features characterizing peasants and shepherds' real lives. According to this critic, Eclogues II and VII by Virgil already have a realistic touch because Corydon announces the end of his song by making reference to some peasants who come back home after a hard day of work in Eclogue II: "See, the bullocks drag home by the yoke, the hanging plough, and the retiring sun doubles the lengthening shadows" (Goold 1986: 66-8), while Meliboeus explains in Eclogue VII that he will have to go back to work after attending Corydon and Thyrsis' musical match. And it is just this "realistic touch" that allows the consideration of Eclogues II and VII as the literary source for Silvius and Phoebe's love relationship. At first sight, theirs is a "typical" pastoral love based on the idealized shepherd's complaint to a cruel beloved. Their amorous story seems to be quite similar to that of Corydon's unrequited love in Eclogue II. But very soon, Shakespeare takes that same "realistic touch" of Eclogues II and VII with the intention of modifying the Latin model in order to allow his idealized shepherds to enjoy a happy ending consisting in marriage. According to Jenkyns, Virgil's realism is always portrayed in a very subtle way. But the critic explains that Mantuan, one of Virgil's most important followers, makes explicit what Virgil just implies, giving place to a different pastoral convention known as the "strong tendency" of the pastoral tradition. This tendency can be easily related to Touchstone and Audrey's love because these characters always reject a highly artificial love discourse that they do not even manage to understand. The clown Touchstone is not a nobleman living in the forest, and Audrey is not an idealized beautiful shepherdess who refuses to accept his love. Rather on the contrary, both of them seem to consider their love to be perfectly physical and possible from the very beginning and till the end of the play, when they get finally married. That is at least what Touchstone points out when he tells Audrey: "Come, sweet Audrey. / We must be married, or we must live in bawdry" (3.3, 86-7). Meanwhile, Rosalind and Orlando's love could be said to be part of that other pastoral tradition mentioned by Jenkyns and introduced by Sannazaro in 1504, when his work *Arcadia* was first published. In Sannazaro's work, the royalty of the court and the simplicity of the country come together for the first time. The noblemen disguise themselves as shepherds in order to avoid some dangers, and go on behaving as if they were at court in spite of being actually living in the forest. Nevertheless, Montemayor's *Diana* (1558-9) is the first referent in order for the intended audience to locate an amorous story

similar to that of Rosalind and Orlando. Both Montemayor's *Diana* and *As You Like It* by Shakespeare, present two women from the court, Rosalind and Felismena, who disguise themselves as men in order to be near their beloved. None of them hesitates to "serve" those men with whom they are in love. And in both cases, these two women are finally able to make their love possible. So at the end, the three couples of lovers in the play by Shakespeare have the same happy ending in spite of being representative of three different conventions of pastoral love.

Eclogues II and VII by Virgil seem to be the source for Silvius and Phoebe's love. In Eclogue II, Corydon suffers from Alexis' unrequited love. He is completely aware of the impossibility of his love for the boy when recognizing Alexis to be his "master's pet," or when realizing that his gifts would never be as good as his master Iollas'. Nevertheless, Virgil's Corydon goes on complaining, trying to convince Alexis to accept his love by introducing catalogues of his possessions, and catalogues of the gifts with which he is willing to provide the boy. He seems to be perfectly convinced that the idealized shepherd's fate is to complain and to feel sorry for himself while enumerating the characteristics defining him as a good lover despised by a cruel beloved. That is why he justifies his persistence by making use of a *priamel* allowing him to make clear that he is behaving in a natural way when following Alexis; the same way in which "The grim lioness follows the wolf, the wolf himself the goat, and the wanton goat the flowering clover" (62-5). In Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, Silvius is in love with Phoebe while the "cruel" shepherdess is in love with Ganymede, a young boy who turns out to be Rosalind in disguise. So at the beginning, Silvius' love for Phoebe is also an impossible goal to achieve. But Shakespeare solves this problem by taking the structural model of Eclogue VII, and making Phoebe play the role of Corydon's opponent in Virgil's poem. That is to say, the author of the play endows Phoebe with a position of authority allowing her to have a voice of her own. From this new position, she is able to take part in the dialogue, and to make Silvius understand that she does not believe in those love arguments defining her "as a cruel mistress." According to Phoebe, lovers who feel sorry for themselves and "shut their coward eyes on atomies," are the ones who "should be called tyrants, butchers, murders" (3.5.12-4). She is so against the pastoral conventions used by Silvius in order to convince her to accept his love, that she definitely breaks them down when she simply accepts Silvius' love after finding out that her beloved Ganymede is a woman in disguise instead of a young shepherd. Thus, Silvius and Phoebe's love only turns out to be possible once Phoebe realizes that she cannot marry someone else; but never because Silvius' words can convince her to marry him, or even make her feel sympathy for him. In fact, no lover in the literary pastoral tradition can be said to have achieved this goal just by complaining. Eclogue II by Virgil is a good example of this: since Corydon's

complaint takes place in the solitude of the forest where his beloved Alexis can not be listening to him, the boy is never going to answer to Corydon or to allow him to get his favors.

Disguising as the opposite sex was a common mechanism of pastoral. Sidney's Pyrocles, for instance, spends most of the *Arcadia* as Zelmane, an amazon, in order to be near his beloved, the princess Philoclea. Lodge and Shakespeare's Phoebe becomes mistakenly infatuated with Ganymede, and Lyly's play entitled *Gallathea* (1586) presents two girls disguised as boys who fall in love with each other. But maybe the source for Rosalind and Orlando's love is to be located in the episode of Felismena that can be found in Montemayor's *Diana*. Starting from Matteo Bandello's *Novella* (II,36), Montemayor portrays Felismena as a great lady who disguises herself as a page called Valerius in order to follow her beloved *Don Felix*. He was forced to leave Felismena after having been courting her for a year; right the same time that she serves her beloved in return. During the time Felismena works for him as a page, she sees how *Don Felix* starts forgetting her little by little, and how he starts suffering from her new beloved Celia's unrequited love. Moreover, she is in charge of the letters *Don Felix* sends to his new beloved; a situation that ends up bringing about Celia's infatuation with Felismena in disguise. Celia only accepts the letters to make her beloved Valerius happy. But as soon as Valerius disregards her love, she commits suicide and *Don Felix* leaves the house without a trace. Then Felismena disguises herself as a shepherdess in order to enter the forest looking for him. And after wandering for a long time, she saves the life of a man who turns out to be *Don Felix*. When she recognizes him, Felismena identifies herself as a woman who had always loved him: "In the habite of a tender and daintie Ladie I loved thee... and in the habite of a base page I served thee... and yet now in the habite of a poore and simple shepherdesse I came to do thee this small service" (*Diana*, 238-9). As a result, *Don Felix* compensates her for all her love's labours, so that they can be finally happy: "I am forever bound unto thee: since I enjoy it thy means, I thinke it no more then right, to restore thee that, which is thine owne" (*Diana*, 240).

Despite the possible differences, Montemayor's episode of Felismena seems to be present in the story of Rosalind and Orlando's love depicted by Shakespeare. This author changes the urban setting of the episode for a pastoral one, but he keeps a Rosalind who has to disguise herself as a man and who gets Phoebe in love with her while she is "serving" his beloved Orlando just in the same way as Felismena does in Montemayor's *Diana*. Shakespeare's Rosalind is also going to become Orlando's confidant in terms of love. But in addition to that, she takes the responsibility for Orlando's love cure, serving him in this way. So metaphorically speaking, Rosalind can be also said to "save" her beloved's life. At least, her "love cure" prevents him from dying of an

impossible love. The differences appear because Rosalind does not have to see how Phoebe commits suicide, or how Orlando complains about another woman's unrequited love. Rather on the contrary, being disguised as Ganymede, Rosalind has the chance to test and even to mock Orlando's love, challenging him to prove that he is a desperate lover, and to declare his love for Rosalind openly: "Then your hose should be ungartered,... your shoe untied, and everything about you demonstrating a careless desolation. (...) You may as soon make her that you love believe it,..." (3.2, 361-70). Under such guise, she can extract from him more declarations of his love for her, in a shorter time, than if he had known who she was. In this way, Orlando is even forced to consider the possibility to marry a Rosalind who, as a non-idealized wife, could turn out to be "more clamorous than a parrot against rain," or "more new fangled than an ape" (4.1, 136-9). Only then does Rosalind definitely make up her mind to save Orlando's life with their own marriage, the most effective cure for unrequited love. So at the end, both Rosalind and Felismena can be said to have saved their beloveds' lives and to have reached the same happy ending, despite the fact of having used different methods.

According to Jenkyns' article, Mantuan was the first to introduce a real moralistic touch into the Virgilian tradition. That is also what the Elizabethan critic Puttenham explains in *The Arte of English Poesie*, where he states that Virgil's eclogues "came after to contain and enforme morall discipline, for the amendment of mans behaviour, as be those of Mantuan and other modern poets" (XVIII: 38-9). But at the same time, Mantuan's shepherds are perfectly real: they have to work very hard in the forest, and they use a far from idyllic semantic field including many "bawdy" expressions which are just part of the real shepherds' daily life. And it is this duality explicit realism / morality to be found in Mantuan what can actually lead the audience to identify this "strong tendency" with Touchstone and Audrey's love relationship. Jaques is the character who provides Touchstone and Audrey's explicit realism with a moralistic touch because he plays a very important role as the narrative voice with which the author's intentions can be identified.¹ In fact, by means of Jaques' philosophical discourse, Shakespeare highlights the importance of the fool characters of the play, and considers them as a useful weapon against the hypocrisy of the world represented in the play by the hypocrisy of the lover's melancholy to be found in Silvius and Orlando's love discourses. This hypocrisy is not to be found in Touchstone's "natural" behavior. As he explains himself when talking to Audrey: "... for the truest poetry is the most / feigning, and lovers are given to poetry; and what they / swear in poetry it may be said, as

¹Jaques is a melancholic character, just as Philisides, the melancholic shepherd to be found among the minor characters of Sidney's *Arcadia*, and who can be considered to be a version of Sidney himself when he appears as "The Knight of the Sheep" —Sidney's own pseudonym—.

lovers, they do feign...” (3.3.16-8), Touchstone is not a melancholy lover who sings to an impossible love while suffering from madness. Far from it, he can be described as an unconventional lover who is perfectly able to accept his beloved as she really is —“a foul slut”—, being this lack of idealization what makes their love a possible goal to achieve from the very beginning: “Well, praised be the gods for thy foulness. / Sluttishness may come hereafter. But be it as it may be, / I will marry thee...” (3.3.35-7).

Shakespeare’s *As You Like It* is a “particular dramatic work” that provides the audience with a complete catalogue of love relationships and pastoral traditions. There are options to please everybody, no matter their social positions or groups: ordinary people in favour of an artificial love discourse can follow Virgil’s model, whereas people from the higher classes fond of the amorous games can rather prefer the models established by Sannazaro and Montemayor. But maybe Mantuan would be the author chosen by lovers belonging to any of the groups already mentioned who are clearly against the artificial complexities of courtship. Each of these choices —going from the pale complexion of Orlando’s true love to the red glow of Touchstone’s scorn— entails a different degree of complexity. But all of them lead to marriage as the only possible happy ending, and all of them are equally important in order for the play to fulfil the expectations of a varied audience composed of people belonging to different social groups and with different levels of education.

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“HAVING TO ‘BEAR THE YOKE’”: WOMEN AND JEST-BOOKS OF THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY¹

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The aim of this paper is to analyse the representation of women in English jest-books of the early seventeenth century. This period of time is particularly interesting because of the large amount of jest-books that were brought out then, because the formal controversy about women was at its height, and because it was the age when more and more English female writers started to publish. Criticism has generally neglected the study of jest-books, most likely due to their deficient literary quality and apparent frivolity. Yet, they are cultural products of unquestionable interest to probe attitudes and anxieties of the society that has created them. The representation of women in these texts tends to reflect the misogyny prevailing at the time, insisting on clichés such as women as lustful, shrewish and gossiping. Many of these jests are devised to laugh at women who are (ab)used as sexual objects or the victims of men’s violence. Male and female antimisogynists of the time complained about this use of humour to degrade women. And, as one of the jests hints, there were unruly women who could not “endure to bear the yoke.”

At the end of Book II of *The Book of the Courtier* (1528), first translated into English by Thomas Hoby in 1561, Baldesar Castiglione includes an interesting discussion on laughter and joking which eventually turns into a controversy about women. Bernardo is aware of the power of jokes, for he sees humour as a form of attack. A courtier should not laugh at anyone without regarding the consequences this may have. For instance, some “do not hesitate to impugn a lady’s honour, which is a very evil thing to do and which deserves severe punishment, since in this respect women are to be counted among the defenceless and do not deserve such treatment, having no weapons with which to protect themselves” (Bull 1967:187). Bernardo knows of the double standard ruling the morals of the time and argues, exerting a sort of *positive discrimination*, that women may question a man’s virtue more freely: “And this is because we ourselves, as men, have made it a rule that a dissolute way of life is not to be thought evil or blameworthy or disgraceful, whereas in women it

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leads to such complete opprobrium and shame that once a woman has been spoken ill of, whether the accusation be true or false, she is utterly disgraced for ever." Contrary to this attitude, Ottaviano Fregoso justifies misogynist humour because "women are very imperfect creatures," and so it is "necessary, through shame and disgrace, to place on them a restraint which might foster some good qualities" (195). Bernardo wonders why the ladies present at the discussion remain so quiet "bearing the wrongs... so patiently." Then the women stand up laughing and run towards Gaspare, the main spokesman of misogyny in the debate, as if to beat him, saying "Now you shall see whether we care whether evil things are said about us" (200). However, criticised for the use of violence, these ladies end up appointing a man to defend them.

I think this episode is a good illustration of the manner in which humour was conceived in the sixteenth century and, particularly, how it was used in patriarchal society for the ideological subjection of women. Humour was mainly satirical, i.e. aggressive and corrective, exposing and attempting to discourage other people's flaws. As Hobbes stated in the mid-seventeenth century, laughter arises from "some sudden *conception* of some *eminency* in ourselves, by *comparison* with the *infirmity* of others, or with our own formerly," and it may bring dishonour. "It is no wonder therefore that men take heinously to be laughed at or derided, that is, triumphed over" (McMillin 1973: 343). Ottaviano's words quoted above demonstrate that men laugh at women in order to remind them of their alleged imperfection and their need to comply with patriarchal ideology. The ladies' reaction shows that women actually rejected this insistent humiliation, but did not dare to denounce it in public, ironically depending on men for their defence. This situation was slightly different in early-seventeenth-century England. This paper attempts to analyse how women were represented in the jest-books of the time and how they reacted to them.

Criticism has generally neglected the study of jest-books, probably because they seem deficient in literary quality, frivolous, and often uncouth, rejoicing in churlish hoax, sex, violence, and scatology. Jest-books have traditionally been considered part of "popular culture." Yet, as Sullivan and Woodbridge (2000: 273-81) have recently argued, jest-books were originally produced, collected, and promoted by humanists as part of the education of courtiers and plebeians (see also Brewer 1997: 91-101). Jests were deemed useful to orators, essential to a courtier's conversation, and advisable in sermons to the uncultured laity in order to maintain their attention. But in the seventeenth century, the elite gave up producing jest-books, and imputed the jests' vulgarity to the lower classes that read them in the attempt to distinguish between a "popular culture" and a "high culture." What seems evident, then, is that jest-books were enjoyed by the

aristocracy and bourgeoisie alike, and thus they were to some extent “an index of what is... thought to be funny.” According to Brewer:

The nature of a jest is to promote the humour and harmony of the group who share it and its implicit assumptions. All groups by their very existence imply and may deliberately exclude outsiders, and virtually all traditional jests are at the expense... of a victim who either is, or becomes, an outsider... Traditionally jests tend to endorse popular prejudice, as with the universally practised ethnic joke, or almost equally universal anti-feminism in many forms, or mockery of physical handicaps. (1997: 90)

In the Early Modern period, jests were mostly told by men to a male audience, although women were sometimes present. The content of jokes was often too scatological and sexually explicit for the modesty a virtuous lady should have. Conduct books insisted on it. For instance, in *The book of matrimony* (1564) Thomas Becon prescribes that an honest wife must “provide that her words be utterly estranged from all wantonness, jesting, filth speaking, and whatsoever may offend chaste eares,” and quotes St Paul’s advice to the Ephesians (Eph. 5) (Aughterson 1995: 112). Likewise, Castiglione considers indecent jokes inappropriate in the presence of virtuous women (Bull 1967: 175-6). This restriction is ironically present in Robert Armin’s jest-book entitled *A Nest of Ninnies* (1608), which is the third edition of *Foole Upon Foole* (1600) with the addition of a framing dialogue between a philosopher called Sotto and the World, represented as a wanton girl. After some of the pranks he tells her, the narrator says:

The World laughing a-good at these jests, though to say sooth she could hardly afford it, for fear of writhing her sweet savor, yet straining courtesy in this kind, did as our wantons do at a feast —spare for manners in company, but alone, cram most greedily. So she, forgetting modesty, gaped out a laughter and, like women hardly won, cried, “More, more!” (Zall 1970: 46).

A similar situation is shown later, when a gentlewoman refrains from laughing at a stutter “because she would not seem too immodest with laughing... so she straining herself, though inwardly she laughed heartily, gave out such an earnest of her modesty that all the Table rung of it” (53), then she blushes, and everybody guffaws.

So there seems to have been a constraint to women’s production and reception of humour at the time. Yet, if women were not supposed to hear jests, the corrective aim of misogynist humour was doubtful. Often male jokes were directed to an exclusively male audience, and in this case, sexist humour must be interpreted as a tool for asserting and maintaining superiority, a manner of fantasising about gaining domination, a kind of therapy to relieve men’s fears and anxieties. As Freud (1969: 118) posited, in hostile jokes the audience

become supporters of the hatred and contempt of the speaker. Humour is assertive, gregarious, and empowering, a useful conveyor of ideology. Focusing on England in the Jacobean period, Woodbridge (1986: 80-1) has noted that there was an enhanced sense of the power of jests to shape the lives and attitudes of people. For instance, in *An Apology for Women* (1620), Christopher Newstead complains about the pernicious effect of sexist humour, as it creates negative habits of mind.

The representation of women in English jest-books of the early seventeenth-century tends to reflect the misogyny prevailing at the time, insisting on clichés such as women being lustful, shrewish, and gossiping. Starting with the question of lewdness, women were considered morally too weak to avoid temptation, seductive by nature or easy to be seduced, and then insatiable. Foyster (1999: 169) mentions a satirical pamphlet published in the 1640s which argued that women should have at least two husbands because monogamy often left them sexually dissatisfied. As happens in comedies, ballads, and *novelle*, cuckolding is a stock resource to produce laughter in jest-books, because it questions the authority and sexual ability of the husband. For instance, the Cobbler's and the Smith's tales in *The Tincker of Turvey* (1630) are about pranks that entail cuckolding, and between them there is a list of what the title page announces as "The Eight Severall Orders of Cuckold, marching here likewise in theyr Horned Rankes" (Mish 1963: 115). In his collection *Wit and Mirth* (1629), John Taylor includes several jokes about female adultery, such as number 53: "A Man going with his Wife by a deep river's side began to talk of Cuckolds, and withal he wished that every Cuckold were cast into the river—to whom his wife replies, 'Husband, I pray you learn to swim'" (Zall ed. 1970: 134). Such frankness in the woman's retort suggests that she expects no retaliation from a man she seems to dominate. Otherwise, she would risk being insulted, beaten, abandoned, or sued, as happens in joke number 37, which wittily features heraldry jargon:

A Whore Rampant made her husband a Cuckold Dormant, with a front Crescent, surprised by the watch Guardant, brought to the Justice Passant, with her playfellow Pendant, after a course Couchant. The Justice told her that her offense was heinous, breaking the bonds of matrimony in that adulterate manner, and that she should consider that her husband was her Head.

"Good sir," quoth she, "I did ever acknowledge him so. And I hope it is no such a great fault in me, for I was but trimming, dressing, or adorning my Head." (131-2)

Women represented sensuality, carnality, as opposed and inferior to the sense, the rationality, epitomised by men. Again following St Paul's words: "Wives submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord. For the

husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church: and he is the saviour of the body” (Eph. 5: 22-23), male writers of conduct books, such as William Gouge in *Of domestical duties* (1622) (see Aughterson 1995: 89-95) insisted on this image when urging on wives’ subjection to their husbands. This insistence seems to imply that many wives, like that of the Cuckold Dormant, did not submit to that supposed / imposed authority or, at least, that this was one of men’s everlasting preoccupations. As Shaw (2000: 258) rightly observes, marital discord has often been exploited for humorous ends in literature, the blame for such conflict being generally laid on wives for being quarrelsome and domineering. The reversal of roles, topsy-turvydom and, I dare add, the humiliation of the henpecked husband account for the comicality of this situation. It was a dishonour for a married man not to be the actual head of the household.

Jest-books are full of scolds. In T.D. (Thomas Dekker) and George Wilkins’s *Jests to Make You Merry* (1607), a water-bearer complains before a judge about his wife’s abusing and overmastering him (Zall 1970: 85). In number 74 of his *Conceits, Clinches, Flashes, and Whimzies* (1639), Robert Chamberlain says ladies called their husbands “Master such-a-one” instead of their right titles, as Sir William or Sir Thomas, because “it was fit their wives should master them” (Zall 1970: 155). John Taylor tells us a joke (no. 105) in which a man who used to be scolded by his wife thought of making her believe he would drown himself in the river, but the witty woman advises him to choose a deeper place so that he may die sooner (Zall 1970: 147). Taylor also relates another (no. 88) in which a poor working man “was so batterfanged and belabored with tongue-mettle that he was weary of his life”. Some female neighbours asked the scold why she ill-treated her husband so, and she said she thought he did not love her. They advised her to pretend death in order to see his reaction. Then,

When the poor man came home, he hearing the matter, being much oppressed with grief, ran under the table bemoaning the happy loss of his most kind vexation, and making as though he would kiss her, with a most loving embrace (to make all sure) he broke her neck. (143)

In fact, male aggression to women is commonly found in jest-books. In number 6 of *A Banquet of Jests* (1633), “One that had a notorious shrew to his wife, in a great jangling that did happen between them could not contain himself, but, taking up a flagon pot which stood near him, gave her a very deep wound in the head, which cost his purse soundly.” As she boasted among her friends that her husband would never beat her again, he called the apothecary and the surgeon, and in her presence he gave them money “in earnest of the next cure” (Zall 1970: 161-2). Another example can be seen in *Tarlton’s Jests* (1611). Once the jester was on a ship, and suddenly a heavy storm began. The

captain asked the passengers to throw into the sea the heaviest thing they could spare. Tarlton offered to throw his wife (Zall 1970: 100). Foyster (1999: 193-4) reports that husbands' use of violence against their partners was common in popular literature of the Early Modern period. There was a market for stories about men who gained control by being aggressive to women. As she put it, "Men may have fantasised about gaining domination in this way, but in reality it was widely acknowledged that such methods were unacceptable, and could jeopardise rather than gain claims to reputable manhood" (193), because it actually meant losing self-control.

Besides this physical violence there is plenty of male verbal aggression to women in jest-books. The most common insult is "whore," which is applied to any woman who does not fit into the ideals of patriarchal honour. Thus the term does not refer only to lewdness but it may also allude to shrewishness and gossip, because the concept of female modesty comprises sexuality, conduct, and speech. We have already seen that men's anxieties and prejudices lead to deal with adulterous and domineering women in jokes. An example of female gossip is number 16 of *Scogin's Jest*s (1626), in which the jester tells his wife that he has vomited a crow, and shortly later the priest asks the parishioners to pray for Scogin, who has vomited twenty-one crows. The moral is "Here a man may see that it is hard to trust a Woman with a man's Secrets" (Zall 1970: 117). Another example is Chamberlain's joke number 247: "One questioned which were the greatest wonders in the world. 'Twas answered, women's and Lawyer's tongues, for that they did always lie yet never lay still" (Zall 1970: 158). Female gossip could affect male reputation, because it usually meant talking against men. Thus the preoccupation with female tattle is again related to men's obsession about maintaining power (see Foyster 1999: 58-61).

The sexist humour of all these jest-books published in the early seventeenth century no doubt reflects and contributes to the rising misogynist sentiment of the time, which culminates in Joseph Swetnam's *The Arraignment of Lewd, Idle, Froward, and Unconstant Women* (1617) (see Travitsky 1984: 266). The close relationship between jesting and the anti-feminist side of the woman debate has generally been acknowledged (see Travitsky 1984, Woodbridge 1986, and Jones 1990). Swetnam, as other misogynists, presents himself as a jester, and retails contemporary jokes that illustrate his arguments. But, contrary to what happened in the episode of *The Book of the Courtier* mentioned at the beginning, some women who read Swetnam's tract did not stay quiet, "bearing the wrongs... patiently," and did not appoint a man to counterattack for them. Rachel Speght, Ester Sowernam, and Constantia Munda dared answer back in public. Sowernam noticed "it hath ever beene a common custome amongst Idle and humerous Poets, Pamphleteers, and Rimers, out of passionate discontents, or having little otherwise to imploy themselves about, to

write some bitter Satire-Pamphlet, or Rime, against women” (Trill, Chedgzoy & Osborne 1997: 95). Munda addressed herself to Swetnam saying, “we will baite thee at thine owne stake, and beate thee at thine owne game” (quoted by Jones 1990: 58). Actually the replies of these women and others who followed them featured wit, mockery, and good humour (see Travitsky 1984). Later female writers, such as Cavendish and Behn, continued this use of comicality to challenge patriarchal ideals and practices. Consequently we may state that by the seventeenth century many women had grown tired of patiently bearing the jokes.

In his sermon *A preparative to marriage* (1591), the Puritan preacher Henry Smith posited that “a wife is called a *yoke-fellow* to show that she should help her husband to bear his yoke,... she must submit her neck to bear it patiently with him, or else she is not his yoke-fellow but his yoke” (Aughterson 1995: 82). The jests that we have seen before show that women were often unruly and used their wit to escape from the yoke, either through adultery, scolding, or gossip. Or at least such appear to have been the anxieties of seventeenth-century Englishmen, who realised that their power was more fragile than it may seem, since it depended too much on the concept of honour, and this in turn depended too much on women’s conduct. Jest, as other cultural products, reflected these worries and attempted to reinforce patriarchal ideology. They served both to humiliate and insult women, and to laugh at cuckolds and henpecked husbands whose manhood was questioned. Men had to dominate the women of the household, but this was not as easy as prose romance and some other literary genres suggest. Women in jests, ballads, and popular fiction were not passive and helpless but active, resourceful, and often unruly. Robert Chamberlain indicates this in his joke number 145: “One asked what the reason was that few women loved to eat eggs. It was answered, ‘Because they cannot endure to bear the yoke’” (Zall 1970: 157). Considering their reaction to misogynist humour, it seems they were not willing to bear the joke either.

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REGIONAL DIALECTS IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY JEST-BOOKS*

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Regional dialects and colloquialisms began to be used for characterisation purposes in English literature in the late fourteenth-century. Writers, like John Skelton or John Lydgate, followed in this tradition started by Geoffrey Chaucer and the Master of Wakefield. They selected non-standard or colloquial forms to spice the speeches of low-class characters. These traits were often archaisms taken from other writers rather than a true representation of actual colloquial speech. Regional and non standard features became more frequent in the sixteenth century, in drama, poetry and prose, and especially in jest books.

These collections of short comic stories were so popular that they were often read to pieces and not many of the early ones have come down to us. An additional problem is that modern scholarly editions are scarce and hard to come by. The aim of this paper is a description of the existing literature on sixteenth century jest books and an analysis of the regional markers used in them.

1. INTRODUCTION

In the late fourteenth century we find the first instances of the use of a dialect different from the one in the main body of a work for characterisation purposes. Geoffrey Chaucer, in “The Reeve’s Tale,” and the Master of Wakefield, in *The Second Shepherds’ Play*, initiate a tradition for the representation of regional varieties in English Literature that continues to the present. Dialect traits are not found again with this intent in literary works in the fifteenth century. Writers like John Lydgate (1370-1449) or John Skelton (1460-1529) select forms that are archaic, or colloquial at times, rather than

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truly dialectal.¹ Nevertheless, the growing prestige of London English was making people aware of regional differences, of the existence of a “better” form of English. William Caxton (c. 1422-1491) already expresses in the Prefaces to some of his translations his worry about the variety of English writers should use. In the sixteenth century, regional varieties of English begin to be used more frequently in verse, in drama and in prose. Dialect lexis and morphology and attempts at the orthographic representation of regional phonology are to be found in broadside ballads, in plays, in the fiction of writers such as Thomas Deloney,² and in jest-books. The aim of this paper is a description and critical linguistic assessment of the dialect passages contained in the earlier jest-books.

As Blake (1981: 55) points out they are “important during the sixteenth century in the developing attitude to non-standard language.” Jest-books would become more and more popular in the following centuries, not only in England but also in the United States.³ Characters were increasingly marked with regional features, with varying degrees of accuracy.

The data which can be gleaned from the early instances of dialect representation in jest-books allow us a glimpse of Early Modern English regional varieties. They come from a time in which direct or indirect information about dialects is scarce. They sometimes predate not only the comments of orthoepists on the subject but also the literary dialects in drama or prose (the first instances of which we find only at the turn of the century). They are interesting from a socio-linguistic and pragmatic point of view. Within limits, they are also a good source for perceptual dialectology—they show what people’s general idea of dialect areas was. My analysis and description will show that there is less literary dialect in this genre than some scholars have previously suggested. Nevertheless, what little there is constitutes an important source for Early Modern English dialectology, and stems from a period when the representation of regional dialects was perhaps not so stereotyped as later.

¹See Blake (1981: 39-54) for a detailed description of the representation of colloquial forms in these authors. On Chaucer’s use of dialect in “The Reeve’s Tale” see Tolkien (1934), Crow (1938), Blake (1979, 1981: 29-33), and de la Cruz (1999). Cawley (1958) treats the southernisms in *The Second Shepherds’ Play*.

²On his use of dialect, see García-Bermejo Giner (1998). I have studied the earliest attempts at representing northern and Scottish features in sixteenth century plays in García-Bermejo Giner (1999a, 1999b).

³About jest-books in North America, see Weiss (1943), Zall (1980) and Secor (1986, 1993).

2. SIXTEENTH-CENTURY JEST-BOOKS

Jest-books are collections of short comic tales, often with a moral attached at the end. They are written in prose, for the most part, although there are also individual jests in verse. We find the origins of English jest-books in the Latin medieval *exempla*⁴ and in Poggio's fifteenth century *facetiae*⁵ which were so popular in England. They are also related in content and structure to the French *fabliaux*.⁶ Collections of Spanish⁷ and Italian⁸ tales also inspired some of the English jests. Many of those in the sixteenth century collections that have come down to us can be traced back to these sources.⁹ In some cases, they are a direct translation from a French¹⁰ or German¹¹ work. Jest-books have been frequently adapted in their settings and characters for an English audience. On other occasions, the original Italian, Spanish, French or German scenario has been kept. Some of the English jests, however, may well have their origin in oral tradition, as the characters, settings and stories seem to be wholly English.

⁴These collections reached England first in Latin and they were commonly used in sermons. Many would be translated into English, such as the famous *Gesta Romanorum*. Wynkyn de Worde printed the first version in English in 1510, although several manuscript vernacular translations had appeared earlier. On the first translations of this work see Heritage (1879).

⁵Caxton included twelve of these *facetiae* at the end of his translation of *Fables of Esope* (1484), although only nine are really by Poggio. In this same work he printed the translation, not from the original, of some of the tales in the twelfth century *Disciplina Clericalis* by the Spanish Petrus Alphonsus.

⁶They are short, bawdy stories written in verse, usually in octosyllabic couplets. General studies about the influence of the *fabliaux* in English literature are those by Goddall (1982) and Hines (1993).

⁷For instance a translation of *Floresta Española* by Melchior de Santa Cruz de Dueñas constitutes in part the 1595 *Wits, Fits and Fancies*. Chapman (1960) traces one of the tales in *Mery Tales, Wittie Questions and Quicke Answeres* (1567) to the Spanish *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554).

⁸Although Boccaccio's *The Decameron* (1349-1351) was not translated into English until 1620, many of its tales had been included by William Painter in his *Palace of Pleasure* (1566). Boccaccio's influence in English literature can be traced back to Chaucer and is evident in jest-books

⁹On the sources of jest-books see Stiefel (1908), Schulz (1912), Wilson (1938-39) and Kahrl (1966). Some of the editions mentioned in the Primary Sources section of this paper also trace the origins of individual jests.

¹⁰For instance Thomas Deloney's translation of the Tales of Bonaventure Des Périers as *The Mirrour of Mirth and Pleasant Conceits* (1583-1592).

¹¹For instance, the English jest-biography *Howlegas* (1510) is a translation from the German *Eulenspiegel*. Herford (1886) studies the reappearance of the legends of German jest characters in England, such as Eulenspiegel, Markolf, the Parson of Kalenberg or Friar Rush. Beecher (1995) edited *Dialogue of Solomon and Marcolphus*.

Jest-books became so popular after their appearance in the late fifteenth-century that they were literally read to pieces. Collections mentioned in the Stationers' Registers such as *Pleasant Tales of the Life of Richard Woolner* (1567-68) or *Mother Redcap Her Last Will and Testament, Containing Sundry Conceited and Pleasant Tales Furnished with Much Variety to Move Delight* (1595) have vanished without a trace. As a result, the sixteenth-century jests that have come down to us are very few in number. Sometimes, only a unique copy has survived. In other cases, the first edition has been lost and we only have a second edition, also printed in the sixteenth century. Such is the case of *Tales and Quicke Answeres* (ca. 1535), the second edition of which appeared in 1567, under the title *Mery Tales, Wittie Questions and Quicke Answeres, very pleasant to be Readde*.¹² Sometimes, although we know of their publication in the sixteenth century, we only have editions printed in the following century. Instances of this are *Scoggins Jestes* (ca. 1570), the earliest extant edition of which was printed in 1613, or *The Sack-Full of Newes* (1557), of which the earliest extant edition was printed in 1673.

For my analysis I have selected the following jests, all extant in sixteenth century editions:

A C. Mery Talys (1526)¹³ [HMT]

*The Cobler of Caunterburie*¹⁴ (1590) [CC]

Mery Tales, Wittie Questions and Quicke Answeres, very pleasant to be Readde (1567)¹⁵ [MTWQ]

*Merie Tales of the mad men of Gotam. Gathered to gether by A.B. of Phisike Doctour. Imprinted at London in Fletstret, beneath thf [sic] Conduit, at the signe of S. Iohn Euangelist, by Thomas Colwell*¹⁶ (ca. 1565) [MMG]

¹²In this second edition of *Tales, and Quicke answeres* (ca. 1535), twenty-six more tales were added.

¹³Fragments of two copies of the first edition are kept in the British Museum. One of them was edited by Synger (1814). Hazlitt (1864) edited it again. A perfect copy of HMT (1526) is in the library of the University of Göttingen. It was used by Oesterley for his 1866 edition. All references in this paper are to this edition. It differs from Synger and Hazlitt's editions in the order of the tales, some of which are incomplete or altogether missing. For a physical description of this edition see Avis (1977).

¹⁴The Bodleian Library owns a copy of the first 1590 edition and there exists another in private hands. See Creigh (1987: 3-4) for a detailed description of later editions. He collates the first edition with those of 1608 and 1614 (in the British Library and in the Yale University Library, respectively).

¹⁵The Harvard College Library owns a 1567 copy of this collection. See Kahrl (1965: x, n.4). This second edition was reprinted by Hazlitt (1864. II).

¹⁶Kahrl's 1965 edition is based on the earliest extant copy, printed sometime between 1556 and 1566, probably ca. 1565, and owned by the Harvard College Library. Kahrl (1965: xvii-xxi)

*The Wydow Edyth: Twelve mery gestys of one called Edyth, the lyeing wydow whyche still lyueth. Emprynted at London at the sygne of the mere-mayde at Pollis gate next to chepesyde by J. Rastall. 23 March, MDXXV. [1525]*¹⁷ [WE]

*Merie Tales Newly Imprinted and Made by Master Skelton Poet Laureat (1567)*¹⁸ [MS]

*Tarltons Newes Ovt of Pvratorie (1590)*¹⁹ [TN]

*A verie merie Historie, of the Milner of Abington (1575)*²⁰ [MA]

I have excluded from the corpus those jests or collections of jests which have only reached us in seventeenth century copies, as there is no way of knowing the later printers' possible alterations of the sixteenth century editions.²¹ Not in the corpus either are the following tales, as I have been unable to find modern editions:

*Wits, Fits, and Fancies; or, a generall and serious collection of the sententious speeches, answers, jests, and behaviours of all sortes of estates, from the throane to the cottage.... (1595)*²² attributed to Anthony Copley, *A merry jest of an old fool with a young wife (1530?)*, *A merry jest of the friar and the boy (ca. 1545)*, *Here Begynneth a Merry Jest of a Shrewde and Curste Wyfe*,

lists the eight known editions printed before c1690. Hazlitt's 1864 edition is based on a 1630 edition. This collection is generally ascribed to Andrew Borde (ca. 1490-1549).

¹⁷Hazlitt (1864) mentions three copies of this 1525 edition. However, he used for his edition a 1573 copy in the Bodleian which he cites as *XII Mery Jestes of the Wyddow Edyth Imprinted at London in Fletelane by Richarde Ihones, 1573*. In the footnotes he includes variants appearing in the 1525 edition. The Folger library also owns a copy of the 1573 edition.

¹⁸Only one copy exists, kept at the Huntington Library. Zall (1963) uses it for his edition. He states that it shows very few discrepancies with the Dyce (1843) or Hazlitt (1864) editions.

¹⁹A copy of the first edition is held by the British Library. The Huntington Library and the Bodleian Library own a copy each of the second, ca. 1600 edition. Several copies of the third, 1630 edition, survive, kept by the Bodleian Library, the British Library and Trinity College Library (Cambridge). Four other incomplete copies are owned by the Bodleian, the Folger Shakespeare Library and the Harvard University Library. Creigh and Belfield (1987) is based on the first edition. They discuss the sources of the tales and the possible authorship of the collection.

²⁰The first edition we know of was published in 1532, but the earliest extant edition appeared in 1575. The British Library owns a copy under the title *A ryght pleasaunt and merye Historie, of the Mylner of Abyngton, with his Wife, and his fayre Daughter: and of two poore scholes of Cambridge*.

²¹We find an instance of this in the two earliest extant editions of Thomas of Reading. The northern dialect passages in the 1623 edition are slightly different from those in the 1612 edition. See further on it García-Bermejo Giner (1998: 10 n.19).

²²The British Library owns two copies of a 1614 edition. Wilson (1938: 130) explains that this collection escaped the notice of Schulz (1912).

Lapped in Morrelles Skin, for her Good Behaviour (1550),²³ and *A Merry Dialogue, Declaringe the Propertyes of Shrowde Shrews, and Honest Wyues* (1557).

Modern scholarly editions of sixteenth century jest-books are scarce. Singer (1814-16) edited HMT and MTWQ. Hazlitt (1864) remains the fullest edition. It gathers together HMT, MMG, WE, MTWQ and other seventeenth century collections. MS can be read in Dyce (1843) and Hazlitt (1864). MMG was reprinted in Karhl (1965). Oesterley's 1866 edition of HMT was reprinted in Ashley (1970). Creig and Belfield (1987) re-edited TN and CC. Zall's collection (1963) is unfortunately presented in modernised spelling. Wardroper (1970) and Thomson (1977), also in modernised spelling, only contain fragments of some tales. Fortunately, some jests are now available in electronic format, as HMT or MA in the Chadwyck-Healey 1997 *Early English Prose Fiction Full-Text Database*. However, linguists should be aware when using this electronic edition of HMT that it does not follow the original text fully. Tildes are used throughout in the original to indicate the presence of <m> or <n> immediately after a vowel or diphthong. These tildes have been altogether omitted so that *cõ* = *com* becomes simply *co*. Linguists using this electronic version could thus be led to believe them instances of a general loss of nasals! HMT is also included in the *Helsinki Corpus*.

3. THE LITERATURE ON SIXTEENTH-CENTURY JEST-BOOKS

Jest-books have been studied from a literary point of view for the most part. As indicated earlier, scholars have frequently been concerned with tracing their sources and origins. Besides the works already cited, mention must be made of Kahrl (1966) in this respect. Attention has been paid also to the presence of certain jests in later works and authors.²⁴ Schulz (1912) and Wilson (1938) remain the standard jest-books bibliographies. Unfortunately, no attempt

²³The British library owns copies of them. A 1580 copy of *Here begynneth a merry ieste of a shrowde and curste wyfe...* is kept by the Folger Library.

²⁴For instance, on certain jests in Shakespeare, see Chapman (1960), Magister (1981). Patzold (1971) compares one of Deloney's novels and the seventeenth-century *Pindar of Wakefield*. Weinmann (1970) focuses on Nash. Wittreich (1973) locates a jest in Milton. Friedman (1955) studies their influence in Goldsmith. Graves (1923) treats Jonson in the jest-books.

has been made since then at compiling a bibliography which would include possible collections or individual items found in the past sixty years or include references to modern editions. General descriptive studies of jest-books can be found in Ferrara (1960), Schlauch (1963, 1966), Salzman (1985: 202-4) and Shaw (1986). Chandler (1907) discusses jest-books from the point of view of the picaresque novel. Douce (1807) and Doran (1858) describe the fools' tricks and jests. Hazlitt (1887, 1890) deals with the evolution of the jest. Wright (1865) studies the personal element in jest-books.

Little attention has been paid to the language in jest-books. HMT is part of the *Helsinki Corpus* and, therefore, on occasion it has been part of smaller corpora for the study of certain Early Modern English grammatical points, for instance, in Taavisainen's description of interjections in Early Modern English (1995). As far as regional traits are concerned, Schlauch (1966: 409 n.35) states: "The use of dialect in the jest-book has still to be investigated. It has both linguistic and literary significance." She describes the northern dialect features in MS 2. Twenty years earlier, in an obscure publication, Hughes (1924: 30-31) had described the Welsh characters in HMT, MS and MTWQ. He also provided a list of the main characteristics of Welshmen's stage English (Hughes 1924: 33-34) which include some of the traits present in jest-books. Blake (1981: 55-57) also mentions some of the northern forms in MS2 and the Welsh devoicing of voiced plosives in HMT. He locates the use of *ich* for *I* as a South-Western or simply rustic feature in MS 12 and in MTWQ 96. Barber (1997: 14-15) quotes MMG18 and fully describes and explains the Scottish features in it. Görlach (1991: 21) quotes the same tale as an example of "the breakdown in oral communication that could occur between Englishmen and Scots." He quotes it again in Görlach (1999: 508-9) with the same purpose. It is the earliest example he provides of dialect in literary texts in the Early Modern Period. This very same tale is found yet again in Blank (1996: 130), together with HMT 48, as examples of "the difficulty... of conducting business with people whose language is not current in England." To the best of my knowledge, these are the only attempts at examining the regional markers in jest-books. There has not only been little analysis of the genre, in terms of specific linguistic features, but no comprehensive examination of the relevant extant texts has ever been attempted.

4. THE SETTINGS AND THE CHARACTERS IN THE TALES

Despite the scarcity of dialect markers in most of the tales, the jests are often located very precisely from a geographical point of view. Many take place in London, and frequently there is an exact indication of the area, street or landmark. The surrounding towns, villages and nearby counties are also the scenario of many tales. This is a clear indicator of how London and the Court were becoming very well known throughout the country. As can be seen in Table 1 the area where many of the tales take place broadly coincides with that in which, in 1589, in *The Art of English Poesie*, George Puttenham considered the “best” English to be spoken: “the Court, and... London and the shires lying about London within lx. myles, and not much about.”

London Sites	Other English Towns	Other Counties Or Regions
*White Friars	*Stony Stratford, Bucks	*Middlessex
*Lombard’s Street	\$Windsor, Brks	*Essex
*Cornhill	*@Oxford	\$Surrey
*@Charing Cross	*Botley, Bck, Hmp, Ox?	*Northamptonshire
*Gray Friars	+Romney, Knt	&Nottingham
*\$Holborn Bridge	+Gravesend, Knt	&Leicester
*Fleet Street	+\$Canterbury, Knt	*Warwickshire
*Knightsbridge	\$Sevenoaks, Knt	#Cheshire
*Saint John’s	\$Rochester, Knt	*TheNorthCountry
*St. Paul’s	\$Otford, Knt	*Wales
*St. Lawrence’s	+Cambridge	
\$Chelsea x2	@Abington, Cam.	
*\$@Westminster	+Cherryhington, Cam.	
+Billingsgate	+Trumpington, Cam.	
*Brentford	*\$Colebrook, Dev	
*\$Barnett	\$Exeter, Dev.	
\$Wandsworth	\$Bury St. Edmunds,Sf.	
\$Kew	\$Horringer, Sf.	
\$Stratford	\$Brandon, Sf.	
\$Barking	\$Bradfield, Sf.	
\$Fullham	\$Theford, Nf	
\$Southwark	# Walsingham, Nf.	
\$St. Mary Cray	@Norwich, Nf.	
\$Foots Cray	@Dis, Nf.	
\$Croydon	\$St. Albans, Hert.	
\$Eltham	+Wickham, Hamp.?	
\$Whetstone	\$Tooting, Sr	
@Uxbridge	\$Battersea, Sr	
%Hoxton	\$Colne, Ess.	
*\$St. Thomas of Akres	\$Hatfield, Ess.	
%Bridewell	&Loughborough, Lei.	
*&\$Kingston-upon-Thames	*Stratford-Upon-Avon, Wa	

The South-Western dialect is represented only in two of the tales in the corpus, MS 12 and MTWQ 96. In the first, a cobbler of the parish of Dis, Suffolk, uses the southern form of the first person singular pronoun *ich* three times, and the standard *I*, fifteen. Proclitic *ich*, in *chadde*, appears in a sentence used by a “homely,” “blunt” fellow, whose geographical origin is not stated. The southern counties, eastern and western are the scenario of many of the tales, as can be seen in Table 1. However, the characters’ speeches are only indicative of colloquial English.

As regards the Scottish characters in the corpus, there are two. The one in MMG 18, as has already been mentioned, is used to signal the linguistic confusion that could arise between the Scots and the English. The one in HMT 61 is not linguistically marked. He is an example “that he y^t is subget to another ought to forsake his owne wyll & folow his wyll &cōmaūdement y^t so hath subieccyon ouer hym, lest it torne to his gretter hurt and damage.”

5. REGIONAL MARKERS

The lack of a written standard during the sixteenth century implies that one should be cautious when attempting the analysis of spellings that apparently suggest a dialect pronunciation. Also, traits that are nowadays definitely dialectal were far more widely used in the sixteenth century, and therefore cannot necessarily be considered a conscious effort at suggesting a regional variety. For instance in HMT 30 a Welshman says “Master curat, set the tone agaynst the tother.” We could think that the writer has selected the trait *t = the* as a linguistic marker. However, a couple of tales later, HMT 32, a “Gentle Woman” uses the very same expression “mary, quod she, then set the tone agaynst the tother.” The realisation of the definite article as [t] in *tone* < ME *ðat* one and *tother* < OE *ðæt* *oðer* is now a widespread Northernism occurring as well in part of the Midlands and in the south west of the country (See Barry 1972: 178-79 & Map 5). In the sixteenth century it was far more widespread and existed also in the literary language.

Certain spellings in the tales sometimes seem to give us some insights about features that are nowadays frequent in regional speech albeit socially stigmatised but which back in the sixteenth century seemed to be more commonly accepted. Whilst superficially there might appear to be so-called “h-

dropping” and “hypercorrect-h”, not only in the dialogues but also in the narrative sections of the tales, we have to be wary because of the instability of the aspirate in word initial position. As Barber (1997: 126) points out “Some words have EModE spellings with initial *h-*, despite the fact that there was no /h/ in the pronunciation, and never had been. These were ME loans from French, in which initial [h] had been lost before the loan was made... Pronunciations with /h/ are due to the influence of spelling, and are not common before the nineteenth century.” Of the words in Table 2 *hore*, *harlot* and *homycyd* would fit in this group. Dobson (1968: §426) states that “In stressed syllables the dropping of [h] is essentially a mark of vulgar or dialectal speech, and what evidence there is in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries relates exclusively to such speech.” However Milroy (1983: 48) disagrees with Dobson,²⁶ and also with Wyld (1956: 294-96). Considering the evidence in the *Diary of Henry Machyn*. and the puns on series like *air*, *heir*, *hair*, in contemporary plays, Milroy (1983: 48) thinks that in the sixteenth-century “/h/-lessness was much less overtly stigmatised than it is today.” Jest-books are not among Wyld’s, Dobson’s or Milroy’s primary sources. The inverted spellings in examples two and three of Table 2, which may also be an indication of the loss of [h], could be taken to be an attempt at representing vulgar or dialectal speech even if they are the only “non-standard” traits in the speeches of a horseman and a chandler respectively. Nevertheless, many of the other instances of “h-dropping” appear in the narrative sections of the tales, where no attempt is being made at representing vulgar or dialectal English.

- 1.- HMT 3 an hore (whore), an harlot
- 2.- HMT 13 an horseman, he hys ready to go to heaven
- 3.- HMT 26 I wyll see who hys there
- 4.- HMT the valew of an half penny, an homycyd
- 5.- HMT 51 an hye voice
- 6.- HMT 54 shewed hym what an holy and goodly prayer it was
- 7.- HMT 74 an halfpenny
- 8.- HMT 80 an holy man
- 9.- HMT 82 an hog
- 10.- HMT 84 a mile and an half
- 11.- HMT 98 a pasty of an hart, an hole
- 12.- MMG 18 an house, an head

Table 2 H-dropping and Hypercorrect-h

Regional markers appear in the speeches of Welsh, Scottish and Northern characters, apart from the single Southern / South-Western trait mentioned

²⁶He does mention some h-less variants of words such as *whoredom* and *whore* in Everardt, the short-hand writer, and Cocker, and of *height* in Brown. They all published their works in the seventeenth century. Wyld (1956: 295) mentions *ede* “head”, *alff* “half”, *alpeny* “halfpenny” in Machyn’s Diary.

earlier. Basically they coincide with the features allotted to these regional groups in contemporary drama and fiction. Those found in HMT date back to around seventy years before they are found in other literary texts. So few sixteenth century jest-books have come down to us that one can only guess at the real frequency of use of such traits. At any rate, they seem to be a good indicator of which were the linguistic traits commonly associated with people coming from those parts of the country. The phonological, morphological and lexical features selected by writers truly correspond to real traits existing at the time in the varieties represented.

As can be seen in Table 3, Welsh characters are linguistically marked by the use of universal *her* and the devoicing of voiced plosives. Universal *her*, or the use of *her* for any other subject, object or possessive pronoun, became a standard way to indicate the Welsh origin of a character in later English literature.²⁷ *OED*'s first citation of this trait is precisely from HMT. It probably originated in the confusion between Welsh *hi* (she) and English *he* (and also because there are only two genders in Welsh).

Devoicing of Voiced Plosives	Universal her	Lexis
Cottys plut HMT 31	her <his> nayle HMT 31, 92	vp Janken MTWQ 15
Cottes blut HMT 61, 92	her <his> nayll HMT 61	cause bobbe HMT 78 ≤ toasted cheese≤
	make her <you> fat<fetch> it HMT 61	
	yf her <it> be not ynough HMT 92	
	for her <it> hath a good fyre HMT 92	
	under her HMT 92	

Table 3 Linguistic markers given to Welsh Characters

The devoicing of voiced plosives also became an archetypal trait to signal the Welshness of a character. As Thomas (1984: 184) states, it is an attempt at “reflecting the way in which an ear attuned to the relatively weakly aspirated voiced plosives of RP interprets the corresponding sounds in Welsh English.” (See further Jones 1919: 56-57 and 68-69).

The particle *ap* =son of < Welsh *map* =son would also become a stereotypical way of signalling the Welshness of a character, similar to *Mac* for a Scotsman. *OED*'s first citation only dates from 1647. What is curious here is the fact that in the tale it is spelled with a <v> = <u>. The process of centralization and loss of lip-rounding which affected words with ME short u

²⁷As regards drama, the first Welsh characters whose speeches are linguistically marked appear in the late sixteenth-century, in *Knack to know a Knave* (1592) and in *Sumner's Last Will and Testament* (1592). In poetry, mention should be made of Spenser's September eclogue in *The Shepherdes Calendar* (1579) where he uses a dialect different “from the comen” which appears to be Welsh. See further Hulbert (1942). References to the literature on Welsh characters can be found in García-Bermejo Giner (1999b).

was probably ongoing at the time when MTWQ was written, even if it was not fully attested by an orthoepist till 1640. Nevertheless, there was never any confusion between the new sound and the *a*-type sounds. This could be a perceptual error or simply a typographical mistake on the part of the printers and not a real attempt at representing a dialectal pronunciation.

Cause bobbe = Welsh *caws pobi* “roasted cheese” also appears frequently in later representations of Welsh English (Bartley 1954: 277), making fun on the proverbial Welsh liking for cheese. The anonymous author of HMT translates the expression, implying perhaps that not all his readers would be familiar with it. This is a frequently employed technique in the literary representation of dialect to facilitate readers’ understanding and prevent their skipping of dialect passages. All the more so in this case, when the humour in the jest totally depends on it. This technique is found again in MMG18 when the writer explains the meaning of *Yowle*.

As can be seen in Tables 4 and 5, Northern and Scottish characters share some of their phonological traits: the northern lack of rounding (*sale*, *bare*) or the northern oo-fronting (*gewd*), and perhaps the earlier development of the Great Vowel Shift for ME long *i* in the North (*bay*).²⁸ They also became stereotypical in the linguistic marking of Northern / Scottish characters. At the time, southerners were probably not capable of distinguishing between Northern English and Scottish English and as a result, northern and Scottish characters were often given the same or similar linguistic markers.

Phonological	Morphological	Lexical
<i>bȳes</i> <bones> HMT 99	I is x2 HMT 99	blyth <happy>MTWQ127
<i>sale</i> <soul> HMT 99	ays <I am> MTWQ127	till <to> MS 2
<i>bay</i> <buy> MS 2	Ise <I am, I shall> MS 2	I bus goe MS 2
<i>gewd</i> <good> MS 2		
<i>wrang</i> <wrong> MS 2		

Table 4. Linguistic markers given to Northern Characters

Of the other two spellings suggesting Northern phonological characteristics, *bȳes* deserves special attention as it apparently suggests a typical northern pronunciation which is not recorded till much later, [i̯] or perhaps even [ia] (See further about it García-Bermejo Giner fthc.). One reason why this spelling has been ignored till now may be due to the fact that the tale in which it appears is missing from Hazlitt’s 1864 edition, the most widely accessible one, but incomplete. It has been preserved in the Göttingen copy on which Oesterley (1866) based his edition. *Wrang* is a Northernism that was also used in

²⁸See further García-Bermejo Giner (1998, 1999b) for a full diachronic description of these three features in contemporary drama suggesting a Northern / Scottish accent. They confirm the information provided by Alexander Gill in *Logonomia Anglica* (1619).

Scotland. It is due to the late OE lengthening of a before the group *-ng*. As a result it joined OE long a of other origins and remained as such long a in the north. It was shortened again in ME.²⁹ *OED*'s citations for this variant spelling begin in the fourteenth century and belong to either northern or Scottish texts.³⁰ The Kendal man who uses it in MS2 has been led to believe he might be suffering from "the sweating sickness" and he says "By the misse, Ise wrang, I bus goe till bed." *Wrang* means clearly "sick" in this context. Such a meaning is not recorded in *OED* or *EDD*. The closest meaning is that given by *EDD*, as obsolete, "Hurt, injured" in Abd. and Frf.

I is for *I am* and *Ise* both for *I am* and *I shall*, as well as *thowse* for *thou shall* are well known Northernisms still found nowadays. Chaucer already used this trait for one of the northern students in "The Reeve's Tale". Soon it would lose its northern connotations and be given to South-Western characters simply to indicate that they were comic and provincial. As regards the lexical items, *till* for *to* indicating place or purpose is common in the north and Scotland since ME times (when it was also occasionally used in the Midlands and south). *OED* provides citations in the sixteenth century from Scottish texts. *Bus*, the contracted form of *behoves*, *behoved*, indicating need or obligation, is recorded by *OED* as northern. There are citations from northern texts between the fourteenth-century and ca. 1500. It is indicated that the past tense is also used for the present in modern Scots (the citations belong to eighteenth and nineteenth-century texts only). Halliwell (1850) also records it, citing instances from ME northern and Scottish texts, and indicating "In use in Skelton's time as a provincialism" and quoting the above mentioned sentence in MS2. *EDD*, however, does not record this variant of the present. *Bood*, also in forms *bit*, *boot*, *boud*, *bud*, *but*, are given as occurring in Scotland and Ireland. Citations appear in brackets at the end of the entry for instances of *bud*, as a contracted form of *behoved* in *The Wars of Alexander* (ca. 1450) and the *York Plays* (ca. 1400). Apparently this verb was no longer in use in the north when Joseph Wright edited *EDD*, nor did he find instances of it among his primary sources. *OED* does not quote these examples in MS2 or MMG18, appearing over sixty years after *OED*'s latest citation and implying that at the time *bus* was still in use in the north and was well known in the south as a Northernism or Scotticism.

The phonological traits in Table 5 all correspond to variants which could also be heard in Northern English. *OED*, however, records the spelling *sew* for

²⁹See further on this northern trait Wakelin (1977: 90-91) or Trudgill (1990: 19ff.)

³⁰*EDD* locates it in Sc., Nhb and Yks. EDG (§ 32) shows variants with "a" in Sc. and in Nhb., Dur., Cum. Wm., Yks., Lan. and in some West Midland and South Westerb Counties. Upton (1994: 248-49) gives [æ] for Yks and Lan. However, Rydland (1982: §7.10.1b) locates it in Cum. and in Rydland (1998) it is also located in parts of Nhb.

sow in between the fifteenth and seventeenth-centuries only as a north dialect variant, whereas it gives *sou* for Scotland in the sixteenth. This coincides basically with the information provided by *EDD*, where such a spelling is recorded for Yks, although this county and Scotland share the same pronunciation [su:]. *CSD* does not record *sew* as a Scottish spelling.

Phonological	Morphological	Lexical
bare <boar>	thowse	anenst
gewd <good>		Yowle <Yule>
meke, mek <make>		gryces <piglets>
syk <such>		kenst <know>
sew <sow>		gar <cause>
		greet <cry>
		mokyl <great>
		thowse bus have
		whe, interj.

Table 5. Linguistic markers given to Scottish Characters MMG 18

The Scottish lexical items all correspond to words in use at the time in Scottish English and in Northern English. As a matter of fact, *gryces*, *ken* and *greet* appear in *OED* in citations from contemporary texts in which they are not specifically meant as Scotticisms or Northernisms. They appear in the tale considered as an example of “the breakdown in oral communication that could occur between Englishmen and Scots” (Görlach 1991: 21). Perhaps the “breakdown in oral communication” was not as big as the tale seems to imply.

CONCLUSIONS

The regional markers selected by literary authors in these sixteenth century texts, the comments on people coming from regions other than the vicinity of London, provide us with information about the linguistic situation in the Early Modern period. I believe the gathering of a bigger corpus of early jest-books would yield interesting data about the dialectology of Early Modern English. An updated bibliography of jest-books should be gathered, including the isolated jests that have come to light in recent years. They should all be made available to scholars in a modern, reliable edition.

The use of dialect in jest-books is not as frequent as it is commonly believed. Nevertheless, as can be seen from my analysis and description, the data provided are accurate, they complement and fill in gaps in the scarce evidence provided by contemporary orthoepists.

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“AN EFFEMINATE PRINCE”: GENDER CONSTRUCTION IN SHAKESPEARE’S FIRST TETRALOGY

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In the emphatically masculine world of Shakespeare’s History Plays, the king Henry VI shows some unequivocally feminine features. This character is particularly revealing to understand the underlying gender ideology in the first tetralogy. The aim of this paper is to approach this “effeminate prince,” as he is called in the play, who neglects his duties as a ruler and as a man, and to discuss the implications of his behaviour in order to analyse how these plays construct a gender system in which femininity and masculinity are defined by mutual opposition and in which power, an element clearly belonging to the male sphere, can have disastrous consequences when it is exerted by weak non-masculine men.

In the first scene of *1 Henry VI* Gloucester uses the expression “an effeminate prince” (I.1.35) to refer to the King. In the “emphatically masculine” world (Kahn 1981: 47) of Shakespeare’s History Plays the adjective “effeminate” has a priori an undeniable pejorative sense. However, the loyalty and the respect to the King which Gloucester displays at all times throughout the play suggest that these words are used with a strictly descriptive rather than offensive intention to represent the figure of Henry VI. Although some critics such as J. P. Brockbank have explicitly denied the “feminine character” of this king (1961: 97) it seems clear that a certain feminine quality exists in the figure of Henry VI. This femininity should not be understood, of course, in terms of sexual behaviour but rather it has to do with the character’s positioning in relation to the stereotypes of masculine and feminine behavior which we find in the Tetralogy.

If we accept the stereotypes that Irene G. Dash considers as dominant in the History Plays, “for ‘maleness’ strength, courage, and initiative; and for ‘femaleness’ docility, passivity, and weakness” (Dash 1981: 207), it is easy to conclude that some features of Henry VI are closer to those that would be typically feminine. In fact, probably the most accurate description of the character of the King can be found in York’s words when he defines what the feminine behavior should be, making explicit in this way the dominant gender

ideology in the Tetralogy: “Women are *soft, mild, pitiful and flexible* / Thou stern, obdurate, flinty, rough” (*3 Henry VI*, 1.4.141-2; emphasis mine). These words aimed at Margaret to criticize her absence of femininity also make evident the way the concepts of masculinity and femininity often appear defined by contrast in the Tetralogy. Consequently, the “femininity” or “non masculinity” of Henry VI is particularly marked by the presence of a character who acts as a counterpoint and represents precisely all those masculine values which the King lacks. In *1 Henry VI* this character is clearly Talbot, who appears, as Pilar Hidalgo points out, as the “paradigm of the English masculinity” (1994: 246). The enormous contrast between the behaviour of Talbot and the King in both the public and the private sphere perfectly illustrates the nature of the “femininity” of Henry VI.

Unlike Talbot, the most representative trait of Henry is his passivity. This feature traditionally associated to the female sex clearly contrasts with the dynamic active role which Talbot plays in the campaigns in France. The undeniable bravery and courage which all the characters, including his own enemies, acknowledge in Talbot and which make him emerge as “an epic hero” (Leggatt 1988: 2), represent a clear counterpoint to the attitude of the King, who appears as a figure who does not dare to face his enemies. Even the King compares himself to a female animal unable to act despite seeing his enemies destroy his family:

And as *the dam* runs lowing up and down,
Looking the way her harmless young one went,
And can do nought but wail her darling’s loss,
Even so myself bewails good Gloucester’s case
with sad unhelpful tears.
(*2 Henry VI*, 3.1.214-8; emphasis mine)

In this way, other characters constantly criticize his passivity which is linked to his lack of masculinity, such as we see in the words that the Queen aims at her husband: “Fie, coward woman and soft-hearted wretch! / Hast thou not spirit to curse thine enemy?” (*2 Henry VI*, 3.2.307-8). Undoubtedly, remarks like this one by Margaret make evident, as Dash points out, the pervasive strength of the dominant ideology since “women, too, tend to accept the stereotyped patterns for male and female behaviour” (Dash 1981: 158).

This passivity of the King is partly a consequence of his deeply ingrained religious beliefs which make him willing to follow the evangelical teachings, and therefore to turn the other cheek rather than do any harm.¹ In this sense,

¹Michael Manheim, who claims that the tetralogy stages the struggle between the Christian king and the Machiavellian ideals, offers a quotation by Machiavelli himself which is quite appropriate to describe the attitude of Henry VI: “If our religion does ask that you possess some

Larry S. Champion speaks of “a passivity provoked by religious concern” (Champion 1980: 32). But more specifically we can see that Henry uses his over-reliance on divine providence as an excuse for his lack of action. In fact the King often attributes his misfortunes to divine plans and considers therefore any action unnecessary. The inadequacy of the King’s religious beliefs is made evident by Talbot, who perfectly combines being a man of action with a more realistic religious conviction, which makes him aware that divine help should be a complement to human action and never a justification for passivity. In this way, Talbot’s invocations to God usually appear next to calls for human action: “God is our fortress, in whose conquering name / *let us resolve to scale* their flinty bulwarks” (*1 Henry VI*, 2.1.26-7; emphasis mine).

In spite of King Henry’s pious personality, however, when Suffolk describes Margaret of Anjou to him (*1 Henry VI*, 5.5.1-21) his not too Christian reaction is clearly marked by lust: he puts his pleasure before his duty and cancels a politically convenient marriage, an action of disastrous consequences for his family and his country as the Tetralogy shows. His favouring of sexual desire over public obligations brings again the King closer to the “feminine” personality since, as Valerie Traub points out, “at that time ‘lust’ was seen as effeminizing in its power to subordinate men to women by making men more ‘like’ women” (Traub 1992: 51). Leaving aside whether Henry VI feels at that moment a certain desire for Margaret, which I believe he does, although some critics such as M. M. Reese (1961: 199) would disagree, it is obvious that in this scene we find again a clear contrast between the King’s reaction and what we could consider as the exemplary “masculine” reaction represented by Talbot in his encounter with the Countess of Auvergne.² In spite of her wicked stratagems, the English knight never lets himself be seduced and always has his duty in mind, which makes him beat the enemy and, at the same time, overcome that “challenge to his manhood” (1988: 3) that, in opinion of Alexander Leggatt, the episode of Auvergne represents for Talbot.

Apart from these features of Henry VI which bring him closer to a more typical feminine behavior (weakness,³ passivity, prevalence of passion over

courage, it prefers that you be ready to suffer rather than to do a courageous act... the generality of man, in order to go to Heaven, think more of enduring injuries than in defending themselves against them” (1973: 79).

²As Paula S. Berggren points out, throughout the Tetralogy it is continuously shown that “natural impulses must be straitened and rationalized” (1980: 31) and, in this way, reason, a masculine value, prevails over passion, a value traditionally associated with the female sex.

³A clear example of this “female weakness” is when Henry VI faints after learning Gloucester’s death. Fainting, something traditionally related to the feminine personality, is another distinctive feature of the gender role played by Margaret. She also faints exactly at the moment in which she is again relegated to a typical feminine social position (*3 Henry VI*, 5.5.46),

reason, etc.), there is another element which particularly contributes to undermine his masculinity. Coppélia Kahn defends the importance of the “male bond” between parents and sons in the Tetralogy in order to build a man’s masculinity. According to her, “the two tetralogies are a continuous meditation on the role of the father in a man’s self-definition” (Kahn 1981: 47) and, in this way, she claims that in the History Plays, and very especially in the first Tetralogy, the identity and the masculinity of an individual is defined by this father-son bond:

The father’s role is to maintain, mostly by martial valor in the first tetralogy... the inheritance of family honor left to him by his father, and to pass it on to his son, who is expected to follow his father’s example and find a ready-made identity in it (Kahn 1981: 49-50).

In the case of Henry VI it is clear that, because of his father’s premature death, this male bond does not exist in the construction of his masculine identity. As a consequence Henry VI never attains the paternal authority he needs to keep order and to inspire loyalty (Kahn 1981: 51). Significantly enough, the Tetralogy starts off precisely with Henry V’s funeral, which comes to symbolize in words of Janet Adelman “the loss of a world of male bonds” (1985: 95). The absence of the father figure and the consequent impossibility of gaining access to a masculine identity partly explain that in some occasions Henry VI appears as a somewhat childlike character. For example, his attempt to hide after transferring the dynastic rights to York when he sees the queen approaching (*3 Henry VI*, 1.1.211-2) clearly reminds us of a child that hides fearing the punishment of his mother after a prank. In the same way, many characters often address him as if he was a child (*3 Henry VI*, II.ii.73-4; *3 Henry VI*, II.ii.122) and also at the level of imagery he is compared with infantile figures such as Phaethon (*3 Henry VI*, II.vi.11-2). This image of the King as a childlike man brings him closer again to a certain degree of femininity in the sense that he has not achieved the masculine identity yet. Traub, quoting Thomas Laqueur, points out that in Elizabethan times Galen’s medical theories were widely accepted and according to them “men originate as female” (Traub 1992: 51) and little by little they acquire the masculinity and become real men. This theory which tries to explain the androgynous and effeminate appearance of many adolescent boys who have not reached male maturity yet, can also be applied to the Tetralogy, with the implication that Henry VI, not having passed over the threshold of masculinity, still remains bound to that femininity. Consequently, the gender system appears as an exclusive bipolar system in which femininity and masculinity are defined by mutual opposition and in which those who do not belong to one of the groups must be bound necessarily

this fainting being in a way a point of inflection in her positioning with regard to the stereotypes of gender behaviour.

to the other. Therefore, Henry VI would be a somewhat “feminine” character not because of his undoubtedly feminine behavior but as a consequence of his “non-masculine” actions.

Not having received from his father the necessary bequest to build his own masculine identity, we see how, using Kahn’s words, “(Henry VI) never reaches full manhood or assumes rule firmly; he remains effeminate” (1981: 51). Once again, the figure of Talbot represents a significant counterpoint to the King. Talbot, as a model of chivalric masculinity, accepts to die next to his son defending the lands won by his elders before sullyng his honor and the honor of his offspring since he acknowledges that “the final act of honor is the final proof of identification between them” (Berman 1962: 490) and, at the same time, his son also “asserts his birthright by sacrifice” (Berman 1962: 490). On the contrary, Henry VI does exactly the opposite. He is shown as an unworthy son unable to keep the French territories conquered by his progenitor, a paternal legacy that works as a metaphor of this symbolic masculinity passed from parents to children. But besides, he also appears as an unfit father who does not fulfil “the obligation of a father to a son by the act of bequest” (Berman 1962: 494), since he shamefully hands the crown over and dishonors himself and also his son when he denies him his legacy in order not to put their lives in danger. This behavior could hardly be accepted in the chivalric masculine world represented by Talbot. It is significant that both fathers, Talbot and Henry VI, recall before dying the same mythological image of Icarus but with different implications: while Talbot feels proud that his son has died emulating his father (*1 Henry VI*, IV.vi.55), the ideal of the male father-son relation according to Kahn, Henry blames himself for his son’s death (*3 Henry VI*, V.vi.21).

As a consequence of his “non masculinity,” Henry VI fails not only in the public sphere (his passivity as a ruler leads his country to a bloody civil war) but also in the private sphere since he fails as a son, as a father, and also as a husband who does not live up to his wife’s expectations (*2 Henry VI*, I.iii.51-3). This symbolic “femininity” of Henry VI has another important consequence related to the construction of the gender system, since it leads the Queen to transgress the social order by taking on a masculine role in order to fill the gap left by her husband. Margaret herself makes perfectly clear the different masculine and feminine roles in the Tetralogy when she says: “Tell him my mourning weeds are laid aside, / And I am ready to put armor on” (*3 Henry VI*, III.iii.229-30).⁴ The Queen does not hesitate to lead the army to defend her son’s inheritance, something that according to the gender ideology of the History Plays should have been done by her husband as a king and as a father.

⁴ Significantly enough, in *Richard III* Margaret will be relegated again to these “mourning weeds,” a role more in keeping with her sex according to the dominant ideology.

In this way the undeniable cause-effect relation between the “femininity” and the inadequacy for rule of Henry and the forced “masculinity” of Margaret makes evident that, as Alan Sinfield indicates, in the History Plays “the most persistent alert [for the patriarchal power] is not that women will intrude upon the state and its wars, but that the men will prove inadequate” (cited in Hidalgo 1994: 242).

On the other hand, also quite revealing to illustrate the conflict between power and feminine identity is the fact that Margaret, as Joan of Arc, has to adopt a “masculine” attitude to take on a role of power and authority, and then she has to return to a more “feminine” position when she is beaten and deprived of her power, as we see in *Richard III*. Paradoxically enough, in order to understand why according to the dominant ideology power falls out of the sphere of the feminine identity we must not look at these female characters of masculine behaviour but at a male effeminate character such as Henry VI. The King is in a sense a figure more “feminine” than Margaret herself and his unfortunate actions clearly illustrate the fatal consequences of the women’s rule. Gloucester clearly articulates the predominant patriarchal ideology in the History Plays when, in talking about the Queen, he says that state matters “are no women’s matters” (2 *Henry VI* 1-1.3.115).

To sum up, we can conclude that in the emphatically masculine world of Shakespeare’s History Plays, the presence of Henry VI as an epitome of stereotypical feminine behavior has mainly two basic implications within the plays’ gender system. The first one is that it shows the close interrelation and mutual interdependence between the masculine and the feminine identity which are defined by opposition in a Saussurean way, placing, for example, Henry VI in a “feminine sphere” for his non-masculine behavior. The second one is that, in this opposition, power is an element clearly belonging to the sphere of masculinity, as illustrated by the disastrous rule of Henry VI, a female character in a symbolic sense, who makes evident the fatal consequences of a woman exercising power, something that, according to the dominant ideology in the History Plays, is not in keeping with her role. This explains her failure in such a task.

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THE “OTHER” WILLIAM AND THE QUESTION OF AUTHORITY IN SPANISH STAGE DEPICTIONS OF SHAKESPEARE¹

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The paper will consider the rise and consolidation of Shakespeare as a character of Spanish drama from his first appearance in Ventura de la Vega’s translation of Duval’s *Shakespeare amoureux* in 1831 to his role in *El otro William* by Jaime Salom, first produced in 1997. After a brief consideration of the possible reasons for this peculiar piece of Bardolatry — Romantic obsessions with the figure of the author, the pervasiveness of the jealousy question as explored in the immensely popular *Othello*, the backlash against France’s cultural hegemony, etc. — the paper will attempt to situate Salom’s piece in the context of more historicizing approaches to Shakespeare’s presence in Spain and elsewhere. The explicit anti-Stratfordianism of *El otro William*, spelt out in the author’s preface, will be shown to be a paradoxical reminder of the enduring nature of that presence, even in works which purport to deny Shakespeare’s authorship of the plays traditionally attributed to him.

One of the most remarkable facets of Shakespeare’s presence in Spain, indeed something which has distinguished Spanish theatre from that of most of its European neighbours, including Britain, is Shakespeare’s appearance as a character on the Spanish stage. Shakespeare’s Spanish début as a character dates back to the early nineteenth century, and he has reappeared periodically on stage up to the present day. The aim of this paper is to explore the motives behind what I have described elsewhere as this “metaphysics” of Bardic presence,² paying special attention to the most recent and also the most provocative instance of the phenomenon, Jaime Salom’s play *El otro William* (1994).

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As was generally the case with the first translations of Shakespeare's work into Spanish, the origins of the character are solidly French. It was Ventura de la Vega who in 1828 first delighted Madrid audiences with his portrayal of "Shakespeare enamorado," a translation of Alexandre Duval's stage success *Shakespeare amoureux*, which Catalan playgoers had seen some two decades earlier in the original French version at the Teatro in Barcelona.³ A few years later, another French depiction of the English playwright (Clemence Robert's Hugoesque novel, *Guillaume Shakespeare*) was the inspiration for Enrique Zumel's drama of intrigue and sexual jealousy, a sordid love-quadrangle centring round Shakespeare, Medianoche, Isabel and the unfortunate Ariela — not to mention Shakespeare's late wife Ana Hattarway (*sic*).⁴ This adaptation from the French was followed some years later by Tamayo y Baus's wholly original *Un drama nuevo*, where Shakespeare finds himself embroiled in yet another love-intrigue, this time involving Yorick, Yorick's young wife Beatriz and her sensitive lover Edmundo.⁵ The enduring success of *Un drama nuevo* — the play would be made into a film in 1947 — was matched at the end of the century by the Italian operetta *¡Shakespeare!*, one of a string of Italian productions based on Shakespeare's life and works to tour Spanish theatres in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁶

³Alfonso Par (1936: 1, 75) cites an enthusiastic article from the period in the *Diario de Madrid*: "Los amores de un poeta trágico que tanto ha honrado el teatro inglés por la energía de sus pensamientos y la inculta verdad de su pincel, serán sin duda un cuadro agradable a los ojos de este ilustrado público [i.e. at the Teatro Príncipe where the play was first performed]." The *Diario*'s ignorance as to the full range of the poet's work is attributable to the fact that *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Romeo and Juliet* and the ubiquitous *Othello* were the only Shakespearean works (via their French "translations") to have been performed in Spain to that date. The French original, *La pièce à l'étude, ou Shakespeare amoureux*, was performed on 15 August 1810 at the Teatro in occupied Barcelona to mark the anniversary of *la naissance et de la fête de Napoléon le grand* (see Par 1935: 1, 3, 159), a fact which both confirms the extent of French control over the import of Shakespeare in Spain and suggests the heroic proportions with which the playwright-as-character was endowed.

⁴*Guillermo Shakespeare*, actually inspired on a translation of Robert's novel by F. Málaga, ran from 27 to 30 March 1853 at the Drama in Madrid, but was never revived. Zumel himself took the part of Shakespeare (see Par 1936: 1, 194-198).

⁵The play was premièred on 4 May 1967 at the Teatro de la Zarzuela. The success of this production can be gauged by an account of the première where, the reviewer asks, "¿Hace falta que el público se desbordó en delirantes aplausos? Verdad es que los actores lo merecían... Todos salieron a la escena a recibir el homenaje de cuantos tuvieron la dicha de ver el estreno..." (cited in Tamayo 1979: 47).

⁶Cashing in on the operatic successes of composers like Verdi and Rossini, actor-directors like Rossi, Salvini, Novelli, Zacchoni, etc. would become household names on the European, including Spanish, circuits. As far as Shakespeare was concerned, Par (1936: 2, 8) maintains "Sin exageración, puede afirmarse que [thanks to these companies] por primera vez nuestro público se enteró de lo que eran dichas obras". For a full account of the impact of Italian companies in Spain during the period, see Bonisi & Busquets (1995).

Though it would be rash to ascribe a common basis to these productions, love and its corollaries —courtship, marriage and infidelity— as well as the turbid world of the theatre would seem to have a place in each. It’s perhaps no accident that one of the most popular plays of the early part of the nineteenth century in Spain was the tragedy *Othello*;⁷ and though jealousy was not, I would suggest, the chief concern of the play’s first adapters, the “green-eyed monster” is most definitely on the prowl in Zumel’s and Tamayo’s plays —notably in the latter, where Iago is reincarnated as the dishonest and scheming Walton, who maliciously informs Yorick of the Beatriz-Edmundo liaison. Shakespeare’s role in this later comedy is restricted to that of avuncular counsellor, desperately trying to avert the potential tragedy of illicit love, but gradually losing his grip on the situation till, in an act of hot-blooded revenge, he murders the play’s villain Walton. Far less vehement is the Shakespeare of Zumel’s mid-century tragedy, who, after the poisoning of Ariela by Medianoche and Isabel’s withdrawal to a nunnery, slopes rather ignominiously off to his native Worcester (*sic*), to be comforted by his daughter Susana.

Both Zumel’s and Tamayo’s plays acknowledge the fact that the historical Shakespeare was very much a “man of the theatre.” In his prologue, Zumel engineers an improbable encounter between the aspiring young actor and three of Elizabethan London’s established playwrights, Greene, Marlowe and Middleton together with the theatrical impresario Tohnsson, who is impressed by Shakespeare’s declamatory skills and hires him as an actor. A slightly more informed vision of the Elizabethan stage is provided by Tamayo, who sets the intrigue of his play against the rehearsals and performance of an imaginary revenge tragedy, where Yorick plays the role of the outraged Count Octavio who discovers and of course avenges the infidelity of his wife by murdering her lover, played by Edmundo. The theatrical rivalry between Yorick and Walton is thus given a metadramatic scenario, in which Walton, in the role of Landolfo, will be the one to hand the revelatory note to Octavio. Both play and play-within-the-play are fused with the irruption of Shakespeare, who announces the “real” deaths of Edmundo (on stage) and Walton (in the street outside the playhouse). The theatre is thus used as both the “scene” and “substance” of a tragedy founded on the familiar trope, so beloved of Shakespeare and Tamayo’s compatriot Calderón, of the *theatrum mundi*.

⁷Thus according to Par’s estimate (1936: 1, 1), in the period 1776-1832, the so-called “época galoclásica”, there were no fewer than 116 separate performances of the tragedy in the theatres of Madrid and Barcelona alone. The play’s success was due largely to the skill of the actors who took the main roles, rather than to the play-text used (in the vast majority of cases, Teodoro de la Calle’s much maligned translation of J-F Ducis’s 1792 adaptation of the play). So successful was the play that, from 1828 on, it spawned a number of parodies, chiefly *El Caliche, o la parodia de Oteló*, which Par attributes to J. M. Carnerero.

These early depictions of Shakespeare, reinforced by the vast repertory of Shakespearean dramas appearing on the nineteenth-century Spanish stage, as well as a growing tendency outside the theatre to produce ever more colourful accounts of the playwright's life,⁸ take it for granted that Shakespeare was the author of his works. This indeed is what gives a certain "authority" to representations which tend to collapse the difference between the life and the works. Spanish theatre-producers remained, in other words, largely aloof to the authorship controversies that were rocking the foundations of England's nascent Shakespeare "industry,"⁹ whilst the scholarship of the period was concerned more with comparing Shakespeare with Spain's Golden Age classics Calderón and Lope, or with using the English playwright as a scourge with which to lash French neoclassicism, than with refuting the abundant evidence which pointed to the man from Stratford as the progenitor of his plays. These concerns were reflected in an interest, bordering on obsession, with translations and stage adaptations of his work, tragedies like *Hamlet* and *Othello*, many of the comedies and, as we have seen, stage incarnations of the "man himself."

At first sight, this is what makes Jaime Salom's recent play, *El otro William*, premièred in 1998, such an innovative and refractory member of the saga. In his introduction to the play, Salom regards it as common sense that Shakespeare could not have written the plays attributed to him. "[S]i nos referimos," he writes,

a los conocimientos de música, artes plásticas, heráldica, caza, hípica, esgrima, derecho, astrología, ciencias secretas, historia natural, relatos de viajes, estrategia militar y marina, vida de la Corte, religión, lenguaje o vocabulario que tan concienzudamente se contienen en su obra monumental, ¿no están en oposición completa e irreductible con los elementos conocidos de la biografía del Shakespeare de Stradford [sic]?¹⁰

The contradiction is what has prompted Salom, metaphorically emulating Delia Bacon, to dig around in Shakespeare's tomb in a dramatic quest for the truth and, rejecting what he calls the "fe del carbonero" with its "misticismo shakesperiano tan poco racional como convincente," to posit William Stanley, sixth Earl of Derby, as the most likely candidate as author of the plays of Shakespeare.¹¹

⁸See López Román (1993), for an appraisal of some of these.

⁹See, for instance, Bate (1997: ch. 3) for an entertaining account of the different Shakespeare "authorship controversies" in nineteenth-century England.

¹⁰Salom, (1998: 20), "Introducción". All future page references are to this edition.

¹¹Though Salom omits to mention his sources, the candidature of Derby is, he claims, "fruto de una larga investigación y estudio sobre la biografía de este interesante personaje" (1998: 21).

The plot of the play reproduces the circumstances in which Shakespeare assumes the authorship of the "other" William, Stanley. The action commences with Stanley's accession to the earldom following the death of his brother, and just as Stanley is musing upon his next play, "Romualdo y Juslinda..., o quizá mejor Romeo y Julieta" (27). The dead Earl's widow informs Stanley he has been disinherited and suggests he seeks a loan from a usurer called Shylok to pay his dues to the Crown, feed his people and repair roads and bridges; the alternative, she proposes, is to marry her, thus uniting his title and her fortune. Stanley is appalled by the suggestion, especially by the widow's thinly veiled accusation that he was her husband's poisoner. Disconcerted, Stanley is advised by his servant and lover Mary to seek the hand of the Earl of Oxford's daughter. Meanwhile, he confides in Costrand his secret "affliction" to writing poems, sonnets and plays, and posits it as a solution to his financial worries, intimating however that Costrand or someone else sign his works, since "algo vergonzoso debe tener el teatro cuando ningún noble podría, sin menoscabo de su dignidad, otorgar su apellido a ninguna de esas composiciones" (38). Costrand suggests a young actor called Shakespeare, "un truhán que ha corrido detrás de todas las mozas de la región" (39), including Mary, and, though unschooled, with a sickly penchant for writing plays, though none of them is ever accepted (43).

Salom endows the young actor with a past: a glover's son who is caught poaching venison and has fled to London, where he has performed a number of trades before fulfilling his childhood ambition of becoming an actor. The lefthanded "Shakpso" or "Shaksper" ("En cada documento lo escriben de una manera distinta," 44) accepts the imposture for three and half pounds and agrees to sign *Love's Labour's Lost* and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and show the manuscripts to his director. On his exit, Stanley explains his motives to the audience:

¿Que por qué elegí a un tipo como él y no a alguien más culto y educado?
Pues para que nadie pudiera creer jamás que ese ignorante fuera el autor de mis dramas... ¿Cómo iba a conocer ese pillete el lenguaje y los sentimientos de reyes y nobles si no ha pisado otros salones que las cuerdas y las cocinas?
¿Y cómo habría situado la acción en tan diversos países si no se ha movido de los barrios bajos de Londres? ¿Qué podría saber él de reyes, de medicina, de alquimia o de música? ¿Y de historia...? (47-8)

What indeed? The first act ends with Stanley's reluctant marriage to the Earl of Oxford's insipid daughter, celebrated with a performance of the "other" William's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, which Stanley's watches "embobado," while the new Countess snoozes.

If the first act is adorned with references to comedies like *Love's Labour's Lost*, *The Two Gentlemen* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, with all but

passing allusions to *Romeo and Juliet* and *Hamlet*, Act Two begins very firmly in the mode of tragedy. A harrassed Shakespeare informs Stanley of the Earl of Essex's attempted uprising, sparked by a public performance of *Richard II* at the Globe, and in a Iago-like gesture of fake innocence, increases Stanley's discomfiture by handing him (in return for money) the handkerchief Stanley has given his wife, which Shakespeare claims to have discovered in Essex's bedchamber. Stanley confronts his wife with the "evidence," with which he attempts to strangle her, only to be prevented by the irruption of Costrand and the widowed Countess. The seething Stanley muses:

Pero, ¿y si ella fuera inocente y todo hubiera sido un engaño urdido por ese pícaro para sacarme veinticinco libras? ¡Qué cruel burla del destino! ¡Qué diabólica duda! Compondré una tragedia con esta inquietante intriga para advertencia de maridos. (68)

Stanley is harassed still further by the return of the Countess and his brother's widow with a legal suit concerning misuse of his brother's inheritance and —an even more heinous crime!— his secret writing activity which quite possibly includes "lecciones de brujería o peligrosas doctrinas papistas" (71). Stanley confesses his literary inclinations and the pact with Shakespeare, only to be compared with Don Quixote by the implacable widow ("el mucho leer y escribir os ha hecho perder el juicio," 73). After the trial scene, Shakespeare returns in the stage costume of Macbeth and is urged by Stanley to reveal the real name behind the plays and to return the manuscripts. Shakespeare refuses, claiming the plays are his and even brings in Mary who, in the meantime, has become his lover. Stanley taunts him with Greene's celebrated attack on Shakespeare ("A partir de ahora tendrás que conformarte con tus propias plumas de cuervo sin poder adornarte con las ajenas," 83), but Shakespeare holds firm, hoisting Stanley with his own petard:

Yo soy nuestros personajes, les he vivido uno a uno, noche tras noche, mientras que vos os limitasteis a dibujarlo en un papel. Hubieran quedado en meros fantasmas si yo no les hubiera dado vida. Perdonad mi atrevimiento pero a veces pienso que a vos, un gran señor, y a mí, un pobre cómico, la vida nos ha convertido en las dos caras de una misma moneda. (83)

Stanley realizes his predicament and accepts it fatalistically, offering to write his swan-song for the stage and the world which has treated him so unjustly, *The Tempest*. The play ends with Mary lamenting the death of Shakespeare in a drinking bout with Ben Jonson and other friends, and Stanley realizing the painful truth of Shakespeare's final words, but rejoicing in the fact that after death and silence, "las criaturas que yo concebí, mis personajes, levantarán su voz para repetir mis versos una y otra vez sobre los escenarios de todo el mundo y van a ser mis versos, ¡los míos!, ¡los que yo compuse!, los que van a reinar para siempre" (89).

As well as highlighting the play’s undoubted debt to the works of Borges or to Unamuno’s *El otro*, Rafael Borràs cites approvingly Luis Montiel’s suggestion that

al final de la obra... lo leído no es comedia, sino metafísica; que ese teatro está emparentado aún más que con el del barroco con el medieval, o a lo sumo con el de ese barroco que desvela el auto sacramental..., un auto sacramental a lo humano, no a lo divino. (Borràs 1998: 11)

The “metaphysical” dimension is opened by a framing technique in which a modern-day William Stanley, complete with tourist-guide’s cap shows a group of visitors the Derbys’ mansion which has become a kind of museum to the genius of its late sixteenth / early seventeenth-century resident. The framing scene takes place in Stanley’s library, with Stanley’s original table adorned with the skull of Yorick, the Stanley household’s fool-in-residence. William the guide fondles a book called *La vida y hazañas de sir William Stanley*, a book which, as he is careful to explain at the end of the play, “se agotó y nunca más se reeditó... Se prohibió” (89). The play thus encloses within itself the “truth” Salom alludes to in the introduction; the taboo on the Stanley biography is as final as Salom’s reticence as to the nature of his research, while the projection of both Williams as two sides of the same coin remains an interesting, though ultimately unproven, and unprovable, fact.

In Unamuno’s play the mystery revolves around the identity of “the other,” the body found lying in the cellar, the apparent victim of the fratricidal struggle between Cosme and Damián for the love of Cosme’s wife Laura —or Damián’s wife Damiana.¹² Despite the efforts of Laura’s level-headed brother Ernesto and the physician Don Juan, the play declines to offer a solution to the dilemma, but rather appears to accept as valid the Ama’s words in the epilogue:

¡El misterio! Yo no sé quién soy, vosotros no sabéis quiénes sois, el historiador no sabe quién es, no sabe quién es ninguno de los que nos oyen. Todo hombre se muere, cuando el Destino le traza la muerte, sin haberse conocido, y toda muerte es un suicidio, el de Caín. ¡Perdonémonos los unos a los otros para que Dios nos perdone a todos! (114)

The Ama’s words are curiously reminiscent of the end of Tamayo’s *Un drama nuevo*, where Shakespeare bursts on stage to deliver the epilogue, an impassioned appeal to the audience to pray not just for the dead but for their killers too (Tamayo 1979: 144). On another level, however, it anticipates Salom’s drama, by casting doubt on the “authority” of that formerly undisputed figure, the *author* himself. In his play script for the 1932 production of *El otro*, Unamuno offers the following alternative to the lines just cited: *Donde dice:*

¹²Unamuno, (1964). Page references are to this edition of the play.

“*El historiador no sabe quién es*”, *puede decirse*: “*Unamuno no sabe quién es*” (114). Like the unnamed author of his personal “history,” William Stanley, Earl of Derby, does not know who he is; he assumes himself to be the author of Shakespeare, though for both Shakespeare and, more importantly, for posterity, he is “not himself”, is merely the “other William.”

And what of Shakespeare, the Cain-like fool who steals his crown and his fame? William’s “other” steals out of *El otro William* as infamously as he crept in. Mary tearfully recounts how

La noche de su cumpleaños, el señor Ben Jonson y otros amigos de Londres se presentaron en su casa para festejarlo. Parece ser que fue una velada muy animada, que contaron historias atrevidas junto al fuego, hicieron concursos de desvergonzadas epigramas y brindaron una y otra vez por la alegre Inglaterra de su juventud. Al alba, William se sintió mal, poco después cayó en delirio y aunque el doctor trató de reanimarlo, ya no volvió en sí. (87)

Shakespeare dies not as Iago will die, forced under torture to reveal the truth, but as Falstaff or his double, the rollicking Sir Toby Belch, who falls for an able serving-wench called Mary. “Ya no volvió en sí,” by drinking himself to death, Salom’s Shakespeare, author of William Stanley, hides forever the truth of his fraud, becomes an “other”, which is not himself, and so carries the “truth” of Stanley’s authorship to the grave. “He de confesar que a pesar del odio que le profesaba,” owns Stanley, “la noticia de su muerte me conmovió profundamente. *Me sentí como si algo de mí hubiera muerto, como si hubieran desgajado la mitad de mi vida*” (88-9; emphasis added). By dying, Shakespeare the actor becomes Shakespeare the *author*, depriving Stanley of the (for him) dubious authority of the title, and so effectively killing the man who, in Salom’s account at least, gave him ever-lasting fame. Rather than enacting the death of the author, Shakespeare’s demise undermines the concept of authority which, as Foucault and Said have suggested, is the effect of authorship itself. The play’s last scene shows the skull of Yorick, picked out by a spotlight, while all the characters, including Stanley, “bailan una alegre música.” What Stanley refers to as both the sublimity and banality of glory mingle in this tragicomic ending, before the curtain fuses William and Shakespeare in the sphere of mystery to which the play *qua* play belongs.

Such playful fantasies as *El otro William* do not of course remove the fixation with Shakespeare-the-Author on which the Spanish Shakespeare-as-character tradition is built; rather they displace it on to another author, the “other” William, which is the play’s title. This act of displacement is accompanied by the now sadly familiar notion of the incompatibility of Shakespeare’s social status with a necessary knowledge of the courtly world in which aristocrats like Stanley would have moved. However, both the

biographical (im)posturing and, most conspicuously, the need to weave the plots of the plays alluded to into a coherent narrative whole, bespeak a neo-Romantic urge to keep the products of authorship, the plays themselves, under a single presiding genius, be it Shakespeare or Stanley. The "other William" thus cuts both ways—Shakespeare as the other Stanley, or Stanley as the other Shakespeare—and so undercuts Salom's otherwise undermotivated construction of aristocratic authority. Like the ghost of Hamlet's father, also called "Hamlet," *William Shakespeare* continues to haunt Salom's *William Stanley* as both the ambiguous "other" of the title and as the necessary condition of his afterlife as fictional "authority" of the drama(s).

The foregrounding of Yorick in the final scene, meanwhile, evokes another fiction constructed on and around the dramas of William. I have in mind Salman Rushdie's little fantasy included in the collection of narratives entitled *East, West*, where Rushdie's first-person narrator concocts a version of the events preceding and precipitating the tragedy of *Hamlet*. In this Freudian fantasy, the fool of the title is presented as the dupe used by the Prince of Denmark to avenge the seduction or, in Hamlet's childish imagination, assassination of his mother by his father Horwendillus, as well as the butt of Hamlet's frustrated obsession with Yorick's beautiful but bad-breathed wife Ophelia. Yorick murders the King and is caught and beheaded by Horwendillus's successor Claudius. Fortunately,

Yorick's child survives, and leaves the scene of his family's tragedy; wanders the world, sowing his seed in far-off lands, from west to east and back again; and multicoloured generations follow, ending (I'll now reveal) in this present, humble *AUTHOR*; whose ancestry may be proved by this, which he holds in common with the whole sorry line of the family, that his chief weakness is for the telling of a particular species of Tale, which learned men have termed *chanticleric*, and also *taurean*. (Rushdie 1995: 83)

It's difficult not to take this confession by one of Yorick's descendents in Rushdie's "cock-and-bull" story as a fitting epitaph to the question of authority raised by these representations of Shakespeare.

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**“WHEN THE BATTLE’S
LOST AND WON”: THE
OPENING OF
SHAKESPEARE’S *1
HENRY IV***

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As *1 Henry IV* opens, the King and his entourage receive reports of two battles: in the west, Mortimer has been defeated by Glendower; in the north, Hotspur has been victorious over the Douglas. This virtually simultaneous victory and defeat both validates and undermines the legitimacy of Henry’s ruling by Divine Right. Moreover, the manner in which these reports are presented to the court suggests that Henry, the consummate politician, has orchestrated the scene. He has Westmoreland tell of Mortimer’s defeat, thereby consigning the defeat to an underling; Henry then announces Hotspur’s success, thus by association attributing this victory to himself. Additionally, Shakespeare problematizes the episode by implying that in a sense the victory was a defeat and the defeat a victory. The last thing Henry needs is for Hotspur, of the contentious and soon to be openly rebellious Percy clan, to heighten his reputation as a warrior via his victory over the Scots. Conversely, Mortimer is Henry’s most significant rival for the crown, and his being defeated and captured by the Welsh both tarnishes his claim to the throne and removes him as a challenger to Henry for the kingship. Indeed, Henry may have placed the ineffectual Mortimer in charge of his forces with the hope that Mortimer would not only be defeated but killed. This constitutes a motif anticipating the battle at Shrewsbury which concludes the play: Hal gives Falstaff a charge of foot, perhaps taking more seriously than he pretends Falstaff’s assertion that walking a great distance will be the death of him, and Henry gives Hal a prominent position in the battle at least arguably with the hope that Hal will be killed; his position as heir apparent would consequently descend to his more respected and tractable brother John. In any case, the conflation of victory and defeat, of the battle’s being lost and won, tempers any enthusiasm regarding the Lancastrian victory at Shrewsbury. This also anticipates the latter part of *2 Henry IV*, in which the reporting of Lancastrian victories over Glendower and Scroop coincides with, and perhaps metaphorically precipitates, Henry IV’s death. Consequently, Shakespeare implies that in the topsy-turvy world of Lancastrian rule, battles are not lost or won, but rather lost and won, every defeat bearing the potential for political gain and, more importantly, every victory constituting in some sense a defeat.

One of the many startling lines in that short, incredibly rich opening scene of *Macbeth* consists of the Sisters agreeing that they will meet again “When the hurly burly’s done / When the battle’s lost and won” (1.1.3-4). Just prior to his first appearance, Macbeth has both won and lost a battle. He has won in the technical sense of being victorious over those rebelling against his King, but he

has also lost in that his victory and its attendant rewards inspire him to assassinate Duncan, an act which initiates his personal disintegration and political downfall. Thus, as a consequence of having won the battle Macbeth loses his inner peace, his mental stability, and ultimately his life. Similarly, Marc Antony in conjunction with Octavius Caesar defeats the forces of Brutus and Cassius, but this victory in *Julius Caesar* is merely a necessary prelude to Antony's defeat and death in *Antony and Cleopatra*. This paradox of losing one sort of battle by winning another and vice-versa constitutes a marked tendency in Shakespeare and one which appears conspicuously in the Lancastrian tetralogy, finding its most pronounced expression in the opening of *1 Henry IV*.

In the first scene of that play, the King is ill; by Shakespeare's day, of course, the motif of the ruler's ill health infecting his kingdom was well-established, and one might profitably compare the opening of *1 Henry* with that of *Oedipus Rex*, where Oedipus's moral illness has contaminated all of Thebes. Henry's sickness is at least in part generated by his having usurped the crown from Richard II. Importantly, Shakespeare never provides a coronation scene for Henry, thereby calling into question the extent to which Henry is legitimately king, a matter raised again at Shrewsbury by Henry's having others dressed in the royal regalia during the battle. Hence, not only is Henry's health imperiled but so is his claim to the throne, and just prior to the opening of *1 Henry* he has been beset on two fronts by rebels.

Partly as a means of forestalling further rebellion, Henry in his opening speech reiterates that intention mentioned at the end of *Richard II* to lead troops on Crusade. As becomes apparent in the Henriad, Henry's reasons for wanting to go on Crusade are many, religious zeal being the most obvious but least compelling among them. For instance, among his other motives Henry intends to posit the "heathen" as a common enemy and so repair the fractured political condition of his own country, to bring to an end "the intestine shock and furious close of civil butchery" (1.1.12-13) which has been ravaging his kingdom. In fact, Henry clearly indicates his hope that national unity will be a by-product of the Crusade, that the warring factions shall "March all one way and be no more opposed / Against acquaintance, kindred, and allies" (1.1.15-16). Henry also of course wants the Crusade to draw attention away from his recent usurpation of the crown, a desire he retains to the very end: on his deathbed Henry says that he "had a purpose now / To lead out many to the Holy Land / Lest rest and lying still might make them look / Too near unto my state" (*2 Henry*, 4.5.209-212). He also encourages Hal to adopt this practice when he becomes king, to "busy giddy minds with foreign quarrels" (*2 Henry*, 4.5.213-214). Hal, for once the dutiful son, follows his father's advice by instigating war with France shortly after coming to the throne.

Henry may additionally desire to validate Lancastrian rule by achieving a victory in the Holy Land, the implication of “God being on our side” having less of an ironic tinge in Henry’s (and Shakespeare’s) day than at present. Even should Henry’s forces lose the battle in the Holy Land, he could claim that he was attempting to perform God’s work and so imply that he therefore has made reparation for the execution of Richard. Should Henry not survive the Crusade, the Lancastrian political machine could then influence public opinion to alter Henry’s status from that of political assassin to that of Christian martyr. And it may well be that Henry does not anticipate returning from the Holy Land: although Shakespeare delays this revelation until late in *2 Henry*, it had been prophesied that Henry would die in Jerusalem, and so his fervent desire to make the journey suggests that guilt over the deposition and execution of Richard has made Henry crave extinction. While speaking to Hal, he also remarks that his death will clear away any taint appertaining to the Lancastrians’ claim to the crown: “To thee it will descend with better quiet, / Better opinion, better confirmation, / For all the soil of the achievement goes / With me into the earth” (*2 Henry*, 4.5.187-190). Consequently, Henry must feel that his going to the Holy Land would be for him and his line a win-win situation, even —or perhaps especially— if he were to lose his life in Jerusalem.

This conflation of victory and defeat appears again in the first scene of *1 Henry* when Henry and his entourage receive the reports of two very recent battles fought on Henry’s behalf: in the north, Hotspur has been victorious over the Scots; in the west, Mortimer has been defeated by the Welsh. At least in the most immediate sense, the victory in the north might be seen to validate Henry’s ruling by right as well as by might, while the defeat in the west would suggest otherwise. The manner of presenting these reports to the court suggests that Henry, the consummate politician, has orchestrated the scene. Henry very much considers politics to be a matter of public performance, as appears when, in a private conversation with Hal, he reveals his strategy in coming to the crown: “By being seldom seen, I could not stir / But like a comet I was wond’red at... And then I stole all courtesy from heaven / And dressed myself in such humility / That I did pluck allegiance from men’s hearts” (*1 Henry*, 3.2.46-52). Henry later uses specifically dramatic terms in retrospectively evaluating his career: “For all my reign hath been but as a scene / Acting [an] argument” (*2 Henry*, 4.5.197-198). As David Grene has noted, “Shakespeare saw the contemporary king as suggestively similar to the actor in his relation to the role” (1988: 47). This certainly applies to Henry, who employs an essentially Machiavellian strategy of audience manipulation with regard to the reporting of the battles’ results. Henry initially behaves as if he is unaware of the outcome of Mortimer’s foray. He calls upon Westmoreland to deliver to the court the decree of the Council meeting the previous evening concerning the expedition to the Holy Land. This meeting, according to Westmoreland, was interrupted with the

information that Mortimer was captured and his army decimated. Henry's being ignorant of this development, however, seems less than likely, and indeed hardly plausible. Henry would presumably have been informed of such a catastrophe immediately, but he feigns ignorance in order to distance himself personally from the stigma involved in the defeat. The presumption that Henry would immediately be given the report of a battle is supported in 1.1 by his receiving what he terms the "smooth and welcome news" (1.1.66) of Hotspur's victory from Blunt, who is "new lighted from his horse" (1.1.63). Blunt, however, does not deliver his report to the congregation at large, Henry reserving this honor for himself and thereby in effect claiming the victory by association.

However, as always with Shakespeare, other angles must be considered. Shakespeare implies that so far as Henry's interests are concerned in some ways Mortimer's defeat is a victory and Hotspur's victory a defeat. Granted, Hotspur was fighting for Henry against the Scots, but the last thing Henry needs is for Hotspur, of the contentious and soon to be openly rebellious Percy clan, to heighten his reputation as a warrior via this victory. On the other hand, although Mortimer's defeat jeopardizes Henry's western frontier, Mortimer is also Henry's most legitimate rival for the crown, and Mortimer's being defeated and captured by the Welsh both tarnishes his claim to the throne and physically removes him as a challenger to Henry for the kingship.

By the same token, however, Mortimer's being captured provides the Percies with an opportunity to insist upon his being ransomed. Knowing that Henry will not do so, the Percies can use Henry's refusal as an excuse for rebellion. Although they exploit this pretext in 1.3, just a short time later, when the rebels meet to discuss the division of a kingdom they have yet to conquer, the Percies have apparently decided that their support of Mortimer extends only to his being awarded one-third of the kingdom, another third of course going to them. For Mortimer, though, a third is better than nothing, so by losing the battle to Glendower, Mortimer has both won a wife—he marries Glendower's daughter—and at least in prospect gained one-third of a kingdom.

Just as the Percies use Mortimer and other means to manipulate Henry, Henry is not averse to manipulating the Percies—he is simply better at this somewhat sordid game of dramatic improvisation than they are. Phyllis Rackin observes that "[t]he Henry we see on stage in the second tetralogy anticipates the Tudors in using the resources of theatrical role-playing to produce the perfect image of royal authority that he could not inherit from the ambiguous genealogy that left him the throne" (1990: 70). Additionally, Harold Toliver feels that "[t]hroughout the Henry IV plays one improvised performance reflects another by analogy and thereby compounds it and calls attention to the

style of enactment itself.” (1983: 53). Consequently, Henry as an accomplished actor and indeed director has no trouble turning Hotspur’s victory at Holmedon against him: Henry forces the Percies’ hand by insisting that the hot-tempered and appropriately nicknamed Hotspur yield prisoners which were not Henry’s by the laws of chivalry to claim. Moreover, the effeminate messenger — “perfumed like a milliner” (1.3.36), using “many holiday and lady terms... like a waiting gentlewoman” (1.3.46; 55)— who insists upon Hotspur’s turning over the prisoners is precisely the sort of courtier whom Henry might employ to rouse Hotspur’s ire and so induce him to refuse to turn over the prisoners. Henry, unlike Prufrock, wants to force the moment to its crisis. The Percies are at this time unprepared for war, as the letter Hotspur receives in act 2 stipulates: “The purpose you undertake is dangerous, the friends you have named uncertain, the time itself unsorted, and your whole plot too light for the counterpoise of so great an opposition” (2.3.10-13).

Henry’s urgency in provoking the Percy rebellion may provide another reason for his refusal to ransom Mortimer. One must ask, however, why Henry would have sent Mortimer against Glendower in the first place. Mortimer’s qualifications as a military leader are never discussed directly in the text, but his sole appearance in *1 Henry* would certainly not inspire confidence in his martial abilities. He seems overly enamored of his spouse, despite —or perhaps because of— the fact that he and his wife speak different languages and so cannot understand one another. He also seems less than an imposing personality in other respects: in this scene, his future kingdom is being divided up and he does not register a single protest. And although he claims fervently that he will follow Hotspur “with all [his] heart” (3.1.264) to do battle against the Lancasters, he inexplicably fails to arrive at Shrewsbury. Hardly a galvanizing personality, Mortimer seems a very odd figure for Henry to have sent against the fierce Glendower, unless of course Henry was hoping that Mortimer would not survive the battle.

Possibly, Henry would not have been overly distressed had his side lost both of the battles reported in 1.1, just so long as Hotspur and Mortimer lost their lives in the process. Hotspur’s death would, of course, be a serious blow to the Percies and their rebellious intentions, and Mortimer’s death would remove Henry’s major rival for the throne. This giving of military commissions with the understanding that even a loss might produce the benefit of ridding oneself of a rival is a prominent pattern in the *Henriad*, a means, to use Falstaff’s trenchant phrase, of “turn[ing] diseases to commodity” (*2 Henry*, 1.2.247-248). Shakespeare may thus be playing a turn upon the biblical precedent of David and Uriah: desiring Bathsheba, David sent Uriah into battle having arranged it so that he would be killed by the enemy. That Shakespeare had the biblical David in mind while writing the *Henriad* appears in Falstaff’s reference to the

“whoreson Achitophel” in *2 Henry* (1.2.35). In *1 Henry*, Hal steals Falstaff’s horses at Gadshill, perhaps taking more seriously than he pretends his assertion to Poins that Falstaff’s walking back to London from that location would result in his “sweat[ing] to death” (2.2.107). And later in the play, Falstaff is given a charge of foot by Hal, who states that “Falstaff’s death will be a march of twelve score” (2.4.541). As Harold Bloom notes, Hal “forbears” from hanging Falstaff, “reasoning that it is more appropriate to kill the aged reprobate by a forced march, or even (honorably) in battle” (1998: 103). And at least arguably, Henry gives the untried and so far as he knows dissolute Hal a prominent position at Shrewsbury in order to dispense with his oldest son and have Hal’s position as heir apparent descend to his more respected and more tractable brother John, who has already taken over Hal’s place at Council.

Of course, by assigning troops to inexperienced commanders like Hal or those simply negligent like Falstaff in order to accomplish ulterior purposes, the ruling classes in England demonstrate a complete disregard for the subjects who will be fighting under these commanders. After the battle of Shrewsbury, for example, Falstaff admits, “I have led my ragamuffins where they are pepper’d; there’s not three of my hundred and fifty left alive, and they are for the town’s end, to beg during life” (5.3.35-38). Even the renowned warrior Hotspur engages in careless and quixotic rhetoric before Shrewsbury, stating “Die all, die merrily” (4.1.134); unfortunately, many of those fighting under his command do die, and his own death, as presented onstage, is certainly other than merry as he becomes “food for worms” (5.4.86-87). Hal, assumed by many readers to be the commoners’ friend, seems particularly guilty in this regard: during the battle of Shrewsbury he comments more than once on those who have died, but reserves such comments exclusively for nobles, never once mentioning the lower-class subjects lost in this dynastic squabble. This also underscores the hypocrisy in his speech in *Henry V* in which he refers to the nobles and the plebes together as a “band of brothers” (4.3.60). Falstaff’s jarring nonchalance in referring to his troops as “food for powder” who will “fill a pit as well as better [men]” (*1 Henry*, 4.2.65) consequently is not exceptional but rather representative of the attitudes of the nobles generally as they sacrifice one pawn after another in the ruthless and subtle ways in which they try to ensure that even if they lose they win.

In the battle at Severn as reported in the opening act of *1 Henry*, Mortimer loses not only the battle but also one thousand of his followers, “Upon whose dead corpse there was such misuse, / Such beastly shameless transformation, / By those Welshwomen done as may not be / Without much shame retold or spoken of” (1.1.43-46). Shame or no, it seems appropriate to speak of it here, since the symbolism of emasculation bears upon our sense of who has won, who has lost, and how to tell the difference; it also indicates that only the high-ranking nobles

bear the capacity to win by losing —the commoners most often simply lose out in their social superiors’ grasping for power, as occurs at the Severn. Holinshed’s *Chronicles*, one of Shakespeare’s sources, graphically describes the emasculation, but Westmoreland cannot bring himself to do so. In the relentlessly male world of Lancastrian politics, the male genitalia come to symbolize political power, and so emasculation constitutes such a threat that, despite its being alluded to time and again, it is never specifically described in the Henriad: it becomes the wound that dare not speak its name. Many of the references to emasculation involve Falstaff: for instance, in *2 Henry* Falstaff is wounded by the valiant Pistol, and Doll Tearsheet, who by her profession as a prostitute should be an expert in male anatomy, thinks that Falstaff has been wounded in the groin. Small wonder, then, that he desires to make Shallow “a philosopher’s two stones to me” (*2 Henry* 3.2.328), the word “stones” being used elsewhere in Shakespeare, and most notably in *The Merchant of Venice*, to suggest testicles. Falstaff’s lack of the “philosophers’ two stones” which he needs to transform the dross of himself into political gold suggests his lack of power in the Lancastrian world. However, although Falstaff gains Shallow’s money, he shortly thereafter officially loses Hal’s favor. In *1 Henry* as well, Falstaff tries to appropriate another’s “stones:” Falstaff’s striking Hotspur’s corpse “in the thigh” (5.4.149) would seem a curious choice of location unless one assumes that Falstaff is being uncharacteristically discrete in providing “thigh” as a circumlocution for “groin.” C. G. Thayer refers to this “thigh wound” as “a symbolic castration” (1983: 114), and more directly Gerard H. Cox states that Falstaff is “[n]ot content with castrating Hotspur’s corpse...” (1985: 144). Portia, in *Julius Caesar*, uses the same euphemism in describing the “voluntary wound / Here, in the thigh” (2.1.300-301) which she accepts as Brutus’s wife, clearly in this context a hymenal reference.

Falstaff’s emasculation of Hotspur, whether symbolic or literal, fails to achieve a metaphorical transference of Hotspur’s phallic power; clearly, though, this is what Falstaff anticipates, since he tells Hal that he expects to be made a Duke for his exploit. This of course does not happen, and indeed Falstaff’s mutilation of Hotspur’s corpse places Falstaff in a position analogous to that of the Welsh women who emasculated the English soldiers after the battle of the Severn. As Thayer notes, Falstaff’s depredation of Hotspur’s body becomes “a grim parody of the activities of the wild Welshwomen, more shocking because shown on the stage.” (1983: 114). Hotspur’s fate also dovetails with that of his second-in-command: although Hal gives a somewhat homogenized version of the wound in *1 Henry* (5.5.21), according to Holinshed, the Douglas, as he was fleeing the battle, “falling from the crag of an high mountain, brake one of his cullions” (cited in Hodgdon, 1997: 156). By losing a cullion, however, Douglas inadvertently saves his life. Symbolically speaking, the half-emasculated

Douglas no longer constitutes a threat, and after Hal rather cavalierly pardons him, the Douglas disappears from the *Henriad* thereafter.

However, even though Hotspur and the Douglas are dispensed with at Shrewsbury, Northumberland and Glendower remain. The opening of *2 Henry* focuses on Northumberland and provides an analogy which suggests Henry's knowledge of the outcome of the battles prior to their disclosure in *1 Henry*. According to Rumor, the allegorical figure who opens *2 Henry*, Northumberland has been "lying crafty-sick" (37), with a telling pun on the word "lying." Like Henry in the opening of *1 Henry*, Northumberland is palpably playing a role, and his accoutrements in doing so mimic those of kingship: his nightcap is a mock-crown, his staff a mock-scepter, and his nightclothes mock-regalia. As at the opening of *1 Henry*, in the first scene of *2 Henry* the news of a battle is reported, that which has just occurred at Shrewsbury. Northumberland seems unsurprised by both the rebels' defeat and Hotspur's death; upon Morton's entry, Northumberland looks at him and states, "Why [Hotspur] is dead. / See what a ready tongue suspicion hath! / He that but fears the thing he would not know / Hath by instinct knowledge from others' eyes / That what he feared is chanced" (83-87). This sorrow seems more than just a bit hypocritical, given that Northumberland and consequently the greater part of the rebels' troops failed altogether to show up at Shrewsbury. He may have refused to support his son at this crucial moment in the rebellion not only for reasons of personal safety but also to rid himself of his boisterous and impolitic son. In tortuous language and logic, Northumberland articulates how this ill news has made him well, how the loss of Hotspur has caused him to regain his vitality.

Conversely, Henry in act 4 is made ill by the welcome news of Northumberland's and Glendower's defeats, which coincide closely with and even seem to precipitate Henry's death: "And wherefore should these good news make me sick?... I should rejoice now at this happy news / And now... I am much ill" (*2 Henry*, 4.4.102; 109-111). So, and by this point perhaps predictably, the rebels' loss is also a victory in that it contributes to the death of Henry, their hated enemy. The specific circumstances of Henry's death coincide with Shakespeare's generally ambivalent presentation of the King. Henry's death occurring in the Jerusalem chamber adjoining Westminster Abbey technically fulfills the prophecy that Henry would die in Jerusalem, and so one might in that regard detect the hand of God involved in Henry's trajectory to the throne. On the other hand, the fact that Henry's death does not occur in the Holy City of Jerusalem as Henry had assumed it would may be taken as God's mocking Henry's pretensions as king and as crusader.

In 1.1, Henry knows that he will at the moment be unable to go on Crusade, and so he is very clearly acting a role when announcing his plan to do so. This deadly serious play-acting, so crucial to transforming loss into victory, seems to run in the family. As Stephen Greenblatt observes, “Hal’s characteristic activity is playing or, more precisely, theatrical improvisation” (1988: 46). In 1.2, Hal plays the role of fun-loving wastrel with Falstaff and company, Hal’s apparent *bonhomie* being exposed as merely an act by his soliloquy closing the scene in which he promises that transformation in which “imitat[ing] the sun” (1.2.197), he will rid himself of this lower-class company, these “base contagious clouds” (1.2.198), these “foul and ugly mists” (1.2.202), as he ungenerously refers to them. Hal’s similarity to his father in seeing politics as performance becomes even more apparent in the crucial 2.4: here, in the play impromptu, both Falstaff and Hal play the role of King Henry. Interestingly, during his brief stint playing Henry berating Hal, Falstaff calls for wine in order to redden his eyes so that he might appear to have been crying. In the actual interview which follows in the next act, while chastising Hal, Henry does appear to cry, but bearing in mind Falstaff’s preparation for his role as king tempers too great a sympathy for Henry in the scene with Hal. One might be further inclined to suspicion regarding Henry’s avouched sentiment when noting Hotspur’s claim in act 4 that Henry at Ravenspurgh falsely swore “but to be Duke of Lancaster / To sue his livery and beg his peace / With *tears of innocency* and terms of zeal” (4.3.61-63) and that shortly after Ravenspurgh Henry continued the act: “[He] Cries out upon abuses, *seems to weep* / Over his country’s wrongs, and by this face, / This seeming brow of justice, did he win the hearts of all that he did angle for” (4.3.81-84; my emphasis).

Henry, while undoubtedly troubled and guilt-ridden, simply does not seem to be the weeping sort. In this, too, Hal resembles his father. After coming upon Henry and presuming him dead, Hal seizes the crown and takes it elsewhere. When Henry awakens a short time later, Warwick’s report to him that Hal has been weeping in the other room is suspect at best, especially considering that when Hal first spies his father on the bed he not only does not shed a tear but addresses many of his remarks to the crown rather than to his prostrate father. Also, when Hal emerges from the room, having had sufficient time to generate some crocodile tears, the version that he gives to Henry of these remarks differs significantly from what he had actually said. Henry, however, is apparently convinced by Hal’s act: in fact, by having lost his father’s faith in him in this scene and earlier, Hal ultimately wins his way into a firmer position in Henry’s confidence and gains his father’s tacit blessing as heir.

Even prior to the opening of *I Henry*, the motif of winning by losing and losing by winning is established in the Lancastrian tetralogy. In *Richard II*, Henry wins out over Richard in their battle for the throne, but ends up losing his

health and corroding his conscience in the process. A desire to emphasize this fact may account for Shakespeare's telescoping Henry's reign into an unremitting state of contention against rebels, even though much of the historical Henry's reign was peaceful. Not so in Shakespeare, where every victory by Henry simply leads to another round of battle. Shortly after Henry accedes to the throne in *Richard II*, he is threatened with rebellion by Aumerle, and in the interim between the end of *Richard II* and the opening of *1 Henry* the battles at Severn and Holmedon have been fought, which in turn lead to other conflicts, most significantly that at Shrewsbury. Even after that apparently unqualified victory, Henry finds it necessary immediately to divide his troops to go against Northumberland and Glendower. The Lancastrian troubles continue even after Henry's death. As *Henry V* documents, Hal himself has to quash an internal rebellion, and his victory over the French and his attendant marriage to Princess Katherine lead to the reign of his young and naive son, to the Wars of the Roses, and to the loss not only of the French territories but also of the crown, which passes from the House of Lancaster to the House of York. Ultimately of course the entire Lancastrian reign might be seen as merely a blip on the screen of history, Shakespeare implying here, as elsewhere in his canon, that in the topsy-turvy, hurly-burly world of Lancastrian rule, battles are not lost *or* won, but rather lost *and* won, every defeat bearing the potential for political gain and, more importantly, every victory constituting in some sense a defeat.

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**MARSTON'S *THE*
METAMORPHOSIS OF
PYGMALION'S IMAGE:
THE OVIDIAN MYTH
REVISITED**

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Renaissance rewritings of the Ovidian myths constitute quite an interesting subject for critical studies. Their particularities and deviations from the original versions tellingly speak about their authors' ideology concerning poetry and social organization. Marston's version of the story of Pygmalion's image transforms Ovid's romantic narration into a violently sexual satire against the Platonic conception of love. The female statue becomes a symbol of the conventional Petrarchan beloved and Pygmalion himself embodies the love poet. Hating women's imperfections and fearing love, he models an image of the ideal woman, adapted to his own needs and desires. She is also the Elizabethan prototype of a wife, who utters no words and whose existence is framed by men and according to men's needs. Her beauty's function is that of reasserting the worth of her creator's art.

Physically, her body obeys to the predicaments of Petrarchan blazons and the hardness of her ivory heart alludes to the Petrarchan mistresses' cruelty.

Marston's epyllion ironically deals with the Platonic idea that true love must be satisfied by the mere beholding of the beloved's image. He also directs his criticism towards the Petrarchan poets' admiring love for their own creations, which is a reflection of their Narcissist love. The sardonic description of Pygmalion's erotic attempts to sexually enjoy his sculpture endows the myth with a tinge of homoeroticism and self-love that symbolises Petrarchan poetic arrogance.

In the tenth book of the *Metamorphosis* Ovid introduces the myth of Pygmalion as one of the stories told by Orpheus after having lost his wife for a second time. The poet and musician, surrounded by a group of wild animals and by different kinds of fowls, pleads his Muse to inspire a song dedicated to those young men who were loved by the gods and young women who deserved the rage of their punishments for their lust. The story of Pygmalion, therefore, appears, together with that of Ganymede or Jacintus, as one of the examples of the gods' love to male mortals. With this myth, Ovid intends to instil the love and respect for their gods into the people. The transformation of the ivory

sculpture of a beautiful woman into a real human being is presented by the Latin poet as a reward for Pygmalion's confidence in Venus' might. After having participated in the celebrations of Venus' festivity, the most important event of the year in Cyprus, the sculptor prays before the goddess' altar that he can find an identical wife to the image he had created. Ovid wants to emphasise the youth's respect for Venus by presenting him cautious, not daring to require a miraculous transformation:

.... Vouchsafe,
 O Gods, if all things you can grant, my bride
 Shall be' —he dared not say my ivory girl—
 "The living likeness of my ivory girl."¹

Venus then carries out the metamorphosis as a display of sympathy for those who acknowledge her power.

The transformation narrated in this story, of a female stone image into a flesh and blood woman, contrasts with the tale Orpheus tells in the preceding lines. The Propoetides, "obscene" women, according to Ovid (10. 287), dared deny Venus' divinity and were punished with the opposite of the metamorphosis of Pygmalion's sculpture; they were turned from women into "stones of flint" (10. 292). Not only is the Latin poet concerned with religious teaching, but he also deals with the controversial commonplace of the worth of artistic creation. He censors the disappearance of the barriers between art and reality and mocks the sculptor for perceiving his work of art as a real being. The excessive cares Pygmalion offers the ivory woman are sometimes rendered ridiculous: "The firm new flesh beneath his fingers yields, / And fears the limbs may darken with a bruise" (311-312). In the whole passage that describes how he woos the senseless image, his love is treated as a kind of schizophrenia: "Kisses he gives and thinks they are returned" (309). Simultaneously, he praises the power of art and imagination to modify reality. Pygmalion himself experiences a transformation by art because he stops rejecting womankind when he succeeds in creating the ideal wife. Apart from meaning a criticism of the exaggerated emphasis on art and imagination over reality, this passage stands as a metaphor of dainty lovers who satisfy their anxieties by means of fantasy and turns out to be an ironic mock of the courting of arrogant women who deny sexual encounters. But Ovid is not just the pragmatist he shows to be in these lines for he also displays all the subtlety of his verse to delight the reader with the erotic description of the beloved's nakedness and of the first encounter between the two lovers once she has become human. In general, he conceived the myth from a sympathetic point of view. Although his text is the most

¹Translation by Geoffrey Miles (2000: 346-349).

ancient known source of the story, similar tales had also been written by the Christian Greeks Clement of Alexandria and Arnobius of Sicca; they employed them as negative examples with the intention of denouncing the harmful effects of art and of censoring pagan idolatry.

Marston's account of the myth preserves to a great extent both the Greek and Ovidian attitudes, though shaped according to Elizabethan parameters. He borrows the most critical elements from these two traditions and transforms them into a harsh satire against the poetic uses of his time or about several other subjects of controversy. This is in general the Renaissance tendency to apprehend the story; authors as John Pettie in his "Pygmalion's friend and his image" (1576) or Richard Brathwait in his satire "On Dotage" (1621) also take it as a vehicle to criticise human vice. Their versions have in common the sordid narration of Pygmalion's relationship with a senseless being; far from being referred to as a romantic episode, as Ovid's subtle verse succeeds in doing despite some ironic moments, his love for the statue appears as a kind of perversion in all of them.

Marston's erotic epyllion is certainly the most original one because of its ambiguity and powerful diction, in spite of the fact that it was considered pornographic by his contemporaries. He justifies the violence of the poem's eroticism arguing that he had intended to create a satirical parody of contemporary poetry, probably of the epyllion and Petrarchan sonnet sequences:

...deem'st that in sad seriousness I write
 Such nasty stuff as is Pygmalion,
 Such maggot-tainted lewd corruption?
 Hence, thou misjudging censor: know I wrote
 Those idle rhymes to note the odious spot
 And blemish that deforms the lineaments
 Of modern poesy's habiliments. (Satire 6)

However, the poem maintains a balance between seriousness and humour that questions Marston's real intention when writing such lascivious verse. The conflicts of representation of the female body by means of the rhetoric of desire that undermine Petrarchan poetry appear to be the main subject of reflection in the epyllion.

In the dedication "To his Mistress" the poet declares his intention to persuade her to grant sexual favours to him. He argues that his anxieties are literary, better than fleshy, because he does not want his verse to describe fanciful events in the manner of Petrarchism. His Muse inspires him lascivious lines because he does not have real experiences to be references for them. A parallelism is established between the expression of affected-invented love for ethereal women which come into being only in the poets' imaginations —for

which Pygmalion's passion stands as a metaphor— and Marston's compelled inclination to deal with love in hyperbolic terms. Marston, then, does not pray his beloved to satisfy his sexual desire, but to perform an active, not figurative—which is Laura's function in Petrarch's sonnets—, role in the inspiration of poetry. Of course, there is some irony in this argumentation because, after all, he demands sex. In the first line he complains of his "wanton Muse," making use of the two main meanings of the adjective, and accuses her not only of lewdness, but also of lack of poetic discipline in bringing forth feigned stories; the beloved's active participation is therefore required to convey reason to the composition:

My wanton Muse lasciviously doth sing
Of sportive love, of lovely dallying.
O beauteous angel, deign thou to infuse
A sprightly wit into my dulled Muse.
I invoke none other saint but thee
To grace the first blooms of my poesy.
Thy favours, like Promethean sacred fire,
In dead and dull conceit can life inspire,
Or, like that rare and rich elixir stone,
Can turn to gold my leaden invention. (1-10)

Though masked under the veil of poetic concern, the must to persuade the beloved to grant sexual favours becomes the main reason for this literary exercise. In line 8, the wish that "dead and dull conceit" could be inspired life by means of her favours mirrors the transformation of Pygmalion's inanimate work of art, carried out by Venus with the main intention to make them celebrate her might by means of performing "that action" she "seeks and ever doth require," as Marston states in line 195. In fact, sex is the first thing they do when they meet each other as two human beings. This narrative echo in line 8 conceals a desire to see his own art, his poetry, also transformed into reality. The beloved is endowed with Venus' power ("Be gracious then, and deign to show in me / The mighty power of thy deity," 11-12) not only to inspire art with life—his verse with lively conceits— but also to grant him the state of sexual satisfaction he needs to write about experienced events by contrast with Petrarchan idealisation of unfulfilled desires. That is why he pleads the lady not to force him to envy Pygmalion (14). And when he be given the material to write about, he will be able to conceive lively poetry: "Then when thy kindness grants me such sweet bliss, / I'll gladly write thy metamorphosis" (15-16).

The metamorphosis of the ivory image, as these lines denote, has been interpreted by Marston as a metaphor of the conquest of the stony Petrarchan mistress. The idea that art and poetry become meaningful activities when they succeed in modifying reality, in "moving" the audience, appear to be the

message of this version of the classical fable. In his *Defense of Poesy*, Philip Sidney enhanced this function of the act of poetic creation: “for these indeed [*poets*] do meerey imitate, and imitate both to delight and teach, and delight to move men to take that goodness in hand” (Kimbrough 1983: 111).

Poetry should be a source of delight and, at the same time, move the passive audience to action. Similarly, Marston emphasises over the course of his poem art's effect as a catalyst of action; Lynn Enterline (2000: 125) calls the reader's attention over the frequent appearance of the Ovidian verb “to move” (*mouere*) to refer to Pygmalion's inability to awaken sympathy (“his dull Image, which no plaints could move,” 78); to define the aim of Pygmalion's prayer (“thus having said, he riseth from the floor...Hoping his prayer to pity moved some power,” 147); to describe the statue's awakening (“he found that warmth, and wished heate / Which might a saint and coldest spirit move,” 220); or to refer to the main aim of Petrarchan poetry (“Tut, women will relent / Whenas they find such moving blandishment,” 173-174).

Apart from being a satire of Petrarchan static love and affected poetic expression, the poem also deals with the Platonic opposition between Art and Nature, appearance versus substance. This view of the myth proceeds from Clement of Alexandria, who censures idolatry and the harmful power of art:

We must, then, approach the statues as closely as we possibly can in order to prove from their appearance that they are inseparably associated with error. For their forms are unmistakably stamped with the characteristic marks of the daemons... Such strength had art to beguile that it became for amorous men guide to the pit of destruction.² (*Exhortation to the Greeks*)

Marston's treatment of the Platonic opposition to art is conflictive. At the beginning of the story Pygmalion appears to deserve censorship because he loves the image, not the bodiless essence of women, as Petrarchan poets, unavoidably, do. Conscious of the many faults of womankind, he creates a representation of what he would like women to be. He makes up his own reality and loves it: “Yet Love at length forced him to know his fate, / And love the shade whose substance he did hate” (5-6). This is for Astrophil, the suffering lover in Sidney's sonnet sequence, the main mistake of worldly love: “what we call Cupid's dart, / An image is, which for our selves we carve” (5. 5-6). Pygmalion's attitude opposes Plato's interpretation of reality as the ethereal substance of which we can only see feigned images. And differs from Bembo's account of virtuous love, that is, love of the inner self instead of physical appearance (*The Book of Courtier* 4). The artist takes advantage of his ability to feign reality and shelters in a world of his own invention. However, despite the

²Translation by Geoffrey Miles (2000: 348-349).

fact that he admires women's image, not their soul, as it is supposed to be the case of Petrarchan poets, his love has parallelisms with theirs. Both adore the product of a subjective interpretation of reality. Though their feelings differ in their targets —the latter love the spirit and Pygmalion the body of women—, their love procedures coincide. The beloved is represented from the male point of view, and she is always an absent presence. Pygmalion's love for a sculpture is conceived as a metaphoric hyperbole of Petrarchan unfruitful passion.

But the material inclinations of his feelings do not constitute the most offensive feature of it. It is his ability to model an own world adapted to his needs what actually enters into conflict not only with the Petrarchan philosophy of love, but also with the Protestant idea of predestination. English Calvinism promulgated human inability to forge their destiny, to change God's plans concerning the Final Judgement of their sins. Men and women were not allowed to work in life for a better end and were doomed to accept a passive role in the trip towards salvation or condemnation. Pygmalion transgresses the role of God the creator. He dares modify reality according to his needs exerting the power to invent a new Nature that Aristotle and Horace ascribed to poets, in opposition to the Platonic theory of divine inspiration (*furor poeticus*). He fulfils Sidney's expectations in *Defense* about the poets' ability to create an original world, reflecting not what it really is but what it should be: "Only the poet, disdainful to be tied to any subjection, lifted up with the vigor of his own invention, doth grow in effect into another Nature, in making things either better than Nature bringeth forth" (Kimbrough 1983: 108).

Pygmalion identifies with this conception of the artists' might:

For having wrought in purest ivory
So fair an image of a woman's feature,
That never proudest mortality
Could show so rare and beauteous a creature

...

He was amazed at the wondrous rareness
Of his own workmanship's perfection.
He thought that Nature ne'er produced such fairness... (7-10, 13-15)

This conception of the poets' creative potential contrasts with the poetic humbleness of Petrarchan lovers who, influenced by the Neoplatonic trust in divine inspiration, appeal to their mistresses' motivation to produce verse. Though he conceives an anti-Petrarchan character in this respect, Marston himself appears as one of them in the dedication to his beloved.

Despite this Aristotelic aspect of his persona, Pygmalion embodies the Neoplatonic poetic style. Marston's *Metamorphosis* begins by developing a satiric parody of Petrarchan *clichés* by means of the hyperbole. The stoniness of

the mistress, a conventional motif of complaint referred to her heart's cruelty, is literally interpreted in the poem, and applied to her whole ivory body. The blazon becomes an instrument for criticism; it mocks, on one hand, the Petrarchan fanciful and affected descriptions of their ladies obeying the European canons of beauty and, on the other, their worn out tropes and images. It plays with the sculptor's inability to discern what is natural or artificial establishing parallelisms between the well-known features of Petrarchan mistresses and the outward properties of ivory:

Her breasts like polished ivory appear,
Whose modest mount do bless admiring eye,
And makes him wish for such a pillowbere. (43-45)

Does Marston forget that he is describing a carving of ivory and then turns to this simile driven by convention? He is likely to be mocking lovers' self-deception when they idealise their ladies' bodies in their blazons. Pygmalion's alienation from reality makes him desire such a stony breast for a place where to rest his head on. He also recognises in the brightness of polish the "beams / Which shoot from out the fairness of her eye" (29) and "her amber-coloured, her shining hair" (31). The whiteness of the material from which she was modelled gives her face the paleness of beauty: "Such red and so pure white / Did never bless the eye of mortal sight" (35-36). Redness could be one more element of his fantasy. And when Pygmalion's sight arrives to her pubes, to "Love's pavilion" (50) or Venus' "chiefest mansion" (50), the blazon turns into a parody of poets' ridiculous feigned decency when describing such an important element for love: "There he would wink, and winking look again; / Both eyes and thoughts would gladly there remain" (53-54). Marston compares their affectation to that of devout women who pretend not to look at what provokes sinful thoughts in them:

Whoever saw the subtle city dame
In sacred church, when her pure thoughts should pray,
Peer through her fingers, so to hide her shame,
When that her eye her mind would fain bewray.
So would he view, and wink, and view again. (55-59)

Marston censors the hypocrisy of the conventional resource to elude describing these parts but not without mentioning their existence. Instead of simply skipping them, poets usually call the readers' attention to the narrative ellipsis decorum obliges them to perform. In *The Countess' of Pembroke Arcadia* (2. 11), Sidney apologises for having to omit the best parts in his description of Philoclea's beauty: "Loth, I must leave his chief resort. / For such a use the world hath gotten, / The best things still must be forgotten." Similarly, Marston mocks the ladies' affected shame: "He wondered that she blushed not when his eye / Saluted those same parts of secrecy" (61-62); as it happens to be

the reaction of Sidney's muse when, after describing some of Stella's qualities, she is required to sing about her best attributes: "Yet ah, my maiden Muse doth blush to tell the best" (77. 14).

Another subject of criticism in the epyllion is Petrarchan poets' Narcissist love for the written images they themselves create; marked by the outward expression of heterosexual love, their passionate verse has the only purpose of claiming for the recognition of artistic worth. Mistresses' representations do not embody real ladies, but the result of the artists' creative efforts to stand out for their genius. Marston places continuous emphasis on Pygmalion's authorship and repeats comments such as: "And thus, enamoured, dotes on his own art" (71) or "he finds how he is graced / By his own work" (172-173). The perfect correspondence between the two bodies, when Pygmalion amorously embraces the ivory sculpture, alludes to the unilateral character of their relationship. Her members are continuations of his because he has created them:

His eyes her eyes kindly encountered,
His breast her breast oft joined close unto,
His arms' embracements oft she suffered-
Hands, arms, eyes, tongue, lips, and all parts did woo.
His thigh with hers, his knee played with her knee.
A happy comfort when all parts agree. (97-102)

It is evident that all parts agree because all of them are coordinated by the same person. And when he goes to bed with the senseless woman, her passivity is taken for granted as the meaningful silence of the Petrarchan mistress — whose existence, not active presence— is all the poet requires to carry out the representation of his poetic abilities. Marston ironically uses the plural pronoun to denounce the unbalanced relationship: "Now they dally, kiss, embrace together" (161). It is not them, but he, who perform all these amorous actions.

The complexity of this version of the Ovidian myth of Pygmalion lays on the ambiguity of the satire. Because, on one hand, Marston intends to distance himself from Petrarchan poetic conventions by means of a parodying description of the youth's pathological love, but on the other, he insists on identifying himself with this discourse. He envies Pygmalion's freedom to enjoy his lady's beauties: "O that my mistress were an image too, / That I might blameless her perfections view!" (65-66). He acknowledges the advantages of the Petrarchan free manipulation of the lady's body. However, he explicitly laughs at those lovers who assume the Platonic conception of love, that is, love without sex:

I oft have smiled to see the foolery
Of some sweet youths, who seriously protest

That love respects not actual luxury,
But only joys to dally, sport and jest. (109-112)

Because he knows that "Love's eyes in viewing never have their fill" (42).

Apart from these changes in the point of view of the narrator that make the reader doubt whether he mocks Petrarchists or he is one of them, the most troublesome passage in the poem is the narration of the metamorphosis of the image into a real woman and of the two lovers' encounter. If Marston wrote an almost pornographic portrait of the sculpture's nakedness and Pygmalion's sexual abuses, once he is dealing with the body of a real woman, his poetry requires the limitations of decorum: "Peace, idle poesy, / Be not obscene, though wanton in thy rhymes." (225-226). Although a sexual intercourse takes place in the course of the poem, the author denies giving a detailed report of what "is not fit reporting" (210). This sudden show of decency makes Lynn Enterline (2000: 138) identify Pygmalion with Marston because, if the former "loathes female substance", the latter "is equally averse to having any truck with it." From the moment she becomes an actual woman, the development of actions in the poem is quickened; the narrator draws the curtain of censorship to avoid having to mention certain facts, and appeals to the readers' imagination to portrait what happened between the lovers:

Let him conceit but what himself would do
When that he had obtained such favour
Of her to whom his thoughts were bound unto,
...
Could he abstain midst such a wanton sporting
From doing that which is not fit reporting?
...
What he would do, the selfsame action
Was not neglected by Pygmalion. (199-201, 209-210, 215-216)

Marston, therefore, unveils at the end of the poem a Petrarchan conception of poetic creation, which has been continuously struggling to dominate the narrative process. Whether he intended to parody the commonplaces of Renaissance poetry or not, he now appears to accept Elizabethan social and stylistic precepts. He finally becomes identifiable with the Petrarchan inability to represent the female body —which is, according to Enterline (2000: 139) "the poem's closing idea."

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**HUMAN SACRIFICE AND
SEVENTEENTH-
CENTURY ECONOMICS:
OTWAY'S *VENICE*
*PRESERV'D***

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Whereas human sacrifice in Virgil is inseparable from Aeneas' mission, Tasso and his imitators repeatedly oppose Christian imperialism to the practice of human sacrifice, and see such imperialism as culminating in the abolition of cannibalistic sacrifice in the New World. The contrary view?? That European civilization itself embodied forms of sacrificial barbarity appears not only in the well-known condemnations of conquistador atrocities but, in England, in critical accounts of the growing culture of measurement, enumeration, and monetary exchange. Answering the contention that the East Indies trade did not justify the sacrifice of lives that it entailed, Dudley Digges responded by citing Neptune's justification in the Aeneid of the sacrifice of Palinurusto the cause of empire: "unum pro multis [dabitur caput]." Not all authors were, however, so complacent. Particularly in the late seventeenth-century, authors such as Dryden, Otway, and Aphra Behn came to see the burgeoning trading economy as embodying systems of exchange which, in reducing the individual to an economic cipher, recreated the primal exchanges of human sacrifice. In *Venice Preserv'd* (1682), for example, Otway depicts an advanced, seventeenth-century trading empire, initially regulated by clocks, calendars, documents, and coinage. As the play proceeds, these are increasingly revealed to be elaborations of more primitive forms of exchange. A perpetually imminent regression to pre-social anarchy is staved off by what Otway portrays as the originary forms of economic transaction: the submissive offering of weapons to potential foes (daggers change hands far more often than coins) or the offering of the body in the act of human sacrifice.

Taking a hint from Achilles' sacrifice of the Trojan youths at Patroclus' funeral,¹ Virgil turned the place of human sacrifice in history into one of the major concerns of the *Aeneid*, portraying it as a perpetual condition and cost of civilization. If one immerses oneself in the flood of Renaissance and Baroque epics that christianised Virgil's imperial theme —epics of Christian conquest

¹*Iliad* XXIII. 175-177. Homer's vocabulary is not sacrificial, and Dennis D. Hughes (1991: 49-60) has argued that the incident is not even a relic of forgotten sacrificial rituals. When Plato condemns the incident in the *Republic* (I. Burnet 1902, 391b), he describes the killings as *sphagai*, which suggests sacrificial killing, and when Virgil imitates the incident in the *Aeneid* in his account of the funeral of Patroclus, the verb he uses is "immolet" (*Aeneid* X, 519 [Hirtzel 1900]). In David's painting of the funeral of Patroclus, the killings are performed by a priest.

such as Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* (1575) and its various imitations, such as Girolamo Graziani's *Il Conquisto di Granata* (1650) and Pierre Le Moyne's *Saint Louys* (1658) —one discovers that, like the quest and the imperialistic mission, the eradication of human sacrifice was almost an obligatory point of reference in the epic;² greatly transmuted, all three topics of course profoundly shape *Paradise Lost*. Virgil, however, sees the sacrificial impulse as ineradicable: in the final event of the poem, Aeneas' slaying of Turnus, the verb with which the defeated antagonist is dispatched is "immolat" (XII, 949). Writing in the aftermath of the conquest of the New World, by contrast, the Catholic epic poets celebrate a Christian expansionism that triumphs over barbarous sacrificial cults. A particularly detailed example is provided by the French Jesuit neo-Latin poet Pierre Mambrun (Petrus Mambrunus), who in the 1650s published a work of epic theory accompanied by a Christian equivalent to the entire Virgilian corpus: eclogues, a four-book Georgics of the soul (*De Cultura Animi*), on the four cardinal virtues, and a twelve-book epic: *Idololatria Debellata; sive, Constantinus*. In the "Fortitude" book of *De Cultura Animi*, Mambrun sees an approval of human sacrifice as a defining evil of the *Iliad* and *Aeneid*,³ and the paganism which Constantine defeats relies on human sacrifice. Immediately after Constantine's antagonist Licinius has sacrificed his own wife, however, there is a divine vision of the future unfolding of history, clearly modelled on Jupiter's exposition in *Aeneid* I, in which Jupiter's teleological goal —Augustan Rome— is replaced by the spread of Christianity to the New World where, in dreadful parody of the Eucharist, men drink human blood from golden cups (pp. 305-10; Book XII). The final event of the poem recreates the duel of Aeneas and Turnus, but on this occasion there is no immolation, for Licinius is spared.

Of course, ever since Las Casas there were plenty of commentators on Christian imperialism who thought that the real sacrificial barbarians in the New World were the European invaders, and I should here like to concentrate on a new framework for defining the relationship between empire and sacrifice, and of defining the sacrificial processes *within* European civilization, that to the best of my knowledge was at this stage confined to Britain. It relates to the rising culture of measurement, enumeration, chronometry, and monetary exchange, which creative writers often felt reduced human beings to transactional ciphers in ways that re-enacted primitive rituals of human sacrifice (in *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, Adorno and Horkheimer were broadly of the same view). Protesting in 1615 about the human cost of the East India trade, John Kayll complained of the "labors and liues" that had been "sacrificed to that implacable

²For fuller discussion of human sacrifice in the early modern epic, see D. Hughes (2001).

³P. Mambrun (1661: 79-82). An earlier version of the epic, *Constantinus, sive Idololatria debellata*, was published at Paris in 1658.

East Indian Neptune” (Kayll 1615: 28-29). Replying in defence of the East India trade, the elder Dudley Digges sustained the idea of sacrifice to Neptune, but at the same time sanctioned it, citing that most memorable statement of the sacrificial principle in the *Aeneid*: (as Neptune in the Poet said)

*Vnus erit amissum tantum quem in gurgite quaerent,
Vnum pro multis [dabitur caput].*⁴

In Virgil, however, the lines define the individual’s place in the great historical cause. Digges writes more like an accountant, entering “unum caput” in the debit column and “multis” in the credit. Result, happiness, as Mr Micawber would have it.

It is well known that an immense change in the technology and cultural dominance of calculation started in the seventeenth century.⁵ In a work published in 1686, Sir William Petty reflected on the differing rates of population growth in London and the rest of the country, and predicted a demographic crisis by the year 1842 (Petty 1686: 20). Individuals become terms in equations whose solution takes centuries. Both Thomas Culpepper the Elder and Sir Josiah Child argued that the Israelites flourished as God’s chosen people because the ban on usury enforced zero interest rates (Culpepper 1668: 20; Child 1690: 28). Providential history is a narrative less of divine moral vision—as it was for Mambrun—than of divine economic planning. One minor symptom of the growing cult of measurement is a corresponding, and distorting, emphasis on the numerically non-advanced features of “primitive” cultures. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, writers such as José de Acosta and Roger Williams had publicized the mathematical sophistication not only of the Mesoamerican civilisations but of the North American Indians (Acosta 1605: 433-50; Williams 1973: 110-112). As the century draws on, however, what fascinates people about New World mathematics is that the Caribs can only count as far as twenty, the number of their fingers and toes; that they have a numerical system which is bound to the body, and does not ascend to the sphere of incorporeal abstraction. It is a fact, for example, which is implicitly alluded to in *Oroonoko*, and discussed in Locke’s *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (Todd 1992-96: 7.101; Nidditch 1975: 207). An increasingly mathematical society constructs the primitive in increasingly unmathematical terms. Whereas the Caribs could not count beyond twenty, the Maya and their successors had an elaborate system of counting on a vigesimal rather than decimal basis; this aroused far less interest.

⁴D. Digges (1615: 25). This is a slight misquotation of *Aeneid* V, 814-815 (which reads “quem gurgite quaeres”): “There shall be one alone whom you seek, lost, in the waters; one life shall be given for many”.

⁵See, e. g., S. Sherman (1996).

People like Josiah Child, however, did not write plays, and late seventeenth-century English drama is well-known for its predominant hostility to trade and the work ethic, at whatever social level they are conducted. In the most thoughtful dramatists —such as Dryden, Otway, and Aphra Behn— we have (as I've indicated) a concern with how a structure of abstract numerical and monetary manipulation can turn individuals into sacrificial ciphers. In his play about the conquest of Mexico, *The Indian Emperour* (1665), for example, Dryden takes a view of events very different from Mambrun's, creating a complex interplay between Mexican and Spanish modes of human sacrifice. Near the beginning of the play is a description of a mass Aztec human sacrifice, of five hundred prisoners of war, as part of a ritual of death and rebirth (it is followed by a courtship ritual with flowers). Near the end of the play, the Spaniards, under the supervision of a Catholic priest, torture Montezuma and his priest in an attempt to get Montezuma to reveal the whereabouts of his gold. The Indian priest dies.

This incident clearly parallels the earlier human sacrifice (especially because of the prominent role of the Christian priest), yet at the same time it is profoundly different, in that it is not a mimicry of the natural cycle but a linear economic transaction: Montezuma's body is a token to be exchanged for something else, namely gold. The treatment of Montezuma's body sums up what is, for Dryden, the key difference between the native and the invading culture: the Europeans operate through intermediate tokens, agents, and signs. As Montezuma's body can be substituted for gold, so individuals can represent or personate other individuals or beings: Cortez represents Charles V, and the Pope is said to represent God.⁶ The Indians, by contrast, have got no concept of signs. They do not turn gold into money, using it only for religious purposes, they have no economic infrastructure (they feed themselves by taking fish directly from the lake), and they have no chronometric means of subdividing the day. Individuals never signify a god or another individual: they re-embody him or her in a way that reflects the Indians' cyclic view of existence. Montezuma participates in the identity of the Sun, the villainess relives the experiences of her mother, who had been the villainess of Dryden's previous heroic play, *The Indian Queen*, and in doing so illustrates a cyclic determinism in which the dead "did before" what living men "are doom'd to do."⁷ The Indians do not even have that most basic form of symbolic substitution, metaphor —until they first see the approaching Spanish fleet, and struggle to describe the unknown in

⁶Dryden is probably influenced by *Leviathan* I, xvi ("Of PERSONS, AUTHORS, and things Personated") (McPherson 1968: 217-222).

⁷II, i, 20, in E. Hooker (1956- : 46). Her re-enactment of her mother's life cycle occurs when she tries to kill Cortez but falls in love with him instead, as her mother had done with the young Montezuma ("My Mothers Pride must find my Mothers Fate," IV, i, 28)

terms of familiar experience (“floating palaces” [I.ii.111], etc.). Their sacrificial practices, enacting a cyclic movement from mass human sacrifice to a regenerative courtship ritual, express their unmediated oneness with cycles which they never translate into abstraction.

Some of Dryden’s details are right, some wrong, and he is largely following Montaigne’s description of the New World in “Of Coaches”:

It is not full fifty yeeres that he knew neither letters, nor waight, nor measures, nor apparell, nor corne, nor vines. But was all naked, simply-pure, in Natures lappe, and lived but with such meanes and food as his mother-nurce afforded him. (Florio 1910: 3.141)

Montaigne, however, is describing the *Caribs*, and goes on to contrast their simplicity with the far more elaborate civilization of the Aztecs. Dryden reduces the Aztecs to the conceptual level of Montaigne’s caribs, in order to heighten the contrast with the European systems of measurement and abstraction; doubly false, if we remember Bernal Díaz del Castillo’s description of Cortez apportioning Montezuma’s gold with hastily improvised weights and measures (García 1908: 2.138-139). Yet both the non-symbolic and the symbolic visions of the world come by their contrasting routes to the ritual of human sacrifice. As in Virgil, it is inescapable.

The Indian Emperour, then, juxtaposes an “advanced” culture with a “primitive” one, and shows that the former’s culture of symbolic exchange reconstitutes the sacrificial practices of the latter in its own terms. The play I want to look at for the rest of the paper, Otway’s *Venice Preserv’d* (1682), is set entirely in a modern society: the economic empire of Venice. Except in the hero Jaffier’s concluding “Libation” of his blood,⁸ the play does not portray a literal sacrificial ritual, but imagery of ritual sacrifice is prominent, and (as Aphra Behn was to do in *Oroonoko*) Otway implicitly shows how traces of primitive sacrificial violence can resurface in a modern society. In the following century, Enlightenment writers such as Voltaire (in *Les Lois de Minos*, 1773) and Claude Guimond de la Touche (in *Iphigénie en Tauride*, 1757) would use plots about ancient sacrificial cults to criticize the reactionary fanaticism of their own milieu. Otway adopts the reverse approach, portraying the contemporary, but emphasizing its retention of the primitive. In doing so, he partially reproduces Dryden’s opposition of wealth-seeking and pre-economic societies, since *Venice Preserv’d* portrays a conspiracy to overthrow a ruling plutocracy and restore a primitive, pre-commercial state of nature. It is, indeed, notable that the similar imaginative opposition of primitive and economic man leads to a similar overall structure, for the play opens with recollections of a fertility rite and

⁸V, 470, in J. C. Ghosh (1932: 2. 285).

concludes with an explicitly sacrificial scene on the scaffold. The “fertility rite” is the annual ceremony of marriage between Venice and the sea, during which the heroine Belvidera had fallen overboard and been rescued by hero Jaffeir. In gratitude, she “paid” him “with her self,” becoming his wife (I.i.48). The difference is that the fertility rite is itself an economic statement, of the relationship between the trading empire and its trade routes, and it is the context for a further identification of the natural with the transactional when Belvidera pays Jaffeir with herself.

Although the conspirators aspire to restore a pre-monetary state of nature such as that of Dryden’s Indians, man cannot in fact conceive even the most elemental natural processes and acts except according to a commercial model. Later, when his powerful father-in-law’s hostility induces him to join the conspiracy, Jaffeir performs the remarkable action of surrendering Belvidera to his new companions as a surety for his good behaviour, with the instruction that *she* be killed if *he* prove unworthy (II.i.394-395). As she had paid him with herself, so he hands her over as a deposit for his good behaviour. This extraordinary transaction with his wife’s body takes place in a brothel—where, indeed, the entire conspiracy is conducted—and is juxtaposed with scenes of literal prostitution, between a masochistic senator (Antonio) and the chief conspirator’s mistress (Aquilina). The fact that the conspiracy to overthrow the plutocratic state and restore a premonetary state of nature is conducted in a brothel shows how inescapable the commercial construction of nature really is.

Prostitution, the exchange of the female body, is one fundamental and indeed archetypal form of transaction in this play. Another, also involving the offering of the body, is human sacrifice, also a recurrent idea, and often explicitly linked to that of prostitution. At the end of the first flagellation scene, Aquilina says that she has “*Sacrifice[d]*” Antonio (III.i.145). Immediately afterwards, Belvidera enters, having almost been raped by one of the conspirators. “I’m Sacrific’d! I am sold!” she exclaims (III.ii.1), completely identifying prostitution and sacrifice.

Why the interplay between monetary and sacrificial transactions with the human body? Until (as far as I know) the age of Schiller, continental representations of human sacrifice portray conflicts of obligation, reward, and reciprocation in which money is not an imaginative point of reference. The word “prix” (in the senses both of *prize* and *price*) recurs throughout Racine’s *Iphigénie en Aulide* (1674), but not a centime or drachma changes hands. “Precio” is a key word in Calderón’s *El Principe constante* (1636), but although the play concerns the exchange of the captured hero’s person and finally corpse, the system of exchange is dictated by honour and religious values. As I have indicated, however, British dramatists, tend from an early stage to be interested

in juxtaposing a monetary economy with its sacrificial antecedents or roots. One thinks of the burying of the gold in *Titus Andronicus*, whose temporary return to the earth whence it came “must coin a stratagem” that results in a reversion to a non-symbolic economy, of exchanged bodily parts (II, iii, 5, in Greenblatt *et al.* 1997: 394). Both in monetary and non-monetary plays of sacrifice, the ur-economy may be seen as one of absolutely primary transactions: the giving of life (parenthood), the saving of life, and the rendering of life in sacrifice — as in *The Indian Emperour*, where Montezuma feels reluctant to sacrifice Cortez, who has saved his life, but feels entitled to kill the son who has saved his life, because he gave life to that son. A once highly popular eighteenth-century opera, Peter von Winter’s *Das unterbrochene Opferfest* (*The Interrupted Sacrifice*) (1796) portrays an Inca who is seemingly obliged to sacrifice the English hero to whom he owes his kingdom and his life. The primal debt, of life itself, also features prominently in *Venice Preserv’d*, since (as has been noted) the transaction which precedes and sets in motion the action of the play is Jaffeir’s saving of Belvidera’s life at the risk of his own; yet even this is monetary in its setting and conception. For Otway, there is no state which is culturally or imaginatively prior to that of currency.

It is worth, however, considering the various kinds of currency that he portrays. Three classes of object change hands: documents, as when Jaffeir hands over the conspirators’ names to the Senate. Coins, as when Antonio pays Aquilina. But the object which changes hands most is the dagger.⁹ When Jaffeir delivers Belvidera to the conspirators, for example, he also gives a dagger — to be used on *her* if *he* prove unfaithful; both are described as “pledges” (II.i.346, III.ii.190)— as securities, an economic metaphor. When Jaffeir actually is unfaithful, Pierre (his friend, and the chief conspirator) scornfully returns it, again calling it a “pledge” (IV.i.362). Jaffeir, however, restores its value by killing Pierre and himself on the scaffold, making a public “libation” of blood. In the rebellion against the great trading city of Venice, the conspirators are not imaginatively or practically capable of regressing to a world without units of exchange; they can only retreat to a more primitive unit.

Why the economic role of the dagger? Hobbes argued that the way out of the presocial state of total war was the surrender of personal power in return for security. In *Venice Preserv’d*, a return to the primal state of war always seems imminent, not only because the conspirators wish to overthrow the state but because they are constantly at each other’s throats, and constantly having to reinvent their alliance. How do you prevent someone from killing you? You give him the power to do so, and thereby prove that you are not a threat. You

⁹E.g., D. R. Hauser (1958: 481-93). J. Munns (1995: 184, 193-94) sees the dagger as a phallic symbol.

give him your dagger. Such rituals of submission are central to *Venice Preserv'd*, and the psychology of the ritual is particularly well displayed at the end of Act III, when the conspirators rightly suspect that Jaffeir might betray them, and want to kill him. Coming to Jaffeir's defence, Pierre at first uses the ploy of submission, inviting his colleagues to kill him:

Here, here's my bosom,
Search it with all your Swords! (III.ii.410-411)

This, however, is too early, so he goes on the offensive and threatens to betray the conspiracy. Hereupon, the conspirators promptly launch into their own ritual of submission, offering their weapons: "Here, take our Swords and crush 'em with your feet" (III.ii.467). Pierre now becomes submissive again, now (remarkably) urging the conspirators to kill Jaffeir. At this they are yet more mollified, and Pierre expresses relief that Jaffeir did not fall "a *Sacrifice* to rash suspicion" (III.ii.481; italics added). Sacrifice is what happens when the rituals of submission fail; when, instead of offering your own life as a pledge in an exchange benefiting yourself, you find it offered by someone else on his own account.

Otway's theory of sacrifice thus neatly reverses that which René Girard was to offer in our own time. For Girard, sacrificial ritual supersedes collective outbursts of violence; it is a ritual way of evolving beyond them, channelling the forces behind them, and preventing communities from being torn apart by them (Girard 1977: 13-38). For Otway, sacrifice is the primal outburst of violence (and the primal economic act). The secondary one, the pacificatory offering of your own life, is a means of keeping sacrifice at bay. His view of human behaviour approximates more to that of Konrad Lorenz, who traced back rituals of submission to the animal kingdom, describing how dogs and wolves use them to defuse aggression with rituals of submission (Lorenz 1966: 113-114). Three centuries earlier, Otway was fascinated by the same thing. Dog images are very frequent in his work, and they vacillate between polarized qualities: not only enviable lustfulness and contemptible insignificance, but also (most relevantly) snarling aggressiveness and unstable subservience. It is particularly significant, for example, that Antonio acts the part of a dog in his sessions with Aquilina, which are clearly rituals of submission. He is, however, a dog who bites his mistress; he enacts the interplay of aggression and submission.

The echoes of these masochistic scenes in the serious plot have long been recognized (E.g., McBurney 1958: 389; Hughes 1971: 437-457). For example, when Jaffeir is induced by Belvidera to betray the conspiracy, he compares himself to a lamb enjoying the pain inflicted by the beautiful priestess who is sacrificing him (IV.i.90-94). But Antonio is a faint-hearted masochist. He has

his limits, and Aquilina does not respect them. And it is the whipping that goes beyond what he enjoys that Aquilina describes when she says that she has sacrificed her fool; even here the sacrifice occurs when the ritual of submission breaks down. For women, however, the rules are different: they have no physical strength to trade in, and offer their lives not in order to renounce their own power, but in order to appeal to the powerful. When Jaffeir is tempted to kill Belvidera with the dagger, to atone for his betrayal of the conspirators (an incident she later describes as a potential sacrifice; V.i.111), she dissuades him from the sacrifice by offering her life, and representing death as an erotic pleasure, in which she will “die in joys / Greater than any I can guess hereafter” (IV.i.518-519).

It is beyond doubt, however, that Belvidera doesn't really want a *Liebestod*: she is submitting in order to save her life, and gains it on condition that she intercede for the conspirators. Antonio himself follows the same course in his second session with Aquilina: here, the fantasy finally becomes real, for she threatens Antonio with a dagger, he fears for his life, and agrees to intervene to save Pierre. In all these rituals of submission, however, there remains a clear differentiation of sexual power, for only the strong need to submit to prove they are no threat: Jaffeir betrays the conspiracy not because he wants to feel like a sacrificial lamb but because someone has infringed his rights of sexual property by attempting to rape his wife. Even the feeble Antonio baby-talks to Aquilina while she is dominating him.

To each other, men talk in terms of shared codes —trust, honour, friendship— which articulate the rituals of submission which restrain violence. Women are excluded from this terminology: when Belvidera asks Jaffeir to view her as a friend, she has to say “Look not upon me as I am, a Woman” (III.i.119).¹⁰ Men are friends because they are antagonists, they are antagonists because they can kill each other, and they can kill each other because they are each other's replicas, other because they are the same. (The antagonists in Otway's previous tragedy, *The Orphan* [1680], are twin brothers). Women are simply other. When Jaffeir hands over his wife to the conspirators, he is using her as a token to stabilize *his* relationship with the male pack. When Belvidera escapes death at Jaffeir's hands, the price is that she save the lives of the conspirators, which she attempts to do by using her body to remind her powerful father of her mother. Her role is not the foregoing of violence. Rather, she has to use her body as a token to secure the foregoing of violence by other people. Women are always outside that primal, yet endlessly reiterated, social

¹⁰Other aspects of the construction of masculinity in this play are D. Digges (1615: 25). This is a slight misquotation of *Aeneid* V, 814-815 (which reads “quem gurgite quaeres”): “There shall be one alone whom you seek, lost, in the waters; one life shall be given for many”.

act of the foregoing of violence. They remain candidates for a sacrificial transaction.

Both Dryden and Otway, then, see advanced economic cultures as reproducing the patterns of primitive cultures. Dryden, however, sees the introduction of currency —of intermediate signs in the transaction— as introducing a complete shift in episteme, mirrored by the sudden arrival of metaphor in the Indians' language. Otway, by contrast, sees continuity: the primal transactions of sacrifice and submission are the basis of economics, and the weapon is the original coin; hence the impossibility of a primal, pre-monetary state.

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MACBETH AND THE GHOSTS OF SOVEREIGNTY

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One of the most peculiar aspects of the banquet scene in *Macbeth* is that Macbeth is the only one, among those gathered, who sees Banquo's Ghost. He is at once distinguished and isolated by what he sees. What is the connection between Macbeth's isolation through what he alone sees, and the manifest purpose of the scene—namely, Macbeth's attempt to establish his position as sovereign through a public, theatrical display of hospitality? What does Macbeth's visual isolation say about the connection, so prevalent in the late sixteenth-century, between sovereignty, theatricality and spectatorship? I suggest that Macbeth's alienation from others in the banquet scene through what he alone sees announces not only the dissolution of Macbeth's sense of self and of his relation with those gathered but also a consequent failure of the theatrical model of sovereign presence which held sway in the Renaissance. I argue that indeed *Macbeth* presents us with a failure of the theatrical sovereign, a sovereign that is therefore incompatible with—and which puts into question—the dominant interpretation of theatrical sovereignty in Renaissance scholarship of the past 25 years. That is, I suggest that Macbeth's failure to share what he sees with those gathered, and his simultaneous failure to remain socially and visibly related with his subjects, marks the undoing of the conventional interpretation of sovereignty in the period—namely, a model through which the sovereign acquires his or her positions precisely through a manifestly theatrical, public display, like the banquet scene. In this way, *Macbeth* opens the way for the contractual model of sovereignty that the work of Thomas Hobbes will introduce a generation later.

One of the most peculiar aspects of the banquet scene in *Macbeth* is that Macbeth is the only one, among those gathered, who sees Banquo's Ghost (or says so aloud). He is at once distinguished and isolated by what he sees.

What makes this significant is not simply the implicit link here and elsewhere in the play between vision on the one hand, and isolation or solitude on the other. To be sure, there is age-old connection between vision and solitude; removal from others has often been presented as a fundamental condition for visual contemplation or speculation. Not by chance does the bond between contemplation and isolation find its most pervasive and powerful expression in the metaphysical, philosophical tradition inaugurated by Plato's

characterization of the philosopher's activity as at once solitary and visual (the word "idea," as is well known, derives from the verb *idein*, to see).¹

This tradition finds a forceful renewal at the beginning of the seventeenth century in the work of René Descartes (1596-1650), whose isolation from others was in fact essential to his method of philosophical contemplation. Indeed, *Macbeth* has been regarded as something of a pre-cursor to Cartesian skepticism; and Macbeth himself has been interpreted as an introspective thinker whose "visions" reveal his fundamentally philosophical, and skeptical character.² Although this impulse to characterize Macbeth as "philosopher" or "skeptic" is certainly understandable, such interpretations overlook a crucial aspect of Macbeth's apprehension of Banquo's Ghost.

It is important to recall that, in the banquet scene, Macbeth is not alone. On the contrary, it is a manifestly *social* occasion, a gathering through which Macbeth is to present himself both as sovereign and as host *to others*: "Ourself will mingle with society. / And play the humble host" (3.4.3-4).³ Whereas for philosophers, solitude is a *condition* for otherworldly speculation or contemplation, Macbeth's isolation is an *effect* of his vision. He is not alone in order to see; rather, he is isolated because of what he alone sees. Unlike the philosopher, Macbeth is surrounded by others that he himself invited, others who are there to see him. Indeed, it is the presence of these others which lends the banquet scene, and other sovereign displays of hospitality in *Macbeth*, their "theatrical" character. In short, given the sociality of the banquet scene, Macbeth can hardly be regarded as a philosopher; rather, the peculiarity of the scene requires us to account for *how* it is that he becomes isolated and distinguished from others through what he sees.

The scene is indeed peculiar. This is the only "Ghost" scene in Shakespeare which unfolds amidst a gathering of people, only *one* of whom sees the Ghost. We are thus dealing with the inverse of the opening of *Hamlet*, where the apparition of Old Hamlet's Ghost is shared by all those present. Likewise, the banquet scene is unlike *Julius Caesar* (1599), where Brutus is already alone when Caesar's Ghost appears; or the end of *Richard III* where the

¹Cf. Havelock (1963). For a good discussion of the relation between visibility and solitude in Greek philosophical thought, as well as of the anti-social nature of "thinking" more generally, see Arendt (1978: 75-78, 129-33).

²Stanley Cavell has offered perhaps the fullest account of the way in which Shakespeare's tragedies offer a kind of proto-skepticism. He writes, "My intuition is that the advent of skepticism as manifested in Descartes *Meditations* is already in full existence in Shakespeare from the time of the great tragedies..." (Cavell 1987: 3). See also his remarks in Cavell (1996). For another take on the relation between *Macbeth* and skepticism, see Gent (1983: 34).

³William Shakespeare, *The Arden Macbeth* (1994). All further references to *Macbeth* will be taken from this edition.

ghosts visit Richard in his sleep. Even the scene in Gertrude's chamber — where Hamlet, but not his mother, sees the Ghost— does not have the explicitly *social* nature of the banquet scene. In *Macbeth*, we are confronted with an apparition which is not shared, *despite* the sociality of the gathering. It is therefore Macbeth's isolation from, and distinction within, the plurality of the gathering through what he alone sees which is decisive. Put another way, Macbeth's isolation comes not from simply being alone (like Brutus or Richard III) when Banquo's Ghost appears; but rather from being the only one, in the presence of others, to see the apparition.

In this sense, Macbeth's apprehension of Banquo's Ghost in the banquet scene is entirely *untheatrical*. For the theater is founded upon the temporal sharing of a spectacle or vision by more than one person. If, as I argued elsewhere, *Hamlet* inaugurates a theatrical community wherein sociality and being-together are conditioned and shaped through the *event* of sharing a spectacle, namely Old Hamlet's Ghost —then *Macbeth* represents something like the inverse: the potential for isolation inherent in spectatorship.

I will argue furthermore that this isolation in *Macbeth* reflects the decline of a certain model of sovereignty by which, up until the dawn of the seventeenth-century, the sovereign acquired his or her position through theatrical displays, social ceremonies and a dispersed visibility. In other words, Shakespeare's *Macbeth* in fact presents the disappearance of a certain relation between sovereignty and theatricality which Renaissance scholarship has wanted to see in Shakespeare and his contemporaries.

In spite of the variety of works devoted to the connection between "sovereignty" and "spectacle" in Early Modern England, it is nevertheless possible to summarize the essential premise from which they all depart as follows: "*theatricality*" is a *constitutive feature of sovereign authority*. Different scholars have indeed shown us a number of diverse, specific ways in which this formula proves true: from Stephen Orgel's interpretation of "court masques," to Stephen Greenblatt's analysis of Elizabethan pageantry, to Christopher Pye's work on Hobbes' *Leviathan* (Orgel 1975:1-17; Greenblatt, 1988; Pye 1990: 43-82). Nevertheless, the centrality of the perceived connection between sovereignty and theatricality remains essentially unchallenged, and in fact functions more generally as a figure for the intersection of a number of other domains: the aesthetic and the political, the literary and the social. Indeed, a correlative formula has often been added —namely, that theatricality crosses the "boundary" between "aesthetic matters" and "political matters" (Pye 1990: 2). In other words, the inter-relation between theatricality and sovereignty has been regarded as part of a more pervasive blurring of the boundaries between aesthetics and politics. Consequently, there has emerged in recent years a

methodology which understands the political as irrevocably bound up with the aesthetic, the artistic as inextricably linked to the social, such that the one comes to be understood through the other.⁴ However, the relation between theatricality and sovereignty is a unique one; in order to understand how it is that sovereignty is constituted “theatrically” it will be necessary to avoid slipping into broad, correlative arguments about aesthetics and politics. Indeed, it is not entirely clear that the relation between theatricality and sovereignty is reducible to either the aesthetic or the political, or their perceived inter-relation.

The most common synonym for “theatricality” in recent Renaissance scholarship has been “visibility.” Indeed, one of the most consistent features of Renaissance scholarship over the past twenty years or so has been to understand the relation between theatricality and sovereignty as a situation in which the visible display of the sovereign figure is constitutive of that sovereign’s power or authority. Pye summarizes this tendency when he writes that “recent assessments of Renaissance political force suggest an intimate connection between theater and powers of visibility” (Pye 1990: 43).

Now, “an intimate connection” between the theater and visibility is, of course, suggested by the etymology of the word “theatre” itself which derives from the Greek term *theatron*, “place for viewing,” a term which in turn derives from the verb *theasthai* meaning “to behold,” or from *thea* meaning “sight, or view.”⁵ However, what is peculiar about recent scholarly assessments of Elizabethan and Jacobean statecraft is the way in which “visibility” is not simply a feature of theatricality, but rather seems almost synonymous with theatrical experience as such, at least as far as the problem of sovereignty is concerned.⁶ In perhaps the most influential of such accounts, Stephen Greenblatt emphasized that Elizabeth’s position as sovereign was dependent

⁴Or, as Leonard Tennenhouse puts it, we return to an historical moment in which the distinction between the “aesthetic” and the “political” has not been fully formulated —“we find it necessary to imagine a situation in where literature and political discourse has not yet been differentiated in the manner of modern critical discourse” (Tennenhouse 1986:2).

⁵See the *Oxford English Dictionary*. The word “theatre” has, interestingly, the same roots as the word “theory.” It has been surmised, moreover, that both *theorein* and *theatron* derive, according to an ancient etymology, from the word *theos*, meaning “god” or “deity.” For more on this etymology see, Levin (1988: 99f) and, Nicholas Lobkowitz (1967: 7n).

⁶Stephen Orgel, in a exception to this, points out that the “visibility” of the monarch contrasts markedly with the notion of the theater as a primarily *auditory* experience. “Theater in 1605,” he writes, “was assumed to be a verbal medium.” Orgel then argues that the theater later “became a visual medium” thanks to its court setting, and “destroyed the golden age of Shakespeare.” Thus, for Orgel, the emergent bond between the theater and the court privileged visuality over verblality (Orgel 1975: 16-17).

“upon [her] privileged visibility.”⁷ Taking note of the manifestly theatrical structure of Elizabeth’s visibility, he writes:

As in a theater, the audience must be powerfully engaged by this visible presence and at the same time held at a respectful distance from it. (Greenblatt 1988: 64)

There are a couple of fundamental assumptions being made here about the theater, about visibility, and about the relation between theatrical spectacle and sovereignty which we must now unpack, since these assumptions have continued to inform subsequent studies dealing with “sovereignty” and theatrical “display.”⁸

First, Greenblatt is suggesting that the structure of the spectacle puts “some distance” between the spectators and the spectacle, between subject and sovereign (Greenblatt 1991: 278). In other words, the “theatre” here becomes a figure for the fact that the spectacle is at some remove from the spectators; and it is this “respectful distance” which accounts for the power with which the scene invests the sovereign. Second, Greenblatt is suggesting that the “visible” presence of the sovereign itself exerts some “power” over the spectator. That is, the spectator is “powerfully engaged” by what s/he sees, and comes under the “spell,” so to speak, of the vision itself.

Of course, some sights grab and hold our attention more than others; and the sight of Queen Elizabeth was no doubt quite compelling. But then again, I can be powerfully engaged by my own image in the mirror, gazing upon myself narcissistically “at a respectful distance.” Indeed, the Narcissus myth has all the features of “visibility” (“distance,” “powerful engagement”) which Greenblatt describes, and yet it is not theatrical.⁹

In short, while it is true that theatrical visibility implies some distance between spectator and spectacle, and that all visibility means that the viewer falls under the spell (however brief or inconsequential) of what s/he sees, not all visibility is therefore “theatrical.” Again, we have yet to understand what is

⁷Pye cites this passage from Greenblatt on the same page to which I referred a moment ago. Cf. Pye (1990: 178).

⁸Greenblatt was not the first to emphasize “visibility” in this way — Orgel had done so some years before. But Greenblatt’s essay is regularly cited in this regard. In addition to Pye, who cites Greenblatt’s essay (Pye 1990: 43), see also Tennenhouse’s (1986: 1-8, 187-88), Montrose (1996: 53-70). Other recent historical studies which deal with the “visibility” of the monarch are: McCoy (1990: 217-27), Frye (1993: 22-55).

⁹Ovid writes: “...as he drank, Narcissus was enchanted by the beautiful reflection that he saw... Spellbound by his own self, he remained there motionless, with fixed gaze, like a statue carved from Parian marble” (Ovid 1955: 85). Ovid’s rendering powerfully makes Narcissus into both “subject” and “object” of his own intent gaze, while showing that the “distance” between Narcissus-the-desirer and Narcissus-the-desiring is as incommensurable as it is illusory.

precisely *theatrical* about Elizabethan sovereignty. In order to understand the importance of “theatricality” for sovereignty — and, indeed, in order to more carefully define the term itself— we need to take into account two other important features of theatrical experience to which I alluded in another work.

First, theatrical experience is fundamentally temporal. While it is true that the “theatre” is often figured in spatial terms —as an enclosure— it will be more important for our discussion here to recognize that theatricality is constitutively temporal. A theatrical space (whether a public playhouse, or royal court) is opened, and acquires its form and boundaries, only *while* the spectacle is unfolding. That is to say, the temporality of *being there* is what gives the space or enclosure its theatrical character. Whereas one can gaze at a marble sculpture, or at one’s own reflection in a pond, without any inherent temporal constraint, a theatrical spectacle can only be seen while it is taking place. The force of what we call “theatricality” is thus inseparable from the time of the performance. Theatricality, therefore, is not so much a “concept” or “essence,” but is rather *an event*.

Second, the theater is a communal event; unlike poetry, music or painting a theatrical work cannot take place in solitude. A plurality or gathering of persons is a necessity for “theatricality.” In other words, to designate an occurrence as “theatrical” implies that it takes place in the presence of more than one person. Elizabethan statecraft obviously did not consist of Elizabeth standing alone, in front of a mirror, entranced by her own beauty, displaying herself to herself at “a respectful distance.” Rather her visibility can be called “theatrical,” and gave her power, because she appeared *before others*, her subjects.¹⁰

An important corollary to this is that this “necessary gathering” before whom the spectacle unfolds is not simply present in an indifferent way, but rather “takes part” (although not in any direct, active sense) in the spectacle by *sharing* it. It is essential for sovereignty that attention be paid *to the sovereign*, that the spectacle of his or her appearance be shared. In other words, those before whom the monarch appears must in turn affirm that they are in some way sharing the spectacle that unfolds before them. There must be some *confirmation* of the fact that what is taking place is shared by all those gathered —and is, indeed, the very reason for the gathering. Unlike Narcissus, who gazes

¹⁰Greenblatt does note that “the play of authority depends upon spectators,” but he underscores that this dependence was concealed from the spectators themselves: “the performance is made to seem entirely beyond the control of those whose ‘imaginary forces’ actually confer upon it its significance and force” (Greenblatt 1988: 65). My point is not so much about who has “control” over the “imaginary forces” inherent in such a scene —indeed, I do not think that such forces can be controlled by one authority. Rather, I want to argue that “visibility-to-others” is itself, in this context, constitutive of sovereign authority. I return to this question shortly.

upon himself in solitude¹¹, and unlike the philosopher immersed in isolated contemplation, the theater is characterized by the fact that the “vision” in question is shared by a plurality, by an audience which is gathered together through the attraction of what they see. While there can be no doubt that Elizabethan statecraft depended upon a kind of “compelling visibility,” it is important to underscore the *communal, shared* nature of this visibility. For Elizabeth’s authority is a direct effect of her temporal appearance to *others* — others who, in turn, somehow make clear that they share, or take part, in the spectacle.

A productive way of understanding this decline of “theatrical” sovereignty in *Macbeth* is to look at it from the perspective of “hospitality.” First, because hospitality is a pervasive problem in the play, and a productive lens through which to analyze *Macbeth*’s troubling of sovereignty; and, second, because scenes of hospitality were explicitly linked in this period to the phenomenon of “theatrical” sovereignty.

As many have noted, there is in the Renaissance a discernible sense that the sovereign only emerges through a constitutive exhibition to a community of spectators who share the vision of their appearance; namely, a relation of mutual appearance or display.¹² The structure of such scenes is particularly visible in scenes of hospitality — progresses, pageants and the like.

As a guiding thread, therefore, I propose that we take, as a privileged instance of Elizabethan and Jacobean spectacle, a royal progress. Beginning with the example of a royal progress is important, I think, in order to recall that theatricality was not restricted to the confines of a playhouse or court, but is rather evident also in such communal events as royal banquets, or hospitable gatherings.¹³ Indeed, hospitality is a useful way to characterize this theatrical constitution of the sovereign for it makes clear both the temporality and the plural nature of the scene. Moreover, these scenes will help us to understand the specific ways in which the sovereign distinguishes him- or herself in relation to a gathering of others by playing the role of *host*. Indeed, as I will argue especially when I turn to *Macbeth*, the position of the host at a gathering will

¹¹Indeed, Ovid’s telling of the Narcissus myth emphasizes the absolute solitude of Narcissus’ folly. Ovid sets the scene where “no bird or beast or falling branch” had ever touched the ground: “There was a clear pool... where shepherds had never made their way; no goats that pasture on the mountains, no cattle had ever come there” (Ovid 1955: 85).

¹²This is the prevailing thesis, or assumption, of nearly every scholarly work dealing with early modern sovereignty over the past thirty years.

¹³Roy Strong has identified three “categories” of royal spectacles in Elizabethan England: royal entries or progresses, indoor entertainments, and exercises of arms. I will focus on the first two, grouping them under the more general rubric of “hospitality” (Strong 1973: 23).

prove a useful way to consider the theatrical appearance, or emergence, of the sovereign.

In *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, we read Richard Tottill's description of Elizabeth's progress through the City of London to Westminster on January 14, 1558, the day before her coronation. It is the first time (of many) that the accounts collected by John Nichols refer to Elizabeth as "soveraigne," since in this passage she is about to become Queen. We do not need to apply the word "theatrical" to the scene ourselves; for the text makes the connection plain:

...if a man shoulde say well, he could not better tearme the Citie of London that time, than a stage wherin was shewed the wonderfull spectacle, of a noble hearted Princesse towards her most loving People, and the People's exceeding comfort in beholding so worthy a Soveraigne. (Nichols, 1823: 38-9)

Of course, one finds many analogous descriptions in Nichols' account; I have chosen Tottill's for the way in which the words "stage" and "spectacle" are employed.¹⁴ For in this passage, we get a sense of the way in which the theatrical metaphor was used to describe the sharing of a political spectacle.

In addition to the importance of the plurality —namely, of Elizabeth's "display" being a visible exposure *to others* —Tottill's description helps us to understand the peculiar way in which this visibility functioned as a means through which the Queen and the population could *recognize* one another. This recognition, in turn, amounted to binding the Queen's visible person to her name and title —connecting the title "Ladye theyr Quene" with the "viewe" of her person. This is a subtle process. Welcoming the Queen *as Queen* to one's township required an implicit identification of Elizabeth's visible person with the title —and authority— of the monarch. This is why ceremonies of hospitality were a favored form of what we are calling "theatrical" display. For, welcoming someone's "person" also means that one welcomes the name and title with which that person is announced. The hospitable scene, in other words, was a means through which Elizabeth was able to connect, in a public and unmistakable way, her visible body to her name.

Now *Macbeth* is, in unmistakable ways, a play about hosting and being hosted; a play of guests who come when invited, and ghosts, apparitions and witches who come and go regardless of invitation. At the opening of the play *Macbeth*, returning victorious from battle, is welcomed by a grateful King Duncan —whose role as sovereign in the play is, indeed, introduced through his

¹⁴Gordon Kipling cites this same passage in a recent article, however he attributes it to Richard Mulcaster (Kipling 1997: 155).

“playing host” to Macbeth. The fact that this welcome takes place on a battlefield and not, as we might expect, in Duncan’s castle, underscores the way in which sovereignty emerges, and is confirmed, through the temporal unfolding of the scene itself rather than the location of the scene.¹⁵

However, things quickly turn out to be more complex. Whereas displays of hospitality functioned conventionally in the period, as I argued a moment ago, to confirm the referential stability between “royal title” and “visible presence,” in *Macbeth* scenes of hospitality more often take place *as* that very identification and recognition.¹⁶ Consider, for instance, the attention given to *naming* in the opening scenes of hospitality in the play. Macbeth, recall, is greeted with the title “Thane of Cawdor” —as he says, “dressed in borrowed robes.” (“No more that Thane of Cawdor shall deceive / —Go pronounce his present death / And with his former title greet Macbeth,” 1.2.65-7). Likewise, Malcolm is renamed Prince of Cumberland upon his arrival at Duncan’s court. Rather than being confirmed by the welcome, the connections between a person and a name or title are instead *established* through extensions of hospitality. Macbeth, Banquo and Malcolm are successively welcomed to the court with new names:

Sons, kinsmen, Thanes,
 And you whose places are nearest, know,
 We will establish our estate upon
 Our eldest, Malcolm, whom we name hereafter
 The Prince of Cumberland; which honour must
 Not unaccompanied invest him only,
 But signs of nobleness, like stars, shall shine
 On all deservers...
 And bind us further to you (1.4.35-43)

If such scenes were conventionally intended to confirm the connection between name and the person, then what does it mean for the scene of hospitality to take place *as* that very naming? It becomes unclear here whether the scene of hospitality begins with the prior fixity of the identities involved, or whether these identities are in fact conferred through the scene itself. Which, of course, leads us to wonder if there is, in fact, a sovereign self, or secure host or guest, prior to the unfolding of the scene itself.

¹⁵After all, Elizabeth’s sovereignty was confirmed through hospitable displays even when she was not literally at her home. It perhaps goes without saying that this particular sort of confirmation is not specific to Elizabethan England, but is still a feature of state receptions and diplomatic practices today.

¹⁶Rosse and Macduff later equate sovereignty with the act of being named: “Then ‘tis most like / The sovereignty will fall upon Macbeth. / He’s already nam’d, and gone to Scone/ To be invested” (2.4.30).

Such questions are not fortuitous if we recall again that the extension of hospitality is intimately bound up with the concept of identity and sovereignty, as Benveniste teaches us. What if —contrary to what we know about the progresses of Elizabeth and James— scenes of hospitality did not unfold as the neat connection between a person and their title? In other words, what if sovereignty is not confirmed by such displays, but is rather an effect of the scene itself? For indeed, social positions at the opening of *Macbeth* do not neatly precede the scenes in which they appear, but are rather changed by them.

It would in fact appear as though there is no security for the sovereign at all in *Macbeth*, particularly when he finds himself a guest at Macbeth's castle. In addition to everything else Benveniste tells us about hospitality, he reminds us that the Latin *hostis*, which designated both host and stranger, is also the root of the word "hostility."¹⁷ And, given the treatment of guests in *Macbeth*, it is perhaps no surprise that "hospitality" and "hostility" share the same origins. Recall that Lady Macbeth, as hostess, welcomes "the fatal entrance of Duncan under [their] battlements" by instructing Macbeth to *play* the good host in order to hide their intentions:

... bear welcome in your eye
Your hand, your tongue; look like the innocent flower,
But be the serpent under't. He that's coming
Must be provided for. (1.5.64-8)

The sinister foreboding of these instructions underscores not only the violent intentions of the hosts, but also the manifest theatricality or "display" of such scenes. A "welcome," in Lady Macbeth's formulation, is nothing more than "display;" and therein lies its violent potential. As everyone familiar with the play knows, the King is "provided for" in the bloodiest way. The "false" welcome that Lady Macbeth extends to Duncan upon his arrival reveals the *duplicity* of the scene —the co-habitation of hospitality and hostility.

Lady Macbeth: All our service
In every point twice done, and then done double,
Were poor and single business, to contend
Against those honours deep and broad, wherewith

¹⁷This violence adheres not only in "hospitality," but is in fact constitutive of sovereignty as well. As Walter Benjamin argued, in what may as well be a remark on *Macbeth*, the violence that founds the law is finally indistinguishable from the violence that preserves it. The juridical order, he writes, "is not an end immune and independent from violence, but one necessarily and intimately bound up with it" (Benjamin 1978: 197-8). In his discussion of Benjamin's "Critique of Violence," Giorgio Agamben identifies this "violence which founds the law" with the Carl Schmitt's notion of sovereignty as the suspension of the law within the law. The sovereign's position is, he argues, one from which the violence which founds the law, and the violence which preserves it are finally indistinguishable. See Agamben (1998: 40-1, 66-8).

Your majesty loads our house...

Duncan: ...Fair and noble hostess,
We are your guests tonight (1.4.14-25)

Her welcome is duplicitous in the truest sense: deceitful because double. The hospitality of her words reveals that the King will get more than he bargained for (“All our service / In every point twice done, and then done double...”).¹⁸ Of course, the King believes in the security of his welcome, since the political sovereignty of the throne is itself the center of this belief. Again, as monarch he is also the “sovereign” host—even when he is not, literally, at home. Duncan’s first words to Lady Macbeth teasingly remind her of this:

... honored hostess!
The love that follows us sometimes is our trouble,
Which we still thank as love. Herein *I* teach *you*
How *you* shall bid God ‘ield *us* for *your* pains,
And thank *us* for *your* trouble (1.6.10-14, my italics)

Many, like A.R. Braunmuller, have tended to read these lines as simply an instance of Duncan being “torturously polite” (Braunmuller 1994). However, I would suggest that the implicit connection between sovereignty and hospitable display, so unmistakable in this historical context, might lead us to interpret these lines as reflecting Duncan’s belief in the bond between juridical sovereignty and a corresponding position as “host.” It should not go unnoticed that nearly every word that King Duncan utters in the play relates in some way to welcoming subjects, or to being himself received. His role is to speak of hospitality, to sanction its extension. Even as Lady Macbeth’s guest, the King’s magnanimity presents him to his audience as “sovereign” host. Indeed, the last thing that Duncan does before going to sleep for the last time is to offer “largess” to Lady Macbeth in gratitude for her hospitality, an act which ought to make his passage that much more secure, as well as reinforce the security of his hierarchical position.¹⁹

He [the King] hath been in unusual pleasure, and
Sent forth great largess to your offices,

¹⁸Incidentally, the word “double” recurs with an uncanny frequency in *Macbeth*. The witches: “Double, double, toil and trouble...” (4.1.10); Also, Macbeth’s remarks about Duncan that “He’s here in a double trust: / First as I am his kinsman and his subject, / Strong both against the deed; then as his host, / Who should against his murderer shut the door, / Not bear the knife myself” (1.7.12-16).

¹⁹“Largess,” according to the *OED* definition is generosity offered by someone of high rank or social status to someone of “inferior” rank or position. The presence of that word, therefore, underscores the King’s mastery, even when he is the “guest.” For more on the history of the term, see Fiske (1923: 210-12).

This diamond he greets your wife withal,
By the name of most kind hostess... (2.1.13-16)

In short, the King not only sanctions conventional hospitality, but he presides over it as if he were to do nothing else. Thus, it is hardly surprising that the regicide which follows also implies a disintegration of the order of hospitality which preserves communal order.

Before killing Duncan, Macbeth reflects upon the regicide in precisely these terms:²⁰

He's here in a double trust:
First, as I am his kinsman and his subject,
Strong both against the deed; then, as his host,
Who should against his murderer shut the door,
Not bear the knife myself. (1.7.12-16)

Thus, the catastrophe is both that a sovereign has been assassinated, *and* that the "rule" of hospitality has been breached.²¹ Lady Macbeth, in the play's most ironic line, responds to the news of the regicide for which she herself, as hostess and accomplice, is doubly responsible by crying: "Woe, Alas! / What, in our house?" (2.3.88-89).

The link between sovereignty and displays of hospitality extends beyond Duncan to Macbeth's rule as well. True to form, Macbeth and Lady Macbeth inaugurate their reign as King and Queen by hosting a dinner party, a party whose purpose is at once to confirm Macbeth's role as King / host as well as to murder Banquo and his son as guests.²² Macbeth greets Banquo with an invitation:

Macbeth: Here's our chief guest.

Lady Macbeth: If he had been forgotten,
It had been *as a gap* in our great feast...

²⁰That Duncan was murdered as a "guest" was another one of the events of the play which stood out to Simon Forman. "And Mackbeth contrived to kill Duncan, & thorowe the persuasion of his wife did that night Murder the kinge in his own Castell, beinge his gweste." See Knight (1951: 134).

²¹The obligation to protect one's guest is regularly mentioned in writings of the period dealing with "hospitality" or generosity to strangers. For instance, Caleb Dalechamp wrote in *Christian Hospitalitie* that "In faithful protection for a true hoste must not onely abstain from doing wrong to his guests, according to that of Solomon, Proverbs 3.29, but also must suffer none to hurt them during their abode with him" (Dalechamp 1632: 29).

²²There is a frequently recurring connection in *Macbeth* between feasting and murder: "this even-handed justice / Commends the ingredients of our poisoned chalice / To our own lips." See also Knight (1951: 136), where he compares the banquet scene in *Macbeth* to the Greek legend of King Phineus and the Harpies.

Macbeth: To-night we hold a solemn supper, sir,
And I'll request your presence.

Banquo: Let your Highness
Command upon me, to the which my duties
Are with a most indissoluble tie
For ever knit...

Macbeth: Fail not our feast.

Banquo: My lord, I will not. (3.1.11-18, 28-29, my emphasis)

I note, in passing, that the violence perpetrated by Macbeth and Lady Macbeth is repeatedly figured in the play as a kind of perverse hosting. Each time that Lady Macbeth and Macbeth plot a murder, they simultaneously plan the evening's hospitality (see *Macbeth* 1.5). At several points they withdraw together from the others under the pretense of preparing the evening's hospitality, only to plot a murder.²³ The proximity of hospitality and hostility, of welcoming and violence, is more than just an etymological coincidence. For the inextricability of hospitality and hostility guarantees the absolute unknowability one's host or guest and their intentions: "There's no art / To find the mind's construction in the face" (1.4.11-12).

In the "banquet scene" we can see most clearly the extent to which *Macbeth* mimics and undoes the features of sovereign "display" I outlined earlier. Or, moreover, we see the extent to which "theatrical" sovereignty precedes its juridical determination.

Macbeth speaks first, connecting the "degree(s)" of his guests with their position at his table in a way which confirms their position in relation to him.

You know your own degrees; sit down:
At first and last, the hearty welcome (3.4.1-2)

Clearly, Macbeth is rather uneasy about his own tenuous position within the social hierarchy he seeks at once to legitimate and confirm, having ascended to the throne under suspicious circumstances. This uneasiness, in fact, began when he was first addressed as "Thane of Cawdor" by the Weird Sisters. Here however his uneasiness is directly linked to his position as host, which, like sovereignty, is acquired only through the temporal unfolding of the performance. Macbeth attempts to "mingle with society, / And play the humble host," —making clear that the balance of power hinges upon the centrality of his sovereignty. To this effect, he places himself at the center of the table:

²³See 1.5.59-62, and "To make society / The sweeter welcome, we will keep ourself / Till supper time alone" (3.1.41-3). Both times a murder is arranged. See also 1.5.64-71, and 3.1.45-142.

Both sides are even; here I'll sit i'th'midst.
 Be large in mirth; anon, we'll drink a measure
 The table round. (3.4.10-12)

At first, and for a moment, Macbeth is the fulcrum, the middle, the center of the gathering. Courtesy-manuals of the period indeed attest to the fact that one's position at a table directly reflected one's social rank.²⁴ We might also think of Stephen Orgel's description of the King's physical position during court performances. Orgel writes:

In a theater... there is only one...perfect place in the hall from which the illusion achieves its fullest effect. At court performances this is where the king sat, and the audience around him at once became a living emblem of the structure of the court. The closer one sat to the monarch, the "better" one's place was, an index of one's status, and more directly, to the degree of favor one enjoyed. (Orgel 1975: 10-11)

Benveniste as well argues that such "placing" is precisely the means through which the identity of the self (*ipse*) attains the character of "sovereignty" or mastery. He writes:

For an adjective meaning "himself" to develop into the meaning of "master" there is one necessary condition: there must be a circle of persons subordinated to a central personage... to such an extent that he is its summation. (Benveniste 1973: 74)

What is decisive, therefore, in the fact that Macbeth places himself at the center of the table is that in doing so, he distinguishes himself from the others while nonetheless remaining one among them. The structure of the "social" gathering here is thus analogous to Schmidt's "paradox" of juridical sovereignty, whereby the sovereign both belongs to the juridical order and yet is nevertheless outside it (Schmidt 1985: 13). However, in this scene Macbeth's sovereignty is, significantly, not so much juridical as it is bound up with a "public" performance. As with Elizabeth and James, it is Macbeth's self-display, his appearance in the midst of others, which ought to mark his appearance as sovereign in this scene.

However, it is precisely this social nature of sovereignty that Macbeth fails to comprehend, and indeed fails to fulfill. Rather than attend to those around him, Macbeth leaves them to converse with the murderers. Believing Banquo and Fleance to be a greater threat to his juridical position than his absence from the banquet, Macbeth here reveals that he does not grasp the importance of his

²⁴Placement according to social-rank was a feature of nearly all courtesy-books of the period which contain instructions for hosting guests. See Furnivall (1868: 115-99).

being present to others. By contrast, Lady Macbeth seems well aware of the importance of the banquet; she chastises him for his inattentive hospitality:

My royal lord
 You do not give the cheer. The feast is sold
 That is not often vouch'd, while 'tis a-making,
 'Tis given with welcome. To feed were best at home;
 From thence, the sauce to meat is ceremony;
 Meeting were bare without it. (3.4.31-6)

Or, again:

My worthy lord,
 Your noble friends do lack you (3.4.82-3)

The whole point of the “display,” as we noted at the outset, is that the sovereign appear before a gathering, a gathering which likewise comes together through the shared apprehension of the sovereign. When Lady Macbeth later notes that Macbeth’s behavior “spoil[s] the pleasure of the time,” she underscores the extent to which Macbeth’s failure as a host signals both his failure to make himself *present* to others, and his consequent failure to give shape to the gathering.

Indeed, in the “banquet scene” it is not the spectacle of Macbeth-the-monarch at all, but rather a quite different sort of appearance, which takes center stage.

The Ghost of Banquo enters and sits in Macbeth’s place

The “gap in our great feast,” which Lady Macbeth had earlier feared, indeed surfaces to “spoil the pleasure of the time” (3.4.97). Banquo’s Ghost, the stage directions make explicit, does not simply enter and take a seat anywhere among the other guests; nor does the Ghost hover or float about like a phantom without fixing itself to a place.²⁵ Instead, it enters and “sits in Macbeth’s place,” effectively taking Macbeth’s place away from him.

²⁵This is how the stage-directions appear in the First Folio, the first publication of the Shakespeare’s *Macbeth*. Further proof of their accuracy can be found, again, in Simon Forman, who devotes several lines to express his and the audience’s shock at the Ghost’s entrance. He writes: Macbeth “began to speake of noble Banco and wish that he wer there. And as he thus did, standing up to drincke a Carouse to him, the ghost of Banco came and sate down in his chaire behind him. And he turninge about to sit down againe sawe the goste of banco, which flouted him so, that he fell into a great passion of fear and fury, vtteryng many wordes about his murder...”

Kenneth Muir, in his introduction to the Arden edition of *Macbeth*, notes that “There are references to Banquo’s Ghost in *The Puritaine* (4.3.89):

and in stead of a lester, welle ha the ghost ith white sheete sit
 at upper end a’th’table...

and in Beaumont and Fletcher’s *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (5.1.2208)

Lady Macbeth soon concedes that Macbeth “spoils the pleasure of the time.” The Ghost’s repeated entry and Macbeth’s staccatoed madness serve not only to usurp Macbeth’s position as sovereign, but the Ghost returns as a party crasher who “displaces the mirth” (“You have *displac'd* the mirth, broke the meeting with most admired disorder,” 3.4.108-9). The cheer of hospitality is broken along with the *ipse* of its host. Whereas, at the beginning of the scene, Macbeth had invoked convention by re-confirming the positions and placement of his guests, the scene ends with the utter dissolution of this convention. As if to underscore this loss of communal order, Lady Macbeth dispels the gathering, crying: “Stand not upon the order of your going, / But go at once” (3.4.118-9).

Thus, there are two dissolutions: the disintegration of Macbeth’s sovereignty is accompanied by the dispersion of the gathering. The first is, importantly, signaled by the second. Macbeth’s failure as sovereign, in other words, is his failure to hold a gathering together—to form, as it were, a community around his presence.

Macbeth’s failure to emerge as sovereign in the banquet scene is first of all a *social* failure, his failure to appear before, and with, others. What Macbeth loses in this scene is, of course, not so much his juridical authority, which he maintains, to some degree, until his death. Rather, the scene makes clear the extent to which Macbeth’s juridical title and authority are insufficient. By itself, Macbeth’s authority does not give shape and form to the community gathered before him. If it did, he could have simply commanded the others to affirm that they too see Banquo’s Ghost. Instead, we come to understand that sovereignty is not solely a political problem, but rather that it is a social problem: namely, the way in which one emerges as a singular, exceptional being *through* a constitutive relation to others. It is this relation which Macbeth fails to fulfill.

Sovereignty thus reveals itself in Shakespeare’s tragedy, prior the juridical order which was to take shape in the seventeenth-century, as a theatrical relation with others. The sovereign is one who *shares* him / herself with others; a sharing which serves to gather the community, like a banquet around its host—“Meeting were bare without it” (3.4.36)—but where the emergence of the host depends equally upon the event of the gathering. In such a scene, the political body has become inseparable from the body that eats and drinks, indistinguishable from the lived time shared with others. Macbeth’s failure as host, therefore, can be understood as an unmistakable sign of the increasing untenability, or perhaps impossibility, of this “theatrical” sovereign.

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**JOHN HART'S
DISCOURSE ON
SPELLING REFORM:
DISEASE AND WAR IN
THE BODY POLITIC**

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John Hart has long been recognised as one of the most accomplished phoneticians of the sixteenth century. The novelty of his spelling reforms has also attracted attention, if not for their rationality, at least as testimony to the changes in pronunciation taking place at the time of writing. However, the discourse in which these are framed and embedded merits as much attention as the linguistic content for the light it sheds on the motivations and objectives of the reform movement. The prologues and epilogues of his work on orthographic reform reveal the social and political weight attached to the issue as well as serving as vehicles for blatant self-promotion. The key to understanding these passages lies in the imagery of disease and war littered throughout.

Firstly, the author postures as a knife-happy physician administering to the disease-riddled body of English spelling. Secondly, the deplorable state of the latter is described in terms of war —war among the letters themselves, and between the reformer and public opinion. Both these images are imported from the currently popular discourse on the body politic and are exploited to suggest the urgency, political and social, of wielding the scalpel and ruthlessly excising diseased members. The tone in which Hart presents his reforms suggest that his humanistic concerns were overridden and underpinned by nationalist and political motivations.

John Hart, phonetician, diplomat and spelling reformer was the author of three works dealing with the teaching and reformation of English spelling in the mid sixteenth century.¹ His standing as a phonetician has consistently been high —his description of the formation of the sounds as a function of the placing of the different organs of the mouth, the degree of opening and the absence or presence of voice is remarkably accurate.² His work on the sound-letter relationship has also been a source for later phonetician's research, providing valuable evidence about the dynamics of the so called Great Vowel Shift. (Ellis 1869-96, Jespersen, 1907, Dobson, 1968). His work as a pedagogue has also

¹*The opening of the unreasonable writing of our english tounge* (1551), *An Orthographie...* (1569) and *A methode or comfortable beginning for all unlearned...* (1570)

²Dobson begins his section on Hart thus, "John Hart deserves to rank with the greatest English phoneticians and authorities on pronunciation" (1968: 62).

merited comment as his system of teaching the letters of the alphabet relating sounds with letters rather than letter names and the use of picture cards in a graded system closely mirrors the present one. Apart from his work in education he was also active in politics, entering the College of Heralds and becoming Chester Herald in 1566. He was aware of the spelling reform movement in France, a factor which was to influence, not only the content and principles on which he would base his reform, but, also, the terms in which his discourse was couched. Having acknowledged the contribution he made to pedagogy, spelling reform and phonology, I would like to turn my attention to the specific terms in which he presents his reforms to his public: the analogies between spelling and the body politic implicit in imagery of disease and war. Through an analysis of these analogies, the extent to which spelling reform was fully and completely inserted into the political debates dominating social-minded reformers and commentators in the mid sixteenth century becomes apparent. As Gramsci has affirmed, "Every time the question of language surfaces, in one way or another, it means that a series of other problems are coming to the fore" (1985: 183).

However, the terminology of disease and war also poses a dilemma and it is this —why should a spelling reformer, who by definition bore the whiff of subversion and challenger of tradition, make extensive use of a set of analogies and terminology which were based on the medieval world view of a static, hierarchically structured society, in order to present spelling reforms? Hart's proposal for reform is even more surprising coming from one writing from the centre and in this sense he represents the two contending forces in Tudor society which were, to use Bakhtin's terms, centripetal and centrifugal. In the models of language development proposed by Foucault, Bourdieu and Bakhtin, those in possession of power defend the values at its centre —values which were traditionally conservative and designed to safeguard it from the possible inroads made by those forces encroaching from the edges. Hart would be expected to represent the centripetal forces; the centralisation of power in language and the elimination of difference, dissension and dispersal which he no doubt does when he establishes the language of the Court as a norm. But on the other hand, his reformed spelling was, he states, "for the profite of the multitude," designed to enable "any naturall English reasonable creature to read English" (Hart 1969: 2). This in effect would extend literacy and empower spheres that needed to be kept in their places, that is, his proposals contain the potential to violate hierarchies of power enjoyed by the privileged and perpetuated by the vagaries of English spelling in its current form. This is one of the inherent contradictions in his proposal. There is a further implication, even more destabilizing and "centrifugal," one which concerns the status of the dialects, a point which I will discuss later.

Even the most superficial reading of *An Orthographie* (1569),³ on which I will base the greater part of my analysis reveals that there are three predominant sets of imagery used —those of disease, war and painting. This paper will concentrate on the first two. It should be acknowledged that this imaging of spelling reform was probably an inheritance from what Hart had observed in the French debate and, more specifically, the figure of Meigret whose influence he acknowledges thus, “a worthy man well learned in Greek and Latin named Louis Meigret of Lyon [whose] reasons and arguments I do herebefore partly use as he did Quintilian” (1969: 53). In addition to having championed spelling reform on phonemic principles, Meigret also set the tone for the debate; rancid, highly conflictive and frequently degenerating into personal invective. This has also left its mark on Hart's discourse although he steers clear of direct personal attack, in large part because the conservative ranks of spelling reform were poorly represented in England and are not supported by any major treatise until Richard Mulcaster's *Elementarie* in 1582 which, coming well towards the end of the century when the issue had exhausted itself and virtually petered out, did not engage immediate antipathies.

The tone and terms of Hart's presentation of his reforms in the prefaces, prologues and scattered throughout the text underline the profoundly political nature of the debate. When choosing the metaphor of disease and illness to describe the abuses within English spelling and how they were to be remedied —cleansing, amputation, excision and the restoration of harmony— Hart was drawing on a long tradition of political writing and the established organic analogy between state and body —the body politic. This analogy was developed on two levels. Political and social harmony was considered analogous to that of the body where each limb and organ had a well defined task to perform: the proper functioning of the whole depended on each part fulfilling its assigned duty. Secondly, equilibrium between the humours in the body was likened to those in a healthy state. As Tillyard points out, in the Middle Ages it was, “a persistent political commonplace, tending to discipline and social stability” (1943: 102-103). It served to reinforce the essentially, hierarchically based concept of the “commonweal.” This basically medieval concept, although it gradually lost its vitality, enjoyed currency until the seventeenth century.⁴

The most immediate predecessors of Hart's analogy can be found in the proliferation of tracts among his contemporaries which aimed to point out the abuses within the state and suggest ways in which these could be healed or

³It was originally written in 1551 but publication was delayed, possibly due to the hostile attitudes to spelling reform.

⁴Hale (1971) traces the rise and fall of this analogy and concludes that its frequency declines in the 17th century parallel to the rise in the belief in constitutional monarchy. The onset of the Civil War put paid to its vigour and relevance.

eliminated. The sixteenth century was what A.B. Ferguson (1965, 1979) calls that of the “articulate citizen” when writers imbued with a new sense of historical change publicly and vociferously expressed critical views on all aspects of social, cultural, political and economic life. They frequently invoked the body politic analogy. Thomas Starkey is perhaps one of commentators who most insistently and thoroughly exploits this analogy in *Dialogue between Reginald Pole and Thomas Lupset* (1533/1536) but it is also a recurring key metaphor in a host of lesser known tracts such as those by William Cholmeley, *Suite of a True-hearted Englishman* (1553) and *A Discourse of the Common Weal of this Realm of England*, an anonymous tract sometimes attributed to Thomas Smith,⁵ to mention just two.

Given Hart’s basic proposition, that we “write as we speake” (1569: 6) and that each sound should be represented by one letter and one letter only, this was a most fitting metaphor by which to express the desired harmony between the two systems of representation, written and spoken. Like the political analysts, Hart finds the body orthographical diseased and stresses how this will affect and infect the state. Like his contemporaries, he appeals to monarchical authority to take the appropriate steps to remedy the situation.⁶ By appropriating the language of political discourse, Hart brings the theme of spelling reform up front on centre stage, rubbing shoulders with such controversial issues as monetary regulation, the nature of monarchical power and social control. He attempts to move the issue from the narrow confines of the classroom to a wider forum by underlining the deep-rooted consequences a reformed spelling would have for the economic and political life of the nation. By analogy, it would contribute to the commonweal, the ideal of harmony and prosperity.

One example will serve to illustrate the close parallel between the nature of the discourse deployed in politically motivated texts and that of Hart. Richard Morison in *A Remedy for Sediton* (1536), commenting on the uprisings which had occurred in the previous years, advises the monarch on how to rid the state of this festering sore as follows:

to cut away the branches of sediton... his highness intendeth to pull away the root. He seeth it not possible to cure this sore, which indeed Plato calleth the greatest sickness, that can come to a commonwealth, except he search out, both where it ariseth and what things most nourisheth it, and then do as physicians are wont, which oft times lay not their medicines to the part, that

⁵*A Discourse of the Common Weal of this Realm of England* (1581) was signed W.S. Its authorship has been attributed variously to William Shakespeare and Sir Thomas Smith among others.

⁶His first tract in 1551 was dedicated to Edward VI and he appeals to some higher authority in *An Orthographie* to intervene and right (write) the wrongs of English spelling.

is diseased, but to that rather, from whence the disease first came, and is like to come still, unless it be there stopped. (sig.D2v)⁷

There are a number of similarities between the above passage and references to be found in *An Orthographie*. Firstly, there is the combination of both gardening and surgical imagery. Morison advises the king to “cut away the branches of sedition,” to pull away the root. Hart similarly announces that in order to restore harmony to the alphabet it will be necessary that the, “the vicious parts thereof [be] cut away as are the vyle and offensive members, in a politike common welth” (1969:12). Turning to the imagery of disease in his mixed metaphor, Morison outlines the process to be followed in curing the sore: diagnosis, location and surgery, with the proviso that it is not at first obvious what the real source is. The structure of *An Orthographie* follows this same procedure: diagnosis of the ills afflicting the alphabet (four in all), remedy and prognosis. Hart then poses as a surgeon who will restore health and equilibrium to this lopsided lumbering giant, the “monstrous figure” (1969: 12) that is English spelling. The gardening imagery reflects Hart's attempt to naturalise English spelling by returning it to its ordinary state but to do so he must amputate the vile parts as one does with “trees or vines.” It is significant that he poses as both surgeon and physician, moderating his initial intent of making extensive and intensive repair work (cutting off) to less intrusive procedures, “to administer purgations to the vicious humors, with certaine remedies and then prescribe the pacient to a wholesome diet” (1969: 10-11). Likewise, his function as gardener vacillates between the radical (replanting and uprooting) and the less intrusive pruning and cutting back. Both analogies represent the attempt to combine the aggressive and the caring, the radical and the moderate in the same way his reforms do by incorporating existent letters with revivals and inventions. To stun and appease; provoke and placate were double, if not completely contradictory objectives and this goes some way to explaining the apparent dichotomy between the potential ultimate consequences of his project and the medieval imagery used to present it. It is also symptomatic of his attempt to combine the rebellious and the conservative, the innovative and the tried and trusted; a characteristic shared by most social and political commentators of the time and one which was modelled on the very monarchy itself which walked the tightrope between the medieval and the modern.

As for the diagnosis of the major diseases of English spelling, they are based on the principles of harmony and hierarchy synonymous with the healthy body politic. Usurpation, superfluity, deviance and deficiency are the four major abuses he identifies and all have overtly political overtones.

⁷Quotation taken from material supplied at a plenary lecture, “Sedition in John Bale's *King Johan*,” given by Dr Dermot Cavanagh at The Tudor Symposium, Newcastle, April 16, 1998.

In what amounts to a Picasso-like evocation, in his discussion of usurpation Hart complains that, “In the place of eares, we doe use to paint eyes” (1969: 28), referring to the fact that each part has a function to fulfil and one cannot do the job of another. The term had also got political and social roots. During the sixteenth century, the policy of the monarchy and economic conditions led to the increasing blurring of the lines between social classes and the aspiration to social advancement was making inroads into the hithertofore untouchable ranks of the aristocracy. Note the numerous tracts which alerted them to the fact that their hegemony was daily being challenged and their authority eroded in order to spur them on to take on a more responsible and active role.⁸ From within the centres of power there was a decidedly ambivalent attitude to these classes —on the one hand, considerable and often violent revulsion towards those who sought advancement on the basis of merit— they were accused of disrupting the harmony of the state in an attempt to play out parts not assigned to them. Hart makes direct references to the idea of proportion and harmony when he refers to the absurdity of a play where the family members are duplicated and the father is now the son, now the daughter.

John Baret, author of *An Alvearie* (1570) shares Hart’s preoccupations. Discussing the letter <c>, he wonders, “howe it got this third place of honour, or how it hath so absurdely thus long usurped that dignitie” (K3v). As with Hart, the failure of a letter to keep to its proper place leads to strong moral and political language. As a mere consonant, it seems pushy insofar as consonants were seen as being inferior to vowels. Holofernes in *Love’s Labour’s Lost* depreciatingly refers to Mote, a lower character, as a “consonant.”

The term “usurpation” also had political overtones which were equally forceful. They concern the constant plots being hatched and then aborted to overthrow the monarch. These came especially from the border counties, from dissatisfied courtiers hungry for advancement and, of course, from the religious dissidents who had fled to the Continent and were in cahoots with the champions of the Counter-reformation. In this respect, Hart found himself in somewhat of a *cul de sac*. According to his principle of writing as one spoke, the dialects were *de facto* legitimised, a principle which went against the centralisation he called for by recognising Court English as “the flower.” He may have been aware of this bind as he is forced to circumscribe the use of dialectal forms to their own regions. There is little doubt about Hart’s loyalty to the monarch given his post as pursuivant and his boasting about having received the King’s “gracious liberalitie” although no independent sources can back up this claim with hard facts. Secondly the body-state analogy taken to its

⁸Sir Thomas Elyot and Roger Ascham severely chastised the ruling classes and warned that their powers were in danger of being appropriated by the rising meritocracy unless they reformed and became more serious.

logical conclusion would deny the provinces any degree of federal style autonomy such as Hart suggested.

Superfluity and deficiency are two additional defects Hart sees in English spelling, referring to the fact that more than one letter represented the same sound <c> and <s> for example both representing the phoneme /s/. On other occasions, one letter was called upon to deploy different roles; the much maligned <c> is again pilloried as a major offender. These were also defects that had been diagnosed for the social structure. Starkey found society both top heavy with an idle aristocracy and lacking in skilled craftsmen who could lift the cloth making industry especially from the dire straits in which it found itself. It is telling that the infamous letter <e> was frequently branded as “idle,” an epithet similar to that used to describe members of the aristocracy and the church. The analogy also makes reference to the lack of equilibrium between the humours within the body, which, according to conventional wisdom, was also a cause of disease.

By appropriating this language of political reform Hart attempts to legitimise what he knew could be branded as breaking the conservative ranks. Changing spelling would in fact change the nature of the monarchy and sweep from under its feet the legitimacy on which it was founded. The Tudor dynasty more than any other, relied on the word in several senses, but not without ambivalence. The histories that they had encouraged to be written were blatant attempts at consolidation and legitimisation. The break with Rome elevated the word—the vernacular—to the status of Latin; the treason acts which abounded in an atmosphere of conspiracy and counter-conspiracy all point to the power of the word—even the spoken word could become motive from accusation and conviction of treason. Added to this was the increasing power of the printing press.

In order to offset the possible conspiratorial and revolutionary motives which could be attributed to him, Hart uses the argument of reason and logic in the first place—the old allies of humanist debates but more significantly he reverts to the language of the conservative and hierarchical view of society which would place him not in the revolutionary role he feared but as a defender of the state, the established order and guardian of the *status quo*. But here, yet again, Hart flounders in waters deeper than he perhaps first contemplated because, while the Tudors attempted to create a tradition for themselves, they also tried to appear as harbingers of change. He imitated this model and exploited its ambiguity just as many of his contemporaries did in an attempt to hedge his bets and cover his shoulders.

Another motive for adopting the imagery of disease was to drive home the far reaching benefits of standardised spelling for the health of the nation. It

would increase the prestige of the language among its vernacular counterparts and facilitate its learning abroad. It would be “very commodious for any straunger that desireth to learne our tongue” (1969: 5). Thus it could be claimed that Hart was one of the first to become aware of the potential of the language for colonisation. He could not have been aware of the cultural hegemony it would eventually lever, that it could become an agent for foreign domination but, on the other hand, it cannot be denied that one of his apparent aims was not without intellectual generosity insofar as what he was proposing was what would eventually evolve into an international phonetic alphabet which could, with minor adaptation be used with any language, “Other nations can also use this system” (1969: 5).

Hart had to wage war on three fronts simultaneously: against unruly letters, against the tenacious forces of custom and against the users of the language, “men grieved at the amendment of any thing” (1969: 12). He was aware that his posture was provocative, stating in the dedicatory to Edward VII, that he has been attacked as an “inventer of troubles.” This sense of being beleaguered seeps into the text at all levels. As mentioned previously, this warlike imagery may have been inherited in part from Meigret and the altercations of the French spelling reform debate and was introduced into Hart’s text even though there was no immediate figure which could serve as a target —no organised or even half-articulate champion of the conservative cause. The majority of the texts at our disposition —Cheke’s, Bullokar’s and Baret’s— favour some kind of reform.

The imagery of war between letters themselves can be traced back to Erasmus’ *De recta Graeci et Latini sermonis pronunciacione* (1528). In his etiological fable on their birth, Erasmus says that after Cadmus had planted the teeth of a dead snake, from this seed, “there suddenly leapt up two lines of men, armed with helmets and spears who destroyed themselves by dealing each other mortal wounds” (34). This sense of potential anarchy pervades most writings on writing. Even Mulcaster who favoured the conservative approach to spelling states that letters are “elves and brats” (1925: 102). Johnson was to return to this idea in the *Preface to the Dictionary* when he speaks of the “wild exuberance” of the language and its orthographical confusion.

Thirdly the metaphor can be applied to the position of the author himself and the conceptualisation of the presentation of his project. As was true for many spelling reformers he was highly conscious of the public reception his amendments would receive and whether consciously or not, saw it in terms of a battle between custom —stubborn and irrational in many cases— and logic or reason. In this confrontation what Hart and his like-minded contemporaries were doing was to divest the projects they championed of the personal and place

them on the level of principle. So, Hart paradoxically grafts onto his fairly revolutionary reform proposals, made from the heart of centralised and hegemonic power, to maintain the *status quo* an annex which offers another interpretation more attuned to those progressive members of society. He is trying to have his cake and eat it, it seems. He would represent the avant-garde but only up to a certain point. He was hedging his bets, treading the line of ambivalence but not producing a definitive stance—leaving his options open as one forged in the smithy of hard-headed political options.

Let us turn to analyse in more detail some of the war-related images that occur in Hart's text and see what significance they hold for the presentation and interpretation of the text itself and how it can be related to the context in which it appears. Like an army general, Hart aims to impose discipline on the wayward alphabet. He is particularly militant in relation to borrowed terms, referring to them as mercenaries which, when under pay from a prince must wear his colours, no matter what their original precedence, referring to the fact that borrowed terms should be naturalised and not reveal their etymological origin. Why choose this image when, beginning with Elyot, the terms in which they were interpreted were diplomatic—denizens or Mulcaster's "enfranchised citizens"? Indeed, many references to borrowing resort to the judicial or parliamentary—Samuel Daniel objects to them as they have snook into the language "without a Parliament, without any consent or allowance" (Smith, 1904: 384) and George Gascoigne makes a similar complaint that they have not been approved by a system of verification. Hart seems to waive this judicial procedure and grants them validity through necessity. It is not that they are desirable but that they are necessary and like Mulcaster he shears them of any precedence, any claim to origins, putting them at the service of the English language. It is a declaration of the supremacy of the English language, of its dominion over others and, as I have indicated above, smacks of an intuition that English will become a power to be reckoned with in the future. He was right.

This imagery also had immediate contemporary relevance. Ireland was a persistent thorn in the side of the Tudor monarchy. The border counties and Scotland were constantly threatening to splinter the illusion of national unity which was repeatedly invoked to rally forces in order to wage battles against enemies on the continent. The vision of a nation besieged on all fronts is the impression given in all texts, be they linguistically orientated or of a more economic and political nature.

Goldberg claims that Hart, writing from a position of centralised power (political) ironically, by proposing a new alphabet, undermines the very establishment he attempted to consolidate. This is true insofar as his own theory of sound-equals-letter gave an autonomy to the dialectical versions of English,

those very dialectical versions which were equated with political insubmission and potential sources of discontent and lack of harmony. Therefore, in the larger project he envisioned, Hart found himself in the unenviable position that what had started out as a centralising or centripetal project ended up as a centrifugal one, of dispersal and fragmentation. His use of the age old imagery of disease and warfare, of the invoking of the body politic was an attempt to palliate this decentralisation and to invoke the forces of order while his reforms were at the same time promoting segmentation, dispersion and diffusion, one of the main objections raised by Mulcaster against phonemic based spelling. Hart's continued use of the body politic imagery of war and disease was a ploy used by him in order to sweeten the medicine he had to administer and to lull the audience into a state of acceptance, banishing phantoms of disorder in the name of order, regularity and standardisation. Because, however much he might have protested, the basis of Hart's spelling proposals signalled the fissures that would develop into a breach in the English nation in future centuries.

Hart's proposals are therefore typical of those of his epoch and represent not by any means a failure or "mingle mangle" but a negotiation between custom, tradition and a medieval world view and a new dynamic social register which would have to contemplate diversity within standardisation.

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MACBETH AS A PORTRAIT OF “CÂD GODDEU”. ENCOUNTERS WITH THE CELTIC WORLD

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This paper was inspired by Jean Markale's suggestion that the portrayal of a battle of trees in *Macbeth* might have been inspired by the Welsh text of *Câd Goddeu*. Attributed to Taliesin, the bard and belonging to the Welsh *Book of Taliesin*, collected in the 14th century, *Câd Goddeu* displays a battle fought by two separate sets of mythological forces taking the form of trees. Robert Graves' reconstruction of the text rendered it available for modern readers through a decodification of the alphabet Beth-Louis-Niomh based on the choreography of the trees which provides an aid to understand its significance. This paper purports an attempt to further pursue that discussion by analysing some of the features contained in the Welsh piece, such as the importance of the hidden name, the battle between Good and Evil or the Ceres myth. According to this, we will view those features as a means Shakespeare uses in order to flatter king James, sponsoring *Macbeth* production, both as the legitimate heir to the English throne and as a monarch beneficial to his kingdom. The projection of the mythological battle outcome on *Macbeth*, will cause us to reach valid conclusions concerning the allegorical interpretation of Shakespeare's play.

It is generally known that editorial research on different fields regarding Shakespearean production, has evinced a tendency on the author's side to draw heavily from earlier material. This involves, not only his chronicle plays, as could be expected, but also, and most interestingly, a wide range of plays including *The Comedy of Errors*,¹ *Julius Caesar*² or *Hamlet*,³ among others. Similarly, diverse amount of evidence has shown that this habit is not merely circumscribed to the scholarly tradition, but it is also performed within the range of folklore.⁴

¹Based on Plautus *Menaechmi*.

²Based on Plutarch's *Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*.

³Based on Saxo Grammaticus' *Historia Danicae* through Belleforest's *Histoires Tragiques*.

⁴The number of ballads on miscellaneous subjects that were recorded in the Stationer's Company Register while Shakespeare's production was still in progress clearly points to the immense amount of popularity they enjoyed.

This paper will henceforth attempt a revision of *Macbeth* following Jean Markale's (1969: 373) comments on its similarity to a battle of trees in the saga manuscripts, as suggested in *Les Celtes et la Civilisation Celtique* which particularly points to the links between Shakespeare's work and the Celtic background in the British Isles. Were those to prove operative, we could find no reason to wonder. A reputed actor and playwright, Shakespeare made a living on his writing plays for the scene. Accordingly, his productions were expected to be both commercial and entertaining. Originality was not a priority. Moreover, the popularity of Celtic stories must have been ample as shown by Spencer's *Faerie Queene* and Marston's *Sophonisba*, a play being represented at Blackfriars in 1606 and dealing with a plot partly borrowed from the Arthurian cycle (Bollough, 1973: 426).⁵

Thus, when *Macbeth* was performed for the first time, probably, in The Globe Theatre around 1606 (Gibert, 1985: 279), the very fact that it dealt with the events occurred during the reign of Duncan I of Scotland proved to be highly indicative of the sort of inspiration that was leading its author's hand. In fact, the composition of this piece originated in the patronage offered by King James I, who had previously reigned over Scotland as James VI. The monarch's love both towards Scotland and his own ancestry being already mythic by the time he reached England, Shakespeare found the means to flatter both by enhancing the fictional Banquo, whom King James believed to be his own ancestor (Gibert, 1985: 280) as referred in Holinshed's *Chronicle* (Nicoll & Calina, 1969: 207). *Macbeth*, however, deals with a subject much more complex than the mere consideration for the king's birth country.

By the year 1000, Scottish tradition, deeply rooted in Celtic customary habit based on non-hereditary kingship, forced to choose the king from among all clan chieftains. This procedure, which apparently protected kingship from the conflicts derived from direct succession,⁶ weakened the monarchy as a result of a major incidence of plots, murders and violent deeds, making it swing from one clan into the other.

Macbeth's legend was partly borrowed from Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland* in its second edition of 1587, which Shakespeare had already used as an aid to compose some of his chronicle plays, including *Richard II*, the two parts of *Henry IV*, *Henry V*, the three parts of *Henry VI*,

⁵Some of Shakespeare's best known plays show this influence, namely the first part of *Henry IV* dealing with Welsh matters (3.1.142-158), *Romeo and Juliet* referring to Queen Mab (1.4.54-94) lately transformed in the Fairy Queen and even *A Midsummer Night Dream* which reflects fairyland as a complete system within the world boundaries.

⁶The system guaranteed the ruler's strength as derived from the fact of his being the most powerful chieftain (Gibert, 274).

Richard III and *Henry VIII* as well as *King Lear* and *Cymbeline* (Nicoll & Calina, 1969: XIII). According to Bullough, a historical character called MacBeth actually reigned over Scotland between the years 1040 and 1057. Apparently, he doesn't seem to have been the obscure villain Shakespeare depicts on his play. Married to Gruoch, who already had a child from an earlier marriage, the only action MacBeth could be accused of is to have claimed the throne for his wife, whose relatives, belonging to the legitimate branch had been exterminated by Malcom II (Bullough, 1973: 432). On this basis, MacBeth killed Duncan I and after a lapse of time he got himself killed by Malcom III who was crowned on the 25th April 1057 (Nicoll & Calina, 1969: 223). With regard to History, we can add but little to this picture; there's no trace of a battle of trees at this early stage.

Shakespeare works on this basis by exaggerating the characters, by intermingling human passions such as temptation, guilt, and punishment and, specially, by invigorating the plot with borrowings from sources other than Holinshed, namely, the Celtic tradition.

The dramatic plot is otherwise well known. Macbeth murders good king Duncan as suggested by his wife by the sole reason of "vaulting ambition, which o'erleaps itself, and falls on th'other" (1.7. 26). The appearance of the three weird sisters emphasises the *pathos* of Macbeth's cruel fate: that of committing murder and treachery and being later dethroned by Duncan's legitimate heir. A prophecy seals Macbeth's doom: he is foretold to be a king before he even dreams of it (1.3.50), and later, after Hecate's fatal intervention, Macbeth learns that he must "laugh to scorn the power of man; for none of woman born shall harm Macbeth" (4.1.79-81) and even that "Macbeth shall never vanquished be until Great Birnam wood to high Dursinane hill shall come against him" (4.1.92-93). That soothes the villain who trusts the impossibility of both predictions although they end up by becoming true. Macduff, whose children Macbeth had previously killed "was from his mother's womb untimely ripped" (5.7.26) and, similarly, as the messenger reports: "As I did stand my watch upon the hill, I looked toward Birnam, and anon methought the wood begun to move" (5.5.34-35).

Precisely, it is this feature, caused by Malcom's order to each of his warriors to "hew him down a bough, and bear't before him" (5.4.6) in order to hide their real number, the one which has attracted Markale's attention. No wonder it does, as a forest moving up the hill is such an unusual episode as to become suspicious about its source. With regard to this, we can recall that there is no doubt whatsoever about Shakespeare's proficiency in joining together different traditions and, on the other hand, we know as a matter of fact that the connection of the tree symbol and the battle performance is highly characteristic

of Celtic tradition where the sacred tree, called *bile* was considered to be *axis mundi* of the particular population where it stood. Indeed, Robert Graves has successfully identified the seven sacred trees, in a poem belonging to the 7th century attached to the old Irish law *Crith Gablach*⁷ (Graves, 1984: 336). Later, he transplanted its significance in order to interpret the Welsh poem “Câd Goddeu” portraying a battle of trees. Albeit, the subject remains to be fairly obscure.

“Câd Goddeu” is a text belonging to the *Book of Taliesin*, a collection of early manuscripts attributed to this bard, of which only 38 folios are extant. According to one of the pieces recorded in this book, a youth called Gwion Bach disobeyed the witch Keridwen while looking after the Cauldron of Knowledge and became thus invested with wisdom after undergoing a process of metempsychosis through the four elements which ended up in the boy’s rebirth as Hanes Taliesin, meaning “illuminated forefront” (Graves, 1983: 565). The story is interesting because it illustrates the only extant process of initiation into the bardic order. Different sources point to the possibility of Taliesin’s having been a historical figure living on the 6th century. If that were so, the *Book of Taliesin* would be consistent of a central bulk of poems probably composed by this bard to which it has been added other later pieces conforming a collection which was gathered on the 14th century.

One of those pieces is a text entitled “Câd Goddeu” or “The Battle of Achren.” By the time the collection was put together, one must say, the bardic tradition had already lost its prime and whoever the scribe was, he had a clear conscience of his act as a means to preservation. The poem thus conceived proves to be an attempt to keep for posterity the vernacular tradition which the compiler felt to be endangered. The battle presents thus on the one side the forces of Arawn, king of Annwn, the Welsh Other World while, opposite, there stand the forces of Gwydyon (Markale, 1992: 358) whose brother, Amaethon, had stolen from Arawn the secrets of agriculture. Gwydyon transformed the Breton army into trees with the aid of magical powers in an attempt to help his brother and eventually won the fight by guessing his opponent’s real name (Markale, 1992: 104). Although the text is still obscure enough, Robert Graves’s reconstruction of it has made it available to modern readers and it enables the critic to follow the choreographic pattern unveiling the alphabet of Beth-Louis-Niomh, which assigns a vocalic or consonantal value to every single tree in the forest.

⁷Those are known to be: birch tree, alder tree, willow tree, oak tree, holly tree, hazel tree and apple tree.

On the one hand, the idea of a battle between Good and Evil seems to have been a characteristic well attested among the Indo-European peoples as shown by the Hindu Mitra-Varuna opposition and, also, by the Irish second battle of Mag Tured, confronting the Tuatha Dé Danann and the Formorians (Sainero, 1988: 129). We must assume that, concerning the battle figure, there must be the right side and the wrong one, as very rarely does the narrator stand neutral. However, the *motif* of the gods of light (the Tuatha Dé) and the gods of darkness (the Formorians) is, undoubtedly an Indo-European feature, deeply rooted in the belief of the transfiguration of souls leading towards the Other World. The physical world is thus portrayed as the world of light, whereas outside its limits there lies the kingdom of shadows. This idea is further enforced in Celtic Mythology, in "The Battle of Achren," where it becomes obvious through the etymology of Gwydyon's name, containing the Cymric particle "gwynn," equivalent to the Irish "finn" which means "white," "divine" or "beautiful" (Markale, 1969: 121), as a matter of fact in Cymric "gwydd" and "gwyddon" mean "trees" and "wiseman" (Matthews, 1992: 61). We must conclude on this evidence, that Gwydyon's side is that of the gods of light, and consequently, that of reason. This conclusion is firmly supported by the previous information we hold regarding this figure. Actually, on the 4th branch of the *Mabinogion*, Gwydyon is portrayed as a rebellious youth who aids his brother Gilvaethwy to win Goewin against Math's will and later Gwydyon himself grows to be the protective uncle of Llew Llaw Gyfes, helping the youth against his mother Arianrhod. In both cases, Gwydyon gets his aims when he "drew upon his arts and began to display his magic" (Gantz, 1976: 101). Just as often, Gwydyon is alluded to as a bard: "Gwydyon was the best storyteller ever" (Gantz, 1976: 100).

Bards, we must specify, were not only poets and storytellers. The bards were heavily trained for a number of years to learn by heart a wide range of technical devices which enabled them for the composition of highly complex literary pieces, both in poetry and in prose. However, most of all, the bard was a religious figure, a member of the lowest order of priesthood who had a command on the magic of words.

As a matter of fact, the Celts dreaded awfully the magical effect of an invocation. As a consequence of it, it became a habit to hide one's real name from public exposure. Due to this customary tradition, all Celtic characters, be them mythological, like Dagda, or historical, like Vercingetorix the Gaul, are exclusively known by their nicknames. We know this only because only two instances of nicknames specifying their previous correspondent have reached us: Setanta was Cuchulainn's real name and Demne is Finn macCumhail's, whose nickname means, once more, "white" (Graves, 1984: 96).

About “Câd Goddeu,” we are told that there’s a man who could not be welcome into the fight unless his real name was guessed (Markale, 1969: 111).⁸ This is a common feature in Myth and Folklore, where it stands in a number of Celtic fairytales. I can name here, for instance, “Whipety Stoury” where an unnamed fairy, coming from the Other World, meets a widow and helps her to recover her poisoned pig after which she throws a spell on her which won’t be raised unless the fairy’s real name is guessed. Another example is “Perifool,” where a princess is helped by a similar unnamed elf with a task imposed by a giant; in exchange for those services the elf requires half the goods he helped to process unless his real name be guessed. In both cases, the difficult task is eventually accomplished when the item is overheard in a private conversation among the fairies. Similarly, in “Câd Goddeu,” Gwydyon wins the battle only when he succeeds in guessing Bran’s real name.

Finally, there’s a third interesting feature based on the Demeter Myth. Amaethon, Gwydyon’s brother is, like him, the son of Don. Don here represents a Welsh goddess equivalent to the Irish Dana who is not a Celtic divinity but a preceltic one. The *Book of Invasions*, in Irish *Leabhar Ghabhála*, reports how the peoples of the goddess Dana, the Tuatha Dé Danann were defeated in the Battle of Sliabh Mis, first and later in the battle of Tailtiu, by the sons of Mil, originally coming from Brigantium, in the Spanish Northwest (Sainero, 1988: 190).

Those newcomers are considered to be the first Celtic race ever to inhabit the isle of Ireland, although we could discuss much about this point on the light of historical evidence. The importance of this legendary episode lies, nevertheless, in the fact that it points to the substitution of a previous culture by that of the Celts. Archaeological evidence adds to this point as inferred from the existence of a civilisation in Ireland prior to the coming of the Celts who built up megalithic monuments and worshipped a mother goddess of agriculture (MacCana, 1970: 86). When the Gaels conquered Ireland, they didn’t exterminate its previous occupants but colonised them and kept various aspects of their cult and social customs. Adopted thus by a patriarchal society living on cattle, Dana was trespassed into several divinities like Brigit, Boann or even Etaine the fairy, who still kept their influence on fertilising rites as expected from their ascendancy in the Neolithic mother goddess.

This is where Don, and subsequently, Amaethon and Gwydyon find their origin. Amaethon inherited from his mother, the goddess of natural fertility, his powers on agriculture, which seem to be fairly unusual in a masculine god. This is probable due to the fact that, by the time the myth was written, all previous

⁸Based on the Myvirian Archaeology of Wales.

ties to pagan religion were already loose. However, according to "Câd Goddeu," Amaethon gets his powers on agriculture not by natural genetics, but by stealing them from the Lord of the Other World, Arawn. The coincidence of these various elements: agriculture, the god of the Other World and the *motif* of rape points to the possible connections to the Greek myth of Demeter whose daughter, Persephone, was abducted by Hades, the Greek equivalent to the Welsh Arawn, and later claimed back by her mother in order to re-establish the renewal of crops (Kerényi, 1958: 210). In a similar way, Amaethon steals from the Other World the secrets concerning the fertilisation of the earth, a feminine divinity in Celtic tradition. His marriage to the earth in a ritual similar to that of "sacral kingship" will necessarily cause the harvest to be abundant. This significance is further enhanced within the poem by Gwydyon's transforming the army into trees which points to the side, natural forces stand upon in order to cause the renewal of the living cycle, as enforced in Greek Myth.

As a matter of fact, the more we insist on the analysis of "Câd Goddeu," the more we realize that Shakespeare's portrayal of a battle of trees was not taken at random. What this author presents us with in *Macbeth* final act is with the battle between the legitimate heir and the usurper, true and false, light and shadows... Malcom's troops and Macbeth's.

So when the former defeats the latter, his victory not only signifies a predictable outcome but it points to the triumph of Good over Evil. Thus, Malcom, like Gwydyon had done before, transforms his army into trees by giving the following command: "Let every soldier hew him down a bough, and bear't before him: thereby shall we shadow the numbers of our host, and make discovery err in report of us" (5.4.5-8). By doing so, he is fictionally transformed into an impersonation of God, leading into his aid the powers of nature, as it happens in "Câd Goddeu." Similarly, Macbeth's death will bring him back to the darkness that his sinister figure belongs to as in Welsh myth it happened to Arawn, whereas his unruled country will be passed on those who, like Amaethon, own the secrets of agriculture and will be thus able to make the land prosperous.

The parallels with "Câd Goddeu" are further enforced in the way the final victory is achieved. The relevance of the name, which in the Welsh piece had to be guessed, draws here the opposition between an intruder of unknown origin and the legitimate heir claiming the throne.⁹ Thus, the legitimacy proved by the

⁹We are obviously talking about Shakespearean fiction. The Macbeth family was otherwise historically proved to be a ruling clan in Moray. Macbeth's father, Findlaech, was defeated during the reign of Kenneth II by Sigurd of Orkney after having failed in his attempt to challenge the Viking power extending to the North of Inverness (Bullogh 1973: 431).

right ascendancy guarantees the kingdom to be gained both by the force of blood and by the fulfilment of the prophecy.

One must add to this picture the fact that Skene's analysis on the poem sets the action in Scotland, through the identification of Scottish toponyms belonging to the area of Ayrshire (namely, Troon and Beith), Dumfriesshire and the Clyde (Skene, 1868: 402), all of them situated in the Scottish West. This information supports Skene's theory on the combat at the root of the tongue: "Dan von y tauau't" (line 33) (Skene, 1868: 138) being an allusion to "the most striking difference between the Cymric and Gaelic —viz. the interchange of gutturals and labials, which might be called a combat at the root of the tongue" (Skene, 1868: 399). Most importantly, however, is the fact, that Shakespeare's play evinces the existence of an oral tradition linking "Câd Goddeu" to the Scottish land which he considered when writing *Macbeth*, placing thus its action in the right setting.

As earlier mentioned, Macbeth's name can't be guessed because he, like Arawn, has a sinister origin. However, Malcom's own will promote him to the appropriate position as a ruler, setting a lineage of which king James happens to be the last descendant in Shakespeare's generation. The king was nevertheless not considered to be a mere landowner but also the promoter of its common good, which can only be achieved if he proves to be the legitimate heir to the throne in the direct line, being consequently endowed with divine gifts. Like Amaethon kept the secrets of agriculture for the progress of mankind, thus will the right king enforce the richness of the land where he rules. Let me just end by quoting Jean Markale when he states: "Ensuite, il s'agit, non pas d'une bataille réelle, mais d'une bataille mythologique: ce sont les idées qui combattent; c'est une méditation de l'être sur ses origines et sur sa destinée" (1969: 382).

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DYSTOPIAN FEMALE IMAGES IN MORE'S *UTOPIA*

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Thomas More's famous work *Utopia* has justly been the object of a voluminous amount of scholarly work insofar it started an original fashion of literary and cultural form. In spite of the distinct interpretations, which have come to light throughout the years, the wish to present a bettered world in exercise stands out as a major goal of his work. The dream to convert his England into a more productive society using the current knowledge and manufacturing processes, and in so doing, to construct a more egalitarian commonwealth highlight as tangible objectives for More's progressive project.

However, in terms of gender, *Utopia*'s harmonic world vision is denied, the humanist view that prevails in his dream world being a patriarchal one. There, men are granted better chances of living according to their own merits and efforts, both as individuals and citizens, their roles in the public sphere no longer depending on chancy birth rights and privilege. Notwithstanding this new political structure, women seem to linger on men's shadow, deprived of an autonomous contribution in public affairs. They remain males' subordinated, their traditional functions and duties keeping them off from growing into adult and complete human beings some women were about to claim.

Thus, in our contemporary view, the discrepancy between male and female spheres in More's proposal, inasmuch as it produces a draw back effect in a commonwealth to-be, may introduce a dystopian element in his eutopia, which contradicts the pursuit of happiness purpose for everyone.

Thomas More's famous work *Utopia* has justly been the object of a voluminous amount of scholarly work insofar as it started an original fashion of literary and cultural trend. His description of "the best state of a commonwealth," as he called it, stems, however, from a rather long tradition belonging to different literary genres having in common the longing for a fairer and more hospitable world.

From the architectural projects of Paellas of Chalcedony and Hippodamus of Millet, from the fifth century B.C., whose urban planning derived from their notions of social and productive organisation, to Plato's *Republic*, the idea of improvement in man's living conditions was already present. Nonetheless, these do not actually constitute proper utopian works inasmuch as they do not describe active communities, but only inert, theoretical models to be

implemented by those in positions of power. As far as Plato is concerned, there are fantasised reports on the mythical Atlantis both in *Timaeus* and *Critias*, which somehow corresponds to this notion of an ideal working community (Ruyer 1950: 137). Moreover, these dialogues also contain a fictionalised discourse, using what may be called a reliable narrator, namely an Egyptian priest and Critias' ancestor, to bring back to the listeners the memory of a long forgotten past.

However, these works, as well as other Hellenic texts on the same subject matter, seem to perform a return to a lost golden age somewhere from the past, which man has no means of recovering owing either to a loss of knowledge, or to some terrible accident, natural or humanly caused. Thus, man confines himself to a dreamlike picture, a longing for a kind of Platonic archetype beyond his reach.

This sense of loss is also recurrent in Hebrew prophetic texts of the Old Testament or the Book of the Apocalypse in the New Testament. The prophet also named as the seer —rôh-eh— or the visionary —ho-zeh— and the dreamer —hô-hem— spoke about a messianic golden age lost for humankind because of original sin (Salvador & Chaves 1967: 4). Notwithstanding, the hope of recovering that Edenic status presented itself through God's will to redeem man, thus creating a land of justice where the humble ones would reign and the proud men would know their fall. The Alliance with God also meant the reestablishment of the bond between this earthly world and transcendence. The Book of the Apocalypse, the only prophetic book of the New Testament, revealed a new perfect era after the end of this defective world of ours.

All these ancient works show signs of an urge to change the prevalent conditions without, however, being able to perform it by means of just human toiling and knowledge. So, they either turn to an enchanted imagined forlorn past, or seek divine help to make the dream come true. In contrast, medieval society, with its social stability and almost uniform ethical and religious values, withdrew from the utopian thought and discourse. The relative sceptical spirit which had fed the debate about what actually existed and what might be brought into reality implied a polemic attitude which meant dissolution of an otherwise rather consistent world vision (Ruyer 1950: 146). In fact, works such as St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* were written whenever heretic or enemy groups put Orthodox Christian faith or secular institutions into question. However, St. Augustine does not propose a bettered world to live in our earthly course; he presents a real celestial city in opposition to an impious humane Rome, a poor corrupted copy, in Platonic terms, of God's archetype (Ruyer 1950: 150). So, there is no improving social scheme for men during their penitence in the material world.

The drive to change the body politic, the need to reform social and political institutions in order to correct injustice and create more pleasant societies came as a result of the humanistic studies which were developed during the Renaissance. The transformation of a limited unchangeable world into a new universe, infinite and unknown, shook all the conventional beliefs. The discoveries, together with Galilee's and Kepler's astronomic theories opened new perspectives and questioned the prevalent paradigm in multiple ways. Man was defied by new challenges. Being no longer at the centre of the universe, he felt a new responsibility for everything that happened. Divinity was no more accountable for men's wrong doings and was not always present to correct them. The rediscovery of classical values which was part and parcel of the philological studies both of the Greek and Roman legacies started in fourteenth century Italy and spread all over Europe during the next centuries. Thus it gave birth to the new literary forms as well as to the rejection of the scholastic philosophical thought. The yearning to know more and more triggered off a questioning posture and a more daring attitude towards new experiences both in science and in the political structure of society. Simultaneously, this new learning meant also a new ignorance, as C. S. Lewis (1954) stated and so, the sceptical doubt that Ruyer considered a necessary condition to the utopian way of thinking became prevalent among scholarly men.

As far as England was concerned, the religious controversy, which would eventually bring about the Reformation and the schism with the Roman Catholic Church, added another facet to the various doubts about the human condition and ability as a rational being. As Fernando de Mello Moser states, "it is true that man continued to be considered, just as before, "a proud and yet a wretched thing," but while the Reformers tended to be obsessed by the corruption of man, the major humanists preferred, in the wake of Pico della Mirandola, to emphasize the dignity of man" (Moser 1979: 155).

Thus education was considered as a main goal to be attained by all men who wished to contribute to the emergence of a more rational, and therefore, a more just society. The accurate study both of the classics and of the Scriptures heightened a critical and more correct perspective of things. Moreover, it would enable man to perfect his own ethical and spiritual being and prepared him to play a civic role within the community. Thus, humanistic principles applied to private and public duties of the individual.

The educational *curricula* offered to the men of the high and middling classes implied the attendance of boarding schools and university courses. The training acquired in these institutions through the teachings of schoolmasters and members of the clergy assured the spiritual and utilitarian capacities of their pupils as future family leaders and men with professional careers.

In this light, Thomas More's *Utopia* not only falls within the inquisitive spirit of the age, but stands as a guide book for those noble and gentlemen who must receive an education in ethical and political matters in order to be of service to their community. However, the educational objectives of More's work confine to a masculine universe. Together with Castiglione's *The Courtier* (1531), Thomas Elyot's *The Governour* (1531) or Machiavelli's *The Prince* (1560), the teaching of civic virtues based on Scriptural and classical authorities was aimed at a very restricted reading public, namely an aristocratic and genteel manly circle. Women were not included in the humanistic citizen's education. As Hilda L. Smith points out, "most humanists admitted that women had the ability to learn; it was simply a question of what they would do with such learning and whether it might interfere with their more important responsibilities as wives and mothers" (Smith 1996: 11).

Thus, More's *Utopia*, in that it directs itself to that particular male universe, expresses what the author thought or hoped that his England might become for them. In so doing he excludes from his dream vision a significant part of the society he is somehow critically mirroring.

In fact, the island of Utopia, besides the completely organised urban plan of its fifty-four cities and the productive communal structure which supports the country's economy based on traditional agricultural and manufacturing, presents a rather revolutionary social structure. The emphasis on merit instead of birth privilege to define man's place in society seems to guarantee fairer opportunities for everybody. Moreover, all Utopians have access to free education in order to improve themselves in intellectual and especially spiritual matters.

Granting equal opportunities of learning to both men and women, it would seem that Thomas More is overlooking the aforesaid discrimination, which was current in sixteenth century England educational prospects. Indeed, the attention he gave to his daughters' intellectual progresses seems to support that notion as well. Nevertheless, his notion of female education, in spite of his affection towards his daughters, strongly differs in the goals he envisages as ways of fulfilling their lives. Whereas men would embark upon a civic career, women, his daughters included, should learn in order to become better wives and mothers. Notwithstanding the amount of philological exercises he demanded from his daughters, the qualities he highlighted in a woman consisted of the Christian virtues of piety, modesty, charity and humility (Smith 1996: 21).

When considering the Utopian commonwealth, the readers are told women should perform their house duties, namely, preparing the meals, taking care of the children, helping in every household activities and supporting their husbands in times of war (More 1989: 58-59; 92).

So, Utopian women are once again defined according to the roles men attributed them throughout their lives. They are viewed as men's daughters, prospective brides to be prepared for their wifely role, then mothers and, sometimes, widows. They have no other titles within the economy of Thomas More's text; that is, they get no identity of their own during the different stages of their lives, always depending on their fathers' and especially on their husbands' status.

The patriarchal criteria, which were to linger on for centuries, reflected the hierarchical distribution of power among the members of Utopian society, despite the apparently classless system it exhibits. A syphogrant's wife was a woman of some importance, ruling the domestic affairs, taking care of the orphans of tender age, sitting with her husband on the most honourable places at the dinner table (More 1989: 59). A tranibor's wife would be even more important and the priests' wives the most important in the whole country, except for women who were priests themselves (More 1989: 102).

No public roles were ever attributed to women with the exception of priesthood. All their duties and range of activities confine themselves to traditional tasks within the domestic arena. The silent, chaste and obedient woman model agreed with the Scriptural description of the woman as man's helpmate on account of having been born from a part of his body (Genesis, 2: 18-23). S. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians was also very often quoted to stress the female's subordinate role in relation to man's: "Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church: and he is the saviour of the body. Therefore as the church is subject unto Christ, so let wives be to their own husbands in everything" (Ephesians, 5: 22-24).

The Biblical and Aristotelian view of woman's physical and intellectual inferiority is here reiterated. Woman's weakness, made obvious in the Book of Genesis, brought about mankind's loss of Paradise, a stigma that was to follow women throughout the times. Her physical fragility together with her alleged but passive capacity in the reproductive process also granted her a secondary role in Creation, where man represented rationality, strength and active reproductive abilities. Therefore, it was man's duty to guide her, helping her to overcome some of her "natural" defects. So, before going to their religious service, Utopian women and children must kneel before the head of the family, the husband and father, to confess their misconduct and be forgiven (More 1989: 104).

The parallel between women and children clearly demonstrates their minority status, an everlasting childhood which no industrious behaviour seems able to overcome, at least in earthly society. The female's responsibility, even in

spiritual matters suffered the mediation of patriarchal authority: if a woman had vowed anything unto God, the husband had the power to disavow it (Numbers, 30: 6-8).

Although Thomas More and, for instance, Juan Luis Vives encouraged learning for women, they restricted that training to matters aiming at the development of female Christian virtues, thus moulding the most adequate male companions without jeopardising domestic harmony. The asymmetry between a masculine and feminine Renaissance presents two divergent trends. On the one hand, there is the pagan or classic frame of mind, which points to a civic fulfilment with an ingrained notion of social change and progress; on the other hand, a Judaeo-Christian one which sustains a kind of stasis in earthly affairs but overcome in a celestial afterlife.

Juan Luis Vives, one of the most prominent humanists also acknowledges the need for such guidance. His most widely read conduct book, *The Instruction of a Christian Woman*, 1540, dedicated to princess Mary, Henry VIII's and Catherine of Aragon's daughter, reminds his male readers of the myth of Creation and the Aristotelian arguments to justify the need to guard and direct a daughter. The emphasis on chastity is constructed in relation to the particular spaces women should be allowed into in their daily activities. Good women, either virgins or chaste wives, are to be kept indoors, whereas fallen women are those who dare walk "abroad," that is, in public areas. Women should efface themselves avoiding both being seen or heard (Aughterson 1995: 67-72).

The Utopian commonwealth, though, allows women to embrace priesthood, thus contradicting the rule of silence in public activities. However, this allowance only contemplates widows "of advanced years" (More 1989: 102) in order to preserve their prior duties as wives and mothers. Their acceptance as members of the clergy equals civic death. As these widows are no longer useful as far as their womanly performance is concerned, they may devote themselves to God as if in expectancy of their ultimate fate. They become sexless women, almost ungendered creatures in the eyes of God and of their fellowmen.

Although pretending to defend the notions of equal chances of enhancing women's moral and intellectual abilities, keeping them in the periphery of humanistic civic principles goals constitutes a denial of their participation in the commonwealth as citizens. The almost medieval stereotype of hierarchical structure both in the family and in the public arena pervades the Utopian commonwealth in relation to gender questions. In this apparently egalitarian society, a biased view of woman prevents them from participating in the social project of a perfect society.

Thus, the gendered opposition between man's perfectibility and woman's inability to improve her alleged natural self undermines Thomas More's fiction. In so doing, it introduces a distorted image of the best state described by Raphael and recounted by More, that is, it implies a Dystopian factor in an otherwise utopian proposal.

Krishan Kumar in his *Utopia and Anti-Utopia in Modern Times* distinguishes the concepts of anti-utopia and dystopia. The author considers the former term more generic than the latter, which was introduced by John Stuart Mill, in a speech delivered in the House of Commons in 1868. There he made a direct reference to More's *Utopia*:

It is, perhaps, too complementary to call them Utopians, they ought rather to be called dys-topians, or caco-topians. What is commonly called Utopian is something too good to be practicable; but what they appear to favour is too bad to be practicable. (Kumar 1987: 447)

However, the imagery chosen by Kumar to define the anti-utopian—or dystopian—element fits entirely into the conservative Judaeo-Christian values, which hindered humanists to envisage a world unbiased in terms of gender: “‘the worm in the bud’ and ‘the thorn in the rose’: the pessimistic counterpoint to the optimistic visions of history and humanity, like the serpent coiling itself around the apple tree in the Garden of Eden” (Kumar 1987: 102).

Thomas More seems completely unaware of a female need to be seen in another light, as someone being able to participate in the understanding of that new world Renaissance men were so anxious to build. He did not consider the possibility of liberating women from the private sphere, although acknowledging their spiritual and intellectual potential.

In spite of Christine de Pisan's efforts to defend the woman's right to a professional career just at the beginning of the fifteenth century (*La Cité des Femmes*, 1404, translated into English in 1521 by Brian Anslay with the title *The Boke of the Cyte of Ladys*), or the countless works Renaissance women were to write in Tudor and Stuart times in a timid gesture to break a somewhat misogynistic approach of human condition, Thomas More's *Utopia* holds to the old social pattern.

The critical tone, which permeates *Utopia*'s Book One apparently defies the old order, whereas Book Two asserts man's ability to change his world into a better place. Notwithstanding, this kind of hybris is denied for the feminine part of mankind. To object to woman's equal ability to improve by means of political, economical and, therefore, social reforms means to conform to the Christian philosophy of resignation and suffering as the proper human lot. This,

according to Kumar denotes a deeply ingrained anti-utopian temperament (Kumar 1987: 103).

George M. Logan and Robert M. Adams suggest in their introduction to the text the central topics of deliberative oratory, honour and expediency — *honestas* and *utilitas*— constitute an obvious strategy in the construct of More's (or Raphael's) argumentative process. Any action may be advisable on the grounds that it is honourable or expedient, the best case consisting of the conjunction of both conditions (More 1989: xxii). However, in gender issues one may argue whether the honourable conduct recommended for women does not result in a behavioural code only expedient to men. As Stuart Mill would say, it was too bad to be practicable for women.

If so, the ideal commonwealth envisaged by More does not suit real women with humanly aspirations and potentialities. It only aims at a perfect world for men having as companions silent and industrious feminine ghosts, Petrarchan images apart from reality. Thus, for the female half of the inhabitants of this dream island it becomes a nightmarish proposal devoid of hope, and perhaps the first involuntary feminist dystopia.

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**MARRIAGE
CONTRACTS AND
FARCICAL
CONSIDERATION IN
*IGNORAMUS*¹**

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Despite the growing number and popularity of studies of law as an early modern English literary theme (White, Tucker, Shupack, Kornstein, Dolan) and of law and literature as parallel linguistic systems imposing artificial order by means of fictions (Aristodemou, Posner, Polloczek) and informing each other's constructs of selfhood (Hutson, Wilson, Kahn), one of the most notorious of English renaissance "legal plays," the Latin farcical comedy *Ignoramus* by George Ruggle, has attracted scant critical attention in the last twenty years. Performed twice before James I at Cambridge in 1615 and translated into English three times during the reign of Charles II, *Ignoramus* is chiefly remembered as a veiled attack on the chief justice of the Court of King's Bench, Sir Edward Coke, and as evidence of James's worsening political relations with the London barristers. Yet in presenting its lawyerly vice figure as cunning in the drafting and defence of contracts, and as applying such legal formulae as *quid pro quo* to purely sentimental questions, the play also highlights early modern insecurities about the limits of the new ways of making bargains. In this paper, I'll focus on conflicting contractual obligations in the first English version of the text, Ferdinando Parkhurst's *Ignoramus, the Academical-Lawyer* (1662); in addition to analysing the limits and logic of contract in *Ignoramus*, I'll attempt to address the question of whether the play's legal outcome—*Ignoramus* is trumped by a pre-existing pre-marital contract—was in fact valid at common law in the seventeenth century.

Despite the growing number and popularity of studies of law as an early modern English literary theme (White 1996, Tucker 1984, Shupack 1997, Kornstein 1994, Dolan 1996) and of law and literature as parallel linguistic systems imposing artificial order by means of fictions (Aristodemou 2000, Posner 1998, Polloczek 1999) and informing each other's constructs of selfhood (Hutson 1998, Wilson 2000, Kahn 2000), one of the most notorious of English renaissance "legal plays," the Latin farcical comedy *Ignoramus* by George

¹I would like to thank Professor Stephen Waddams of the University of Toronto Law School and my father, Mr Justice A. J. Stone of the Federal Court of Canada, for their help with substantive legal questions in the seventeenth-century context.

Ruggle, has attracted scant critical attention in the last twenty years. Performed twice before James I at Cambridge in 1615 and translated into English three times during the reign of Charles II, *Ignoramus* is chiefly remembered as a veiled attack on the chief justice of the Court of King's Bench, Sir Edward Coke, and as evidence of James's worsening political relations with the London barristers.² It is also, to anyone with some knowledge of the history of English law, as impressive a collection of bad legal puns as has ever been assembled. Yet in presenting its lawyerly vice figure as cunning in the drafting and defence of contracts, and as applying such legal formulae as *quid pro quo* to purely sentimental questions, the play also highlights early modern insecurities about the limits of the new ways of making bargains. In this paper I focus on conflicting contractual obligations in the first English version of the text, Ferdinando Parkhurst's *Ignoramus, the Academical-Lawyer*, first performed in 1662,³ in addition to analysing the limits and logic of contract in *Ignoramus*, I attempt to address the question of whether the play's legal outcome — *Ignoramus* is trumped by a pre-existing pre-marital contract — was in fact valid at common law in the seventeenth century.

In Ruggle's lifetime, the medieval law of covenant had finally been displaced. Under the old law, agreements or bargains were tested by oath. A supposed debtor might swear on the gospels that he owed no debt. To support this, he would produce a group of twelve neighbours, who would swear to the same effect. This procedure, known as wager of law, was intended for villages where everyone knew everyone else and their business. In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century London, litigants paid professional compurgators, and the courts accepted the testimony of strangers, on oath, such proof being regarded as the end of the process. Hence oral agreements were, for some time, hardly worth taking to court; indeed, the central courts would not hear disputes involving bargains struck informally. Subject to more sophisticated procedure, though far fewer, were written and sealed agreements. Of these the most popular was the bond, the agreement to perform an action (e.g. to pay a sum of money, such as double the money owed) for failure to keep an agreement by a certain day, of which Antonio's with Shylock in *The Merchant of Venice* constitutes an unlikely but dramatically effective variant. Elsewhere,

²See the article on Ruggle in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, as well as the lamentably brief though valuable discussion of *Ignoramus* in Wilfred Prest (1986: 187).

³Parkhurst's *Ignoramus* was not published. Of the three manuscript versions, I have used the "C" text occupying pages 1-163 in E. F. J. Tucker's 1970 critical edition. Readers interested in Ruggle's Latin original may wish to consult Dana F. Sutton's on-line critical edition (<<http://eee.uci.edu/~papyri/ruggle/>>). Parkhurst's first draft translation, the much longer "A" text, is the principle source used for the English version which Sutton has published alongside the Latin text.

Shakespeare likened these commercial agreements to lovers' demands on one another:

“Pure lips, sweet seals in my soft lips imprinted,
 What bargains may I make, still to be sealing
 To sell myself I can be well contented,
 So thou wilt buy, and pay, and use good dealing;
 Which purchase, if thou make, for fear of slips
 Set thy seal manual on my wax-red lips.

“A thousand kisses buys my heart from me;
 And pay them at thy leisure, one by one.
 What is ten hundred kisses unto thee?
 Are they not quickly told and quickly gone?
 Say for non-payment that the debt should double,
 Is twenty hundred kisses such a trouble?” (*Venus and Adonis* 511-22)

By Tudor times suits to compel the fulfillment of such a bonded promise were the most common class of case in the court of Common Pleas. Bondless litigants, if parties to partly executed contracts, turned to suits for debt rather than breach of covenant. It was enough to show, *quid pro quo*, that one end of the bargain had been upheld.

As the old law of contract was not satisfactory, courts and litigants came to side-step it. Breach of covenant came to be treated as a trespass, i.e. a non-criminal action causing harm. To be seen as trespasses, bad bargains had to be interpreted in terms of their consequences. If a man bought a lame horse and the vendor had not told him it was lame, he could allege deceit on the vendor's part and sue for damages, as could a brewer who had paid for barley—upon which he relied for his livelihood—and did not receive it. Over time, various strands of legal thinking about the non- or mis-performance of the terms of a deal came together, and bondless debtors were allowed to dodge the wager of law by arguing that they needed the missing money to pay their own debts or close a deal. This innovation, dating from the 1530s, proved flexible and did much to attract London commercial suits to the central courts. It also generated disagreement between courts, leading to great confusion in the assize circuits and, in 1597-1602, to a famous text case named after one of the litigants, a Mr. Slade. Slade had agreed, orally, to sell a crop of wheat and rye to a man named Morley for £16. Morley had taken delivery of the crop without paying and the only bad consequence Slade could allege was his own loss. All the judges in England were convoked to decide whether Morley could be sued for trespass, and heard the arguments of Sir Francis Bacon and Sir Edward Coke, among others. By a split decision, they effectively did away with wager of law. Future cases would be determined on testimony in court before jurors.

Central to these new developments in contract law was the doctrine of consideration. Lawyers speak of “valuable consideration” sufficient to bind the parties to a contract. It may consist of some right, interest, profit or benefit accruing to one party, or some forbearance, detriment, loss or responsibility given, suffered or undertaken by the other. The formula is that A makes a promise *in consideration* of what B will promise to do (or refrain from doing) for A. Without consideration, a promise is an unenforceable agreement of the kind known to the law as naked pacts. It was in defining consideration that the courts had to grapple with human emotions. In both 1588 and 1600 they were called upon to decide whether love and natural affection were grounds for an action of *assumpsit*, the principle class of cases to enforce or void contracts (Holdsworth 1951 8. 18). Without an express *quid pro quo*, the judges held, there was no consideration. To complicate matters, equity had its own conception of the doctrine, illustrated by a 1677 Chancery decision according to which there existed “apparent consideration of affection from the father to his children” (Holdsworth 1951 8. 12). Some feelings, then, could sometimes bind contractually, despite the common-law requirement that consideration be certain. As critics such as Luke Wilson and Lorna Hutson have suggested, legal inquiry into the actionability of promises may have provided the intellectual framework for much Renaissance literary inquiry into the relationship between one’s inner self and outward actions, between intending agents and consequences; and, as the founder of modern English legal history, Sir Henry Maine, once suggested, “the movement of progressive societies has hitherto been a movement from status to contract” (Maine 1876: 170), that is, from assigned to negotiated roles.

Such considerations, if you’ll excuse the pun, are the focus of Parkhurst’s treatment of the limits of the contractible in *Ignoramus*. There are three contracts in the play. The first is a marriage brokerage agreement made between Ignoramus, an English lawyer, and Rodrigo Torcol, a Portuguese merchant; it affects Rodrigo’s supposed niece and ward, Rosabella, whom a hopeful Ignoramus calls his “Goods and Chattles” and “Chattle-personall” (1.3.11). The manner in which it is arranged is itself a parody of a three-part process described by the social historian Martin Ingram:

Preliminary marriage negotiations were “ended” at a prearranged meeting, in the presence of impartial witness, between the couple, members of their families and other interested parties.... Matters of property might be thrashed out and agreements made either verbally or —especially at higher social levels, and increasingly over time— in writing. A relative, a respected neighbour or sometimes a minister then undertook to contract the couple. (Ingram 1987: 196)

Ignoramus follows this sequence of events, with some distortion at each stage. The brokerage deal, committed to writing before the meeting, is very much the focus and lends a distinctly business flavour to the proceedings. In the meeting itself both sentimental and practical matters are discussed in terms so densely and specifically legal that the bride-to-be is left stupefied; and Ignoramus officiates his own betrothal. As Ignoramus reminds Torcol:

it was agreed, indented and condescended to, between Ambidexter Ignoramus for his parte, and Rodrigo Torcol for his, that if I (the said Ambidexter) paid you (the said Rodrigo) six hundred Crownes legale monete, I should have your Ward Rosabella under Covert-Barne; you acknowledge the contract?
(1.3.16-21)

The choice of the term “contract” rather than “bargain,” “agreement,” or “undertaking,” is significant, for “contract” long retained the meaning of “an agreement between two or more for the buying and selling of some personal goods whereby property is altered” (Baker 1990: 360). Rosabella is clearly the property at issue—she is to be delivered to Ignoramus for his “use” (3.2.25)—and the choice of terms has the effect of underlining the unseemliness of bargaining for her. As Rosabella herself remarks later in Act One: “I am now become as priz-goods, tendered to sale at who gives more / and am contracted for” (1.5.97-99).

This executory contract under seal is later revealed to be a bond (4.8.60-75). As such marriage brokerage (or, to use the legal term, brocage) agreements violated neither common law nor any standing legislation, they came to be challenged in Chancery, the court of equity. The object of the bond was difficult to regulate. Although church weddings were common, under English law marriages could take place in the home or the open air and required no special wording: any explicit expression of mutual consent would do, as in the case of *The Tempest*’s Miranda and Ferdinand (3.1.83-89).⁴ Another such match takes place off stage in the final scene of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*: Anne Page and Fenton, who had deceived Anne’s unwanted suitors and slipped away, return to declare that their union, “long since contracted” (5.5.210), is now a fact. Even so considerable a legal figure as Sir Edward Coke married his second wife in a private house (Baker 1990: 548).

Years later Coke was to tie his daughter to a bedpost, putting her to the whip until she agreed to marriage with a member of the family of the Duke of Buckingham (Hufton 1995: 118-19). Yet in the first half of the seventeenth century Chancery had established “the general principle that the marriage

⁴Baker (1990: 545-50), Ingram (1987: 132-33), and Stone (1977: 30-37) all provide illuminating discussions of marriage contracts in the period. See also Macfarlane on the polemical issue of the extent of parental control over the choice of partners (1986: 124-27).

contract ought to be the result of the free consent of the parties” (Holdsworth 1951 6. 646).⁵ This doctrine led the court to cancel bonds promised for effecting a marriage, though for some time doubts persisted as to whether Chancery would deem these contract void if neither fraud, coercion, nor total failure of consideration could be demonstrated. Finally, in the 1695 case of *Hall vs. Porter*, the House of Lords ruled that all marriage brocage agreements were void because of their tendency to vitiate “the freedom of consent which the policy of the law required in the formation of a marriage contract” (quoted in Holdsworth 1951 6. 647). It was said that the “not vacating” of such bonds in a court of equity would be “of evil example” to guardians, among others.

Evidently such bonds were sufficiently common to be made the stuff of comedy by Ruggle and Parkhurst. What, though, of the law in the play? Could this contract be enforced? The manner of payment is far from orthodox: when Ignoramus sends a clerk to deliver the indenture and 600 crowns to Torcol, the servant is duped by some friends of Antonius (Rosabella’s beau, whom she eventually marries after having escaped from Ignoramus’s clutches) into delivering the money and document to them (they exchange the money for another woman wearing a veil). One of these friends then disguises himself as Ignoramus’s clerk and proceeds to Torcol’s house, where he hands over the 600 crowns and makes off with the real Rosabella. Has Ignoramus held up his end of the bargain? He certainly thinks so, for he tells Torcol, “vous avez forfeit l’obligation” (4.8.75-6), insisting that “it’s a clear case” (4.8.76) and demanding the penalty of one thousand crowns (4.8.75); and he is likely in the right, legally. Yet a number of issues other than breach of contract should be considered. The first involves Rodrigo’s capacity to make such a bargain in the first place. Under English law, guardians had a right to choose a spouse for their wards, as the King of France does for his unwilling ward Bertram in *All’s Well that Ends Well* (2.3.101-56); and a ward who refused was obliged to pay compensation. Now Torcol is revealed, in Act Five, to be neither Rosabella’s uncle or her guardian (she was stolen from her birth parents and later sold to Rodrigo’s late brother, who adopted her). His guardianship might be challenged on this ground. In fact, this possibility occurs to no-one: when in the play’s second-last scene Ignoramus threatens to sue for wrongful dispossession (5.7.18-19; the choice of term is a further indication that he views his would-be wife as property), he is merely bought off.

⁵Consent could only be given freely once the age of puberty had been reached, fixed legally as twelve for girls and fourteen for boys (Ingram 1987: 173). As of 1604, those under the age of twenty-one were compelled to secure parental consent before they could undergo a church marriage, on which certain property rights depended. Given the confused state of English marriage law, this requirement limited but did not invalidate teenaged clandestine marriages.

A second issue involves Rodrigo's manner of persuading Rosabella to contract marriage with Ignoramus: he threatens to prostitute her or sell her into slavery if she does not consent (1.4.1-8). Duress renders the contract voidable, that is, void if Rosabella should choose to renounce it, and valid if she should prefer to correct this defect, presumably by insisting that her consent (implicit in 1.4.61; given—or procured—ceremoniously in 1.4.90-2) was free, though of course this would depend on the outcome of litigation. Had such a case come before a seventeenth-century judge, the ruling would be far from certain, for the courts had taken to interpreting "duress" narrowly (Ingram 1987: 174-75).⁶ Perhaps, then, her marriage contract could not have been enforced; if so Torcol could not be said to have met his obligation. Then again, it is possible that Rosabella's marriage should never have been the object of a pact for the simple reason that she'd already been espoused, to which issue I shall return presently.

For the second and third contracts in *Ignoramus* are marriage contracts, which Parkhurst does his best to muddle.⁷ Indeed, much of the play's comedy resides in Ignoramus's inability to approach Rosabella in any terms other than those of feudal tenure, litigation, and contract. For example, when Torcol arranges a first meeting between the lawyer and Rosabella in fulfillment of the familiar negotiation-meeting-betrothal pattern, Ignoramus begins with some lawyerly hemming. He then addresses his remarks to an absent jury and Madame Justice Rosabella (1.4.31-2) and proposes that they "make a free marriage in frank-pledge" (1.4.38-9). This term, which is not in Ruggle (Tucker 1980: 256-7), refers to the medieval pledging of freemen to good behaviour.⁸ After having tried his hand at wooing the lady with awful verses in Law Latin (1.4.27-56; "Et dabo Fee-Simple, si monstras Love's pretty dimple" is representative), Ignoramus alludes to a writ compelling the fencing off of a piece of land (1.4.61) as a way of suggesting that Rosabella should not see other men. Two references to contract form the conclusion to this encounter: Ignoramus reads to Rosabella an elaborate though occasionally burlesque

⁶The prevailing construction of "duress" in marriage contract cases was "'force or fear' sufficient to sway a 'constant' man or woman," which makes the character of the party alleged to have contracted marriage under duress germane to the outcome of the case (Ingram 1987: 174-75).

⁷Perhaps this is due to the decline in prominence of informal marriage contracts, which, though still notorious in Ruggle's lifetime, were described by one late seventeenth-century jurist as "now in great measure worn out of use" (Ingram 1987: 133).

⁸This reference is reinforced later in the play: Rodrigo and Ignoramus come across Rosabella at the house of Theodorus, the father of Antonius, where she and her lover are staying in the guise of Antonius's twin brother and his wife. On seeing his would-be betrothed, the lawyer once again waxes poetical, declaring himself "Bound ... in Franck-pledge to thee, and yet am in Free Soccage" (4.9.57-8). The latter term denotes a kind of non-chivalrous tenure or set of conditions under which land was held, the implication being that Rosabella is Ignoramus's feudal lord.

jointure, a deed normally settling an estate on a wife for her lifetime after her husband's death. This does not constitute but may echo the practice of drafting conditional marriage contracts, agreements to marry if certain conditions (such as property settlement) were met (Ingram 1987: 190), very like the consideration of common-law contracts. Although there is no explicit assent to such an agreement, both its terms and Ignoramus's logic are distinctly commercial. The jointure fixes the term as "durante placito," a play on the expression "durante bene placito" or "during [the Crown's] pleasure." In a play liberally sprinkled with sexual puns on habeas corpus, the meaning here is quite clear: financial security is being offered in exchange for sex. "Now you must love me quid pro quo, my little Vagabond," Ignoramus insists, invoking the well-known formula meaning "something for something," a form of consideration. A moment later he demands to "seal and deliver" one kiss (which he promptly steals) by way of "contract before witnesses," a wily stratagem designed as evidence of a contract in the absence of spoken assent, for the courts sometimes based their decisions on ritual actions such as a kiss or the giving of tokens when the reported words of a spoken espousal were in dispute. Just before kissing Rosabella he declares that he'll have a *quare impedit* for her, an action meaning "wherefore he hindered" used to recover a presentation to a church living. Of course, the marriage precontract hindered others from contracting marriage with either party unless the precontract was dissolved by mutual consent. Ignoramus clearly hopes to do the hindering.

Yet in the end, of course, it is Ignoramus who is hindered when a servant reveals the truth of Rosabella's identity and provenience. Her true name is Isabella. Her unnamed mother was the first wife of Manlius, an alderman of London, the first husband of the Dorothea. After the death of Manlius, Dorothea married Theodorus, a French merchant, and had by him twin sons, Antonius and Antoninus. The former is Rosabella's lover, who is thus her younger adoptive brother. (As there are no blood ties, consanguinity is not an issue.) Yet as Theodorus tells Antonius, "Isabella ... we betrothed to thee, e're thou wer'st capable of knowledge" (5.6.113-14). An amber token of this espousal is conveniently produced bearing a symbol of wedlock and the inscribed letters "A" and "I,"⁹ evidence countering Ignoramus's stolen kiss. This betrothal, if indeed a pre-contract, would render Rosabella / Isabella incapable on contracting marriage with anyone else, thus voiding her dubious agreement with Ignoramus. Indeed, without knowing of this contract, Rosabella tells Theodorus that she is already Antonius's wife (5.4.48), leading the audience to conclude that a felicitous clandestine marriage has taken place. This solution is not as neat as it may seem, for infant betrothal hardly entails free consent, and children

⁹See Hufton (1995: 101) and Ingram (1987: 129) on infant betrothals in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe and England, respectively.

under the age of seven could not be betrothed under English law. In the end, the technical legal issues raised in the play are never satisfactorily resolved, though as Ignoramus makes it clear that he will not press his claim it is clear that no court of common, canon or equity law will ever hear this case. Judges of various courts might well have ruled all three contracts void: the agreement between Ignoramus and Rodrigo, in Chancery, as being in the nature of marriage brokerage; the pre-contract between Ignoramus and Rosabella, in church courts, on grounds of duress and lack of explicit assent; and the infant betrothal, also in church courts, because of a lack of the contracting parties' lack of understanding of what was taking place. As for the frequently muddled use of legalisms in discussing the plays' contracts and their terms, it seems a pity to quibble with Ruggle and Parkhurst's abuse of the lawyers' "terms of art." Though they echo social concerns with the growth of contract and the evolution of its law, their aim was otherwise, and too technically correct a play would have provided fewer laughs. Their audiences were not learned in the law and, as Johnson was to write in the succeeding century, "The stage but echoes back the publick voice. / The drama's laws the drama's patrons give" (1964: 89).

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RHETORIC AND TRUTH IN *THE SPANISH* *TRAGEDY*

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Rhetoric was an essential discipline in the Renaissance to fully understand plays such as Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy*. Paying special attention to the figurative devices present in the play, this paper intends to be a new contribution to the study of this rhetorical language in Kyd's tragedy. I will mainly focus my study on the descriptions of battles that appear in the first act of the play, and on how these descriptions seem to be tightly connected to the Humanist rhetorical tradition revised by Erasmus in his *De Copia*. When describing the terms *enargeia* and *evidentia*, Erasmus is constantly concerned with the relationship between words and things, emphasising in that way the importance of truth-telling as expressed by means of an accurate rhetorical language. Rhetorical accuracy, words and things are therefore bound and interconnected, which renders language a vital tool for communicating faithful information. Following this leading idea offered by Erasmus, this paper seeks to provide a new perspective of how the language and richness in discourse used to describe the battle in *The Spanish Tragedy* are related to Erasmus' interest in shaping the thoughts with a trustworthy and accurate rhetoric.

“Stand up I say, and tell thy tale at large” (1.2.58). These are the words that the Viceroy of Portugal employs to demand from Villuppo a full narration of the events that have taken place in the war against Spain. However, with these words, not only does the Viceroy command Villuppo to expose the matter at large, but what he expects is some kind of pleasure from the narrator and as much detail as possible from Villuppo's words. Yet, he may be aware of the pain that they may cause, as he infers that the true content of the events is the death of Balthazar, his son and Prince of Portugal. There is no doubt, nevertheless, that the Viceroy's request goes far beyond the mere imperative form. His words have a further importance if taken in the Humanist context where the play was written, and if immersed in the dominant rhetorical tradition in the Renaissance. These are not just empty words, but they are full of significance, and it is presumably quite obvious that Kyd's rhetorical skills and purposes are behind this utterance. Its analysis is the main goal of this paper.

Detailed descriptions, that is, giving as much faithful information and detail as possible —and this is exactly what the Viceroy is demanding— were

the clues to a good rhetorical composition as proposed by Erasmus in his treatise *De Utraque Verbores ac Rerum Copia* (1515). Erasmus's work, mainly based on Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* and other classical rhetorical treatises, was extremely influential during the 16th century, and a good proof of it are the numerous editions that were published during that same century and the widespread circulation all over Europe. In *De Copia*, Erasmus's central concern is the idea of *copia* in a text, which he describes, not as the imitation of other authors, but as the enlarging of a text with rhetorical devices to beautify the thought and produce pleasure in the reader or hearer:

The first way to embellish thought is to relate at length and treat in detail something that could be expressed summarily and in general. And this, in fact, is the same as if one should *display* merchandise first through a latticework, or rolled up in carpets, then should unroll the carpets and disclose the merchandise, *exposing* it completely to sight. (1963: 43, my emphasis)

According to Erasmus, and to other English rhetoricians such as Thomas Wilson ("Of the Figure of Amplification," *The Art of Rhetoric*, 1560), the most appropriate way to enlarge and beautify a text is by means of the *amplificatio* of words and things, that is, by expanding the text as to produce delight with its content and with its choice of words, with its *res* and with its *verba*. Choosing the words "display" and "expose" in his definition, which directly refer to the act of oratorical delivery or *elocutio*, Erasmus is suggesting the importance of being fluent and of having a profuse, well-organised, and copious, and at the same time meaningful argument. Following this idea, Erasmus therefore considers the concept of *enargeia* or *evidentia*, due to its aptness to extend a text and to provide pleasure, the best method of *amplificatio*, and by *enargeia* he means a powerful mental picture and description or the possibility to bring a faithful and striking image to the eye (*res*) by means of words (*verba*).

We use this [*enargeia*] whenever, for the sake of amplifying, adorning, or pleasing, we do not state a thing simply, but set it forth to be viewed as though portrayed in color on a tablet, so that it may seem that we have painted, not narrated, and that the reader has seen, not read.

...

We shall enrich speech by description of a thing when we do not relate what is done, or has been done, summarily or sketchily, but place it before the reader painted with all the colors of rhetoric, so that at length it draws the hearer or reader outside himself as in the theatre. (Erasmus 1963: 47)

And this desire of rhetorical portraying, of acquiring a righteous description of past events or actions is continually present in Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* (1588-1592). As it has already been said, the Viceroy of Portugal asks for a report of the battle against Spain (1.3.55-58); but this is not

the only case in the play. In the previous scene, the King of Spain equally asks for a description of the fight (1.2.16-22), in the same way Bel-Imperia will also demand from Horatio another detailed statement of the combat where her beloved, Don Andrea, died (1.4.1-5). And, apart from these requests, there are other three descriptions of the struggle and Don Andrea's decease all along the play,¹ which obviously increase the rhetorical power of the tragedy. The main characters request, therefore, from their reporters a detailed explanation of the battle and Don Andrea's death, that is to say, an example of the *enargeia* defined by Erasmus.

Let us compare, then, the manner in which these three characters, the King, the Viceroy, and Bel-Imperia, solicit these reports, these acts of *enargeia*. The first one, the King, talks like this to the General:

But General, unfold in brief discourse
Your form of battle and your war's success,
That adding all the pleasure of thy news
Unto the height of former happiness,
With deeper wage and greater dignity
We may reward thy blissful chivalry. (1.2.16-22)

The second request is the one presented by the Viceroy to Villuppo:

Speak on, I'll guerdon thee whate'er it be:
Mine ear is ready to receive ill news,
My heart grown hard 'gainst mischief's batery;
Stand up I say, and tell thy tale at large. (1.3.55-58)

Finally, the third entreaty is the one claimed by Bel-Imperia to Horatio:

Signior Horatio, this is the place and hour
Wherein I must entreat thee to relate
The circumstance of Don Andrea's death,
Who, living, was my garland's sweetest flower,
And in his death hath buried my delights. (1.4.1-5)

In spite of asking for the same favour, their petitions seem to be very different in form and tone. There is no need to say that, due to their circumstances (the death of their beloved son and lover, respectively), the entreaties by the Viceroy and Bel-Imperia are much more distressed than the one by the King of Spain, who only awaits for good news of success. As far as the concept of *enargeia* is concerned, one can perfectly argue that the Viceroy's

¹Carol McGinnis Kay (1977: 20-38) states that there are five accounts of the battle in the play. I slightly differ, notwithstanding, as I consider that the brief description offered by Balthazar in his conversation with Lorenzo (2.2.119-123) also adds another, though tenuous, perspective to the final view of the struggle.

request is the one seeking for the most exhaustive description, as it has already been said at the opening of this paper. With the sentence “tell thy tale at large” (1.3.58), the Viceroy’s petition seems to be the opposite to that of the King as this last one expects the General to “unfold [the account of the battle] in brief discourse” (1.2.16). Both of them demand the same record, but, whereas the King prefers a “brief discourse”(1.2.16), the Viceroy desires a more explicit account. The King seems to be impatient about the record of the struggle, and that is why he is only concerned with the *res*, with the content of the General’s report, with the victory he supposes. However, the General’s answer to the King turns out to be one of the longest speeches in the play, 67 lines, in spite of the succinct exposition requested by the King. He takes his time to describe the battle, embellishing his narration with all kinds of figures of speech, similes, parallelisms, metaphors, among others; with all those “colors of rhetoric” proposed by Erasmus. He is conscious of the pleasure that he may cause in the King with his good news, and to make it doubly pleasing, he enlarges it to such an extreme as to offer the most vivid portrayal of the scene. The King’s words have promised him a reward, so he works hard for the sake of the gift. This fragment will illustrate the General’s rhetorical mastery:

Where Spain and Portingale do jointly knit
 Their frontiers, leaning on each other’s bound,
 There met our armies in their proud array:
Both furnished well, both full of hope and fear,
Both menacing alike with daring shows,
Both vaunting sundry colours of device,
Both cheerly sounding trumpets, drums and fifes,
Both raising dreadful clamours to the sky,
 That valleys, hills, and rivers made rebound,
 And heaven itself was frightened with the sound. (1.2.22-31, my emphasis)

Nevertheless, on the other hand, the Viceroy requests an in-depth and detailed description. The supposed decease of his son distresses him, so he needs to know as much as possible about the strife and about his son’s fortune. In that way, particulars and exhaustiveness are extremely weighty. But, as opposed to the King’s circumstances again, Villuppo’s account is much more concise and direct than the General’s, which surely increases the Viceroy’s pain. The desire of getting an amplified and detailed record has not been fulfilled; twelve lines are enough for Villuppo to report the business, his words, contrarily, bringing a powerful and striking image, which is in fact one of the main purposes of the *enargeia*:

Then hear that truth which these mine eyes have seen.
 When both the armies were in battle joined,
 Don Balthazar, amidst the thickest troops,
 To win renown did wondrous feats of arms:

Amongst the rest I saw him hand to hand
 In single fight with their Lord General;
 Till Alexandro, that here counterfeits
 Under the colour of a duteous friend,
 Discharged his pistol at the prince's back,
 As though he would have slain their general.
 But therewithal Don Balthazar fell down,
 And when he fell, then we began to fly:
 But had he lived, the day had sure been ours. (1.3.59-71)

Finally, Bel-Imperia's wish and curiosity are equally satisfied by Horatio as he gives, following the General's line, an itemised, but more personal, portrayal of the conflict and of her beloved's death.

The word, as the main device of *enargeia*, becomes, in that way, the means to set forth the actions, to portray and describe, and to bring forth these powerful images. Yet taking this idea into account, once that the characters have their needs and curiosity satisfied, another question arises, and this is the efficacy of the language to prove the veracity of the deeds related by the reporters. Carol McGinnis Kay (1977) wonderfully explains the ambiguity of the records narrated and the validity of the language in the play. According to her, there is no trustworthy account in the tragedy because the reporters exclusively look for their own benefit, manipulating in that way the information that they have been asked to state.

The multiple accounts of Don Andrea's death have established a milieu in which language has lost its conventional stability and has become a tool of manipulation and deceit. The normal relationship between language as symbol and the reality it symbolizes has been shattered, and we can no longer assume any correspondence between words and intents. (1977: 28)

If language is an unreliable via, then, the validity and faithfulness of the *enargeia* is open to question, above all, in *The Spanish Tragedy*, where the audience gets up to six different versions of Don Andrea's decease and the struggle between Portugal and Spain. To what extent can we then rely on the descriptions offered in the play? Following again Erasmus on the idea of *copia* and beautifying a text, one can read that "to express these things well, not only is art and genius necessary, but also it is of paramount importance to have actually seen what you wish to describe" (1963: 50). Erasmus is in this way stating the importance of giving a precise account of what has actually been seen. And this is what Villuppo declares in his speech: "Then hear that truth which these mine eyes have seen" (1.3.59) and "I saw him hand to hand" (1.3.63), making thus convincing that what he is going to narrate is exactly what has happened on the battlefield, whereas the audience does not trust him as his statement differs from the others present in the same act as well. Doubts about

the true facts unquestionably arises in the audience. Horatio also claims his description to be faithful because, at the end of his report, he introduces the sentence “I saw him honoured with due funeral” (1.4.41), which obviously emphasises the fact that he was present in the armed conflict, and that he definitely took part in the business. Yet, despite their claiming to have witnessed the strife, it is undeniably noticeable that both are giving different versions of the same event, as well as they slightly differ from the ones proposed by the General and Balthazar. Which account are we then supposed to believe?

If we have a look again at Erasmus’s treatise, we can read that, regarding this hankering for *amplificatio* and rhetorical pleasure,

specially are the narratives of messengers in tragedy remarkably rich in this excellence, because they are presented instead of the spectacle and they report the things which it is either impossible or inappropriate to present on the stage... Nor does it matter for this purpose whether they are true or false. (1963: 48)

And, after all, this is what happens in Kyd’s tragedy: we get the reports of different messengers and presumed witnesses, each of them with their particular versions, it makes no difference whether they are completely credible or not. They only offer what their petitioners want to hear, so they feel free to expose the facts that seem to be most profitable for them, even though this implies that they have to make up what they are supposed to have attended. The Viceroy of Portugal addresses Villuppo like this: “Speak on, I’ll guerdon thee *whate’er it be*: / Mine ear is ready to receive ill news, /” (1.3.55-54, my emphasis). His only concern is that Villuppo tells the story, no matter “whate’er it be,” which undeniably gives Villuppo the freedom to expose what he considers best for his own advantage, leaving aside the veracity of his report, as he will be rewarded at any rate:

Thus have I with an envious, forged tale
Deceived the king, betrayed mine enemy,
And hope for guerdon of my villainy. (1.3.93-95)

Being conscious of his fraud, Villuppo does not hesitate to make up an appropriate description profitable for him. Similarly, the General also feels at ease to relate what seems to be better for him if he takes for granted the King’s request: “But General, unfold in brief discourse / *Your form* of battle and *your war’s success*” (1.2.16-17, my emphasis). Consequently, with this phrase, the King is granting him the liberty to expose the facts from the General’s point of view, from “his form of battle and his war’s success.”

As a result, one can observe that a dichotomy arises. On the one hand, we have all these descriptions of the battle. On the other hand, these portrayals are

confusing and do not seem to reflect the true events. In McGinnis's view, this puzzlement is caused by the break between language and the reality that it symbolises, the relationship between word and thing has been rendered ineffectual (1977: 28).² There is no clear correspondence between the General's, Villuppo's, and the other characters' words and the events that they give account of because they differ from the actual *res*. Words do not present reality. Nevertheless, if we draw our attention to the comments made by Terence Cave, we may open a new perspective that may be more in accordance with the validity and purpose of these speeches:

Copia in the form of *enargeia* overrides the distinction between "true" and "false" representation. The linguistic surface renders with equal colour and evidence the face of real things and of imaginary things. Speaking of tragic *récits*, Erasmus says: "It is not relevant for this purpose whether they are true or false." Potential as well as actual occurrences may become the material of *enargeia*: the possible future, no less than the historical past, may become present in language. (Cave 1979: 30)

In other words, anything either actual or imaginary can be described by means of the language; as Marion Trousdale points out, "Erasmus is interested in the ability to communicate to the audience all that the speaker can conceive in his mind" (1982: 44). The veracity of the facts is thus irrelevant. And, in this case, the real purpose of the descriptions is the satisfaction of the hearers or the own benefit for the reporters, so they manipulate the *res* and the *verba* to offer what is most profitable. Whether the language of the records represents reality or not is no longer important. The correspondence between words and things has ceased to be effectual. Language is a tool to create, to narrate what is most interesting for the hearer, and Cave states it like this:

Ideally, then, true linguistic plenitude is attained when "verba," coalescing into "res," point towards a "sententia" (idea); but conversely, the movement of the treatise [Erasmus's *De Copia*], asserting the priority (if not the primacy) of words, reveals that "things" can only become apparent by virtue of language. "Res" are neither prior to words such as their "origin", nor are they a productive residue which remains after the words cease. "Res" and "verba" slide together to become "word-things"; the notion of a single domain (language) having a double aspect replaces that of two distinct domains, language and thought. (1979: 21)

Res and *verba* entail themselves mutually. Language is not a mere vehicle of representation, it is what shapes the thought, no matter how much this thought resembles reality. That is why we may not need to question the veracity of the reports of the battle in *The Spanish Tragedy*, all of them have a function

²Similarly, Jonas A. Barish supports this idea stating that in *The Spanish Tragedy* "speech deteriorates as an instrument of reality and an agent of truth" (1996: 82).

in the story and that is the main point. Kyd beautifully embellishes them with all kinds of rhetorical devices, yet, sketchily, the success and acceptability of these portrayals depend, as a last resort, on the perspective of the speaker and on their mastery of the conventional rhetorical skills. In that way, in the dramatic fiction, the instrument that provides a speech with a “true” or “false” value does not depend therefore on truth or falsehood in themselves, but on the adaptability of this speech to all those rhetorical devices present in the Humanist tradition, which Kyd undoubtedly knew and used in his works, as we have seen in this paper.

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