

Lost in Paradisiacal Beauty: Milton's Re-Writing of the Narcissus Myth

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Few writers in English literary history seem to have been as haunted by the mythological figure of Narcissus as John Milton, the most significant harmonizer of Roman and Biblical mythology in world literature. Apart from his inherent narcissism as a poet who -in the same conventional vein as classical authors like Ovid and Horace had previously established- is totally convinced of the moral, ideological and artistic benefit of the preservation of the valuable inheritance of his own lines for posterity, Milton also alluded -implicitly or explicitly- to the ill-fated youth in some of his most important poetic works.

This is the case of *Comus*¹, where Milton makes the Lady in this masque sing a beautiful song to Echo (lines 230-243), the immortal voice always accompanying Narcissus in post-classical recreations of Ovid. As Wilmon Brewer has stated, here the poet “showed his Lady invoking the assistance of Echo and likening her brothers to Narcissus” (Brewer, 1978, pp. 548-9). But Milton's most audacious interpretation of the Narcissus myth appears in his masterpiece, *Paradise Lost* (1667)², the very epitome of mythological dynamic compilation, containing a superb mixture of classical, Biblical and personal mythology. Narcissus could not be exempted from the myths adapted by Milton in his *magnum opus*. However, the English poet's interpretation of the legend contains remarkable features which it is our purpose to investigate, despite the relatively large amount of criticism already devoted to the matter from traditional perspectives³.

It is obvious that Milton's account of the Narcissus fable was lifted straight from Ovid's *Liber III* (339-510) of his *Metamorphoseon* -together with Virgil's *Aeneidos*, the main source of his mythological knowledge. Milton's linguistic familiarity with Latin gave him direct access to the original Latin text, whose *editio princeps* dates back to as early as 1471. At the same time, the writer's concern with Ovid corresponds itself with the general European Ovidian revival of the seventeenth century, a period which can conveniently be termed an *aetas Ovidiana*. In England alone the catalogue of the British Museum totals thirteen translations into English of the text, these being the work of John Brinsley (1618) and, especially, George Sandys (1626), whose version was the most accurate and influential (Vinge, 1967, p. 179 ff.). All these translations followed the well-known first attempt undertaken by Arthur Golding in 1567, the so called “Shakespeare's Ovid”⁴, because of the great Bard's approach to, and contact with, the Ovidian text through Golding's version.

Apart from these translations, several other writings by English authors show the influence of the seventeenth-century Narcissus cult more clearly, although on the whole none of these texts provide significant innovations or new treatments of the myth as far as the conventional allegorical and moral rea-

dings coming from classical or early-Renaissance writers are concerned. The most relevant examples are Francis Bacon's *De Sapientia Veterum* (1609; where a chapter is entitled "Narcissus, sive Philautia"); Sandy's explications to the second edition of his translation of the *Metamorphosis* (1632); Alexander Ross' *Mystagogus Poeticus or the Muses Interpreter* (1647); Henry Reynolds' "Tale of Narcissus" in his essay of literary criticism *Mythomystes* (1632), which follows Euhemeristic patterns. Seventeenth-century English mythological poems on the Narcissus fable, inserted in a pastoral framework, include: Richard Brathwait's *Narcissus Change* (1611); James Shirley's *Narcissus or the Self-Lover* (1618); Ben Jonson's Echo-scene in *Cynthia's Revels, or The Fountaine of Selfe-Love* (1601); stanzas from poems by George Chapman (*A Hymne to Ovr Sauior in the Crosse*, 1612) and Henry More (*Psychozoia*, 1642). To these should be added the anonymous *Narcissus, a Twelwe Night Merriment* (1602), a dramatic version of the Narcissus theme.

The approaches suggested by the examples quoted above -both artistically and philosophically- do not attain the imaginative and rich undertones provided by Milton's treatment, perhaps with the exception of Bacon's writings. Moreover, it is significant to note that, apart from More's *Psychozoia*, the great poet does not seem to have been directly influenced by any of his countrymen. His main patterns are foreign and 'more prestigious', mostly those set up by Plotinus and the fifteenth-century Italian neo-Platonist Marsilius Ficinus, as will be seen later.

Paradise Lost IV, 449-491 shows a sexual reversal of the roles in the Ovidian tale. We hear Eve's voice mnemotechnically putting together her memories of the very moment at which she was created from Adam's flesh. Before this, Eve's speech has echoed the recurrent fact of remembrance: "*That day I oft remember, when from sleep/ I first awaked...*" The setting where she is created can be described as the archetypal *locus amoenus*, the same location appearing in the Ovidian source and also coincidental with the pastoral framework of the myth in seventeenth-century poetry. Milton's *Paradise* itself corresponds to a pastoral landscape, and Nature is conceived of in a conventional way.

Eve wondered about her origins: "*...much wond'ring where/ And what I was, whence thither brought, and how*". Narcissus' origins are known, though 'shameful', the product of the river Cephissus' rape of the beautiful nymph Liriope (literally in Ancient Greek, 'the lily-shaped'). Both parents underline Narcissus' fate: Cephissus is the personification of a river -and therefore composed of water- and Liriope contains in herself a reminder of the boy's transformation into a flower at the end of his tragedy. On the other hand, Eve's generation comes directly from the God of the Old Testament through human means: Adam's flesh. Thus, Eve is Adam's sibling and 'daughter', one and at the same time.

Water is also present in Eve's narcissistic fascination: a "*liquid plain*" which, as Narcissus' pool in the Ovidian source, possesses the improbable feature of remaining unmoved, like the polished surface of a mirror. However, there is a significant difference, for the pool is "*Pure as th' expanse of heav'n*", adding thus a clear neo-Platonic simile with obvious Christian connotations. Eve emphasizes this idea some lines below, when she says: "*... and laid me down/ On the green bank, to look into the clear/ Smooth lake, that to me seemed another sky*". Eve later describes her reaction before the quiet water. She stresses her lack of experience from an intellectual perspective ("*With unexperienced thought*"), a feature which will later on propitiate Satan's success in tempting her, who -as she admits once and again- is not very clever. Experience is not here the opposite of innocence.

Eve's account of her first impressions are centered on the visual field (coherently accompanied by verbs and nouns connected with this type of perception: "look", "looks", "eyes", "seest"), the most imme-

mediate empirical reaction in a human being who has just been created. But, as the Platonic axioma establishes, human senses are deceptive, for they are physical and therefore removed from the spiritual links with the World of Ideas. As in the case of Narcissus at the beginning of his tragic process, Eve does not recognize herself in the waters of the pool, thinking that the figure, the "shape" she is contemplating, is a different self, an "other". Whereas Narcissus is fatally doomed by his parents' inheritance, his posterior behaviour and the soothsayer Tiresias' prophecy that he would live a long life "if he does not know himself" (*"Si se non noverit"*), Eve is saved from a fatal destiny by the intervention of her partner, Adam, who makes her aware of the separation between herself and the "other" figure chiasmically reflected in the ideal water.

For chiasmus is, appropriately enough, the main rhetorical device to appear in Milton's fragment, as was the case in Ovid's fable. The visual image of Eve playfully contemplating her own reflection without being conscious of the fact is counterpointed by the verbal mirroring of syntactic structures. This fact, which critics had paid little attention to, is another sign of Milton's referential link with the Ovidian text, his re-creation of the episode being an adaptation of the Roman master.

As soon as Eve sees her image in the pool, she is, like Narcissus, intensely in love -love at first sight- with her own self. She is also guilty of the sin of *philautia*, or self-love. Very like Narcissus, and in pretty much the same way as Echo, she pines with "vain desire". And the modifier is here extremely important, for the adjective "vain" is recurrent in many moral and allegorical interpretations of the Narcissus myth, and is not excluded, for different reasons, from the original Latin source. The word appears in Plotinus, Marsilius Ficinus, Bacon, Sandys, Reynolds... It is a neo-Platonic reminder of Narcissus' *stultitia*, for it intrinsically refers to the vain prevalence of the physical world rather than the "more relevant" spiritual dimension. "Vain" obviously comes from *vanitas*, the eternally exemplary sin of pride which was also one of the Biblical causes of the Fall. In allegorical exegesis Narcissus was conceived of as the embodiment of "vanity", and is commonly regarded as a picture of earthly folly (Vinge, 1967, p. 123).

However, as a woman -and the sexual inversion is essentially significant in Milton, as we shall see later-unexperienced Eve, the archetype of female humanity in the Christian tragedy of the Fall, is lost in Paradisiacal Beauty, for it is her outward appearance that leads her astray and puts her in a dangerous position. Beauty is probably the key idea in a neo-Platonic context, but there is an evident distinction between spiritual and material beauty. Plotinus (*Enneads* I: 6: 8) discussed the relationship between one and the other. As Louise Vinge summarizes (1967, p. 37), "*The problem is principally a matter of how man, who is living on earth, will be able to reach Supreme beauty, the beauty which is hidden in the holy of holies and which can only be seen by the initiated. Plotinus urges them to enter the holy and leave behind everything that eyes can see*". The philosopher's own words seem to be addressed to people like Narcissus and Eve, who follow the wrong physical path: "*When he perceives those shapes of grace that show in body, let him not pursue: he must know them for copies, vestiges, shadows, and hasten away towards That they tell of. For if anyone follow what is like a beautiful shape playing over water -is there not a myth telling in symbol of such a dupe, how he sank into the depths of the current and was swept away to nothingness?*" Eve's reflection is thus termed "a shape", "a shadow", and represents the fruitless objective of "vain desire" in this neo-Platonic context.

In his moral and allegorical interpretation of the Narcissus myth, Milton's primary source for concepts is the Italian Marsilius Ficinus, whose main concern is also to revive the Platonic idea of Beauty in his influential *Commentarium in Convivium Platonis* (1469). The cult of 'the Beautiful' provides Man with his principle means of contact with God. The dichotomy entails again the mental and the physical,

and the prevalence of the former rather than the latter. In a complex poem dealing with “*justifying the ways of God to men*” from metaphysical and theological perspectives, it is perhaps important to quote Ficinus’ threefold division which describes God as out of eternity, the angel as existing entirely in eternity, and the soul as partly in eternity, partly in time. Ficinus used the image of light pure and simple as the attribute of God’s beauty. God comes to be the source of all beauty, therefore the source of all love (Vinge, 1967, pp. 123-8).

Eve’s “vain” fascination with her own reflection, which is essentially physical, is thus the opposite of spiritual beauty and is then the very epitome of earthly folly. It is another form of this earthly folly, her thirst for knowledge which is outside the self -for in the neo-Platonic explanation Narcissus’ tragedy consists of his “not knowing himself”, asserting with this the reversal of the gnomic sentence *gnozi s’autòn* -which will propitiate Eve’s, and consequently Adam’s, Fall.

Milton copies another element from Ficinus, which Henry More had just adopted in his *Psychozoia* as a means of developing allegorical poetry. As Louise Vinge states (1967, pp 224-5), the Italian neo-Platonist “*bad finished his explication of the significance of Narcissus’ fate by observing how Diotima had led Socrates from the body to the soul and finally to God*”. This is the so called “instruction motif”, which clearly appears in Milton’s fragment. It is Adam (who else?) who addresses Eve, “teaching” her that the shadow she is seeing is herself (l. 467). Now Adam revitalizes Echo’s function, for it is his voice that she first perceives as an aural stimulus. Adam possesses experience and, more importantly for Milton, “*manly wisdom*”. But there is still another relevant hint: Eve’s true reflection is not her own image in the mirror provided by the clear waters of the pool, but Adam himself, for she has been created from his own body in a process of parthenogenesis not devoid of classical mythological relationships. As her brother and “father” to a certain extent, Eve is Adam’s *Doppelgänger* in a role that poor Echo was unable to fulfil, taking into account the fact that she was but a fake repetition of Narcissus’ voice.

Adam’s strategy to defeat Eve’s narcissism is, curiously, another kind of *philautia*, the same that -with a sexual inversion- we can find in the first sequence of Shakespeare’s *Sonnets* and beautifully exemplified by “Sonnet 3”: he is promising her the possibility of engendering through him “*Multitudes like thyself, and thence be called/ Mother of human race*”. By becoming a motherly figure, *the* mother, Eve will satisfy her primary female narcissism, creating an unlimited number of copies, reflections of herself. It goes without saying that Adam is also satisfying his patriarchal egolatriy.

Eve’s first impulse is to follow the manly, tall and handsome figure. But her attachment to her own shadow, which is more “*fair*”, more “*winning soft*” and more “*amiably mild*” to her than was the Nymph’s shadowed (if pragmatic) message to Narcissus: *coëamus* (both “let us meet” and “let us make love”), makes her turn back to the “*smooth wat’ry image*”.

Adam cries aloud (voice once again), and now his arguments persuade the girl haunted by her own reflection. Apart from patriarchal connotations and a hint at emotional blackmail, Adam emphasizes the fact that she is flesh of his flesh and therefore he is her authentic *Doppelgänger*, her double. They are intrinsically united, each a complement of the other, for Eve’s creation entails not only Adam’s physical attributes, but also spiritual connotations. Eve is Adam’s narcissistic reflection, at the same time that she is his possession: “*Part of my soul I seek thee, and thee claim/ My other half!*” Eve is utterly convinced and “*from that time see(s)/ How beauty is excelled by manly grace/ And wisdom, which alone is truly fair*”. In Milton’s neo-Platonic view, the Paradisiacal beauty of Eve’s outward appearance is surpassed by the deeper beauty of manly grace and wisdom. Eve’s “*vain desire*” is defeated by real love of herself

embodied by Adam, her *alter ego*. The interpretation of the passage is related not only to the Narcissus fable, but also to the myth of the Hermaphrodite in Plato's *Symposium*, with Aristophanes' magnificent account of human beings' original duality, fragmented also because of a transgression and the subsequent divine punishment⁵.

Few commentators have paid attention to the following lines, which describe a scene of conjugal love with erotic and sexual implications, and where there is further chiasmic re-creation of the preceding lines to Ovid's account of the Narcissus myth, which -and this should not be forgotten- are included in the global framework of the story of Tiresias. The cause of the wise man's blindness and compensatory ability to see the future has its origin in a marital dispute between Jupiter and Juno as regards the mute point of who feels more sexual pleasure when making love, man or woman. Tiresias has had experience of both the male and female viewpoints, given that he was turned into a woman when bothering two serpents while copulating, which makes him the best arbiter. His siding with Jupiter's opinion will bring down Juno's punishment upon him. This will amount to the loss of his physical sight and the acquisition, by the god's benevolence, of the gift of prophetic foresight. Narcissus' story is an *exemplum* of Tiresias' powers in this respect.

Milton presents Jupiter and Juno in an unusual scene in classical mythology of marital harmony between husband and wife -the god and the goddess being siblings too. The English poet uses a simile relating Adam and Eve's love to Jupiter and Juno's amorous exchange of smiles, one of the few occasions when the goddess is not tormented by Jupiter's proverbial infidelities:

“... he in delight
Both of her beauty and submissive charms
Smiled with superior love, as Jupiter
On Juno smiles, when he impregns the clouds
That shed May flowers; and pressed her matron lip
With kisses pure...” (ll. 497-502).

Immediately after this episode, Satan's envy of Adam and Eve's happy state will make him plot their ruin.

On the whole, as Louise Vinge has accurately stated (1967, p. 226), Milton's technique when applying Narcissus' fable to his own poem is that of adaptation, never mentioning the name of the youth in a simile. Many problems of gender are suggested by the poet's inversion of male and female roles with respect to the source, relating Eve with Narcissus, and Adam -to a certain extent- with Echo. However, the patriarchal discourse impregnating these lines is somewhat mitigated by the fact that in the end Adam and Eve are the same being from a metaphysical perspective. Poor relief for feminine and feminist approaches to the text, we are afraid to say.

Before we put an end to our analysis, it is perhaps relevant to emphasize that intertextuality is the main characteristic of literary texts. If Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, III was the source for Milton's recreation of the Narcissus myth, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, IV is the referential text for a striking romantic interpretation of the same episode we have been dealing with. We are referring to Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818), a novel which, among many other links with *Paradise Lost* -a quotation from the poem precedes the whole book, the monster reads Milton's masterpiece and is linguistically and vitally influenced by it, becoming a representation of both Satan and Adam, in the same way that Victor Frankenstein is a mock

figure of God as a creator...⁶, presents another turn of the screw in connection with Milton's passage. For the monster, that painful epitome of ugliness, symbolizes the opposite figure to that of beautiful Eve. The short extract in Chapter XII where the monster in his horrible sublimity -a chiasmic Eve and the anti-Narcissus-is conscious of his utter deformity, deserves to be quoted in full and provides an adequate counterpoint to Eve's irresistible appeal to her own narcissistic reflection, lost in Paradisiacal beauty:

"I had admired the perfect forms of my cottagers- their grace, beauty, and delicate complexions: but how was I terrified, when I viewed myself in a transparent pool! At first I started back, unable to believe that it was indeed I who was reflected in the mirror; and when I became fully convinced that I was in reality the monster that I am, I was filled with the bitterest sensations of despondence and mortification. Alas! I did not yet entirely know the fatal effects of this miserable deformity"⁷.

NOTES

¹ John Milton 1973: *Comus*. Frank Kermode & John Hollander (eds.): *The Oxford Anthology of English Literature*, vol. I. New York, London and Toronto: O.U.P. (pp. 1222-51).

² John Milton 1975: *Paradise Lost*. Ed. Scott Elledge. New York and London: Norton Critical Edition. All quotations from now on refer to this edition.

³ See Louise Vinge 1967: *The Narcissus Theme in Western European Literature Up to the Early 19th Century*. Lund: Gleerups (p. 392, endnote 92). Quotations are from this edition from now on.

⁴ Ovid 1961: "*Shakespeare's Ovid*". *Arthur Golding's Translation of the Metamorphoses*. London: Centaur Press.

⁵ Plato: *Symposium*, 189 B-195 A.

⁶ A more complete investigation on the relationships between *Paradise Lost* and *Frankenstein* can be found in my book *Narciso: mito y dualidad conceptual en la literatura inglesa victoriana*. Ph. D. Thesis. Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1993 (forthcoming).

⁷ Mary Shelley 1969: *Frankenstein*. Ed. M.K. Joseph. Oxford and New York: O.U.P. (p. 114).

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Shakespeare and the Press: the Ideological Appropriation of *Romeo and Juliet*

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With the advent of New Historicism and Cultural Materialism, readers of Renaissance studies critical literature have become familiar with a textual strategy frequently used by practitioners of both critical trends: an initial narrative or anecdote usually opens the article. This anecdote is often in the form of a “non-literary” text and, despite its non-literary status, this text is placed shoulder to shoulder with other “literary” texts. This textual strategy responds, on the one hand, to the interest both critical trends have in bringing down the walls which have traditionally been erected between literary and non-literary texts and, on the other, to an interest in showing how a given cultural practice interacts and informs other contemporary cultural practices. I would like then to borrow this textual strategy from the practices of New Historicism and Cultural Materialism in order to show how non-literary texts from several non-tabloid British newspapers interact with a well-known literary text. From these non-literary texts, one can obtain a narrative which involves several daily British newspapers, a British school and Shakespeare. The interest of this narrative is that it offers a chance to observe the interplay of three contemporary British cultural practices: Shakespeare as the Bard, i.e. as a national icon or institution, education and the Press, while at the same time, in this narrative one can witness the appropriation of Shakespeare by the educational establishment and the Press for their own ideological aims.

In January 1994, a story featuring the headmistress of a British school was turned into front-page news. Jane Brown, the headmistress of Kingsmead Primary School, a school in Hackney, East London, refused to accept, on behalf of the school’s pupils, some subsidised tickets offered by the Paul Hamlyn Foundation for a ballet version of *Romeo and Juliet*, which was being performed at the Royal Opera House in London. The ballet, Kenneth Macmillan’s production with Prokofiev’s music, was said to be closely based on Shakespeare’s play. Allegedly, the reason given by Jane Brown for refusing the tickets was that she did not consider the performance fit for the pupils on the grounds that the story of *Romeo and Juliet* privileges heterosexual love at the expense of other forms of sexuality. The headmistress was reported to have said that *Romeo and Juliet* was “entirely about heterosexual love”¹, and that “until books, films and the theatre reflected all forms of sexuality, she would not be involving her pupils in heterosexual culture”².

The pupils of Kingsmead Primary School did not attend the Royal Opera House performance of the ballet, but the headmistress was obliged to face an inquiry and apologise. Her apology did not appease anybody and there were voices calling for disciplinary action. The media hype created around her and the zeal with which journalists started probing into her sexuality and her private life turned Jane Brown’s life into an ordeal: newspaper stories revealed that she had recently set up home with another woman, Nicky Thorogood, and her three children. Thorogood, a governor in the school, was acting as chairperson in the school governing body which appointed Brown as headmistress. It was also said that she had

previously applied for the post and had failed to obtain it.

An investigation was then launched into her domestic arrangements and her designation as headmistress. Not only was a conflict of interest seen as having taken place at her appointment but there were also allegations that she had benefited from “interview coaching” and help from the people who would later interview her for the post. The issue of whether to suspend her or not while further enquires were carried out divided school governors and local councillors: parents and governors sided with Brown and refused to dismiss her while Labour councillors, eager to get rid of the “loony-left” label born by Labour-controlled Hackney Council, repeatedly demanded the headmistress’s head. It was not clear at all who had power over whom: governors and parents over Labour local educational authority or vice versa. Voices again were heard, this time calling for John Patten, the Education Secretary, to intervene. The irony of the situation did not escape political commentators who noticed that Patten’s dilemma was worse than Hamlet’s: if Patten were to stick to Tory educational policy and defend the power a previous Tory government had transferred from local authorities to parents in the 1988 Act, he was inevitably helping to keep in office a lesbian, politically-correct headmistress who had publicly denied Shakespeare his place in education; whereas, if he wanted to give this lesbian troublemaker her due, then not only was he forced to support a much-hated inner city Labour education authority but he would also expose himself to the slings and arrows of criticism for preaching one thing and doing another³. What had started as a routine decision about school activities and the place of Shakespeare in the curriculum, turned into a nasty national debate on how schools are run and who has the ultimate say in schools⁴.

The incident in itself might perhaps seem to be of little consequence for the study of Shakespeare, but the way in which most of the British broadsheets chose to report it is of some interest to the practitioners of Cultural Materialism and Shakespeare studies. Although it later put a spanner in the works of Tory educational policy, at the onset, the Hackney affair was about political correctness and the teaching of Shakespeare and, mostly, it was about *Romeo and Juliet*. The incident, or rather the way in which it was reported by the Press and the comments it aroused, offers a chance to listen to people other than Shakespearean critics and scholars expressing their views on the play. *Romeo and Juliet* is perhaps the one Shakespearean play everybody has heard of: people may quote the most famous line in Shakespeare without ever wondering who Hamlet was, but most people in Britain today know that Romeo and Juliet were young lovers who died tragically. The so-called balcony scene is so ubiquitous that it even found its way onto the now extinct version of the £20 note. It is hardly surprising then that Jane Brown’s words dismissing the play as “blatantly heterosexual” and “entirely about heterosexual love”, which were quoted ad nauseam in all the national newspapers, had the power to unleash such a torrent of voices praising the play. *The Daily Telegraph* said *Romeo and Juliet* was “a great work of art”⁵ and *The Times* called the play “the world’s most famous love story”⁶. In *The Guardian*, the play was said to be “a masterpiece”⁷ and in *The Independent* it was referred to as “one of Shakespeare’s best known and best loved plays”⁸. Everybody, except Jane Brown, seemed to think that *Romeo and Juliet* is a beautiful love story. Not a tragedy, of course, but just a *story*, and not about anything else but *love*. Most people in Britain, if asked, would no doubt have shared the views expressed by Colin Beadle, a Liberal Democrat councillor in Hackney, who was quoted as saying: “Why do these people insist on walking straight into trouble? How can you say that *a beautiful, traditional love story* like this is not politically correct?”⁹.

The claim that *Romeo and Juliet* is the world’s most famous love story is of course difficult to prove and perhaps it could have been toned down with one of those adverbs such as “probably” or “arguably” which beer slogan writers are so fond of. However calling the play a masterpiece is likely to raise some

eyebrows since Shakespearean criticism has always felt inclined to consider the play an imperfect tragedy. Also, the play may be well-known, as the newspapers claim, but one suspects that it is in fact far from being *known well*, particularly when one finds that people think of *Romeo and Juliet* in terms of little more than a beautiful love story. In fact, in the articles which sprouted in the British Press as a result of the Hackney affair, there were times in which instead of presenting *Romeo and Juliet* as a *Love Story*, the play was seen as a *West Side Story*. One of Jane Brown's colleagues was quoted in several non-tabloid newspapers saying that it was not so much the heterosexual incorrectness of the play that bothered the headmistress but the feuding between the Montagues and the Capulets:

"She is not trying to promote homosexuality," he said. "All she was trying to do was to prevent the children being fed a constant diet of gang fights and killing. The school is on the edge of a notorious estate and showing yet more male stereotyping, feuding and knives is no joke. Shakespeare wrote brilliantly about gang fights, teenage sexuality and suicide. But we want the children to look at other worlds. We want them to see that you can be a boy and be gentle."¹⁰

Jane Brown's unnamed colleague seems to have in mind a 20th century New York *à la West Side Story* as the only possible *mise-en-scène* for the play and he also seems to think that *Romeo and Juliet* is "blatantly" violent and "entirely" about sex and violence.

The reporting of the incident by *The Daily Telegraph* shows how Shakespeare can be appropriated by a newspaper for its own political ends. *The Telegraph* clearly turned the reporting of the affair into a site of ideological struggle. In a front-page article which begins by reporting the headmistress's apology, *The Telegraph* took advantage of the resonance usually achieved by anything bearing the name of Shakespeare to stage an indirect attack against the Institute of Education and against those teachers whose left-wing ideology is put to use in schools. The article places this attack immediately after reminding its readership, for no apparent reason, that despite the inquiry and the apology, the headmistress had not been suspended from office and remained in charge of the school:

Ms Brown was not suspended and was continuing to run the school.

She received a Bachelor of Education degree from Avery Hill College, London, and holds a Master of Arts from the Institute of Education.

The Institute is the most influential teacher-training centre in the country. Its critics claim that the ideology of its predominantly Left-wing staff percolates throughout the education system¹¹.

However, more worrying than this ideological attack masquerading as relevant information is the fact that the Hackney headmistress is presented as a left-wing teacher while the only "left-wing" ideas *The Telegraph* attributes to her are a case of political-correctness (*firefighters* versus *firemen*), encouraging children to use first-names when addressing teachers and suppressing Nativity plays and Christmas parties from school activities:

Mrs Sandra Curtis thought that Ms Brown had made too many changes since becoming headmistress two years ago. Nativity plays and Christmas parties had been replaced by a short pantomime because of the multi-ethnic nature of the school. Children were encouraged to call staff by their first names. Fifteen-year old Helen Curtis, a former pupil, said: "She seems a lot more on girls' side than boys' side.

“Once at the school fete I wrote a sign saying “firemen park here”. She had a go at me and told me to write “firefighters park here’.”¹²

The textual strategy employed by *The Telegraph* is now exposed: the headmistress is presented as having left-wing ideas mostly because of her insistence on “politically-correct” attitudes; the headmistress is also presented as depriving her pupils of an important part of their national heritage –Shakespeare the national poet– and she is therefore constructed as a threat to the educational establishment; the inevitable conclusion of all this seems to be that left-wing ideas are a danger if they “percolate” down to schools and pupils, because they result in the disintegration of the nation’s cultural heritage. By means of this way of reasoning, Shakespeare is appropriated by the newspaper for conservative ideological ends: since left-wing, lesbian teachers such as Jane Brown deprive their pupils of the joy of being acquainted with the Bard, one can assume that left-wing ideas are inseparable from a desire to abolish Shakespeare from schools.

It is important, therefore, to remember that left-wing Renaissance scholars who have written on the issue of Shakespeare and education hold very different views from those of the Hackney headmistress. Most politically-aware Shakespearean scholars would endorse the idea that by pulling Shakespeare out of syllabuses, school teachers may think that they are challenging the iconography of upper and middle-class culture, when in fact what they are doing is simply depriving their pupils of contact with a significant part of the dominant culture, and this inevitably renders the pupils even more powerless. One of these Shakespearean scholars has precisely issued a warning about the risks involved in attitudes to Shakespeare such as those of the Hackney headmistress, which rather than posing a threat to the establishment, help to preserve it in place:

They are profoundly mistaken however if they believe that by the simple gesture of ignoring the iconography of the dominant culture its self-evident irrelevance will result in its withering away. The child in the school party reared on rock music and the packaged simplicities of television, who gazes uncomprehendingly up at the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, is in significant ways as powerless as his ancestors who stood for centuries in churches across Europe amid the cadences of the Latin Mass.¹³

The Telegraph continues its appropriation of Shakespeare for conservative ideological ends in another article which appeared in the Arts section of the same issue.¹⁴ This article -fittingly entitled “A plague on the houses of all subverters”- takes advantage of the *Romeo and Juliet* incident in order to warn the newspaper’s readership about the dangers of readings of Shakespeare which “subvert” the Bard, whether from the Left or from the Right:

There is a danger though that Shakespeare can be hijacked, by both Left and Right. Far from being and irrelevant “dead white male”, as the politically correct tend to dismiss him, his plays constantly reflect current events, and his views can be distorted into representing almost any point of view.¹⁵

The author of this article also claims that the plays of Shakespeare –or at least *Romeo and Juliet*– have a single, unique “moral” that Shakespeare represented “mankind” and that “no one has ever had a thought that doesn’t find an echo somewhere in Shakespeare”¹⁶. The claims that “Shakespeare can be hijacked” and that “his views can be distorted” obviously rest on the belief that Shakespeare’s plays have “a meaning” which is “one” “unique” and “universal”, a single meaning which is there in the texts and

which the subverters willfully ignore and malevolently subvert. This vision of Shakespeare as the repository of universal, indestructible truths and as the expression of the essence of “man” is an interpretive position which has been repeatedly contested during the last two decades by most contemporary criticism of Shakespeare, including not only Cultural Materialism or New Historicism but also feminism, Marxism and psychoanalytic approaches to Shakespeare. Feminist critics, together with Third World critics, have often complained that “when texts are said to speak for humankind, humankind often shrinks radically to include only those within a traditional pale of privilege”¹⁷. In fact, the call for impartial, objective interpretations of Shakespeare’s plays which is launched from the Arts section of *The Telegraph* is in itself contributing to foreground conservative ideology: apolitical readings, i.e. readings which are blind to the political implications of Shakespeare’s plays, are necessarily conservative because their silence implicitly accepts the *status quo*, i.e. the inequalities of race, gender and class which existed in Shakespeare’s society and still exist in ours. It could be further argued that objective, apolitical readings, the readings devoid of all kinds of ideological pollution which are demanded by the author of the *Telegraph* article, are nothing but a utopian *desideratum* on his part, because, as recent criticism of Shakespeare keeps reminding us, we inevitably bring our own preconceptions and prejudices with us when we approach Shakespeare’s plays and therefore those attempts which try to “re-discover” Shakespeare as he really was, hoping to liberate him from the distortion of 20th-century ideological pre-occupations, must necessarily be misguided.¹⁸

Ideological appropriations are often achieved through extremely complex processes, partly because if they were overt, transparent and easily detected, their effect would be greatly diminished. In this case, the author of the *Telegraph* article appropriates Shakespeare for the newspaper’s conservative ideology at the same time that he warns about distortions from both the Right and the Left and condemns those who “seek to subvert Shakespeare for their own ends”¹⁹. The writer gives his intentions away when he claims: “Happily, the Bard is big enough to survive all the theorising, both lunatic and serious, that he attracts”²⁰. With this denial of the value of multiple interpretations, he is appropriating—or reinventing—Shakespeare for conservative ideology. The belief underlying this claim is that Shakespeare’s plays express universal, eternal truths which cannot be tainted or destroyed by left-wing, politically-aware, ideologically-conscious and historically-oriented criticism.

Unfortunately, this shallow, uncomplicated approach to *Romeo and Juliet* is not only favoured by right-wing *Daily Telegraph* contributors or by politically-correct school teachers. Even in *The Guardian*, the play is thought to be a simple, straight-forward story. In an article entitled “Much ado about a liberal playwright”, Martin Kettle presents *Romeo and Juliet* as a universal myth whose meaning is clearly packaged to be delivered on demand, although, unfortunately, he does not say what this meaning is:

As Shakespeare plays go, *Romeo and Juliet* is not one of the more difficult ones. It is also, by a long way, one of the most popular. *Romeo and Juliet* is among Shakespeare’s few truly mythic plots... It is also, ironically, one of the most overtly moral and liberal plays in the whole canon. There is no mystery either about its themes or about Shakespeare’s message.²¹

Whether it is seen as a simple love story, as a West Side Story or as a universal myth, the effect this reductionism has on the play is the same: there is little room left for political considerations. Issues such as the role played by gender and power relations, or the significance of the civil war between Capulets and Montagues in a society whose obsolete feudal structures are beginning to be replaced by the modern

state and the emergent figure of the absolutist monarch, are ignored in these easy-to-swallow approaches to the play which are handed out by British broadsheets. In the dominant reading of *Romeo and Juliet* as a love-story for teenagers, the deep political implications of the play are erased, the love-story is decontextualised and the fighting is divested of its social significance.

Amongst the polyphony of voices in the newspaper texts of the Hackney affair, the only voice which seemed to hold *Romeo and Juliet* as more than a simple love story or a universal myth was that of Roy Hattersley. In an article published in *The Guardian* at the time of the Hackney affair, he argues that, in Shakespeare's play, Verona is not a nice exotic background for a love story but rather a society, not unlike post-Thatcherite Britain, ripe with social and political conflict²². In fact, Hattersley shows that it is the social as well as the domestic inadequacies of the Verona families that brings the tragedy about:

The Capulets' attitude to family values was particularly deplorable - not least because they were the sort of people who were supposed to set an example to the rest of the city. They seemed to take no interest in their daughter at all, until they decided to marry her off to one of their friends. It is not surprising that she appears in public in her underclothes, hangs about derelict buildings and spends the night with her boyfriend. And the girl is only 14! It is a miracle that she has not become a one-parent family by the end of Act Two.²³

Hattersley also draws attention to how the play glorifies rebellion against power and authority: rebellion against social order that prevents Montagues and Capulets from marrying each other, rebellion against parents who are tyrannical with their daughters, rebellion against political power which dictates norms of conduct for the citizens of Verona. Politically, the efforts made by the rulers to preserve law and order are ineffectual and this also contributes to the tragic end of several young people.²⁴

Hattersley's voice was a *rara avis* in the broadsheet coverage of the Hackney affair. The impression one obtains from a mere look at the reporting of the incident in the so-called "quality" press is that we might have to get used to the existence of very different versions of the play we were wont to call *Romeo and Juliet*, not owing this time to the differences between Q1, Q2 and F, but rather to the gap which keeps popular imagination estranged from scholarly interpretation. Interestingly, one of the things to be learnt from the reporting of the Hackney affair in the British Press is that both the left-wing, politically-correct headmistress and the conservative article in the Arts section of right-wing *Telegraph* advocate similarly reactionary readings of *Romeo and Juliet*. The headmistress reduces the play to a heterosexual love-story and the newspaper article reduces it to a story which shows "the futility and waste of gang warfare"²⁵. For both of them, *Romeo and Juliet* is just a sad love-story peppered with the irrational street violence of gang-fights. In the wake of the Hackney affair, one fears, the play is seen by many as the Elizabethan equivalent of a daily dose of TV violence with a dash of romance.

NOTES

¹ *The Daily Telegraph*, 20 January 1994, p.1. Incidentally, in quoting these words, the newspapers were probably wanting to draw attention to the use of the word "heterosexual", although perhaps the word that deserves attention in this quote is "entirely".

- ² *The Times*, 20 Jan 1994, p.1.
- ³ See the leading article entitled “Lacking the authority” in *The Guardian*, 27 January 1994, p.21.
- ⁴ See the leading article entitled “After Romeo”, in *The Times*, 28 January 1994, p.15.
- ⁵ *The Daily Telegraph*, 20 January 1994, p.1.
- ⁶ *The Times*, 20 January 1994, p.1.
- ⁷ *The Guardian*, 20 January 1994, p.1.
- ⁸ *The Independent*, 21 January 1994, p.3.
- ⁹ *The Times*, 20 January 1994, p.1. The italics are mine.
- ¹⁰ *The Times*, 20 January 1994, p.1.
- ¹¹ *The Daily Telegraph*, 21 January 1994, p.2.
- ¹² *The Daily Telegraph*, 21 January 1994, p.2.
- ¹³ David Hornbrook, “Go play, boy, play”: Shakespeare and educational drama” in Graham Holderness, ed., *The Shakespeare Myth*, (Manchester, 1988), p.154.
- ¹⁴ Charles Spencer, “A plague on the houses of all subverters”, *The Daily Telegraph*, 21 January 1994, p.17.
- ¹⁵ *The Daily Telegraph*, 21 January 1994., p.17.
- ¹⁶ *The Daily Telegraph*, 21 January 1994., p.17.
- ¹⁷ Jean E. Howard and Marion F. O’Connor, eds., *Shakespeare Reproduced: The Text in History and Ideology*, (New York and London, 1987), p.4.
- ¹⁸ See, for example, Terence Hawkes, *Meaning by Shakespeare*, (London and New York, 1992), Gary Taylor, *Reinventing Shakespeare: A Cultural History from the Restoration to the Present*, (London, 1990), and Brian Vickers, *Appropriating Shakespeare: Contemporary Critical Quarrels*, (New Haven and London, 1993). See also Hornbrook, op. cit., p.157.
- ¹⁹ *The Daily Telegraph*, 21 January 1994, p.17.
- ²⁰ *The Daily Telegraph*, 21 January 1994, p.17.
- ²¹ *The Guardian*, 22 January 1994, p.23.
- ²² See Roy Hattersley, “Lesson to learn from a tale of two boroughs”, *The Guardian*, 24 January 1994, p.17.
- ²³ Hattersley, op. cit., p.17.
- ²⁴ Hattersley’s reading of the play is not of course the first politically-aware reading of *Romeo and Juliet*. Kiernan Ryan has offered a reading that transcends the received image of the play as a tragedy which simply dramatizes a love-story-cum-family-feud. For Ryan, *Romeo and Juliet* is the tragedy of two lovers bound by the sexual norms and social practices of Verona: i.e. by material and ideological forces. They are defeated, not by “the universal and immutable tragedy of the human condition” but by “a particular social construction which is open to dispute and therefore open to be changed”.(See Kiernan Ryan, “*Romeo and Juliet*: the language of tragedy” in Willie Van Peer, *The Taming of the Text: Explorations in Language, Literature and Culture*, (London and New York, 1988), pp.106-121.)
- ²⁵ *The Daily Telegraph*, 21 January 1994, p.17.

Two Examples of Poetic Parallelism between John Donne and Lope de Vega

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The identification and comparison between English metaphysical poetry and Spanish *poesía conceptista* was suggested for the first time by James Smith, and then studied by Frank J. Warnke and Lowry Nelson. Later bibliography has focused almost exclusively on the analysis of Francisco de Quevedo's affinity with metaphysical poetry, and John Donne in particular. Critics and scholars have studied Quevedo's use of the conceit, and the metaphysical themes of some of his poems, and quite recently, the comparative study of Quevedo's and Donne's poems has been undertaken.

As a contrast, only a few authors have dealt with John Donne in relationship with Lope de Vega, or vice-versa, even though some of Lope de Vega's poems also belong to the *conceptista* vein. Frank Warnke included two sonnets by Lope de Vega in his collection of European metaphysical poems, and he pointed to the stylistic similarities between the devotional poems of Quevedo and Lope and those of Donne's (52, 59-60). Octavio Paz mentioned the existence of similarities between the passion, both amorous and religious, of Lope de Vega and Donne. Daniel L. Heiple discovered that Lope had used the term "metaphysical" in much the same way as John Dryden and Dr. Johnson did later. Not long ago, Laurie Ann Kaplis, wrote, as her doctoral thesis, an extensive, yet not definitive, comparative study of Donne and Lope. She provided a general study of the autobiographical and sincere character of their poems, and how the adoption of *personae* diluted it somewhat. Kaplis indicated the common characteristics of *conceptismo* and metaphysical poetry, and she also pointed out the basic similarities and differences between Donne's poems and those of Lope de Vega's as regards to the themes of profane and religious love, although she did not really focus on the very analysis of pairs of poems. This is not surprising for after all, none of her predecessors actually compared texts to prove this parallelism. Curiously enough, Octavio Paz even deemed this unnecessary since "este género de comparaciones, fundadas en el gusto tanto o más que en la razón, no necesitan pruebas ni demostraciones" (7).

I definitely disagree with this statement for, indeed, we must find arguments and proofs to support such comparisons and show that, in fact, they respond to reason rather than taste.

In my opinion, the correspondences and similarities between John Donne and Lope de Vega are of course limited, given their different evolution and the greater variety and amount of Lope de Vega's production. However, within the compass of these limits, it is possible to find remarkable similarities between some of their compositions.

If Richard E. Hughes's division of Donne's life into three periods is to be followed,¹ the poet's works can also be roughly divided into three groups accordingly: one, satires and cynically antipetrarchan love poems; two, sincere, deeply-felt neoplatonic amatory poems, and philosophical complimentary verses to

influential female friends; and three, his devotional poems.

In a similar way, if Dámaso Alonso's four-period division of Lope de Vega's poems is accepted but partly amended by adding one more group, his works fall into five classes: one, written in the Petrarchan tradition; two, devotional; three, formally obscure or *gongorinos*;² four, philosophical or difficult as to content or *conceptistas*;³ and five, antipetrarchan and full of literary self-mockery.

Bearing in mind these classifications, it is quite evident that the possible parallelisms between Donne and Lope de Vega must be restricted to just three groups of poems, namely: those that are a subversion of Petrarchan conventions, those that express neoplatonic love, and those that give vent to a sinner's religious crisis.

It is the aim of this paper to contribute a study of two pairs of poems, which, in my opinion, perfectly illustrate two of the aforementioned resemblances: the authors' antipetrarchism and their addresses to God seeking help to achieve repentance and forgiveness. The first couple of poems is that of Donne's "The Flea", from *Songs and Sonnets*,⁴ and Lope de Vega's "La pulga, falsamente atribuida a Lope", from his volume *Rimas humanas y divinas del licenciado Tomé de Burguillos*, published under a pseudonym in 1634 and containing poems written throughout his career. The second pair is formed by the practically contemporary number five in Donne's *Holy Sonnets*, a sequence written *circa* 1609-1614, and sonnet VI from Lope de Vega's *Rimas sacras*, a volume published in 1614.

The poems dealing with the naughty, little arachnid may belong to a fairly common Renaissance *topos* that developed in France, Italy and Spain and which John Donne and Lope de Vega may have been acquainted with as R. O. Jones has pointed out in a very enlightening essay. However, whether Donne and Lope de Vega knew the French and Italian poems on fleas that impudently bite beautiful ladies in most inappropriate points of their anatomical geography is not especially relevant for the purpose of this essay. The parallelism between their poems is quite clear as regards subject matter even if we do not take into account those precedents. If both authors read some of those poems, they worked within the limits of a common background. If they struck on a happy coincidence quite by chance, then, this only underlines the idea of the existence of resemblances between some of the poets' works.

It is evident that the approach to the same incident is different in each poem, but, in any case, the common elements of these two poems are more important than their differences. In both of them a flea bites a lady who, in retaliation, suddenly punishes the poor flea's effrontery with death. In both poems, the speaker piquantly relates the biting to his sexual desire. Apart from the fact that, according to Jones (166-67, 172), one of the traditions that shaped the lady-bitten-by-flea *topos* may have its ultimate origin in Petrarch's sonnet CXLI,⁵ these two compositions are parodies of Petrarchan conventions. Far from being poems praising a real or fictitious lover, they focus on a more banal subject with the same erotic end and using a very similar technique.

Donne's "The Flea", as opposed to Lope de Vega's "La pulga...", is a longer poem free from the sonnet's formal limitations, and, therefore, an apter vehicle for experimentation, originality, and full-blown ingenuity. In this poem, the flea is the foundation upon which the speaker builds the edifice of a rhetorical and cynical lesson in love with which he tries to appease an anonymous lady's misgivings and persuade her to lay with him and put an end to her maidenhood. The flea remains the centre of attention of the speaker (Donne or his persona), the lady, and the reader. Contrary to the Petrarchan habit of praising the beauties of the loved lady, by comparing teeth to pearls, lips to rubies, hair to gold, and so on and so forth, or extolling her virtues by relating them to religious ideas in witty conceits, Donne, in a bold,

hyperbolic inversion of values and imagery, diminishes the importance of the lady and that of the loss of her virginity, and stresses the significance of the flea. He equates the loss of maidenhood to the flea's bite and therefore establishes an implicit and jocular, if inappropriate, association between the two losses of blood. On the other hand, he transforms the flea into "something rich and strange", a living emblem of their prospective intimate union, by means of several conceits. As the flea has "sucked" both the speaker and the lady, thus mixing their bloods, it turns into a nuptial bed and a temple where their marriage takes place *de facto*. The flea's shining, black, keratinous exoskeleton becomes a precious cloister with "walls of jet". The flea undergoes the same poetical transformation as Laura's features do in Petrarch's poems. This has a double, if paradoxical effect. The importance of the flea is greater than that of the lady, as I have already said, but, at the same time, the union of such dissimilar terms to create those conceits produces a debasement of the religious referents that almost results in sheer irreverence, if not blasphemy.

Then, the speaker beseeches the lady not to kill this symbol of their union alleging the act would be a triple sin: murder, because of the speaker's blood in it; suicide, because of their own blood in it, and sacrilege for the flea is now sacred as it has transformed into a temple.

However, the lady kills the arachnid as a presumably enraged rejection of his twisted arguments. Far from being taken aback, the speaker remains aloof and he chides the lady for her behaviour. He has the last word. Prompted by the lady's observation that she does not find him or herself any weaker after having been bitten by the flea, the speaker, this cynical teacher, concludes his "didactic" monologue with an irrefutable point, an observation that is still dependent on the image of the loss of blood and intended to dispel her fears definitively: she will not find herself any weaker either after making love for the first time, and so much fuss about honour and chastity will prove to be futile nonsense.

Lope de Vega's poem is closer to the Petrarchan model both in form and imagery, but the very occasion that the sonnet celebrates and its festive mood are a significant baroque departure from the usual Renaissance seriousness of the form. This contrast constitutes Lope de Vega's subversion and parody of the Italian conventions.

Leonor is one of the fictitious lovers of Tomé de Burguillos, Lope de Vega's persona at the end of his life and career. Leonor is beautiful, her skin is white and rosy, and her fingers look like ivory as the commonplace metaphors indicate. Her beauty is so special that it even makes the flea attractive, contrary to what it might be expected. As in Donne's poem, the flea undergoes a transformation by means of metaphors. The sharp contrast of the flea's dark body with Leonor's white skin transmogrifies it into a precious stone, a different but inoffensive arachnid, even a quite seductive mole on Leonor's breast.

However, Leonor, like the anonymous lady in Donne's poem, crushes the flea with a sudden, mortal finger twist, thus avenging both her bitten breasts in a single action.

The ejaculation, and I mean the flea's words, of course, is a very skilful, humorous, rhetorical device, that consists in a personification of the flea and a dramatization of its death. These words, put in the flea's mouth, so to speak, allow Tomé de Burguillos, Lope de Vega's persona, to retort with an ingenious, exaggerated request full of innuendo aimed at bringing his desire home to Leonor, the presupposed listener of this theatrical sonnet. This is not an altogether dissimilar artifice from the argumentation Donne used in "The Flea", both of them belong to the resources of rhetoric, they seek the same end, and they certainly are as witty.

Inspiration, antipetrarchism, rhetoric, wit, finality, these are the common elements between Donne's

“The Flea” and Lope de Vega’s “La pulga...”.

In the same way that the flea poems have a most likely common background, Donne’s religious sonnets and those of Lope de Vega’s also share a common source. Laurie Ann Kaplis (365) points out⁶ quite convincingly that both John Donne and Lope de Vega based their devotional verses on the method of meditation created by Ignatius of Loyola in his *Ejercicios espirituales* (1521-1541).⁷ As Kaplis explains (374-77), these exercises, which were quite popular in England of the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, were intended to provoke repentance and contrition in a three-step process: first, meditation had to be initiated with a vivid visualization of a religious scene, the *compositio loci*, then followed an analysis of sins by using feelings, affections and senses, and finally, a direct address to God expressing feelings, misgivings, asking for help to avoid the way to perdition. For Kaplis, John Donne and Lope de Vega follow the Ignatian meditation method and their religious poetry can be divided into three phases corresponding to the three stages of this kind of meditation. Thus, she states (385) that Lope de Vega’s *Romancero* and Donne’s *La Corona* belong to the first, visualisation stage, *Soliloquios amorosos de un alma a Dios* and the *Hymns* correspond to the second one, that of self-analysis, and *Rimas sacras* and *Holy Sonnets* parallel the last stage, that of direct communication and prayer to God.

Therefore, both Lope de Vega’s and John Donne’s sonnets not only share the same background, but also express similar feelings and ideas. In them, their authors admit their sinful natures, their unworthiness of salvation, they express their powerful sense of guilt and their equally ardent desire for help so that they can repent from their sins, be forgiven, and obtain divine grace. They even put these ideas in very passionate, sincere, similar words, although as a rule John Donne’s mood tends to be more pessimistic than Lope de Vega’s.

However, there is an important difference related to the fact that the authors belong to different persuasions: Anglican and Roman Catholic respectively. Donne addresses God only, but Lope also demands help and support from the Virgin Mary and the Saints. As a consequence, and as Kaplis points out, only those poems that the authors address to God can be fully analogous.

That is precisely the case with both sonnet five from the *Holy Sonets* and sonnet VI from *Rimas sacras*.⁸ Both sonnets are a supplication to God. The two of them express their authors’ fear of death, not only physical, but also spiritual, and they constitute anxious demands of divine help to attain repentance, expiation for their sins, unbending faith and religious steadfastness.

Curiously enough, not only do these poems share the same feelings, they also render them in practically identical terms, for Donne and Lope de Vega use contemporary scientific notions to convey their longings. They base their imagery on closely related ideas within the still medieval dominant worldview, namely: the four elements as constituents of the universe, their correspondences in the four humours of Hippocratical medicine, and the scholastic cosmology based on the Ptolemaic geocentric system.⁹

Donne sees himself as a microcosm, a little world, composed of, on the one hand, the four elements: earth, air, water, and fire that make up his body, and on the other, the “angelic sprite” which is his soul. Because of his sins, he risks death on a double plane of existence, he is not only in danger of physical death, but also metaphysical death: both his body and soul are condemned.

Continuing with the scientific imagery, Donne resorts to the discoveries of his age and the idea of the universe structured in Earth-centred concentric spheres to express, quite grandiosely, his desire for and need of help to repent from his past sins by shedding abundant, sincere tears.

Donne desperately wants to weep profusely, until his microcosm of self is flooded. This image harks

back to the biblical deluge and, by doing so, it also offers an alternative to destruction and death. God promised, as recorded in Genesis, IX. 11, that the Earth would not be flooded again. Thus, in a perfect correspondence between macrocosm and microcosm, Donne's tears may be not his end, but the means to cleanse all trace of sin from his soul.

However, in a cry of despair and in contraposition to the water of his tears of remorse and the somewhat cryptic reference to the deluge, Donne introduces fire as the cause of the end of both the microcosm and the macrocosm. He implicitly associates fire with the flames of Hell, where his soul will go because of his sins, and apocalyptic fire, as prophesied in St. John's Book of Revelation. Indeed, Donne says a sinful fire has consumed him so far, ruining him physically and spiritually, so it can be perfectly identified as the means of his own destruction. Donne is persuaded he must burn and he is resigned to his fate, but, quite adroitly, he asks God for a totally different kind of fire. He demands the fire of zeal, that is to say, religious enthusiasm, strong faith, and self-restraint all rolled into one, which far from destructive, is restorative, as the paradox in the last line indicates.

Thus, along his train of thought, Donne reduces the four elements introduced at the beginning of the poem to just two: water, which stands for repentance, and fire, that represents the Day of Doom, the flames of Hell, sin and finally grace.

In Lope de Vega's sonnet we find the same preoccupation in very similar images. Like Donne, Lope de Vega finds himself close to dying both a physical and a spiritual death. The first indications he has of his impending death are dryness and cold. These symptoms can be interpreted in the light of the theory of the four humours as typical of the melancholic "complexion", for black bile or melancholy was a cold and dry humour, often associated to the stage previous to death.¹⁰ However, they also mean, together with Lope's hard frozen heart, his irresponsiveness to God and, presumably, his sins.

Lope needs to reform as badly as Donne and his change is expressed as a variation in the predominant humour in his body. He needs to turn his complexion from melancholic to sanguine, that is from cold and dry, to warm and moist. The only way in which Lope de Vega can aspire to both keeping his earthly and spiritual life is through showing real repentance, symbolised metonymically by tears as in Donne's sonnet. His warm feelings for God and his desire to cry a river of tears, analogous to Donne's will to weep seas, are the only way in which he will melt the ice of sin and find salvation and true life. Lope will send his tears to God, the author of the supreme sphere, a clear reference to the contemporary ideas about the structure of the universe. This river of tears will reach God's pity and grace, which is as vast as the sea, the final destination where all sinners' tears go.

In the same way as Donne created an opposition between water and fire, Lope contrasts ice, water and fire. However, Lope does not ask for burning zeal, for he is already experiencing it. He seems to be in a better situation than Donne, but, in fact, this does not make a difference with Donne's plight because Lope, just like the English poet, needs God's grace to avoid sin. In order to melt the ice of sin and indifference completely, he needs God's intervention. Lope expresses this with a complex conceit that might have been created by Donne himself. Besides, this conceit shares with Donne's paradox at the end of sonnet number five an identical function of closing the poem by posing an intellectual problem to the reader. In the last two lines of his sonnet, Lope asks God for the beams of his holy fire and the crystals of his sacred heaven. It is quite easy to ascertain that God's holy fire stands for spiritual illumination and divine grace, however it is quite hard to realise what the meaning of the crystals is. I was puzzled myself for some time trying to decipher the meaning, but, finally, I succeeded in elaborating an interpretation

after poring over the sonnet. In fact, the crystals hark back to line eight where Lope de Vega refers to God as “the author of the supreme sphere”. Here he introduces the notion of the universe being a set of concentric spheres. To understand the relationship between the spheres and the crystals, it must be taken into account that, according to some theoreticians, these spheres were made of crystal and a planet was “inlaid” in them, while according to others, all the spheres, including the *Primum Mobile*, the outer limit of the created universe, were encompassed by a crystalline sphere beyond which the Empyrean heaven and God Himself could be found. In any case, God’s light and grace have to go through a crystal to reach sinners here on Earth. Therefore, the meaning of this image is quite evident now. Lope employs a true metaphysical conceit in which a religious concept and a common optics experiment are linked up. In fact, Lope is asking God for light beams and lenses to help him melt the ice that symbolises his sins and unheeding attitude to God.

This conceit has no equivalent in Donne’s sonnet number five, but it is very similar in its inspiration to that in the final couplet of sonnet number one in which the effect of grace on Donne’s hard heart -as hard as Lope’s- is put in terms of magnetism: “Thy Grace may wing me to prevent his [the Devil’s] art / And thou like Adamant draw mine iron heart.”

Suffering, repentance, tears and a demand for help to overcome sin, as well as the expression of these ideas by means of images taken from the incipient scientific experiments of the time are the similitudes between these religious sonnets.

Here ends my limited contribution to the analysis of the parallelisms between the poetic arts of John Donne and Lope de Vega, I only hope that it has provided you with new ideas and encouraged you to find similarities that, I am sure, are waiting to be found and discussed.

NOTES

¹ Richard E. Hughes, *The Progress of the Soul: the Interior Career of John Donne* (New York: William Morrow, 1968) 13-17, 56-59, 226-229 (qtd. in Kaplis, 56, 95n).

² «Gongorian», after Luis de Góngora y Argote, would be the best translation of the Spanish term into English.

³ «Conceptist» would be a fit Englishing of the term, though «metaphysical style» is also close (see Kaplis, 270).

⁴ Donne’s poems were published posthumously in 1633; it is very difficult, if not impossible, to establish their chronology.

⁵ The number of the sonnet is wrongly indicated as XCLI for CXLI on page 166.

⁶ Warnke (8n, 55, 56, 56n, 59) mentions that Louis L. Martz holds this view in *The Poetry of Meditation* (New Haven, 1954), however, Warnke sees a parallelism between both genres rather than a cause-effect relationship. Although he does not reject the influence of meditation on Donne, Herbert or La Ceppède, he states that many of the characteristics of metaphysical poetry are not a consequence of the influence of religious meditation, but a result of the spirit of the time. For the opinion that Ignatian meditation did influence metaphysical poetry see also “Spanish and English Religious Poetry of the Seventeenth Century” in Edward M. Wilson, *Spanish and English Literature of the 16th and 17th Centuries. Studies in Discretion, Illusion and Mutability*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980) 237-249.

⁷ See Jorge Checa, ed. *Barroco esencial* (Madrid: Taurus, 1992) 154-230.

⁸ Kaplis (396-98) compares Donne’s sonnet number five with Lope de Vega’s sonnet number two from his *Rimas*

sacras, with which it also shows some resemblances.

⁹ The following lines can give an idea as to the close relationship between the idea of the four elements and the theory of humours:

Four humours reign within our bodies wholly,
 And these compared to four elements:
 The *Sanguine*, *Choler*, *Pblegm*, and *Melancholy*:
 The latter two are heavy, dull of sense;
 The other two are more jovial, quick, and jolly,
 And may be likened thus without offence.
 Like air both warm and moist is *Sanguine* clear;
 Like fire doth *Choler* hot and dry appear,
 Like water cold and moist is *Pblegmatic*,
 The *Melancholy* cold, dry[,] earth is like.

From an excerpt of *The Englishman Doctor, or The Schoole of Salerne*, 1608, translated from a medieval Latin text by Sir John Harington, in G. Blakemore Evans, ed. *Elizabethan-Jacobean Drama* (London: A. & C. Black, 1987) 327, ll. 1-10.

¹⁰ See previous end note.

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APPENDIX

This is my own Englishing of Lope de Vega’s two sonnets discussed in this paper.

‘The Flea, falsely attributed to Lope de Vega.’

A daring, living atom suckèd
 Fair Leonór’s white breasts,
 A garnet amidst pearls, a mite in a rose,
 A brief mole with an invisible tooth.

She, two points of shining ivory,
 with sudden disquiet, whining, bathed,
 and with her twisting its boisterous life,
 in a single torment, it feels a double revenge.

When the flea expired, it quoth: “Alas me, wretch,
 for such a petty wrong, so sharp the pain!”
 ‘Oh, flea!” quoth I, “happy thou wert,

‘Hold thy ghost, and tell Leonór
 to let me suck where thou wert
 and I’ll exchange my life for thy death.’

VI

If stern and fearsome death’s
 beginnings are dryness and coldness,
 my hard heart, this ice of mine,
 signs are of which I could be afraid.

Yet if life expects to keep itself
in warmth and moisture, let my eyes form
a river, which to thy merciful sea I send,
divine author of the supreme sphere.

Warmth will my love give; water, my tears,
let dryness go hence, let ice forsake me
which from life diverted me so much.

And thou, who know'st now my burning zeal,
give me the beams from thine holy fire,
and the crystals from thy sacred heav'n.

Some Comments on Sir Philip Sidney's *Certain Sonnets*: Heterogeneity and Unity

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In what is already a classical edition of Sir Philip Sidney's poetry, that by William Ringler in Oxford UP, we read in the introductory pages (devoted to giving an account of the whole of the Elizabethan writer's production) that during the years he spent in the actual writing of the "Old" *Arcadia*, his literary endeavours also had other interests: "In addition –Ringler remarks– he wrote a number of other poems, totally unconnected with the *Arcadia*, that he later collected under the title *Certain Sonnets*, all but two of which were composed before the end of 1581" (Ringler 1962: xlii). I would like to draw your attention to a precise point Ringler makes in the above mentioned lines: "he –meaning Sidney– later collected" are the actual words he uses. That is to say, he takes for granted –as scholars after him have done– that it was Sir Philip Sidney himself who was the person responsible for the putting together of what originally must have been a number of unconnected poems. The implication is that the grouping of them was an afterthought of the author, who did not even give a title to the collection as the name *Certain Sonnets*, by which we know them, appears for the first time in the folio edition of Sidney's works produced by the Countess of Pembroke in 1598. How much of a structure we can find in the collection, i.e. how much of a unifying principle keeping them together, is the question I am going to deal with in this paper.

It is apparently beyond any doubt that the temporal scope for the creation of all of the compositions in *Certain Sonnets* goes from 1577 to 1581. It encompasses, then, Sidney's first official mission abroad as ambassador to the Emperor Rudolph in Prague (February-June 1577) and his becoming a member of Parliament in 1581, his writing of a defence of his father's policies in Ireland, of *The Lady of May* (1578), the *Old Arcadia* and *The Defence of Poesie*, and his quarrel with the Earl of Oxford, probably on the projected marriage of the Queen to the Duke of Alençon, which he opposed. Additionally, it covers Spenser's dedication of the *Shepbeardes Calendar* to him, Penelope Devereux's marriage to Lord Rich and his beginning to write *Astrophil and Stella*.

We have here some external evidence which speaks in favour of the basic unity of *Certain Sonnets*, even when granted that it is of a negative nature. None of them were included in the *Old Arcadia*, they have nothing to do with *Astrophil and Stella*, Sir Philip did write other poems at the time (as the very detailed notes of Ringler show in his comments to the poems of miscellaneous nature he groups under the heading "Other Poems" in his previously quoted edition).

Certain Sonnets is the work by Sidney which has received the least attention by critics and scholars precisely on the dubious grounds of its heterogeneous nature. If its basic unity can be ascertained we would be facing the first important collection of poems written by a major Elizabethan writer.

Development which is, I think, of paramount importance in the literary history of the period.

In order to be able to attempt to determine whether such is the case with *Certain Sonnets*, we should start by establishing what we understand by “unity” when talking of works of this nature. In a narrow sense, the epitome of such writings is Petrarch and his sonnets on the subject of Laura. Sidney himself is following that model in his *Astrophil and Stella*: Lady Rich being the idealized object of his amorous complaints. As Mark R.G. Spiller puts it “since the sonnet is a very short poem, it has always had to be aggregated for transmission, or, if written as an occasional piece, inserted into its occasion (...). Some occasions are very evidently textual: epitaphs are intended to mark the place of the person now dead, so that the text as it were replaces the person; dedicatory or complimentary sonnets refer to the volume in which they occur. But most occasions –giving a present, professing love, sending a rebuke– do not assume a textual form, but vanish once they have been lived, and the sonnet remains as the only thing from which the occasion can be reconstructed” (Spiller 1992: 92). Petrarch, and Sidney in *Astrophil and Stella*, managed to solve that problem by using their lady as the unifying link.

That is not the case with our collection. Ringler concisely describes it as “a gathering of thirty-two poems of various kinds”. In many ways, this is a generic description that is, at the same time, as accurate as accurate can be. Three of the poems are translations from Latin (the ones numbered 12 –Horace–, 13 and 14 –Catullus–) and two from Spanish (numbers 28 and 29, both by Montemayor). Only thirteen of the poems are, strictly speaking, sonnets: this could be shocking in the first place. But it is not so if we pay attention to the actual usage of the term “sonnet” at the time. We know that the reference in Italian and Provençal was originally to a short lyrical poem. And, as M. Spiller clearly states in his book on the development of the sonnet “In Britain... throughout the sixteenth century and even in the seventeenth, the word ‘sonnet’, particularly in the phrase ‘songs and sonnets’, often meant no more than a ‘light poem’”: not always short, and not always lyric, since in some collections ballads are called ‘sonnets’ (Spiller 1992: 94). *Tottel’s Miscellany* is a good example of this circumstance, being the title in its first edition that of *Songes and Sonettes* (1557). Barnabe Googe’s small volume under the title *Eclogues, Epitaphs, and Sonets*, printed in 1563, is an even better example as not one of the poems under the heading “sonnets” corresponds to our conception of such a composition. George Gascoigne tried to solve the confusion by offering a definition which reads as follows: “some thinke that all Pomes (being short) may be called Sonets, as in deede it is a diminutive worde derived of *Sonare*, but yet I can beste allow to call those Sonnets whiche are of fourtene lynes, every line conteyning tenne syllables. The first twelve do rhyme in staves of foure lines by cross meetre, and the last two ryming together do conclude the whole” (Spiller 1992: 95). After these considerations, the apparent formal heterogeneity of *Certain Sonnets* has to be reconsidered: Sidney, when christening his collection by the name of “sonnets”, was following the usual pattern of behaviour of his time. It is true that the bulk of it is formed by short compositions of between 15 to 20 lines, but together with them we also find seven stanza poems that have as many as 70 verses (such is the case of n° 22, “The Seven Wonders of England”). On the other hand, we come across 2 line long poems, as n° 14, paraphrased from Seneca: “Faire seeke not to be feard, most lovely beloved by thy servants / for true it is, that they feare many whom many feare”.

If we pay attention for a while to the question of metrics, here again we find that diversity is the rule. We have several examples of quantitative verses, some of which are really unique. Take, for instance, poem n° 7 (*vide* textual appendix, poem n° 1), a song to the tune of the Spanish “Si tú señora te dueles de mí”, being the first “true accentual trochaics in English” (as n° 26 and 27, again two songs –on Italian airs in

this occasion—). But we also have rhymed quantitative verse in n° 5 (n° 2 in the textual appendix), sapphics rhyming abab; quantitative elegiacs in his translations of Catullus, “terza rima” for Horace (metre used in English for the first time by Sir Thomas Wyatt). He would also use “eights and sixes” in his translation of Montemayor to render the original Spanish octosyllables (10 quatrains rhyming abba, “redondillas”) in the poem n° 28, the initial line being the famous “¡Cabellos, cuánta mudança!”, a traditional depiction of the fickleness of love. Sir Philip’s version was later on included in the most famous anthology of pastoral literature of the time, *Englands Helicon*.

Summing this point up what we have here is (in Ringler’s words) “a variety of metrical forms which show the range and variety of Sidney’s poetical experiments even beyond the multiplicity of kinds he had essayed in the eclogues and songs of the *Old Arcadia*” (Ringler 1962: xlii) (in a way this characteristic reminds us of the work by Montemayor, already quoted —*Los siete libros de la Diana*— which is one of the books in Spanish with a larger collection of poems written using different metrical forms). Of course, “it is not ryming and versing that maketh a Poet” (Feuillerat 1912: 10), that Sidney himself states in his *Defence of Poesie*, but we cannot forget that “the Senate of Poets hath chosen verse as their fittest raiment” and poets try to convey meaning “not speaking table talke fashion, or like men in a dreame, words as they chanceably fall from the mouth, but peasing each sillable of eache word by just proportion, according to the dignitie of the subject” (Feuillerat 1912: 11). Sir Philip abides by his principles and he offers a large display of metrical forms in *Certain Sonnets*. But, once more, we can find a common thread in practically all of them: either they were originally conceived to be sung or were adapted for such an aim later on.

Now, I wonder whether we could consider the occasions in which the poems were conceived as a kind of cement holding them together. A pretty good number of them were written because, as M. Spiller puts it “some occasions are very evidently textual”. Let us examine this point with some more attention.

When wondering on the essential nature of *Certain Sonnets*, Katherine Duncan-Jones, in the notes to her critical edition of the major works of our poet, comes to the conclusion that there is a basic difference between this collection and *Astrophil and Stella*: “Whereas in AS Astrophil is isolated from his friends and his obsession with Stella, CS has a high proportion of light, easy lyrics with a manifest or implicit social setting—the four sonnets ‘made when his lady had pain in her face’ (8-11), the sonnet written to complement one by his friend Dyer (16), the ‘Seven Wonders’ poem which takes its bearing from his sister’s house at Wilton (22), and a scattering of translations in which he may have been trying his hand alongside friends and relations” (Duncan-Jones 1989: 338). If we take Duncan-Jones’ suggestion as a working hypothesis I think we could easily add more poems to the list: all of the songs could be considered lyrics with a manifest social setting; n° 15, apparently associated with a tiltyard appearance, or n° 20, with the heading “A farewell”, could on their own turn be included in the group of those having “an implicit social setting”.

Of course, a more detailed study of the poems and the precise time when they were composed might add more of them to the aforementioned classification. And this could have a dramatic effect on the problem we are considering in this paper: somehow, we would be able to draw a dividing line between *Certain Sonnets* and *Astrophil and Stella*. They would belong to two completely different worlds: that of the public and that of the private. And, then, we would have not a negative criterion as the defining element of the collection, but a positive one (being it manifest or implicit, conscious or not), very much related to Sidney’s essential quality: that of the courtier and its basic characteristic, public life.

There are two more criteria I would like to consider in this brief examination of CS, as both of them are obvious and determinant of a possible final statement on the matter we are dealing with: those of topic and tone.

If asked what CS is about, could we find an answer, even in the most general terms? The structure and organization of the poems could be a first clue we have to take into account. Both Ringler and Duncan-Jones, in their editions of Sidney's poetry, underline the fact that the author produced not one, but several possible orderings of the material in CS. The sequence, as we know it, "has a beginning—the two sonnets yielding to love— and an end—love's funeral, followed by the two sonnets rejecting desire in favour of 'higher things'" (Duncan-Jones 1989: 338). Could, then, we say that they are simply love lyrics? There is not a figure that stands clear as the recipient of those romantic protests, and what is much more important, not all of the poems, by any means, are the expression of amorous feeling strictly speaking. At least, not in the same sense as we would say that of *Astrophil and Stella*. This said, we have to accept that, stereotyped or not, the amorous feeling pervades the whole of the collection: the first two compositions, as we have already mentioned, represent the author's yielding to love. In n° 3 the poet is already complaining of the terrible effects of love on him and there is an appeal to the forces of nature to deliver him from his lover's power: "Alas, from all their helps I am exiled,/ for hers am I, and death feares her displeasure./ Fie death, thou are beguiled,/ though I be hers, she makes of me no treasure". If we proceed to n° 4 we come across the mythological episode of Thereus and Philomela's and we find that Sidney is comparing his own destiny to that of the woman, raped by her brother-in-law and transformed into a nightingale, and affirming that he has fared worse (shocking as it may seem to contemporary eyes, Sir Philip seems to imply that rape springs from an excess in love!): "O Philomela fair, o take some gladness,/ that here is juster cause of plaintful sadness;/ thine earth new springs, mine fadeth;/ thy thorn without, my thorn my heart invadeth" (this song was one of the most popular pieces by our author at the time). In n° 5 we have a lament for the absence of his love and so on. Before going any further we have to underline a constant characteristic, ever present in the collection: the feeling of grief, complaint, and negativity of which it is imbued. Even those compositions exalting the vividness of the pleasure of looking at his love (a very Platonic setting, indeed, and not very common in Sidney's production, as Duncan-Jones remarks) also share in this gloomy atmosphere. Take, for instance, the song that makes n° 7 in CS. The last stanza reads as follows:

"O fair, ô sweet, when I do look on thee,
 In whom all joyes so well agree,
 Heart and soule do sing in me.
 Sweet, thinke not I am at ease
 For because my cheefe part singeth,
 This song from deathe's sorrow springeth:
 As to Swanne in last disease:
 For no dumbness nor death bringeth
 Stay to true love's melody:
 Heart and soule do sing in me"

Even those poems of a lighter nature, which are apparently less concerned with personal feelings, or

the topic of which would invite us to think of having a smaller engagement on the part of the poet present links with this pessimistic general tone. Such is the case in his translations of Catullus and Seneca (poems n° 13 and 14), proverbial in nature and dealing with the fickleness of women in love, and the topic of the “mulier brava”. Duncan-Jones strikes this precise point when she underlines the basic opposition between the brightness of social life and the high expectations of Sidney as a courtier and how reality somehow fell short of those expectations: “the splendid rhetorical show of the public courtier conceals inward torment, though for some of his audience the concealment may be effective (...) the attentive reader will find that time and again deep misery is swelling up beneath the bright, witty, metrically assured surface of Sidney’s verse lines” (Duncan-Jones 1989: xii). Even though she is thinking basically of *Astrophil and Stella*, I think that every word of her statement is also true for CS.

We cannot honestly say that there is a drastic difference in tone or topic between CS and other works by Sidney that would constitute the foundation of its unity. In a very recent article on our collection Paul A. Marquis offers a rereading of it arguing the hypothesis of Sidney’s using the poem-endedness of a miscellany “to textualize the paradox of human desire: the poet-lover is seen at once longing for the fulfilment of sexual consummation while at the same time he is drawn to the possibility of spiritual renewal” (Marquis 1994: 75). The whole of CS is seen by Marquis as a confrontation between sexuality and virtue and I think he has a point there: there is a constant concern in the collection (and I have already made reference to it) with the drawbacks of being in love, subject to the will of another person, or simply subject to the rules of a feeling that controls behaviour on the basis of whimsicality and, practically always, pain. Tempting as it seems for its basically simple explanatory power Marquis’s hypothesis is difficult to conciliate with every one of the poems in CS (and he has to go to dubious extremes to justify his assertion).

I am more in the line of the reasoning produced by Gary Waller, which is, I think, more transcendent: “What Sidney uniquely brought to the Petrarchan lyric was a self-conscious anxiety about the dislocation of courtly celebration and Protestant inwardness, between the insecurity of man’s word and the absolute claims of God’s word” (Waller 1986: 142). Even if that means having to give up at least part of our aspirations of finding a clear and concrete leit-motiv as unquestionable proof of CS unity and homogeneity, it comes more to terms, in my opinion, with the essential characteristics of the collection. I think we cannot—and we should not try to (there is no need for that)—find a basic distinctiveness of tone and/or topic as determinant factors in the existence of CS as a whole. We do not need either a Laura or a Stella. What we have here is the voice of the man who was the embodiment of the idea of the perfect courtier, as opposed to the intimate character of *Astrophil and Stella*. The expression of the worries and dilemmas of a man who had to live most of his life in the limelight of the court.

TEXTUAL APPENDIX

Poem n° 1:

O faire, ô sweet, when I do looke on thee,
In whom all joyes so well agree,

Heart and soule do sing in me.
 This you heare is not my tongue,
 Which once said what I conceived,
 For it was of use bereaved,
 With a cruell answer stong.
 No, though tongue to roofe be cleaved,
 Fearing least he chastisde be,
 Heart and soule do sing in me.

O faire, O sweete, when I do looke on thee,
 In whom all joyes so well agree,
 Heart and soule do sing in me.
 Just accord all musike makes;
 In thee just accord excelleth,
 Where each part in such peace dwelleth,
 One of other beautie takes.
 Since then truth to all minds telleth,
 That in thee lives harmonie,
 Heart and soule do sing in me.

O faire, O sweet, when I do looke on thee,
 In whom all joyes so well agree,
 Heart and soule do sing in me.
 They that heav'n have knowne, do say
 That who so that grace obtaineth,
 To see what faire sight there raigneth,
 Forced are to sing alway;
 So then since that heaven remaineth,
 In thy face I plainly see,
 Heart and soule do sing in me.

O faire, O sweete, when I do looke on thee,
 In whom all joyes so well agree,
 Heart and soule do sing in me.
 Sweete thinke not I am at ease,
 For because my cheefe part singeth,
 This song from deathe's sorrow springeth:
 As to Swanne in last disease:
 For no dumbnesse nor death bringeth
 Stay to true love's melody:
 Heart and soule do sing in me.

Poem n° 2

O my thoughtes' sweete foode, my ownely owner,
 O my heavens for taste by thie heavenly pleasure,
 O the fayre *Nymph*e borne to doo woemen honor,
 Lady my Treasure.

Where bee now those Joyes, that I lately tasted?
 Where bee nowe those eyes ever Inly persers?
 Where bee now those wordes never Idelly wasted,
 Woundes to Rehersers?

Where ys Ah that face, that a Sunne defaces?
 Where bee those wellcomes by no worthe deserved?
 Where bee those movinges, the Delights, the graces?
 Howe bee wee swerved?

O hideous absence, by thee am I thralld.
 O my vayne worde gon, Ruyn of my glory.
 O deue allegiance, by thee am I called
 Still to be sory.

But no more wordes, though (?such) a worde bee spoken,
 Nor no more wording with a worde to spill mee.
 Peace Due alledgeance, Duty must bee broken,
 Yf Duety kill mee.

Then come, O come, then I do come, receyve (mee),
 Slay mee not, for stay doo not hyde thy blisses,
 But betweene those armes, never else do leave mee;
 Give mee my kisses.

O my Thoughtes' sweete foode, my (my) onely Owner,
 O my heavens for Taste, by thy heavenly pleasure,
 O the fayre *Nymph*e borne to doo woemen honor,
 Lady my Treasure.

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The Spanish Tragedy and *Los Comendadores de Córdoba*. Two Different Approaches to the Senecan Revenge Theme

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Seneca's influence on Renaissance playwrights has not only been studied for a long time but it has also been carefully and fastidiously traced and highlighted. However, the over stress on the importance of this Latin author's tragedies in later literature led many scholars to adopt quite an opposite view on the issue. A reaction followed then which tried by any possible means to deny and even discredit the authority and relevance of Seneca in any subsequent piece of work¹. These confronted opinions also found their way in the study of Renaissance plays. Scholars, therefore, do not seem to agree on the notions, devices and even characters that could have been due to this Latin philosopher and writer.

Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* (1582-1592) is a good illustration of the points mentioned above, since its reading has led to three different attitudes. Firstly, a large number of critics follow a traditional approach to this play and strongly defend Seneca's influence on it². Secondly, another group of authors wildly denies any possible literary connections between Seneca and Kyd³. Finally, an increasing number of scholars try to conciliate these two extremes by not merely focusing on those aspects associated somehow with Seneca's literary works, but also by giving its due importance to any other material which contributed to frame Kyd's masterpiece. Lope de Vega's *Los comendadores de Córdoba* (1596-1598) presents quite a different situation, since this play has remained for long nearly forgotten by critics. An exhaustive analysis of Seneca's influence on this drama is not found and those who are familiar with Lope's works have generally tended to minimize the presence of the Latin author in the theatrical productions of the Spanish playwright.

The main aims of this paper is first to show how the classical notion of revenge is developed in *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Los comendadores de Córdoba*; thus, these two dramas can be suitably compared in order to illustrate to what extent Classicism was welcome in XVIth-century England and Spain. This will provide the basis for taking a further step in this study, as a second section here will be devoted to analyze and finally disclose the manner in which the English and the Spanish dramatists handled the same source material to produce radically different plays in both form and plot.

Seneca's concern with disproportionate passions has undoubtedly provided the basic framework for his own dramatic production. This was in fact the main reason why his tragedies attracted the attention of Renaissance playwrights who found in these plays precious material for inspiration and revival. Those dramatists particularly focused on the revenge theme, and *The Spanish Tragedy* as well as *Los comendadores de Córdoba* are, in this view, representative plays of this trend in drama which took revenge as the

main source of action and dramatic tension. Let us highlight those aspects in these dramas which determine the central relevance of the revenge theme. Considering *The Spanish Tragedy* first, up to five characters spend their time plotting on the stage in their quest for vengeance, and all of them hold a leading role in the play. Bel-Imperia has a double reason for revenge: first, the killing of Andrea, and secondly, Horatio's death⁴. She finds help in Hieronimo, the old Marshal, who desperately seeks to avenge his murdered son⁵. Balthazar, prince of Portugal, willingly assists in the murder of Horatio not only because the latter has made him prisoner, but also because he has discovered that the young warrior is having a love affair with the woman the prince wants to marry⁶. The Portuguese prince has a powerful ally in Lorenzo, whose reason for revenge is a matter of pride: Horatio proved to be more courageous in battle than the king's nephew himself. And finally, Andrea longs for revenge since he feels he was unfairly killed in combat. Such a complex network based on personal vengeance is not the only thing which demonstrates the crucial role that this passion plays in Kyd's drama. Revenge itself becomes a living character in this play, and together with Andrea, they observe and comment on the main action. It is therefore clear that they both play a similar role to that of the chorus in Senecan tragedy. No doubt the audience sees this allegorical figure as the one who decides and controls the movements of those in the Spanish Court and who is able to foresee the development of the whole tragedy. Revenge is then the passion which both generates the conflict and controls it all through the performance.

Lope de Vega also chose to deal with the vengeance theme when writing *Los comendadores de Córdoba*. Here only two characters, Veinticuatro and Rodrigo, obsessively try to mend their damaged social standing and manliness by means of revenge. It is true that the situation mostly concerns Veinticuatro, due to his social status and to the fact that he is the one deceived by his wife, his niece and the *comendadores*. Nevertheless Rodrigo has also reasons for revenge. His eagerness to encourage and help Veinticuatro in his murderous purpose is not merely a proof of his loyalty to him. Actually, his master's grievance turns out to be the best and safest means to punish Esperanza and Galindo⁷. The master's revenge also becomes his servant's. One thing however must be underlined at this point. In this drama, desire for revenge emerges from a firmly rooted social parameter: the Spanish honor code. According to this, the worthiness of the individual does not depend on his/her own merits but it is determined by his/her ability to acquire and maintain what is known as *honra*. Thus honor becomes a value constantly threatened and once it has been destroyed the only way to restore it is through public revenge⁸. That is, through the public recognition of the punishing of the offenders at the hands of the offended. The important point here is not the act itself but the social acknowledgement of such an act, and this provides the structure of the drama as well as the revenge motive.

At this point, it is important to bear in mind that revenge is by no means the only feature that the English and the Spanish dramas considered here have in common with Seneca's tragedies. As the classical author did before, Kyd and Lope concentrated on the plottings and sufferings of the avenger and they both also provided their plays with a bloody end. Seneca's influence is then quite clear. Nevertheless this resemblance remains only on a superficial level. A closer study shows that these sixteenth-century authors, when compared to Seneca, adopted a different approach to the vengeance theme and in doing so the result was completely different in each case. The following section will be devoted to analyzing this last point.

Common to all three playwrights seems to be their interest in the manifestations and consequences of revenge. However, they considered the same material from very distinct perspectives. Seneca, being

himself a philosopher, employed his dramas as a way of exploring the human soul from a philosophical point of view. In *The Spanish Tragedy* however it is the ethical concern which prevails. The choice of the revenge theme was not a mere chance but it was in fact a very controversial issue of the age: it sets the question of whether murder can be ethically and morally accepted on the grounds of personal revenge. Actually, vengeance generates a double conflict: on the one hand it is contrary to social laws which punish any kind of murder; on the other hand it is contrary to the religious and moral laws of God which establish that He is the only one entitled to destroy a human life. Kyd perfectly outlined this twofold situation in his play showing the anguish of a father who tries by all means to avenge his murdered son. This, in fact, explains Hieronimo's performance and his delay in carrying out his intentions. Considering his behaviour carefully, it is easy to realize that the old Marshal does not plan his revenge immediately after the discovery of his murdered son, but he tries first to get justice from the King, the major representative of the community and the law. He is therefore unwilling to break the first of those precepts mentioned above. Nevertheless, all his efforts are in vain and it is then when he turns to the heavens craving for justice. The famous soliloquy opening act III serves to mark this change:

HIERONIMO *Vindicta mihi!*

Ay, heavens will be revenged of every ill,
Nor will they suffer murder unrepaid:
then stay, Hieronimo, attend their will,
For mortal men may not appoint, their time.

(*The Spanish Tragedy*, III, xiii, 1-5)

In fact, the first line here is not taken from Seneca, as it might be thought⁹, but from the Bible (Romans, xiii, 19) and clearly states that revenge is not an instrument of man but of God. Thus the audience becomes perfectly aware that the hero feels trapped between these two forces: the social and the moral-religious one. Thereby, as soon as he decides to break with them both it becomes clear to all that he is doomed to die at the end of the tragedy. At this point then Hieronimo sets himself apart from the community: he becomes a madman¹⁰. There is no room for murder in such a society, therefore there is no room either for a murderer, no matter the nature of his crime and its possible explanation and justification on emotional or personal grounds.

Concentrating now on Lope's *Los comendadores de Córdoba*, it must be said that such a play, being free from the Senecan philosophical approach to the revenge theme, does not share with Kyd's the very same view on the subject. Here the Spanish honor code is so powerful a force that it seems to take precedence over the social and the religious-moral laws. As it has been previously said, such a code points to the death of the offender as the necessary requirement to restore the lost *honra*¹¹. That is why as soon as Veinticuatro's dishonor has been publicly disclosed, his main goal is to regain social credit through revenge regardless of the fact that this may contradict law and morals. But all this does not mean that human sense of justice has vanished from that play. Veinticuatro is actually seen coming back to Court after the murders to receive the deserved punishment for his crimes and he says: "y ahora a tus manos llega (=the sword) / desnuda como la ves, / a que cortes mi cabeza" (*Los comendadores de Córdoba*, III, 1258). The avenger is therefore aware that he is breaking the law, but he feels at the same time that his performance is somehow socially and morally justified. The King's reaction at the discovery of

Veinticuatro's dishonor and revenge shows the way in which social laws yield ground to the strong imperatives of the honor code. There are then two occasions on which the major representative of the community demonstrates his approval of revenge in certain circumstances: when he indirectly suggests how the betrayed husband should recover his honor¹², and when he makes the surprising decision to reward assassination.

Something similar takes place at the religious-moral level. The point of view here is that the avenger does not go beyond morality in his murderous business, he becomes instead an agent of moral justice itself. Thereby special care has been taken to underline the sinful and guilty behaviour of the adulterous couple and their friends. They were the ones who first transgressed the principles of morality and because of this Veinticuatro considers himself entitled to impart the penalty. That is why he thinks God is assisting him at the very moment of his revenge¹³. The Spanish cuckolded husband sees no reason then to question his actions and the end of the play seems to prove this.

At first sight then, there is a striking difference between these plays. Whilst in the *The Spanish Tragedy* the murderer is a character outcast from society and for that reason he is bound to die, in *Los comendadores de Córdoba*, however, he finally becomes a hero. It could be argued then, that Kyd and Lope de Vega pursued completely different aims in writing these two dramas. Nevertheless such a contrast may turn out to be, at a deeper level, the point that makes these two dramas alike in their subject matter and purpose. Following closer the Senecan parameters Kyd offers in his play a direct criticism of vengeance. The conclusion of it makes this clear since all the characters involved in a killing are condemned in their earthly existence to the same penalty: death. However something else needs to be mentioned. There is also a kind of heavenly justice, for in the afterlife Revenge is more selective. This figure suggests at the very end that Andrea's friends will be rewarded (that is, those whose acts were somehow justified) while his foes will suffer an everlasting torture¹⁴.

In Lope's case however it is necessary to go beyond the bare facts. A superficial reading of this play will lead the reader to conclude too hastily that Lope made this drama as a defence of unpunished personal revenge. Further analysis however shows that, scattered all throughout the play, there are some clues to suggest that beneath its first reading as a celebration of murder there lies in fact an attack on the socially accepted honor code. In the article "Celebration or Subversion? *Los comendadores de Córdoba* Reconsidered" Meelvena McKendrick has pointed to Veinticuatro's weakness as an individual and the surprising end of this play as the elements which confirm the implicit irony in *Los comendadores de Córdoba*. But, in my opinion, it is not only this that provides us with the necessary clues to fully understand Lope's real purpose. Act III, the scene which presents how the murders take place, shows certain comic situations that are deliberately intended to ridicule Veinticuatro's reaction. The way a parrot and a monkey are menaced and finally killed because they obviously could not inform of their master's dishonor cannot be taken seriously and the same applies to the scene which presents Galindo and Esperanza awaiting death wrapped in rugs. It is also relevant to comment at this point on Lope's own opinion on this subject. He certainly disliked the idea of revenge when this was merely directed at clearing up one's own reputation, and he clearly states so in the preface to "La más perfecta venganza" (184). It seems natural then that such ideas could have also been introduced in his plays, even though they appear to have been adapted to the popular taste to such an extent that they are impossible to detect at first sight. No doubt Menéndez Pelayo could not perceive the irony in Lope's lines when he concluded: "La matanza final hace poco efecto por su misma atrocidad y por los estúpidos chistes del gracioso, y por

los grotescos incidentes de la mona y el papagayo” (282).

All this lead us to conclude that *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Los comendadores de Córdoba* do take the Senecan revenge motive as an excuse to discuss the crucial personal dilemma that vengeance sets. But the English and the Spanish dramatists chose different paths to approach the topic: Lope’s satirical mood produced a subtle parody of a ruthless social imperative while Kyd’s grave tone resulted in a deep reflective tragedy.

NOTES

¹ CND Costa, for instance, believes some of Seneca’s verse to be “a grotesquely sick joke” (110), while F.L. Lucas states in similar terms that the plot in *Tiestes* “is as simple as revolting” (61).

² John Cunliffe as well as J. A. Symonds can be pointed out as representatives of this traditional trend.

³ M.J. Anderson, F.L. Lucas, M.K. and A.L. Kistner and Martin Helzle are worth mentioning in this case.

⁴ There is something enigmatic about Bel-Imperia’s role. It is impossible to discover whether her true reason for revenge is her love for Andrea or for Horatio or for them both.

⁵ See *The Spanish Tragedy* II, v, 51-54.

⁶ Notice that he was defeated in both war and love by the same man and that is the reason why he exclaims: “Glad that I know on whom to be revenged” (*The Spanish Tragedy*, II, , 114).

⁷ Some allusions in the play suggest that there was some kind of relationship between Rodrigo and the young chambermaid. But as soon as the comendadores arrived her favours were shown towards Galindo.

⁸ The idea that the *honra* does not depend on one’s own merits is underlined by the main character himself (*Los comendadores de Córdoba*, III, 1251), and it is to Rodrigo to explicitly indicate the way such Spanish honor code works:

RODRIGO Señor, no le ha perdido (=el honor) quien le cobra:
 ¿un mentís no se cobra por un duelo,
 por dar de palos, y esos con la muerte?
 Pues también la corrompida fe se niega
 por dar muerte a los que son culpados.
 (*Los comendadores de Córdoba*, III, 1251)

⁹ Remember that Hieronimo is holding a book that is supposed to be by Seneca because the old Marshal quotes from it some maxims attributed to this Latin author.

¹⁰ Hieronimo’s madness also becomes a proof that this character no longer fits the community since madmen are normally described as antisocial individuals.

¹¹ That is the reason why Veinticuatro exclaims that the murders have resulted in “que volviese mi honra/ a estar sobre las estrellas” (*Los comendadores de Córdoba*, III, 1258).

¹² See the royal maxim in which the King refers to both the ring and Veinticuatro’s honor:

Si a tu mujer se la diste,
que tu mujer te la dé.

(Los comendadores de Córdoba, II, 1246)

¹³ See Veinticuatro's own words:

Tomó don Jorge su espada,
pero Dios, que a tiempos ciega,
o el miedo que el Sacramento
pone a quien sus leyes quiebra
hizo que de una estocada
cayese su infamia a tierra.

(Los comendadores de Córdoba, III, 1258)

¹⁴ See Andrea's last lines:

Then haste we down to meet thy friends and foes:
To place thy friends in ease, the rest in woes.

(The Spanish Tragedy, IV, v, 45-6)

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Milton: *Paradise Lost* and the Question of Kabbalah

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The proposal for analysing a poem taking Kabbalah as a point of reference may be regarded as an unfruitful and misleading approach due to the pejorative meaning it has for many people; however, if the most important traits are brought clearly into view one comes to realise that Kabbalah contributes decisively with the understanding and interpreting of a text. After all, Kabbalah is a mode of language and, especially, a mode of interpretation¹. When faced with the imposing task of reading or interpreting a text we are confronted with the question of how much of this text we are able to identify and how much of our personality we need to give up in order to come to grips with its reality and finality. It is hardly questionable that any final objective and the result obtained are always constrained by a combination of historical and/or traditional factors that will constitute the personality of that text. The reader who is also constrained by his own historical and traditional factors may feel forced to use what Harold Bloom names his own “belatedness”², those conditions that influence him when interpreting the text. According to Bloom in *Kabbalah and Criticism*:

A reader understanding a poem is indeed understanding his own reading of that poem. ...There are weak mis-readings and strong mis-readings, just as there are weak poems and strong poems, but there are no right readings, because reading a text is necessarily the reading of a whole system of texts, and meaning is always wandering around between texts (p.107).

It is this idea of “wandering between texts” and the importance of the reader’s meditation that leads us to the question of Kabbalah as part of a receiver’s belatedness.

Bloom states that Kabbalah must be understood as “tradition” and “reception”, the latter referring to the whole of Oral Law, and the former referring to “traditional wisdom”. It is a body of rhetoric or figurative language which offers a radical consideration of Man’s Being in relation to the world and to God. Gershom Scholem in *On the Kabbalah and Its Symbolism* points out that Kabbalism establishes a state of interdependence of all the worlds and all existential levels³. It is indeed a philosophy of rhetoric that offers an interpretation of the Bible, especially of the *Torah*, or *Pentateuch*, under the influence of Neoplatonism and Gnosticism together with the entire Jewish tradition of interpreting the Bible found in the Talmudic writings. It is a mysticism of profound religious feeling that manages to keep the *Halakhab* (“Sacred Law”) and the *Aggadab* (“legend”, “myth”) in union. Scholem defines it in terms of “traditional wisdom”: “a doctrine which centres about the immediate personal contact with God, a highly personal and intimate form of knowledge”⁴. He also identifies it with other kinds of mysticism,

Kabbalah too draws upon the mystic's awareness of both the transcendence of God and His immanence within the true religious life, every facet of which is revelation of God, although God Himself is most clearly perceived through man's introspection. ...The second element in Kabbalah is that of theosophy, which seeks to reveal the mysteries of the hidden life of God and the relationships between the divine life on the one hand and the life of man and creation on the other. Speculations of this type occupy a large and conspicuous area in kabbalistic teaching. Sometimes their connection with the mystical plane becomes rather tenuous and is superseded by an interpretative and homiletical vein which occasionally even results in a kind of kabbalistical *pilpul*.⁵

To study the universe the kabbalists based their work on the Bible. Therefore by means of myth and rhetoric Kabbalah seeks to explain the cause and process of the Creation⁶ with the underlying idea that Man participates in it and is constantly improving or impairing it. The mysteries of the divinity, seen seated on the Throne, can only be revealed to a few elect; hence the use of certain esotericism and modes of language which conceal them from the uninitiated and untrained. The theory of the ten *Sefirot* or attributes of God, represent aspects of the inaccessible One, the Supreme *Ein-Sof* and *Ayin*, the "Deus Absconditus". Thus, the *Sefirot* form the active world of the Divinity, they are all contained in each other, and they are all the manifestation of God's immanence in the world. They evince His dynamic unity and the process by means of which He manifests Himself as Creator.

The *Sefirot* are presented as a reversed tree with *Keter*, or "Crown" and "Divine Light" at the top, out of which emanate all the other Sefirot. *Hokhmab*, or "wisdom", forms the second Sefirah in the tree; *Binab*, or "understanding", is the third following *Hokhmab*. These three form the Supernal Triad—the realm of the first manifestation of the Divinity. The other seven taken conjointly are considered the *Sefirot* of creation, their names being, in order: (4) *Hesed* ("Mercy"); (5) *Din* ("Rigor/Judgement") or *Gevurah* ("Power"); (6) *Tiferet* ("Beauty") or *Rabamim* (Compassion); (7) *Nezah* ("Eternity"); (8) *Hod* ("Reverberation", "majesty"); (9) *Yesod* ("Foundation"); (10) *Malkbut* ("Kingdom"). Three lines or columns are exhibited: the active—to the right of *Keter*—, starting with *Hokhmab* followed by *Hesed* and *Nezah*; the passive—to the left of *Keter*—, starting with *Binab* and followed by *Din* and *Hod*. Finally, the central pillar, which descends from the Crown, *Keter*, to *Tiferet*, down to *Yesod* and then to *Malkbut*. This is also known as the pillar of "equilibrium"⁷.

The apparent complexity of the system seems to become clearer when interpreting God's attributes in their application to the lower world. Marjorie H. Nicolson in her article "Milton and the *Conjectura Cabbalistica*" stresses the influence Christian Kabbala received from Ramon Llull, Philo Judaeus, Neoplatonism, and neo-Pythagoreanism and how in its turn it influenced the literature of the Renaissance and made a special entrance into England in the second quarter of the 17th century (p.2-4)⁸. Christian Kabbalah began to evolve in the 15th century onward through certain mystics who tried to harmonize Kabbalistic doctrines with Christianity. Their intention was to demonstrate that "the true hidden meaning of the teachings of Kabbalah points in a Christian direction"⁹. According to Scholem, Christian Kabbalah spread from two sources: from the theological speculations of a number of Jewish converts from the end of the 13th century; and from speculation developed around the Platonic Academy in Florence during the time of the Medicis. Scholem gives an account of this in the following terms:

The Christian speculation about the Kabbalah that first developed around the Platonic Academy

endowed by the Medicis in Florence and was pursued in close connection with the new horizons opened up by the Renaissance in general. These Florentine circles believed that they had discovered in the Kabbalah an original divine revelation to mankind that had been lost and would now be restored, and with the aid of which it was possible not only to understand the teachings of Pythagoras, Plato, and the Orphics, all of whom they greatly admired, but also the secrets of the Catholic faith. The founder of this Christian school of Kabbalah was the renowned Florentine prodigy Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463-94) ... his theses first brought the Kabbalah to the attention of many Christians. (Enc. Jud. p.643-644).

He also explains that such views were not approved by the kabbalists themselves. In the 17th century the writings of Jacob Boehme and of Knorr von Rosenroth gave an impulse to Christian kabbalism. In England such influence is met in the writings of some of the Cambridge Platonists such as Ralph Cudworth and Henry More. That Man is endowed with Free Will, the acceptance of a feminine part in God, and the acceptance of evil as a necessary requirement for the creation to take place are ideas that acquire some relevance in a theory that establishes pairs of opposites: light and darkness, good and evil, spirit and matter, male and female¹⁰. The *Sefer ba-Zohar*, or "Book of Splendour", written in Spain around the 12th and 13th centuries, is constantly setting and exhibiting clear contrasts at all the levels of reality¹¹. Thus Heaven finds its opposition with Hell: its landscape, hierarchical structure, palaces and so on have their counterparts in the world of darkness. Heaven and Hell are in God's mind. They received their being at the moment God thought about them; hence the belief in God's foreknowledge.

Kabbalism also offers the possibility of the return by an act of purification in repentance and suffering. The idea that suffering has meaning and that it is the consequence of exile had already been highlighted by Philo and the neoplatonists; it is this which encourages the movement of the return to the One or Monad. The Platonic idea that Man is a mirror of the great cosmos, himself a microcosmos, is taken up by the kabbalists. Philo, who united Hellenism and Judaism seems to be one of the most important influences on the kabbalists¹². His influence and that of the Biblical texts, Platonism, Pythagoreanism, Neoplatonism and Gnosticism play the significant role of turning the Kabbalah into a completely eclectic system and method of interpretation. Metaphor, allegory, oxymoron, and metonymy are some of the modes of speech that are given preference in Kabbalistic writings.

A certain esotericism is obviously implied due to the linguistic symbolism and myth it makes use of. Besides, all of these can be explained in terms of allowing the kabbalist student to adopt the approach and understanding that suits best their own creative nature. Kabbalah is a system that highlights free will, considering it a characteristic of humanity; therefore this system must be open, it can in no way restrict the freedom of any interpreter, follower, student, or reader.

This paper deals with the relation between Kabbalah and *Paradise Lost*. When summarizing Kabbalah and extracting its main concepts, stripped of the extraordinary rhetoric that constitutes their flesh and dress, we realize that certain coincidences with Milton's thought as found in PL¹³ are astonishing. It is no wonder that Denis Saurat considered Milton's philosophical ideas truly kabbalistic¹⁴. He believed that Milton knew the Zohar and had read other similar documents. In *Milton, Man and Thinker*, Saurat presents his arguments in defence of the theory that Milton was widely influenced by the *Zohar* and other kabbalistic writings¹⁵, and highlights in particular these verses on God's retraction from PL (vii.170-2): "I uncircumscribed Myself retire,/ And put not forth My goodness, which is free/ To act or

not..." (p.102). In opposition to that, and according to Sanford Budick, PL should be read as a typological poem¹⁶. The similitudes with Judaism are brought about thanks to Milton's knowledge of the Hebrew Bible and of certain Midrashim. However, his eclectic and often syncretistic approaches to concrete beliefs allow and encourage an interpretation that goes beyond at of conventional typology.

Not everything in Milton agrees with Kabbalism. His interest in politics and history surpasses that of the kabbalists themselves; very often the poem needs to be read in light of its social and historical background to be properly understood. In addition to that, R.J. Zwi Werblowsky in "Milton and the Conjectura Cabbalistica" offers an analysis of all the flawed arguments of D. Saurat and refutes them thoroughly¹⁷. Zwi Werblowsky states that Saurat relied on a very bad translation of the *Zohar*, and that most of the points used by Saurat are simply Christian and/or mystical commonplaces. He also points out Saurat's misunderstanding of God's *Zimzum*, or "retraction". Still, there seem to be enough reasons to believe that drawing from kabbalism might have proved instrumental in the reinforcement and dramatization of some beliefs such as Milton's anti-Trinitarianism and concept of evil. The idea, found in H. Bloom¹⁸, which interprets the triads as the relation in the poem between a sign, its object, and the interpreting thought, together with his statement that the "Sefirotic tree is a working model for a theory of poetic influence" (p.53) well justify the use of some of these ideas in the overall structure of the poem, allowing it at the same time to remain open to different interpretations. A poem is also a creation and the poet is like the demiurge who gives essence and existence to something concrete.

There are a variety of ideas in PL that coincide with Kabbalism. However, Milton might have developed similar ideas and reached similar conclusions from his own reading, analysing, and thinking. One such issue that Kabbalah took from Jewish theology and which coincides with Christian theology as well is "Free Will", which Milton bounds up with reason, a faculty of Man that allows him to reach a state of balance or "equilibrium". The concept of freedom is perhaps the strongest in PL, it is constantly present and all the events that take place stem therefrom. This is all too clear in the following extract where God speaking to the Son foresees that man will fall:

For Man will hearken to his (Satan's) glozing lies,
 And easily transgress the sole command,
 Sole pledge of his obedience: so will fall
 He and his faithless progeny. Whose fault?
 Whose but his own? Ingrate, he had of me
 All he could have; I made him just and right,
 Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall.
 Such I created all the Ethereal Powers
 And Spirits, both them who stood and them who failed;
 Freely they stood who stood, and fell who fell.
 ...What praise could they receive,
 What pleasure I, from such obedience paid,
 When Will and Reason (Reason also is Choice),
 Useless and vain, of freedom both despoiled,
 Made passive both, had served Necessity,
 Not Me? They, therefore, as to right belonged
 So were created, (iii. 93-112)¹⁹

Free will, the rejection of Predestination, the possibility of choosing, and the comparison between man and angel as created beings are the issues dealt with in this extract. Milton presents freedom as the “high decree /Unchangeable, eternal” (iii. 126/7), and the explanation for God’s one command is conceived in terms of negating predestination and fate. Furthermore, these issues seem to hint at the kabbalistic belief that suffering has a meaning and is a way to purification. To be near the Father, to behold the Throne, which metaphorically signifies reaching a state of supreme happiness, a cathartic process seems to be required. In order to understand these signs of beauty and happiness we need to translate them, to find their reference in connection with *Keter*, the “Crown” and “Divine Light”. One underlying idea is that the Creator, being at the highest level in the hierarchy, emanates Light and Glory and Wisdom onto the lower worlds and levels of it. The Sefirot, and therefore the attributes they signify, emanate from the right of the Throne. This idea of hierarchy is clearly expressed in PL:

Now had the Almighty Father from above,
 From the pure Empyrean where He sits
 High Throned above all highth, bent down his eye,
 His own works and their works at once to view:
 About him all the Sanctities of Heaven
 Stood thick as stars, and from his sight received
 Beatitude past utterance; on his right
 The radiant image of his glory sat,
 His only Son. (iii. 56-64)

The Father “High Throned above all highth” with nothing above him is the inaccessible One; on his right and depending entirely on Him sits the Son; and, though we read “about him all the Sanctities of Heaven”, He had to “bend down his eye” in order to see them thus placing the angels on a lower level and further signifying the supremacy of the One. This extract exemplifies one of the moments in the poem where the Hierarchy of Light is described. The Son is the representative of the highest attributes of the Divinity, the first after the Father and the one that pleases Him most:

O Son, in whom my soul hath chief delight,
 Son of my bosom, Son who art alone
 My word, my wisdom, and effectual might (iii. 168-70)

In these two passages Milton sets forth one of the most controversial of mysteries –the question of the Trinity. In the *Christian Doctrine*, explanation of the essence of God is given in terms of being of the simplest nature and admitting no compound quality; therefore, the “Son cannot be co-essential with the Father, for then the title of Son would be least of all applicable to him, since he who is properly the Son is not coeval with the Father, much less of the same numerical essence, otherwise the Father and the Son would be one person”²⁰. This belief is highlighted at the moment the Son is anointed King and explanation of his duties is accordingly given. It is a very dramatic moment in the poem, and a crucial one, where the initiation of the Dyad takes place. The perfection of the One and the line of light that comes from it finds its counterpart with Satan, formerly Lucifer, who becomes the Creator of Evil and initiates the Hierarchy of Hell. This is possible due to the envy he felt when the Son was anointed King. Such envy

produced a “separation”, or according to the Lurianic Kabbalah a *Shevirab* (the “breaking of the vessels” or “process of emanation”), which is going to cause both a disordered multiplicity and the unavoidable fall. To the sin of envy there follows the sin of pride, and thereafter there seems to be a continuous process of sin referred to as a constant movement, specially conveyed by the word “err”: “Apostate! still thou err’st, nor end wilt find/ Of erring, from the path of truth remote” (vi. 172-3). Satan avows evil and affirms himself in it, thus becoming the contrary and opposing figure to the Son, his most absolute contrast and the maximum representative of evil. The following passage evinces the moment when God anoints the Son king, and the significance of this to the angelical orders below introducing at the same time an element of discord and discontent, which will give rise to the Dyad, or multiplicity:

My only Son, and on this holy hill
 Him have anointed, whom ye now behold
 At my right hand; your head I him appoint;
 And by my self have sworn to him shall bow
 All knees in heaven, and shall confess him Lord:
 ...: him who disobeys
 Me disobeys, breaks union, and that day
 Cast out from God and blessed vision, falls
 Into utter darkness, deep engulfed, his place
 Ordained without redemption, without end.
 So spake the Omnipotent, and with his words
 All seemed well pleased, all seemed, but were not all. (v. 604-17)

This is a dramatic moment that presents God’s word and justice, which will apply to those who disobey. It also indicates a concentration of the fifth *Sefirah*, *Din* or “Rigor/Judgement”, especially expressed by naming the Son “Lord” which means that he will apply justice in the name of God. Curiously enough this crucial event is related in Book V of PL coinciding numerically with *Din*. Biblical language is used to describe the heavenly world, as when the angels sing “Melodious hymns about the sovereign throne” (v. 656); all are happy but one. This image recalls that of the Throne in one of the visions in the Book of Revelation (7. 9-13). The angels take a variety of forms and perform a variety of activities which all fulfil the harmonious and balanced aim of pleasing the Father. They may be thought to symbolise prayer and a mystical experience based on the will to be near the Throne, like in Isaiah (6.3). The rest of the extract deals with the separation of the One by Satan. Here the drama reaches its fullest climax. In terms of Kabbalah, we have the aforementioned *Shevirab* which ends with a separation and exile, and this is exactly what happens to Satan first; his *Shevirab* or emanation is referred to by means of the multitude of angels that followed suit and fell with him.

We see in PL that the actual creation of the Earth and of Man will take place after the two opposing powers are clearly settled, with their emanation and energy the concepts of ‘time’ and ‘space’ get clear specification in the poem. They belong to lower worlds and not to the highest world of the divinity. However, to understand all of these, it seems necessary to return to Bloom interpreting Scholem. He explains that *Keter* signifies the “divine Will” of the Creator and the “divine self-Consciousness”; *Hokhmah*, “Wisdom”, is the active principle of knowing; and *Binah*, “Understanding”, signifies the reflec-

tion upon knowledge: “the veil through which God’s ‘Wisdom’ shines”²¹. The idea of *Binah* being the mother of the other *Sefirot* is developed at this point. Thus, the first contrasts are established at this high level: active and passive, male and female. Active corresponds to male and passive to female. This is another characteristic found in the poem with Adam as active and Eve as passive. Eve receives knowledge through Adam like *Binah* reflects the Wisdom it has received; besides, Eve being the mother of all mankind presents a parallelism with Binah seen as the mother of all the other *Sefirot*. In PL the *Zimzum* or “contraction” could be thought to precede the moment when Good and Evil originate; Good first, and Evil immediately afterwards as it has already been seen with the extracts from Book iii, otherwise there is no kabbalistic *Zimzum* in PL. Milton seems to have taken the Gnostic idea of the “divine fullness” or “pleroma” when dealing with the creation. Contrary to the kabbalists, he believed that God created out of matter. PL sings of one physical creation but leaves in the dark the creation of the superior worlds: the world of the ideas, of angels, and the world of the divinity, or high Heaven. It is this former origin and creation that has allowed for so much speculation on Milton’s use of kabbalistic ideas. The procession and/or emanation of good and evil have predecessors with neoplatonism and Philo Judeus. However at this point one tends to think of the “Big Bang” theory which is based on a big explosion which created a universe in expansion! PL having the universe as its background setting exhibits the expansion of both Good and Evil; the realms of the Son and of Satan as opposing energies indicate a creation which has not reached its end. Milton highlights the belief that the movement implied by the *tikkun* or “return” through repentance is not physical but internal; it is a question of adding virtues and love and “(thou) shalt possess /A paradise within thee, happier far.” Does PL not present itself as a true example of a triadic relation between a sign, its object, and the interpreting thought? A relation which is after all a decision of the readers, who need to use their own previous influence and creative energy to understand their own reading; together with a thought which is left free for them to abstract and use in their own cathartic meditation.

NOTES

¹ Harold Bloom. 1975: *Kabbalah and Criticism*. New York, The Seabury Press: 15-23.

² Bloom’s theory of “belatedness” is based on a theory of influence. See, “The Necessity of Misreading” in *Kabbalah and Criticism*: 95-126.

³ Gershom Scholem. 1965: *On the Kabbalah and Its Symbolism*. New York: Schocken Books Inc., 1969. Translated by Ralph Manheim. I have used the Spanish version, *La Cábala y su simbolismo* 1989: Madrid, Siglo Veintiuno editores, 6^a ed. Traducción por José Antonio Pardo. See the chapter: “Tradición y nueva creación en el rito de los cabalistas”: 130-172.

⁴ G. Scholem. 1961: *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*. New York, Schocken Books Inc., 1974. See the “First Lecture: General Characteristics of Jewish Mysticism”: 1-39.

⁵ See the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Vol. 10: KABBALAH, Introduction: 490.

⁶ Op.Cit. Scholem: *La Cábala y su simbolismo*. See chapter three: “Cábala y Mito” for myth and symbolism: 96ff.

⁷ Op.Cit. Scholem: KABBALAH in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*: 571-572. The most common pattern is:

Keter

Binah

Hokhmah

Gevurah/Din		Gedullah/Hesed
	Tiferet	
Hod		Nezah
	Yesod	
	Malkhut	

See the appendix, which offers a clearer representation of the Tree taken from G.G. Scholem: *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*: 213-214.

⁸ Marjorie H. Nicolson, 1927: "Milton and the *Conjectura Cabbalistica*", *Philological Quarterly*, Vol.VI, No.I, January: 1-18.

⁹ Op. Cit. G. Scholem: KABBALAH in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Vol.10: 644 ff. Hereafter the abbreviation "Enc. Jud." will be used to refer to this work. See also Marjorie Nicolson, "Milton and *The Conjectura Cabbalistica*": 2.

¹⁰ Op.Cit. M.H.Nicolson, "Milton and *The Conjectura Cabbalistica*". She gives special emphasis to the use of contrasts and their subsequent influence in the Renaissance period.

¹¹ *El ZOHAR*. Revelaciones del "Libro del Esplendor" seleccionadas por Ariel Bension. Edición de Carlos Garrido. Barcelona, Ediciones de la Tradición Unánime, 41, 1992. See chapter three: "Revelaciones concernientes al Paraíso e Infierno": 79-94. Also, G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, the "Fifth and Sixth Lectures": 156-243. For Scholem the author of the *Zohar* was fascinated by evil and followed the Gnostic tradition that considered evil a "left emanation" forming an "ordered hierarchy of the potencies of evil, ...organized in ten spheres or stages." The ten holy Sefirot have their unholy counterparts: 177.

¹² PHILO: *On the Account of the World's Creation given by Moses (De Opificio Mundi)*. Trans. F.H.Colson & G.H.Whitaker. PHILO I. The LOEB Classical Library, 1929, London: William Heinemann Ltd. 1962.

¹³ *Paradise Lost* will be referred to with the initials PL.

¹⁴ Denis Saurat, 1922: "Milton and the *ZOHAR*", *Studies in Philology*, Vol.XIX, No.2, April: 136-151.

¹⁵ Denis Saurat. 1944: *Milton, Man and Thinker*. London, J.M.Dent & Sons Ltd, 1946.

¹⁶ Sanford Budick, 1986: "Milton and the Scene of Interpretation: From Typology toward Midrash" in *Midrash and Literature*, Hartman, G.H. and Budick, S. eds. New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1986: 195-212.

¹⁷ R.J. Zwi Werblowsky, 1955: "Milton and the Conjectura Cabbalistica", *JWCI (Journal of the Warburg and Courtland Institutes)*, Vol.18: 90-113. There is special mention of Saurat's errors on pp.: 97-99, and on the misunderstood notion of the Lurianic *Zimzum* as being pantheistic on pp.: 109-110.

¹⁸ Op.Cit. H. Bloom: *Kabbalah and Criticism*, 51-94.

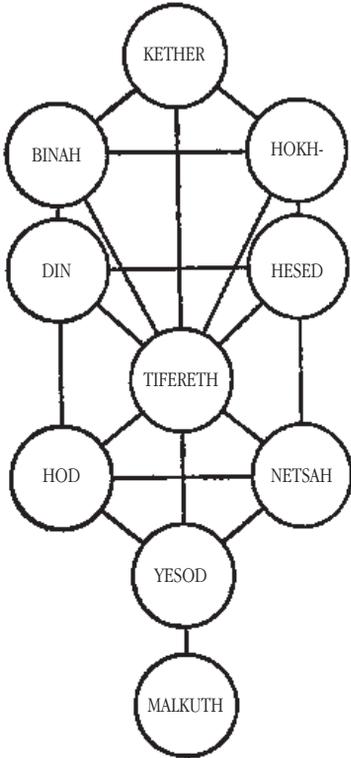
¹⁹ All the extracts of the poem are from, Alastair Fowler (ed.), 1968: *MILTON. PARADISE LOST*. London and New York, Longman, 1971.

²⁰ For more details about Milton's opinion and analysis of the Trinity, see "The Christian Doctrine" in *The Works of John Milton*. Patterson, F.A. ed. New York, Columbia University Press, 1933, Vol.XIV: Chapter V, "Of the Son": 177-356.

²¹ Op. Cit. H.Bloom: *Kabbalah Criticism*, 28-30.

APPENDIX

From, Gershom G. Scholem. 1961: Major trends in Jewish Mysticism. New York, Schocken Books Inc., 1967: 213-214. See notes 4, 7, 11.



1. *Kether Elyon*,

the "supreme crown" of God;

2. *Hokhmah*,

the "wisdom" or primordial idea of God;

3. *Binah*,

the "intelligence" of God;

4. *Hesed*,

the "love" or mercy of God;

5. *Gevurah* or *Din*,

the "power" of God, chiefly manifested as the power of stern judgment and punishment;

6. *Rabamim*,

the "compassion" of God, to which falls the task of mediating between the two preceding Sefirot; the name *Tifereth* "beauty", is used only rarely.

7. *Netsab*,

the "lasting endurance" of God;

8. *Hod*,

the "majesty" of God;

9. *Yesod*,

the "basis" or "foundation" of all active forces in God;

10. *Malkuth*,

the "kingdom" of God, usually described in the Zohar as the *Keneseth Israel*, the mystical archetype of Israel's community, or as the Shekhinah.

A Midsummer Night's Dream in Almagro

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A *Midsummer Night's Dream* has been the Shakespearean play seen most frequently at the Almagro festival. There have been four different productions since 1977. La Cazuella staged *El Somni d'una Nit d'estiu* in 1984. Later David Conville's production was presented by the New Shakespeare Company in 1986. There were two new productions in the 1990s. UR-Teatro staged *El sueño de una noche de verano* at the XVI Almagro Festival. Factoría Teatro presented a new adaptation of the play in 1994 which had a positive reception for its dramatic sense and modern connotations.

El somni d'una nit d'estiu was included in the programme for the VII Almagro Festival. Jaume Bordera's adaptation of this Shakespearean play was staged on September 15, 1984 at S. Agustín's. The production stressed the contemporary dimension of the play for Shakespeare is not "of a time but for all ages". The performance followed Sagarra's translation in verse which seemed to be most adequate to the dramatic needs of the original text. It presented a new dramatisation of love for it has always been thought an essential element of the play. However it was viewed from our historical situation. Hence the sexual component of love became relevant within the theatrical sequence to show the new expectations created by falling in love. Sexual desire was focused on a huge bed which the lovers used to satisfy the hunger for love. It became a sort of meeting point to exchange experiences and frustrations regarding love in a context of magic which gave a special insight into amorous considerations. Sexual appetite, therefore, prevailed since the characters were longing to accomplish all their sexual fantasies in a wood where fairies and lovers sought joy and pleasure. Thus love was experienced as something physical. It was the common desire shared by all those who came to the fairyland in search of all kinds of loving care.

However love was dramatised as a complex human feeling which could not be reduced to mere sexuality because everything in the play showed a dual dimension. The spiritual and the carnal, the human and the supernatural were transferred to a fictional place, to a paradise on earth. Consequently there were both a sense of the permanent and a positive consciousness of the transient, for love and sexuality were presented as expressions of the twofold nature of man. The wood was the place where all these experiences took place and both the magic and the physical were illustrated with every sort of detail. It was where the kingdom of Titania and Oberon displayed all its magical potential which made the woodland bewitched, creating an atmosphere of fear and respect, for it was a place of fantasy and imagination where all kinds of desires might come true. At the same time the wood made the characters feel insecure for the great variety of experiences and contradictions they found surpassed all their expectations. All its inhabitants were afraid of something they could not control. However, they did not try to go away from that fanciful location for it was such an attractive place that they were determined

not to leave.

In the 1990s new productions of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* by Spanish groups have appeared on the Almagro stage. UR-Teatro presented its adaptation from the 9th to 12th of July 1993 at the "Teatro Popular". The intention of the production as Helena Pimenta pointed out was to bridge "lo clásico y lo contemporáneo. Mi deseo ha sido conciliar mundos, lenguajes, intentando que cada elemento sea consciente y armonizado"¹. Love was the major topic in the production. It was, therefore, "...el amor, a través de sus diferentes manifestaciones... el verdadero protagonista"² Love was what made sense and gave order and coherence to the whole performance. We should bear in mind that this Shakespearean play "...is, after all, a play about love, about all the difficulties and obstacles lovers encounter..."³. And love showed a positive sexual concern. It was staged not only as a romantic feeling but also as something else. The tensions and anxieties emerging in the course of sexual attraction were central to the dramatization of love and sexual pleasure became a precious thing within the magic fairyland. The actors were well aware of it and tried to make clear their sexual concern through gesture and language.

UR's adaptation of this Shakespearean comedy had some outstanding characteristics which were a consequence of a particular vision of drama. Theatricality was a major element in the play. Theatre was presented in its purest sense. There was a simple stage with few things on it to give an idea of what drama is in its more essential aspects. The set consisted of three wooden screens. And at times they served as house, at others as wall or trees in the forest. They were located at the back of the stage which allowed the actors to move freely from one side of the stage to the other. In this way all the props contributed to a natural performance where words and action were the essential elements. Thus the play showed an unusual cast of actors made up of just six players, three men and three women who managed to interpret the 18 characters of the play. It made the staging much more challenging since such a small cast of actors played all the different roles from the aristocrats to the artisans, from the fairies to the lovers. It was certainly refreshing to see just a single actor playing as many as four major roles. This was a very a difficult task which required acting skills of the highest degree. It was hard to recognize the actors when they changed their roles.

The production also emphasized the modernity of the text since the group was very much concerned with the presentation of a contemporary reading of the play related to the Spanish social context in the 1990s. There was a positive manipulation in order to make a meaningful performance within a particular situation. The mechanics' scenes were the most appealing to a contemporary audience for there was a complete reversal of the original dramatic roles. Characters represented social stereotypes of different Spanish regions as well as of other countries. Jordi, the Catalanian, was the director of the interlude, Patxi, the Basque, was Pyramus and an Andalusian girl was Thisbe while a Galician countrywoman played the role of the moon. Irony and language played a decisive part in their characterization. The artisans' preparation and performance of "The most lamentable comedy, and most cruel death of Pyramus and Thisbe" before the Duke and the Duchess of Athens on his wedding-day was the most creative and original part of the whole adaptation. It was when the performance reached its dramatic peak and connected more deeply with present-day expectations.

Language was abused in order to be meaningful within a social situation which demanded new solutions since UR's dramatization of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* showed a positive concern with the social potential of Shakespearean drama whose art demanded once again to be related to a particular time. The verbal component was seriously taken into account and served to delineate the dramatis personae. Then

a very colloquial and informal language was spoken by the artisans as if they were taken out of the streets. Words lost their Shakespearean literary quality and became less poetic but much more theatrical. Moreover the way of speaking greatly contributed to the characters' portrayal. These scenes exploited to a great extent all the features of contemporary language. There was a positive choice of an informal register to present verbal activity as something natural, which brought about a stronger sense of modernity to the performance since it could communicate easily with an Spanish audience. There were many examples of verbal freshness as "Se lo dedico al público en general" or when the Galician countrywoman who played the role of the moon was forced to move her breast up and down while saying "tolón, tolón".

Language and costume were the basic dramatic elements employed to provoke a social consciousness and to criticise xenophobic attitudes against immigrants as in the case of the Pole who was compelled to play the role of a wall during the performance of the love-story of Pyramus and Thisbe. However he took advantage of his minor role to make his protest against racism and to demand a fairer legal system in order to defend immigrants' rights. His protest was made unexpectedly clear when he turned his back at the end of the play-within-the-play and a written piece of cloth could be seen on his jacket saying "No ha la ley de extrangería" with serious spelling mistakes. But social criticism also applied to the Spanish social situation for the traditional stereotypes of the different regions were presented with ironic criticism. They were considered as a negative cliché since they represented an anachronistic view of social prototypes who were no longer valid within a more open society with new attitudes and expectations.

Music and dancing were relevant elements within the framework of the whole dramatic sequence. Both were decisive components in the dramatization of the scenes and episodes in the woodland. Their words were changed into strange and magical sounds. Communication was achieved not only through verbal discourse but also through unintelligible and mysterious sounds which made the wood a magic place. This was the reason why the sounds and music sung by Titania and the Fairies was very special and strange to the human ear. It was a kind of animal-like sound with high-pitched tones with no meaning at all. All this music was accompanied by some particular dancing as shown by Titania and the two fairies whose graceful movements should be highly appreciated for their skill. Thus the production recaptured the idea of the actor as an entertainer or showman.

Costumes also contributed to providing a contemporary insight since the performance was done in modern costumes. All the characters, from the Duke Theseus to Peter Quince or Nick Bottom, were dressed in today's fashion according to their skills and roles. Costumes did not change much during the performance giving a sense of continuity to the different scenes. However the way some characters were dressed on the stage was part of their dramatic personality reinforcing their metatheatrical intention because their satirical portrayal tried to convey particular messages to the audience in order to criticise social stereotypes which were no longer acceptable. Costumes, therefore, became relevant, particularly in the case of Demetrius who was dressed in a white sweater with black glasses representing "the dandified womanizer"⁴. Titania was in red, Hermia was in yellow and Helena in blue, since colours had a symbolic function. Costumes were very simple in design and were never sophisticated to show the characters as simply and naturally as possible.

The production, in spite of following closely the scenes of the original text, left out some episodes, omitted some elements and changed the role of some characters. The changes were due to the small number of actors and the dramatic intention of the production. So Egeus, Hermia's father, and

Philostrate did not appear at the beginning of the play. Theseus was the only character on stage in the opening scene. The number of fairies was reduced to two which had a negative effect on the dramatization of the fairyland. However female characters were introduced in the mechanics' scenes.

A new adaptation of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was presented in the XVII Almagro Festival from the 16th to the 19th of July 1994. The production was directed by Denis Rafter and Juan Carlos Ibarra was the responsible for the dramatic text of which, as he points out, "cabe hablar de pocas supresiones, excepción hecha de los parlamentos de Puck sustituidos en escena por la mímica y voces inarticuladas... En otras ocasiones el texto se ha sintetizado buscando la claridad, se ha usado con libertad de expresiones nada literales en base a situaciones y caracteres, o se han sustituido bromas y juegos de palabras difíciles de trasladar"⁵. Rafael Martínez la Fuente's translation was, amongst others, the one used to fix the dramatic text. Prose was employed throughout and verse only appeared on special occasions as in Puck's farewell and in the interlude which dramatised the story of Pyramus and Thisbe.

Factoría Teatro staged the production at the "Teatro Popular", at the same spot where UR Teatro presented its adaptation. The actors belonged to the School of Dramatic Art of Madrid. This amateur group was founded in the "Centro Cultural Galileo" between March and April 1993. *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was their first serious attempt to stage a Shakespearean play which made their success more valuable after performing it in different Spanish towns. Drama was thought of primarily as entertainment and joy and this was precisely what the production tried to communicate. The actors showed their interest in sharing with the audience all the magic which the play contains. For this purpose they used all the entrances and doors of the stage making the audience a part of that magic world. There was, then, a positive concern to involve the audience in the dramatic action of the play. Audience and actor, therefore, conformed to a whole theatrical entity which lived through a magic experience together where dreams and fantasies became reality for a while.

Thus the first aim of the production was to prepare the audience who should be carried away to a different world, to a fairyland, full of magic sounds and joyful experiences. And for this reason the play began with a sudden black-out while all the characters were coming into the theatre through different doors and entrances carrying little torches in their hands whispering sweet sounds and singing. At the same time the combination of acoustic elements produced a magic atmosphere for you did not know the location of the different voices. Later each character made his own presentation so that people could be familiar with everyone of them. It was followed by Oberon's introduction, and then all the characters came on to the stage.

The sets, lighting, music, dancing and costumes were those appropriate to the creation of a climax of mystery and beauty. They greatly contributed to the overall effect of the performance on the audience. The stage was divided into three main parts: the background stage, Oberon's ramp and Titania's space. The black backcloths of the background stage had linen cloths of different colours on them. Costumes and disguises were varied and suitable to the personality of the different characters and supernatural beings. These elements had a twofold function: to create a contrast between the human and the magic, and to produce a festive note, since the play deals with love and refers to a different world where man can achieve all his expectations. Thus the interludes, whose theatrical purpose was to bridge the different parts of the performance, contributed to create a happy and cheerful atmosphere.

The production was very much concerned with experimental drama as the group tried to present new visions and give new solutions to the dramatisation of the classics. There were three highly dramatic fea-

tures in Factoria's adaptation at the Almagro Festival. The first one was the woodland, full of dwarfs and fairies, where bestiality was aggressively stressed through Oberon and Puck, who appeared with a lion's head, and through the reinforcement of physical appetite. Moreover gesture, dresses and voices emphasized the longing for sexual pleasure. The second main feature of the performance was the doubling of the role of Titania by Isabel Veiga and Valentina García which gave a richer and more complex insight to this central character.

The third feature was to me the most enlightening and original as it had been widely recognized by critics in previous performances. This was in the scenes where the mechanics appeared giving the performance a stronger contemporary sense. This time all six artisans were women since the number of actresses was greater than the number of actors. There were 18 women and five men to play all the different roles. It meant that the group had more theatrical possibilities to interpret all the characters than UR whose cast was formed just by six people in all. The names were changed as follows in order to make them more meaningful to a Spanish audience:

Colasa, la tabernera	Pyramus
Paca Flauta, la sacristana	Thisbe
Berta Hambrona, la matarife	Thisbe's mother
Tomasa Morritos, la hojalatera	Pyramus's father
Justina, la del carpintero	The lion
Petra, la comadrona	

These characters were a complete theatrical creation for even the language was very peculiar for its colloquialisms. So we heard words wrongly pronounced such as "actroces, atrices, prórrogo, naide, paque, Tisne". It contributed to a colourful performance, full of contemporary references.

As we have seen all these productions of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* have been a great success at Almagro's Festival as well as in other Spanish locations. One of the reasons for their positive reception is that "triunfar con el *Sueño de una noche de verano* resulta relativamente fácil, puesto que la magia inimitable e insuperable del texto se demuestra capaz de superar todos los obstáculos"⁶. However you need something else if you really want to reproduce the magic of Shakespeare today. Possibly these adaptations have gone too far in their attempt to make Shakespeare our contemporary. But certainly they have shown us ways to make Shakespeare alive since they firmly believe that he is no longer "un mito"⁷.

NOTES

¹ Entrevista aparecida en el *Mundo* 1.9.1993.

² Julián G. Ibarretxe, *Deia*, 2.2.1993.

³ Tom Matheson, "Celebrating Shakespeare in Style", *Experimental Theatre*, 10, September, 1993.

⁴ Tom Matheson, "Celebrating Shakespeare in Style", *Experimental Theatre*, N°10, September, 1993.

⁵ W. Shakespeare, *El sueño de una noche de verano*, Madrid, Real Escuela de Arte Superior Dramático, 1993, Introduction, p. 12.

⁶ Alberto de la Hera, “Un verdadero sueño”, *Ya*, 21.4.1993.

⁷ Pablo Caro, *El sueño de una noche de verano*, inicia el ciclo teatral del Festival de Mérida”, *ABC*, 9.7.1993.

Editing Renaissance Classics in Spain in the 90's

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Editing Renaissance Classics is not a particularly agreeable subject for me to discuss with an audience where the specialists abound, indeed it is even rasher on my part to do so when one has to take into account as well that those classics are not even in one's mother tongue, but in English. To be precise, in Renaissance and Elizabethan English. You may then accept my apologies if my course strands too far away from where it should come to. In the end, I am afraid that more darkness will result today from my speculations than any clear light of Reason and better understanding of the problems under scope: comparative studies and philological procedures. In this sense, it would be more advisable to revise the impact that these comments may cause when they may be published in the future by means of a second reading. Yet, I think that this topic needs some discussion in detail both generally, and also particularly. Editing texts, that I consider as the basic task of all philologists, is a discipline that has become almost an exile from the literary core courses in the recent past, both in the English and the Spanish speaking countries although it now seems to be enjoying a timid revival.

In the case of Spain, this has been a country where so far we have seen an enormous variety of editorial practices, but very little discussion about them. I should add further that those academically generated practices have been connected with the Spanish Renaissance and Baroque Classics (even Medieval ones) rather than with their English correlates, or to tell the truth, with any other foreign ones. I think that one could barely name a little more than a dozen Spanish scholars who have been involved in the serious study and discussion of the problems of Editing Renaissance Classics and comparing opinions about the problems that such an activity poses. One early reflection I would like to bring into this discussion is what we, or at least what I mean by editing English Classics in a non-English speaking country like Spain. Or if I may put that question from a different point of view: Is there any real need for editing and translating English Renaissance Classics in Spain (or, if we come to that, in any foreign country)? Is it possible to do it similarly to the ways in which native speakers feel and do it?

I may also say that what we generally understand by editions of a text or a work –and I do not consider that these two terms refer necessarily to the same items, as I will try to show later– and all editorial work in general, seem to be under revision these days. This is mainly, I think, a result of the impact that the new computing tools and techniques have caused in the academic world. The fact that an alphabetical word list, the basis of a traditional glossary of “hard terms” for, let us say, Spenser's *The Shepheards Calender* –a good example as I have been completing a Spanish edition in the very recent past– can be compiled in a matter of seconds, or in a couple of minutes at the most, if it were the case of *The Faerie Queene*, while that same job used to take several painstaking months using the good old card-

board files and a lot of patience, is just an example of what I am trying to illustrate. But, mind you, I have alluded to new tools and new techniques in the sense that there cannot be any doubt that the traditional ones are already changing, and changing fast. What must and will change as from the middle of the 1990's are the theoretical principles of editing texts. This second (or third, even) epistemological change, seems to run on a smooth parallel with that triggered by the 19th century English and German Scholars who founded institutions such as the *Early English Text Society*, the *Malone Society*, or *Anglia*. That is, about a hundred years ago there was a major change in the approach and methodology of textual editing, and Philology became a science.

Tampering with texts has been popular since the late 15th century Humanists decided to change and challenge the Medieval approach to authority, but it is not until Lachmann and his followers decided that it was time to change and challenge their predecessors' procedures, that at least the *recensio* and *emendatio* should be separated, and that it would be a great idea to use a method similar to Charles Buffon's and Carl af Linné's (Linnaeus) to establish *stemmata*, that a change of paradigm took place. I feel, as I have just advanced, that we are now in the middle of a similar change. I am not intrepid enough to foresee whether applying Cladistic analysis to editorial practices may produce a parallel result (see R. O'Hara & P. Robinson 1993), but I would not be surprised if it did. And, sure enough, let me insist on the fact that computing tools and techniques are the crystallizing feature of the change of paradigm that is on its way.

ENGLISH RENAISSANCE CLASSICS IN SPAIN

The study of English Classics from the Golden Age has been in Spain more a *rara avis* than a true commonplace with the possible exception of Shakespeare and a handful of individual cases. However, let us make some interesting remarks to this rather rash statement. Really, in a broad sense, there has been and there is a tradition of studying English 16th and 17th literature and culture, and I must emphasize that this tradition started well before English Studies where officially established in Spanish Universities by the end of the 1960's. It is also true, however, that in the last two decades alone we find more publications than in all the previous times altogether. I know that quantity is not necessarily a synonym of quality, but, at least we may assume that if there is some quantity there might be some quality in it, whereas if there is nothing or just very little to count on, quality becomes even rarer.

Comparative studies both in the fields of language and, especially, of literature and translation, or what is now called vaguely "cultural studies", have taken the lion's share of the modest bulk of Spanish studies on the English Classics of this period. Translations of works have not been unknown either, although if we are now to contrast their number and scope with the previous group, we will see that there is an important decrease in their importance. When it comes to editing itself, the number of studies dwindle to such an extent that, generally speaking, we should be able to use our fingers. Also, one should consider whether the work of scholars has been unconstrained by publishers and possible audiences—or to put it in a cruder form, markets—or whether some publications in part or as a whole might have been the result of such instances. A second point is, of course, whether editorial work has been occasional within the curricula of people who have devoted time and effort to it, or whether there has been a regular line in that kind of activity.

A brief and incomplete panorama of what we can find today and what might be found in the past decades will concern us presently. However, Javier Sánchez Escribano who has been working very hard to provide us (eventually) with a *vademecum* of what have been and what seem to be English Renaissance Studies in Spain, is a much better source of information. What I am attempting at here is just a sort of last minute review of what topics have been touched, which have been covered partially, and which particular studies have had greater consequences in this field. By this field I mean editorial problems and practices concerning English Renaissance Classics, as studies on those works are quite abundant, and, at least for the moment, they should be naturally out of the field in question here. My shortlist begins with Shakespeare, because as the French say, *Ça va de soi*.

SHAKESPEARE

To start with, we are bound to mention Shakespeare. Namely because he has received and still receives a lot of attention: books, Ph. D. theses, M. A. theses and several dozen articles can be easily listed in a succinct bibliography. Some are even quoted abroad, although the general lack of international repercussion of what we do in this country—with very few exceptions so far—is one of the various endemic problems that English Studies have in Spain. But I am not in the mood of being a New Jeremy, so I should rather return to my original commentary and emphasize what has been done and suggest what could be done by the younger generations.

On that account, and coming back to Shakespeare, I should stress that the work of the research and editorial group from the Shakespeare Institute of the University of Valencia led by professor Manuel Ángel Conejero, and, why not, the splendid isolation of professor Ángel Luis Pujante from the University of Murcia, have obtained national fame and some international esteem. The Valencia Shakespeare Foundation has well established and serious connections with different English and American Academic and Research Institutions, and it is likely that when they eventually finish their edition and study of Shakespeare they will continue with other Renaissance classics. If the results of such a research group demonstrate very well what can be achieved by applying this method, Pujante, who generally works alone, and therefore has to resort to different procedures, has nevertheless demonstrated that individual publications can also obtain laudable results. In both cases, that is, Conejero's and Pujante's, their work has been consistent and continued, and some of us hope that their editions and translations will end up by becoming standard within the Spanish speaking world. Some have already become relative best-sellers, though not necessarily because of their scholarly excellence.

Shakespeare's poetry has been more and less fortunate. Let me explain. Shakespeare's *Sonnets* have been variously edited in Spain and translated several times into Spanish or Catalan (Muñoz Calvo 1989). There are all sorts of things in this field, some of them very good, but, also, some tend to reach into the fields of nonsense. Bilingual editions have also enjoyed a discreet popularity. Other poetical works, namely *The Rape of Lucrecia* and *Venus and Adonis*, have received less attention, and as far as translations are concerned, we still have to resort to those by Luis Astrana Marín published in the 1920's and 1930's.

DRAMA

As far as other Renaissance –to be more precise Elizabethan and Jacobean– drama is concerned, Spanish scholars have only visited it occasionally. I should mention now, and I do not think I will forget any of the important publications of the last fifteen years, the following editors and editions: Julio César Santoyo & José Miguel Santamaría’s Marlowe’s *Faustus*; Teresa Fanego’s *Hamlet* (and this means Shakespeare again); Bernhard Dietz’s Tourneur’s *Tragedies* or his Ben Jonson’s *The Alchemist*; or, again, Ángel Pujante’s work on Middleton and Dekker. However, this list will not run into many more titles, and hence it is quite clear that editions and translations of English Classical drama, including minor authors, have not been frequent. I should like to point out, though, that unusual as those studies may be, what little has been done in this area can be qualified as very good. I should also explain my allusion to “minor authors”, who, indeed have been even more popular in Spain than the major ones. A good reason for studying second or third rate authors from the canon may be that they are also less studied in the English speaking world, and therefore most of what can be done about (or even to and with) them tends to have more relevance in absolute terms (H. Bloom, 1995). This means that comparatively, for instance, Middleton’s *A Game at Chess* has received more attention than Ben Jonson’s *Plays*, as most of them have never (as far as I know) appealed to Spanish academics. I dare say that several of them have not even attracted English scholars in the recent past. The problem of why there has been (and still is) a deep reevaluation of the canon is very interesting indeed, but you will excuse me if somewhat arbitrarily I decide to postpone this discussion.

POETRY & PROSE

Poetry and prose present another kind of problem. Let us begin with poetry first. As I have already mentioned, it is true that Shakespeare’s *Sonnets* have been translated and even published in bilingual editions several times, but most of them are fairly recent, and if we disregard Shakespeare, what remains is really very little in absolute terms. A general review will, again, list only a few works and fewer names out of scores of admirable Elizabethan and Jacobean authors who might have receive some attention. It is no wonder that *The Faerie Queene* has not been translated into Spanish, as we still lack its complete translation into Italian or French, two languages in which the tradition of English Studies exists since long ago. In case of Spenser, his sonnets are the only complete work that has been edited in Spain (González Corugedo 1983). The only other true Elizabethan poet that has received some attention is Sir Philip Sidney, whose *Astrophil & Stella* only appeared in Spain for the first time in F. Galván’s edition in 1991. If we come to that, Sidney’s *Defence of Poesy* was translated into Spanish in the 17th century. There have been people who had projects concerning Samuel Drayton’s poetry, or *England’s Helicon*, but so far most of these projects are still unborn creatures.

John Donne, however, is much better known: his *Songs and Sonnets* have had no less than four Spanish translations and at least two bilingual editions. But his *Holy Sonnets*, and most of his other poetical works have received almost no attention at all. I cannot avoid saying that the English Madrigalists as a whole have had a better luck, as records containing musical miscellanies from the Tudor and Elizabethan ages can be found in almost every good music shop in Spain, and as far as we know they have sold rather well.

The instance of Prose is even worse. Excepting Francis Bacon's *Essays* and *The Advancement of Learning*, or Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, and what I would call odd bits and pieces, the rest is virtually unexplored territory. I would not be so brutal as to say that most Elizabethan prose writers are generally unknown to Spanish students taking University degrees in English, because that could be the case of many British and American students as well, but I would be harsh enough to say that many of those authors are ignored in the main reading lists. It is all very well that at least students are forced to know the basics of the life and whereabouts of Sidney, Lily, Deloney, etc., (and this means that at least in many cases they have gone through a very short and heterogeneous selection of their work), because that is better than nothing at all. But I think it is profoundly sour that any of the same students who may have to devour Richardson's or Jane Austen's works almost in full may do so without having the slightest clue—but for the occasional footnote in which the clever editor reveals his erudition—of why *Pamela* is such a story and not a different one because Philip Sidney wrote his *Arcadia* some two hundred years before. Also, with this umpteenth *maladie infantine* that we are now going through in the form of, for example, a tidal wave of so-called and self-appointed “postcolonial” authors (and critics), I feel that most of what should be accessory in degree studies is increasingly trying to become central, and has thus started to displace to marginal positions most of the common canon of the English Literature—of the English Great Tradition, to use Leavis' term—to be found in University and College core courses.

All these may also be further signs of the change of paradigm I was referring to before, and it might be wise to let some time pass before we finally decide what to keep and what to reject. Conversely, that is precisely what we are also bound to criticize most cruelly, as one should also mention that students in general and almost everywhere in the Western cultures tend to abandon the green fields of classicism in the pursuit of the new, and, from my obstinate point of view, transitory fashionable. I think I am not being very fair by expressing such an opinion in such a way, but one has only to look around at the new curricula everywhere to be certain that classical perspectives, because they imply intrinsic difficulties such as devoting more time and effort to their better understanding, are in recession. Lope de Vega in the early 17th century alluded to the need that authors have of feeding their audience with the food they ask for: “pues hay que dar contento al vulgo”, and that is what many still cleverly do precisely because the commoners have now flooded into the former happy Arcadias of education. This may be a possible reason for the scornful thoughts that many colleagues dedicate to the humble editors of the classics. F. Nietzsche declared the death of God about a century ago. Many of the newer critics have declared the death of the editor and the absolute triumph of what they call the text, although what most mean by “text” is seldom explicit, let alone clear.

If we advance a step further, and we now have a look at the long lists of publishers' catalogues and at international databases, we also observe with some dismay that all sorts of “new” studies are thriving whereas classical ones disappear. All this is not merely, I hope, a melancholy swansong, a mere brazen reflection of the golden classical attitude that declared that all times past were better, especially because without abjuring from that tradition, I do think that many of these “newer” things and many of the “isms” are very good, several are quite interesting, and a few are even seminal for everybody. What I really mourn is the agony (but transitional to resurrection, I hope) of studying matters that are difficult because they are remote, and that because of their difficulty many avoid them and favour easier moods and modes. This difficulty is double in our case, both as people living in the 1990's and as foreign students of literature belonging to preterite ages.

Finally, what several Spanish scholars have done in the past, and what they will likely continue doing in the near future as far as Renaissance Studies are concerned, is to reflect on mutual influences in both traditions and literatures, including the reception of Spanish Classics in England, and that of English Classics in Spain. This, of course, implies editing works. And this, that has been a very productive field, though it might have been modest, is definitely where some of the best results have been obtained in the past. Comparative and cultural studies have also fructified in some memorable publications, and the proceedings of this Society that hosts us here today are a good proof of that. But, in the end, let me sum up and say that in absolute terms, as the scarcity of the examples provided demonstrates, the edition of English Renaissance Classics in Spain has been a rather marginal activity, even within the scope of editorial work in particular.

EDITING AND EDITORIAL PRACTICES

Editorial practices are today being much argued about and disagreed over. But I hope that the good health of the present matter can hardly be better exposed than in the strength of this very argument: my questioning of editorial attitudes and assumptions is proof enough of their vigour, at least with some people. Textual editing and textual criticism are parallel arts and that is why they are not just an aesthetic and elegant exercise, but they are also scientific techniques that offer splendid series of advice distilled from a secular tradition on individual cases of rather different natures. The pursuit of the *text* also presupposes that those of us who have learned the craft (just to some extent, of course) are theoretically in a better position to interpret and criticise texts than those who have not. I trust that this will not become too radical a defense (but not necessarily illustration) of editorial practices, but just what I would call a fair presentation of evidence for the establishing of one basic requirement for those people who are appointed as “official” students of language and literature.

Editing, then, should be part of the training of any philologist. And very especially part of the training of anybody concerned with texts produced before the 19th century. We can all see that, up a certain extent, this experience is achieved at least in a passive form by every reader, because when we read a text, unless it be the original holograph, that text has been edited in different forms and degrees, and hence precisely as readers we submit ourselves to the results of the process of transmission and the modification that such a process implies. But in the training of a philologist, as I have just said, an *active* part in editing texts should be encouraged. Especially because to edit is usually defined as “to set in order for publication” (OED), and ordering things tends to be an excellent way to their better understanding.

If editing is really arranging and organizing, editorial practises can be as different as the number of ways and manners in which we can arrange and organize texts. Nevertheless, there are obvious limitations to these processes. Some are legal, as for instance copyright laws, some other are factual, as the reality of the physical objects that convey the text, and, finally some are called aesthetic, mainly when their authors just tend to justify what I would call wanton and extravagant.

After having pondered thoroughly on how we may tackle the problem, we see that editing, intrinsically, is the task of meddling with the transmission, fixation and interpretation of texts, and this implies dealing with and defining the concepts of message, text and work. In our particular case, it also implies dealing with their material supports and formats: the book and its forms. This asks for a short explanation concerning what editorial practices have been common, which ones have become obsolete, and

which other may become popular in the near future. But such comments will be dealt with later. Now it is time for establishing cohesion in the foundations of the editorial activity.

MESSAGES, TEXTS, WORKS & BOOKS

A linguistic *message* may be transmitted orally or by means of writing. In any case it needs fixation by means of a code if it is aimed at for permanence. When the message is fixed in writing we assume that it becomes a *Text*, as its parts have been knitted or woven together. Although this is a widely assumed axiom, I should now remind this audience that a text does and does not exist on its own. It exists per se inasmuch as it is made of linguistic units, and in such a way it belongs to the domains of the *psyche*. But it does not exist physically because it is always fixed on something, it is supported and exhibited on stone, papyrus, paper, parchment, tape, magnetic disc, a screen or whatever media, and in this sense the text is always vehicular, it exists as a result of its exhibition. This material aspect, so very often neglected by literary criticism, is always indispensable for the text. That is, texts do not exist *in vacuo*, and, I may add, unless we admit Revelation as a conceptual entity with real-life implications, they do not originate *ex nihilo*.

However, as I have just said, the text also exists as a pure intellectual concept, i.e. as a set of words that work in combination to express meaning conveying a message, and hence that we can talk about this or that text, that then becomes a "*work*", play, poem, or whatever generic aspect you would prefer to consider. It is then that the concept of art intervenes in order to confirm that our text has now become *Literary*. I will not reproduce here the old Aristotelian polemic that confronts arts and techniques, as we may now have reached a stage where we may quite safely assume that both belong to different necessary and complementary activities of man.

My concern as far as space and time are involved is double: I shall be discussing texts mainly as literary messages, as aesthetic objects then, implying that they are the result of both an artistic and a technical process. But I would also like to point out to texts as media for actual artifacts in the course of their transmission: either as they were offered to an audience in earlier times (books, reading aloud), or as they might appear massively in the near future (electronic files). Even in the case of other newer textual formats, I hope, there is, and must still be, as I have the purpose of giving proof, room for the literary critic in what I consider his most formal and elementary approach to a literary work: that of the textual editor. With these concepts in mind, I should also, I think, devote some reflections to the posing of the problems implied by the notions of "Classic" and "Renaissance" in our context.

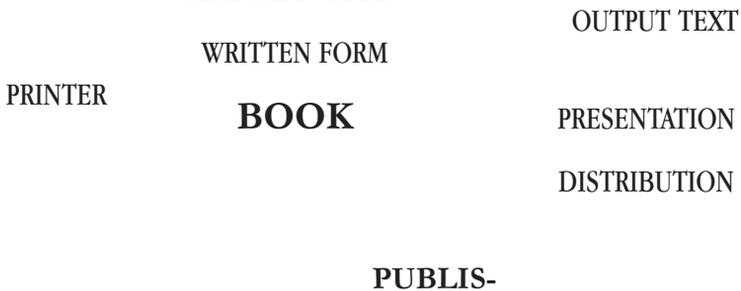
If the literary text may be an artistic message, then we should consider that the encoding is not only modified at the two extremes of the scheme: author and audience, it is also modified in different degrees by those persons who are in charge of the reproduction and lawful transmission (I may eventually refer to illegal procedures as well) of the text: printers, publishers, and editors. I have mentioned the verb to modify, as being quite different from those typically used to describe what authors do: create, generate, give birth, sell; and what audiences do: receive, obtain, buy. These brokers of literature, those that by a small (or largish) fee or, occasionally the mere reward of a scant touch of fame, help the readers to get acquainted with the work of an author, can also leave their own imprint on the text. In a reverse order of importance as regards non-authorial textual manipulation I shall now start with printers.

Printers, in general, only manipulate the text in a physical aspect, and therefore their intervention tends to be more on the side of the artifact, of the book or volume, rather than on the textual contents. Their exploits are easily detected by the watchful reader, and their misprints, transpositions, blunt edges, etc. can be easily corrected, if needed. They are the technicians of our story, and as it is the general rule with technicians, they are seldom allowed to modify things but in the detail.

Next, Publishers can and do manipulate both the artifact and the entities: the book, the work and the text. Indeed they can even stipulate conditions for all the aspects of a work, including the creative ones, and they have been doing so since they first started practising their trade seriously and in significant numbers. Roughly, this has been happening consistently since the historical period we are now concerned with. Therefore, publishers are both heroes and villains in the process of transmission of literary works because, first they can produce artifacts of an exquisite appearance containing vile works, then, they can also produce shabby containers for wonderful texts, and, more often than not, a middle term is achieved. They can also establish different degrees of censorship based on moral or economic factors, and all in all, the publisher is the real owner of what the public buys: the *book*. He may be the owner of the intellectual contents or just the mere filling of the commodity, as he actually used to be in the past, while today he is normally a temporal holder of rights, at least if the author has been sensible enough.

Finally, editors manipulate the text itself and any condition also the work, but not necessarily. Truly, in many cases, they have displaced or even usurped the author's position. However, editors tend to be fair to authors, even to anonymous ones, and hence tend to state that their wish is to assist in the transmission of the text so that it may reach an audience, and in the correct understanding of the message. As I have just mentioned, the editor becomes a succubus author, and, at least in academic circuits, we frequently refer to Vinaver's Malory, Alexander's Wells & Taylor's Shakespeare, Ringler's Sidney, etc. Editors also exert a very prominent (or so they think) influence on literary critics, although that influence is customarily obviated by the latter.

Let us summarize these aspects in the following figure:



I will try to link later on the assumptions underlying this explanation to the problems of organizing and presenting the *text* (produced by the author) and what I have labeled as the *output text* (what the editor produces) in terms of linear (traditional or guided) presentation, and hypertextual presentation. The latter implies a free or even random choice of textual concatenations.

EDITORS AND CRITICS

I should say that by now it should have become evident, but for the very obtuse, that this indispensable and often silent (also silenced) activity is regaining some of the ground it lost during the last decades when the many –isms invaded, or rather, just superimposed as they still superimpose, their so-called (and ever changing) truths to the permanent and material aspect of literary criticism: the problem of texts. The rest is very likely sheer interpretation or, to put it mildly, exegetical exercise, interesting as it may be, although it gravitates towards the consideration of a universe where the text is self-sufficient and almighty.

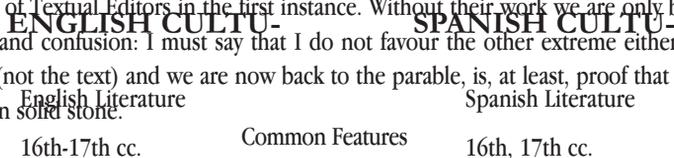
But what would happen if that self-sufficient and almighty text is corrupted –and corruption can appear under many shades–, or merely changed, or manipulated somehow in senses that escape both the critic and the reader? Then, everything derived from the text will also be corrupted, changed, manipulated beyond recognition, and therefore deprived of value for the purposes of the student of literary texts. One occasionally wonders about the mental sanity of such people as those –and please let me advance that I do not try to offend anybody– who favour or even impose a, let us say, “postmodern”, or “feminist”, or “deconstructive” or “historical” just to mention a few of those in vogue, or whatever other manipulating reading of, let us say, *Othello*, a play belonging to a determined historical period which tends to have sociocultural associations with concepts such as the Renaissance, or the Middle Ages, the Classical World, etc. On the other hand I also admit that every new reading which makes use of whatever fashionable mode of interpretation is favoured by the intellectual establishment does bring forth new insights of that Play or Work, or as one may say, criticism re(e)valuates the work: it may be restored into favor, or sent to the pit of oblivion, just for a while, or even for good.

However, again, one also wonders about the real scopes and tenets of such critical approaches that tell us about the “inner force” of this or that character, or its “generic” (should one really understand “sexual” instead?) attitudes and behaviour, when that same acclaimed critic shows a manifest ignorance of the actual fact that –and back to the example of plays– for instance, female characters were normally performed by men when those plays were staged for the first time. Or people whose encyclopedic misunderstanding of the fact that mankind and their languages change as time lapses, triggers a misinterpretation of meanings, attitudes, the text, and, why not, of life itself.

That is part of what I mean here by superimposing a critical view, by a hammer-sledge wedging of a particular interpretative structure on a text having very little or even no care at all for times past and for authors past. There is also the tendency to superimpose just *one* or *the* interpretation, although literary texts should be, by definition open to conjecture and ambiguity, and classical texts in particular, more so. Of course, such bigoted and biased practises are not exclusive to literary critics, they can also be extended to textual editors, though as there are many more of the former, it is only natural that the latter tend to be freer of certain sets of ideological prejudices: they just have other.

This is not, however, a real vindication of editorial and authorial importance, I hope it is just a reminder of the fact that the author of a text exists, although he or she may be unknown to us. And that, I am afraid, implies that such people as those who look at the work in order to find in it what they have already decided beforehand, can easily impose their views because nobody is likely to refute them. I do not try to imply that such readings, or such interpretations are illicit, not at all, and I should say that many, in general, are entertaining and some are even useful. What I would like to imply is that from my point of view such things do not belong to the realms of philology. They may belong somewhere else, though. However, I would also like to point out that editorial practices, or editing in general and in particular, is precisely the basic aspect of philology and hence the groundwork of all further philological and critical activities.

It is just as in the old parable: buildings with stone foundations tend to be more structurally correct than those erected on the riddle of mere sand. When the flood of words of every new critical approach has ebbed, the only rock that remains is the text. It is neither pure nor simple; we can find it either stark naked or consciously ornate, but it is still there and it is strong enough for other critics to start a new campaign against it and against the readers. And the text, at least since the second half of the 19th century has been the realm of Textual Editors in the first instance. Without their work we are only bound for perpetual ambiguity and confusion: I must say that I do not favour the other extreme either. However, establishing a text (not the text) and we are now back to the parable, is, at least, proof that we are founding our structure on solid stone.



AUTHORS, EDITORS, TEXTS & AUDIENCES

My long discussion about the vehicular role of editors, publishers and printers between the origin of a text (the author) and its destination (the reader, as we deal with –primarily– written forms), also asks for some commentary concerning these two components of the figure. Mainly because in the first instance we belong to different cultural traditions although we share a common essence, and second, we are approaching a different synchrony from our own, and it is only natural that our horizontal axes of reference are to be completed by the vertical and diagonal axes. The following figure, where I have intentionally skipped intermediary temporal stages, summarizes this idea:



TEXTS & CLASSICAL TEXTS

I will not discuss now the concepts of artistic and literary messages in detail, as many scholars have been doing so for many years, and many more will go on doing the same, I hope, but just allow me the privilege of stating the obvious and assume that we have a loose agreement on what we consider as a Literary Message if we all agree that, say, Spenser's *The Shepheards Calender*, Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, or Milton's *Paradise Lost* are Literary Texts. They are also Classical Texts in the sense that they constitute and belong to a tradition. *Mutatis mutandis*, and although I am quite sure that on my following point disagreement is much more likely to arise than understanding, I will also assume that you would accept that by Renaissance Classics I might imply works (or texts?) produced during a flexible period that will cover part of the 15th and 17th centuries and all or most of the 16th. They are also works (or texts) distributed and disseminated by various means, but that have, nevertheless, received some acclaim over the following centuries and have thus become the elements of a literary canon, whatever that may be, and I know, under revision. The canon has always been under revision, and I hope that it will also be in the future.

Let me also revise partially the concept of Classic that I have been using so far. It is, no doubt, a problematic term that is commonly used in different and partially overlapping senses. I do not think it is still acceptable to define a classic merely as an author or a work that is "a good example" and that it is "worth imitating". It is obvious that very few contemporaries would maintain that Lily's *Euphues* is today a good example for the ordinary reader or that imitating it will result in ceaseless fame. However, it is, I think, a great classic, and it was admired and imitated *ad nauseam* in the past. Some of us still admire it although we would not dream of attempting at producing a modern imitation in the same shape.

So we see that many things have changed indeed since such two defining features were central to the concept of Classic. The idea that imitation is a good thing was destroyed by Romantic Originality. And this is curious because many of the English Romantic poets wrote compositions "in the manner of..." "after..." or even as straightforward "imitations". I doubt that anybody in his or her senses would write today a play exactly in the same way as Ben Jonson wrote *Volpone*, or a poem as John Donne's *Good Friday, Riding Westward*, although both have been used again and again, and even quite recently as, to put it mildly, sources of inspiration. Thus, imitation, that used to be a "good thing", especially for the education of the young, was substituted by the concept of "in the manner of" or "after" some two hundred years ago, and has been more recently substituted by "reminiscent", "in the mood of" and the like.

About my other point, the "exemplary" quality, one must say that fashion is an ugly despot, and what was acclaimed once may now lie withered in the gutter. But the ways of the world are such, and the Wheel of Fortune may turn again in quite different directions, hence that it might be safer to enunciate vaguely that a literary classic is a text universally considered as first-rate, excellent of its own kind, at least in one particular moment and by one particular community. The immediate consequence may be that a classical text will become a standard reference, even a model, for those who share in the appreciation of the past.

In a certain sense, we all agree that every generation—or so—changes in the canon take place: what I am trying to point at out is that we are right in the middle of one of those changes. It is, therefore a good opportunity for many students and scholars, because they will be able to exert an important pressure on the revaluation of the canons.

TRANSMISSION, WITNESSES AND TEXTS

It is now time to turn to the message as a result of the connection of interpreting the transmission of the text and its conversion into a work. Let me quote a traditional view that centres its admissions on the aims of literary criticism and authorial paraclitism.

El mensaje literario nos llega fijado en forma de texto: la crítica literaria, por tanto, tiene que comenzar por entender rectamente ese texto, depurándolo, en lo posible, de todos los elementos extraños al autor. (A. Blecua 1987: 370)

All this is clearly more than merely debatable: first, the literary message is not just a text, but a “book” or a codex, i.e. it is not an abstraction but something tangible. Second, it is unusual that texts dating from the older periods are “fixed” in any way unless we are dealing with a sole witness (*Orrmulum*, *Sir Gawain* ...), nor is this fixation found in writing, printed layout, etc. Third: Literary Criticism does not necessarily imply *de recta interpretatione* of the text in the first instance, although I do agree that this must be one of its early aims when confronted to a literary work. This is also because I consider as very convenient to separate Literary Criticism as it is normally understood these days from Editing properly. And, finally, the cleaning stage that has been mentioned in which the critic should deprive the literary text from elements alien to its author(s), rests upon the commonplace that the text must be pure and virginal and that restoration according to what the critic assumes to have been the author’s intentions is the only right possibility.

I am afraid I consider all this a fallacy. Literary texts, on many occasions have reached us as a most interesting compound of interactive forces. Let me set an elementary example with Shakespeare’s plays. What the literary canon has consecrated in most instances as “the text” is what we find in the 1623 first Folio edition of Shakespeare’s Works. From time to time, revisions of the canon based on the earlier quarto editions, when such exist, have been proposed. This example demonstrates that what has become seminal for the English Literary Tradition is *not* what the author might have produced as an original text, but rather the popular extension (with all the *caveats* that the term “popular” implies both in the 17th century and in the late 20th century) of a transvestite set of works prepared for the print by a group of, possibly, yes, well-intentioned friends, but whose intentions were also, no doubt, fully commercial. It is this Folio “text” and its continuations what has influenced later authors in general, and hence it is the text of “the critics”, not the text of the author. That we still refer to the Shakespeare Folio(s) or Quartos, also proves that the actual book appearance is something still valued by our contemporaries.

EDITORIAL PROBLEMS AND EDITORIAL PRACTICES: THE LINEAR TEXT & THE HYPertext

I mentioned before that I would be trying to link part of what we commented on the authorial and editorial output of texts and the ways in which these reach and influence their audiences. I have also alluded to the new technologies and how these are causing a great impact in the ways in which we have just started to reevaluate editorial practices and problems. It might be the case that many of our traditional

views will be affected and that some will have to change radically. What I shall be doing in this final part of my discussion is to offer a summary of what has been done in the past, even in the very recent past, and what one may foresee for the very near future as far as editing texts is concerned.

The traditional editor (or author) has usually provided his/her audience with a linear text. The way in which linear texts operate can be formalized in this figure:

Linear Text Layout

1

2

3

4

5

n

The graphic shows quite clearly that, generally speaking, the reader has always been forced to follow step by step the successive sections (numbered as from 1 to a finite number represented by *n*), and that although some readers may skip certain parts in the succession, or even go back to previous parts, in the end the reader's possible movements tend to be just in a straight line starting at the beginning and reaching the end. There might be circular (at least partially circular) proposals, but, again, these also tend to link one point to the next in the succession.

Therefore, most editorial practices of the past, and still most of them in the present have reduced themselves to develop linear presentations according to different principles, either methodological or, occasionally, aesthetic. It may be interesting to make now a brief sketch of the main types of editions that

have been used since editors started tampering with works. I will also like to emphasize that some may have developed rather modern forms (electronic facsimiles, for instance), but even those tend to show great antiquity and authority in their theoretical principles.

TYPES OF EDITION

The following figure lists most of the most common types of editorial proceedings used with Renaissance Classics (both English and Spanish):

TYPES OF EDITION

Facsimile

Type Facsimile
Photographic Facsimile
Electronic Facsimile



Diplomatic Transcript
Critical Edition with Inclusive Text
Eclectic Clear-Text Edition with Apparatus

Parallel Text Edition

Multiple Witnesses
Old and Modern Spelling/Morphology Parallel Text
Bilingual Edition



Edition with Commentary
Genetic Edition
Critical and Synoptic Edition
Variorum Edition

From the previous figure, the careful reader would have wisely deduced that my own choice for editing English Renaissance texts in Spain in the 1990's is a combination of a special kind of parallel text edition: a bilingual edition whose original text can be an electronic facsimile with apparatus (that may be eventually printed), together with a Spanish annotated version. That, I think, may satisfy a range of audiences that may include the scholar together with the undergraduate student: the former can have immediate access to the original manuscript or printed text as it was known to the author's contemporaries (remote audience in terms of time and context); while to the latter this can be a decisive help in his early contacts with English classical authors.

This type of edition can be reproduced in the case of any other different European languages and literatures. Inasmuch as readers belonging to the same cultural paradigm are concerned, a possible ans-

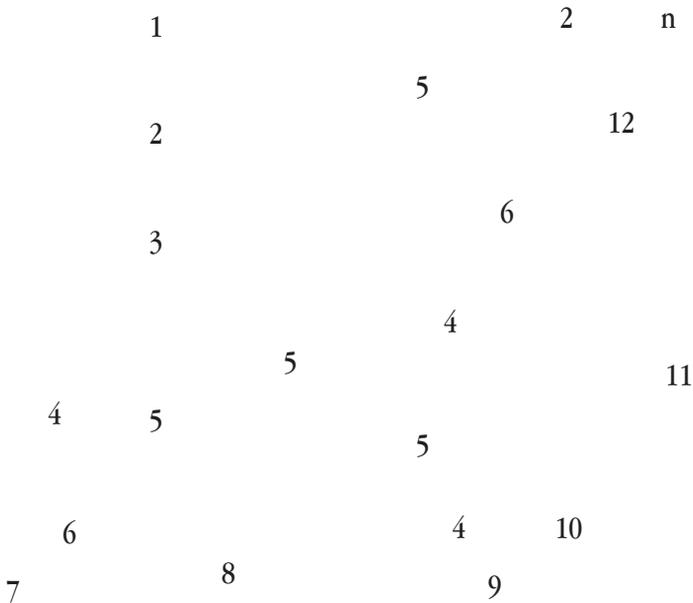
wer might imply the electronic facsimile confronted with a critical edition. A Variorum might be favoured in certain cases, but I assume that a critical edition with inclusive text may also be taken into consideration. In any case, I will leave this door still open: my own choice may very like move in the near future towards Hypertext editions of literary works, especially if they are further improved.

HYPertextS AND PHILOLOGY

There are people who still consider that hypertexts are just mere jargon belonging to the very sophisticated computer wizards, and that they are so remote from the common mortals that it is sheer nonsense to try to understand their working principles. In fact, hypertexts have had –and still have– quite a bad name, they have had and have quite different definitions, although, and just to simplify things, they can be defined as a combination of at least some kind of written text, together with any other of several possible options: sound, images, animation (or motion pictures, as they used to say), interaction, etc. Of course, they can also combine them all.

Computer hypertexts of a certain quality have been around since, approximately, 1989, and in the last five years or so they have improved enormously. They have also grown exponentially in storage memory size and in quality. Also, what we mean by hypertexts implies that the structure of the traditional linear texts disappears, because there is not necessarily, although it can still be there, a sequential development that makes the reader go step by step in the sense that section one is followed by section two, two by three, and so on. In a hypertext you can read in such a way, but it is much more natural to go through it in a quite different way. Indeed what people tend to do with them is something rather simi-

Hypertext Layout



lar to what 16th century oceanic navigators did: their ships followed course, but they stopped here and there to take water or food, they were pushed forth by favourable winds, or rotted in the midst of great calms, they also went anywhere if they thought that some “advance” in their fortunes could be obtained from such a change in their routes.

Hypertextual routines can be represented by the following figure:

The actual numbering of the different sections is merely orientative, in the sense that any section could have any number, and that consecution or logical sequences do not necessarily follow any established linear rules. The reading of such texts, or more precisely their *navigation*, is not based on the need of moving from section one to section two, and then in successive correlation. You may navigate hypertexts in that way, but there are as many options as items have been embedded in the system together with their virtual combinations. Also, see that there is only one entry, however random that may be, while many possible exits exist.

However, in the end, when one comes to examine hypertexts closely, and one starts to navigate them with confidence and elegance, if we forget for a moment about the computer screen and its multiple windows that open and close both simultaneously and in succession, they look surprisingly similar to typical editorial practices, to philological activity in its most radical and pristine aspects: what you usually have is an interaction of several sections that may (or may not) conform just to one, but that will typically conform to more than one text, provided that witnesses are abundant. That is for instance what parallel editions present, or variant editions, or even synoptical editions: a convolution around a central point: how texts create the literary work. As we have just seen, hypertexts organize themselves around the same kind of possibilities and expansions. Indeed they could be considered as a special kind of edition of a special kind of text.

It is by such conjunctions, of the new and the traditional, of implosion and explosion of textual information, that we may be able to reevaluate and appreciate the English classics in the new millennium.

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Ends and Beginnings in the Earlier Sixteenth-Century Drama

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The history of the earlier English drama used to be wonderfully clear. I was brought up on a simplified and vulgarized account which derived ultimately from the great E. K. Chambers's *The Medieval Stage*,¹ and which afforded some highly memorable patterns: the ancient drama died out completely; but then there was a new start in the liturgical plays (in Latin and inside the church); then these gave way to mystery plays (in the vernacular and outside the church); these in turn gave way to morality plays (in the vernacular and increasingly dissociated from the church); then the early sixteenth century brought secular "interludes" and "school plays"; then came the rediscovery of Roman comedy and Senecan tragedy, and, finally, with the establishment of professional London theatres the way was open for Marlowe and Shakespeare. I would not wish to suggest that everything in this "model" is wrong, but I think that much of it is questionable. It is strongly - even ferociously - evolutionary in nature, emphasizing not only the movement from Latin to the vernacular, from inside the church to outside the church, and from religious subjects to secular ones (apparently regarded as self-evidently better), but the steady development of the dramatic genres themselves. Indeed, a famous article of J. M. Manly² discussed the development of the drama as though it were an organism evolving through a kind of Darwinian natural selection. It encouraged students to see an unbroken upwards development, from *Quem Quaeritis* to *Hamlet*. Again, while I would not wish to claim that all medieval plays are of equal value to those of Shakespeare, nor to deny that there were any changes or any development at all, the links and connections between the earlier drama and the later now seem more complex and tantalizing than earlier attempts to chart the development of the comic devil of the mysteries into the comic vice of the moralities and ultimately into Falstaff suggested.

The transformation of the simple model which I inherited has been accelerated by a relatively recent interest in the performance of earlier plays, and (even more significantly for my topic) the collection and analysis of the surviving records of dramatic performances³ as well as the MSS of the plays. This has both clarified and confused the issues. The simple chronological development, with one genre dying out before or soon after the birth of a new genre now looks quite untenable. To give only one example at this stage, the earliest surviving English morality play, *The Pride of Life*,⁴ was probably composed in or about the middle of the fourteenth century - before any of the surviving texts of the mystery plays were written down, and before the earliest reference to the York performances. Similarly, the records indicate the existence of travelling troupes of players before the emergence of the London-based "professional companies." The clear evidence of the local records that there was considerable variety in the dramatic "kinds"

available in the late Middle Ages and the early modern period should perhaps lead us to question our “picture” of the early drama with the great mystery cycles (now still often thought synonymous with “medieval drama”) in a dominating central position.

It is worth stressing the variety of dramatic forms recorded. Especially notable are saints’ plays, parish plays and other forms of local drama, and folk plays like the widespread Robin Hood plays. And such performances are recorded over a long period of time. Reading, in Berkshire had for instance “Adam and Eve” in 1507, the “play of Kayme” in 1512 and again in 1515, when “Cayme’s pageaunt” was seen in the market-place, the “Kings of Cologne” in 1499 and 1539.⁵ Worcestershire, which had a long-standing tradition of local drama, had Hockday celebrations, parish plays of Robin Hood, civic pageants, and Corpus Christi processions. As late as 1600 there is a reference to a play in church at Tenbury.⁶ Everywhere what we regard as “drama” co-exists with semi-dramatic pageants and festivals, courtly and aristocratic as royal entries and tournaments, indoor festivities for guilds (as a number of the surviving “mummings” written by Lydgate in the fifteenth century), or outdoor folk festivals and popular entertainments. Even puppet-plays or “motions” seem to have been in existence. Payments in York in 1447 to a “ludenti cum Ioly Wat and Malkyn” and in 1448 to “ludentibus Ioly Wat and Malkyn” were once thought to be possible evidence for a drama of the *pastourelle* type, but the unearthing of a Grimsby document of 1431 to “certain instruments of play called Joly Walte and Malkyng” seems clearly to indicate that they were puppets.⁷

Let us turn to a consideration of the fate of the main “kinds” of the medieval drama. Here we shall see both endings and beginnings, some remarkable chronological overlaps, and some cross-fertilisation of genres. The liturgical play (or church music drama) was not to survive the English Reformation, but it had not ceased to exist in late medieval England - the *Quem Quaeritis* was performed in Magdalen College chapel, Oxford, in 1518. Throughout its long history the genre had shown a remarkable adaptability, taking on new subjects, showing itself capable of elaboration (as in the ambitious music drama of the twelfth-century Beauvais *Daniel*) and of touching on political and comic matter. It seems likely that liturgical plays may have influenced a number of the pageants in the vernacular mystery cycles, and in some cases become miracle plays or local parish plays. The Christmas *Pastores* or Shepherds’ plays have left their mark on various European festivals, and in Spain fed directly into vernacular drama, producing examples which were taken to the New World. In Tlaxcala in 1538 and 1539 there were performances of Nativity plays (alongside St Francis preaching to the birds, the sacrifice of Abraham, and *La Conquista de Jerusalem* with Christians and Moors). The “Coloquios de Pastores” or “Los Pastores” are still performed in Spanish or in various Amerindian languages in Mexico and parts of the southwestern USA.⁸ England cannot match this continuous tradition, but it provides some interesting and suggestive fragments. The so-called “Shrewsbury Fragments”⁹ in an early fifteenth-century MS consist of one actor’s part (including his cues) in three liturgical plays, an *Officium Pastorum*, a *Visitatio Sepulchri* and a *Peregrinus*. It shows a happy blend of the austerity of Latin liturgical drama and simple English affective devotional verse. As in the cycle plays the shepherd offers his humble gift to the Christ child (“a horn-spone .. / That hay herbar an hundrith pese”). The third Mary at the sepulchre is given an eloquent macaronic lament:

Allas! he that men wend schuld by
 All Israel, both knyght and knave,
 Why suffred he so forto dy,
 Sithe he may all sekene save?
 Heu! cur ligno fixus clavis

Fuit doctor tam suavis?
 Heu! cur fuit ille natus
 Qui perfodit eius latus?

From about 1520 (long after the advent of the mystery cycles) we have another English play in two parts (or possibly two linked plays), *Christ's Resurrection and Burial*.¹⁰ This may come from a northern Carthusian house, and is very close to liturgical drama (using traditional episodes like the *Quem Quaeritis* dialogue). However, a rubric says that it is to be played "on part on gud-friday afternone, and the other part opon Ester-day after the resurrectione, in the morowe." It looks very much as if the liturgical drama has here produced a vernacular devotional piece of the kind which could be played in a parish church. Again it combines the austerity of the liturgical drama with intense affective laments. Among a number of emotional moments is the tormented and despairing monologue of the repentent Peter. Entering "bitterly weeping" he exclaims:

O my febille promesse!
 O my gret unkindnesse,
 To my shame resaryd!
 O mynde so unstable,
 Thou hast made me culpabile!
 Deth I have deservyd!

The miracles and saints' plays that were enormously popular in medieval England, and which must have formed a very significant and important part of its drama, would not usually have survived the Reformation (and the paucity of surviving texts seems to support this view). But again this long tradition does not seem to have been immediately extinguished. On the eve of the Reformation, in 1534, at Braintree in Essex (which had previously seen plays of St Swithin and St Andrew in the church) there was performed "a play of Placidus *alias* St Eustace." Later references to "the play" in the churchwardens' accounts (1567, 1570, 1571, 1579) are not specific, but may well refer to this play.¹¹ While some saints were dangerously "charged" at the time of the Henrician Reformation - like St Thomas Becket, whose annual pageant at Canterbury (perhaps a dumb-show of the martyrdom) was suppressed in 1536-7 (to be revived under Mary, with the addition of some giants)¹² - others did not - like the very popular St George. One St George play was performed in some style at Bassingbourne, Cambridgeshire, in 1511. Twenty-seven other villages made contributions to the performance, which took place in a field - one Giles Ashwell was paid "for easement of his croft to play in"; other payments were made to a minstrel and three waits of Cambridge, to a priest for the playbook, and for various garments and the painting of "three fanchoms [kerchiefs] and four tormentors [prob. instruments of torture]."¹³ Similarly, while plays presenting a miracle of the Host (like the Croxton Play of the Sacrament) would provoke Protestant hostility, moral stories of penitents like Robert of Sicily (performed in Chester at the High Cross in 1529 - and said to be an old play)¹⁴ or especially Biblical figures like St Paul or Mary Magdalene (both of whom appear in the early-sixteenth-century Digby plays) might not.

Although it has been rather neglected by critics, the saint's play offered remarkable dramatic potential. It demanded moments of wonder and of horror. Martyr-saints combined in an interesting way the qualities of the heroic with those of patient suffering (Becket could be both lion and lamb, both proud and meek). The elaborations of the lives in such collections as the *Golden Legend* afforded material for

romantic narrative dramas, and in this provided striking similarities and possibly connections with later plays of this kind and with early history plays.

We are fortunate in having a fine English example in the Digby play of *Mary Magdalene*¹⁵(? from the beginning of the sixteenth century). This is a lively, and an elaborate piece with forty speaking parts and fifty scenes cleverly intertwined. It combines legendary matter with events from the life of Christ and with morality-play patterns (when Mary is first led into sin). There are some marvelous happenings - seven devils leave a woman, a bad angel enters hell with thunder, Simon's house is set on fire. And in the course of the play there is plenty of comedy: traditional ranting tyrants, comic duos - a heathen priest and his boy, who makes a burlesque "pagan" invocation, while the priest joins in like a pardoner, so that the whole scene makes fun of the abuses of Christians as well as of "Saracens"; and later a shipman and his boy Grobbe. The ship, which enters "with a merry song," and is presumably a wheeled contraption, takes Mary on a Mediterranean voyage to Marseille, with the shipman pointing out the landmarks ("Yond ther is the lond of Torkye." etc.). The romance element becomes prominent in a later voyage in which the king of Marseille whom Mary has converted (mainly through spectacular miracles: an idol is made to "tremble and quake" and the temple is set on fire by a cloud from heaven) and his queen set off to be baptized by St Peter. On the way the queen dies and there is a storm. The shipman's boy wants to throw the body overboard, but the king persuades the sailors to set it with her child on a rock in the sea, and sorrowfully commits them to the saint ("blyssyd Maudley n be hyr rede"). Readers of romances - Greek, medieval, and Shakespearean - will of course recognise the narrative theme of the "divided" family. On his way back the ship happens to pass the same rock, and there is a nice theatrical moment when the queen and her child are discovered and the queen is restored to life ("from grevos slepe she gynnyt revyve , Now blyssyd be God, I se my wyff alyve!"). They return home and are welcomed by Mary, but she now leaves them, urging them to be stable in heart, and goes to the wilderness, where she is fed by angels and finally makes a good end.

This bizarre, rambling and romantic drama from East Anglia - which is, however, in its type of narrative not entirely dissimilar to later sixteenth-century secular plays involving magic and many "happenings," like *Old Fortunatus* - has some excellent moments. It is fortunate to have survived the Reformation. The MS came into the possession of the alchemist and collector Myles Blomefylde (b. 1525) of Bury St Edmunds, who may well have picked it up in Chelmsford. Remarkably, it seems likely that it was performed in Chelmsford in 1562. Only a few years later Lewis Wager wrote the *Life and Repentaunce of Marie Magdalene* (c. 1566), a Protestant play on the life of the saint. Here there is no legendary matter: the characters are scriptural, and the stress is on repentance. Interestingly, Wager uses one of the older traditional morality-play patterns (temptation - fall - repentance - salvation) for this. There is a Vice called Infidelitie, and Mary's conscience is touched by Love of God and Knowledge of Sin. The allegorical drama is still alive and well, but this earnest piece looks dull in comparison with the rum-bustious comedy and the legendary wonders of the earlier play.

In the "official" drama of later Protestant England, though not in the Catholic areas of Europe, the saint's play fades away - Dekker's *The Virgin Martyr* (), a rare example, is set in the safer period of early Christianity, and it is a poor thing compared to Corneille's *Polyeucte* (1643). However, saints' plays sometimes merged with folk drama and popular festivals. A festivity at Maldon in Essex in 1540¹⁶ involving minstrels, morris dancers, ale, and a very large crowd, had a play or pageant containing St John the Baptist (a very popular saint). St John was dressed in calves' skins, perhaps the English equivalent of

camelskin, and perhaps suggesting a link with the mummers' plays recorded in later times. St George's day (April 23rd) continued to be celebrated in various places, and the saint becomes a figure in the mummers' plays. In this period the fullest information comes from Norwich,¹⁷ where there was a guild of St George (founded in 1385), partly religious, partly social, which survived the Reformation to be finally dissolved in 1732. By 1408 there was a "riding": "the George shall go in procession and make a conflict with the Dragon and keep his estate both days." The "George" was a man in "coat armour beaten with silver," accompanied by a club-bearer, attendants and minstrels, and went in procession with the Dragon to a wood outside the city, where presumably the fight was staged. By 1537 "the lady" or "St Margaret" had joined the group. In 1552 the George and Margaret were removed, but it was allowed "for pastime the dragon to come and show himself, as in other years." The Dragon survived: in the eighteenth century it is described as made of basket work and painted cloth, carried by a man inside, and it could move its wings and head.

The nature of the medieval cycle plays is familiar, and I shall concentrate simply on the "mysteries' end."¹⁸ This happened in fact only just at the time that saw the beginning of a new antiquarian interest in them - an extraordinary example of the longevity of a medieval dramatic tradition. We need, however, to remember a few points: (i) much has been lost (we know of cycles or mystery plays which have not survived: and we have only two of at least eleven Coventry plays): (ii) the surviving cycles present a picture not of a monolithic genre, but of considerable variety - in development, technique, and emphasis: (iii) although some cycles probably emerge in the fourteenth century (York is attested in 1376), developments in the fifteenth and even the sixteenth centuries are of great importance, and the MSS of the plays are surprisingly late.

The York documents are fairly full. The "Register" of 1463-77, probably compiled from "prompt copies" of the pageants was annotated by John Clerke, servant of the Common Clerk of York from the 1540s to the 1560s.¹⁹ Mostly these are practical (like the addition of musical cues), but the small cross signs placed beside the *Death of the Virgin* and the *Coronation* may indicate suspension. In the period of Edward VI the Marian plays were suspect, and were dropped between 1548-1553 and then finally in 1561. The cycle was suspended for two years at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, and resumed in 1561 (without some of the Marian pageants), but faced increasing official hostility. In 1562 there was an attempt to shift the staging from Corpus Christi to St Barnabas's day, but the commons would not agree, and the Corporation proposed the Creed Play as a possible alternative for "th' ystories of the old and new testament." The cycle was suspended again until 1567 because of war and pestilence. In 1568 the Dean of York, Matthew Hutton (later to become Archbishop of York, and a man with Puritan leanings) writes concerning the Creed Play that he finds many things which he likes "because of th' antiquities" but adds that he cannot allow because "they be disagreeinge from the sinceritie of the gospell." He recommends that it should not be played, for though "it was plausible to yeares ago, and wold now of the ignorant sort be well liked, yet now in this happy time of the gospell, I knowe the learned will mislike it, and how the state will beare with it, I knowe not."²⁰ (It is notable how sharply he differentiates the "ignorant" and conservative commons from the (Protestant) "learned" and the "state" - which had every reason to fear Catholic incitement in the North, where unrest turned into rebellion in 1569). The council agreed with Hutton, and the Creed Play was no longer played. But the commons wanted their municipal play, and "were much desyerous to have Corpus chrysty play this yere." The council would not allow it unless the "booke therof" were "perused and otherwise amandyd before it was played."²¹ It was played in 1569, pre-

sumably in an amended form, at fourteen stations. This proved to be its last performance. Archbishop Grindal wished to cure the people of their “great stiffness to retain their wonted errors,” and all the play-books were handed in to him for correction. Still in 1579, and again in 1580 (the years respectively of the publication of *The Shepberd’s Calendar* and *Euphues*) the commons were earnestly requesting that the Corpus Christi play might be performed. They were put off with the bureaucratic reply that the Mayor and his colleagues “would consider of their request.”²²

The Towneley cycle (probably played at Wakefield) survives in a MS written in the late fifteenth or even early sixteenth century, once in the possession of the Catholic Towneley family (Christopher Towneley was a seventeenth-century antiquary and collector. There are records of sixteenth-century performances at Wakefield. In 1556 (during the reign of Mary, in what was possibly a revival) “every crafte and occupation” are enjoined to “bringe furthe their pageauntes as hath bene heretofore used, and to gyve furthe [distribute] the speeches of the same in Easter holydayes.” A reference in 1559 suggests that it survived into the reign of Elizabeth - the “regennal [original] of Corpus Christy playe” is to be brought in, and “the mesteres of the Corpus Christi playe shall come and make their accounts.”²³ But in May 1576 the ecclesiastical commission at York (which included Matthew Hutton), hearing that it was intended to perform in Wakefield “this yere in Whitsonweke next or thereabouts a plaie commonlie called Corpus Christi plaie which hath bene heretofore used there,” says that there are many things in it which “tende to the derogation of the Majestie and glorie of God, the prophanation of the sacramentes and the maunteynance of superstition and idolatrie,” and instructs that a letter should be sent to the authorities forbidding the playing of any pageant in which the majesty of “God the Father, God the Sonne, or God the Holie Ghoste or the administration of either the Sacramentes of baptisme or of the Lordes Supper be counferfeyted or represented, or anythinge plaied whiche tende to the maintenaunce of superstition and idolatrie or which be contrarie to the lawes of God or of the realme.”²⁴ This of course amounted to a complete prohibition.

The Coventry cycle (of which only two plays survive) was finally “laid down” in 1579, and, as it has several times been pointed out, it would have been possible for the young Shakespeare to have seen it. The traditional Hock Tuesday play was suppressed in 1561, though “the men of Coventry protested that there was no Papistry or superstition in it.”²⁵ This may have been a local matter rather than one which involved the laws of God or of the realm, since fourteen years later it was performed at Kenilworth for Queen Elizabeth. At Norwich there was certainly a larger sequence, if not a complete cycle. The Norwich pageants lasted beyond the mid-century: we only have two (later) copies of the Grocers’ Play, one from 1533, the other, “newly renewed and according unto the scripture,” from 1565. The Newcastle Corpus Christi plays were still performed in 1561 and 1562, and possibly later: in 1578 the Millers were to play “the ancient playe of their fellowship,” entitled “the Deliverance of the Children of Isrell out of the Thraldome, Bondage, and Servitude of king Pharao,” “whensoever the generall plaies of the towne shall be commanded by the mayor.” The wording clearly suggests some connection with the past, but the proviso (also found in other guild records up to 1589) equally clearly suggests that it was no longer a regular annual event.

The Chester cycle as we now know it is a rather “literary” text, which is perhaps largely the product of the sixteenth century: it survives in a number of manuscripts - the early fragments from the late fifteenth century, but six from after 1575, the year of its final performance. The scribes of these have local connections, and sometimes antiquarian interests - Edward Gregorie, scholar of Bunbury (a village near

Chester) and churchwarden; George Bellin (who wrote three) of the Ironmongers' company, a parish clerk with antiquarian interests; William Bedford, clerk of the Brewers' Company and parish clerk; and James Miller, rector of St Michael's and precentor of the cathedral, who in 1607 completed an "edition" which had been begun by two previous scribes. There was clearly much civic pride involved in this cycle. There had already been restructuring before the Reformation: its time of performance had changed (in 1521 it is already called "the Whitsun play"), and was divided into three parts. During the sixteenth century it does not seem to have been performed every year. The last two recorded performances in 1572 and 1575 caused problems. In 1572 there was a complaint that the Mayor, John Hankey, "would needs have the playes go forward against the wills of the Bishops of Canterbury, York and Chester." In 1575, when Sir John Savage was Mayor, the plays were again performed, though some were omitted "which were thought might not be justified for the superstition that was in them." Both Mayors were cited before the Privy Council: Savage's alleged offence was that he "caused to be plaied the accustomed pageons ... of himself to satisfie his owne will & pleasure & contrary to his othe & dutie without the assente or consente of the rest of his brethrene." Both were supported by the present Mayor and the council, and nothing seems to have come of the accusation, but the evident hostility must have discouraged the Chester authorities, for the whole cycle was not played again.²⁶

A summary of the chronology is very revealing. The recorded dates of last performances are all in the reign of Elizabeth: 1565 Norwich, 1569 York, 1575 Chester, ?1576 Wakefield, 1579 Coventry. They cover the first fifteen years of Shakespeare's life, and overlap with such plays as *Gorboduc* (1565), Gascoigne's *Supposes* (1566), Wager's *Mary Magdalene* and *Gammer Gurton's Needle*.

Sometimes other Biblical plays were put on in place of the old cycle plays. Thus at Lincoln in 1564 it was decreed that "a standing play [? i. e. not in processional form] of some story of the Bible shall be played two days this summertime" - and *Tobias* was performed at the Broadgate, and again in 1567. That one of the properties was "Hell mouth, with a nether chap" suggests a link with the past.²⁷ At Shrewsbury (where there had been saints' plays, often performed in a quarry outside the walls), Thomas Ashton, master of the free school produced *Julian the Apostate* in 1565, and the *Passion of Christ* in 1567 (with properties - a head and beard for a fool, six dozen bells for a morris, and gunpowder for a devil - which again suggest continuity with the past).²⁸ Coventry in 1584 saw "the new play of the Destruction of Jerusalem" by John Smythe, a Coventry man, later of St John's, Oxford. That this is called "the tragedye" suggests a more learned play, perhaps based on Josephus. Nevertheless it would be nice to know if it had any affinities with the old medieval tales of the *Destruction*, which presumably lie behind the play done in Tlaxcala, with its Christians and Moors. In 1591 there seems to have been a move to restore the Corpus Christi play, but the corporation resolved that "the destruction of Jerusalem, the Conquest of the Danes, or the historie of K[ing] E[dward] the X [Confessor], at the request of the Comons of this Cittie shal be plaied on the pagens on Midsomer daye & St, Peters daye next in this Cittie & non other playes."²⁹ 1591 was the year of Lyly's *Endimion* and the year after *Tamburlane*.

Sometimes it is not clear if we are dealing with new plays or old survivals in less populous places. The Tewkesbury churchwardens' accounts in 1578 mention payments for "the players" geers, six sheepskins for Christs garments' and in a 1585 inventory there are "eight heads of hair for the Apostles, and ten beards, and a face or vizier for the Devil."³⁰ Perhaps this was a parish play of the kind we know continued in the Worcester and Hereford area (e.g. Tenbury, 1600). Provincial civic drama continued to flourish at Manningtree in Essex, which, it is said in 1602, "holds by stage plays," an observation confirmed

by references in Dekker's *Seven Deadly Sins of London* (1607) - Cruelty has got another part to play; it is acted like the old morals at Manning-tree' - in Nashe's *The Choosing of Valentines* - "a play of strange moralitie, / Showen by bachelrie of Manning-tree, / Where to the countrie franklins flock-meale swarme" - and in Heywood's *Apology for Actors* (1612) - "to this day there be townes that hold the priviledge of their fairs and other charters by yearly stage-plays, as at Manningtree in Suffolke, Kendall in the North, and others."³¹ The "old morals" sound like morality plays, or hybrids derived from them. Although we do not know exactly what form the "yearly stage-play" took in 1612, "Kendal in the North" (in Westmoreland), affords some startling evidence for the continuity of cycle-plays.³² The Antiquarian John Weever (1576-1631) refers to the "Corpus Christi play in my countrey, which I have seene acted at Preston, and Lancaster, and last of all at Kendall, in the beginning of the raigne of King James [1603-25]: for which the Townesmen were sore troubled; and upon good reasons the Play finally suppress, not onely there, but in all other Townes of the Kingdome." The Kendal Corpus Christi play (referred to in 1575 and, as "the playe" in 1586) is still being performed in the early seventeenth century - well into Shakespeare's lifetime, and in the very period in which antiquarians like Weever began to record descriptions of these "old plays," Archdeacon Rogers (d. 1595) at Chester and Dugdale (b. 1605) in Warwickshire. It also provides a curious and moving epitaph to the medieval mystery play. John Shaw, the Puritan vicar of Rotherham visited the area in 1644, and describes speaking with an old man at Cartmel who was wofully ignorant of salvation through Christ: "Oh Sir, said he, I think I heard of that man you speak of once in a play at Kendall, called Corpus Christs play, where there was a man on a tree, and blood ran down, &c. And afterwards he professed he could not remember that he ever heard of salvation by Jesus, bit in that play." This is a striking witness to the power of the visual image and to the horrifying *pathos* of a Crucifixion Play.

But it is not altogether clear that the old mystery plays breathed their very last breath at the beginning of James's reign (any more than did the old romances which Cervantes was attempting to kill off at this very time). I will return later to some cases where the Corpus Christi play may have fed into the "literary" drama of the London stage, but will end this section by noting the possibility that some of its episodes may well have continued in the popular theatre of the fairs. A very popular puppet-play, *The Creation of the World* followed by *Noah's Flood* and *Dives and Lazarus*, was played at Bartholomew Fair, and remained popular there and elsewhere until well into the eighteenth century. Called a "little opera," it used a number of machines for scenic effects. According to a playbill the last scene of *Noah* "does present Noah and his family coming out of the Ark, with all the beasts, two by two, and all the Fowls of the Air seen in a prospect sitting upon the trees" - the sun rising, a multitude of angels, and other wonderful sights. *The Creation*, says Sybil Rosenfeld, "was in the miracle play tradition."³

The "old morals at Manningtree" bring us to another medieval dramatic genre, the morality play, the tradition of which is long, rich and varied, running from the fourteenth-century *Pride of Life* almost to the end of the sixteenth century. This allegorical and narrative type of drama has only recently been given proper attention, having been long dismissed as didactic" - which it is (like Brecht's "Lehrstücke," and much else on the twentieth-century stage), but at its best very good drama indeed. Plays like the well-known *Everyman* (which appears in print at the beginning of the sixteenth century) transform doctrine into art. Morality plays have strong underlying dramatic structures. *Everyman's* "summoning by death" pattern is shared by the *Pride of Life* and *Dethe and the Goer by the Waye*. Other patterns are that of life as a journey (and a continuous battle against sins and vices), and - especially popular - the "prodigal son"

pattern of temptation, fall, and restoration. Characteristically, the medieval morality play seems to favour a final upward movement to something like the “eucatastrophe” of the folk-tale. The earliest survivor, *The Pride of Life*, may just possibly be the sole exception. The ending of the play is lost, but the Prologue says that Rex Vivus is overcome by Death, and there is a homiletic passage on the fate of the soul. If that passage were part of the stage performance it would conform to the usual upward movement. But if it were not, we would have a striking precursor of the conqueror Tamburlane being brought down by death. But normally the morality play likes to emphasize repentance and the greatness of God’s mercy (rather as in the medieval precursor of the Faust story the sinner Theophilus is finally saved through the intervention of the Virgin Mary). Allegorical drama presents “ideal types” of conduct - virtuous, wicked, wayward, spiritual - in conflict, and hence a variety of dramatic possibilities in the treatment of power and vulnerability and of social relationships (as in the testing of the friends in *Everyman* or the father/son relationship in *Mankind*). Many plays are essentially Augustinian, with a strong contrast between the “two cities” and a strong opposition of good to bad. But the allegorical world of signs can be deceitful. Vices disguise themselves as virtues as they set about seducing the usually very vulnerable central figure of Mankind/Humanum Genus. They seduce the audience as well. And they can provide opportunities for the apparently insatiable English desire to juxtapose the serious and the comic - except, of course, in the austere *Everyman*, but that shows some subtle dramaturgy of a different kind, in, for instance, the way it manipulates narrative rhythm and plays off “real” time against emotional time and dramatic time. In short, the longevity of this genre seems less surprising in the light of the dramatic possibilities it offered and the extraordinary adaptability it was to show.

By the mid-sixteenth century the variety of the genre was amply demonstrated. In size the examples ranged from the big “blockbusters” suitable for outdoor performance - from the fifteenth-century *Castle of Perseverance* to the mid-sixteenth century Scottish *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* of Sir David Lindsay to the shorter morality plays or moral interludes suitable for indoor performance. We can also see them being developed in a variety of ways. Lindsay’s play, the work of a well-known poet, shows how the genre can be adapted to political and religious polemic. Political themes had emerged earlier in *Magnificence*, again the work of a known literary figure, which combines the traditional temptation / fall / restoration pattern with the “mirror for princes” with considerable dramatic skill. Religious controversy is in general less successful on the stage. In his *King Joban* Bale adapted the morality play to Reformation propaganda (with Papist vices), and the Marian *Respublica* has Protestant vices. But these are not gripping dramas, whereas Lindsay was a genuinely talented playwright, whose experience in the devising of royal entries and pageants helped him to make the fullest use of the morality’s symbolic visual effects. The moment when the Three Estates enter led by their vices “gangand bakwart” is effective in a very traditional manner; that when the Prioress has her habit torn off to reveal “ane kirtill of silk” beneath it must have caused a *frisson* of a different kind, emphasized by her remark, “nunnis ar nocht necessair.”

The shorter morality play, or “moral interlude”³⁴ now frequently finds its way into print, and becomes much more diverse in subject-matter. Although the absence of surviving early “secular” plays is probably due as much to the uncertainty of transmission as to a resolutely pious outlook, they now begin to proliferate. The first surviving seems to be Medwall’s excellent play of *Fulgens and Luces* (perhaps staged in the Great Hall at Lambeth Palace in 1497). It is basically a “play of ideas,” with a serious plot derived from Tiptoft’s translation of the Italian humanist Buonaccorso’s tract on true nobility: Luces has to choose between two suitors, Publius Cornelius, a rich and dissolute nobleman, and Gayus Flaminius, virtuous but

poor and of lower rank. In the play the two argue their case directly to Lucre, not to the Senate as they do in the tract, thus making it a “wooing contest.” In the original there was no decision, but here Lucre tells the audience that she chooses Flaminius as the nobler (though she carefully says that she does not despise Cornelius’s blood).

The subject was a favourite fifteenth-century humanistic topic, with its roots in the Middle Ages (Chaucer, Dante, Jean de Meun) and antiquity. Here the serious theme of the wooing contest is supplemented by a comic equivalent in a sub-plot in which the comic servants A and B vie for the hand of Jone, the maid of Lucre. It contains dancing by mummers, a singing contest, a wrestling match, and a bawdy burlesque joust, “at farte pryke in cule” [fart-prick-in-the-arse]. Among the many interesting features of the play is the way in which A and B are used in the double role of presenters and jesters, and the development of the character of Lucre, a virtuous, rational and highly independent woman. It is also a significant early example of how “neo-classicism” was to be normally treated on the English stage with its determined mixing of the serious with the comic. Medwall’s other play, *Nature*, is more obviously in the morality tradition, but more learned and more complex in structure than most of its predecessors.

Other “plays of ideas” from this period include Heywood’s *Gentleness and Nobility* and Rastell’s *The Four Elements*. Heywood’s *Play of the Weather* treats its serious theme of order and harmony in variety with a light touch. Everybody wants different weather: the Gentlewoman complains that sunshine ruins her complexion; the Boy wants plenty of snow so that he can make snowballs, and so on. So Jupiter decrees that all will have in turn the weather they ask for. This gentle moral play celebrates harmony in diversity, and demonstrates also the economic interdependence of one class on another (like the more obviously political fable of the body and its members). Different again is the lively *Wit and Science* of John Redford, the Master of the singing boys of St Paul’s, which requires some skilled musicians and has an appropriately educational theme. Wyt, a student, wishes to marry the lady Science, the daughter of Reason. Among other challenges he has to overcome a giant called Tedyousness. The play has some excellent scenes - notably a comic “recognition” scene when Wyt, transformed by the vices into a fool Ignorance, sees his new appearance in a mirror. Again, this play has some distinctly “popular” elements: Wyt is “slain” by Tedyousness, but then is restored to life, as in a folk play. The play combines allegory and romance with the idea of a journey to Parnassus, but keeps the earlier morality techniques (of symbolic clothes, etc) and characteristic pattern of temptation / fall / restoration - all nicely applied to the learning of Latin paradigms. And there is, besides, a variety of intriguing items from the (lost) court play of “Troilus and Pandor”³⁵ performed by William Cornish and the Children of the Chapel Royal at Epiphany 1516, to *Calisto and Meliboea* (c. 1525?), based on the early part of the *Celestina* (translated in the seventeenth century as *The Spanish Bawd*), the first known English translation of a play by Terence (the *Andria*) printed as “Terens in English” (c. 1530), and the comedies of Heywood, which use the patterns of the French farce. It would be impossible to claim that all of these delightful plays are dramatic masterpieces, but the general impression of the interludes of the first few decades of the century is very clearly that of a period of lively experimentation which demonstrates the adaptability of the old morality play and the way in which old and new dramatic forms and themes co-exist.

The Henrician Reformation (and the sharper doctrinal reactions in the reigns of Edward and Mary) brought changes to the morality play (as we have already seen in Bale’s linking of chronicle material to the morality), but what we see - as we saw in the case of the mystery plays - is not the simple death and disappearance of the medieval tradition. Morality plays continue to be written and performed,³⁶ in the

period 1558-86, for instance there are almost thirty plays which are moralities, or are closely related to the morality. Many have the old pattern of temptation / fall / restoration, or are prodigal son plays, but there are changes - sometimes due to the change of religion, sometimes not. The group of vices characteristic of the early moralities has generally given way to the single figure of the Vice. The satirical potential is often developed.

A rare and interesting example of a play in which the usual final upward movement to repentance and forgiveness is no longer found is *The Castle of Security* which we know of from the account of one R. Willis who saw it as a small boy at Gloucester c. 1570.³⁷ This seems to have been a simple brief play with a basic morality pattern (cf. the "summoning by death" plays), and with a symbolic dumb show having a central role. It was the "Mayor's play," performed by a visiting group of players of interludes who had successfully requested a licence. The central figure was "a king or some great prince with his courtiers," and three ladies, who "keeping him in delights and pleasures drew him from his graver counsellors, hearing of sermons, and listening to good counsel and admonitions, that in the end they got him to lye down in a cradle upon the stage, where these three ladies joining in a sweet song rocked him asleepe that he snorted againe and secretly placed a "vizard like a swines snout upon his face" - with three chains held by the ladies, "who fall to singing againe and then discovered his face that the spectators might see how they had transformed him, going on with their singing." Meanwhile, two old men appeared, "one in blew with a Serjeant at Armes; his mace on his shoulder, the other in red, with a drawn sword in his hand, and leaning with the other hand upon the others shoulder, and so they two went along in a soft pace round about by the skirt of the stage, till at last they came to the cradle when all the court was in greatest jollity, and the the foremost old man with his mace stroke a fearful blow upon the cradle; whereat all the courtiers with the three ladies and the vizard all vanished." After this moment of theatrical wonder, "the desolate prince, starting up bare faced and finding himselfe thus sent for to judgement, made a lamentable complaint of his miserable case, and so was carried away by wicked spirits." Willis's final remarks indicate both the significance of the morality and its powerful emotional effect: "this prince did personate in the morall the Wicked of the world: the three ladies, Pride, Covetousnesse, and Luxury, the two old men, the end of the world and the last judgement. This sight tooke such impression in me that when I came towards mans estate, it was as fresh in my memory, as if I had seen it newly acted."

Similar to this, and more reminiscent perhaps of the end of *Doctor Faustus*, is *The Conflict of Conscience* by Nathaniel Woodes, a Cambridge graduate and a minister at Norwich (printed 1581; written ?c. 1579), which is based on an account of the life of Francesco Spira, an Italian Protestant lawyer who became a Catholic, and then in remorse for his apostasy died in despair (1548). This vehemently anti-Catholic play combines allegory and homily. Its hero is Philologus, "one that loves to talke." His spiritual enemies are the Vice Hypocrisy, in league with Satan and the Pope, and his companions Tyranny (who takes the disguise of Zeal), Avarice (alias Careful Provision) and Sensual Suggestion. There is also a burlesque priest Caconos. Philologus is arraigned before a Cardinal, and although he stands firm throughout his interrogation, eventually succumbs to the wiles of Sensual Suggestion, choosing life and riches and promising to recant. Confronted by Conscience, he will not change, though he is troubled ("My Conscience speaketh truth, me think, but yet because I feare, / By his advice to suffer death, I doo his wordes forbear"). God's judgement comes: in the midst of his glory he is suddenly assailed by Horror, falls into despair, is convinced that he is forever damned, and will not (or can not) repent: "I cannot pray, my

spirit is dead, no faith in me remayne.” In the final scene a messenger brings the news of his suicide: “Philologus by deepe dispaire hath hanged himselfe with coard.” However, curiously, the older pattern was not entirely abandoned. In the same year a second issue of the play appeared, in which the messenger’s speech reported a happier ending: “Philologus, that would have hangde himselfe with coard, / Is nowe converted unto God, with manie bitter teares...”³⁸

Some of the “hybrid” late moralities³⁹ are also very interesting. One example, Pikeryng’s *Horestes* (printed 1567) will suffice. The material for this version of the revenge of Orestes on Aegisthus and Clytemnestra is drawn from a product of earlier medieval humanism predating the Italian new learning which was the source of *Fulgens and Lucrece* - the “Troy books,” perhaps from Caxton’s *Recuyll*, probably from Lydgate’s *Troy Book*. The play’s full title suggests its varied nature - “A Newe Enterlude of Vice conteyning the History of Horestes with the cruell revengment of his Fathers death upon his one naturall Mother.” It is a mixture of “history” and “moral interlude,” a morality play with a Vice called Revenge (alias Courage - not necessarily an entirely virtuous quality), and a very early revenge play. The discussion of the ideas involved in the revenge theme is open and interesting. In the end the play seems to endorse Bacon’s view of revenge as a “kind of wild justice,” but is not without ambiguity - Revenge can be the agent of disorder and cruelty, but also of justice. Horestes asks the gods for guidance whether to exact revenge - or to “let the adulltres dame styll wallow in her sin.” The Vice (giving his name as Courage) urges Horestes on to kill his mother. This advice is ultimately endorsed by Idumeus and Councill. Nature, however, urges Horestes to desist from this unnatural act (“from mothers bloud withdraw thy bloody hand!”) which would be neither law or justice but “cruell tyranny” and would bring ill fame. But Horestes is determined (“for now nought elles in Horestes but sore reveng bears sway” says Idumeus), and Clytemnestra is captured and brought out - to the gleeful delight of the Vice, who weeps when he sees Horestes sigh (“Jesu, God! how styll he syttes; I thinke he be a saynt, / O oo oo! you care not for me”). Egistus is hanged, and Clytemnestra, her appeals for pity rejected, is led off to death. Horestes is reconciled with Menelaus, marries Hermione and is crowned by Duty and Truth - while Revenge goes off as a beggar to seek a new master. The play has, in addition, an element of “advice to princes” literature, and, probably, a political context. It may well allude to events in Scotland, where, in 1567, Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, was murdered, and Mary quickly married the Earl of Bothwell. Murray and other Scottish lords supporting the infant James VI were in London in 1567.⁴⁰ The tradition of the Falls of Princes clearly underlies the treatment of the fall of Egistus and Clytemnestra, but the play has the final upward movement of the morality play. Also, in true native English style, it contains much comedy (about half of the play in fact) from episodes and speeches from the Vice, from Hodge and Rusticus, and two braggart soldiers. And it has four songs. *Horestes* is not one of the great plays of the century, but it is an extremely interesting one.

The morality play had proved to be a very adaptable genre. It continued into the 1580s, with, for instance, Wilson’s *Three Ladies of London* and a continuation *The Three Lords and the Three Ladies of London*. Ulpian Fulwell’s *Like Will to Like* (published in 1568), in which Virtuous Living is tempted by vice, was probably revived as late as 1600 at the Rose by the Earl of Pembroke’s players, and *The Contention between Liberality and Prodigality* (probably from the 1560s) was presented before Queen Elizabeth by boy actors in 1601.⁴¹ Morality play patterns are detectable in *Doctor Faustus* and other Elizabethan plays, and in some Jacobean revenge plays.⁴² Allegorical theatre lived on in the masque.⁴³

The varied tradition of folk drama and festival (some of it probably very ancient) continued, although

we catch glimpses only - as for instance the Yule ceremonies at York, the "Yule Riding," in which Yule and his wife rode on horseback carrying a shoulder of mutton (explained in a broadsheet of c. 1570 as the Lamb of God), his face painted like a Jew; and the youths of the city crying, "Yule, Yule" - all reputed to be the occasion of horseplay and licentiousness.⁴⁴ Probably, there were also the antecedents of the mumming plays recorded much later by collectors. These were taken by the English to North America, Newfoundland and the West Indies. A multitude of references indicate that Robin Hood plays and games⁴⁵ were very popular. A fifteenth-century fragment of one play survives; another was printed (c. 1560) by William Copland: "A newe playe for to be played in Maye games very plesaunte and full of pastyme." Combats, clever escapes, and slapstick violence seem to have been prominent in these. The old Coventry Hock - Tuesday play performed for the Queen at Kenilworth in 1575 has a formalized battle between Danes and English.⁴⁶ The ancient tradition of the *mimi* seems to live on and on, sometimes touching more sophisticated theatre, always providing a background for "festive comedy" and carnivalesque celebrations of the "world upside down."

In conclusion, it would now seem that we have to replace our old neat "Darwinian" model with something that looks much more like a muddle - or perhaps, to put it more charitably, a rich "gallimaufry or hodge-podge" which was to prove a potential source of sustenance to later dramatists. The various ends and beginnings in the drama of the earlier sixteenth century do not, of course, "explain" Shakespeare or Marlowe, but provide them with a more varied context and background. And they do suggest some lines of continuity - although in our discussion we need to be more rigorous than the common vaguely suggestive phrase "leading on to." Thus, there were some real and major changes. The most obvious was the development of the London-based commercial theatre, metropolitan in taste and outlook, and a potential source of livelihood (The development of troupes of travelling players seems to have been a more gradual and an earlier one).⁴⁷ The changes were not simply in the economic and social organisation of the theatre. There are distinct changes in the style of the plays, increasingly the work of "literary" figures, poets in their own right. Earlier attempts at eloquence by means of aureation, elaboration of rhetorical laments, etc., gradually give way to a more self-consciously literary rhetoric, which clearly owes much to the spreading influence of humanistic education and the conscious imitation of ancient literary models. The "new" London drama from 1574 is evidently much more secular in its subject matter. No doubt this partly reflects changes in fashion and social changes (though we should not underestimate the role of religion in Elizabethan society). It is given a particular prominence because of two factors, that much earlier "secular" drama may have been lost, and, more importantly, that in the later period the presentation of religious topics on the stage had become problematic, and the public drama subject to control and censorship of a new kind. There is no doubt that the Reformation (especially in its later phases) and the growth of humanism and neo-classicism were extremely significant. But the effects of these theological and intellectual currents were not entirely clearcut. *Horestes* and other plays on classical topics sometimes owe less to the "chaste Latin" taught by Renaissance schoolmasters than to the older and wider patterns of "medieval humanism." Protestant hostility often led to the demise of the "Corpus Christi play," but economic changes and changes of fashion may also have played a part, so that the old plays may have come to look quaint and comical to the sophisticated and the "learned" if not to what Dean Hutton called "the ignorant sort."

When we turn to the question of continuities, the tastes of "the ignorant sort" seem very important. The continued existence of a popular audience apparently avid for drama is surely a very significant fact.

Many people seem to have loved their old plays and festivities. In 1546 the Scottish reformer Wishart laments the despising of God's word at Haddington: "I have heard of thee, Hadingtoun, that in thee wold have bein at ane vane Clerk play two or three thowsand people; and now to hear the messenger of the Eternall God, of all thy towne nor parishe can not be nombred a hundreth personis."⁴⁸ Further south, in 1549, the reforming preacher Latimer arrived at a town to find the church empty and its door locked: "at last the key was founde, and one of the parishe commes to me and sayes, "Syr, thys is a busye daye with us, we can not heare you. It is Robyn Hoodes daye. The parishe are gone abrode to gather for Robyn Hoode. I praye you let [hinder] them not"⁴⁹ Yet this "continuing audience" was not limited to one social class - as in the Middle Ages it encompassed a wide social range. It preserved the characteristic "audience mind," responding to the mimic power of the play world.⁵⁰ It is perhaps not too fanciful to suppose that its theatrical expectations had been formed at least in part by the earlier plays: it seems to have been used to the juxtaposition of comedy and serious matter, to "narrative" drama, with rapid alternations of scenes, to wonders and marvellous events on stage, and to scenes of extreme horror (the blinding of Gloucester is hardly more horrific than the callous nailing of Christ to the cross by four torturers in the York play).

Our earlier discussion of endings and beginnings has thrown up some suggestions and hints of continuities and links between the earlier and the later drama, if not a steady teleological development. Those with the earlier Morality play are the most obvious. As we have seen, this was an especially long-lived form which proved able to adapt to the changes in religion. The central character may be a personification - Humanum Genus, Mankind, Everyman, etc. - but it is a relatively small step to a named individual and his fall and (usually) restoration. Bale combined the morality with the history play in *King Joban*. Preston with tragedy in *Cambyses, King of Persia* (printed 1562), with its Vice Ambidexter. Spivack has traced a line through the ambiguous, amoral examples of the Vice to Shakespeare's Iago. And there are some clear particular echoes. The placing of Kent in the stocks, for instance, could well be linked with - and derive some of its power from - the scene in which a Virtue is overcome by Vices and bound or fettered (as in *Youth, Hickscorner, Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis*).⁵¹ Sometimes we can detect larger morality play patterns - in *King Lear*, for instance, with its symmetrical plot, with some characters sharply differentiated into good and bad, and its "generalized" central figure - both a British King and Humanum Genus - who falls to adversity, poverty, and despair (like Skelton's Magnificence). The traditional narrative patterns of the pilgrimage or journey and of the spiritual battle are echoed in the "slow crawl towards death," the painful, uncertain journey of self-knowledge, and the cruel and callous schemes and actions of the "vices." It is of course all much more complicated and ambiguous than the earlier morality plays, but perhaps the extreme horror of its ending is partly due to our sense that we have been deliberately denied our expectation of a final upward movement to a eucatastrophe.

In the case of the mystery cycles, the question of continuities has been re-opened by Emrys Jones in his *The Origins of Shakespeare*.⁵² Critical opinion had for some time been very cautious, partly in reaction to the confidently teleological accounts of the early drama, partly in response to Kolve's brilliant study of the Corpus Christi play, which stressed its autonomy as a genre, and had tended to resist "continuity" and to insist rather on the differences from the later Elizabethan secular drama. However, it is clear that this too was a long-lived form, and that the young Shakespeare could have seen a mystery cycle at Coventry - and if Honigmann's account of his "lost years" is correct and he spent some time as a tutor in a northern Catholic household he would have been in an area where the survival of the old plays was

especially notable. There are some echoes of episodes and incidents (the knocking on the gate in *Macbeth* for instance recalls the knocking on the gate of Hell in Harrowing of Hell plays); there are references to the massacre of the Innocents and to Herod. There may also be echoes of larger patterns - the loss of the golden world before the fall, the "lost garden" of the history plays⁵³ or the murder of Abel by his brother. Emrys Jones points out convincing parallels between scenes in Shakespeare's early plays in which innocent victims are killed - such as Duke Humphrey in *Henry VI*- and those in the mystery plays where the isolated figure of Christ stands among the tormentors and the crowds.

Looking back over the period, it is hard not to feel a sense of regret at the ending of a tradition of religious drama such as continued to flourish here in Spain, especially a tradition so deeply rooted in society, with such a generously inclusive sense of "sacred laughter", a tradition which was both glorious and homely. Its "homeliness" finds a melancholy testament in the surviving records of payments: for food for the Chester shepherds; at Coventry 3s 4d for God, 3s 4d for two devils, 16d for "worms of conscience," and a pay for "a lynke to sette the worlds on fyre; or at Chelmsford "5 prophetes cappes (one wanting)" or "3 flappes for devils." But on the other hand we can see the beginnings of a secular drama with a much wider range of plots and an intense and amazing verbal eloquence and a theatrical originality which is one of the wonders of English literature.

NOTES

¹ Chambers, E. K. 1903. *The Medieval Stage*. London, Oxford University Press.

² Manly, J M, 1906-7. "Literary Form and the New Theory of the Origin of Species." *Modern Philology* 4: 577-95.

³ Notably the volumes of REED, *Records of Early English Drama*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Chambers had already begun this task: see his valuable Appendix W (Representations of Mediaeval Plays). Anna J. Mill's *Medieval Plays in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1927) is another early example.

⁴ See Davis, N. ed. 1970. *Non-Cycle Plays and Fragments*. London, EETS SS 1. p. c.

⁵ Chambers, ii, 392-3

⁶ Klausner, David, ed, 1990. *Records of Early English Drama: Herefordshire and Worcestershire*. Toronto, University of Toronto Press. 306-7

⁷ Lancashire, I 1979. "Ioly Walte and Malkyng": a Grimsby puppet play in 1431. *REED Newsletter* 1979: 2 6-7. The sixteenth-century antiquarian Lambarde records that at Witney, Oxon, there was formerly a yearly show or interlude of the "Resurrection of our Lord and Saviour Christ," in which "the priests garnished out certain small puppets, resembling the persons of Christ, the Watchman, Mary, and others, amongst which one bore the part of a waking Watchman who (espying Christ to rise) made a continual noise, like to the sound that is caused by the meeting of two sticks, and was thereof commonly called Jack Snacker of Witney" (Speaight, G. *The History of the English Puppet Theatre*. London, Robert Hale, 1955; 2nd edn, 1990, p. 34) See also Chambers, 1. 71, ii 157.

⁸ Robe, Stanley L. 1954. "Coloquios de pastores from Jalisco, Mexico." *Folklore Studies* 4 Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press (see pp 4-16 for discussion of European origins and colonial development). The Tlaxcala plays are recorded by Fray Toribio Motolinia, *Historia de los indios de Nueva España*. See also John Reed's *Insurgent Mexico* (1914, repr, 1983), part VI, iii, "Los Pastores," for a description of this "ancient miracle play" on the night of Epiphany.

⁹ Ed, Davis, N. 1970. 1-7,

- ¹⁰ Ed Baker, Donald C., Murphy, John L., and Hall, Louis B., Jr 1982. *The Late Medieval Plays of Bodleian Mss Digby 133 and Museo 160*. Oxford, EETS 283,
- ¹¹ Chambers, ii 342. It is interesting to note that Nicholas Udall (1505-56), of *Ralph Roister Doister* fame (c. 1550-3), and a firm Protestant, was vicar of Braintree from 1537-44.
- ¹² Chambers, ii. 344-5.
- ¹³ Chambers, ii. 338.
- ¹⁴ Chambers, ii.356
- ¹⁵ Ed, Baker, Murphy and Hall. 1982,
- ¹⁶ Clark, A. 1907. *Notes and Queries*, 10th Series, vol. 7: 181-3, 342-3, 422-3.
- ¹⁷ Chambers, i. 222-3
- ¹⁸ The title of the excellent study by Harold C. Gardiner, S.J (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946).
- ¹⁹ Meredith, P. 1981. John Clerke's Hand in the York Register. *Leeds Studies in English* 12: 245-71
- ²⁰ Gardiner, p. 73.
- ²¹ Gardiner, p 74.
- ²² Gardiner, p. 76.
- ²³ Meredith, P. 1994. The Towneley Cycle In Beadle, R., ed 1994. *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre*. Cambridge, University Press, pp. 142-4.
- ²⁴ Gardiner, p. 78.
- ²⁵ Gardiner, p. 84.
- ²⁶ Gardiner, pp. 80-2.
- ²⁷ Chambers, ii. 379.
- ²⁸ Chambers, ii 394
- ²⁹ Chambers, ii. 361; Gardiner, p. 85.
- ³⁰ Chambers, ii. 396.
- ³¹ Chambers, ii. 384.
- ³² Chambers, ii. 373-4.
- ³³ Rosenfeld, S. 1960. *The Theatre of the London Fairs in the Eighteenth Century*. Cambridge, University Press, pp. 14, 136, 160. Speaight, *History of the English Puppet Theatre*, pp 32 ff. See also Chambers, ii. 158-9; Morley, H. 1859. *Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair*. London, Chapman and Hall, pp. 82, 288, 354-5. The sequence of episodes in one early eighteenth-century version of the *Creation* (Speaight, pp. 165-6) sounds remarkably like that of a mystery cycle: Garden of Eden, Creation of Adam and Eve, Fall and Expulsion, Cain and Abel, Abraham and Isaac, Nativity of Christ, Magi, Flight into Egypt, Massacre of the Innocents (with King Herod's soldiers having spears "laden with children") - but ending with Dives and Lazarus.
- ³⁴ The earlier history of "interludes" remains somewhat mysterious: it is possible that the early verse *Interludium de Clerico et Puella* and the fabliau *Dame Sirith* may have been performed; the interludes mentioned in *Gawain and the Green Knight* may have been short playlets or "turns" between the courses of a meal. At King's Lynn, Norfolk, in 1385, we hear of "an interlude on Corpus Christi day" and of "the interlude of St Thomas the Martyr" (Chambers, ii 374): and in the fifteenth century we hear (1452) of an "original of an Interlude played at the Cherch gate" at Harling in Norfolk (Chambers, ii.368). These sound like short plays.

³⁵ Anglo, S. 1969. *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

³⁶ See Potter, Robert, 1975. *The English Morality Play*. London: Routledge, Kegan Paul. Many have proverbial titles (and proverbs were often used in earlier moralities): proverbs fuse the general (maxim) with the particular (application) in a way similar to moral allegory. On the development of the Vice, see Spivack, Bernard, 1958. *Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil*. New York: Columbia University Press; Happé & Peter, 1981. "The Vice" and the Popular Theatre, 1547-80." In Coleman, A. and Hammond, A. eds. London: Methuen, 13-31. Examples of contemporary social satire: Wapull's *The Tide Tarrieth No Man* (1576) - greed and acquisitiveness - or Lupton's *All for Money* (licensed 1577, printed 1578) - bribery and corruption. On theological differences, see Rozett, M. T. 1984. *The Doctrine of Election and the Emergence of Elizabethan Tragedy*. Princeton, Princeton University Press. In his conclusion he notes the contribution morality plays as containing dramatized versions of the inner workings of the soul (p. 73), and remarks that Inclination, the Vice in *The Trial of Treasure* is the first example of "a wicked character whose heightened awareness enables him to recognize and understand the implications of his own wickedness (p. 96) - though are surely premonitions of this in earlier villains who "announce" their way of life

³⁷ Willis, R. Mount. *Mount Tabor, or Private Exercises of a Penitent Sinner*. London, 1639, pp. 110-114, quoted by Hattaway, M, 1982. *Elizabethan Popular Theatre: Plays in Performance*. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp. 65-6) and Bevington, David 1962. *From Mankind to Marlowe*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, pp. 13-14,

³⁸ "Rarely in the history of the drama has the issue between tragedy and comedy been decided so economically" (Potter, p. 239),

³⁹ On these see Potter, pp. 279 ff.

⁴⁰ See Axton, Marie, ed. 1982. *Three Tudor Classical Interludes*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, pp. 29 ff.

⁴¹ See Craik, T. W. 1958. *The Tudor Interlude*. Leicester: University Press, pp. 110-8. See also Irena Janicks-Swidarska "The Conspiracy between Liberalitie and Prodigalitie and Old Fortunatus as Transitional Plays." *Acta Universitatis Lodzianensis. Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu tódzkiego Nauki Humanistyczno-Spoleczne*. Seria I, 1980, pp. 63-84.

⁴² See Bevington, *From Mankind to Marlowe*; Craig, Hardin. 1950. "Morality Plays and Elizabethan Drama," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 1: 64-72.

⁴³ And found a new lease of life in the new Italian operas and *rappresentazioni* or "oratorios" of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (e.g. Emilio di Cavalieri's *La rappresentazioni de Anima e di Corpo* (1600),

⁴⁴ Johnston, Alexandra F. 1976. Yule in York, *REED Newsletter* 1976.1 3-10, Cf. the Chester Midsummer Show (Chambers, ii,356) or the Norwich Riding of St George (Chambers, i, 222).

⁴⁵ See Wiles, David. 1981, *The Early Plays of Robin Hood*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer.

⁴⁶ Kuin, R. J. P., ed. 1983. Robert Langham. *A Letter*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, pp. 52, 54-5.

⁴⁷ Tydeman, William. 1978. *The Theatre in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: University Press, pp. 215-21.

⁴⁸ Mill, p. 74n.

⁴⁹ Latimer, Hugh. *Seven Sermons Before Edward VI*, ed. E. Arber. 1869. London: Murry, pp.173-4

⁵⁰ Thus, the story of the apparition of a devil during a performance of *Doctor Faustus* spread by the Puritans (see Jump, J. D., ed, 1962, pp. lix-lx) has a kind of antecedent in the story in the early-sixteenth-century *Hundred Merry Tales* of the player who wore his devil's costume home and frightened everybody. Cf. Don Quixote's meeting with the player Death.

⁵¹ See Craik, T. W. 1958. *The Tudor Intellude*. pp. 93-5. It was apparently a popular piece of iconography, probably related to the "Abuses of the Time" type of satire with its vision of the world upside down.

⁵² Jones, E. L. 1970. *The Origins of Shakespeare*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Chapter 2.

Woman as Text in *Othello* and in Calderon's Dramas de Honor

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As it usually happens with every discourse that results in oppression, misogyny has been able to efface its presence by inserting doubts on its own existence into the community in which it works. However, certain inevitable contradictions within patriarchalism have made possible some readings denying the hierarchy male/female, in spite of the degree of acceptance that such a "common sense" attitude has amongst many societies. The plays that we study here offer an expected ambivalent position, regardless what part of the most conservative criticism has wanted to see in them; on the one hand, these plays certainly reproduce the terms of the dominant cultural environment, and although much has been said about the terrible position in which women are placed in these texts, perhaps something could be added in relation to the way they are scripted by males. But, secondly, we perceive what seems to be an uneasy incorporation of the process of construction of the notions of gender in these texts, which force a sort of intervention that questions, although with not much strength, this discourse. Dymphna Callaghan reminds us of the difficulty of dealing with this topic in some kind of texts:

While we must remain wary of simplifying the complex nature of either woman's subordination or the privileged cultural representation of that subordination in tragedy, we cannot hedge about the historical fact that women were (and for that matter, remain) the diverse victims of multiple patriarchal strategies (41)¹.

Woman has been explained, once she has been characterized as 'unknown', not as an independent entity, but from man, who sets what is 'normal', or 'natural', and from where woman is defined as her opposite. According to this it shouldn't surprise us that Don Lope de Almeida, in *A secreto agravio, secreta venganza*², when trying to praise his newly wed wife before the king, states that she is "noble" and "varonil" (III,445b). In the same way that the body politic of the Prince is privileged in relation to the subject, Louis Adrian Montrose points out how the dominant structures of thought and belief,

... also privileged the male body in relation to the female body. The versions of woman produced by such discourses as those of medicine, law, religion, and domestic economy were almost invariably imperfect versions of man - constitutionally colder, weaker, less stable than he. (308)³

Othello presents a woman who appears to be, up to a certain point, free from male prohibitions. Desdemona, or what some authors have called "the first Desdemona" (in the first act and part of the second), is defined, significantly by Brabantio, as "half the wooer", that is, active, self-sufficient and not reduced to a role. Her guilt-free erotism, her strong personality, that allows her to face the most conspicuous repre-

sentation of patriarchalism in Venice, the Senate, in its own territory and on its own terms, and her love, decidedly, and apparently, unaware of any social or racial prejudices, all these characteristics speak of her as a female creation defying the position that the community has kept in store for her. On the other hand she accepts her position in the social scale to the extent of not endangering the mechanism that makes possible the transmission of power, i.e., marriage: her “divided duty” speech tries hard to reconstruct the concept of fidelity to a man, which has been questioned by her quiet but nevertheless active rebellion against her father. Ironically enough, it will be precisely her devoted acceptance of the obedience required of a wife what will eventually destroy her. Edward Snow has commented on this very lucidly in “Sexual Anxiety and the Male Order of Things in ‘Othello’”⁴

But the erotic principle in her is gradually transformed by “the curse of marriage” to a preoccupation with a fetish that confines her to a sphere of childlike, narcissistic isolation (...). From proclaiming her love as a free individual she is reduced by the domain of married chastity to defending her virtue as an object passively dedicated to her husband. (408)

It is from the moment she starts acting as a married woman (or, in other words, since the arrival in Cyprus), that we have the “second Desdemona”; she is rewritten by one of the most intensely ideologized institutions that exists: marriage produces, through a complex social mechanism, two new “individuals” that consequently have different social roles⁵. The existence of these two versions (active and passive, wild and domesticated) of the same woman in the play has traditionally puzzled critics and audience alike. For Carol Thomas Neely there is not such a division.⁶

Desdemona’s spirit, clarity, and realism do not desert her entirely in the latter half of the play as many critics and performances imply. (88)

For Neely there is a conciliation of “obedience and self-assertion” (1987: 88); if Desdemona doesn’t try to defend herself it is, Neely explains, because Othello is unable to articulate his suspicions. Another feminist critic as Adamson does distinguish two very different sides of the same character, but pointing out, at the same time, what she believes a process signalling both continuity within the character as well as difference⁷. Interesting as these views undoubtedly are, we consider of greater interest (and more coherent with the play) Alan Sinfield’s interpretation: the change from the complete lack of conventionality expressed by Desdemona’s Senate speech into the orthodox conventionality of the submissive wife of the General is too abrupt to be easily accepted⁸:

Desdemona does not seem to have such a continuous subjectivity; she is less a developing consciousness than a series of positions that women are conventionally supposed to occupy. (64)

From this point of view, Desdemona, and women in *Othello* at large, are not “individuals” (that is, “non divisible”), or beings with a specific identity, but rather men’s productions, and are built, re-written, made central or sent to the margins of society, by means of a discursive practice that has the main purpose of securing the privileged position of men in their community. But more than the abstract consequences of this male dominion over females, the play reveals certain instances of women used as pawns in a game that is not theirs; in this sense, it will be useful to remember that not only Othello

improves (apparently at least) his social condition by means of his wedding: Cassio hopes to regain his position through Desdemona's aid, and Iago uses Emilia (who has to betray her lady and friend) in his plan to destroy Othello and (in our reading) restore his lost honour. If the woman tries to resist this controlling of her activity, in which she is always her husband's "lieutenant", she will get into trouble. A refusal to obey the husband, and of the biggest kind, is, obviously, infidelity: Iago is afraid of the publicity of his suspicion: "twixt my sheets/He's done my office" (I,iii,381-2), and Othello destroys himself (after killing Desdemona) when he concludes that she has been unfaithful to him. Callaghan (1982) shares this belief in women's role as materializations of male discourse; they adapt to it in one way or other:

Desdemona is a 'tabula rasa' in a most curious sense. She is pure, white, and also blank; existing and not existing, and, since blank, open to any inscription, and therefore, in a sense, undecipherable. Othello's judgement of her as a whore is the inscription she must bear. She is no longer present or visible; all that remains is the stain emblazoned upon her honour. Condemned to silence, she is to 'be read' and not to speak herself. She has become Othello's text even if the reading of it is not a stable activity. (78)

In fact, one of the "problems" of this play is the apparent incapacity of Desdemona to speak for herself and of herself with clarity and authority, in a deep contrast with her previous speech before the senators. But Callaghan is absolutely right when she claims that Othello's wife and Brabantio's daughter have become the General's text, and the exact meaning of this shouldn't escape us: Othello won't let her explain what has happened, instead he will turn her into a text to be read and interpreted later; and, what is still worse, Othello will be writer and reader of his wife, finding in her just what he previously put on her: she is now but a space where gender relations are problematized and the obligations and consequences of the concept of honour are expanded. Othello is separated from his position as "king" in his marriage by virtue of his proclaimed inferiority as Other, his supposed failure as the keeper of his wife's sexuality, and the public exposure of this failure, especially unsufferable given his vulnerability.

It is of the greatest significance that woman goes through a very similar process in the so-called "dramas de honor" by Calderón, a process that is almost identical in *El médico de su honra*. In *El pintor de su deshonra*, Serafina doesn't have the opportunity of explaining what has happened: Juan Roca, her husband, gets at some conclusions based on what he sees and hears in a very specific moment, and lacking the necessary context (III,901b-903a). Juan Roca is a painter, and he projects this activity to interpret his wife's behaviour as if it were a painting or a play: he reads his culpability, in part at least, because the concept of honour forces him to take revenge without hesitation, and he prefers to sacrifice her than to face a life of dishonour. His role is clearly made identical to that of the onlooker, a "peeping Tom" who cannot reason and learn to discriminate what he sees. In *A secreto agravio, secreta venganza* Leonor, although partially guilty according to the standards of the age, has to suffer to be interpreted as a text too. The "proofs" that Lope de Almeida believes to have found are based on the commentaries of two men (Juan, II,435b and III,444ab, and the king, III,445b) who, in truth, don't know what is really happening. Leonor's reality is substituted by a new state of things created by Lope from what he understands of his friends' loose talk. This is produced, again, by Lope's anguish at being betrayed, at losing his honour, what somehow forces him to believe and complete what he is being told. But it is in *El médico de su honra* where we can find the best instance of this textualization of woman forced by the pressure

of honour: Gutierre Alfonso reads in Mencía her guilt. With extreme perversity, she is made to incriminate herself in the garden speech, where Gutierre approaches her impersonating the 'Infante' (II,336b-338a). The end of this play offers a magnificent example of this process we are commenting upon: the textualization is literal in Mencía, precisely when she mostly needs a discourse of her own; when she faces death she is denied even the possibility of stabilizing herself as an individual, and is consequently transformed, once again, into a piece of writing, subjected to a man's interpretation. She will be, literally, read by Gutierre: the letter she is writing to the 'Infante', whose purpose and meaning is just the opposite of the one Gutierre grasps, accuses her; more still, she *is* that letter, helpless in the hands of her interpreter, her only link with the outside world, a man whose sense and perception are seriously altered by his hypertrophic sense of honour:

D. GUTIERRE [ap.] Escribiendo Mencía está; ya es fuerza ver lo que escribía.

QUÍTALE EL PAPEL.

D. MENCIA ¡Ay Dios! ¡Válgame el cielo!

ELLA SE DESMAYA.

D. GUTIERRE Estatua viva se quedó de hielo. LEE. "Vuestra alteza, señor... ¡Que por alteza vino mi honor a dar a tal baja! ...no se ausente..." Detente, voz; pues le ruega aquí que no se ausente, a tanto mal me ofrezco, que casi las desdichas me agradezco. (III,343b)

This is all that Gutierre needs: he doesn't question his wife's culpability, or feel the need to listen to her, to what she has to say in her defense. After she faints, she will be more clearly still a mere body, reified by a man, occupying a space. It will be attempted through this that she focuses no attention; this will have passed on from her to the text Gutierre is creating, although for the spectator she will conspicuously be there. But for Gutierre she has ceased to be an individual, with a subject position, someone to talk to and capable of explaining her own reality: significantly, she will receive a written death sentence, which she will not hear directly from her judge/executor; the textualization is, thus, completed.

Desdemona is manipulated by Othello who, as we have seen, inscribes in her his fears of infidelity and dishonour, motivated by his vulnerable position in the play as the 'Other', being so used to textualization himself. Nevertheless, it is Iago who first indulges in this activity, reproducing some of the most obnoxious, and at the same time best accepted, beliefs and attitudes, in relation to women, of the community that produced and received this play. Basically, Iago undertakes a complex task of substitution in which he destroys reality and replaces it by a fiction of his own creation, but connected with histories that are generally applied to women with an enormous success; as Iago himself puts it, his stories are "apt and of great credit": they deal with the animality of blacks, the superiority of the whites, women's innate lechery, Venetian ladies' sophistication and deceitful nature etc... Iago's cynicism, activating the most regressive aspects of the cultural constructions of the Venetian community, is accepted by other characters in their continuous activity of textual production: thus, Brabantio produces a new Othello before the senators, and a new light is shed on Desdemona and Cassio when reconstructed by Roderigo or Othello himself. As Cassio admits, "He -that is, Iago- speaks home" (II,i,162).

Obviously, it is Desdemona who suffers more by this activity. Iago's action against her is a double one: firstly, he places her (in Othello's imagination) in a context foreign to her; secondly, he turns all her actions against herself, manipulating words and concepts that he knows Othello is not good at handling. His first

objective is achieved by reminding Othello of the treacherous nature of Venetian women in general, and of Desdemona in particular; in fact, wasn't she who married with him, a nigger, against her father's consent, defying race, law and customs?; she, Iago reasons, has proved that can be "other than she seems". Thus, Desdemona's clearest proof of her love, and she as a subject, are inverted and turned into something very far from their reality, something that Desdemona (or anyone in her position, for that matter) cannot even suspect. Besides, the eroticism that Desdemona seems to embody is rewritten by Iago as a symbol of her sexual incontinence; for the Fathers of the Church, "omnis amator feruentior est adulter": even within marriage, excess is considered as an illicit activity. In fact Othello tries to convince the senators that he, in spite of his race, is far from this (I,iii,227-71; esp. 251-71). As a result, paradoxically, Othello is convinced of Desdemona's supposed lechery precisely by the experience that should prove to him her devoted love and chastity: her first night together. The villain will succeed when he is able to make Othello reinterpret Desdemona's passion and apply it to Cassio; Iago makes Brabantio actually "see" Desdemona have intercourse with Othello through the Ancient's ugly metaphors, and he achieves the same with Othello, speaking now of Desdemona and Cassio, as Edward Snow has pointed out (1980: 395). As it is impossible to see physically the guilty couple, Iago makes Othello transfer his own image to the place that, supposedly, Cassio occupies. In an impossible projection, Othello's intimacy with Desdemona is the absurd proof of her relation with Cassio: the onlooker takes the place of the image. Emilia and Bianca are equally thrown to the periphery by their men (Iago and Cassio), who use them to fulfill their plans or with purely sexual purposes. Emilia will be so close to Desdemona that she will also die at the hands of her husband, whom she has obeyed and misunderstood during the whole play. The difference with Porcia and Leonor, two heroines in *El pintor de su deshonra* and *El médico de su honra*, is interesting: Calderón portrays two women that do not limit their activity to quiet suffering, but decide to rule their own destiny. Leonor demands what she thinks she deserves to the king, and Porcia, in a position very similar to "the first" Desdemona, becomes "half the wooer" with the Prince of Ursino, 'betraying' her father and behaving in a similar way to what we are told that Desdemona did.

To conclude, the four plays that we have commented here present a process of elaboration of woman as a text created by and for man. Woman herself seems to be able to do little to escape this situation: although there are some instances of resistance to man's "scripting", the concept of woman appears so strongly ideologized by countless stories and conventions that it is almost impossible to escape this and, consequently, all these women will eventually be killed with the implicit acquiescence of the community. Thus, textualization, or the conversion of woman into a blank space where the legends of her discontinuities are written, is not the only perversion woman is subjected to: it becomes part of one and the same struggle for equality that so many different discourses try to fight back; as Catherine Belsey has written:⁹

The absolute right of one human being to require another's death in payment for an injury must be predicated on a radical inequality.

NOTES

¹ Callaghan, Dymna. 1989: *Woman and Gender in Renaissance Tragedy. A Study of 'King Lear', 'Othello', The Duchess of Malfi' and 'The White Devil'*. London, Harvester.

² Quotations from *A secreto agravio, secreta venganza, El médico de su honra* and *El pintor de su deshonra* have been taken from *Obras completas. Dramas*, edited by A. Valbuena Briones. 1991: Madrid, Aguilar. Quotations from *Othello* come from the New Penguin edition (1968).

³ Montrose, Louis Adrian. 1986: "The Elizabethan Subject and the Spenserian Text." In Parker, Patricia, & David Quint, eds. 1986: *Literary Theory / Renaissance Texts*. Baltimore & London, The Johns Hopkins University Press.

⁴ Snow, Edward A. 1980: "Sexual Anxiety and the Male Order of Things in *Othello*." In *English Literary Renaissance* Autumn : 384-412.

⁵ J. L. Henderson, working with C.G. Jung, has commented upon the fear of the woman to lose her identity in a strong patriarchal marriage. On the other hand, he considers the potential of marriage as a rite of passage for woman, during which man doubts about his new position:

Esencialmente, es un rito de iniciación de la mujer en el que el hombre puede sentirse cualquier cosa menos un héroe conquistador. No es sorprendente que encontremos, en las sociedades tribales, ritos compensadores del temor tales como el rapto o violación de la novia. Estos ritos capacitan al hombre para aferrarse a las reliquias de su papel heroico en el preciso momento en que tiene que someterse a su novia y asumir las responsabilidades del matrimonio. (Jung, C.G. 1984: *El hombre y sus símbolos*. Barcelona, Caralt. p. 133.

We disagree with the idea of man submitted by his wife, although we consider Henderson's comments on the doubts and fears produced by marriage of great interest.

⁶ Neely, Carol Thomas. 1987: "Women and Men in *Othello*." In Bloom, Harold ed. 1987: *William Shakespeare's 'Othello'*. New York, Mod. Crit. Interp.

⁷ Adamson, Jane. 1980: *'Othello' as Tragedy: some problems of judgement and feeling*. Cambridge, C.U.P. p. 220

⁸ Sinfield, Alan. 1989: "Othello and the Politics of Character." In Barbeito, Manuel ed. 1989: *In Mortal Shakespeare (Radical Readings)*. Santiago, Univ. de Santiago.

These "woman positions" associated with the patriarchal concept of "female inconstancy" or "discontinuity" have to do with Jung's "four types of femininity" analysed in *La psicología de la transferencia*. 1982: Barcelona, Paidós.

⁹ Belsey, Catherine. 1985: *The Subject of Tragedy*. London, Methuen. p.177.

Ideological Tensions in Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko*

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In any instance of at least written language, there is no such thing as a delivered presence, but a *re-presence*, or a representation.

E. Said. *Orientalism*.

Perhaps one of the most surprising aspects of the beginning of Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko* is the candidness with which the narrator separates the Europeans' conception of the Indians from their conception of Negroes. The British, we read, live with the natives of Surinam "in perfect Amity, without daring to command 'em; but, on the contrary, caress 'em with all the brotherly and friendly Affection in the World" (1-2). The Caribbs, we learn, are some kind of benign Calibans who are extremely useful to the Europeans on the island: "So that they being on all occasions very useful to us, we find it absolutely necessary to caress 'em as Friends, and not to treat 'em as Slaves, not dare we do other, their numbers so far surpassing ours in that Continent" (5). "Those then who we make use of to work", the narrator clarifies immediately, "are Negroes, Black Slaves" (5). The term "Negro", which as Jordan explains was incorporated into English from the Hispanic languages in mid-sixteenth century (Jordan, 1968, 61), comes to express in Behn's equation the condition of the Africans as Black slaves.

Although the Indians participate in the quality of the alien and the different, they are automatically included in Behn's words in the discourse of the Noble Savage, a category which from the sixteenth century onwards reminded Europeans of the need to return to simpler ways of life (White, 1990, 172). With their natural nobility, the Indians had created what has been interpreted by the critics as the literal realization of the Golden Age myth (Weston, 1984, 65), as we can read in the first pages of the novel: "And these People represented to me an absolute Idea of the first State of Innocence, before Man knew how to sin" (3). Indians and Blacks share residual forms of wildness in the novel—both threaten to rise against the Europeans, both are part of that partly "unknown" and therefore potentially dangerous continent (Cf. Azim, 1994, 47)—, but whereas the Indians are viewed as benign representations of the wild man of the Middle Ages, the African slaves retain that source of malignity which explained their ineradicable wildness. There were, as Winthrop Jordan explains in *White over Black*, several reasons for the confinement of Blacks within the category of the wild man. From the different accounts of travellers in Africa during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Negro, as Jordan writes, "was not customarily thought of as embodying the qualities of the Noble Savage" (1968, 27). The cannibalism, the revolting diet, the defective religion, the savage behavior, the concupiscence and their skin color placed the Negro

among the beasts (Jordan, 1968, 28) and he was treated accordingly. As wild men, Negroes possessed the soul of an animal, and since man could do with animals what he would, domesticate them, use them or destroy them without sin, it was believed that “if that was the fate of animals, then wild men, men possessed of animal souls, had to be treated by normal men in similar ways” (White, 1990, 164). These traits made the Africans unworthy of the status of primitive nobility attained by the Indians, and at the same time conditioned their suitability for slavery according to the increasing necessities of the New World.

This division between the Indians as representatives of the Noble Savage and Negroes as the embodiments of the wild man seems to blur, however, in Behn’s *Oroonoko*. Behn transgresses these two categories through the inclusion in the realm of the noble savage of a unique black character, Oroonoko, thus creating the tradition of the Noble Negro (Sypher, 1969, 108). In so doing, Behn manages to “lift” the character from the black stereotype and make him the noble and gallant protagonist of the story. Behn creates a new textual space to render the real –if unknown– qualities of the black character. But this pioneering inclusion of the black character in the white text proves to be a risky if not impossible venture which creates irreconcilable tensions in the authorial voice, as critics such as Fogarty and Azim have noticed. What follows is an attempt at suggesting some of the omissions and absences in the creation of *Oroonoko*, which determine the narrator’s failure in the representation of the character.

Oroonoko, like Shakespeare’s *Othello*, has a distinctive trajectory in the novel. Like Shakespeare’s “Noble Moor”, *Oroonoko* moves from being a colonial subject who seems to have internalized the ideology of the dominant culture (he, like the English, the French, the Portuguese and the Spaniards traded with slaves; like the Europeans he emulates, he is a model of gallantry and courtly behavior), towards marginalization, towards a position as outcast (from the European community and from the text itself). From being part of the hegemonic society *Oroonoko* comes to occupy his position as “alter”. White society, in turn, becomes the real “other” for *Oroonoko*. Although the narrator erases in the description of her character the barbarity traditionally associated with the Negro, towards the end of the novel, however, she emphasizes those features of the Negro, his possessiveness, his wildness, that cause his fall. From her complex position as a voice rooted in the hegemonic European society and culture but fascinated with the exotic and the details of savage life which occurred in the world overseas (Cf. Azim, 1993, 35 & Jordan, 1968, 25), the narrator seems unable to follow a character who finally rebels against the principles she represents and against the way he has been translated in the white text.

The conditions of inclusion –or visibility– of the black character in the white text are explicit in Behn’s description of *Oroonoko*: “He was adorned with a native Beauty, so transcending all those of his gloomy Race, that he struck an Awe and Reverence, even into those that knew not his Quality” (6). The narrator intends to deconstruct the myth of blackness in *Oroonoko* only to reconstruct it when talking about the rest of that “gloomy race.” When the narrator proceeds with a close description of *Oroonoko* we find how *Oroonoko*’s Africanness is tamed in order to make him suitable for a white text:

The most famous statuary cou’d not form the figure of a Man more admirably turn’d from head to foot. His Face was not of brown rusty Black which most of that nation are, but of perfect Ebony, or polished Jett. His eyes were the most awful that cou’d be seen, and very piercing; the White of em being like Snow, as were his Teeth. His Nose was rising and Roman, instead of African and flat. His Mouth the finest shaped that could be seen; far from those great turn’d Lips, which are so natural to the rest of the Negroes. The whole Proportion and Art of his Face was so nobly and exactly form’d, that bating his color, there could be nothing in Nature most beautiful, agreeable and handsome.

There was no one Grace wanting, that bears the Standard of true Beauty. His Hair came down to his Shoulders, by the Aids of Art, which was by pulling it out with a Quill, and keeping it combed; of which he took particular care (8).

As we see in the narrator's description of Oroonoko, the Negro can only "attain savage nobility only by approximating (as best he could) the appearance of a white man" (Jordan 28), that is, we could add, by not being a Negro. The narrator singles out Oroonoko from the rest of the race, erases in the description of the character the traits which in the Europeans' eyes would make him "inferior," and rearranges the most traditional facial traits of the Negro, the nose and the lips. Although as an 18th-century traveller noted, thick lips and broad nostrils were considered "the beauties of the country" (Qted. in Jordan, 1968, 10), these were precisely some of the features which, according to some of the pro-slavery theoreticians, evidenced the inferiority of the black race, since they explained the fact that a Negro face could not express the same emotional feelings peculiar to the Caucasian. Oroonoko's hair, far from being the woolly hair peculiar to the African and which for these pro-slavery writers was a symbol of the Negro's inferiority, "comes down to his shoulders" and is made to imitate Caucasian hair. There is, as we see, one Eurocentric standard of beauty in the novel, to which Oroonoko has to accommodate: "There was no one grace wanting, that bears the standard of true beauty". For the narrator Oroonoko's color was the only impediment which prevented him from being the most beautiful, agreeable and handsome man. The narrator's standard of beauty, however, contrasts with the blackness which, as Sir John Mandeville explains, constitutes the African's sense of fairness. We read in Mandeville's *Travels* how the Egyptians "are black in colour, and they consider that a great beauty, and the blacker they are the fairer they seem to each other. And they say that if they were to paint an angel and a devil, they would paint the angel black and the devil white" (1983, 64). In Behn's text, Oroonoko enjoys, paraphrasing from Thomas Jefferson, "the fine mixtures of red and white" (since he is able to blush 16), "flowing hair" and "the elegant symmetry of form" peculiar to the whites, as opposed to the other blacks, who remain under "that immoveable veil of black" (Qted. by Sypher, 1969, 49), which the narrator refuses to remove. In Oroonoko's case, however, the narrator has lifted the veil of blackness to present the reader with a "washed Ethiop", to paraphrase from the popular saying "to wash an Ethiop White".

The whitening of Oroonoko is plain as well in the narrator's description of his manners and education. The narrator, as Sypher remarks, does not admire Oroonoko's innate Africanness but the "greatness of soul, those refined Notions of true Honour, that Absolute Generosity, and that Softness that was capable of the highest Passions of Love and Gallantry" (7), that is, those qualities of mind which had been infused in the young prince by his French tutor. Culture and manners, as we can infer from the text, are strictly European. Interestingly enough, we notice how the narrator has dissociated Oroonoko from the sexual traditions of his kingdom. Oroonoko is monogamous, totally dedicated to his beloved Imoinda, and has separated himself from the libidinous tendencies of his race. There is perhaps one word which refers to Oroonoko's innate features, Barbarity, which, as we read, has been uprooted by his European mentor: "He had nothing of Barbarity in his Nature, but in all points addressed himself as if his Education had been in some European Court" (7). There is nothing in the text to record an alternative culture. African culture is, to put it in Bhabha's words, the "stressed absence" (198) in the text. Africans, we would have to infer from the text, have no culture worth recording apart from what they get and imitate from European culture. Like the Indians whom the narrator describes in the text, Africans appear as *tabulae rasae* ready to receive the imprint of the white man. Europeans, like dedicated Prosperos, seem to carry out their almost "pro-

vidential” role of imposing a superior culture on both Indians and Africans, given their natural propensity to embrace extravagant fictions and religions: “I soon perceived,” writes the narrator, “by an admiration that is natural to these People [the Indians], and by the extreme Ignorance and Simplicity o’em, it were not difficult to establish unknown or extravagant Religion among them, and to impose any Notion or Fictions upon ‘em” (56).

We see how in deconstructing the black stereotype the narrator has made a case for Oroonoko and proved that he is not a creature beyond the realm of grace and society (Cf. Barthelemy, 1987, 6), that he is not all strangeness and foreignness, but that within the Chain of Being he is close to Europeans. In smoothing over the differences which separate Oroonoko from the Europeans, however, the narrator has re-constructed the myth of blackness, which determines the nature of the rest of the Africans who belong to what the narrator terms “that gloomy race”. Behn’s account illustrates the difficulties in discerning when the authorial voice is advocating or rejecting cultural stereotypes. As Barthelemy explains, there are black characters during the sixteenth and seventeenth century who, like Oroonoko, show that virtue stood not completely out of their reach. However, this conversion to civilization reveals rather that “by demonstrating virtue, these few honest Moors offer further validation of the more common, harmful and denigrating representations of black Moors because they [as individuals] prove that it is possible to resist the call of evil, though most unusual” (Barthelemy, 1987, 147).

But if in order to portray Oroonoko as the Noble Negro the narrator has to distort his physical traits and the aspects of his character which would be disturbing to the white audience, the authorial voice appears no less selective when it comes to the description of slavery in the Caribbean colony of Surinam. Oroonoko was already familiar with slavery, knew the practices of European traders, and frequently sold to them the slaves he took in battle. The institution of slavery was well known and widely practiced in Africa. But these slaves were war captives and if we give credit to Olaudah Equiano, an African who was abducted from his home and later sold into slavery, the condition of the slaves in Africa was very different from that of the slaves in the West Indies: “With us,” explains Equiano, “they do no more work than other members of the community, than even their master; their food, clothing, and lodging, were nearly the same as theirs, except that they were not permitted to eat with those who were free-born” (1986, 19). In fact, Oroonoko’s enslavement comes about because of his friendship with the master of an English ship, with whom he had frequently traded with slaves. Under the pretense of inviting Oroonoko and a hundred of the noblest youths of the court, the English master betrays Oroonoko and the rest of the Africans into slavery. Oroonoko is fettered and put like a “common” slave in a lot, we learn, “with seventeen more [slaves] of all sorts and sizes, but not one of Quality within him” (37). Once more the narrator singles out the character to emphasize the indignity of being among common slaves, but remains blind to the slaves’ plight, and openly accepts the institution of slavery (Hayden, 1980-81, 405). Her compromise with the European minority becomes clear when she briefly explains the way the slave traders put the slaves in different lots, “not daring to trust ‘em together, lest Rage and Courage should put ‘em upon contriving some great Action, to the Ruin of the Colony” (37). The separation of slaves was the most usual means for slave traders to break familial and tribal ties among the slaves. In this way, the slave traders made sure the slaves could hardly communicate with each other, thus fragmenting common history, common culture and common memory. The perspective of this ethnocentric narrator contrasts sharply with Olaudah Equiano’s memoirs and his view of the separation of slaves: “In this manner, without scruple, are relations and friends separated, most of them never to see each other again. I remem-

ber in the vessel in which I was brought over, in the man's apartment, there were several brothers, who, in the sale, were sold in different lots; and it was very moving in this occasion to see their distress and hear their cries at parting" (1986, 38). As opposed to Equiano's account, the narrator subdues the slave's perspective only to show her own concern with the safety of the colony.

The narrator's white perspective is equally manifest in the way she dismisses Oroonoko's African name: "I ought to tell you, that the Christians never buy any slaves but they give 'em some Name of their own, their native ones being likely very Barbarous and hard to pronounce, so that Mr. Trefry gave Oroonoko that of Caesar" (40). As we can see, the inclusion of Oroonoko in the white text implies his exclusion as African. In rejecting Oroonoko's "barbarous" name, Trefry, Oroonoko's master, manages to erase the African's past. He becomes *tabula rasa*, ready to be reborn in the white community with a new name. This new name, Caesar, imposes upon the black character the quintessential Western culture and gives him, in a way, a new past. Far from the naive act of re-naming which the narrator describes, by naming Oroonoko, Trefry—as namer—takes possession of the named and fixes him "as irreversibly other" (Benston, 1984, 152). The white perspective is equally identifiable when the narrator describes the civility with which Trefry treats Imoinda, whom he happened to purchase after she was sold into slavery by Oroonoko's grand-father. As he listens to Trefry and his infatuation with his beautiful slave, Oroonoko wonders at Trefry's restraint and cannot understand why Trefry, being the master, does not oblige his slave to yield, as was usual. Trefry's words ("She disarms me with that Modesty and weeping ...") sound indeed too idyllic to benefit plantation life and the sexual exploitation of female slaves by their masters in order to increase the slave population.

Notwithstanding the idealized atmosphere of the plantation and the fact that Surinam and the soft and easy fetters of slavery provide the setting for the union of Oroonoko and Imoinda, Oroonoko becomes restless about their condition as slaves. Especially so when Imoinda "conceived with Child," since the children follow the lot of the parents. Oroonoko tries to buy his freedom and in order to carry out this peculiar transaction which would give him back the possession of himself, paradoxically, offers Trefry "either gold, or a vast quantity of slaves" (45). We find no authorial comment about this equation of slaves and gold, nor about the fact that an African slave intends to be free through the enslavement of more Africans. Ironically, shortly after Oroonoko offers Trefry a vast number of slaves to purchase his freedom, there spreads throughout the English colony the fear that Oroonoko, aided by three hundred African slaves, was preparing a slave revolt. Once more, the authorial perspective, as part of the European minority threatened by the overwhelming number of black slaves, is clear in her description of uprisings as "ill Examples [which] have very fatal consequences often times, in many colonies" (63). No analysis of the real causes of slave revolts appears in the text, only the common view among Europeans that a successful insurrection would mean "an appalling world turned upside down, a crazy nonsense world of black over white, an anti-community which was the direct negation of community as white men knew it" (Jordan, 1968, 114).

Fearing a violent outbreak, the narrator is chosen to pacify Oroonoko by inculcating in Imoinda and Oroonoko further aspects of Western civilization: "I entertained them with the Loves of the *Romans*, and great Men, which charmed him to my Company; and her, with teaching stories of Nuns, and endeavouring to bring her to the knowledge of the true God" (46). Oroonoko's nature, however, is not completely "tamable" and the narrator's words cannot prevent the uprising. Paradoxically, Oroonoko forgets his past as slave-holder and makes a harangue to his fellow slaves about the miseries and ignominies of sla-

very (60). If the whites were the representatives of the superior culture Oroonoko imitated in the past, in his words to the rest of the slaves the Europeans are no more than something below the wildest savages, they are just a degenerate race who knows no human virtue. After the uprising failed, Oroonoko, who was promised freedom, was whipped “like a common slave” (68). He confirms his suspicions about the white man’s treachery and, like a deceived Caliban, only harbours revenge. The wildness which was silenced and erased throughout the text finally comes to the foreground, as if that alleged “perverse nature of the Negro,” which was supposed to break out at one point or another, had finally erupted (Bosman qtd. in Jordan, 1968, 26). The noble savage in Behn’s text thus turns into a wild man. From the European perspective the wildness manifests itself in Oroonoko’s design, which would start with the killing of Imoinda—and their unborn child—, of their enemies, and of himself. But this act of savagery or wildness can be viewed as well as an act of re-possession of his wife, of their child and of himself, as an effort to reclaim everything they had lost to slavery. Oroonoko’s killing of Imoinda is not only a monstrous act, as the Europeans would think, but also the only way to be sent back to their country, for that, as the narrator explains, “was their notion of the Next World” (72).

In order to effect this re-possession of the self, however, Oroonoko has to turn away from the image of the Noble Savage—which the narrator was trying to inscribe in the text—and return to the image of the wild man, that latent essence which the narrator attempted to eradicate. As opposed to the gallant and courtly gentleman Behn describes in the first pages of the novel, Oroonoko now turns into a mad Moor like Othello, a monster who has murdered his wife (74). When Oroonoko’s European traits of beauty disappear, only those traits which reveal him as an African remain: “he was now so altered, that his Face was like a Death’s-Head black’d over, nothing but Teeth and Eye-holes” (76). Thus transformed into the opposite of her topic, the narrator abandons Oroonoko as if she had assumed her failure in the inscription of her character: “His discourse was sad; and the earthy smell about him so strong, that I was persuaded to leave the place for some time, (being myself but sickly, and very apt to fall into Fits of dangerous Illness upon any extraordinary Melancholy)” (76). The narrator dissociates herself from her character unable to maintain the tensions she had wrought throughout the story: her ethnocentric perspective and her desire to talk about “the other”; her intention to create a noble savage out of a wild man; her construction of a myth of blackness as she deconstructs the Negro stereotype in Oroonoko; her compromise with a civilization which is able to transform noble savages into wild men. The silences that go into the creation of Caesar out of Oroonoko are finally more powerful than the narrator’s words and seem to oust the narrator, who, as we see, leaves the scene. At the same time that the black subject is inscribed in the white text, he is simultaneously being excluded as “the other.” Behn’s narration is inclusive, but this attempt at including the black character only produces a marginal figure. Oroonoko fails to be successfully portrayed in Behn’s novel not because he had the misfortune to “fall in an obscure world, that afforded only a Female Pen to celebrate his Fame” (40), nor because he was worthy of “a more sublime wit”, as the narrator explains, but because in the midst of all these tensions the African slave evades the representational form.

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Overreaching Flesh and Soul: The Theme of Damnation in Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* and Tirso de Molina's *Don Juan*

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The purpose of this essay is to explore some characteristic and interrelated themes of the drama of the Counter Reformation in Christopher Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus* and Tirso de Molina's *El Burlador de Sevilla y Convidado de Piedra*: among them, special attention is paid to freedom, predestination, reprobation, abnormal sexuality and love, within the context of the subject of damnation.¹ The results of this comparative analysis have confirmed my initial hypothesis: Renaissance and Baroque drama, regardless of national differences, attended the spiritual needs that the tragedy of the religious schism of the sixteenth century had generated. Both, Marlowe in the England of Queen Elizabeth's Protestant restoration and Tirso in Catholic Spain, like Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, Lope de Vega and Calderón, addressed, in quite sophisticated ways, the major moral preoccupations and the feelings of confusion of their age.

In the case of *Dr. Faustus* and *Don Juan*, we immediately perceive both the distance with respect to Lutheran or Calvinist apology of predestination and the links to non-monolithic Catholic tenets. Above all, we encounter a most serious attack on the part of two baroque writers against two typically Renaissance heroes, who are also agonists. Their fall and their damnation constitute an important testimony and warning about the drama of the so-called "modern man", the aspiring overreacher of the Renaissance age. Indeed, the stories of Faustus and Don Juan portray a typically Renaissance world view; its love for transgression, its egocentrism (though not its sheer energy) are objects of severe criticism on the part of the two authors, which is the more puzzling since they come from opposite religious backgrounds.

Dr. Faustus and Don Juan are both blasphemous and sinful, but not atheists. Both are hedonists and represent hedonism, and their heteronomous patterns of behaviour make them overreachers and outsiders in a society they struggle to please and whose admiration they lust after. Both, Faustus and Don Juan, in short, epitomize an overreaching strife against two rather uncongenial sides of the human being, the sensual and the intellectual, while they try to make this world eternal and count on a late and merely nominal repentance to prevent damnation.

These two agonists, very much like Hamlet, are also inveterate procrastinators. Half way between the tragic and the comic, both characters are supposed to have been sent to hell by their respective authors, while both remain foundations of two parallel myths of overreaching that have captivated all audiences and readers ever since their creation.

The comparison of the character Dr. Faustus,² as it is depicted by Ch. Marlowe to that of the first Don

Juan,³ the creation of a Spanish monk, Gabriel Téllez, the outstanding dramatist of the Spanish literary “golden age”, who is known to the world by the pen-name of Tirso de Molina, shows truly outstanding parallels; these also help us identify the real interests of the playwrights and the audiences of the Europe of the late Renaissance.

On the other hand, the appropriateness of the choice of the above versions is backed up at least by two considerations: first, the number of the literary versions of both myths are counted by the tens⁴ and, therefore, the comparison of just two of the versions facilitates the narrowing down of the focus as well as the limitation of the material to a manageable amount; secondly, both plays represent the first extant dramatization of the two myths, and they were written in a time-span of some thirty years: *Dr. Faustus* around 1592, though published posthumously in 1604, and *El Burlador de Sevilla* around 1620, though published later, in 1630).⁵

I. CH. MARLOWE'S *DR. FAUSTUS* AND T. DE MOLINA'S *DON JUAN*: A COMPARATIVE VIEW.

The coupling of these two works may seem striking at first. We tend to picture Dr. Faustus gloomily sitting in his study, certainly not flirting around, but, upon close scrutiny, the Doctor of Wittenberg and Don Juan share more than just tragic ends; all in all, *Doctor Faustus* and *Don Juan* are, from the point of view of genre, tragedies with numerous comic elements, loosely attached in the former while perfectly integrated in the latter: thus the common consideration of *El Burlador de Sevilla* as a “tragicomedy”. Also at the thematic and rhetorical levels, the two characters are connected with each other. Let us briefly explore first these common grounds.

Both dramas tell the tragedy of a human soul; as their very titles suggest, they are, in essence, biographies: the more or less fictionalized history of John Faust, the Doctor of Wittenberg and that of Don Juan, “el Burlador de España” (the Spanish trickster). They also share sources, approaches and themes. In both protagonists we meet legendary prototypes (the libertine and the magician, overthrown by the power of God), which are themselves substantially older than the texts. Both dramas are supposed to be based on the life of a historical character, Georgius Faust or Johann Fust and the Count Leoncio or Juan de Tassis, Count of Villamediana. Both share also a German connection, since Marlowe borrowed his plot from the German *Faustbuch*, while Tirso possibly drew on the script of a 1615 performance of a play, probably of Italian origin and a very similar plot, held at the Jesuit College of Ingoldstad. Soon, our two heroes became universal myths and they began to be imitated, developed, adapted to new times and places, while keeping the essentials of their revolt and the drama of their fall. From 1630 to 1844, sixteen texts developed the tragedy of Don Juan⁶ and the same applies to Dr. Faustus's.⁷

From a thematic point of view, both plots present, and condemn, the Protestant negation of freedom and its subsidiary theory of predestination, which I will discuss below in some detail. Human freedom exists, under the influence of grace and “though eternal election and eternal reprobation do exist, they do not *propter hoc* destroy this human freedom”⁸. Both heroes are epitomes of overreaching, whereas the attack on the concept of limit is typical of the Renaissance world view. This attack—as Hiram Haydn revealed in his book, suggestively entitled *The Counter-Renaissance*⁹ is rooted in the more general concept of *vanitas*; the vanity that results from indulging in one or more, or all, of the three *libidos*—*libido sciendi*, *libido sentiendi* and *libido dominandi*—is undoubtedly a central issue in Marlowe's and Tirso's drama as it was a central issue in the theological and cultural debate of the sixteenth and seven-

teenth centuries. This repudiation of the concept of limit and self-restraint, so typical of this period, reveals itself in a form of *anxiety*; moreover, this anxiety exhorts to break all rules, to trespass –hopefully unwounded– the farthest boundaries of the medieval god-centered, commonly accepted reality. Geographic, political and personal frontiers are thus invaded from the standpoint of human vanity, subtly uttering, once again, the words of the Evil Angel: *Non serviam*. Both in *Dr. Faustus* and in *Don Juan*, vanity is present in a rather paradoxical way, since their tragic outcome invites us to take it as a fideist admonition against any epistemological system that ignores or denies the impending reality of death as well as as a proclamation of the infinite value of human actions on this earth. Nevertheless, at the same time, these two works document a revolt that frees the conscience of the mortals of its ties in a final affirmation of autonomy and sovereignty.

In *Dr. Faustus*, we can also see the negation of the medieval intellectual game of the *disputationes*: he learns nothing from Mephostophilis that he did not know before the pact, while the pendular movement epitomized by the angels only helped to shape the exact nature of his choices. In *Don Juan*, whose conscience is clearly disembodied and transferred to his servant Catalinón, we can easily grasp how the mediaeval ‘game of war’, as the mode of expression of manhood, is substituted by the ‘game of tricking women’, whereas the sword becomes for him, as for many others, a mere ornament.¹⁰ We have suggested that the two plays explicitly portray a moral and are, to a large extent, didactic in purpose; to this, we must add that the two heroes are condemned, not for unbelief (that was the case in Tirso’s *El Condenado por Desconfiado*, *Condemned for Unbelief*), but, on the contrary, they are condemned for excessive belief.¹¹ Faustus thought he could repent at the very last moment, after his twenty-four years of diabolic worship; in the same manner, Don Juan believed he could count on a last-hour recantation to secure himself a free ride to heaven, while his life was being constantly devoted to evil doings and flamboyant pride. In the very last minute they both try in vain to repent: “I’ll burn my books!” (V, iii, 191), (the external sign of repentance of magicians) are the last words of Faustus. Don Juan’s final demand is “Deja que llame / quien me confiese y absuelva” (III, 2768-9). The didactic nature of both plays is emphasized by the appearance of the Chorus in *Dr. Faustus* and the Singers in *Don Juan*:

“Chorus. Faustus is gone. Regard his hellish fall,
Whose fiendful fortune may exhort the wise
Only to wonder at unlawful things,
Whose deepness doth entice such forward wits
To practice more than heavenly powers permits.” (V, Epilogue, 5-8).

“Cantan. Adviertan los que de Dios
juzgan los castigos grandes,
que no hay plazo que no llegue,
ni deuda que no se pague. [...]
Mientras en el mundo viva,
no es justo que diga nadie:
¡Qué largo me lo fiáis!,
Siendo tan breve el cobrarse.” (III, 2731-4 & 2739-42).

They both defied hell, and not just once but several times: “Si fueras el mismo infierno la mano te

diera yo” is Don Juan’s answer to Don Gonzalo in his first meeting with the statue in the third act. Also Faustus dares to disdain hell and its pains in front of an irrefutable evidence and trustworthy testimony of its reality: “Dr. Faustus [to Mephostophilis]: Come, I think hell’s a fable. [...] / Tush, these are trifles and mere old wives’ tales. [...] I’ll willingly be damned here.” (II, i, 130; 138 & 142).

Besides, Dr. Faustus –in contrast to what a superficial reading of the text might suggest– is never truly interested in real knowledge. He disposes of the whole corpus of science and arts, from medicine to theology, with a couple of poorly quoted citations in the opening scene of the play and proves to be interested only in gold, guns and girls. Don Juan, in turn, just concentrates on girls, but is unable to give and/or receive the gratifications of sensual love. He never falls in love; his only business is to trick women, to possess them and flee from them in search of more and more *females* to add to his list. Against common assumptions about this issue, women do not fall in love with him either; only Tisbea, out of sympathy and pity for the shipwrecked nobleman, felt the fire of love and passion towards Don Juan: “Por más helado que estáis, / tanto fuego en vos tenéis / que en este mío os ardéis.” (II, 633-635)¹². The rest of the women in the drama are simply abused with forging and marriage vows. While both heroes long for an ideal of womanly perfection, soon after the pact with the devil, Faustus discovers little, if any, sexual gratification and Don Juan is forced to fly from affair to affair as a toy in the hands of women who often are quite like him, if not worse. Faustus admits that he is “wanton and lascivious and cannot live without a wife” (II, i, 144-5). Mephostophilis then brings a succubus, disguised as a whore, since he understands the true nature of the request, beyond the self-contradictory terms used by Faustus. He can have no wife, because he cannot love. He, like the Greeks depicted in Plato’s *Phaidros*, 228, a), demands sexuality without love; he demands maximum pleasure with minimum personal commitment. Eroticism has no place in the universe of Faustus and Don Juan. The only *reasonable* choice for Faustus and Don Juan is the *areté*. Faustus summons the ghost of Helen of Troy, one more succubus readily provided by the devil, in the first place, not because he desires her but rather to please the scholars’ request: “It is not Faustus’ custom to deny / The just request of those that wish him well”: (V, i, 20-1). What he longs for is a sick definition of fame, that all pervading euphemism that lies at the very root of pride and vanity. Eros, alienated from sex, turns Helena into a mere abstract means, whose fame will pass onto Faustus, once he has paid the price, that is, once he has given his soul away. The beauty of the “soul-in-the-kiss” conceit contrasts with the simultaneous annihilation of Faustus through the brutal extirpation of his soul.

As in the case of Dr. Faustus, there seems to be something terribly abnormal in Don Juan’s psyche. They are like adolescents who have failed to grow up. Surely Faustus has been unable to establish any mature relationship with any member of the opposite sex: he needs the devil to procure a wife for him; and he gets little, if anything at all, neither then nor later with Helen of Troy. According to Gregorio Marañón,

“Don Juan lives obsessed by women, and runs from one to the next without ever staying with any of them; and this not because none of them please him...on the contrary, because his rudimentary instinct is satisfied with any of them... princess or fisher-girl.”¹³

Furthermore, in the affairs of Don Juan, critics have often found an “enchanted devilish virtuality inherent to “donjuanism”¹⁴, the difference with the case of Dr. Faustus is just one of explicitness, as the episodes with Tisbea, the fisher-girl, openly manifests.

Truly, there is no sense of joy, either in the Doctor or in the Don. The latter just hunts and destroys women for the sake of fame, i.e., pride and vanity. He is interested neither in sex nor in love: the trick and his reputation as the trickster of Spain is all that counts; so much so, that, when Catalinón indulges in the pleasures that await his master, he can only think of the lie, the successful accomplishment of the trick: "Catalinón: Vamos, / y al fin gozarás su dama. [Doña Ana] Don Juan: Ha de ser burla de fama." (II, 420-2).

Our protagonists also share their characterization as devilish figures. Elsewhere, I have explored at length the possibility that Marlowe may be reporting a case of diabolic possession in his *Dr. Faustus*¹⁵. Devils become his only companions early in the play. Don Juan too is characterized with devilish traits. He indulges in perjury, making constant marriage vows in the name of God, without any intention to fulfill them. While Faustus swears in the name of Satan and signs a blood-compact with the devil, Don Juan is considered a possessed man, almost himself a devil, by those who are close to him. See, for instance, Catalinón's remarks in II, 1772-3: "Desdichado tú, que has dado / en manos de Lucifer!". Later, when he breaks into Aminta's quarters and she protests because he comes around midnight, the hour of witches, Don Juan answers back: "Estas son las horas mías" (III, 2007). The devil is the Father of all lies and the two texts we are comparing are not exactly scarce as far as falsehood is concerned. They both begin with a lie: a double lie about the true identity of the lover and about his real intentions:

"Isabela: Duque Octavio, por aquí
podrás salir más seguro.

Don Juan: Duquesa, de nuevo os juro
de cumplir el dulce sí." (I, 1-4).

Faustus' first appearance on stage also portrays a lie, about which the reader learns towards the end of the play. Dr. Faustus is reading from the Bible and other books and the devil confesses, at the end of the play, that he turned the leaves so that Faustus could not read about Redemption:

"[...] When thou took'st the book
To view the Scriptures, then I turned the leaves
And led thine eye." (V, ii, 99-101).

Moreover, both, like Hamlet, are inveterate procrastinators. Ever delayed repentance stands as a central motif in both plays, while the excuse remains always the same: "Tan largo me lo fiáis" ("How much time you are granting me"), in the case of Don Juan and, in the case of the Doctor of Wittenberg: "So he will spare him four-and-twenty years / Letting him live in all voluptuousness" (I, iii, 93-4). The twenty-four years of Faustus' pact with the devil quickly pass away and then he asks that "time may cease" (V, ii, 69) or that eternity be temporal: "Impose some end to my incessant pain" (V, ii, 101). Also Don Juan has tragically miscalculated the time for repentance and death has taken him aback. He begs Don Gonzalo to let him call someone to hear him in confession and give him absolution; but the time is now expired.

There is a sense of poetic justice in the death of the two heroes, who bring along with them a symbolic punishment for all the overreachers of their age. Certainly the punishment suits the sin: Don Juan's actions demand his death; he who provoked the fire of love in the women he deceived dies by fire: "¡Que me quemo, que me abraso, muerto soy!" (III, 2771-2); he who asked for so many hands in marriage dies shaking hands with Don Gonzalo, the living statue representing God's wrath, the very same God that looks so fierce on Faustus in the final hour of the tragedy. Human powers, such as the king in *Don Juan* and the

scholars in *Dr. Faustus*, have failed to restore order, so both characters are left to God's justice and to peoples's censure.

II. JUSTICE, TIME, FREEDOM AND PREDESTINATION: THEOLOGICAL CONFLICTS AND THE INTELLECTUAL MILIEU OF *DR. FAUSTUS* AND *DON JUAN*.

Dr. Faustus's and Don Juan's fate proves that faith does not suffice without good works. Criticism on the former has often taken for granted that Marlowe allied himself with the most extreme representatives of English Calvinism on this and other related issues. However, his plays, and this is particularly evident in *Dr. Faustus*, reject the Calvinist doctrine of predestination. Indeed the tragedy of the doctor of Wittenberg not only demonstrates, in Miss M.M. Mahood's words, "humanism's self-destructive nature",¹⁶ but also upholds Augustinian liberal theology as presented in *De Libero Arbitrio*. One must take into account that Marlowe's Cambridge was the center of an intense debate on free will and its ancillary issues of predestination and reprobation. Peter Baro, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity made himself a lasting reputation for his challenge of the dominant, orthodox Calvinistic doctrines, represented the year Marlowe joined them by Robert Norgate, Master of Corpus Christi College. Marlowe himself, while at Cambridge and later in his life in London, was often accused of Catholicism and *poperie*. It can reasonably be argued that he was a spy, but it is more difficult to know, in the light of his biography,¹⁷ who he worked for, i.e., whether he was just an agent of Queen Elizabeth or a double agent, working for the Catholics. The root of the problem, in England, lies in the interpretation of article XVII in *The Book of Common Prayer* ("Of predestination and election"), where the apparent contradiction of God's omnipotence and omniscience and human free will is solved by the affirmation of the former tenet and the relativization of the latter. Indeed Faustus interprets God's promises in the opening scene "in an ultra-Calvinist manner",¹⁸ but we later learn that this was the only reasonable thing to do, since the devil had turned the leaves and led his eye. He did not read about the importance of grace; this is why all his biblical citations are corrupt and half quotations. Faustus was Marlowe's creation, possibly designed to be punished with death to show the absurdity and despair that the very thought of an enslaved humanity was bound to produce. This was first envisioned, in the context of the Reformation, by Luther in his *De servo arbitrio* (contradicted by Erasmus in his excellent *De libero arbitrio*), but the issue is a universal one, conclusive solution of which is never likely to be found. Anyway, the important point is that Marlowe reached Cambridge at a moment when this issue was being almost infinitely disputed; in the light of Marlowe's reputation, we can picture him closer to Baro than to Master Norgate, who tried to deprive him of his Master degree. Marlowe was indeed heterodox in an intellectual context in which orthodoxy meant Calvinism and Catholicism was the political, military and intellectual foe.

Faustus' damnation occurs, according to Marlowe, not because he is a reprobate but because of his actions and inactions throughout his life; repentance, grace and salvation are always at hand, but Faustus is at ease in the realm of sin and will not repent. Death is preceded by what is, from an objective point of view, a mortal sin: despair is the direct consequence of presumption, of vanity, a sin against the Holy Ghost, the only sin that cannot be forgiven, since it shuts the door of redemption by negating its ontological possibility. Faustus seems to believe his sin to be too grave to be forgiven by God and, when his

attempts at repentance come, they look absurd and inconceivable. He has recreated God to his own image, with his own limitations and He is no help at all. The intervention of the Old Man—the only trustworthy human being on stage as well as Faustus' exact opposite—is illuminating in this respect:

“Old Man. Accursèd Faustus, miserable man,
That from thy soul exclud'st the grace of heaven
And fliest the throne of His tribunal seat”. (V, i, 112-4).¹⁹

In the case of Don Juan, the situation is astonishingly similar. The Council of Trent had clearly stated its position against Luther and Calvin. H.W. Sullivan summarizes it in this way:

“There exists a possibility of salvation for all men, based on the salvific will of God. Human freedom exists under the influence of any form of grace, and though eternal election and eternal reprobation do exist, they do not *propter hoc* destroy this human freedom. Predestination to glory occurs without God's foreseeing man's merits (*ante praevisa merita*), although it implies divine foreknowledge of man's cooperation with grace; reprobation occurs after foreseen demerits (*post praevisa demerita*). In any case, no one can have any natural certainty that he is saved or damned”.²⁰

Nevertheless, the question was far from closed and heated debates took place in the last quarter of the sixteenth century and in the first half of the seventeenth, in an attempt to define how grace operated without annihilating human freedom. There were basically two sides in this controversy, as far as Spain is concerned: on the one hand, we have the Molinists, supporters of Luis de Molina and his *Concordia liberi arbitri cum gratiae donis* (1558) and, on the other, the Zumelists, who embraced the followers of the Mercedarian Francisco Zumel and those of the Dominican Domingo Bañez. Crossed accusations before the Holy Inquisition did not solve the problem and, in a few years, the Dominicans began systematic accusations of Pelagian heresy against the Jesuits, while the latter fired back with accusations of Calvinism against the former. Tirso de Molina's theological stance in this debate has been analyzed by Karl Vossler and by Menéndez Pidal²¹. According to these two critics, Tirso followed Francisco Zumel, and thus counted himself among those who had to fight charges of Calvinism. Indeed, Marlowe is supposed to be a Calvinist but, we have learned, he is, at best, an heterodox one, possibly bent towards Catholicism, at least as far as the issue of freedom and predestination is concerned; Tirso, in turn, is a Catholic with, may be, some Calvinist leanings. They probably meet, in this issue, at the centre of the theological spectrum.

Don Juan, like Faustus, is the epitome of the Renaissance man, and it is appropriate that they both die in the hands of two baroque authors, Marlowe and Tirso, because they represent the tragic nature of the modern man. Don Juan's world is a world confined in the chronological present, a present that they (D. Juan and Dr. Faustus) want to make everlasting, in this world. However, the two plays are about death, God and the afterlife, embodied in the statue of Don Gonzalo, “el Convidado de Piedra”. Don Juan, we have seen above, is extremely human, but also a diabolical character. He is first presented to us in a ghostly shape: “Who am I? A man with no name” (I, 15). His uncle too thinks Don Juan is a devil: “pero pienso que el demonio / en él tomó forma humana”. However, Don Juan considers himself invulnerable, in his negation of time, of justice, of eternity. The opposition freedom / determination of Marlowe's Dr. Faustus becomes, in Tirso, the opposition between God's mercy and God's justice. Don Juan is aware of his evildoings; his outer conscience, Catalinón has warned him at the very cli-

max of the drama and he has never contemplated repentance:

“Don Diego: [...] Mira que, aunque al parecer
 Dios te consiente y aguarda,
 su castigo no se tarda,
 y que castigo ha de haber
 para los que profanáis
 su nombre, que es jüez fuerte
 Dios en la muerte.
 Don Juan: ¿En la muerte?
 ¿Tan largo me lo fiáis?
 Hay de aquí alá gran jornada.” (II, 1438-46)

Faustus and Don Juan, facing the end of their days on this earth and the birth of the eternal state of being, fall into doubt and into the contemplation of the essence of horror. They wanted to live as if death did not exist, and they came to discover that was a dreadful choice. Don Juan seems now the product of the metamorphosis of the Doctor of Wittenberg. Faustus' philosophy of death is brilliantly summed up by one of the scholars: “He is not well with being ouersolitary”. The forms of Faustus' fortunes are the forms of Faustus' solitude. In the same way, the forms of Don Juan's fortunes are the ultimate form of his solitude, surrounded by women, and still forever alone...

NOTES

¹ This paper is based on my lecture “The philosophy of life and death in Ch. Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* in relation to the myth of Don Juan”, delivered at the Arts Center, Nazareth College of Rochester, N.Y., U.S.A., January 29th, 1991. I have also explored the Baroque elements in Christopher Marlowe in my Ph.D. dissertation: “Forms of Faustus' solitude: humanist themes and conventions of the Italian Renaissance in Christopher Marlowe's *The Tragical History of the Life and Death of Doctor Faustus*”, Università di Bologna-Reale Collegio di Spagna, 1988. More recently, in 1993, my colleague and friend Prof. Dionisia Tejera presented an excellent paper, entitled “Dr. Faustus and Don Juan: two Baroque heroes” at the Fourth annual Meeting of SEDERI, held at the University of Las Palmas. See: Tejera, D. 1994: Dr. Faustus and Don Juan: two Baroque heroes. *SEDERI* IV: 243-250.

² All quotations are taken from: Bevington, David & Rasmussen, E. eds. 1993: *Christopher Marlowe. Doctor Faustus, A- and B-texts (1604, 1616)*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

³ All quotations are taken from: Fernández, Xavier A. ed. 1982: *Tirso de Molina. El Burlador de Sevilla y Convidado de Piedra*. Madrid: Alhambra.

⁴ See: Smeed, J.W. 1975: *Faust in Literature*. London: Oxford U.P. Smeed, J.W. 1990: *Don Juan. Variations on a Theme*. London: Routledge. J.W. Smeed has dealt with this problem of multiplicity of versions in different genres; see the following pages of the latter book: ix-xi, 1-21, & 75-90.

⁵ Their respective dates of composition are difficult to establish, but we can confidently assume that they are no less than seventeen years and no more than thirty-six years apart: *Dr. Faustus* was written either in 1588-9 or just before his death in 1593. *El Burlador de Sevilla y Convidado de Piedra* was written either in 1610-1615 or later in 1620-1624.

⁶ Giacinto Andrea Cicognini, *Il Convitato di Pietra* (before 1630). Dorimon and Villiers, two different versions of "El Convidado de Piedra" (1658-9). Molière, *Don Juan ou Le Festin de Pierre* (1655). Alonso de Córdoba, *La Venganza en el Sepulcro* (1660-1670). Rosimond, *Le Nouveau Festin de Pierre ou l'Atbéé Foudroyé* (1669). Thomas Shadwell, *The Libertine* (1676). Andrea Perrucci, *Il Convitato di Pietra* (1678). Carlo Goldoni, Don Giovanni Tenorio, ossia dissoluto (1736). Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Don Juan ossia dissoluto punito*, opera with a script by the Italian Lorenzo da Ponte (1787). Hoffman, *Don Juan*, (prose), (1812). Lord Byron, *Don Juan* (poem), (1812-1813). A. Dumas, *Don Juan de Marana* (1836). José de Espronceda, *El Estudiante de Salamanca* (1839). José Zorrilla, *Don Juan Tenorio* (1844).

⁷ See vol. I of my above quoted dissertation and Smeed, J.W. *Faust in Literature*, *Op. cit.*

⁸ Cfr. Sullivan, H.W. 1981: *Tirso de Molina and the Drama of the Counter Reformation*. Amsterdam, Rodopi, p. 29.

⁹ See Haydn, H. 1961: *The Counter-Renaissance*. New York, Atheneum.

¹⁰ About this, see Mandel, O. 1963: *The Theatre of Don Juan*. Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, p. 39: "Here is where the Cid makes way for Don Juan. He becomes a glamorous predator. When he robs men of their women, he also robs them of their honor, a feat he had once been forced to perform on the battlefield. When a man can obtain in the boudoir glory, victory, admiration, in addition to erotic pleasure, the times are ripe for Don Juan".

¹¹ See Wilson, W.M. 1969: *Spanish Drama of the Golden Age*. Oxford: Pergamon, p. 116-7.

¹² Don Juan, on his part, as Ramón Pérez de Ayala has rightly suggested, does not love; he is, at best, loved by women: "[...] it is a curious paradox that the most manly of all lovers, entertainer of numerous women, can also be thought to be himself the mistress of innumerable gallants, since they are women that pursue him and fall in love with him, while he never falls in love with them. No one moves his heart or his memory [...]" Cfr. Pérez de Ayala, R. 1964: *Las Máscaras*. Buenos Aires, Espasa-Calpe, p. 751. He is quoted by Kattan Zablah, J. 1972: *Don Juan de Tirso de Molina a José Zorrilla*. San Salvador, Ministerio de Educación, p. 20. For a more detailed analysis of this point, see pp. 11-31. The translations, when not stated to the contrary, are working translations of mine used for my above quoted lecture.

¹³ Marañón, G. 1960: *Don Juan*. Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, p. 75.

¹⁴ Cfr. Pérez de Ayala, R. *Op. cit.*, p. 339. See also, Smeed, J.W. *Op. cit.*, p. 80: "With the growing tendency to link Don Juan with Faust, this developed into the more concrete notion of a pact with the Devil, similar in general terms and conditions to Faust's, but altered to fit Don Juan's particular desires. Faust, it will be remembered, is served in a variety of ways: the Devil answers his questions, provides him with wine, women and song [...]. To adapt this agreement to Don Juan's needs, all that is necessary is to concentrate the Devil's services on procuring women and providing means of escape when danger threatens. The basic agreement (eternal soul as payment for temporal services) is common to both models".

¹⁵ Martínez López, M. 1989: Marlowe's Faustus at the crossroads: Medieval elements and diabolical games. Martínez, M. ed. 1989: *Literature, Culture and Society of the Middle Ages*. Barcelona, PPU, p. 2680-2691.

¹⁶ Cfr. Mahood, M.M. 1950: *Poetry and Humanism*. New Haven, CT., Yale U.P., p. 21; quoted by Campbell, Lily B. 1952: Doctor Faustus: a case of conscience. *PMLA* 67: 219-39. About the question of free will, see also: Eriksen, Roy T. 1987: *The Form of Faustus' Fortunes. A Study of the Tragedie of Doctor Faustus (1616)*. Oslo, Solum Forlag-Humanities Press, p. 27-57.

¹⁷ See my book: Martínez López, M. 1995: *Y Seréis Como Dioses. Estudio sobre Christopher Marlowe y Doctor Fausto*. Granada, Universidad, p. 31-75.

¹⁸ Cfr. Eriksen, R.T. *Op. cit.*, p. 30.

¹⁹ Eriksen has put it nicely in his above quoted work: "Marlowe provides an illuminating example of this idea when Mephostophilis confesses his inability to touch the Old Man's soul: "His faith is great, I cannot touch his soule / But what I may afflict his body with, / I will attempt, which is but little worth" [1860-62]. Since this confession follows imme-

diately upon Faustus's "unjust presumption" against Lucifer and the ensuing renewal of the compact (1852-53), Marlowe makes it absolutely clear that Faustus chooses evil by his own free will. He therefore acts according to the code of the world of "experience" when he surrenders his soul to Lucifer in order to escape physical pain, whereas the Old Man, whose faith triumphs over "vile hel" (1383 A), acts in accordance to the knowledge of life". Cfr. Eriksen, T.R. *Op. cit.*, p. 41.

²⁰ Sullivan, H.W. *Op. cit.*, p. 29.

²¹ See Vossler, K. 1965: *Lecciones sobre Tirso de Molina*. Madrid. See also Menéndez Pidal, R. 1929: Sobre los orígenes de "El Convidado de Piedra". *Estudios Literarios*, Madrid, 1920.

Possible-World Theories and the Two Fictional Worlds of More's *Utopia*: How Much (and How) Can We Apply?

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The logic behind the notion of Possible Worlds is remarkable for its simplicity: «our actual world is surrounded by an infinity of other possible worlds» (Bradley, Swartz, 1979: 2). The significance of this idea in formal logic is spectacular: the concept of «actual world» should be revised, or included in a superior category (in a «global world», or universe) in order to deal effectively with the issues of meaning and reference of non-existent objects. At least more effectively, we might say, than traditional logic, based on a one-world frame, because this traditional model was extremely indulgent with the notion of «actual world», and at the same time too intolerant with the referential capacity of fictional discourse, or of discourse containing non-actual entities¹. As Lubomir Doležel comments, in this traditional model «the sole legitimate mode of existence is actual existence; the actual (real) world is the one and only universe of discourse» (1989: 222): consequently all attempts to deal with non-factual but perfectly conceivable, possible ideas, beings, states, actions and processes could only be effected with considerable difficulty, when not with open admission of incapacity. Doležel himself (1989: 222-228) has shown that in the end all different attempts cannot avoid important contradictions or special concessions (Russell's «empty terms», Frege's «pure sense», Saussure's «self-referentiality», and «prototypes»).

With the possible-worlds model frame, the mimetic commitment of logic is softened: the actual world, which is just another cultural construct (Eco, 1989: 343), is said to «exist» at approximately the same level² as myriads of other possible worlds already generated by our culture and constantly produced by the imagination of every individual. What is achieved with this strategic decision is a release of formal constraints to deal with imaginary constructs and hypotheses: although it should be reminded, as Umberto Eco does, that «Possible Worlds are cultural constructs but not every cultural construct is a Possible World» (1989: 346), formal logicians are allowed to analyse and evaluate events that have not happened by generating imaginary worlds in which those events *have happened*, and also imagine distinctive rules prevailing in those worlds. What is achieved, at least, is that the idea of a true proposition about Sherlock Holmes is not so embarrassing (Pavel, 1986) for logicians, because there is a formal mechanism to manage it.

All this may not sound revolutionary enough for those used to working with literary fictions, but some practical applications are more pertinent: provided some conditions are met³, all uses of discourse reflecting non-actual states of affairs can be described *as worlds*; this applies to all uses of discourse, not only those formulated in the «actual» world, but also, thanks to a principle of recursive embedding, to states of affairs which are non-actual as perceived by non-actual individuals. A Possible World can be prescribed to

explain every individual's «world-creating and/or world-representing acts as forming beliefs, wishing, dreaming, making forecasts, and inventing stories» (Ryan, 1985: 722). For instance two «semantically unhomogeneous» (Dole žel, 1989: 234) worlds can be postulated to explain the different opinions and reactions of two individuals concerning the same section of the «actual» world, simply by identifying the different rules prevailing in each individual's «*domain*». If we adopt a relativistic, possibilistic stance the notion of semantic unhomogeneity can be conceivable in the actual world: Umberto Eco (1989: 344-5) uses this formal possibility to explain something as simple as a typical commentary in everyday life: when X says that he thought his friend's boat was «bigger than that», X's *world of imagination* contains an object which is different from the object of the *actual world*. In literary fictions, however, the idea looks more prominent: Thomas G. Pavel's notion of «narrative domain» (1980: 105), derived from Possible Worlds, is applied to describe the plot movements of some English Renaissance dramas. Marie-Laure Ryan (1986: 723) shows with an example that comedies of errors are based on making the mutually incompatible knowledge-worlds of characters clash: lists of every character's assumptions (worlds) can be made, and differences explain errors in a precise way.

The application of Possible Worlds to literary fictions should eliminate confusion due to lack of analytical tools: we must concede that method and organization are two positive qualities of these analyses. Perhaps they look less satisfactory if we think that sometimes the preliminary issues addressed (truth value, authenticity, ontological status, phenomenology of reading) are apparently less compelling for specialists in literary fictions than for logicians. Another initial obstacle is that sometimes these analyses look too technical and mathematical: those complex sequences of formulae and matrices may be perceived as too demanding.

Although these obstacles are comparatively trivial, they reflect some transcendental problems. The passage from Possible Worlds Semantics to a Theory of Literary Fictions based on the former, and from that literary-theoretical level to practical applications is far from automatic or mechanical. The first passage cannot be dealt with extensively here, and only a quick glance of the second will be offered. To finish with the first passage let me say that prestigious scholars (L. Dole žel, 1989. T. Pavel, 1989. Umberto Eco, 1989) have assessed the specific conditions of the incorporation of Possible Worlds into Literary Studies, in order to avoid frivolous appropriations. In general they raise many reservations and doubts, as shown in these three aspects:

- a) L. Dole žel (1989: 228-237) specified which three concrete principles of the Possible Worlds model can be useful, and which three qualities are peculiar of fictional worlds.⁴
- b) Approaches to literary fictions, specially those based on Pragmatics have gone further (and faster) than Logic; for instance by granting the possibility of inclusion of «impossible» worlds in this model.
- c) Third, Umberto Eco warns against the tendency to consider the «Possible Worlds» label a synonym or stylistic variant of fictional worlds: not only because «one must distinguish between technical and metaphorical approaches» (1989: 343), but because a specific purpose must be served.⁵

Let us concentrate now on two concrete applications of these theoretical distinctions - the typologies of worlds proposed by Marie-Laure Ryan and Tomás Albaladejo. The main reason for considering them is that they seem to give clear, precise indications on how to identify and organize different ontologies in fictional texts. Instinct says that they could adapt to More's *Utopia*, but it will also say that only in a «weak» or loose

sense:

- a) Marie-Laure Ryan's purpose in «*The Modal Structure of Narrative Universes* (1985) is to offer: a set of systematic and reasonably mechanical procedures for organizing narrative information, locating conflicts, advancing explanations for the behavior of characters, and reducing the text to its most important components. (1985: 754)

Ryan's modal system, «nourished» by several authors (she lists Bremond, Todorov, Eco, Vaina, Pavel and Doležel 1985: 719), is made of rules prescribing the relations among worlds, of transitions between states, and precise instructions ... she even imagines a computer programme performing all these activities. However, the most relevant section here is her distinction of a set of narrative universes:

There is always a privileged *actual world* or *factual domain* (1), to which all characters relate as we all relate to «reality». All other possible worlds are *relative* (2), and they «exist through a mental act of a character» (1985: 720). There are three categories of relative worlds:

– *Representations of the Actual World* (2.1), which allow three kinds: *Epistemic or Knowledge-Worlds* (K-Worlds, 2.1.1), which contain all propositions representing the beliefs and knowledge of characters. *Hypothetical Extensions of K-Worlds* (2.1.2) represent a character's view of possible (future) courses of events and obviously respect the natural laws of the factual domain. *Intention-Worlds* (I-Worlds, 2.1.3) are created when a character commits himself to reaching a certain target by following a certain course of action.

– *Ideal Model Worlds* (2.2) represent the narrative universe as it ought to be. Again, three kinds can be identified: in *Wish-Worlds* (W-Worlds, 2.2.1) various states of affairs and actions are ranked according to their degree of desirability. If we apply «coefficients of desirability» (1985: 727) a range of flexibility is allowed: Ryan considers and supports logically and pragmatically *Consistent W-Worlds* (2.2.1.1), with «stable, well-defined, and realistic desires» (1985: 728), but a lifting of constraints would give rise to impossible *Chimeric W-Worlds* (2.2.1.2). The propositions of *Worlds of Moral Values* (M-Worlds) specify what characters consider good or bad for all the members of a specific group. In *Obligation-Worlds* (O-Worlds, 2.2.3) individuals receive values from the group, and are built on a deontic system.

– Finally, *Alternate Universes* (2.3) are more complete and substantial: For Ryan (1985: 730),

These creations comprise dreams, hallucinations, fantasies, games of pretense, fictions read or composed by the characters, and worlds created through counterfactual statements. Unlike epistemic and model-worlds, these alternate universes are not planets revolving around the actual world of the narrative system, but systems in themselves.

These alternate universes are special because despite their more radical otherness they are still relevant in the actual domain, because «they may assume an epistemic or model function with respect to this world and its surrounding system» (1985: 730).⁶

A detailed list and analysis of this complete range of labels cannot be attempted here, but the possible correspondences of these labels with *Utopia* are obvious: a superficial estimate shows that we can easily identify propositions of the first and third types (where England and Antwerp are narratorial factual domains, and Utopia, obviously, an alternate universe claimed to be factual by its teller Raphael. This still leaves many indeterminate areas, both in the text and in the chart: the conversation held in Peter Giles' garden modulates Raphael's account to such extent that almost all the varieties of groups

2.1 and 2.2 are applicable.

The only obstacle, and a serious one, has to do with one quality of the model that should be reconsidered: the worlds characterized in this modal system should be segregated from the practical-personal sphere privileged by Ryan, and adapted to the social -hypothetical- theoretical function dominant in the conversation held by Morus and Raphael. Of course this estimate of the worlds of *Utopia* should be carried out begging Umberto Eco's benevolence and forgiveness, because what I am sketching is a basically metaphorical, not to say superficial, use of labels, but my point is that the reason is not superficial: with the fictional worlds of More's *Utopia* in mind that slightly «metaphorical» appropriation of the theory is the only possible one, because all notations and distinctions of theory are based on a specific conception of fiction and plot, one in which the basic ingredients are *events acted by individuals*, and not *social ideas discussed in a dialogue*. In other words, Ryan's approach is too factual to accommodate a technical, «mechanical» application of her typology to *Utopia*. This is clearly seen if we consider her «dynamic» presentation of the concept of narrative plot, too clearly split into states and events put in order, where «a narrative plot is a temporal succession of different states of affairs mediated by events» (1985: 717)⁷, and where event is defined as «a process leading to a change of truth value of a state proposition, and forming a possible answer to the question “and then what happened?”» (1985: 717-8). The only systematic way of overcoming the difficulties raised by this unacknowledged specialization of Ryan's typology is to adapt it to the special hierarchy of the action/discussion dichotomy revealed in *Utopia*; another, less systematic solution, is precisely the one suggested here - a free metaphorical play with these productive labels, and perhaps a revision of Morean scholarship, to play at translating well-known distinctions into this metalanguage without indulging in too many technicalities, and to learn from the experience of reconsidering our knowledge of it.

- b) The steps of Tomás Albaladejo's exercise in generation of worlds (*Teoría de los mundos posibles y macroestructura narrativa*, 1986; *Semántica de la narración: la ficción realista*, 1992), are equivalent to Ryan's and consequently our assessment of the applicability of his model parallels previous commentaries. Perhaps the most important difference is that the application of the theory of Possible Worlds is realized through the postulation of a set of world-models, based on their closeness to reality, and so relative worlds lose prominence:

Las estructuras de conjunto referencial ficcionales son realidades ficcionales que construyen los autores de acuerdo con los modelos de mundo. En función de su relación con la realidad pueden distinguirse varios tipos de modelo de mundo... (1992: 52)⁸

Type I is the world-model of reality («instrucciones que corresponden a reglas propias de la realidad efectiva», 1992: 52); Type II is the world-model which is fictional but likely («instrucciones que no son propias de la realidad efectiva, con la que, sin embargo, mantienen una relación de semejanza», 1992: 52); type III is the world-model which is fictional but unlikely («instrucciones que son distintas de la realidad efectiva y que no son semejantes a ésta, de tal manera que proyectan seres, estados, procesos, acciones e ideas que ni son ni pueden ser parte de la realidad efectiva», 1992: 53)⁹.

Again, the instinctive application of this classification to the worlds of *Utopia* is obvious, with a gradual movement from «reality» to «realistic fiction», and then to «fantastic» fiction. However, if we want the application not to be an unacknowledged frivolous appropriation, we have to look for the problems raised, and not all of them are caused by the lack of accuracy of Albaladejo's reality-based, realism-based

distinctions; in *Utopia*, as so many Morean scholars have shown, Thomas More messes up domains. First, the access from a reality-variant to a supernumerary realm (Margolin, 1990) is carefully and confusingly modulated (Blaim, 1983); second, if we try to follow Albaladejo's classification the status of the world of the conversation between Hythlodæus and Morus remains an extremely problematic issue: What type is the world of Peter Giles' garden? Is it so realistic? Let us remember that there are many fictional communities in Book I together with historical instances (Kuon, 1985); in what sense can we decree the impossibility of Utopia? In what sense can we speak of the worlds of the enclosed garden of Book I (Rebhorn, 1976) and Utopia as different layers of reality? The very determination of the kind of world acting as what Albaladejo calls «mundo articulario» (1992: 51)¹⁰, becomes a difficult decision: for instance, it is not clear to what extent Raphael's account of England can be taken as «mundo articulario».

To conclude this assessment with a logic similar to the one employed in my previous commentaries on Ryan's model, the appropriation/application of this theoretical typology has to be metaphorical, but failure to apply mechanically does not imply that it cannot be fruitful. I would complement these classificatory statements of theoreticians, which are often made from top to bottom without acknowledging that some narrative genres are implicitly favoured, with a demand of distinctive Possible Worlds-related rules for works like *Utopia*, for works that give specific instructions on the kind of reality they represent:

Literary texts are semiotic mechanisms for the construction of alternative text worlds. Such constructed [kinds of] worlds possess their own underlying regularities and laws, be they ontological, epistemological, deontic, or axiological. It is only with respect to such textual world-constituting laws that one can formulate the significance (for a specific text world) of human actions and settings, be it moral, psychological, or ideological. (Margolin, 1989: 14).

It should only be added to this that some of the «underlying structures and laws» of text worlds are provided by the model of reality shared by specimens of the same genre. When dealing with alternate universes Marie-Laure Ryan exemplifies it with *Don Quijote*: «the novels read by Don Quixote or by Emma Bovary are selected by these characters as models of the world in which they wish to live» (1985: 730); we should add, as José María Pozuelo shows in his *Poética de la ficción* (1993) that Don Quijote decides to measure the verisimilitude of events, even of his own experience and behaviour, by applying criteria of possibility and decorum inferred from the audience's genre-based, text-based expectations. In the indeterminate world of Morus and Hythlodæus something not too different happens: the quality and the conditions of possibility of the world they «make» depend on the genre and the text they are producing, and on the textual world in which they exist.

NOTES

¹ By referential capacity I mean being able to assign a definite truth value to statements specifying properties of objects. It is evident that when non-existent objects (unicorns) appear in language a one-world, realistic model frame cannot decide what statements about them are true, or better, invalidates the proposition.

² It is extremely difficult to avoid granting the actual world, or some consensus reality (that of the Encyclopedia Britannica for Eco, 1989: 343) a privileged status. Doležel (1989: 229) speaks of the two versions, «actualist» and

«possibilist», of possible-worlds semantics.

³ For U. Eco (1989: 343) there are five technical conditions: the first one calls for some initial consistence («if p is true then non-p is false»); the rest specify the necessity of individuals with properties, laws governing those properties, the possibility of changes of properties of individuals, and the necessity of making an explicit decision concerning the ontological status of Possible Worlds (as real states of affairs or as cultural or «semiotic products»).

⁴ The first three rules are: 1) Fictional worlds are sets of possible states of affairs; 2) The set of fictional worlds is unlimited and maximally varied; 3) Fictional worlds are accessible from the actual world. The specific qualities are: 1) Fictional worlds of literature are incomplete; 2) Many fictional worlds of literature are semantically unhomogeneous; 3) Fictional worlds of literature are constructs of textual activity.

⁵ It is useful to use the notion of PW ... when one refers to a state of affairs, but only if one needs to compare at least two alternative states of affairs. The theory is useful when one asks what would have happened if Julius Caesar did not cross the Rubicon, or whether or not Dumas' Richelieu is similar to the real. If on the contrary one says that Donald Duck is an invention by Disney and that we have few chances to meet him on the Fifth Avenue, one certainly says that Donald Duck belongs to a world of phantasy but no specific Possible Worlds Theory is requested in order to discover or to prove such a triviality. (Eco, 1989: 344)

⁶ Tomás Albaladejo's presentation is less taxonomical (1992: 51):

El mundo que es el referente del texto está dividido en tantos mundos (submundos al estar incluidos en mundos) como personas forman parte del mismo, y cada uno de éstos está a su vez dividido en diversos (sub)mundos: el submundo real efectivo, el submundo conocido, el submundo deseado, el submundo temido, el submundo soñado, el submundo fingido, etc., de un mundo de persona, configurados por la realidad efectiva, los conocimientos,... de éste.

⁷ A fictional text can be summarised by filling retrospectively narrative matrices like this (1985: 717):

SP1	+	+	+	+	–				
SP2	i	i	i	–	+				
SP3	i	i	–	+	–				
SP4	–	+	+	+	+				
etc.	t0	EP1	t1	EP2	t2	EP3	t3	EP4	t4

⁸ It is not a coincidence that Cesare Segre (1985: 253-4) links the notion of utopia to that of world-model:

Cada obra literaria, pero en particular las de carácter fantástico, pone en pie un mundo posible, distinto del de la experiencia (...) La literatura narrativa no hace sino elaborar modelos de la vida humana (...). Los diferentes tipos de ficción se pueden catalogar a partir de los tipos de papel asumibles por un «modelo»: modelo que puede describir la vida humana, puede interpretarla con voluntarias deformaciones y exageraciones, puede ofrecer una alternativa fantástica o proponer una reorganización sustitutiva (la utopía)

⁹ The following step, beyond the scope of this analysis, is a list of seven rules prescribing the combinations between fictional worlds belonging to these three types and the hierarchies resulting from combinations of these (called «ley the máximos semánticos»); finally he enumerates five rules called «restricciones de la ley de máximos semánticos».

¹⁰ Among all the possible worlds which the reader is invited to take into consideration, one receives the special status of being *the* actual world by virtue of the author's decision to make it pass as such. (Ryan 1985:720)

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Hypocrites in Puritan Doctrine

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PILGRIMS

One of the first episodes in *The Pilgrim's Progress* gives the tone of the whole work. The author, sleeping by a cave, sees in a dream a man clothed in rags, turning his face from his own house, a book in his hand and a great burden upon his back. To everyone's amazement, he is preparing to leave his own town, for he knows it to be threatened by the wrath divine. His family and friends refuse to follow him, so he sets out alone (Keeble, 1984). We are not told who this man is. Actually, it is *he*, a vague pronoun that stands for any Christian. He is a Christian who starts a pilgrimage, and teaches thus that everyman should be on the march, stumbling but picking himself up again, because his gaze is fixed upon far horizons which are for ever extending. The translation from a physical or geographical pilgrimage to a spiritual pilgrimage, the pilgrimage of the soul from a state of sin to a state of grace, through multiple temptations, so that the pilgrim can attain salvation eventually, is but obvious. Christian's path is strewn with obstacles: a door to be opened, a hill to be climbed, a dark valley to be crossed in the fear of death, and a fair, rank with the corruption of a world hostile to pure hearts. The road also has its pleasant resting places: the Palace Beautiful, the Delectable Mountains... these rare moments of repose offer the traveller rather the encouragement of a vision than the sweetness of rest. It is a solitary journey. Christian's two companions, Faithful and Hopeful, are really only two other aspects of himself, or a personification of the two most needed qualities for the solitary journey (Talon, 1972).

Christian, shortly after his entering upon the way to life, encounters two travellers, named *Formalist* and *Hypocrisie*, who are on the road by virtue of having *tumbled over the Wall, on the left hand of the narrow way; and they made up a pace to him* (Keeble, 1984: 32). A heated dialogue ensues in which Christian wonders at their access to the road, which is not considered an event of good omen. What is more, their wish to travel to Mount Sion for praise makes their motives as suspect as their origins. Still, they tell Christian *as to Law and Ordinances, they doubted not, but they should as conscientiously do them as he*; and therefore, *we see not wherein thou differest from us, but by the Coat that is in thy back*. To which Christian replied that *by Law and Ordinances you will not be saved, since you came not in by the door* (Keeble, 1984: 33,34). These two are representative of a host of false pilgrims, characters who are actively involved in travelling the way to life and who pose in sundry forms the question of what in fact does constitute taking the Christian way.

Ignorance is another of those false pilgrims, and one who has received the most attention by scholars (Draper, 1927; Hussey, 1949). It is most probable that *Ignorance* is to be seen as a *hypocrite* in the seventeenth century Puritan feeling, at least in their relation to the mystery of divine election. Apparently, and quite contradictorily, *Ignorance* knows Lord's will and practises the commandments of the Law: *I*

pay every man his own, I pray, fast, pay tithes, and give alms, and have left my countrey, for whither I am going (Keeble, 1984: 101). Even so, Christian gives him a severe warning, that *when the reckoning day shall come, thou wilt have laid to thy charge, that thou art a thief and a robber, instead of getting admittance into the City* (ibid.). And *Hopeful* adds these beautiful verses:

Let Ignorance a little while now muse
 On what is said, and let him not refuse
 Good counsel to imbrace, lest he remain
 Still ignorant of what's the chiefest gain.
 God saith, Those that no understanding have,
 (Although he made them) them he will not save (Ibid. p. 102)

The great question is, therefore, that *Ignorance*, even if he knows and practises several things, does not know *the chiefest gain, he has no understanding, and he will not save*.

It is absolutely clear that Bunyan uses an allegorical language, and, as Levin points out (1981), the staple of allegory is personification. The rhetorical function allegory traditionally draws on most is prosopopoeia, which is the activity of making present in a discourse things, or concepts, or people normally characterized by invisibility, or abstraction. Keeble (1988) explains that prosopopoeia is a textual practice of old-fashioned presenting that, just as it was the rhetorical device that sanctioned the presence on stage and in the poem of ancient deities, is, in the case of Christian writers like Bunyan, a recipe for the practice of the presence of God, a method for actualizing the Christianly transcendent. We have already noticed the personification of abstract concepts such as *Hypocrisie, Ignorance*; and, probably with a lesser degree of abstraction, but still not concrete enough, or *invisible people*, concepts such as *Formalist, Christian, Faithful, Hopeful...* and there are many more of the kind in *The Pilgrim's Progress*.

PURITAN DOCTRINE

To assess the true character of the Puritan movement we must free our minds from the present popular use of the term, deriving in large part from the satires directed against Victorian religious hypocrisy. This movement, in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, sought to purify the Church of England from remnants of Roman Catholic Church that the Puritans claimed had been retained after the religious settlement reached early in the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. Or, as Trevelyan put it, Puritanism was the religion of all those who wished either to purify the usage of the established Church from the taint of popery, or to worship separately by forms so purified (Dickens, 1993). Some of these Puritans sought parliamentary support for an effort to institute a presbyterian form of polity for the Church of England. Others, concerned with the long delay in reform, decided upon a reformation by themselves. These, called separatists, repudiated the state church and formed voluntary congregations based on a direct covenant with God. Both groups, but especially the separatists, were repressed by the state authorities and were denied the opportunity to reform the established church. So, they turned to preaching on their own account, and had a very intense religious feeling, believing that conversion was necessary to redeem one from one's sinful condition, that God had chosen them to reveal salvation through preaching,

and that the Holy Spirit, rather than reason, was the energizing instrument of salvation. Conversion of people ought to be the result, which, combined with the doctrine of predestination inherited from Calvinism, should produce a sense of themselves as elect spirits chosen by God to revolutionize history.

Puritanism was a radical form of Protestantism. Much in the same way as one of the chief goals of the Reformation was to sweep away Catholic rituals, the Puritans intended to sweep away the rituals of the Church of England. In their place, Luther, Calvin, and the other reformers such as the Puritans, substituted language, the word of the Bible (Bainton, 1972). The new ritual, so to speak, was reading and interpreting the Bible.

Puritanism, in England as well as in America, was in the main Calvinistic. The Puritans did not simply borrow Calvinism without alteration, although they maintained the central concept of the Calvinistic God, who was a mysterious unknown to mankind:

The object of our faith, as far as His personal character is concerned, is an utter blank to human comprehension; He is a real of mystery, in whom we are sure that all dilemmas and contradictions are ultimately resolved, though just now, we shall never in this world even remotely fathom (Miller, 1956: 51)

In Calvinism, man is immediately confronted with an all-powerful, vengeful God who is beyond human understanding. In other words, Calvin demanded that men should worship and obey God without understanding Him at all. He emphasized the doctrine of election, claiming that God, in His infinite wisdom, predetermined the eternal fate of all men, their salvation or condemnation. Man could only wonder at all this, for it was beyond his reason to understand. All he could know of his fate for eternity and God's wisdom was what he read in the Bible, for *to desire any other knowledge of predestination than what is unfolded in the word of God, indicates as great folly as a wish to walk through unpassable roads, or to see in the dark* (Calvin, Allen, 1813: III, XXI, 2).

It was this concept of God that the English Puritans imported from the Continent and made central to their theological system, although they found that concept too unpredictable and were uncomfortable with God's tyrannical power. They were especially uncomfortable with the doctrine of predestination and election, which in Calvin's theology provided no means for a believer to gain a working knowledge of his eternity and thus subjected him to divine whimsy. This principle provided no grounds for moral action either. In practice, it would be easy for people to take this attitude: "It has already been decided whether I am an elect or not, and, therefore, there is nothing I can do about that". But the English Puritans, who were largely working ministers, felt the necessity for a solution to the dilemma of election and predestination, a solution that would both preserve the power, mystery and majesty of God, and would, at the same time, provide grounds for moral actions. Furthermore, they felt the need to devise some means whereby a believer could gain a working knowledge of his election. This meant that they had to explain and justify God.

To try to find a solution to the dilemma of the doctrine of election and predestination, the Puritans introduced the concept of the covenant of grace, as distinguishable from the covenant of works. It is God who always takes the initiative, who gives the grace of faith, the power to believe. A man can feel the power of God in his heart, and he accepts or rejects that saving power. Thus, in a single semantic stroke, the dilemma of election and predestination was solved, for man can now have the assurance of sal-

vation and a grounds is provided for moral actions. At the same time, the covenant of grace maintains the essence of the Calvinistic God, for, as an initiating agent in the covenant, God's action was voluntary. As a result, much of the writing about God is a curious mixture of contradiction and theological hedging. This is clear in the same fact that the Puritans attempted to describe God, while their basic premise was that He was indescribable, and that the dilemma of predestination and moral actions was solved, while faith was given by God's power, and those who were not given that gift could never attain salvation. A real mixture of contradictions.

Basic to the Puritan conception of God's grace was the idea of original sin. In the Fall the state of complete harmony with God was lost, and now the state of sin is the natural condition of man. In addition, the Puritans demanded that men be constantly aware of their everyday personal sins. A believer was expected to examine his every thought and deed, to scrutinize every sign of his sinfulness, and be worried about resulting God's displeasure.

At the present stage of civilization, for a man of our time, it is almost impossible to comprehend the extent to which a believer was expected to carry this constant examination of his spiritual health. The Puritans were caught up in what Haller (1972:157) calls the *drama of sin and repentance*. Indeed, it is the continual tension between sin and grace that makes up their typical spiritual behaviour. The examination of the soul had to be repeated over and over again, and, after all, they could never be sure about the real inner state in the face of God. Thus, determining whether or not one had experienced God's grace was a very tricky business, and even the most reliable signs of grace and true faith could be thrown into doubt. There was always the fear that Satan was the power behind a feeling, and not God. Furthermore, some believers might be in the hands of the Devil all their life and not know it until too late; they might be convinced that they are on the road to salvation, while actually they are not elect and therefore are on the road to damnation.

It is in the context of doubt and fear, and not knowing whether one is among the elect actually, that the concept of *hypocrisy* is to be placed.

HYPOCRITES

In modern usage, *hypocrite* denotes a person who misrepresents himself to others in an attempt to deceive. In seventeenth century Puritan religion this meaning was one of the three with wide currency, and it was not the most important at all in the doctrinal field. The doctrine of the perseverance of the elect till the last minute rendered especially troublesome the case of those believers who did not persevere; these were lapse, who had experienced only a temporary faith, who had been called, but the calling was ineffectual. In the language of the time, such people were designated *formal hypocrites*, that is, those who deceive others as well as themselves about their true state of grace. Yet, a third category, with no specific name, included those people who, without the intent of deceiving others, through inadvertency, carelessness, or sloth, contrived to remain ignorant of their own true state (Keeble, 1988).

Robert Bolton, in his *Discourse about the State of True Happiness (1611)*, gives his own terminology for the three kinds of hypocrites: *Privie, Grosse, Formal*. The first deceive only themselves, the second deceive others but not themselves, the third deceive themselves and others. According to Keeble (1988), especial attention should be paid to *formall hypocrisie*: it is a frame of heart in which *a man*

doth not only deceive others with a show of piety and outward forme of Religion, but also his own heart, with a false conceit and perswasion that hee is in a happie state (Keeble, 1988:174). A bit later, he takes up the matter of *temporary faith*, and compares the person in such state with the hearer in Jesus's parable of the sower who is likened to stony soil: *some seed fell upon a rock, and as soon as it was sprung up, it withered away, because it lacked moisture* (Lk. 8, 6). Now, such a man is, for Bolton (1611), the *formall hypocrite*, who is there said to believe for a time. The formal hypocrite is, therefore, associated with the temporary believer.

Needless to say that the previous conceptual explanation about *formall hypocrisie* is quite confusing, and it exercised an influence on Bunyan, who apparently is not always constant in using allegorical terminology. Now, on one hand, *formall hypocrisie* is applied to those who deceive themselves and others, but are sincere; they do not want to deceive, but simply they believe they are *in a happie state*, that is, on the road to salvation, but this is not true because they are not among the elect, and in this sense it can be said that they are deceived and that they deceive others who believed it too. In this case, I'd rather use the word *ignorant*, or *Ignorance*, who, we should remember, is a pilgrim whom Christian and Hopeful foretell that he will not be saved because of his lack of *understanding*: Even if he does everything right, he does not understand the real situation, he has not scrutinized his soul properly, he is not an elect. On the other hand, *formall hypocrisie* is associated with *temporary faith*, and in this sense it is better said that the *temporary believer*, *the Formalist*, who is a pilgrim as well, deceives himself and deceives others.

What Bunyan seems to be commending to his readers in his juxtaposing of pilgrims is the closest possible scrutiny of the personal will, of the personal soul. Kendall (1979) explores in Bunyan's England the pastoral response to Calvin's clear teaching about temporary faith. Calvin insisted that even the reprobate might have a calling of a sort, which meant that for a time they would be indistinguishable from the elect; experience shows that the reprobate are sometimes affected by almost the same feeling as the elect, so that even in their own judgement they do not in any way differ from the elect; and the inverse, the elect one might discern that he did not in any way differ from the reprobate. To affirm this was to make problematic the whole matter of Christian assurance. The result was a vision of the church as a mixture, with elect and reprobate side by side in the way, with neither certain how to discern which was which.

As a consequence, the Puritans were in constant anxiety about their spiritual health. They were required to seek God's grace, and when they believed they had experienced it, they were compelled by their doubts to examine that experience over and over to ascertain whether it had really come from God or was a Satanic illusion. It is interesting to note that the Puritan anxiety over their conscience, their continual searching for grace only to question the experience and begin over again, is a pattern that, from a psychoanalytic point of view, may be found typical of neurotic defensive structures. That is not to say that all Puritans were neurotic or to suppose that their religion produced neurosis, or at least not any more than some religious beliefs do today. It is simply an indication that we are dealing with a very developed defensive structure, perhaps necessary for religion to endure, or perhaps necessitated by the fact that religion is more comprehensive in life than any other doctrine.

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For the Love of Gaveston: *Edward II* and Audience Response in Elizabethan England

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I

One of the most typical features of Marlowe's dramatic production is his introduction of tragic characters that resist classification according to conventional typologies. The play *Edward II* is perhaps the most extreme case in point. Instead of a central character, we find at least three (Edward, Gaveston and Mortimer Jr), all of them featuring some kind of evident moral or ideological flaw which would discard them as tragic heroes. Our perception of the characters as negative examples, with whom we have or wish to have nothing in common, would provoke a kind of quasi-brechtian detachment which is inconsistent with the tragic mode, as it would also preclude the development of the effects required for the production of cathartic purification. There is simply no purification when the audience is not cleansed as well, alongside with the characters. And in order for this to occur, the audience must feel committed to a kind of action or a system of values which the central character, the tragic hero, represents in some way.

The vicious circle in which we would find ourselves if we accept this premise could be avoided if we assume that we fail to recognize the existence of these means, and that much of our disorientation is caused by the general conditions in which our response to the play occurs nowadays –conditions that differ significantly from the ones that determined the audience's response to the play in Marlowe's time (see Bense-Meyers 1989:75, 77).

My suggestion is that we should focus on aspects of characterization and behaviour which, for the audiences of the late sixteenth century at least, could have had an even stronger impact than moral presuppositions in the development of emotional and ideological ties with the characters. To do so, we should analyse the way these characters interact with one another and create a particular relational network *on the stage*. This interaction occurs mostly by means of their language, that is, by the things they say to or about one another and above all by the way they say these things. I believe this approach will help us to bring to light the existence of rather subtle compositional strategies, intended, first, to make the audiences see the story as the expression of the confrontation between different socio-ideological positions (the barons vs. the king) based on the issue of the presence of non-aristocratic people in the upper circles of power, then, to make the audience take sides in favour of the king's more liberal attitude –or, at any rate, against the barons' strongly conservative views.

II

The effects of Marlowe's compositional strategies can be better comprehended if we blend some of the principles of literary reception with those of recent pragmatic and cognitive theories regarding the production and effects of interpersonal communication and apply them to the analysis of three closely inter-related phases.

The first one consists in the deployment of strategies leading to the definition, recognition and mutual acknowledgement of each participant's relative positional status or "face". In principle, a speaker's conversational status is primarily determined in relation to the status of the other participants, by means of the application of hierarchical criteria based on each one's social rank or identity; but it should also be considered that this position is but the surface presentation of other, essentially ideological criteria which need to be acknowledged as well by all parties involved (see Kress & Hodge 1979). To give a rather simple example which could nevertheless help to explain my evaluation of the conversations presented in *Edward II*: a king, holding the highest status in society, would also naturally take the leading role in any conversation, while all the other participants would adopt comparatively lower positions and accommodate their behaviour and the nature of their utterances to the conditions resulting from those positions; but the king's role would be accepted by the rest of the participants because he is acknowledged as the representation of values naturally and exclusively associated to a king –not, strictly speaking, because of his mere possession of the title of king. Otherwise, the positions to be held by each of the participants would need to be submitted to negotiations based on the presentation and acceptance of other, more suitable ideological criteria in the conditions in which the communicative exchange is to take place. An indication of the preeminence of ideological over purely social criteria is that, although the roles of each participant are either conventionally preestablished or negotiated in the earliest stages of the conversation, they can also be subjected to fluctuation or renegotiation during the process of the conversation itself, as a result of the imposition of new ideological criteria. So, for example, the conditions of a specific situation may force a king to shift his position to a lower level as he receives a piece of advice provided by someone whom he acknowledges as a much more experienced and therefore wiser man, even if his social rank is much lower than the king's: experience and wisdom would then become the overriding criteria in the definition of their relative positions, for at least as long as they are the ones that the situation requires.¹

In ordinary personal interaction, the process of recognition of the values promoted in the definition of each participant's position is relatively smooth and uncomplicated, due to the existence of a degree of familiarization of the participants with one another and with the context in which the conversation is to be held. However, the problems associated to this process may reach considerable proportions when the conversation is viewed from outside, especially when the person engaged in it is a reader or spectator of a text belonging to a different geographical, temporal and therefore cultural background. Not only are the values underlying a speaker's position subjected to variation in accordance with the conditions in which the conversation occurs; also, they may not be easily perceptible if the reader is not fully acquainted with the conventional markers applied in those particular conditions to express those values. So, for example, the sceptre and crown and the ermine cloak could be recognized by most people as the symbols of royalty,

even if they are not aware of the fact that they stand as allegorical or emblematic expressions of the power, nobility and purity expected in a king. But although these attributes could be carried or worn by any king (or by an actor impersonating a king onstage), their associate qualities may not be embodied by that particular king on all occasions. Furthermore, the number of values attached to a person's status on a particular occasion is even harder to ascertain. Not all of them are conventionally predetermined, nor are all of them made operative under all circumstances, nor equally relevant. Rather, each speaker's position will result from the promotion of a selected number of them, namely those which will help him/her to back up his/her position before the other participants in the particular conditions of the conversational exchange. So the king might choose to appear as a magnanimous or as a cruel ruler, on the basis of his capacity to decide how he should apply the law; or might adopt a paternalistic role, if he chooses to address his subjects as if they were his children; or may even promote the image of the suffering victim of his many duties or obligations. None of these images would surprise the king's subjects, since they would probably confirm their schematic model of kingly behaviour.² This promotion of specific ideological criteria in the process of negotiated adaptations of conversational positions corresponds to the strategies underlying what I would call "positional face". Under different conditions, so will each participant's positional face be defined by different value-systems projected by their behaviour, both verbal and non-verbal.³

The selection of values and their corresponding markers or attributes is an essential resource in a playwright's construction of his characters' identities and in the audience's response to them. As George Rowe has pointed out, the audiences of the Elizabethan period were used to viewing characters as the allegorical, emblematic or figurative expression of specific value-systems, represented by means their iconic and behavioural attributes (1984:449-450). These attributes helped turn them into types; and since the most noticeable set of markers would correspond to their social status, so the characters would be perceived as representations of the social or institutional group they embody, and their behaviour, both verbal and non-verbal, as the illustration of that class and the values underlying these attributes.⁴

The significance of the author's choice of attributes and behavioural qualifications lies in the audience's perception of them as markers of the author's ideological definition of that class. In this sense, the audiences of *Edward II* would perceive Edward, not just as an individual who coincidentally happens to be a king, but as Marlowe's view of kingly behaviour, in the same way as the earls and Gaveston represent his view of the nobility and the commons respectively. The emphasis on the notion of the author's subjective view, rather than on the more or less objective projection of modelic kingly behaviour, would be determined by the extent of divergence or coincidence existing between this projection and the audience's schematic image of what a king should do and say and should not do or say.

The second phase in the development of a conversation consists in the enactment of the strategies of interaction. It is in this phase where the values underlying a person's positional face will be really displayed before all the other participants.

Unlike what happens in ordinary discourse situations, where cooperation and agreement are normally sought, the interaction of characters on the stage is mostly based on a system of oppositional contrasts and alliances which, as Roseanne Potter remarks, are often read as a confrontation of the value-systems represented by each party (1992:19). In fact, the values that really respond to the author's projection of the character's identity will not be displayed until that character is shown in action and until the effects of these actions are shown as well. However this confrontation is not displayed merely for con-

templation. The spectators are expected to take sides and, ultimately, to evaluate the roles played by each of the characters or the parties involved; but in order for them to do so, they must have reached a sort of tacit agreement with the author as to the terms on which this evaluation should be effected. Some of them would be predetermined by shared cultural, social and dramatic conventions; but a great deal of them may need to be elaborated *ad hoc*, following clues provided by the author. In the process, the spectators will temporarily leave aside their own personal value-systems and adopt the one proposed by the author, and in so doing they will “fuse together” and become part of the collective entity known as the audience.⁵ In this sense, therefore, while the performance is in progress, the audience’s evaluation of the characters will be mostly conditioned by the way in which the author makes these characters interact with others, and will assume the view held by the author as to whose positional face is to be considered more acceptable or agreeable, whose should not—even when outside the context of the performance they may hold relatively different views of equivalent positional values (Potter 1992:25).

When undertaken by readers belonging to a different cultural context, the recognition of the author’s point of view in plays like *Edward II*, where there is no explicit dominant value-system (no hero-values) and no voice which could be identified as the mouthpiece for the author’s ideas, may not be an easy task. In such cases, the more significant clues can be extracted from the author’s control of ways in which the characters comply with the relatively stable principles of conversational interaction.

The basic principle requires that once each speaker’s positional face has been defined and acknowledged, no attempt should be made to challenge it by forcing any of them to undertake a hitherto unnegotiated and undesirable line of action. Its essential justification is that what is at stake in the production and reception of these challenging acts (or face-threatening acts, as Brown and Levinson called them) is no less than the progress and success of the conversation, the stability of the community of speakers and, ultimately, the recognition of the values that defined that community and the affected speaker’s face projections. To avoid the risk implicit in a face-threatening act, the speaker can choose from a number of discursive strategies of politeness, ranging from the simple avoidance of the act to a range of more or less indirect expressions (see Brown and Levinson 1978).

While in most ordinary conversations the speakers’ discourse is essentially polite, in literary texts, and in the process of the confrontation between characters, this principle is often violated by one or all of the parties involved. Yet, in terms of an audience’s reception and evaluation of it, impoliteness will not be acceptable, unless its effects are perceived as beneficial for a community whose values would in some way coincide with those held by the audience itself. Without this exception, a violation of this kind would be deemed abusive, and would justify the devaluation of the violator’s own face. It would also entail the development of certain processes of emotional engagement with the victim of the violator’s practices and the disengagement from the violator, with consequences in the promotion or demotion of the value-systems represented by each of them.

This is, indeed, the third of the main compositional resources for the author’s control of an audience’s response to dramatic events and characters and their representative values. By making the audience react to specific manifestations of the characters’ behaviour during the performance of the play, and by forcing that audience to elaborate on the ideological implications of the contrasting positions held by each of the characters on stage, the author will also make the audience consider these ideological implications in a way which would be congenial with his own view of the value systems represented by the characters.⁶ In other words, what the audience would perceive is not just a description of the way these values interact, but a

presentation of the way they should or should not interact, according to the author's point of view. Contrary to what might perhaps be expected, the author's subjective mediation is not a handicap in the presentation of that interaction; rather, it is the means to induce the audience to elaborate their own view of how it should be.⁷

III

In *Edward II*, Marlowe has presented a cast of characters who, from the very beginning of the play, are involved in a confrontation that will place them in two distinctly separate groups. On one side we find the Mortimers, Lancaster, Warwick and the rest of the rebel barons; on the other, Edward, Gaveston, and the Spencers, among other minor characters. Edward's love for Gaveston first, and then for Spencer Jr, and its effects on the government of the realm, seem to be the primary cause of the conflict. It should be obvious for most readers and spectators, however, that this conflict has strong socio-political implications that take it far beyond the mere presentation of contrasting attitudes concerning the practice of love. In 1.4, Marlowe makes it clear that no moral prejudices should be applied in the evaluation of Edward's affective relationship with Gaveston. Believing that Mortimer Jr is upset by these prejudices, his uncle tries to make him see Edward's love in the light of glorious precedents in the history of ancient Greece and Rome. The gist of his speech is that the homosexual relations held by great men did not prevent them from achieving greatness, nor, consequently, should they prevent Edward from being a good ruler. Mortimer Jr's reply is that his uncle has misunderstood the reasons of his attitude:

Uncle, his wanton humour grieves not me,
 But this I scorn, that one so basely born
 Should by his sovereign's favour grow so pert
 And riot it with the treasure of the realm... (1.4.401-404)

What really makes him angry and "impatient" is that Gaveston is "basely born" and yet has been granted favours and privileges that raise him above his condition. For him this is an unnatural action which, when undertaken by a ruler, can only lead to the destruction of both the ruler and the ruled.

In the light of this, we should also understand the apparently paradoxical or inconsistent meaning of the word "love" in Mortimer Jr's "If you love us, my lord, hate Gaveston" (1.1.79) or of Isabella's "Now is the king of England rich and strong,/ Having the love of his renowned peers" (1.4.365-6). As an affection, love cannot be given or taken away on the spot. As the expression of the state resulting from socio-political alliances, it is perfectly possible to shift from love to hate in very short lapses of time. In this sense, therefore, the earls's rejection of Edward's love-alliance with characters who are distinctly non-aristocratic would lead Marlowe's audiences to assume that the real basis of the conflict lies in the confrontation of two socio-ideological stances: on the one hand, the one represented by the earls; on the other, the stance represented by the king in his alliance with the "basely born".⁸ From this point of view, then, the issue that Marlowe submitted for discussion would be whether it is acceptable or not for a king to choose his advisors outside the aristocracy and risk the disruption of the already existing order.⁹

What is not immediately obvious is how Marlowe would want his audiences to react to this con-

frontation. If we accept that the majority of the people that attended the performance of this play in Marlowe's time were also "basely born" citizens (Gurr 1987:72), and that the notion of social promotion was one of the essential principles of the emerging bourgeoisie, then we could guess that these audiences would not be predisposed to sympathise with stances so closely resembling those still held by the Elizabethan aristocracy regarding birth or marriage as the only means to deserve a place in the royal court (Stone 1965:55), whereas they would feel attracted by Edward's enactment of "the values, ideals, and symbolic patterns that comprise a radically nontraditional world view" which made "subjective experience and the pursuit of inner fulfilment... and personal achievement the central categories of individual orientation in the world" (Voss 1982:523). This guess is however by no means undisputable.

It should nevertheless be possible to reach some more definite conclusions if we adopt the critical point of view outlined in section II of this essay and look at the textual and discursive clues provided by the author.

It is my opinion that Marlowe took great pains to feature the characters in each of the confronted sides by means of their use of clearly distinguishable speech modes or sets of utterances. These utterances do not only project an image of the speakers according to their social position, they also display the terms of their relationship with the characters addressed both socially and ideologically. The significance of Marlowe's use of specific speech modes is that they are the means used to feature the characters as Marlowe wants them to be perceived and to induce the audience to see and evaluate them in a way which coincides as much as possible with his own point of view.

IV

Perhaps the clearest illustration of the effects achieved by the dramatic use of specific speech modes can be found in the utterances of the rebel noblemen, particularly in their persistent use of what I have called the aristocratic mode, which seems to be the means used by Marlowe to display his view of the values represented by this class.

The aristocratic mode is represented by the blend of three main speech-act categories: straight or plain commands; evaluative statements concerning other people's positional faces that can occasionally be used as accusations; and strong oaths and other declarations of commitment to a future line of action which at times can be used as threats.¹⁰ All of them have a strong face-threatening potential and, under ordinary circumstances, would require the application of some politeness strategy. The barons, however, use them "bald-on", i.e. in ways which can be perceived as impolite, in most of their conversations with the king and his minions.

To a certain extent, the nature of these speech acts is explained by a coincidence in the speakers' social and conversational status, and above all by the projection of a positional face based on the power which derives from their social and moral superiority. So, Mortimer's commanding utterances can be blunt and straightforward in his conversations with Lightborn, where the latter is given instructions by the earl as to the way to proceed in Edward's murder (5.4.21-46), or with Matrevis, when he is warned not to tell what he knows and to seek refuge abroad (5.6.1-9). From the audience's point of view, however, his use of this mood would be less acceptable in situations in which the addressees are the king's "flatterers", Gaveston, Baldock and the Spencers.

As regards Gaveston, from the very beginning of the play we learn that the earls consider him unworthy of their respect. In 1.1 and 1.2, the focus of their deprecations is Gaveston's moral misconduct; but, for them, the causes of this behaviour lie in the lowness of his social extraction. As James Voss remarks, most of the terms used by the barons to refer to Gaveston throughout the play indicate their contempt for his low birth (1982:520). The term "base" is, in this sense, an appropriate blend in its reference to both social and moral disqualification.

The strength of the barons' accusations is so high, that it is very difficult for the audience to dissociate themselves from the view held by them as regards Gaveston and consider other, more positive options in Gaveston's characterization. It would indeed seem that the audience cannot but justify the barons' evaluation of Gaveston, in the light of his words and behaviour in the play's first scene, particularly his mistreatment of the bishop in 1.1.174-206. Yet it should not escape our notice that Gaveston hits the bishop only when he is told to do so by Edward (see 1.1.177-8 and 186-195). This does not excuse his behaviour, but it does extend the responsibilities to the king as well. However, all the accusations produced by the earls focus exclusively on Gaveston's participation, while the king is excused by his state of bewitchment.¹¹

The earls' predisposition against Gaveston should make us consider whether their contempt could be explained in terms of the prejudices attached to their view of the non-aristocratic classes and their reaction to the challenge to the existing order caused by the access to power of such a "base" man as Gaveston. Indeed, these same prejudices seem to underlie their choice of terms to refer to Baldock and the Spencers. The herald sent to the king in 3.2 compares Spenser Jr to "a putrefying branch/ That deads the royal vine" (3.2.132-3), and Rice ap Howell calls Spenser Sr "the father to that wanton Spenser" (4.5.59) and Baldock "that smooth-tongued scholar", intensifying the derogatory overtones by means of the use of the pronoun "that". And yet, although their words might seem to be justified by their belief in the bad influence they exert on the king, the fact is that, on stage at least, their behaviour towards the king is by no means censurable. Not only do they remain by his side all through the war, also they give sufficient verbal evidences of the truthfulness of their allegiance and love for him. The strategy sought by Marlowe in the elicitation of a specific kind of response from his audiences can be perceived in his choice of the words uttered by Spenser Jr and Baldock before their execution, once Edward has been taken away by Leicester. Spenser's sorrow and Baldock's courageousness are set in contrast, perhaps deliberately, with the plainness of Rice ap Howell's prose speech and the bluntness of his response to the Mower:

SPENCER JUNIOR

Oh is he gone? is noble Edward gone,
Parted from hence, never to see us more?
Rent, sphere of heaven, and fire, forsake thy orb,
Earth, melt to air, gone is my sovereign,
Gone, alas, never to make return.

BALDOCK

Spencer, I see our souls are fled hence,
We are deprived the sunshine of our life.
Make for a new life, man, throw up thy eyes,

And heart and hand to heaven's immortal throne,
 Pay nature's debt with cheerful countenance;
 Reduce we all our lessons unto this:
 To die, sweet Spencer, therefore live we all,
 Spencer, all live to die, and rise to fall.

RICE

Come, come, keep these preachments till you come to the place appointed; you, and such as you are, have made wise work in England. Will your lordships away?

MOWER

Your worship I trust will remember me?

RICE

Remember thee, fellow? what else? Follow me to the town. (4.6.99-116)

That the earls' evaluation of the king's favourites is essentially based on social prejudices is further shown in their insistent refusal to engage in any kind of conversation with them, since this would force them to acknowledge the favourites' right to some kind of respectful treatment, and to accept, if only for the sake of politeness, the titles awarded to them by the king. Leicester makes this sufficiently explicit when Baldock and Spencer Jr are captured:

Spencer and Baldock, by no other names
 I arrest you of high treason here;
 Stand not on titles, but obey the arrest. (4.6.57-58)

Also, when Spencer Sr dares to correct Mortimer—who has used the term “rebel” to refer to him in a speech addressed to the Queen—with the statement that “Rebel is he that fights against his prince,/ So fought not that fought in Edward's right” (4.5.80-81), Mortimer's reaction is to have him taken away and say that “he prates” (4.5.82), showing his refusal to even consider the possibility of any conversational exchange with someone who, for him, cannot speak coherently or reasonably.

But the most radical illustration of this attitude occurs in 2.2.50-85, where, in spite of their explicit commitment to accept Gaveston's presence by the king's side, when the barons are forced to welcome him, they use the third person verbal form (instead of the usual second person) and the titles awarded to him by the king, as if they really acknowledged the presence of the titles, not of the man behind them. Their attitude is perceived by Gaveston as “injurious” and by Edward and Gaveston as abusive (2.2.69-71); so, to respond to them, and once again prompted by the king, Gaveston replies with the accusation that the earls are “glorying in [their] birth” and then refers to himself by his own surname (instead of the first-person pronoun or any of his “aristocratic” titles) in order to stress the fact that his identity as a common man does not contradict the superiority of his thoughts over the “leaden baseness” of the earls:

Base leaden earls that glory in your birth,
 Go sit at home and eat your tenants' beef,
 And come not here to scoff at Gaveston,
 Whose mounting thoughts never did creep so low,
 As to bestow a look on such as you. (2.2.74-78)

Yet, once again, this is all he is allowed to say, because the earls' immediate response is to draw their swords and attack him, in a final display of their refusal to engage in any other kind of interaction with a person who dares to challenge the values that support their status. For the audience, however, their behaviour is probably not justified (they would probably agree with Gaveston's evaluation of it), and would therefore strengthen their perception of Gaveston as a victim of the earls' actions. In this way, the grounds of the barons' attitude towards the commons become less and less stable, to the extent that, by the time the encounter of 4.6 occurs, the audience must have already perceived that the attitude of the barons is mostly conditioned by their prejudices against the social group that Gaveston, Baldock and the Spencers represent.

The tenor of the aristocratic speech mode is not greatly improved in the earls' conversations with the king. Although he should be acknowledged a position of privilege due to his institutional role, in the eyes of the peers his *moral* status seems to be diminished by the corrupting influence of his flatterers and, above all, by his state of dotage, which does not allow him to discern between honourable and dishonourable love and between good and corrupting advice (see 1.1.98-99). These conditions "incense" their spirits (1.1.98) and make them act in such a way that their minds seem to be partly controlled by their emotions, especially by their anger. The first textual evidence of the way their emotions affect their behaviour is given very early in the play, when Edward's speech is interrupted by Warwick who in turns tries and fails to appease Mortimer Jr. The situation is particularly significant because not only is Mortimer's rebellious attitude defined by his anger; also Warwick's violation of the rules of speech-turns, not allowing a speaker of superior rank to conclude an utterance, and his disregard for the potential risk of Edward's threat, disclose a kind of behaviour that seems to be ruled by emotions:

KENT

... Brother revenge it, and let these their heads
Preach upon poles for trespass of their tongues.

WARWICK

O, our heads!

EDWARD

Ay yours, and therefore I would wish you grant...

WARWICK

Bridle thy anger gentle Mortimer.

MORTIMER

I cannot, nor I will not; I must speak;
Cousin, our hands I hope shall fence our heads
And strike off his that makes you threaten us.
Come uncle, let us leave the brainsick king
And henceforth parley with our naked swords. (1.1.116-125)

It would seem therefore that it is their temper that leads the earls to challenge the king's positional authority even before their open declaration of rebellion in 2.2, with straight commands to do things he

is not willing or predisposed to do and threats against him and the kingdom itself, should he not comply with their wishes. For the audience, these are clear displays of unacceptable impoliteness. Their awareness of the influence exerted by the barons' mood in the production of their utterances would in fact increase their negative evaluation.

Their emotions, however, are not so strong as to impair their awareness of the strength of Edward's *institutional* position, which could weaken the force of their commands and might even backfire at them if the king chose to respond to their challenging utterances. It is this awareness that leads them to seek the backup of other sources of authority. So, in their first attempt to dissuade Edward from calling Gaveston forth from France, they invoke an oath made before Edward's father; then, in order to force him to banish Gaveston, they use the authority of the Bishop of Canterbury as a legate to the Pope (1.4.51-53); and, finally, in the declaration of their rebellion, they disclaim any sort of allegiance or duty to the king on the basis of the damage his behaviour has caused to the kingdom, hence on the principle that their allegiance is to the kingdom, not to the person who represents it (2.2.155-199). Only in the first of these episodes do the earls fail to achieve their purpose (Kent manages to present a stronger argument in favour of Edward's decision); but I believe that in none of them is the earls' position sufficiently justified in the eyes of the audience, due, mostly, to the abusive overtones carried by their explicit commands and threats. The king does simply not deserve the treatment given him by such "proud over-daring" people (1.4.47). All their utterances are indicative of their challenging, even militant and military, predisposition against the king, and their disregard for the respect owed to someone who represents the highest institution in the country. In this sense, the declaration of the end of their allegiance to the king in 2.2.155-199 is but the culmination of a state of rebelliousness which Marlowe inscribed in their personalities from the very beginning of the play.

This declaration is expressed by means of a sequence of explicit accusations in which they describe the lamentable conditions of the kingdom and the king's prestige. Yet it should be remarked that they are not merely intended to make the king realize the damage caused by his behaviour. The existence of other purposes is disclosed by the sudden shift in their choice of address forms from the more respectful "you", "your majesty", or "my lord" to the clearly emotional and derogatory "thou".¹² This shift is the clearest indication of their state of rebellion, as it shows that they have just demoted Edward to a category equivalent to that of the "base men". Strategically, the demotion is necessary: in order to invest their behaviour with some sense of righteousness, they must show that they no longer acknowledge Edward as a source of any kind of authority. However, the audience would probably perceive that the demotion is unjustified and abusive, not only because Edward is still the king and, by birth, a nobleman, but also and above all because the breach of the king's positional status does not entail any sort of benefit for the kingdom: rather on the contrary, the barons' behaviour after the rebellion will confirm that they too lack the moral and ideological qualifications to make that rebellion acceptable.

Somewhat unexpectedly, in all these encounters Edward never reacts as we would expect a king to do; he never states, clarifies or imposes the superiority of his rank before the barons. In 1.1., his response to the barons' attitude is to complain before Kent and to produce a series of promises which, though prophetic, at that stage seem to be quite ineffective (1.1.133-137). And in 2.2 the king can only speak after the barons leave, and then only to acknowledge that he has not dared to take revenge against them because of their great power (2.2.200-2). And yet this power was not given by their possession of better social or moral qualifications, but by their openly bullying and abusive manners. He is not as powerless

as he appears to be before the barons, as I shall try to show presently. But this, in my opinion, is part of Marlowe's strategy, in order to stress the projection of the noblemen as frightful characters whose very self-protective ideological preconceptions and angry mood are disclosed by the way in which they violate the most basic principles of personal interaction. In other words, Marlowe's purpose seems to be to induce the audience to produce a negative evaluation of their behaviour and, by extension, of the ideological foundations of that behaviour.

V

The audience's evaluation of Edward in the play is conditioned by the way he speaks, too. So far, we have focused on his role as addressee of the noblemen's utterances; but we should also consider the effects produced by his position as the leading speaker.

Edward is a nobleman by birth; perhaps therefore Marlowe places him in situations in which he too uses the aristocratic speech mode, and in which he therefore provokes the same kind of negative response from the audience. The most evident instances are those in which he unfairly blames queen Isabella of having an adulterous relationship with Mortimer Jr (see his use of abusive commands in 1.4.145, and Isabella's report of his refusal to speak to her in 2.4.28-9) and some of his encounters with the barons after the war has begun (e.g., 3.3). Unlike them, however, Edward is also featured by his use of other speech modes resulting from his adoption of a wider variety of positional faces, most of which must have been rather attractive for the audiences of Marlowe's times.

Perhaps the most remarkable among his speech modes is the one associated to the projection of himself as a lover. But important though it is as the means to display the nature of his feelings towards Gaveston and, to a certain extent, for Spencer Jr, there would probably be no unanimous response in the evaluative qualifications that should be attached to these feelings.¹³ I would therefore stress the significance of two other major speech modes, corresponding to two different face projections.

What could be called his regal mode is the result of a specific value projection associated to his use of declarative speech acts.¹⁴ Throughout the play, Edward is featured as a king who uses –perhaps even abuses– the institutional prerogatives of a man with the power to give, to promote, even to create. This mode is applied, above all, when he wishes to show his gratitude to other people's actions. That was the case in his conversation with the noblemen in 1.4, after they accept the truce that would allow Gaveston to remain in England. But what is really important in terms of the definition of Edward's personality is that he also uses the regal mode in his addresses to lower-class characters; namely, before Gaveston at the very beginning of the play, and later on before Baldock and the Spencers, in utterances in which the strong overtones of his commands are significantly replaced by much softer offers.

In 1.1.149-169, the circumstances of Gaveston's recent arrival in England and his common birth seem to force Edward to make his offers more explicitly declarative. The very first includes the performative "to create", a clear indication of the kind of transformation he wishes to effect as he utters his words: by his authority as the king, he turns a commoner into a nobleman of the highest rank (an earl) and gives him the highest offices in the kingdom (High Chamberlain). His offers are so excessive, that they surpass Gaveston's own expectations; in fact, they trigger what looks like a move of refusal, based on the recognition of his lower, real worth (1.1.156). Kent's reaction is also a relatively strong complaint which might

be perceived as a challenge to Edward's authority. However, both reactions are waived aside by the king with one of his few demonstrations of authority (his "Cease brother, for I cannot brook these words" of 1.1.159) and an explanation that is very clarifying in terms of the expression of the values underlying his personality. For him, "worth" is not a matter of class ascription and can therefore be found outside the court and the system of values traditionally attached to it.

This same attitude is displayed later on in the play, when he explicitly acknowledges the value of Baldock's university degree:

EDWARD

Tell me, where wast thou born? what is thine arms?

BALDOCK

My name is Baldock and my gentry
I fetched from Oxford, not from heraldry.

EDWARD

The fitter art thou, Baldock, for my turn;
Wait on me, and I'll see thou shalt not want. (2.2.241-245)

and then when he makes Spencer Sr Earl of Wiltshire and promises him his favours (3.2.34-51), and when he "adopts" Spencer Jr and creates him Earl of Gloucester and Lord Chamberlain (3.2.144-147). In all these cases, he exchanges titles for their help or merely for their company, as an expression of his gratitude. But we should also focus on another, more significant justification. For Edward, Spencer Sr's behaviour is the expression of his "noble mind and disposition" (3.2.48), and he has just raised his social status so that it matches the "status" of his mind. So, in these scenes we see how Edward is moved by his capacity to recognize and accept the existence of a kind of nobility that is not given by birth alone. His transformation of the status of people is therefore his very generous way of raising that kind of nobility of the mind to the place it should occupy. I believe that this aspect of the king's personality was used by Marlowe to intensify the contrast between him and the rebel earls and to make him the most attractive character on the stage for the audience of his time. Indeed he is not an executive character in the ways Tamburlaine or even Doctor Faustus are; but his ideological stance may have been as attractive for the audiences of the Elizabethan period as the actions of Marlowe's other heroes.

One final indication of the kind of response effected by the confrontation between the earls and the king is provided by Edward's use of what could be called the lamentative mode. In principle, a speaker's lament would induce the recipient (hence the reader or spectator) to perceive the speaker as a victim of circumstances wholly or partly provoked by other people's actions, when these circumstances are not justified by the victim's behaviour. In terms of the development of strategies of identification or engagement, the perception of a character as a victim would almost automatically result in the establishment of emotional and ideological ties based on the production of pity or compassion, which will be proportionally stronger if the victim's suffering mirrors those of the recipient in some way.¹⁵ These effects were sought by Marlowe throughout the confrontation between Edward and the barons, and were deliberately intensified in the last part of the play, from the moment he is captured by the earls:

Oh day, the last of all my bliss on earth,

Centre of all misfortune! Oh my stars!
 Why do you lour unkindly on a king?
 Comes Leicester then in Isabella's name,
 To take my life, my company from me?
 Here man, rip up this panting breast of mine
 And take my heart in rescue of my friends. (4.6.61-67)

This excerpt illustrates the basic linguistic resources in Edward's lamentative mode: the use of questions and exclamative sentences to remark Edward's loss of certainty about reality and to stress the emotional modulation of his utterances respectively, and the syntactic relocation of references to himself in order to feature him as the affected recipient of other peoples' actions. Alongside with them, Edward's speech mode will feature more explicit references to the conditions of his fate (see 4.6.86-91), his sorrow (5.1.32-35) and his distracted mind (5.1.79-81), as well as direct appeals to his addressee's compassion (5.1.102). Marlowe will even make Mortimer Jr remark with alarm how the earls of Leicester and Berkeley and even the commons eventually begin to pity him (5.2.30-35 and 5.4.2).

The culmination of this process is reached in the death scene itself, where Edward describes the terrible conditions of his imprisonment and makes several direct appeals to Lightborn's compassion, while the audience see Lightborn make the preparations and enact his crime. The whole scene is arranged so as to induce the audience to feel that Edward is being tragically mistreated, and that he does not deserve this kind of punishment.¹⁶

The character who is held responsible of Edward's fate is Mortimer Jr. Eventually, he too will die; but, unlike Edward, he is not given any opportunity to appeal for any other character's or for the audience's pity: rather on the contrary, the purpose of his last utterances is to slight the new king, whom he calls "a paltry boy" (5.6.57) and to declare his scorn of the world, in an exhibition of his unrelenting and unrepentant pride; all of which confirms the image he projected throughout the play. Not only do the spectators perceive that he has sought his own benefit rather than the kingdom's in his confrontation with the king, also Marlowe takes good care to make the audience see that the result of his success has been his transformation into a ruler who gloats over the power he has and enjoys the fear he can provoke in others:

The prince I rule, the queen do I command,
 And with a lowly congé to the ground
 The proudest lords salute me as I pass;
 I seal, I cancel, I do what I will;
 Feared I am more than loved, let me be feared,
 And when I frown make all the court pale. (5.4.47-52)

But Mortimer's self-projection as a fear-provoking character would have a strong impact among the spectators of the play as well, if they perceived him as the dramatic representation of the power of a part –if not all– of the aristocracy in their own, real world.

VI

The explicitness of Marlowe's references to pity and fear in *Edward II* is distinctly evocative of Aristotle's use of these terms in his *Poetics* and should lead us to assume that, in all probability, Aristotle's theory is a determining influence in the characterization of Edward and Mortimer (and, by extension, of the groups each represent) as objects of pity and fear respectively.¹⁷ We should furthermore assume that the production of these emotions was the means to engage the audience in some kind of cathartic process. Marlowe's practice would thus be significantly close to the strategies of deliberative rhetoric described by Linda Bensele Meyers, who argues that the dramatists of the English Renaissance saw the production of emotions as the most appropriate means to persuade their audiences "to explore a question and form an ethical judgement about it" and adopt a line of action in consequence with that thought. This, accordingly, "explains why the drama of this period, as an art that concerns itself with particular examples and emotional catharsis, became most vital as a rhetorical art" (1989:76).

But the notion of catharsis, and therefore of pity and fear as well, should not be associated to the mere production of emotional responses. Without the existence of specific ideological ties, the punctual arousal of pity at the contemplation of Edward's suffering on the stage, or of fear before Mortimer's declaration of his power, would be irrelevant or, simply, impossible. In her analysis of the kind of response elicited by the protagonists of Elizabethan revenge tragedies, Martha Rozzett stresses how "the audience's participation... depends primarily on a balance between their inclination to identify with the tragic protagonist and their sense of detachment from him" (1979:250). What she describes as identification and detachment are the results of the production of essentially behavioural and therefore ideological ties between characters and audience. A spectator or reader will consequently identify with a character if he is perceived as the representation of admirable or desirable values; and will detach from him if he represents values with which the spectator has or wishes to have no attachment (see Jauss 1986). Rozzett goes on to explain how the production of catharsis through pity and fear "signified the audience's simultaneous awareness that the tragic protagonist was similar yet different from themselves, and that his fate both could and could never be their own" (1979:250); but although this applies to the revenge tragedies and to a significant proportion of other kinds of tragedies, the situation presented in *Edward II* is remarkably different, in that Marlowe seems to have taken great care to focus the production of each emotion on a separate character.

This does not mean, however, that Marlowe's construction of the play as a tragedy is faulty. Rather, I believe that the goal of his explicit references to pity and fear was to intensify the audiences' development of processes of identification and/or detachment from the characters involved, on the basis of the value-systems represented by each of them throughout the play. In this sense, the audience's pity would be aroused when they perceived Edward's pitiful condition and death as the result of his willingness to seek and promote a "nobility" of the mind which stands as an implicit reference to some of the values advocated by some of the social groups represented in that audience in Marlowe's times.¹⁸ If only for this reason, Edward would deserve the audience's admiration.¹⁹ As for the barons, Marlowe's purpose seems to have been to force the audience to detach themselves from the values dictating their behaviour from the very beginning of the play. The audience's fear would come with the realization that these values could also be influencing the behaviour of part of the ruling aristocracy in the real world, and could at that time be obstructing or plotting to obstruct the kinds of social advancement that were so congenial to the middle and

lower classes of that period.

The issue which the audience would be asked to respond to in *Edward II* would therefore be a politico-ideological one. Perhaps it is not a very relevant one for us in the late twentieth century, since we may find no clear means to establish the necessary links between what is shown onstage and what happens in our social context; but it most probably was a moving issue for the audiences of late sixteenth-century England. Marlowe, at least, took good care to make his audiences sympathise with the position and the ideas represented by the suffering characters, especially with the one that could accomplish what the audiences would like to see happen in the real world.

NOTES

¹ This situation has been analysed by Calvo (1991) in her study of dialogues between Fools and Masters in Shakespeare's plays.

² I am applying the concept of schematic model in relation to the definition provided in schema theories in descriptions of the role played by specific knowledge structures in the activation of comprehension processes. For a relatively recent account of the use of schemata in literary communication, see Cook (1994).

³ The term "positional face" is closely associated to Brown and Levinson's definition of the term "face" and the strategies of face interaction in Brown and Levinson (1978).

⁴ See Bense-Meyers' discussion of the views on characterization held by Erasmus and Sidney (1989:81-82). Although she reduces the possibility of allegorical characterization to the projection of vices and virtues, the evaluation leading to the distinction between vice and virtue has obvious ideological implications.

⁵ The term "fused together" has been taken from Hess-Lüttich (1991:237). For the definition of the spectators' response as a collective response, see also Bennet (1990:164-5).

⁶ The spectators' unresisting participation in the process of fusion into an audience is largely the result of what Roger Sell (1991) has called the "politeness of the text". As a literary text can be the means to persuade the reader or spectator to accept a specific set of values, and therefore a potentially hazardous face-threatening act, the author will politely construct his own positional face on the basis of a series of values which he shares with his audience, even if (and especially when) in the end he intends to promote new ones.

⁷ This point is remarked by Bense-Meyers in her view of Renaissance drama as the expression of deliberative rhetorical practices by which the authors sought to "pose... questions and a copious variety of possible answers, empowering the audiences to judge for themselves which was best" (1989:73). My position, however, is that the author did present a preferable answer, although he did not impose it. This process is not too far, either, from what Iser defined as the process of emotional and cognitive "discovery" in *The Implied Reader* (1974:xiii).

⁸ The fact that Spencer should be featured as a common man in the play is significant in terms of Marlowe's projection of the king's favourites as representative of the non-aristocratic classes.

⁹ This does not mean that I disregard the relevance of other points of view concerning the dramatic role of Edward's homosexuality. I agree with Pistotnik's (1990) and Bartels' (1991) presentation of it as a projection of Marlowe's radically liberal attitude, and believe that it is a significant addition to his presentation of the relationship between the monarchy and the commons as based on less conventional and more open relational terms.

¹⁰ The terminology applied here and in the following sections is based on Searle's classification of illocutionary acts (Searle 1976). The use of the more technical terms has been avoided whenever possible.

¹¹ It should also not escape us that mistreating a bishop might not been seen as a form of abuse in Elizabethan theatrical performances (cf with Faustus's mistreatment of the Pope and cardinals).

¹² For this use of the pronoun, see Partridge (1969:24-28) and Brown and Gilman's definition of the "thou" of contempt and anger (1960:273-5).

¹³ For a brief but accurate description of the ways in which love and friendship can blend in the expression of male-to-male relationship in Renaissance texts, including Edward II, see Bray (1994). I would also like to stress the often neglected fact that there is no textual indication that could lead us to doubt the sincerity of Edward's affections. As for Gaveston, Spencer Jr and Baldock, before they meet the king onstage, they do certainly indicate that they are willing to use Edward's friendship as the means to achieve rather personal goals; but once they engage in that relationship, all their utterances feature them as true lovers, happy with the king's company, sad and sorry in his absence.

¹⁴ The term is taken from Searle (1976), and refers to the utterances produced by speakers endowed with such a degree of authority (usually institutional) that the propositional value of their utterances becomes indisputable.

¹⁵ This effect has been called "reminding" in cognitive psychology. For a recent description of the term, see Halász (1992).

¹⁶ If compared with the way his death is presented in Holinshed's account, this is a significant variation, since, as Bartels shows, Holinshed seems to present it as the punishment due to him for the kind of crime he committed (Bartels 1991:147-156).

¹⁷ Marlowe may not have been directly acquainted with Aristotle's Poetics; but his theory, and the dramatic function of pity and fear, were already commonplaces in Marlowe's time.

¹⁸ The same effects would be achieved by the deaths of Gaveston, Baldock and the Spencers, due mostly to Marlowe's emphasis on the positive qualities of their affection for Edward.

¹⁹ Another possible source of admiration would be Edward's and Gaveston's "pursuit of inner fulfilment," if we accept Voss's point of view (1982:523).

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Distribution of Lexical Doublets in *The Complaynt of Scotland*

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Vocabulary has undergone a radical transformation throughout the history of the English language: whereas Old English takes very few borrowings from other languages and makes use of its own resources to express new concepts, either by changing the meaning of words already existing in the language (*bell* “hidden place” comes to mean “home of devils and of damned souls after death” with the arrival of Christianity) or by creating compounds from native elements (*pr īnes* “trinity”, *b ōcraeft* “literature”), from Middle English onwards loanwords are borrowed in an indiscriminate way, especially from French and Latin, many of which express concepts that were expressed before by means of native vocabulary. The results are lexical doublets such as *brotherhood/fraternity*, *cold/gelid*, *fatherly/paternal*, *foot/pedal*, *heartly/cordial*, *thin/tenuous*, whose elements are now used as stylistic variants, depending on the register and the degree of formality.

This paper studies the distribution of some doublets in *The Complaynt of Scotland*, a literary work in prose written in 1549 by Robert Wedderburn, according to Stewart (1979), and apparently printed in France, probably Paris. Modelled on Chartier's *Quadriologue Invectif*, *The Complaynt* is full of axioms, exempla, sententiae, and proverbs taken from the Bible and from classical sources (Aristotle, Cicero, Pliny, among others), and it makes use of a plain style, according to the author, “for i thoct it nocht necessair til hef fardit ande lardit this tracteit vitht exquisite termis, quihilkis ar nocht daly vsit, bot rather i hef vsit domestic scottis langage, maist intelligibil for the vlgare pepil” (1979:13).

The most explicit reference to the distribution of lexical doublets in Middle Scots is made by Aitken, who points out:

that *knaw* and *pas*, for example, may have functioned as the literary “translations” of the vernacular *ken* and *gang* or *ga*, that the three members of the set *bound*, *dog* and *tyke* had quite different overtones, that items like *cummer* (female crony), *gully* (large knife), *juggis* (lees of drink), *lug*, *bony* (bonny), *scunner*, as well as some others which are recorded only in comic verse, such as *gane* (face), *kyte* (belly), *larbar* (impotent), *lounge* and *queir*, had quite restricted spheres of use at the opposite pole from that of many of the “exquisite termis quihilkis ar nocht daly vsit..., dreuyn or rather to say mair formaly reuyn fra lating” (*Compl.* 16).

(Aitken 1971:178)

Three of the doublets mentioned by Aitken occur in *The Complaynt*: *knau/ken*, *pas/gang*, *ga*, and *ere/lug*, all of which are made up of a borrowing, French in the case of *pas* and Scandinavian in the other two¹, and a native word. The Scandinavian element in Scots is considerable, since not only are there

quite a number of borrowings from that language, but many of them have become part of the core vocabulary, which is not the case with those taken from French². Thus, this is the origin of the causative verb *gar* and the auxiliary *ma(u)n* (“must”), as well as that of the prepositions *till*, *fra*, and *lyik* (< *líker*) which, later on, will be adopted by English, although with some differences. Another feature distinguishing Scandinavian and French borrowings is that whereas the former, according to Aitken, occur in more informal and colloquial registers than their native counterparts, the latter are typical of formal and literary styles.

In this paper I study the distribution of the doublets *knau/ken*³, *pas/gang*, *ga*, and *ere/lug* in *The Complaynt*. My aim is to support or to refute Aitken’s suggestion that the elements of these pairs coexisted as stylistic variants in Middle Scots. In every case, I begin by providing a short account of the history of these terms in English and, more specifically, in Scots. The information has been taken from *The Oxford English Dictionary* and *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*⁴

1. KNAW/KEN

With regard to the first doublet, *know* (and its northern counterpart *knaw*) is a common Teutonic and Aryan verb, derived from the same root (*gen-*, *gon-*, *gn-*) as *can* and *ken*. With (*ζe*)*cnawan* as its Old English ancestor, *know* is well established in all its main senses by 1200, and since then has broadened its semantic field and has taken over the original territory of the verbs *wit* and *can*, so that this English verb alone corresponds to Latin *n ōvisse*, *co-gn ōscere* and *sc ĩre*, and to Spanish *conocer* and *saber*. *Ken*, also a common Teutonic verb, originally had a causative meaning, “to cause to know”, although at an early stage in all these languages it acquired the sense “to know”, in the case of English probably influenced by Norse, where both meanings were in early use.

According to *OED*, it is this verb, *ken*, which is used in Scotland with the sense “to know”, after having supplanted *knaw*. *DOST*, however, regards them as practically synonymous in that sense, and has examples of both in identical constructions: a) with a noun phrase as direct object and the sense “(re)conocer”, as in: “Bot, for that men suld nocht him ken, He suld a mantill haf, ald and bar”; “He knew hyre nocht”; b) with nominal clauses as direct object and the sense “saber”, as in: “Kennand that thai na kid ware”; “Knewand that Eufagen[e]a... Is spousit to the kinge of hewyn”; “Mycht nane ken quha had ony avantage”; “Quha hurt or haill was, nane micht knaw”.

In *The Complaynt*, *knaw* is the dominant verb, with forty-six examples, as against thirteen instances of *ken*. These data seem to confirm Aitken’s hypothesis that *knaw* is the literary “translation” of *ken*, dominant, therefore, in texts written in a formal style, such as *The Complaynt*.

The situation in this work is, however, more complex, since eleven out of the thirteen instances of *ken* select a noun phrase as direct object and have the sense “(re)conocer”. The following examples illustrate this construction: “thai vald haue clair myskend it, be rasonne that it vas sa mekil altrit fra the fyrst fassone” (p.55); “to grant them grace to ken them selfis, for as lang as thai ken nocht them selfis thai sal neuyr ken god” (p.102); “i am leukand gyf i can fynd my fathers hardyn pan, amang thir dede mennis banis bot i can nocht ken it amang them” (p.121). The only exceptions to this rule are: “sen god kennis that ζour hartis ar euil, and that men kennis that ζour verkis ar euyl” (p.135), where *ken* takes a nominal clause and means “saber”.

As against the syntactic-semantic specialization of *ken*, *knaw* is not restricted in *The Complaynt* to

any particular construction. The following examples illustrate the different nominal clauses which this verb takes in this work in the sense “saber”: “the pepil knauis thir mutations to be of verite” (p.17); “he that tynis ane thing, and syne knauis nocht quhair it is” (p.66); “ζe knau quhou thai and there forbears hes beene ζour ald mortal enemes” (p.68); “and sen ζe knau that god hes schauen sic fauoir” (p.71); “nocht ane of ζou knauis quhat ane vthir sais” (p.110); “be the quhilk ζe may knau quha is ane vilaine” (p.114).

Knau also appears in *The Complaynt* in those constructions which are typical of *ken*, that is, with noun phrases as direct object and the sense “(re)conocer”, as the following examples illustrate: “he possessis vthir pure pepil, that knauis his gudnes, vitht the samyn reches, that he hes tane fra them, that hes arrogantly miskanuen hym” (p.15); “ther is nocht mony that knauis the cause of thir mutations” (p.17); “his aful scourge of aperand exterminatione sal change in ane faderly correccionne sa that ve vil knau his mageste” (p.20); “sum men that knauis the secret of scotland” (p.87).

Aitken’s suggestion that *knaw* is the literary “translation” of *ken* does not apply, therefore, to *The Complaynt*, wich has examples of both. On the other hand, these forms are not merely synonyms in this work, but there are syntactic and semantic factors governing their usage. Thus, *ken* is the marked form in *The Complaynt*, being restricted to those collocations which *know* originally had, whereas *knau* is the unmarked term, used not only in these constructions, but also in those which had previously been exclusive to the verb *wit*.

2. PAS/GANG, GA

With regard to the second doublet, *go* (and its northern counterpart *ga*) is a defective verb common to the Teutonic languages, semantically equivalent to Latin *ire*, which originally was also used in the sense “to go on foot, to walk”. *Gang*, from Old English *gangan*, only survives in northern dialects. In Scots this verb is chiefly used in the infinitive, present participle and present tense; from the syntactic-semantic point of view, however, it is practically synonymous with *ga*, both in the senses “to go” and “to go on foot, to walk”.

Pas, on the other hand, is a borrowing from French *passer*. Originally it meant “to step, pace, walk”, but already in the 11th century in Old French it had come to denote progression or movement from one place to another. In English, *pass* has become the most general verb to express onward motion; in Scots, however, in spite of its being very common in that sense, it seems to be restricted to literary and formal registers.

In *The Complaynt*, *pas* is largely the dominant verb, with 131 occurrences, as against six examples of *gang* and nine of *ga/go*. In this work, however, the vernacular forms have not merely been supplanted by their supposed literary “translation” *pas*, but they have specialized semantically. Thus, *gang* is only used in the infinitive and in the sense “to go on foot, to walk”, as the following examples illustrate: “quhen ve ar tirit to gang on oure feit, ve ar solist to seik horse to ryde” (p.27); “quha cam at his comand, in ane charriot be cause he mytht nothir ryde nor gang be cause he vas decrepit for aige” (p.79); “he gart the bruit gang that thai presoneris hed eschaipit”⁵ (p.91); “the ζong partan vald nocht gang euyne furtht bot rather sche ζeid crukit bakuart and on syd.... quod sche mother, i can nocht gang of my auen natur as thou biddis me bot nochtheles, vald thou gang furtht rycht befor me, than i sal leyren to follou thy futsteppis” (p.126). To express this meaning (“to go on foot, to walk”) in other tenses, the forms of

the verb *ga/go* are used, as in: “none of them suld tak ther refectione quhil thai hed gone ande run the tyme of fife or sex houris” (p.7); “sche *ζeid* crukit bakuart and on syd”⁶ (p.126).

Apart from replacing *gang* in the sense “to go on foot, to walk”, *ga/go* is used once in the construction SV with the meaning “to go away” [“than quhen he gois, al the laeue ryynniss & follouis hym” (p.110)], and on another occasion it functions as an attributive verb and takes a subject complement [“al musing of meruellis amys hef i gone” (p.51)]. In the remaining examples, *ga/go* takes an adverbial and has the sense “go”, being synonymous, therefore, with *pas*: “ther is ane vthir circle in the spere callit meridian the quhilk gais betuix the tua polis rycht abufe our hede” (p.39); “the sune circuitis and gais about the eird” (p.40); “sal i go vitht *ζou* to rumbelo fayr” (p.51); “O ignorant abusit ande dissaitful pepil, gone by the path vaye of verteouse knaulage” (p.56).

As against the semantic specialization of the vernacular forms *gang* and *ga/go*, *pas* is the most general verb in *The Complaynt* to express motion, being equivalent to Spanish “ir” and “pasar”. The following examples illustrate the different constructions in which this verb occurs: a) SVA: “the sourde of vengeance sal nocht pas throucht *ζour* cuntre” (p.21); “quhen the sune castis oure grite heyt: ve pas vndir the vmbre or the schaddou” (p.27); “Iudas machabeus past athort the montanis and desertis” (p.60); “ther vas tua pas-sagis to pas betuix the romans camp and lucere” (p.78); b) SV + infinitive: “vsit oft to visye the feildis to tak ther recreatione, ande to pas til hounting” (p.10); “left the gloriou stait of athenes, & past to remane in ane litil village” (p.35); “sche vald pas to mak veyre contrar ethiope” (p.63); c) SV: “he past and perturbit al greice” (p.63); “than i past and i sleu hym” (p.94); d) SVO, with the noun phrase which functions as object expressing either place⁷ or time: “the iugement of gode... is ane profound onknauen deipnes, the quhilk passis humane ingyne” (p.17); “thou passis the limitis of baytht thir documentis” (p.102); “to pas the tyme quhil euyne” (p.49).

As it happened in the previous case, therefore, both the vernacular forms *gang*, *ga* and their supposed literary “translation” *pas* occur in *The Complaynt*, and their distribution depends on syntactic and semantic criteria. The French term, *pas*, is the most general verb to express motion in this work, being used in a wide range of constructions with the meanings “ir”, “pasar”, whereas the vernacular forms, and especially *gang*, have specialized in the sense “to go on foot, to walk”.

3. ERE/LUG

With regard to the last doublet, *lug* as a synonym of *ere* is first used early in the 16th century, and in colloquial Scots it has supplanted the vernacular form, which is now restricted to a few collocations. The primary meaning of the Scandinavian noun was “something that can be pulled or laid hold of, an appendage”, and it is possible that it was first used to refer to the flap of a cap or a bonnet, since this is the sense of the earliest attested examples, and that, by a later colloquial sense-transference, it came to denote “ear”. Alternatively, and according to *DOST*, the sense “ear” “may have existed earlier but remained unrecorded as a purely colloquial use”. In any case, *lug* is normally used in Scots in the sense “the external ear” (Spanish “oreja”), whereas in the sense “the ear as organ of hearing” (Spanish “oído”) it is uncommon and late; *ere*, however, is used in both senses throughout Older and Middle Scots.

With regard to the usage of this doublet in *The Complaynt*, Aitken’s suggestion that *lug*, together with other terms, “had quite restricted spheres of use at the opposite pole from that of many of the “exquisite terms quhilkis ar nocht daly vsit..., dreuyn or rather to say mair formaly reuyn fra lating” (1971:178) is not true for this work, which has two instances of this noun.

As with the previous doublets, however, *lug* and *ere* are not synonyms in *The Complaynt*, but each has specialized semantically. *Lug* is used in the sense “earflap”, as in the example “euyrie scheiphird hed ane horne spune in the lug of there bonet” (p.34), and in the sense “the external ear” (Spanish “oreja”), as in “the tail quhou kyng midas gat tua asse luggis on his hede be cause of his auereis” (p.50).

Ere, on the other hand, means “the ear as organ of hearing” (Spanish “oído”), as the following examples illustrate: “nor his eyris ar nocht stoppit, bot he maye heir ζou” (p.59); “the damysele that heris and giffis eyris to the amourus persuasions of desolut ζong men” (p.85); “i vil nocht gyf eyris to thy excusations nor to thy purgations” (p.108); “i refuse to gyf eyris or audiens to thy accusations contrar thy tua brethir” (p.109).

CONCLUSIONS

The results obtained from the study of the distribution of these lexical doublets in *The Complaynt of Scotland* do not support Aitken’s suggestion that *knau* and *pas* functioned in Middle Scots as the literary “translations” of the vernacular *ken* and *gang, ga* respectively, since both sets of forms occur in this work. The former, nevertheless, are dominant in *The Complaynt*, which proves that they are typical of literary and formal registers. The elements of these doublets are not, however, merely synonyms in this work, but there are syntactic and semantic factors governing their usage.

On the other hand, the occurrence in *The Complaynt* of the term *lug* which, according to Aitken, is restricted to colloquial registers, is a proof of the plain and intelligible language which the author states in the prologue to have used throughout his work, and turns, thus, his excuse for his “barbir agrest termis” into something other than a mere literary device.

NOTES

¹ *Ken* has been regarded as a Scandinavian borrowing since, although the verb *cennan* exists in Old English. it did not have the sense “to know”, which it seems to have taken from Norse.

² Scandinavian influence is also apparent in the preference of Scots and northern dialects for the velar plosives /k, g/ in contrast with the palatal affricates /t, dʒ/ of Standard English, which results in doublets such as *Kirk/church, Kist/chest, breeks/breeches, sic/such, ilk/each, qubilk/which, brig/bridge, rig/ridge, etc.*

³ The compounds *mysknaw/mysken* have also been taken into account.

⁴ Throughout the rest of this paper, these dictionaries will be referred to as *OED* and *DOST* respectively.

⁵ In this collocation, Spanish does not use the verbs “andar” or “caminar”, but “correr”: “hizo correr el rumor de que estos prisioneros habían escapado”.

⁶ *Ga/go* being a defective verb, its past tense was supplied in *OE* by *eode*, which became in *ME* *ζede, yede, yode*. These forms died out in the south in the fifteenth century, and were superseded by *went*, the past tense of *wend*. In Scots *went* and *ζede* /or *ζeid*) were used in this function down to the latter part of the sixteenth century, when they were replaced by *gaed*, a new formation on the present-stem, which first appeared in the Bannatyne MS. of 1568.

⁷ In this case it is translated into Spanish as “sobrepasar, exceder”.

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Tragic Heroes: Avengers or Victims

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ESCUELA OFICIAL DE IDIOMAS DE MÉRIDA

If we present a tragedy, we include the fatal and abortive ends of such as commit notorious murders, which is aggravated and acted with all the art that may be to terrify men from the like abhorred practices.

Thomas Heywood, *An Apology for Actors*

Tragedy must have a hero if it is not to be merely an accusation against, instead of a justification of the world in which it occurs.

Joseph Wood Krutch, *The Tragic Fallacy*

The quotation from Krutch is based on the assumption that tragedy must justify “the world in which it occurs,” rather than denounce it, through the hero.¹ If we must have a hero, the questions are what makes a character a tragic hero? Are there any tragic heroes in modern drama? In other words, could we talk about tragedy in the twentieth century? Titles of literary criticism such as *The Death of Tragedy* proclaim that there is no more tragedy in the literature of our times. But George Steiner too supports my own view that tragedy is not dead. He concludes: “tragedy is that form which requires the intolerable burden of God’s presence. It is now dead because His shadow no longer falls on us as it fell on Agamemnon or Macbeth or Athalie,” but then he admits: “perhaps tragedy has merely altered in style and convention.” (Steiner: 353)

If tragedy has not declined but merely changed, how has it changed? Since we need to have a hero so that tragedy can perform its function, this paper will focus on the conception of the tragic hero, from Aristotle through the Elizabethan revenge tragedy, to determine whether Joan of Arc, Mother Courage and Willy Loman fulfil the necessary requirements to be considered as such or not. Aristotle defines tragedy as:

an imitation of an action that is serious, complete and of a certain magnitude; in language embellished with each kind of artistic ornament, the several kinds being found in separate parts of the play; in the form of action, not of narrative; through pity and fear effecting the proper purgation of these emotions. (Aristotle, in Kaplan: 27)

That is, Aristotle proposes catharsis as the aim of tragedy, rather than justifications of or accusations against society. He later states that “pity is aroused by unmerited misfortune, fear by the misfortune of a man

like ourselves.” (Aristotle, in Kaplan: 33) So, he explains, if we are shown the downfall of an utter villain, our moral sense is satisfied but no pity—he deserves it—and no fear—he is not like ourselves—are aroused. Similarly, if we witness the downfall of a virtuous man, it merely shocks us, it does not produce pity and fear. The rise of a bad man neither satisfies our moral sense nor inspires pity or fear, since “nothing could be more alien to the spirit of Tragedy; it possesses no single tragic qualities.” (Aristotle, in Kaplan: 33) The hero, then, should not be eminently good and just. His adversity should be the effect not of depravity and vice but some frailty or error.

Heywood, in his *An Apology for Actors*, as seen in the opening quotations, uses Aristotle’s idea that tragedy should, as Bowers puts it, “reward virtue and punish vice” to support his opinion in the running controversy about tragedy in Elizabethan times. Detractors argued that representing revenge, murder and villainy on the stage encouraged the audience to violence in real life. On the other hand, defenders either denied such evil effects of the violence in the tragedies or claimed tragedy to be “inculcating virtue by showing the inevitable downfall of vice.” Aristotle’s argument, however, was not based on ethical, moral considerations, but on aesthetic grounds, as we can see from his description of the highest kind of tragic protagonist, a common man whose fall is brought about by some frailty or error, not by depravity or sin. Tragedy, Bowers concludes, “in the main was supposed to show God’s vengeance on sin and crime.” (Bowers, p.261)

According to Bowers, there are three sources for the characteristic Elizabethan revenge tragedy: Seneca, French Senecan plays and the Italian *novelle*. Seneca’s three major tragedies, *Medea*, *Thiestes* and *Agamemnon* show, like the rest of his canon, that “a serious revenge leading to a murder may be conceived for great injuries, rape or adultery, as a result of frantic jealousy or the necessity for self-preservation, or else for the murder itself.” (Bowers, pp. 263-4)

We can see in such early plays as *Gorboduc* or *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, a clear influence of Seneca, but they are probably more indebted to the French Senecan drama, which built its plays “on academic critical formulas. The unyielding demand for a more than classical decorum banished all action, blood, and violence from the stage. The subject-matter was correspondingly affected.” (Bowers, p.265) Some English playwrights, a small group of university graduates, were influenced by both the English medieval forms and the French dramatists, who, in turn, were influenced by the Renaissance Italian commentators on Aristotle and Horace.

Another kind of drama had a much stronger influence. The Italian *novelle* adds the essentials of plot, characterization and dramatic incident. Bowers goes on to say that

no Senecan drama had worked out for them a complete story of revenge or had provided the important lesson of a strong opposing force moving against the revenger. All Senecan revengers were villains, whereas the early Elizabethan stage revengers began as heroes. Finally, the hereditary expiation of evil to provide a reason for a tragic fate—so prominent in Seneca—was discarded under the influence of the Italian, and this change altered in a most fundamental manner the whole English conception of tragedy as compared to the Roman. Naturally, Seneca’s rhetoric was copied, since there was no Italian example to follow. (Bowers, 267)

Also from the *novelle* and its French imitations, they took “the use of accomplices in the intrigues of revenge, ...madness..., dramatic errors in poisoning, and the valuable tragic theme of romantic love ... a revenger who was weaker than his enemies and so was dependent upon devious and long-drawnout

intrigues for his eventual success.” (Bowers, p. 266)

The theme of blood-revenge was not the direct influence of either Seneca or the *novelle*. It was borrowed from “a primitive Germanic story which was found added to a series of Italian *novelle* translated into French by Belleforest” (Bowers, p. 267). Especially significant is the theme of “blood-revenge forced as a dedicated duty upon a revenger who was, at the start, comparatively helpless” (Bowers, p. 268), which had only partially been treated by Seneca and therefore offered no dramatic model. This theme is important because it “proved to be the motive which unified the form of Elizabethan tragedy and gave it a suitable tragic situation. The important formula was produced by fusing the Italianate and Senecan in the treatment of the Hamlet story” (Bowers, p. 268). To sum up, due to its derivation from the Hamlet story,

“the Kydian school of English dramatists adopted a hero as a protagonist, in sharp contrast to the three most important of Senecan’s plays and the normal Italian development from them. That these Elizabethan tragic revenger heroes gradually gave place to villains was not, in general, the result of any specifically Senecan influence” (Bowers, p.269).

Kyd, in *The Spanish Tragedy* gave the audience what they demanded, “the revenge for a murder which had been portrayed before the audience’s eye, he gave them characters with whom they could more directly sympathise and a situation which they could appreciate as an incident from real life. At that moment the Elizabethan tragedy became entirely a native drama” (Bowers, pp. 269-9).

Some critics distinguish two kinds of revenge tragedy: the Kydian, in which the protagonist is a hero who is a revenger of blood; and the Marlovian, in which the protagonist is a villain who is not necessarily the revenger in a play in which revenge plays an important role in resolving the catastrophe. *The Spanish Tragedy* and *The Jew of Malta* are the basic plays of each type. The adoption of a villain as a protagonist would lead us to expect a greater and more specific Marlovian influence on the villain-play. Heywood’s *A Woman Killed with Kindness* (1603) owes nothing to either school. *The Revenge of Bussy D’Ambois* (1610), by George Chapman, and Cyril Tourneur’s *The Atheist’s Tragedy* (1611) are both Kydian. John Webster’s *The Duchess of Malfi* (1614) “provided in its plot structure the artistic climax to the particular kind of drama which had been in the direct line of descent from Kyd to Marlowe, Marston and Tourneur, and marked the temporary discard of the much modified Kydian formula” (Bowers, p. 178). With Fletcher, Webster is the bridge “between the older Elizabethan and the so-called decadent drama of Massinger and Ford” (Bowers, p. 178).

The approval of revenge by the audience is another problem to consider. Despite the fact that some critics say, as Prosser summarizes, that

the Establishment condemned private revenge, but history denies that its campaign had widespread influence. The tumultuous temper of the Elizabethan age stood in direct opposition to official platitudes about obedience, humility, resignation, patience. Far more influential than the orthodox code of the Establishment were two popular codes that placed the demands of revenge above the strictures of religion and law: an aristocratic counter—code of honor and a long—established folk code rooted deep in racial hungers. The popular Elizabethan revenge play arose in a theatrical tradition that appealed to popular, not official, attitudes. The Establishment’s condemnation of those popular attitudes is surely no guide in determining either the playwright’s intention or the audience’s response

(Prosser, p. 4).

Bowers adds that the English audience would not consider the un-English Machiavellian maniac anything but a villain, while sympathising with the Kydian type hero revenger and hoping for his success if he did not survive, and he explains:

His death was accepted as expiation for the violent motives which had forced him to override the rules of God and, without awaiting the slow justice of divine retribution, to carve out a bloody revenge for himself... whatever the outcome of the revenge, even the most sympathetic characters like Hamlet were so twisted and warped by the overwhelming experiences that they could never return again to a normal life on earth. Who but an incurable sentimentalist could conceive of Hamlet's receiving the crown after the death of Claudius, marrying and living happily ever after? The grand sacrifice -death in victory- was the revenger's only possible lot (Bowers, p. 184).

In the second period, revenge has no advocates, and disapproval of revenge, though more implicit than explicit, was shown by putting it in the hands of the villains. The interest of the revenge is

frequently shifted from the workings of this revenge to the general villainy of action and the evil intrigues of the protagonist. When revenge is undertaken by the good characters against the villain, it is usually hurried over and excused. The revenges of the villains, however, are portrayed with gusto particularly when they lead to mutual destruction (Bowers, p.185).

Bowers sees in *The Duchess of Malfi* the expression of the "retribution which befalls a villainous revenge" and in *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois* and *The Atheist's Tragedy* "we hear the first didactic murmurings of the religious doctrine which bade the relinquishment of all vengeance to Heaven" (Bowers, pp. 185-6).

In *The Atheist's Tragedy* we see the cycle completed. It goes further than Bussy in the attack on the revenge tradition. We read Clermont's answer to his sister's urge for revenge, "we must wreak our wrongs / So, as wee take not more" (*Bussy*, p. 136), as an expression of the idea that a crime which is outside the law cannot right a wrong. Furthermore, Clermont regrets having accepted the burden of revenging his brother because an individual should not take on enforcing the law. This play seems to follow the line started by Heywood's domestic tragedy, *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, where the betrayed husband, instead of exacting revenge on his wife and her lover, decides that the latter will have enough punishment feeling guilty the rest of his life every time he remembers how he paid back his friend's kindness. Anne, the wife, who expects death from her husband, is so ashamed of herself because of his kindness that she exacts his revenge for him by starving herself to death. Just before she dies, however, they reconcile.

In *The Duchess of Malfi*, the main idea is fatal retribution, which began with the murder of the duchess and ends with the punishment of the guilty parties. This retribution does not come from a Kydian revenger, since the villains bring it upon themselves. Ferdinand goes mad, the cardinal has no more power over his accomplice Bosola "and the resultant internecine strife works the havoc. The accomplice had always been the weak link in the Kydian villain's schemes" (Bowers, 179). Webster uses this tradition of the weak link, but stresses the irony of the catastrophe and provides "a more fitting doom for his villains by removing the element of accident from the accomplice's betrayal and founding such

betrayal on a psychological change in character. (Bowers, p. 179).

It is in the third period when clear, explicit attacks on revenge in any way, under any circumstances, with plays like Jonh Ford's *'Tis a Pity She's a Whore* (1627) and also *The Fatal Dowry* (1619), which attack different aspects of violence. The best works of the period, those by James Shirley, take the best of the older play's incidents and characteristics, so he used revenge as a leading motive, but "revenge in Shirley is usually far from the implications of the third period and is more nearly related to its functional use for plot complication and handy motivation in the second period, or to the interest in revenge for its own sake in Kydian drama." (Bowers, p. 217). For Bowers, Shirley had to turn to the past because "the age, in its literature as well as in its mood, had lost its freshness and inspiration. The drama was becoming worn out" (Bowers, p. 217).

Surely, such ideas as *just*, *vice*, *depravity* or *noble action* are not the same in Aristotle's society and ours. Northrop Frye discusses a reductive theory of tragedy according to which the violation of a moral law, human or divine, sets the tragic process in motion. To Frye, "it is true that the great majority of tragic heroes do possess hybris, a proud, passionate obsessed or soaring mind which brings about a morally intelligible downfall."

But Aristotle's idea of the error or frailty "is associated with Aristotle's ethical conception of proairesis, or free choice of an end," rather than with sin and wrongdoing, even though it is hybris that usually precipitates the catastrophe. Frye argues:

the conception of catharsis, which is central to Aristotle's view of tragedy, is inconsistent with moral considerations of it. Pity and terror are moral feelings, and they are relevant but not attached to the tragic situation. (Frye: 210)

In short, as Frye puts it, tragedy "seems to elude the antithesis of moral responsibility and arbitrary fate, just as it eludes the antithesis of good and evil." (Frye: 214) Frye defines tragedy as a contradictory association of "a fearful sense of rightness (the hero must fall) and a pitying sense of wrongdoing (it is too bad that he falls)." (Frye: 214)

Two other attractive theories are those of Raymond Williams and Arthur Miller. Williams states that tragedy is the conflict between an individual and whatever forces that destroy him. This is what he calls liberal –it emphasizes the surpassing individual– tragedy – recognizes the defeats or the limits of the victory. The hero is an individual at the height of his strength, aspiring and being defeated at the same time; releasing and destroyed by his own energies. In short, the hero is a victim. He is no longer the heroic liberating individual destroyed by a false society, which is the simpler pattern; as Williams puts it, society

is actively destructive and evil, claiming its victims merely because they are alive. It is still seen as a false and alterable society, but merely to live in it now is enough to become its victim. (Williams: 104)

Williams finds this sense of the victim to be very deep in Miller. Miller himself describes tragedy as the consequence of a man's total compulsion to evaluate himself justly, his destruction in the attempt positing wrong or evil in his environment. This is the morality and the lesson of tragedy, the discovery of a moral law. In other words, we also have an individual's struggle against the forces that threaten the freedom he needs to grow as an individual. "The thrust for freedom is the quality in tragedy that exalts. The revolutionary questioning of the stable environment what terrifies." (Miller: 145) The tragic hero,

Miller says, is ready to assert his sense of personal dignity, in his struggle for his *rightful* place in his society. This brings about the question of the rank of the hero. Surely the common man is not debarred from such thoughts or actions.

As Aristotle says, the hero is “a man like ourselves,” in apparent contradiction to his establishing that the hero should be someone renowned and prosperous –requirement I interpret as a way to stress the hero’s isolation, which is necessary, according to Frye. Miller believes, as I do, that the common man is just as apt to be a tragic hero as kings and princes once were. Nowadays, the job of a king is not to rule, to make decisions, but to represent his country. To use Miller’s argument, “the right of one monarch to capture the domain from another, no longer rises our passions; nor are our concepts of justice what they were to the mind of an Elizabethan king,” but it is precisely the common man, if anybody, who fears most to be displaced, “the disaster inherent in his being torn away from the chosen image of what and who we are in this world.” Today, Miller adds, “this fear is as strong, and perhaps stronger than it ever was.” (Miller: 145) The tragic flaw, for Miller, is the hero’s unwillingness to remain passive when facing what he feels is a challenge to his own rightful status. Most of us just accept our lot, thus have no tragic flaw.

To apply all this to the three modern plays chosen, let us consider Saint Joan in the first place. Bernard Shaw himself thought of the play as a tragedy, as he lets us know in the preface. First he states that Joan’s death would have not meant anything if she had not been sent to it by normally innocent, righteous people. Then he claims that the tragedy is that the murder is the judicial, pious act of innocent people. I agree in the consideration of Saint Joan as a tragedy, but it seems to me that the reason for it should be Joan herself, since it is hard to see her murderers as innocent. They find all kinds of charges against her –heresy, witchery...– but the following opinion about her and the response it draws, is an example of her being the tragic figure we need to read the play as a tragedy:

LADVENU: Joan: We are all trying to save you. (...) But you are blinded by a terrible pride and self-sufficiency.

JOAN: Why do you say that? I have said nothing wrong. I cannot understand. (Shaw: 123)

Williams sees *Saint Joan* as the typical tragedy pattern of a hero destroyed by a false society. Frye includes it in the second of six possible phases of tragedy. These phases go from the heroic to the ironic; the first three ones being related to the last three phases of irony. The second phase of tragedy, in which Joan is included, corresponds to the youth of the hero; that is, to the stage when the hero is inexperienced and usually young. Joan, besides being young, lacks experience and worldly wisdom.

She is afraid of war and death, almost to the point of giving it all up if it did not mean, first having foreign people in her still kingless country, and second being in prison for life. She tears her recantation, already signed, as soon as she hears about her life sentence replacing her death by fire. In other words, when she sees her personal dignity, which she attaches to her freedom, threatened, she “refuses to remain passive” and chooses death -or even the possibility of death in the war:

JOAN: (...) You think that life is nothing but not being stone dead. But without these things (light, fresh air...) I cannot live; and by your wanting to take them away from me I know that your counsel is of the devil, and that mine is of God. (129-30)

Even Steiner thinks that Saint Joan, apart from being a great play, comes nearer than many modern

plays “to a tragic ordering of life.” He adds: “Yet, one cannot help feeling that it falls short of the first rank by some small, subordinate margin,” (Steiner: 312) but he does not tell us what precisely that margin is that prevents Saint Joan from being a tragedy.

Willy Loman is perhaps one of the best examples of the hero as a victim, as Williams sees it. Loman brings tragedy down on himself not by opposing the lie that society is but by living it. He is the conformist rather than the non-conformist liberating but defeated hero. He has become a commodity which will be discarded “by the laws of economy.” Another element that Williams sees as tragically decisive is the relationship of parents to children, which is necessarily contradictory. I would add that it is precisely this relationship that sets Willy’s struggle against society in motion, as we will see later. This consciousness, as Williams concludes, is thus new: “that of a victim who has no living way out but can try, in death, to affirm his lost identity and his lost will.” (Williams: 124)

Miller, too, thinks that *Death of a Salesman* is a tragedy. Willy’s error is breaking the law that “says that a failure in society has no right to live.” (Miller: 169) Willy “is agonized by his awareness of being in a false position.” (Miller: 168) These two ideas are constantly apparent to him in Charley’s and Ben’s success. I also think that Loman tries to react against his personal failure, by making his whole life of the bringing up of Happy and Biff to be successes. Especially every time that Biff comes home, Willy is confronted with the reality of his two sons being as much of a failure as himself. We must remember that his eldest son hates him ever since the Boston affair. This aspect of the situation is overcome many years later when father and son embrace and Biff expresses his love for his father:

BIFF, *crying, broken*: Will you let me go, for Christ’s sake? Will you take that phony dream and burn it before something happens? (*Struggling to contain himself, he pulls away and moves to the stairs.*) I’ll go in the morning. Put him -put him to bed.

WILLY, after a long pause, astonished, elevated: Isn’t that -isn’t that remarkable? Biff -he likes me!

LINDA: He loves you, Willy!

HAPPY, *deeply moved*: Always did, Pop.

WILLY: Oh, Biff! (*Staring wildly*) He cried! Cried to me. (*He is choking with his love and now cries out his promise*) That boy -that boy is going to be magnificent! (Miller: 133)

Willy has been fighting for his son’s love ever since Biff was born. After the Boston episode, when Biff finds out about Willy’s infidelity, Willy thinks he has lost his son’s love for ever. This victory, years later, is limited. It does not change the fact that Willy is a failure as a father and a salesman—his two reasons for living. His identity and his will, as noted earlier, must be affirmed by death.

Mother Courage can be seen as a tragic heroine too if we avoid the temptation of asking whether we should admire or despise her, as Williams points out. Mother Courage’s apparent opportunistic, business-like attitude is countered by her concern for her children. She never leaves Kattrin, for example, when Lamb asks her to go with him to the inn he has inherited in Utrecht. It sounds tempting, but she does not go because Kattrin needs her. In her words:

MOTHER COURAGE: Cook, how could she pull the wagon by herself? The war frightens her. She can’t bear it. She has terrible dreams. I hear her groan at night, especially after the battles. What she sees in her dreams I don’t know. She suffers from sheer pity. The other day I found her with a hedgehog that we’d run over. (*Mother*

Courage: 97)

Katrin represents precisely this loving side of Mother Courage, and, like love, she is mute. This explains why she is in the climactic scene, and not Mother Courage. This also accounts for the paradox of a mute girl speaking for life and being killed and the living going on with a life that kills, with war. Mother Courage will drag her wagon for as long as she believes that Eilif, her eldest son, is still alive. Eilif stands for the aspect of bravery in Mother Courage's personality. As Williams points out, in *Mother Courage* "the action is illuminated by a tragic consciousness," we have a thrust for survival in a system that kills you, if not physically, psychologically.

I believe, with Richard Sewall, that the hero's suffering "makes a difference somewhere outside himself," (Levin: 180) and I would add, with Brecht, however useless it may seem. In the case of Joan it is obvious enough: the emergence of a modern, non-feudal France. In the case of Willy Loman, his son's forgiveness and understanding of his struggle. Mother Courage's suffering best represents a new sense of tragedy, as Williams puts it. He quotes Brecht: "the sufferings of this man appall me, because they are useless." (Williams: 103) That is, suffering is avoidable but not avoided. It breaks us but need not break us.

To conclude, I think these three tragedies represent at least one of the tendencies, if nothing else, of contemporary tragedy: the individual is a victim of the forces of society at work against him or her. To illustrate this, I found support, once again, in Steiner. He remembers being impressed by Helen Weigel's acting out, in the part of Mother Courage, of the scene where she is forced to identify Swiss Cheese's dead body. After giving no sign of recognition, she

looked the other way and tore her mouth open. The shape of the gesture was that of the screaming horse in Picasso's *Guernica*. The sound that came out was raw and terrible (...) total silence. It was silence that screamed and screamed through the whole theatre so that the audience lowered its head as before a gust of wind. And that scream inside silence seemed to me the same as Cassandra's when she divines the reek of blood in the house of Athens. It was the same wild cry with which the tragic imagination first marked our sense of life. The same wild and pure lament over man's inhumanity and waste of man. The curve of tragedy is, perhaps, unbroken. (Steiner: 354)

To me, it is definitely unbroken, and I could not have expressed it in better terms than Steiner, who also admits, though reluctantly, that tragedy "may have before it a new life and future." (Steiner: 354) Hopefully a bright one.

NOTES

¹ In Krutch's view, Nietzsche's opinion, that he shares, that there is a widespread inability to conceive of man as noble, accounts for the lack of tragedies in our times. Krutch summarizes Aristotle's definition of tragedy as the imitation of noble actions.

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Shakespeare's *Richard II*: a Historical Reading

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This paper is intended to be a re-reading of the one I submitted to the SELIM Conference at Valladolid¹. Since then I have reviewed my ideas about historicism. How to take up positions when your formation has been influenced by critics like E.M.W. Tillyard², Lily B. Campbell³, G. Wilson Knight⁴, J. Dover Wilson⁵, F.R. Leavis⁶, etc.? And how to take up positions when you have been bombarded in the 1970s and 1980s by new theories about historicism and re-readings of Shakespeare's history plays? Greenblatt's New Historicism⁷ has become so influential that a new attitude should be proposed for the reading of Shakespeare.

It should be realised that Shakespeare wrote for his time, but he became a classic and some of his plays can be considered "contemporaries" of any period of history. As a result, different readers at different times have proposed different readings. The reading of Graham Holderness' *Shakespeare Recycled: The Making of Historical Drama*⁸ and J. Dollimore & A. Sinfield's "History and ideology: the instance of *Henry V*"⁹ led me to change the introduction of the first copy, keep the corpus, add more bibliography and propose at this Conference the thesis that history is written by the winner, that Shakespeare was very much on the winning side and that he contributed to the formation of the Tudor Myth.

Shakespeare wrote ten historical plays with an English theme, eight of which form two sequences of four. The first was written early in his career, and consists of *Richard III* and the three Parts of *Henry VI*, which cover the period of the War of the Roses between the Houses of York and Lancaster. The second is formed by *Richard II*, the two Parts of *Henry IV* and *Henry V*. In this tetralogy, as Northrop Frye points out, "each play does look back to its predecessors, so there is a unity to the sequence, whether planned in advance or not. And, as the Epilogue to *Henry V* tells us, the story ends at the point where the earlier sequence began."¹⁰ The eight plays cover the period between the reigns of Edward III¹¹ and Henry VII. The other two historical plays are *King John* and *Henry VIII*.

Shakespeare manipulates history. Northrop Frye says that Shakespeare writes chronicles and not histories. In *Richard II* he narrates courtly plots to overthrow the king and enthrone another. There are no references to the history of the period. The king becomes a subject of the literary. A look at some important events in his long reign will confirm this.

King Edward III died in June 1377. The accession of his grandson Richard II (1377-1400) ended the regency of his powerful uncle John of Gaunt. The duke was excluded from the new government, formed by friends of the king's mother. A few weeks after Richard came to the throne, when he was only ten, the French launched a new series of attacks on the English coast, such as England had not known for a generation.

The Church, already unpopular in England, was shaken by John Wycliffe's reform¹². He accused the

Church of accumulating riches and having moved away from her origins based on poverty. There was an outcry against the Church's wealth. Wycliffe attacked the doctrine of Transubstantiation, which he claimed had been invented by the clergy and to be no more than a superstition. He sent his disciples, the Poor Preachers, to spread his doctrine throughout England. In 1380 he began the translation of the whole Bible from Latin into English. They were persecuted, although it is said that the king himself, and especially the queen, Anne of Bohemia, were thought to regard the Lollards with tolerance. In the 16th century the secret cells of the Lollards were the first supporters of the reformers.

Richard II had to face the breaking up of a system of production (the *manorial system*), and the *Peasants' Revolt* (1381). The measure that actually started the revolt was the levy of a poll-tax of a shilling in order to meet the cost of the French War, but large scale frauds were uncovered. When the serfs took London the king faced them with heroism. Once the rebellion was over the king revoked all the charters of freedom he had previously granted: "*Villeins ye are, and villeins ye shall remain.*" Parliament, whose members were the Lords of the lands, would not agree to the king re-distributing their lands.

He also had unfortunate relationships with some of his uncles. John of Gaunt came to Spain to claim the throne of Castile. Edmund, Duke of York, counted for nothing. But Thomas of Woodstock¹³, Duke of Gloucester, the youngest of his uncles, showed himself to be an unscrupulous man who intended to take the government out of his hands as soon as he could. The threat of a French invasion and the king's personal expenses gave Gloucester his opportunity. He reminded his nephew that kings could be deposed, citing the ominous case of Edward II. In 1387, after a short struggle, Gloucester defeated the king's army at Radcot Bridge. The Lords Appelant, as those who had accused the king's friends of treason called themselves, now took control. Among them was Henry, Earl of Derby, son of John of Gaunt and the future Henry IV. Their rule only lasted a year. But the king never forgave the men who had banished or murdered his friends. When Gaunt returned from Spain, Gloucester retired and the king governed his kingdom for a peaceful period that lasted until his warlike uncle's death in 1397. The rest of the story resembles Shakespeare's version, but in a different context and with different purposes.

Richard II (c. 1597) seems to have made a strong impression on the Elizabethan public. Six Quartos of it were made, five of them within the author's lifetime. The first three omitted the deposing scene at the end of Act IV. The fourth and fifth, which retained it, appeared five years after the queen's death. The omission of that scene could have happened anyway, because of the official nervousness about showing or printing such matters.

There is evidence that the play was revived when the conspiracy of Essex against Elizabeth was under way, possibly in order to accustom the public to the idea of deposing a monarch, something the censors worried about. The queen herself was aware of the connection, and is reported to have said: "*I am Richard II, know ye not that?*" But I do not think there was any relationship between the reckless Richard and the cautious Elizabeth. Shakespeare introduces the allegorical and sentimental garden scene, where the gardener says it is advisable to cut out the dead wood. In the same way the king should get rid of the ambitious Lords before they become dangerous:

... and Bolingbroke
 Hath seized the wasteful king. O! what pity is it
 That he had not so trimmed and dressed his land,

As we this garden! We at time of year
 Do wound the bark, the skin of our fruit-trees,
 Lest being over-proud in sap and blood,
 With too much riches it confound itself.
 Had he done so to great and growing men,
 They might have lived to bear, and he to taste,
 Their fruits of duty: superfluous branches
 We lop away, that bearing boughs may live:
 Had he done so, himself had borne the crown,
 Which waste of idle hours hath quite thrown down.
Richard II: III, iv, 55-66.

If the Essex group was responsible for the revival of the play, for propaganda purposes, this scene would have backfired on them.

The theme of the deposition of a king runs through the four plays of the tetralogy. But it certainly would not have been advisable for the author to raise doubts about the Tudors' rights to the throne. Some writers before him had justified the rebellion against a king. Thomas More, for example, writes the first biography of Richard III, the last English medieval king, defeated by Henry Richmond, later Henry VII, the first Tudor king. More stresses the atrocities and crimes committed by Richard in order to obtain and secure his throne. But, how many were committed by others, such as Henry VIII? Shakespeare takes up the theme again in *Richard III*, which becomes an authentic apology of the Tudor myth. At the beginning of the play there is a personal description of that monster:

But I, that am not shap'd for sportive tricks,
 Nor made to court an amorous looking-glass;
 I, that am rudely stamp'd, and want love's majesty
 To strut before a wanton ambling nymph:
 I, that am curtail'd of that fair proportion,
 Cheated of feature by dissembling Nature,
 Deform'd, unfinish'd, sent before my time
 Into this breathing world scarce half made up -
 And that so lamely and unfashionable
 That dogs bark at me, as I halt by them -
 Why, I, in this weak piping time of peace,
 Have no delight to pass away the time,
 Unless to spy my shadow in the sun,
 And descant on mine own deformity.
 And therefore, since I cannot prove a lover
 To entertain these fair well-spoken days,
 I am determined to prove a villain,
 And hate the idle pleasures of these days.
Richard III: I, i, 14-31.

The defeat of Richard is shown as a liberation, the end of an era and the beginning of another one under the Tudors. This long final speech shows how the Tudor myth was born:

Proclaim a pardon to the soldiers fled
 That in submission will return to us;
 And then, as we have ta'en the sacrament,
 We will unite the white rose and the red.
 Smile, heaven, upon this fair conjunction,
 That long have frown'd upon their enmity.
 What traitor hears me and says not Amen?
 England hath long been mad, and scarr'd herself:
 The brother blindly shed the brother's blood;
 The father rashly slaughter'd his own son;
 The son, compell'd, been butcher to the sire.
 All this divided York and Lancaster -
 Divided, in their dire division.
 O now let Richmond and Elizabeth,
 The true succeeders of each royal House,
 By God's fair ordinance conjoin together,
 And let their heirs, God, if Thy will be so,
 Enrich the time to come with smooth-fac'd peace,
 With smiling plenty, and fair prosperous days.
 Abate the edge of traitors, gracious Lord,
 That would reduce these bloody days again,
 And make poor England weep in streams of blood.
 Let them not live to taste this land's increase,
 That would with treason wound this fair land's peace.
 Now civil wounds are stopp'd; peace lives again.
 That she may long live here, God say Amen.

Richard III: V, v, 16-41.

In order to have a clear idea of this process we must bear in mind the intermarriages of English royalty between the reigns of Edward III and Henry VII as they are shown in Fig. 14. We can begin by considering the former's five sons. The eldest son and heir, Edward the "Black Prince", died in 1376, a year before his father did. The laws of succession brought his son, Richard, to the throne when he was still a boy. The saying: "*Woe to the land that's govern'd by a child*"¹⁵ is applicable here, and yet his reign lasted for twenty-two years (Shakespeare's play covers only the last year of his reign), as many years as Henry IV and Henry V together. When Richard II died in 1400 without an heir, the next in line of succession was Edmund Mortimer, third Earl of March, who was also nominated, according to the conspirators in *Henry IV*, by Richard II as his successor.

Henry Bolingbroke was the son of John of Gaunt, the third son of Edward III, and so not the next in line to the crown. However, he succeeded in establishing the House of Lancaster as the royal family, and

was followed by his son and grandson. He was only a boy of five when his father made a second marriage to Constance, daughter and heir to Pedro the Cruel, and sister of Isabella, Duchess of York. John of Gaunt was determined to press his claim to the throne of Castile for him and his wife. He repeatedly tried to invade Castile but always in vain. In 1388 those claims and disputes ended with the marriage of his daughter Catherine to the person who later became Henry III of Castile and Leon.

In 1402 Henry IV, widower of his first wife, married by proxy the Spanish Princess Joanna, one of the daughters of Charles II the Bad, of Navarre. The wedding ceremony was held on 7th February 1403. She did not bear him a son and had to agree to be the stepmother of those Henry had had with his first wife, Mary Bohun.

The Yorkist line came from Edmund, Duke of York, the fourth son of Edward III. We can see him in *Richard II* in a dramatic switch of loyalties from Richard to Bolingbroke. The resulting conflict with his son Edward, called Aumerle, is the real narrative point of the play. The line was not consolidated until the marriage of Aumerle's brother, Richard, to a descendant of Lionel produced Richard, Duke of York, who began the War of the Roses.

The Duchess of York, who so fervently defended her son Aumerle in Act V, is, as I have pointed out, the Spanish Princess Isabella of Castile, daughter of Pedro I the Cruel. Her husband, first Duke of York, served in several campaigns in Spain between 1359 and 1378. He was also in command of the expedition of 1381-2 in favour of the King of Portugal against Castile. Isabella takes part in Act V, ii (the whole scene) and also in V, iii, 73-145 with beautiful words and a moving action asking her husband and the king for her son's forgiveness. In those words she mentions her origins when she tells her husband that their son resembles him and not her, but that she loves him:

... Hadst thou groaned for him
 As I have done, thou wouldst be more pitiful.
 But now I know thy mind, thou dost suspect
 That I have been disloyal to thy bed,
 And that he is a bastard, not thy son:
 Sweet York, sweet husband, be not of that mind,
 He is as like thee as a man may be,
 Not like to me, or any of my kin,
 And yet I love him.

Richard II: V, ii, 102-110.

In *Richard II*, as N. Frye points out, Shakespeare had to make a marriage of convenience between the facts of medieval society, so far as they filtered down to him from his sources, and the Tudor mystique of loyalty. The War of the Roses brought about the ruin of England. Fortunately a new royal house had succeeded in establishing a new order based on obedience to a central sovereign as the only way of preserving peace. The civil war was considered divine punishment for the murder of a legitimate king and the usurpation of power, and also an unnatural rupture. All the components of a kingdom should co-exist in perfect harmony. Just as when the heavenly order is altered chaos is produced, so the civil war is the result of the interruption of earthly order, in which the crown is the symbol of power blessed with the divine right to royal succession. The Tudor myth means that they represent the conjunction of the

two enemies and that, after such a disastrous civil war, they had inaugurated the Golden Age. The garden represents the cosmic order of nature, where the king is the gardener and the kingdom is the garden. In history we find the bad gardener who does not take care of his garden: this is an allegory of disorder, the horrors of civil war, where son kills father or father kills son, where brother kills brother. The problem of the legitimacy of power is presented to us. The king is the Lord's anointed. But who can designate a king? Shakespeare becomes ambiguous: the king is the image of God's majesty on earth but designated by the people. The Tudors were despots supported by the people¹⁶.

In *Richard II* we have a rebellion against a legitimate king, the Lord's anointed. The king himself in the abdication scene offers a parallel between his judgement and that of Christ. He does not compare himself with Christ but he admits that the same circumstances are repeated, especially the rejection of the Lord's anointed by the people:

Not all the water in the rough rude sea
 Can wash the balm off from an anointed king.
 The breath of worldly men cannot depose
 The deputy elected by the Lord.
Richard II: III, ii, 54-55.

A legitimate king, as Shakespeare presents the situation, can be cruel and without scruples and still remain a king. As J. Kott says: "*there are no bad kings, or good kings; kings are only kings. Or let us put it in modern terms: there is only the king's situation, and the system*"¹⁷. But if he is weak or incompetent he may create a power vacuum in society, where the order of nature and God's will demand a strong central power. The central theme of *Richard II* is precisely the problem put to the nobles when they had to choose between a weak king *de jure* and a *de facto* power formed somewhere else. Richard was known by his contemporaries as a king who would not accept good advice. Shakespeare shows him ignoring the warnings and advice of his uncles John of Gaunt and York. His long reign was a series of errors and oppressions and Shakespeare did not need to go into detail. In the scene of his own death, John of Gaunt accuses him of one of the worst administrative sins: of having sold the right of collecting taxes to individuals the central power could not control. He was also shown as a king surrounded by undesirable favourites, as somebody who wasted money on his own pleasures and kept up a war in Ireland that contributed to empty the royal coffers. Above all he is shown as an incompetent administrator. In the demoralized state of the nation a *de facto* power begins to gather around Bolingbroke, although he was an unscrupulous usurper.

This forms part of what begins as a superbly patriotic speech. If Shakespeare makes the old ruffian John of Gaunt a wise and saintly prophet it was undoubtedly because he was the ancestor of the House of Tudor. As we can see in Fig. 2¹⁸, one Owen Tudor married Catherine of Valois, widow of Henry V. Edmund, their heir and first Earl of Richmond, married Margaret Beaufort, a descendant of John of Gaunt and his third wife, Katherine Swynford. Their son Henry, afterwards Henry VII, was the first king of the dynasty of the Tudors after the defeat of Richard III. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV, uniting the Houses of York and Lancaster. The Tudor myth was born.

The rest of the play is the working out of this *de jure* and *de facto* dilemma. Some, like the Duke of York, come over to Henry's side and transfer the loyalty owed to the Lord's anointed to him. So, when

York's son, Aumerle, conspires in favour of Richard, York accuses his son of the same treason and sacrilege he had previously accused Bolingbroke of before changing sides. In the scene where York insists on the king's trying his son for treason and the duchess pleads for pardon, Bolingbroke is at his best, because he is aware of the significance of what is happening. He has made the transition from being the *de jure* king as well, and after that all he needs to do is to get rid of Richard.

From Act III on we witness a transformation of these two characters, a king without a throne and a powerful man without a crown. "*One land, one king*," was the cry of the Knights of the Round Table. One of them had to disappear. Shakespeare disparages King Richard in the first Acts, but the figure of the king is exalted afterwards and becomes the central figure of a secular Passion. When Northumberland reports Bolingbroke's wish for Richard to come down and parley with him in the "base court", the symbolism of the whole operation flashes at once through his mind:

Down, down I come, like glist'ring Phaeton:
 Wanting the manage of unruly jades ...
 In the base court? Base court, where kings grow base
 To come at traitors' calls, and do them grace.
 In the base court? Come down? Down, court! Down, king!
Richard II: III, iii, 178-82.

The king accepts his loss of power. In the next step he looks back to himself. In the abdication scene he asks for a mirror:

Good king, great king, and yet not greatly good,
 And if my word be sterling yet in England,
 Let it command a mirror hither straight,
 That it may show me what a face I have,
 Since it is bankrupt of his majesty.
Richard II: IV, i, 263-7.

From the historical point of view Richard is finished: he has to be murdered. But from the dramatic point of view, Richard is and remains the central figure while Bolingbroke is a supporting actor. As I said before, the figure of the king is magnified over that of Bolingbroke while the latter is snatching the crown from him, and is strengthened among the nobles who behave like gangsters and all of whom, including Bolingbroke, make out that a bad king is being replaced by a good one.

The next act to establish the figure of the king takes place in Richard's great prison monologue, which in many respects sums up the play. The prison is the final actualizing of the individual world dramatized by the mirror scene earlier. Some of the thoughts expressed are ambiguous, some are resigned, but all of them are discontented:

Not I, nor any man but a man is,
 With nothing shall be pleased till he be eased
 With being nothing.
Richard II: V, v, 39-41.

These lines show us the ambiguity of the king's speech. The king is a man and a king at the same time. He will be king until he dies, until he becomes that something we call nothing. This meaning is central in *King Lear* later. It is the tragedy of the man who is invested with the attributes of a king. Without his crown a king becomes nothing and they will not be pleased until he is liberated by death. We are dealing with the medieval theory of the king's two bodies¹⁹, one as a man, an individual, and the other, his symbolic aspect as the body of his nation in an individual form.

Richard II is, as N. Frye says, in a more complex social position, and has been caught in the paradox of the king, who, we remember, possesses both an individual and a sacramental body. The latter includes all the subjects in his kingdom; the former, only himself. In prison, however, a whole world takes form within his mind: the other world he was looking for in the mirror. The king recovers his identity as a man and his magnificence as a king.

The imagery changes as music is heard in the background. Richard comments on the need for keeping time in music, and applies the word to his own life: "*I wasted time, and time doth now waste me*":

... Music do I hear?
 Ha, ha! keep time - how sour sweet music is,
 When time is broke and no proportion kept!
 So is it in the music of men's lives:
 And here have I the daintiness of ear
 To check time broke in a disordered string;
 But for the concord of my state and time
 Had not an ear to hear my true time broke.
 I wasted time, and time doth now waste me:
 For now hath time made me his numb'ring clock.
Richard II: V, v, 41-50.

It is the rhythm he has not kept, that has led him to death, while it has led Bolingbroke to power:

My thoughts are minutes, and with sighs they jar
 Their watches on unto mine eyes, the outward watch,
 Whereto my finger, like a dial's point,
 Is pointing still, in cleansing them from tears.
 Now, sir, the sound that tells what hour it is
 Are clamorous groans which strike upon my heart
 Which is the bell - so sighs, and tears, and groans,
 Show minutes, times, and hours: but my time
 Runs posting on in Bolingbroke's proud joy,
 While I stand fooling here, his Jack of the clock ...
Richard II: V, v, 51-60.

At the end of the play, Bolingbroke, now Henry IV, hints that the death of the imprisoned Richard would be most convenient for him, and his follower Exton carries out the deed, and returns expecting a

reward for his faithful service. He forgot that leaders have to dissociate themselves immediately from such acts, whether they ordered them or not, and the play closes with Exton banished and Henry saying:

They love not poison that do poison need,
 Nor do I thee; though I did wish him dead,
 I hate the murderer, love him murderéd:
 The guilt of conscience take thou for thy labour,
 But neither my good word, nor princely favour:
 With Cain go wander thorough shades of night,
 And never show thy head by day nor light . . .

Richard II: V, vi, 38-44.

The tragedy points to an end. Bolingbroke has committed a crime and with the support of the nobles is crowned king of England having promised a distribution of lands. Once again in Elizabethan times they refer to the division of England: it was a time to be united around the figure of the queen. Henry IV, the hypocrite, laments the king's death and promises to cleanse himself by going on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land:

Lords, I protest, my soul is full of woe,
 That blood should sprinkle me to make me grow:
 Come, mourn with me for what I do lament,
 And put on sullen black incontinent.
 I'll make a voyage to the Holy Land,
 To wash this blood off from my guilty hand:
 March sadly after, grace my mournings here,
 In weeping after this untimely bier.

Richard II: V, vi, 45-52.

The crusade is a ruse to keep the nobility busy, but Henry does not participate in one. His journey to the Holy Land is a journey to nowhere. He had been promised that he would die in Jerusalem, and such was the name of the room in Westminster Palace where he died²⁰. *Ironías del destino*.

NOTES

¹ Sánchez Escribano, J. 1993 (1995): Medieval into Renaissance: the case of Kings Richard II and Henry IV. Fernández, P. and Bravo J.M^a ed.: *Proceedings of the VIth International Conference of SELIM*. Secretariado de Publicaciones, Universidad de Valladolid. 1993 (1995): 325-335.

² Tillyard, E.M.W. 1944: *Shakespeare's History Plays*. London, Chatto and Windus.

³ Campbell, Lily B. 1947: *Shakespeare's Histories: Mirrors of Elizabethan Policy*. San Marino CA, Huntington Library.

⁴ Knight, G. Wilson. 1944: *The Olive and the Sword*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

- ⁵ Wilson, J. Dover and Worsley, T.C. 1952: *Shakespeare's Histories at Stratford 1951*. London, Max Reinhardt.
- ⁶ Leavis, F.R. 1963: "A retrospect", *Scrutiny*, XX, 1963: 1-20.
- ⁷ Greenblatt, Stephen. 1988: "Invisible bullets", in *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of social energy in Renaissance England*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Also 1990: *Learning to Curse: Essays in early modern culture*. London, Routledge.
- ⁸ Holderness, G. 1992: *Shakespeare recycled: The making of historical drama*. London, Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- ⁹ Dollimore, J. and Sinfield, A. 1986: "History and ideology: the instance of *Henry V*", in Drakakis, John ed.: *Alternative Shakespeares*. London, Methuen.
- ¹⁰ Sandler, R. ed. 1986: *Northrop Frye on Shakespeare*. Markham, Ontario, Fitzhenry & Whiteside. 1986: 51.
- ¹¹ Anonimus, 1985: *Edward III*. Parfitt G. ed. Nottingham Drama Texts, University of Nottingham.
- ¹² His reformation coincides with the Popes' seventy years' residence at Avignon (1309-78), the "Babylonian captivity".
- ¹³ Anonimus, 1988: *Thomas of Woodstock*. Parfitt G and Shepherd S. eds. Doncaster: The Brynmill Press.
- ¹⁴ Ross, C. 1981: *Richard III*. London: Methuen. 1981: 238.
- ¹⁵ Shakespeare: *Richard III*: II, iii, 11. It is a popular phrase we can find in the *Ecclesiastes* (X, 15-16) and in Hall's *Edward V*, fol. xxi, 5. In that scene, three town-folk lament the death of Edward IV and the eminent dangers that menaced the kingdom because of his successor's tender age.
- ¹⁶ Wells, R.H., *Shakespeare, Politics and the State* (London: Macmillan, 1986): 1. Civilisation and the Debate on Human Nature; 2. Forms of Government; 3. The Just Ruler; 4. Rebellion; 5. Providence and History; 6. Natural Law.
- ¹⁷ Kott, J. 1967: *Shakespeare: Our Contemporary*. London, Methuen, 1967: 14
- ¹⁸ Chrimes, S.B. 1984: *Henry VII*. London, Methuen, 1984: 338.
- ¹⁹ Kantorowicz, Ernst H. 1981: *The King's two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology*. Princeton, American Political Science Review.
- ²⁰ Shakespeare: *2 Henry IV*: IV, vv 235-40.

FIG. I - YORK AND LANCASTER

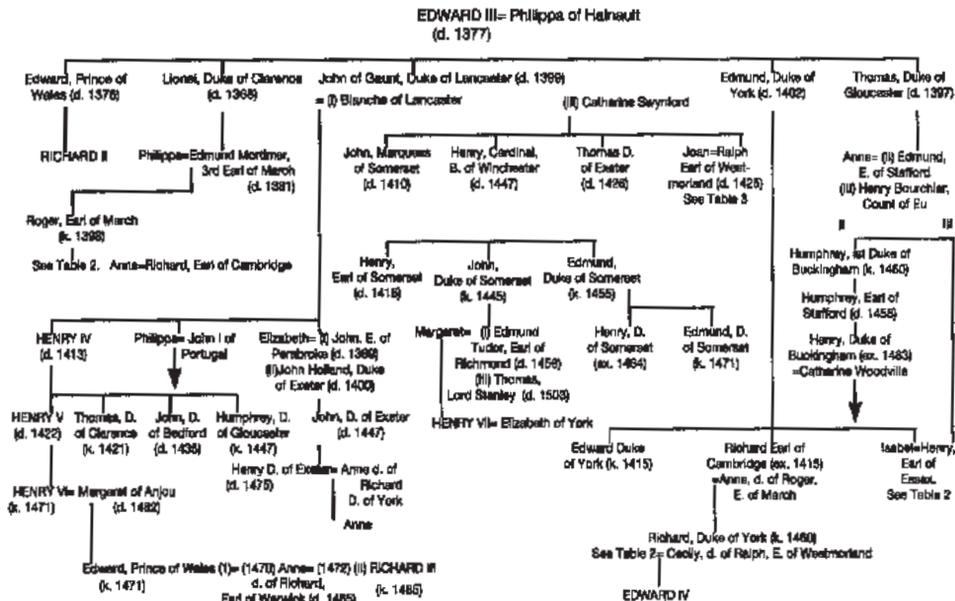
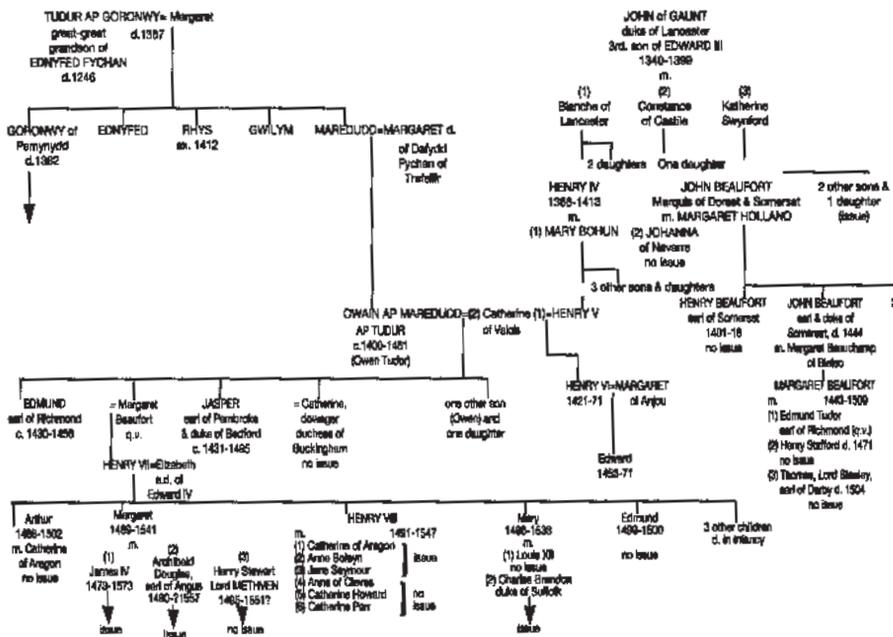


FIG. II - THE DESCENT AND DESCENDANTS OF HENRY VII



Addressing the Audience of the Towneley Plays

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The Corpus Christi plays, in Coffman's words "were intended to be presented. They were presented. They were popular." Or, as a modern stage director puts it, "the cycles were performed for the people by the people, fleshing out in dramatic action the central truths of Christian teaching."¹ The Towneley Plays were conceived for the people. The extant text is a collection of the individual papers of each craft, composed during the 15th century and performed in the 16th century outside the church. In my opinion, we cannot approach the cycle as if it were just a book to be read, but as the script for a dramatic performance, which, following Kolve's words, in his book *The Play called Corpus Christi*, furnishes images of a superior sort: "the plays are "quike bookis", he says, living books that speak, move, and can imitate whole sequences of events and interactions. They image more vividly and more unforgettably than any other art form of their time"², seeking to lead the spectators into a deeply felt response. The plays are "scores for speech and action whose final artistic life is only suggested on the manuscript page."³ How the spectators are led into such a response is sought in those suggestions on the manuscript pages. Therefore, the present paper aims to be a representative study -albeit not exhaustive in terms of possible devices and data- of addressing the audience. A linguistic examination of the text will answer questions such as who is addressed outside the fiction of the play and by whom and what about. My final aim is the study of the textual evidence suggesting asides and to show that the medieval audience played a very important role, becoming part of the show. The words of another modern stage director remind us that the text required interaction between players and audience "The smallest possible cast for each play varies from four to ten, but in all cases more actors can be used for supporting roles, and members of the audience can be encouraged to participate."⁴

By analyzing how the audience was addressed, how their emotions were appealed to, we may be contributing to a better understanding of the reactions of the medieval audience to these plays, and of the role they played in their production. Moreover, we may be also contributing, in collaboration with theatrical studies, towards a *mise en scène* as similar as possible to that of the Middle Ages; and we may also be contributing to a better understanding of other plays with similar problems, namely that of the lack of written explicit stage directions.

I am afraid I cannot say with Withington that "I am not sure that even the professors could stand the whole of a cycle."⁵ I believe in the appeal of "living books", even if based on a historical interest, and I prefer to side with Coffman when, after accepting the possible dramatic limitations of the scriptural drama, he challenges us "to try to discover how the dramatic or emotional appeal was made actually successful."⁶ A success which kept the plays on the stage for two hundred years, and has awakened the spirit of medieval drama enthusiasts in the 20th century.

TEXTUAL EVIDENCE

Since the stage directions printed on the manuscript offer no information regarding audience address, it may not be as immediately clear to the reader of the plays that he is being addressed, as it is to the spectator who watches the final product once it has gone through the expertise of a stage director. However, several devices in the construction of the text mark possible halts in the ongoing speeches in order to address the audience, thus being a call for both the reader and the stage director.

On the basis of textual evidence two types of address can be distinguished: the open direct asides and the more subtle kind; both are found embedded in dialogues and monologues, showing a variety of linguistic resources and different discourse functions.

LINGUISTIC RESOURCES

The different linguistic mechanisms that mark a possible aside may be divided into four groups: those related to the actual address, such as vocative expressions, use of apparent “royal we” involving the audience and change of grammatical subject in the middle of a speech; secondly, a mechanism to do with the construction of a speech, namely the long texts with similar sounding paragraphs or repetitions; thirdly, contextual references, where the context goes beyond the play itself and the stage in order to involve the audience’s reality; this is the case of anachronistic references, locative expressions and references to scenic properties. Finally, unsuitable semantic content of certain passages.

1. The actual address

i. Vocatives to the audience

The plays in their role of providers of images to “stir the mind to contemplation and the heart to love “were, in Kolve’s words, “as useful to priests and clerks, lords and ladies, quite as much as they were to the common people.”⁷ The plays were mainly addressed to the unlettered, but the learned were also in the mind of the dramatists. The audience that gathered around the waggons included clergy, aristocracy, burgesses and peasants. If we turn to the text, we find some scenes in which, unless some supporting cast is provided following the decisions of a stage director, the players are addressing no one on stage at all, but, we assume, the audience at large. This is particularly the case of the speeches of great lords such as Pharaoh, Caesar or Herod, and their soldiers and messengers, as well as the prophets. See, for example, Garcio, Cain’s servant, talking on his own, albeit not to himself, and not to any one else imaginable on stage either, and doing this address in the plural:

Garcio. Fellows, here I you forbede
To make nother nose ne cry. (2.10)⁸

The spectators are directly addressed, usually as a whole, in the plural, by means of vocative expressions such as: “old and young, from far and near, all hail!, both of burgh and of town, by fellis and by firth, All ye folk of Israel. // Harkens all, both young and old!” Quite a few of the expressions used are

male-specific, but can probably be taken as involving the whole audience: “fellows, lordyngys, beshewers, gedlings, brodels, both king with crown and barons of birth, sirs.” Sometimes, however, it is clear that only a sector of the public was mentioned, when the speech was only relevant to them. See, for example, an address only to men: “ye men that has wives”. Or only to women: “of wives that are here”. Or the use of vague vocative expressions, particularly, “whoso”, as in:

3 *Shepherd*. Crystys crosse me spede, and Sant Nycholas !
 Therof had I nede; it is wars then it was.
 Whoso couthe take hede and lett the world pas,
 it is euer in drede and brekyll as glas,
 and slythys. (13.118-22)

Such vocative expressions are sometimes inappropriate in the context of the story the play is supposed to depict, and their inappropriateness gives further support to the hypothesis that it is the audience that is being addressed. See, for example, John the Baptist, supposedly preaching the people of Israel, addressing them as “sirs”, which does not sound natural even in the context of a pulpit sermon, but sounds all right in the mouth of someone addressing his superiors, as a player addressing his respectable audience:

John. Syrs, forsake youre wykydnes. (19.275)

I choose the word “respectable” because in the majority of cases, they are so addressed, at least, by mouth, although there are cases of abusive vocatives, such as “harlottys”, as well as authoritarian manipulation of the congregation, as we shall see. Consider, as an example, the address of Tutiullus to the bad souls, which as I suggest below could be aimed at the audience:

Tutiullus. Come to my crofte
 All ye;
 All harlottys and horres,
 And bawdys that procures,
 To bring thaim to lures,
 Welcom to my see!
 Ye lurdans and lyars,
 mychers and thefes, (...)
 All vnto hell. (30. 353-67)

The characters in charge of addressing the audience are as varied as the audience itself: both the authoritarian and the common turn round to the spectators, and women address women, married men advise young men, soldiers and governors frighten the people, shepherds express their laments to their equals, wise men preach and advise, and the devil addresses every single one of them as if the judgement day was that very midsummer afternoon.

ii. Use of apparent “royal we”, involving the audience

Many instances of an apparent “royal we” can be considered as meaning “you and me”, the “you” being the spectators, especially when the speaker belongs to the common people, and appears on stage on his own, monologuing, thus involving the audience in his own experience; in fact, whenever the great charac-

ters, more liable to use the “royal we” speak, they use the first person singular (rather than the plural) in their speeches, however pompous, since they are only referring to themselves, and not involving the spectators.

Consider now the opening lines of the *Secunda Pastorum*, for example, when the 1st Shepherd appears talking to himself in the first person singular:

1 Shepherd. I am nerehande dold, so long have I nappyd (...)
 Bot we sely husbandys that walkys on the moore,
 in fayth, we ar nerehandys outt of the doore.
 No wonder, as it standys if we be poore,
 for the tylthe of oure landys lyys falow as the floore (13. 1-13)

This does not seem to be a case of “royal we”, due to the context of a shepherd talking to himself, especially after using the form “I” at the beginning. Having dismissed that interpretation, in my opinion, this is a case of “we” meaning “you and me”, the “you” being the audience, since there is no one else sharing the stage at that moment. This is further proved, when after the above lines he says: “as ye ken.”, (13.14) the “ye” being the public in front of him. From then on, the next “we’s” will be interpreted as a direct address to those among the congregation who are in the same situation as the shepherd.

iii. Change of grammatical subject.

The changes are from “you” to “he” and from “he/they” to “you”, in all cases referring to the same persons. The first is characteristic of prayers, in which God is addressed in the second person “you”, and where there is a change of the direction of the speech to a third person “he”, in order to speak to the audience about the former “you”. Let us see a typical example in the opening lines of *Abraham*, when he is praying to God:

Abraham. Adonay, thou God veray,
 Thou hear vs when we to the call
 As thou art he that best may,
 Thou art most socoure and help of all.
 Mightfull lord! to the I pray,
 Let onys the oyle of mercy fall!
 Shall I neuer abide that day,
 Truly yit I hope I shall.
 Mercy, Lord omnipotent ! (4. 1-9)

After nine lines of addressing God, Abraham suddenly refers to Him in the third person singular, thus:

Long syn he this warld has wroght; (4. 10)

To end up telling the history of Man until his time. Is it not likely that all this was addressed to the audience, in the manner of a Sunday sermon ?

A good example of the second change of grammatical subject, from “he/they” to “you”, is the long spe-

ech of Tutiullus when he arrives in hell with more than ten thousand souls and introduces himself to the first demon. Apart from some possible supporting cast, the text is probably meant to be addressed to the audience in order to make it sound more effective. There are several references to “here”, which admittedly could refer to the mob he brings with him, but could also refer to the space shared by players and audience:

Tutiullus. Of femellys a quantite here fynde I parte. (30.254)⁹

Obviously, they could not fit so many bad souls on the stage waggon, while addressing the multitudinous crowds would have served the double purpose of having the players there ready, and doing some direct and relevant sermonising at the same time. Not only that, but after referring to the sinners in the third person (which if addressed to the audience, as I suggest, could have been accompanied by side looks and gesticulation), Tutiullus changes to “you”, after using an in-between “this” reference, which almost sounds as if he was moving nearer and nearer to his audience until possibly physically touching them (for example, by getting off the waggon, or approaching them if in an arena):

Tutiullus. Bot with youre yolow lökkys,
ffor all youre many mokkys,
ye shall clym on hell crokkys
with a halpeny heltere. (30.319-22)¹⁰

2. The construction of long speeches: repetitions

We may guess an intention to address the audience in some long speeches which can be broken down into several paragraphs of a similar enough content. These smaller paragraphs may have been quite likely recited looking at different sectors of the watching audience, since otherwise such a concatenation of similar ideas seems to make no sense. These long texts seem to be aimed at the audience also because of the presence of vocative expressions referring to them and not to other players on stage, making the spectators play the role of imaginary crowds. This could apply to the discussion of sins in the Judgement play, since there are so many sins, that perhaps they could be enumerated looking at different sections of the audience, as if they were the sinners. Also, some of the introductory speeches of great earthly lords, such as Pharaoh or Caesar, could be interpreted in this way. See, for example,

Pharao. Peas, of payn that no man pas;
bot kepe the course that I commaunde,
And take good hede of hym that has
youre helth all holy in hys hande;
ffor kyng pharro my fader Was,
And led thys lordshyp of thys land;
I am hys hayre as age Wyll has,
Euer in stede to styr or stand.

All Egypt is myne awne
To leede aftyr my law;
I Wold my myght Were knowne

And honoryd, as hyt awe.
 ffull low he shall be thrawne
 That harkyns not my sawe,
 hanged hy and drawne,
 Therfor no boste ye blaw;
 Bot as for kyng I commaund peasse,
 To all the people of thys empyre.
 looke no man put hym self in preasse,
 Bot that Wyll do as I desyre,
 And of youre Wordis look that ye seasse.
 Take tent to me, youre soferand syre,
 That may youre comfort most increasse,
 And to my lyst bowe lyfe and lyre. (8.1-24)

where in each of the three sections, Pharaoh commands the audience to keep silent under terrible threats, so that he can talk to them about his great power.

3. Contextual references

i. The use of anachronisms

I believe that the audience is particularly in the mind of the anonymous authors when they sprinkle their dialogues with anachronisms. Their intentionality, to “make the biblical lesson more vivid or the moral teaching more effective,”¹¹ may be justified by their success in conveying a quick direct relevant message to the spectators, apart, of course, from the more human end of provoking laughter. “Thus, the dramatist might be fully as much concerned with driving a point home as with raising a laugh.”¹² Is this not, then, another subtle way to address an audience rather than just the characters on stage? What can the well-known ale of Healey mean to a shepherd in Bethlehem? Could this have been pronounced with a wink at the public?

ii. Locative expressions

There are references to space interspersed in the conversations; some are fairly neutral in meaning, such as “in this place” or just “here”, and could indeed refer to the space of the biblical stories, especially if they do not appear in the context of an address to the audience; however, by analogy with other more specific references, out of place in the context of the story depicted, some of them could be taken as references to the space in which the show is performed, i.e. to the space shared by both players and audience, and thus be an indication of audience address. Conversely, instances of clear asides which include a locative expression, may be clues as to the place and manner of representation of the cycle, a point which is by no means settled among scholars.¹³ Let us examine one example: among other things, Caesar Augustus commands everybody to “sit down still”. If this is an address to the audience, as I believe, this could perhaps refer to the way the spectators were watching the show, that is, sitting down, which would favour the idea of a stationary rather than processional presentation whether indoors or outdoors:

Imperator. Ston styll ye wold syt downe (9.12).

iii. References to props.

Stage directions do not indicate the scenic properties, or props, which are necessary to perform the plays. But we can guess which ones were needed not only from a logical reading with a mind to put on a show, but also from actual textual reference to some of the main instruments used, some of which were probably meant to stir the minds of the medieval people to some of the most crucial events in the history of Redemption, by stirring their senses first: the stool and veil for the buffeting, the nails and hammer for the crucifixion, the tree for the cross and loads of blood. All this must have been very impressive, helping that idea of a living book. The fact that they are mentioned in the course of conversations rather than as a stage direction for players, might respond to a deliberate intention to draw the spectators' attention to them, therefore constituting an example of indirect address.

4. Semantic content

Whenever the semantic content of a speech does not seem to fit in the development of the biblical story, or is out of place in a particular context, we may be confronting a situation of audience address. The clearest examples of this are cases where deliberate sermonising is at work. See, for example, John baptising Christ:

John. Here I the anoint also
with oyle and creme, in this intent:
That men may wit, where so thay go.
this is a worthy sacrament.
There ar sex othere and no mo. (19. 193-7).

Is John really telling Christ, of all people, how many sacraments there are? Moreover, is this not an utterly out-of-place comment anyway, in the context, when the Sacraments had not been instituted yet? Is he not, deep down, addressing the audience at that moment?

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS: CHANGE OF DISCOURSE FUNCTION

All the above linguistic devices may be included in different examples of changes in discourse function. These take place in those passages in which a character starts speaking about something in particular related to the story itself, for example his bad luck in marriage, and ends up addressing the audience present, such as warning young men against marrying. Whenever this takes place, it is usually subtle for a reader of the plays, but must have been very effective on stage, as if the imaginary story came alive all of a sudden, involving all the spectators, who by art of magic become shepherds with the shepherds, or watching Jews being harassed by Roman soldiers, or bad souls being thrown to hell at the Judgement.

Changes of discourse function occur inside both monologues and dialogues. If we turn to the former first, we could ask ourselves what the point of a monologue is in a dramatic performance in the context of the mystery plays. "The monologue", in Diller's words, "is full of concrete details which appeal to the common experience of speaker and audience."¹⁴ In my opinion, they help involve the audience by

sharing their experience with the players, their emotions and real life are appealed to, and thus they become actors in essence themselves, since they feel they have the same experiences as those shown on stage, when in fact the process is the other way round: everyday experiences are taken on to the stage, mirroring life back. It is not a difficult task to address the audience from inside a monologue; in a way, it seems more natural than from inside a dialogue. Let us see some examples of this:

1. Changes from inside a monologue

i. A monologue may become a piece of advice, addressed to the audience, as in:

2 Shepherd. Bot, yong men, of wowyng, for God that you boght
Be well war of wedyng, and thynk in youre thoght. (13. 91-2)

ii. It may also become a sermon, which is not surprising if we bear in mind that in Corpus Christi plays “dramatic effectiveness of the material selected was secondary to moral instruction, and of importance only as it aided the chief purpose of the plays.”¹⁵

John. Syrs, forsake youre wykydnes,
Pryde, envy, slowth, wrath, and lechery.
here gods seruice, more & lesse;
Pleas god with prayng, thus red I;
Be war when deth comys with dystres,
So that ye dy not sodanly.
Deth sparis none that lyf has borne,
Therfor thynk on what I you say;
Beseche youre god both euen and morne
you for to saue from syn that day.
Thynk how in bapty m ye ar sworne
To be godis seruandis, withoutten nay;
let neuer his luf from you be lorne. (19. 275-87)

iii. A change in the course of a monologue which suggests an address to the audience also occurs when a character describes or explains something so obvious that it seems out of place in the middle of talking to himself. For example, if the Second Shepherd in *Secunda Pastorum* is monologuing, why does he describe his wife to himself? Is he not describing her to the audience, then, since there is no one else to talk to?:

2 Shepherd. For, as euer rede I pystyll, I have oone to my fere
As sharp as thystyll, as rough as a brere;
She is browyd lyke a brystyll, with a sowre-loten chere;
Had she oones wett hyr whystyll, she couth syng full clere
Hyr Paternoster.
She is as greatt as a whall,
She has a galon of gall;
By hym that dyed for vs all,

I wald I had ryn to I had lost hyr! (13. 100-8)

iv. Another instance is that in which the character stops monologuing in order to gain the agreement and sympathy of the audience, as well as involve them in his situation:

1 Shepherd. I thank it God, hark ye what I mene. (12. 19)

2. A change from inside a dialogue

The same kind of changes can be observed inside a dialogue, which I take to include conversations between at least two characters on stage, and instances of praying, since these imply the existence of an addressee other than oneself or the spectators.

i. In the same way as in the monologues, one character may change from conversing to advising and moralising, as Mak's wife does after her complaint about all the work she has to do:

Vxor. Why, who wanders, who wakys? Who commys, who gose?
 Who brewys, who bakys? What makys me thus hose?
 And than
 It is rewthe to beholde
 Now in hote, now in colde,
 Full wofull is the householde
 That wantys a woman. (13. 415-21).

ii. A most interesting change is that from prayer to sermon, since it involves not only the change of the logical content of the speech, but also a change of grammatical subject, as when Noah is praying to God, addressing him as "thou" during the fourteen opening lines, until he suddenly refers to God in the third person: Noah abandons his prayer and ends up explaining the history of the fall of the angels to the spectators:

Noah. Myghtfull God veray, maker of all that is,
 Thre persons withoutten nay, oone God in endles blis,
 Thou maide both nyght and day, beest, fowle, and fysh;
 All creatures that lif may wroght thou at thi wish,
 As thou wel myght.
 The son, the moyne, verament,
 Thou maide; the firmament;
 The sternes also full feruent,
 To shyne thou maide ful bright.
 Angels thou maide ful euen, all orders that is,
 To haue the blis in heuen: this did thou more and les,
 Full mervelus to neuen. Yit was ther vnkyndnes
 More bi foldys seuen then I can well expres,
 Forwhi
 Of all angels in brightnes
 God gaf Lucifer most lightnes. (3. 1-16).

(...)

Soyne after, that gracyous Lord to his liknes maide man,
 That place to be restord, euen as he began;
 Of the Trinite bi accord, Adam, and Eue that woman,
 To multiplie without discord, in Paradise put he thaym,
 And sithen to both
 Gaf in commaundement
 On the tre of life to lay no hend. (3. 28-34).

iii. One character may address the audience from inside a dialogue on stage in order to gain their agreement and sympathy, the same way as from within a monologue, or to explain something about what is going on, as when Mak's wife comments about her husband:

Vxor. Lo, he coMmys with a lote,
 As he were holden in the throte. (13. 409-10)

Or when Mak does the same thing about his wife:

Mak. Wyll ye here what fare she makys to gett hir a glose?
 And dos nocht bot lakys, and clowse hir toose. (13. 413-4)

Or when Noah explains to the audience about his wife's customs:

Noah. Thou can both byte and whyne
 With a rerd;
 For all if she stryke,
 Yit fast will she skryke;
 In fayth, I hold none slyke
 In all medill-erd. (3. 229-34)

THE MESSAGE OF THE ADDRESS

Once we have identified who are addressed and how this is done, we are in a better position to examine more precisely what the congregation is told during the course of the performance. The players try and connect with their audience, what Brown calls to "establish themselves with the audience as well as with the situation of the drama."¹⁶ They also manipulate them, usually in an abusive manner, and finally they end up preaching to them.

The connecting is done in a number of ways, usually verbally, such as giving advice, particularly in the shape of proverbs, extra information about the story, making a comment about a character, asking for consent. See, for example:

Noah. Yee men that has wifys, whyls thay ar yong,
 if ye luf youre lifys, chastice thare tong. (3. 397-8)

We can also consider extra-textual references that have a direct appeal on the audience's minds and hearts. Although this is the realm of theatrical studies rather than philological analysis, I would like to mention briefly that intonation, gesticulation and looks, accenting the "you's" and "here's, together with appropriate selection of music, would have certainly helped the illusion of the role played by the audience in the play, contributing to making them feel as much of a protagonist as the players themselves, which is what the playwrights might have been after, in order to make the Christian message nearer and contemporary, and above all, alive. Also, I would like to mention those particularly important moments which both players and audience share and which may be missed in a hurried reading of the plays: those that involve silence. Silence typically has to be guessed, but some textual references to it appear. The most obvious example is the refusal of Christ to speak in the presence of Annas and Caiaphas.

The manipulating is done verbally, in the shape of commands and threats, usually clothed in an air of abuse and authority, and without making them move out of their seats. But the imagination of a stage director could produce a performance in which the players actually come into close contact with the spectators, to the point of making them participate as if they belonged to the cast; due to such a manipulation, the audience would come to react physically and collaborate, becoming fully involved in the biblical story. Textual reference show that the spectators are given instructions, particularly to keep silent at the beginning of the show:

Garcio. Bot let youre lippis couer youre ten,
Harlottys euerychon!
For if my master com, welcom hym then. (2. 21-3)

They are threatened, as by Herod in his final address:

Herod. No sufferan you sauys; youre nekkys shall I shak
in sonder.
No king ye on call
But on Herode the ryall,
Or els many oone shall
Apon youre bodys wonder.
For if I here it spokyn, when I come agayn,
Your branys bese brokyn; therefor be ye bayn. (16. 499-506)

They are abused and insulted, as by Garcio at the opening of the play:

Garcio. Felows, here I you forbede
To make nother nose ne cry;
Whoso is so hardy to do that dede,
The dwell hang hym vp to dry! (2. 10-3)

But they are also blessed, as when the 2nd Shepherd of *Prima Pastorum* enters the stage, at the beginning of the play:

2 *Shepherd*. Bensté, bensté be vs emang,
 And saue all that I se here in this thrang!
 He saue you and me, ouerthwart and endlang,
 That hang on a tre, I say you no wrang. (12. 46-9)

The blessing can also take place at the end of a play, in the way of an “adieu”, as when Garcio says good-bye:

Garcio. Now old and yong, or that ye weynd,
 The same blissyng withoutten end,
 All sam then shall ye haue,
 That God of heuen my master has giffen.
 Browke it well, whils that ye liffen;
 He vowche it full well safe. (2. 444-9)

Moral instruction inspired the production of the plays in the first place, and this could not be left to the realm of subtlety: direct sermonising is therefore a must here and there, and this is done at three levels. In the first place, we find biblical exegesis. Thus, the spectators learn about the history of Redemption as explained in the whole of the Bible (from the creation of the world, the fall of the angels, the creation of man, the expulsion from Paradise, etc.) from the mouth of Noah, for example; a similar version is repeated by Abraham; also about the ten commandments; they learn about the prophecies related to the birth of Christ; about Doomsday, and so on. Secondly, there is warning against sinning and spectators are pictorially shown the horrible punishment they are bound to suffer, and thirdly, they are told about ecclesiastical hierarchy and other church-related matters, both earthly and doctrinal, interspersed in the biblical events in the manner of anachronistic interferences, varying from the names of clerical books, such as epistles and graduals, to the existence of the Seven Sacraments.

These plays were produced in order to bring the Christian message nearer to the people, to humanize Christianity, in Rossiter’s words, to get the message down from the altars onto the street. This meant trying to catch people’s attention on a long hot summer’s day, and keep them interested. A constant address to them would manage this, and at the same time, keep them watching. This constant address to the audience, sometimes open, sometimes more subtle, results in their complete involvement in the play that they are watching. The audience becomes part of the show.

This vast crowd watching in the street might have been nodding in consent, laughing in amusement, trembling in fear: their inner feelings were being directly stirred by the realistic dramatization of the biblical story, which was involving them as well. Moreover, an air of social protest and criticism, mingled with religious instruction, imbued the atmosphere of the medieval English towns, the air which that medieval audience was breathing.

This is the feeling one experiences today when watching these performances, particularly, in my opinion, during the Crucifixion and the Lifting of the Cross. I agree with the words of a scholar cited by Coffman¹⁷, who said that he “would gladly have exchanged the stage play or the movie for a day or a week in any one of a hundred towns in medieval England along about Corpus Christi day.” And I would like you to join in and see if you do not feel called when you hear and see the following,¹⁸ against a twentieth century urban background:

Jesus. I pray you pepyll that passe me by,
 that lede youre lyfe so lykandly,
 heyfe vp youre hartys on hight!
 Behold if euer ye sagh body
 buffet & bett thus bloody. (23. 233-7)

Are we not part of the people that pass by, is it not our life that is pleasant, is it not our own hearts that are called at this very moment?

NOTES

¹ Pickering, K. 1986: *The Mysteries at Canterbury Cathedral*. Worthing, Churchman Publishing Limited. p.ix.

² Kolve, V.A. 1966. *The play called Corpus Christi*. Standford, Standford University Press. p.5

³ Kolve. *Op. cit.* p.7

⁴ Brown, J.R. 1983: *The complete plays of the Wakefield Master*. London, Heinemann. p.3.

⁵ Withington, R. 1930: "The Corpus Christi play as drama". *Studies in Philology* 27: 578

⁶ Coffman, G.R. 1929: "A plea for the study of the Corpus Christi Play as drama." *Studies in Philology* 26: 411-24.

⁷ Kolve. *Op. cit.* p.5-6.

⁸ References to the texts of the pageants are by number, as follows:

2. *Mactacio Abel.*

3. *Processus Noe cum filiis.*

4. *Abrabam.*

8. *Pharao.*

9. *Cesar Augustus.*

12. *Pagina Pastorum.*

13. *Alia eorundem.*

19. *Johannes Baptista.*

16. *Magnus Herodes.*

23. *Processus Crucis.*

30. *Judicium.*

Texts number 2, 3, 12, 13 and 16 correspond to the edition by A.C. Cawley; the others to the edition by G. England, & A. Pollard.

⁹ Note other examples:

Tutiullus. That fals swerars shall hider com mo then a thowsand skore (30. 279).

Tutiullus. Yit of these kyrkchaterars, here ar a mence. (30. 296).

¹⁰ Further examples are:

Tutiullus. In sweryng thai grefe godys son (30. 280)

Tutiullus. These laddys thai leven as lordys riall (30. 307).

¹¹ Withington. *Op. cit.* p.578.

¹² Coffman. *Op. cit.* p. 423.

¹³ Moreover, some of these have proved to be a point of discussion and have been used by scholars to prove the pro-

cessional versus the stationary staging of the plays in Wakefield.

¹⁴ Diller, H.J. 1972: "The craftsmanship of the Wakefield Master." In Taylor, J. & A.H.Nelson eds. 1972: *Medieval English Drama*. Chicago, Chicago University Press: 245-259.

¹⁵ Withington. *Op. cit.* p.578.

¹⁶ Brown, J.R. *Op. cit.*

¹⁷ Coffman. *Op. cit.* p.416.

¹⁸ A colour photograph of the Crucifixion taken during a performance in July 1994, at Birmingham Cathedral, is shown at this point. This shows Christ up on the Cross pronouncing the words in 23.233-7 against a twentieth century background.

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How Scottish Weather Affected the English Literary Climate

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In Chaucer, descriptions of nature are invariably reconstructed from pre-existent literary works. In the first eleven lines of the General Prologue to *The Canterbury Tales*, for example, one detects echoes of Virgil (*Georgics* II, ll. 323 ff. “Ver adeo frondi nemorum , ver utile silvis / vere tument terrae et genitalia semina poscunt... (1)) and Guido de Colonne (*Historia Destructionis Troiae* IV, ll. 55-58: “Tempus erat quod sol maturans sub obliquo zodiaci circulo cursum suum sub signo iam intraverat arietis... tunc cum incipit tempus blandiri mortalibus in aeris serenitate intentis” (2)), not to mention Boethius, Boccaccio and Petrarch (3).

And, of course, Chaucer’s adaptations begat adaptations of Chaucer in the works of both his English and Scottish disciples. Lydgate’s somewhat clumsy attempt to extend the Prologue’s opening verse sentence by some 45 lines has already received its due amount of critical comment [see, for example, Spearing p. 75] , and we should not be surprised to find the following lines at the beginning of William Dunbar’s “The Thrissill and the Rois” (1503). Or Should we?

Quhen Merche wes with variand windis past,
And Appryll had with hir silver schouris
Tane leif at Nature with ane orient blast,
And lusty May that muddir is of flouris
Had maid the birdis to begyn thair houris,
Quhois armony to heir it was delyt

In bed at morrow, sleiping as I lay
Me thocht Aurora with hir cristall ene
In at the window lukit... (4)

All the usual Canterbury-esque opening gambits seem to be present and correct. Aureate diction makes its brief appearance, Aurora acting as Zephyrus’stand-in. March is described as windswept as opposed to merely dry, yet still heralds April, with his revitalizing powers in attendance. On the other hand one may detect signs of a squabble with Chaucer brewing up here, the point of contention being the nature of British weather conditions. April may well bring “lluvias mil”, but he still refuses to depart without one last –spitefully cold– breath of eastern wind. Unlike his southern English “master” –the literary recipient of a continental climate– Dunbar has to wait until May until he can be sure that spring has indeed sprung. Even then, he can only map out seasonal change by referring to a calendar. Sunny days when birdsong invites the faithful to prayer and the flowers bloom tend to be mere hearsay in Edinburgh,

usually until July.

Let us imagine that it is Monday morning. Nobody wants to revive the working week. Dunbar, as court poet of James IV of Scotland, knows full well that he has a tough time of it ahead of him before Friday afternoon comes round. He has three months to write an epithalamion on the wedding of his king to Margaret Tudor, daughter of Henry VII. The union is as political necessity; James has made a fool of himself by being forced out of a showdown—show of strength—between himself and the Tudors at the battle of Berwick in 1497 (5). He wishes to forge a peace via marriage, and Dunbar's poem will constitute a part of the dowry; the sooner it's written, the better. The subject is to be the renewal of spring—of Scottish / English relations—with Margaret acting as May Queen. Dunbar looks to nature for inspiration looks out of the window (after dragging himself out of bed). No source of ideas there; in the words of the prophet, it's pissing down.

He goes back to bed and throws a (metaphorical) slipper at the alarm clock that the goddess of spring represents:

“Slugird”, scho said, “awaik annone for schame,
And in my honour sum thing thow go wryt.
The lark hes done the mirry day proclame (6)

Such lines as these might well have gone down in literary history as nothing more than an example of Hibernian high jinks. After all, the idea of teasing Chaucer about the distortion of the weatherman's report did become a norm in Scottish poetry in the late fifteenth/early sixteenth centuries. At the beginning of *The Testament of Cresseid*, for example, Robert Henryson portrays himself as an old man in a wet month waiting for sun: waiting for spring, in other words, which *should* have arrived, but has not;

Ane doolie seasoun to ane carefull dyte
Suld correspond, and be equivalent.
Richt sae it wes when I began to wryte
This tragedie, the weader richt fervent
When Aries, in middis of the Lent
Shouris of hail can frae the north descend
That scantlie frae the cauld I nicht defend. (7)

This is, most definitely, a “chicken or egg” question. The dates of both Dunbar's and Henryson's births and deaths are uncertain (Dunbar – ? 1460 – ? 1520, Henryson – ? 1420 – ? 1490) (8). One cannot really say which of whose poems influenced which of the two writers, and where / why / how. The only certain points are: 1. —that an anti-Chaucerian reaction was very much in the (Edinburgh) air, 2.—that, amongst many other things, the Chaucerian view of nature as an enamelled portrait of the seasons as “they ought to be” was being questioned and 3.—(most importantly for our purposes) that at least one Scottish poet went far beyond the idea that the description of a landscape that did not necessarily correspond to pre-existent literary models amounted to much more than a sneer at *The General Prologue*. The poet in question was Gavin Douglas (1475 - 1522) whose influence upon English poetry in general and the Earl of Surrey's verse in particular has gone practically unacknowledged. The fact that only bits of a large body of work are currently available in anthologies (notably Bawcutt and Riddy's

Longer Scottish Poems (1987) which itself is normally to be found in “bargain bins”) is, I believe, scandalous. Here, we are dealing with a most important literary innovator.

The good Bishop of Dunkeld (in point of fact he was not a dedicated churchman and often deserted his Perthshire flock to dabble in Edinburgh politics) was at worst a competent poet, occasionally a great one. He abandoned literature after 1513, when James IV’s defeat at Flodden turned the forging of Anglo-Scottish relations into a matter of survival; he had no further time to indulge his artistic interests and dedicated the rest of his life to what really amounts to political intrigue (9). However, 1513 also saw the completion of his major work, *The Eneados*. This was the first translation into (Scottish) English verse of the whole of Virgil’s *Aeneid* (plus a thirteenth book composed upon the subject of the wedding of Aeneas and Lavinia by Maphaeus Vegius in the 1470s) It is important for two reasons.

First and foremost, Douglas was a pretty good Latinist, if not an outstanding one; close enough to average to prefer Josse Bade’s 1501 commentary on Virgil’s poems to Honratus Servius’ vastly superior work, but almost certainly better than Henry Howard, who often resorted to the makir’s version as a crib (10). Nobody had dared to conceive of the idea of rendering the whole of *The Aeneid* in “English” verse before the Scotsman took on the job. Caxton had produced a prose paraphrase in 1490, but his *Eneydos* began with the sack of Troy and worked forward: the notion of starting a narrative off “in medias res” was obviously foreign to the printer, who was –ironically enough– translating a French adaptation (the anonymous *Livres des Eneydos* 1483) anyway. Douglas sneered at both attempts (11). It was not until 1558 that anyone in England began to think of writing a verse translation of the *whole* of *The Aeneid* again; Richard Phaer followed by Thomas Twyne. Howard only managed / had time to complete books II and IV (?1539)

Nevertheless –and here we are retracing our steps back from the news (of developments in the epic field) and into the weather report again– the Earl of Surrey gleaned more from Douglas than a Latin scholar’s / poet’s tips on Virgil. As noted, only *bits* of *The Eneados* are ever reproduced in anthologies nowadays, and these extracts are very probably the ones that appealed most to the Elizabethan sonneteer. I refer to the Prologues to the thirteen books, especially those which Priscilla Bawcutt, however tentatively (see, for example, *Bawcutt* 1976 p. 186) has christened “Nature Prologues”. The introductions to Books I, VII VIII and (most importantly for our purposes) XIII contain a high percentage of descriptive writing, the subject being the Scottish landscape and its influence upon the translator’s state of mind usually before –though sometimes after– (11) his struggle with Virgil’s / Maphaeus’ texts. While Surrey was apparently oblivious to this kind of writing when rendering Aeneid II and IV in English, I believe that its influence shines through in his adaptations of Petrarch, particularly as far as “The Soote Season” (based on Petrarch *Sonnetto in Morte*, 42) is concerned.

Let us start off with an analysis of the Italian original, go on to note how Henry Howard transformed it and conclude by attempting to show how Douglas’ Prologues influenced the Englishman’s approach. In Petrarch, Spring has come, heralded by larksong and swallows’ chirruping. The English reader will see, immediately, how Chaucer’s *General Prologue* picks up echoes of “Zefiro torna” (... “Whan Zephirus eke with his sweete breath... and “smalen fowles “which “maken melodye”) as an anticipation of the tunes which lovers compose for their ladies (*Robinson*, 1976, p. 17, ll. 2-9):

Zefiro torna, e’l bel tempo rimena,
e i fiori e l’erbe, sua dolce famiglia,
e garrir Progne, a pianger Filomena

e primavera candida e vermiglia (13)

Yet, as early as this first quatrain, signs of unease are in evidence. Philomel and Procne are as much women transformed into birds (after Tereus' rape and mutilation of the former and the sisters' revenge upon his son) as feathered friends. Death—a "jug-jugging" to dirty ears—is ominously present in the warm spring air; memories of Laura's death, in fact:

...Ma per me, Lasso!, tornano i piú gravi
sospiri...(14)

Nature has renewed itself, the warm weather returned; Proserpina has come back from the underworld. His loved one, however, has gone to heaven and shut the pearly gates behind her. (16)

I do not believe that Surrey's adaptation of this amounts to a particularly good poem, although his contemporaries would probably have disagreed with such a judgement. To the modern reader it seems too self-consciously clever by half. It is now summer, "for every spray now springs" and yet the poet's sorrow has not ended; it too "springs", as in tears to the eye (and, of course, as if the "season of grief" had outlasted Petrarch's, emotional "one-upmanship" as literary conceit). This, then, is an example of poetical virtuosity for little more than its own sake. The use of only two rhymes throughout only serves to drive home the image of the poet as-trick-cyclist shouting "look! No hands!"

The piece *does* have its saving graces, however, although these, too, may have been conceived of as nothing more than a subtly anti-Petrarchan twist. Mythological undertones are deliberately removed from the poem. This is particularly obvious when we look at those lines which describe the Philomel figure (here a nightingale shedding her feathers, nothing more sinister than that) and a Procne "swallowing" flies:

The nightingale, with feathers new, she sings...
The swift swallow pursueth the flies small... (16)

Perhaps, however, these lines—and those that surround them—represent a genuine desire to create a landscape of flower and fauna that is authentically British (as opposed to Mediterranean). If this was indeed the case, then my argument is that Douglas was Surrey's major influence: for once, a direct literary debt (that of Howard's *Aeneid* II / IV to the *Eneados*) is traceable. If Surrey had read the translation of Virgil's *Libri*, he had obviously perused the Prologues too. Don't just take my word for it. Look at the examples which, as stated, are to be found in the Prologue to *Eneados* XIII.

An overdose of technical virtuosity and self-conscious intertextual dabbling aside, what really tones down "The Soote Season's" emotional impact is the very element that distinguishes it from other sonnets: the descriptions of nature themselves. There are simply too many of them, stuffing three quatrains full of turtle doves cooing, deer shedding winter coats and antlers, river-fish and vipers stripping off in the heat, bees buzzing. By the time Howard does get round to describing his own state of mind in the final couplet, we, the readers, have been so overfed by these images that we don't care overmuch for his supposed emotional traumas; the summer heat has lulled us into such a pleasant doze that we are unwilling to wake up. While making perfect sense as a piece of "literary arithmetic", then, the calculations *vis à vis* audience response seem to have gone badly askew. The "ambience" is too lazy and "summery" to ever

hint at Petrarch's "spring of discontent". Surrey has misjudged the tone of the piece rather badly and has done so, I believe, because he chose the wrong bit of Douglas to blend into Petrarch.

On the other hand, the first 60-odd lines of Prologue XIII capture the Bishop of Dunkeld's feelings perfectly. Having just completed work on Virgil's last book, he is happy but exhausted. It is a pleasant June evening which, through a rare event in Scotland, is the best of possible seasons and hours for a well-merited snooze. After a long walk through the fields, all he wants is to do is lie down on the warm grass and "drift off". All God's creatures—save the nightingale—invite him to do exactly that:

Be the small byrdis syttand on their nestis,
 The litill mygeis, and the ursum fleys.
 Laboryous emmotis, and the bissy beys;
 Als weill the wild as the taim bestiall,
 And evry othir thingis gret and small,
 Owtak the mery nychtgaill, Philomeyn,
 That on the thorn sat sungand fra the spleyn...(17)

Now, granted, the forty winksworth of physical ease that such a setting hypnotizes Douglas into is to be rudely interrupted. While he won't wake, while his dreams will not even amount to nightmares as such, lines 75 onwards describe a visioned meeting with Maphaeus Vegius, who tells the makir that it is high time he got on with Book XIII. The translator's work is not completed. Nevertheless the "shock"—if such it can be called—of this dream visitation relies for effect upon the sense of happiness, relief, drowsiness, of what precedes it. In such a setting there is little or no room for Petrarchan grief, yet it is from here that Surrey attempted to snatch it. He did so, I think, because a reading of Douglas's work gave him a sudden, bright idea: Nature may be observed as opposed to copied.

He did not choose a particularly good example for a model. The Douglas passage quoted contains a good deal more of the semi-formulaic, a good deal less of the accurately / subjectively observed than was the Bishop of Dunkeld's wont. For a start, all nature does *not* sleep on warm Scottish evenings. If one is daft enough to lie down on the grass without a second skin of insect repellent, an uncomfortable amount of bites will be the result; siesta times of humans and midges do not coincide. One should also note that echoes of mythology haunt ornithology in the case of "the mery mychtgaill, Philomeyn's" song.

On the other hand, the "biters" in question *are* midges a somewhat civilized species of British insect that make one rather itch than go mad scratching. One should also note that, while the nightingale is half personified, it is still essentially *birdsong* that gladdens—and, in this case, eventually inspires—the poet. We are taking a leaf from the Book of Nature here—from *The Owl and the Nightingale*, for example—which, while it *is* still a book, is not quite the *Metamorphoses*. Most importantly, these lines are surrounded by descriptions of late evening and early morning which could not have been "word painted" in any other place but Scotland. In line 37, for example, one finds a wonderfully graphic depiction of the "gloaming" of twilight mist rising up off the bottom of the dampened glens:

Out our the swyre swymmys the soppis of myst...

Again, in ll. 176-177, we are made to see that flowers, like everything else, look grey (as opposed to enamelled) at first light:

The dewy greyn, puiderit with daseis gay,
Schew on the sward a cullour dapill gray...

Douglas, then, while he may be no Rabbie Burns (no minute observation of the day in the life of a harvestmouse here), while he often steps back into Virgilian pastorale and the aureate, is at least beginning to take more than a glance at such weather as affects his mood before turning back to his books. If Dunbar and Henryson used the Scottish climate as a feather with which to tickle Master Chaucer under the arm, the Good Bishop had begun to see that here existed a somewhat weightier poetical tool.

Howard, I believe, was fully aware of this, saw the potential of what Douglas was doing. Let us repeat –and slightly extend– a previous quotation, while keeping the moulting nightingale in view:

The swift swallow pursueth the flies small;
The busy bee her honey now she mings (18)

Surrey has done two things, one of them badly. First of all, using Douglas as a filter / refiner, he has attempted to “naturalize” Petrarch completely. The Scot went halfway along the road towards getting rid of Philomel. Why not go “the whole hog” and demolish Procne in the process? No sooner said than done. The makir refers to buzzless bees asleep, but has anyone ever caught one even drowsing? On the contrary, it is the humming of their busy wings that precipitate a snooze. Surrey is too miserable to doze, obviously, but it is bee sounds that tell him he ought to do so. Evening becomes noon in his poem, the time at which these insects really do have an affect upon the human consciousness.

Second, though, there existed –even in Chaucer’s time– the concept which was to become known as the pathetic fallacy: man darkens or lightens the face of Nature according to his moods and She returns the compliment. Petrarch showed this process in operation (spring is made miserable because Laura is dead) and so did the Scots Chaucerians. Dunbar struggled against a “soft day” (lá bóg) to write a sunny poem. Henryson fell victim to a miserable spring and wrote a depressing one. Douglas captured a summer evening in his writing. In this scheme of things, “The Soote Season” is neither fish nor flesh. In attempting to play off “those lazy, hazy days of summer” against the heart’s icebound season, Surrey captures the idea of the former pretty well but, in so doing, betrays his own lack of grief. There is no real sense of an emotional struggle with Nature here.

And yet his sonnet does represent a brisk and healthy step forward for English poetics –a foot lifted out of the Chaucerian mire of the natural world as idealized picture and forward onto the firmer ground of actual experience of it. This leads to the metaphysicals’ tendency to view, say, insect life closely before using it as stuff for metaphors and similes (Donne “The Flea”, Lovelace “The Grassehopper”) and, eventually, to the Romantics, (Burns especially). I believe that the Scots Chaucerians placed a vital steppingstone along this particular poetic pathway.

NOTES

¹ Myers, R.A.B. ed.1969: *P. Vergili Maronis Opera*. London. O.U.P.:165

- ² Griffin, Nathaniel E. ed.1970: *Guido de Columnis, Historia Destructionis Troiae* . Cambridge, Mass: The Medieval Academy of America: 34-35.
- ³ (a) Robinson, F.E.ed.1976: *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* London. O.U.P.: 326 - 332.
 (b) Pentimalli, Atilio. ed.1981: *Petrarch: I Sonetti del Canzoniere /Los sonetos del Cancionero*. Barcelona, Bosch: 602.
- ⁴ Kinsley,James ed, 1958: *William Dunbar - Poems*. London, O.U.P. 10 ll 1-10.
- ⁵ See Nicholson, Ronald. 1974: *Scotland, The Later Middle Ages* Edinburgh; Oliver & Boyd; 1974: 552.
 ... possession of Berwick was to be settled either by a general engagement by the two armies or a hand-to-hand combat between the two commanders. When Surrey (Henry Howard's father, Thomas) announced that he was not authorized to hazard the town on such terms, James 'fled shamefully and sodeynly with all his company'".
- ⁶ Kinsley, James , 1958: II ll. 22 - 24.
- ⁷ Harvey Wood, H. ed 1990: *Poems and Fables by Robert Henry son*. Edinburgh, The Mercat Press: 105 ll. 1 - 7.
- ⁸ These approximations of birth and death dates are "roughed out" from the following sources:
 (i) Bawcutt, Priscilla / Riddy, Felicity eds. 1987: *Longer Scottish Poems* Vol.I 1375 - 1650. Edinburgh, Scottish Academic Press: 134, 195.
 (ii) Lindsay, Maurice. 1992: *History of Scottish Literature*. London, Robert Hale: 27, 37.
 (iii) Scott, Tom ed. 1970: *The Penguin Book of Scottish Verse* London; Penguin: 128, 83
- ⁹ See Bawcutt, Priscilla, 1976: *Gavin Douglas, a Critical Study* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press: 11 - 22
- ¹⁰ Bawcutt, 1976: 119 - 121
- ¹¹ See Small, John.ed. 1974: *The Poetical Works of Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld*. Edinburgh; William Paterson Vol. i ll. 80 - 96.
- ¹² Bawcutt, P. / Riddy, F. eds, 1987: 236 -241. The prologue to book VII actually functions as an epilogue to book VI, the description of the descent into Hades.
- ¹³ Pentimalli, A. ed.1981: *Francesco Petrarca: Sonetti del Canzoniere* (Barcelona; Bosch: 602. ll. 1 - 4)
- ¹⁴ Pentimalli, A. ed. 1981: 602, ll. 9 - 10.
- ¹⁵ Pentimalli, A. ed. 1981: 602, ll. 10 - 11.
 ... che del cor profondo trague
 quella na ch'al cial se ne partò le chiavi.
- ¹⁶ Brooks-Davis, Douglas.ed. 1992: *Silver Poets of the Sixteenth Century* London; J.M. Dent & Sons : 87 ll. 3 & 10.
- ¹⁷ Bawcutt, P., Riddy, F. eds. 1987: 243 ll. 56 - 62.
- ¹⁸ Brooks. Davis, D. ed. 1992: 87 ll. 10 - 11.

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Chaos and Harmony in Middleton's *A Game at Chess*

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The political drama at the beginning of the seventeenth century dealt essentially with the conflicts, tensions and divisions of a troubled society. It was a time when religion and politics played a very important role in the development of an early modern society. Political power was constantly present in drama, which had a great influence on audience, as plays helped to form critical attitudes, what transformed the interpretation of politics.

Middleton's play, *A Game at Chess*, one of the best examples of political drama staged in the early seventeenth century, reflects the popular and widespread anti-Spanish attitude in England at the time. We shall show with this paper how Middleton presents a political vision of his time through the chess metaphor, creating an elaborate design from diverse elements. The allegorical use of the chess game simplifies the issues in the play, visually and linguistically, to black and white, but it is language which defines the ideological connotations of a colour pattern in black and white. We tend to illustrate how we obtain a vision of order and disorder in the play by means of language, what constitutes a public response to the political matters represented in *A Game at Chess*.

The new trends of criticism, New Historicism and Cultural Materialism, have attempted the reinterpretation of traditional studies, and have raised interesting issues on the subject. There are many different aspects interrelated in the literary writing of this period such as censorship, printing, and the social, economic and intellectual factors which worked together for the production of poetry and drama (Marcus 1990: 49). Literary texts seem to be imprisoned in a network of cultural forces combining different elements as we shall see in *A Game at Chess*.

A Game at Chess brings out important aspects for consideration. We should bear in mind the social and historical framework of the play as it reflects political events demonstrating popular anti-Spanish feeling. The play was first performed by the King's Men at the Globe in August 1624, and it caused great excitement among people from different social origins and status before it was censored and withdrawn after nine days of uninterrupted performance. The success of the play lies in the representation of current political events in a society with an intense interest in state matters. Spain had been seen, for more than a hundred years, as the power which aspired to rule England, and Catholicism was portrayed as a perfidious threat, a strange religion, the instrument Spain would use to dominate England. The news that the Prince Charles and The Duke of Buckingham intended to travel to Spain to meet the Spanish King to negotiate a future marriage with the Infanta Maria did not find favourable reception among the population. English people felt suspicious about possible Catholic influence on state matters. They blamed a Spanish politician, Gondomar, Ambassador of Spain for having a strongly negative influence on

the English King himself. According to Margot Heinemann (1982: 154), the attempt to carry out this royal marriage was a failure and when The Duke of Buckingham returned from his trip to Spain without the Spanish bride, he was welcomed with bonfires and a great popular outburst of joy and relief.

It is very important for the study of the play to understand these historical events in order to estimate the importance of Middleton's play. Heinemann (1982: 14-17) illustrates the popularity of drama in the Elizabethan period, an evening in the cheapest part of the theatre at a penny was cheaper than an evening in the pub, where a quart of ale cost four pence. It would be impossible to find such audiences before the advent of film and television. Drama served as a way of experiencing and discussing social events and it reflected faithfully the reality and socio-economical development of the time. Drama was clearly felt to be inseparable from life, life from politics and politics from a sense of the past (Lever, 1987: 1). We can find here a possible explanation for the great success of the play. Prince Charles and The Duke of Buckingham had returned from their journey to Spain only a few months before Middleton wrote the play, so that the audience was able to identify the characterization of public personalities in the play, and drama gave them the necessary instruments to debate and discuss political affairs.

However, *A Game at Chess* is something more than a political drama. It is unquestionably the political intention of the play to represent historical events, familiar to the English audience at the beginning of the century. What makes this play so special is precisely the devices Middleton exploits to give us this message. The game of chess provides the perfect instrument to allegorize the power and ambition of the political game. The characters in the play are not real characters, but chess pieces that move and act according to the rules of the chess game. This outline of the chess game demonstrates the idea of two opposing teams that stand for two contrasting societies which give shape to the dramatic structure of the play.

A Game at Chess is designed in accordance with the symbolism of two opposite colours: 'black' and 'white'. Black pieces stand for the Spanish Court while white pieces represent the English one. There is a desire to identify characters with political personalities, who are portrayed in the play through the use of satire and humour. Although they are treated in a humorous way, almost grotesque, it seems that the audience did not find any difficulty in identifying most of them. For instance, Black Knight who represents Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador, was easily recognized by the audience because he suffered from a fistula and it was well-known that he had to use a special chair to sit down, 'a chair of ease' according to the references in the play.

The literary sources of the play were a selection of pamphlets with a clear anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish feeling, which circulated during James' reign. This collection of pamphlets was written by Thomas Scott in Holland, appearing secretly in England in 1620 under the name of *Vox Populi*. They served almost as newspapers and portrayed a picture of a Roman Catholic plan for world domination for which Spanish diplomacy and the Jesuit order were responsible. This anti-Spanish attitude is perfectly translated into the play by means of satire and comic devices in order to ridicule the Black House characterization, namely Spain. Middleton lifted allusions from *Vox Populi* and brought them to life in his characters' speeches.

We would like to begin the study of the play with an analysis of two important aspects which can be found in the Induction and their later implication in the play. The play opens with Ignatius Loyola's speech stressing, from the beginning, the idea of the political organization of the Jesuit order. There are two interesting aspects in his speech. On the one hand, we find a peculiar metaphor used to describe how

his disciples are spread out all over the world in an attempt to disseminate his doctrine. They are compared to the 'grasshoppers' of Egypt. The negative connotations of this are clearly portrayed. Firstly, it mentions one of the seven plagues which devastated Egypt in ancient times. Secondly, the grasshopper is a devouring insect which feeds on and destroys the natural vegetation. It implies corruption.

On the other hand, we find in Ignatius' dialogue his intention not to follow any rule of the game; as it is clearly marked by Error, The character Ignatius is speaking to:

'Why, would you have 'em against themselves?
That's quite against the rule of game, Ignatius.' (Induction, 69-70)

It is interesting to bear in mind these two aspects as they reflect the general purpose of the play. The mention of the 'grasshopper' leads us to a language full of negative connotations and the fact of not observing any rule of the game shows the most typical features of the characters' action in the Black House. These lines from the Induction which accompany our first sight of the pieces' movement across the chess board are a perfect description of what follows.

Characters use language intentionally to emphasize the idea of chaos and harmony, and language itself is structured in two opposite forms. The language of the white characters is defined in the use of terms which imply positive connotations such as 'obedience', 'virtue', 'purity', 'innocence', 'holiness', 'virginity', 'grace' and so on, as we see in the lines below:

To that good work I bow, and will become
Obedience humblest daughter, since I find
Th'assistance of a sacred strength to aid me,
The labour is as easy to serve virtue...' (Ac I, sc I, 91-95)

Whereas we observe another type of language which contrasts greatly with the one above. Black Knight uses powerful language full of negative terms which shows his sinister and dark intentions, for example, 'crime', 'treachery', 'violence', 'villainy' as we can see in the following lines:

And what I have done...
Abused all my believers with delight
To many a soul I have let in mortal poison...' (Act I, sc I, 258-263)

As we have observed in the examples above, the dramatic discourse in the play is composed out of language, which comes deeply influenced by ideology. Characters themselves are aware of these linguistic implications, so, White Bishop's Pawn is referred to as the one who 'comes of the whiteness of the cause, the side, the quality / are sacrifices to her worth and virtue'. (Act I, sc I, 201-202). On the contrary, Black Knight is referred to as the one who 'talks of violence, that shames creation, deeds would make night blush'. (Act I, sc I, 225)

Sin, ambition, the destroying of the soul are expressed through metaphors such as the ulcer that must be healed or the infected leprosy. These are strong images that bring out a sense of destruction and corruption. We also observe how the animal symbolism associated with characters is perfectly portrayed in two opposite poles throughout the play. White Queen's Pawn talks about animals such as doves considered to be 'chaste, loving winged creatures', whereas Black Knight's language is scattered throughout

with references to animals such as 'serpents', 'blackbirds', 'spiders' or 'falcons'.

It is interesting to underline the symbolism of the word 'blindness' within the play. Blindness is a concept that brings out the idea of absolute darkness and absence of light. This lack of vision or light can literally be taken to mean the colour black and the absence or total absorption of light, or can figuratively be taken to mean an absence of knowledge and truth. *The Oxford English Dictionary* gives us the following definitions for the concepts of 'blackness' and 'whiteness'. Black, among other meanings is the colour of having dark or deadly purposes. It means malignant, deadly, baneful, disastrous and sinister. On the contrary, the colour white is usually associated with the fact of being 'morally or spiritually pure or stainless, spotless and innocent'. We should not ignore the ideological connotations involved in the use of the black and white colours, and, if we applied them to the study of the symbols in the play, they would show the characters' intentions. The Black House purpose is sinister and dark, involving treachery and falsehood, while the white characters rise in defence of all moral values.

There are several sub-plots throughout the play where White Queen's Pawn is the object of the treacheries of the black House. The attempt on the individual white piece is shown to be a minor manifestation of the ambition and violence in the Black House but it also underlines their intention to rule the whole world. Black characters conspire against themselves to bring down the power of the White House, as it is their intention to blame the White Queen's Pawn for losing her virginity. This attack constitutes one of the great strategies to be noted in the chess game as the real purpose is to knock the Queen herself down in order to win the game. We see a lack of cooperation and sincerity among the characters. Each piece plays its own game without following any rules. It is also noticeable that some white pieces turn out to be black, which creates a dim atmosphere of ambiguity and a permanent state of confusion, as characters point out in the play, which is the aim of the political attempt to attain power, although we should not forget that this exposure of people claiming to be white as really black was good stage material.

Black characters create chaos in the game. They are violent and full of rage. Their language is obscure, they often speak in Latin, and they show dark purposes. Chaos brings out a sense of confusion and to a large extent the idea of disintegration and dissolution as we see in the way the chess pieces are removed from the chessboard. Once they have played their part they are reduced to nothing. However, what we obtain from white characters is only clearness. They play in perfect cooperation and interdependence. Their language speaks for justice and virtue. When they are deceived and abused in the game, they react calmly.

Black pieces, we can conclude, offer us a double game. We know their intentions through their different movements across the chessboard and the comments of white characters who tell us about their ambition, cruelty and wickedness. Nevertheless, the audience can see how they disguise their Machiavellian intentions through the use of language. They disguise their own language and, for a moment, they turn out to be the keepers of order, truth and purity. Characters are mere chess pieces which follow the strategies of the game. The play ends with a checkmate and white pieces win the game. All the confusion created upto that point is resolved.

Middleton's chess lesson is valuable as it proporcionates the elements necessary to debate political affairs in a society ruled by authoritative power. Drama became more politicised during this period. As moral values deteriorated a new feeling of insecurity in religion and politics gave this sense of critical writing. Middleton's chess lesson could provide us with a philosophy for the ideal society which likes to

think of itself as harmonious and coherent. Only white pieces of the chess game would realise their ambitions as they would be the only ones able to create order and harmony. However, what Middleton portrays in *A Game at Chess* is a society experiencing important changes in political issues which cannot pass unnoticed to us. The chess metaphor serves as a pattern of thought which operates the strategies of drama.

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Spanish-English Relationship in the Work of Thomas Gage, al. Tomás de Santa María

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Thomas Gage (1602-1656) is a complex character, the product of the complicated XVII c. of his country. Born inside that small group of the English aristocracy who had remained faithful to Catholicism and were being sent to Spain to receive the “right” education for their social status.

Many English Catholics attended the English college of St. Alban in Valladolid and the college of St. Gregory in the same town where they were trained to go back to England as missionaries. These young people had to suffer great difficulties on returning home, a fiery persecution put many of these jealous defenders of their faith to a horrible death, which forced them to change their names, many of them taking Spanish names.

A Spanish lady, Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoza, born in Extremadura, moved by the execution of the Jesuit Henry Walpole in 1595, decided to devote herself to the cause of England. With the share of the family fortune, Luisa founded a college for English Jesuits at Louvain, in Belgium, which was transformed in 1612 to Waten near Saint-Omer, where it remained until the suppression of the order in 1705. Thomas Gage was one of the young English men who was first sent to St. Omer and then to Valladolid and so he had to suffer not only the traumatic experience of having to live away from country and home but an inner political and religious struggle as well; he had already received the influence of the Jesuits during his childhood from his family environment, and now he became “Hispanic” in many of his reactions and, perhaps without ever really being conscious of it, felt identified with the great controversies of the times.

In Spain he took the habits of the Dominican Order, from his writings we know that he studied in the College of San Gregorio and that from here, like many other students, he passed to the friary of San Pablo where he made his vows¹ and took the name Thomas de Santamaría, this helped him use all the advantages that were offered to him in the Hispanic world. He joined the missionaries of his order with the sole intention -according to his own confessions- to travel to the New World with the rights that only the Spaniards had in those days and that were -he said-

“unjustly banned to those of the English Nation”²

Later in his life, he had his great opportunity when -advised by his friend and patron Chaloner- he put his knowledge to the service of his country, even though being able to find his little place in the Anglo-Saxon world supposed his having to apostatize from his Catholic faith becoming first an Anglican but -conversion proving a little too premature- he did not hesitate to give the further step and become a Presbyterian when Cromwell and his Puritans succeeded over the king for which he received a small rectory with a rent

of £80 a year.

In 1648 he published his book *The English American or a New Survey*, cronicle of a voyage of 1.300 miles to and through a mysterious continent unknown to his English Contemporaries who had up to now, only read about it in translations from the Spanish, or descriptions of the coasts by Hawkings and Drake and, above all, "Rawleigh...", who had written very accurately but according to Chaloner in his introduction in verse to the book of Gage:

"...as a man who in a ship doth pass of trade winds, currents, Hurrican's doe tell, of Headlands, Harbours... of Rocks and Isles: wherein they might as well talk of Nut and only shew the shell" VII³.

In the England of Cromwell, triumphant in the Domestic wars and in an atmosphere favourable to greater enterprises, Gage finds the appropriate ground for the projects which he had been planning while he was taking minute notes about the social and political circumstances of the country he was visiting. It is a political opportunity and his book achieves his aim of attracting the interest of the Lord Protector who will send a whole armada which -although a complete failure in his first aim of conquering La Hispaniola- succeeded in the very important acquisition of Jamaica for the British army who would use it as the headquarters for ulterior conquests and settlements in the Caribbean Islands.

The book has a great testimonial value of what we could call the appreciation of events by "the common man" -that is: "the man in the street"- . Gage is not a historian but he has a good eye for what is outstanding or colourful, he is writing his book in a dark rectory in England and, only naturally, he would remember the wonderful colour and light of the New World; but -although he has often been quoted as a reference about the way of life of Spaniards and Indian natives during the XVII c.- he is not a historian in the strict sense. He calls himself "the English American" which, in those days, meant the English-Spanish; America being just a province as he himself states -just the same as Castile, Biscay, Aragon etc.⁴ and notices things that could not have been appreciated by other people- either English or Spanish. This Englishman turned to Spanish, lives in his inner self the turmoil of opposing tendencies, in a moment in which Spain and England were nearest but beginning to come further and further apart (perhaps for ever) and, therefore, his testimony must be "appreciated" in this context, taking into account his personal limitations and prejudices as -although it might be true that he was using the notes he had taken during the time he had spent in America- he only wrote the book after twelve years of being well settled in England with the spirit of a Puritan reformer and the obvious necessity of pleasing the Lord Protector.

There is no doubt that the aim of the author was not literary, he had an absolute disregard for this aspect of the book and his style is chaotic. However, his style is of great interest as it proves, in the mind of the author, a synthesis in his education which is both Spanish and English, clearly reflected in the two sources: the Spanish in the three styles which had been in vogue during the time he spent as a student in this country: the picaresque, the 'capa y espada' and the 'novela cortesana', and the English in the long bombastic sermons so much in use in his own country during his lifetime.

When he began to compose his book he stated that he had been speaking Spanish and studying books in this language for such a long time that he was afraid he had forgotten his own language:

"When I came to London I was much troubled within myself for want of my mother tongue... for I could only speak some few broken words"⁵

The interest that his book had for his contemporaries caused it to be edited four more times. The

first time only seven years later, in 1655, by express desire of the author who judged it necessary to prove what he called his “English improvement” but-after an exhaustive comparison between these first two editions- I have found that this “English improvement” is limited to a few changes of spelling, that were not even consistent, and just three small syntactic changes of no importance. In all probability the above statement had been his way of boasting of his ‘foreign Spanish influence’ as I cannot trace even a sentence with a typical Spanish structure which would prove that he was thinking in this language and translating into English. Nevertheless, there is a more interesting aspect in the phrases and sentences which he put in Spanish because he believed that either they could not be translated or that the narrative would lose its flavour:

In the description of a naval battle that the Spaniards fight against some English pirates, the Spanish sailors use their “peculiar” language which Gage reproduces bluntly:

“Voto a Dios voto a Cristo... hijos de puta, borrachos, infames ladrones”⁶

Or in the scene which he describes, with a vivid language, how his friend Fray Antonio Meléndez convinces him to embark to America over some bottles of good Xerez Sack and Pier Ximeni (these are still nowadays among the best Spanish wines) which no doubt says something about a man who can remember the name of a wine after so many years and so many changes in his life; or in the description of Count Gelves whom the Spaniards, nicknamed “el terrible justiciero”, y “fuego de ladrones”.⁷

In order to expose the “criolians” he tells a story which is a flagrant plagiarism of *Lazarillo de Tormes* the same as the “*escudero...*” who came to the gate of his house:

“... a escarbarse los dientes que nada entre si tenian”⁸

the criolian of Chiapas:

“...after a meal of frixoles in black broth boyled with pepper and garlick, saying it was the most nourishing meal... they will be sure to come out to the street-dore of their houses to see and to be seen, and there for half an hour will they stand sbaking off the crums of bread from their cloaths... and from their moustachoes. And with their tooth pickers they will stand picking their teeth” and say “A senor que linda perdiz he comido hoy”⁹

Another very interesting example is the case of the “*Chocolate of Chiapa*” or “*El chocolate del obispo*” which is a short story of the genre of “*capa y espada*”. In this story a problem between the bishop and the ladies of the town who had got used to drinking a cup of chocolate and eat some sweet meats served by their maids during the sermons, which says Gage:

“could not be done... without a great confussion and interrupting both Masse and Sermon”¹⁰

provoked a fight between the supporters of the bishop and the husbands who dared to draw their swords inside the church to defend “the weak stomachs” of their wives. The problem however was not settled until the bishop died of a sudden death, after having drunk a cup of chocolate sent by a well known lady of the town. This very lady sent our author a present of some tropical fruits, in an artistic little wooden

basket but he sent it back with a short rhyme cut out with a knife on the basket which read:

“fruta tan fria amor no cria”¹¹

for which “witty” answer he was very celebrated to all the people in town but, understanding that his life had become too dangerous, he decided to leave Chiapas for ever.

There are several stories in the mood of the “novela cortesana” the most interesting one is that of Dña. Juana de Maldonado y Paz, this lady, who was the wonder of the city and had a notorious love affair with the bishop caused a civil war in the city when she decided to be appointed Abesse over a much older and better endowed nun. Or the story of Pedro Mexia who was excommunicated by the arch-bishop and was the cause of a riot. In this story Gage used many sentences in Spanish:

“Judas, Judas, allá va Judas. Muera el bellaco descomulgado, la muerte de Judas, muera el pícaro, muera el perro” and later on: “Muera el Rex, muera el mal gobierno, mueran los descomulgados”¹²

In *El Auge del Imperio Español en America* Salvador de Madariaga quotes Gage’s account of the story of Dña. Juana to prove how colourful and gay was the life in the New World:

“¡Que lejos –he writes– estamos de ese cuadro sombrío y medieval que nos pintan sombríos y medievales historiadores aún de nuestros tiempos! Esta vida de las Indias que nos describen los que la vieron con sus propios ojos era precisamente la que tenia que surgir cuando la pasividad apasionada de los españoles topase con aquel torrente de riquezas y bienestar que emanaba del abundoso Nuevo Mundo. Olas sobre olas de color de goce de fruición presente que surgen entonces en las Indias bajo el sol esplendoroso de la paz y la abundancia”.¹³

Gage’s account of the Conquest of Mexico in chap. X by Cortes is, according to Southey in his poem *Madoc*, a translation from the beautiful account of the Spaniard “Gomara”.

But what gives unity to all these, otherwise unconnexed, stories is the Puritan mood which underlies his sermon like reflexions about the evil ways of Rome -”the whore of Babilon” through her representative: Spain and her agents the Jesuits. He begins his book in what seems a long digression about the church and the power of the Pope who, being specially supported by the Jesuits, has the keys of earth and heaven in his hands. But the worst instance he can think of, about the evil ways of the Jesuits with the poor Indians is how they make them sing and even dance! in church.

“... but now they apply their songs unto the king of Glory, or unto the Sacrament, using these or commonly like words...” salid mexicanas, bailad Toncontin cansalas galanas en cuerpo gentil. Salid mexicanas bailad Toncontin Al Rey de la gloria tenemos aquí”. “Thus -he adds- they go round dancing, playing in some places very well upon their guitars”¹⁴

This scene would, very obviously, horrify his Puritan contemporaries.

The language of these long digressions is the usual in the sermons of the day, abundant in quotations from the Bible, and this is not only his way to flatter the Lord Protector who is the addressee of his book but it is, above all, a reflexion of his inner struggle which is the reason of the incapacity of many members of his generation to accommodate to their socio-political situation and who cannot find their peace of conscience through succesive and necessary conversions.

Gage is a born preacher who has belonged to three schools: The Roman Catholic (as a Dominican

who call themselves “Orden de Predicadores” -Order of Preachers-), the Anglican and the Presbyterian. As a Dominican he praised himself of being a disciple of Las Casas in his desire to give even the last drops of his blood for “the cause” of the Indians.

“all that Nation which I doe very much affect , and would willingly spend the best drops of blood in my veins to doe them a good, and to save their soules”¹⁵

And to the end of his life he, not only called himself “Preacher of the Word”, -a very clear transcription of “Orden de Predicadores”- but justified that he had sent many Jesuits (hundreds he says) to a horrible martyrdom in a pamphlet “*A Dwell between a Dominican and a Jesuit*” in which he himself was the Dominican saving the life of a priest of his order but condemning the Jesuit :

“The Dominican pleaded for mercy and found it, the evidence not being very strong to prove orders of Mass saying, but only to prove him a friar.” “...The Jesuit having nothing to say against strong evidences was cast and condemned...”¹⁶

And, more “Lascasiano” than Las Casas himself, he proved his love for the Indians when he had the opportunity to die in America where he had led the English troops in order to save them of the superstition of the Catholic Church, after having to suffer the sight of the English soldiers plundering the island where they first set their foot. Hickeringel, the first British Historian who wrote about British Jamaica and who was direct witness of the conquest as he had taken part in it under the orders of General Venables writes:

“It (Jamaica) contained above two thousand houses, fifteen churches and chapels, and an abbey before the invasion of Penn and Venables... The English soldiers exercised their powers with so serious a zeal as to leave only two churches and about five hundred houses undemolished”¹⁷

Gage had written his last pamphlet addressed to Cromwell in the hope of being called “The English Christopher Columbus” but he never had the satisfaction of the recognition of the importance of the conquest of Jamaica, as Cromwell never appreciated it and resented his defeat in La Hispaniola, two years later the Lord Protector would write:

“The Spaniards is your enemy; and your enemy as I tell you naturally, by that antipathy which is in him, providentially, and this in divers respects, you could not get an honest and honorable peace from him; it was sought by the Long Parliament; it was not attained with honour and honesty. And truly when I say that he is naturally throughout an enemy; an enmity is put into him by God I will put an enmity between thy seed and her seed which goes but for little among statesmen, but is more considerable than all things! and he that considers no such natural enmity the providential enmity as well as the accidental I think he is not well acquainted with scripture and the things of God, and the Spaniard is not only your enemy accidentally but is providentially so, God having in his wisdom disposed it so to be when he made a breach with the Spaniard nation”¹⁸

Thomas Gage had a death that could have been more appreciated by the Dominicans than by his new co-religionists. From his death we have just the mention of his name among the deceased during a pla-

gue in the 18th July 1656, and a note on the State Papers:

“To recommend the committee at Ely House to settle a pension of £ 65.8 a week on Mary, widow of Thos. Gage who died in State’s service in the expedition to Jamaica. Approved in person”¹⁹ (the person being, in all probability, the Lord Protector himself).

NOTES

¹ “We do not have any records of his having attended the English College of St. Albans”

Thomson Eric: *Thomas Gage’s Travels in the New World*. University of Oklahoma press. 1958. p.XXVIII.

² Gage Thomas: *The English American* -London 1648, p. 8

³ Ibid p. 200

⁴ Ibid p.9

⁵ Ibid p.8

⁶ Ibid p. 201

⁷ *Lazaro de Tormes* -Col. Austral p.100 ed.1968

⁸ Ibid

⁹ Gage Thomas: *The English American* -London 1648, p.102

¹⁰ Ibid p.103

¹¹ Ibid p.104

¹² Ibid p.64-65

¹³ Madariaga Salvador: *El Auge del Imperio Español*, ed. Buenos Aires. 1955, p.273

¹⁴ Gage Thomas: *The English American*, p.155

¹⁵ Ibid p.178

¹⁶ Ibid

¹⁷ Hickingell: *History of Jamaica*- General, ed. - vol II p.41

¹⁸ Cromwell Oliver: *Letters and Speeches*, vol IV p.95 (Speech pronounced in the XV c. September 1656)

¹⁹ Calendar of State Papers p. 1667-9, Domestic series p.28

Feminist Criticism: The First/Last Twenty Years

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There is scarce a Poet that our English tongue boasts of, who is more he subject of the Ladies' reading [than Shakespeare].

(Lewis Theobald, 1726)¹

Women may read Shakespeare, but men edit him.

(Gary Taylor, 1988)²

In a recent essay called '*Hamlet: A Document in Madness*', Alison Findlay echoes Taylor when she concludes with a reference to the difficulty female scholars have had 'trying to write themselves into the bibliographical history of the play':

Hamlet has never been edited by a woman. The text is notoriously challenging since the contradictions between the 'Good Quarto' [1604/5], the 'Bad Quarto [1603]' and the Folio [1623] make *Hamlet* itself a 'document in madness'. At I.iii.20-21 ['for on his choice depends, / The sanity and health of this whole state'], the creation of 'sanity' has been, to date, the privilege of Theobald and subsequent male editors, from the starting points of 'safty' in the 'Good Quarto', the [1611] third Quarto's 'safety', and the Folio's 'sanctity'. The opportunity to rationalize the different voices of this schizophrenic text has been limited to men, the Hamlets rather than the Ophelias of the academic world, thus reproducing the gender imbalance of the play.³

As Findlay notes, the word 'sanity' does not occur in any of the three early texts of *Hamlet*, but was suggested as an emendation by Lewis Theobald in 1726 (in the text quoted above, *Shakespeare Restored*) and first adopted in print by Thomas Hanmer in his 1744 edition. Amongst modern editors, Harold Jenkins for Arden 2⁴ and G.R. Hibbard for Oxford⁵ print 'sanity', the latter in spite of his professed commitment to the Folio text, as vaunted on the cover of the paperback edition. Philip Edwards for Cambridge⁶ is more consistent to his avowed loyalty to the Folio in printing 'sanctity', a reading he nevertheless feels obliged to justify in a lengthy note, while T.J.B. Spencer for Penguin⁷ has more faith in the second quarto and consequently prints 'safety'.

Findlay is primarily concerned with 'the gender imbalance of the play' in terms of its treatment of sanity's other: madness. As writers such as Elaine Showalter and Juliana Schiesari have shown,⁸ Hamlet and Ophelia are available as useful icons in our culture exemplifying respectively male madness (mental or

spiritual, allied to genius, quite prestigious) and female madness (physiological, allied to sexual inadequacy or frustration, totally lacking in glamour). I shall be more concerned in this paper with the gender imbalance in Shakespeare studies and with the attempts of women to correct this, though I shall return to *Hamlet* later.

First, some pre-history. Women have generally had a hard time trying to write, talk, act or otherwise insinuate themselves into the prestigious and influential cultural industry sometimes known in the U.S.A. today as 'Bardbiz'. Initially excluded from the stage itself, they then had to contend, as actresses, with a theatrical tradition which, as Eliabeth Howe has shown, exploited their bodies and exposed their private lives to slander and satire.⁹ Emerging from the considerable handicap of illiteracy in the early eighteenth century, they were at least admitted as readers, as my epigraph demonstrates; also, as Theobald (who edited Shakespeare in 1733) would have been aware, they could be counted amongst the subscribers to (or direct financial backers of) the numerous eighteenth-century editions of the Complete Works. They participated in what Michael Dobson calls *The Making of the National Poet* during this period: the Shakespeare Ladies Club was influential in the 1730s in supporting the project to erect a monument to Shakespeare in Westminster Abbey (achieved in 1741) and in petitioning theatre managements to revive Shakespeare instead of putting on Restoration comedies and Italian operas. An epilogue of 1738 informed the audience of its debt to the Ladies Club in these terms:

When worse than barbarism had sunk your taste,
 When nothing pleas'd but what laid virtue waste,
 A sacred band, determin'd, wise, and good,
 They jointly rose to stop th'exotick flood,
 And strove to wake, by *Shakespeare's* nervous lays,
 The manly genius of *Eliza's* days.¹⁰

Thus 'Shakespeare' was identified with morality and patriotism, even with English virility as against effeminate foreign imports. This epilogue was written by George Lillo for his *Marina*, an adaptation of Shakespeare's *Pericles* which (ironically in this context) concentrates the play into a protracted version of its brothel scenes. Meanwhile, writers such as Charlotte Lennox (*Shakespeare Illustrated*, 1753), Elizabeth Montagu (*An Essay on the Writings and Genius of Shakespeare*, 1769) and Elizabeth Griffith (*The Morality of Shakespeare's Drama Illustrated*, 1775) assisted in the canonization of Shakespeare as national poet and upholder of bourgeois morality.

This effort to refine and domesticate Shakespeare on the part of what one might call the 'Ladies Auxiliary' continued into the early nineteenth century when women such as Henrietta Bowdler, editor of the notorious *Family Shakespeare* (1807) and Mary Lamb, co-author of the *Tales from Shakespeare* (1807) played significant roles in making Shakespeare accessible to (or safe for) other women and children, by expurgation, abridgement and paraphrase, an industry which spawned countless versions of the plays for young people throughout the century. Sadly, the first woman who could be accounted a serious scholar of Shakespeare, Mary Cowden Clarke, who produced an edition of the Complete Works in 1860 and a Concordance (*The Shakespeare-Key*) in 1845, is best remembered (and ignorantly dismissed) today for *The Girlhood of Shakespeare's Heroines* (1850). Her attempt to erect a statue to Shakespeare, funded exclusively by contributions from women, seems to have come to nothing.¹¹

Nevertheless, women in the mid-and late-nineteenth century were making their impact on

Shakespeare studies through their writings as critics, as performers, and as contributors to the numerous Shakespeare Societies: even the Royal Shakespearean Club in Stratford allowed lady visitors from 1894, while the proceedings of the New Shakespeare Society in London record several papers given by women from 1876 onwards. In North America the picture was similar, with particular concentrations of scholarly and publishing activity in Philadelphia and Boston. The tradition that reading and private study alone were a woman's proper sphere was however wonderfully preserved in an essay in the U.S. periodical *Manhattan* in June 1884 called 'Why Women should study Shakespeare'. The author, J. Heard, argued that 'no country has ever been so dependent on its women as our country is today', and that in the context of increasing and inevitable emancipation such study would provide the insights necessary for the moral regeneration of America.¹²

I have devoted some time to the pre-twentieth-century history of women's participation in the Shakespeare industry because most of it, like so many other endeavours by women, is virtually lost to us today. These women are not necessarily feminists, but they often use Shakespeare to articulate women's issues and they hold their own in competition with men, at least in the period of amateur scholarship before 1900. Women's contribution in the first three quarters of the twentieth century is perhaps less interesting as they seem usually to be doing their best to fit into a mould created by the increasingly professionalised men though of course there are many individual exceptions to this sweeping statement.

While some notable precursors can be identified Carolyn Heilbrun for example, who has recently described herself as 'a feminist waiting for a cause to join' when she published her essay on Gertrude in 1957¹³ it is usually acknowledged that feminist criticism as we know it began 'officially' in 1975 with Juliet Dusinberre's *Shakespeare and the Nature of Women*.¹⁴ This book is taken as the obvious starting-point by Philip C. Kolin in his very useful *Shakespeare and Feminist Criticism: An Annotated Bibliography and Commentary*¹⁵ which lists 439 items from 1975 to the cut-off date in 1988. A glance at any academic publisher's catalogue will reveal that the rate of publication has if anything increased since then. Macmillan are reissuing Dusinberre's book with a new Preface to mark the first twenty years of feminist study of Shakespeare or the last twenty years, meaning the most recent. In the remainder of this paper I want to attempt a necessarily brief sketch of what has been achieved, what is currently at issue, and what might yet be ahead.

Dusinberre gives her 1995 Preface an interrogative title, 'Beyond the Battle?'. The question mark seems appropriate both in relation to the state of feminist scholarship itself: is the battle lost or won? and to the extent to which the whole enterprise has been about asking questions: asking *different* questions about the Shakespearean texts themselves and using those texts to investigate 'women's place in culture, history, religion, society, the family'.¹⁶ It seems to me there is now no doubt that these questions are inescapably on the academic agenda and that they have moved from the margin to the centre. The growth and variety of feminist approaches in Shakespeare studies has been complemented and supported by productivity in feminist theory, women's history, the study of women's relationship to language, and of course the study of women's writing. There is still some opposition –indeed an identifiable backlash¹⁷– and one still finds oneself fighting patronising assumptions that women only know about women, and that feminist criticism is only concerned with female characters, but we have come a long way in twenty years and we should allow ourselves (albeit briefly and modestly) to celebrate that.

A list of the achievements of feminist criticism would for me include the following:

1. Since *Shakespeare and the Nature of Women* which looked at Shakespeare's works in the context

of the history of contemporary ideas and assumptions about women, drawing on non-literary texts to do so, feminist studies have contributed to the assumption that works of art can and should be treated within a social frame of reference.

2. While sharing some features of their approach with new historicists, feminist critics have also provided a critique of new historicism in important ways: some of us have noticed and objected to the exclusion of gender issues in some new historicist work, and the concentration on male power relationships, and we have resisted the notion that subversion is a calculated form of license, always in the end contained. In doing this we have provided evidence of the possibility of political and social change in the past, and hope that it can also happen in the present and future.

3. Feminist critics have changed what we read: there are more texts by women of the Renaissance available now, and more work on women as readers, patrons and audiences. Publishers in Britain and North America are responding to the demands of feminist critics and their students for more and different texts from those traditionally taught.

4. Feminist critics have changed how we read. Some of us have contributed to reader response criticism which sees reading as a complex interaction between writer, text and reader in which the gender of the reader is no longer irrelevant or ignored. The notion of the author's 'intention' is challenged rather than assumed.

5. The performance tradition has been affected, with feminist approaches enlivening debate and making new interpretations possible. More women (including some feminists) are getting the chance to direct plays (Deborah Warner for the National Theatre in London, Gale Edwards for the Royal Shakespeare Company, Jane Howell for the BBC Shakespeare series). Books are being published which take the views of female performers seriously, and we are discovering the possibilities of feminist theatre history.¹⁸

6. Our perceptions of dramatic texts have been changed by feminist work on women's access to language and women's use of language. We are opening up discussion of the gendering of rhetoric, public and private voices, the stereotypes of the 'bad' shrew and the 'good' silent woman. (The 'feminine' voice itself was clearly crucial for the boy actors of Shakespeare's time.)

We should not however be complacent. There is a lot still to do. Feminist critics in Shakespeare studies, as in Renaissance studies more generally, are only just beginning to explore the issue of racial difference in literary texts and the participation of white women (including some of our precious, recently rediscovered women writers) in seventeenth-century colonialism.¹⁹ We have much to learn about women's contribution to the history of the theatre as a cultural institution, not just as performers (and, later, writers and directors), but as shareholders, patrons and audiences. We are still on very shaky ground when we try to investigate questions relating to women's literacy and women's reading during the early modern period. We have not really taken class differences on board: are we comfortable with the thought that we ourselves are an elite group of privileged women focussing our attention on other elite women (as fictional or real-life characters) against a background in which the vast majority of women have always been and continue to be under-achievers?

We also have a number of difficult issues to address within our own profession. Some feminist critics feel uneasy at the attention still paid to Shakespeare as the dominant figure in a white male canon and would prefer specialists in the period to devote more time to women writers. Some are having problems with the conversion of women's studies into gender studies and the shift in political focus this has

implied; we welcome the addition of gay and lesbian studies to the academic agenda, but, looking around us at the academic institutions in which we work, we are not always convinced that gay men in particular can claim to have been oppressed in the same way or to the same extent as women. We are aware that some women are uncomfortable with the language of the academy itself which has its origins in a long male-dominated tradition of education in rhetoric and the classics, and we need to make space for other modes of writing, reading and speaking which can be valued alongside traditional modes.

Finally, I had better return to *Hamlet*. The editing of Shakespeare does not feature on my list of feminist achievements, but, with any luck, it will not for much longer be true to say that '*Hamlet* has never been edited by a woman'. I am currently attempting to 'write [myself] into the bibliographical history of the play' by preparing a new edition for the Arden Shakespeare, of which the all-new third series was officially launched in March 95. The first three volumes to appear are all edited by men, but as one of the General Editors of this series I am very pleased to report that we have commissioned nine volumes from women working on their own and a further four (including *Hamlet*) from women working in collaborative partnerships with men. This compares with only one female-edited volume in the Arden second series, and a maximum of three female-edited texts in competing series.

It will make a difference. (At least I am sure it may be so in Denmark.) Already, in the early stages of the work, I am inevitably focussing on gender issues in the play. This will of course include a reappraisal of the roles of Gertrude and Ophelia, both in the text and in the extensive afterlife of the play on stage and screen, in critical and cultural history. But it will also involve work on the extent to which Hamlet is seen as an 'effeminate' character, by himself in his misogynistic chiding of himself as one who 'Must like a whore unpack my heart with words/And fall a-cursing like a very drab' (II.ii.584-5), and in the long tradition of female performers of the role. And I shall investigate the underestimation of the play's politics in Anglo-American tradition (they have always been prominent in Eastern Europe) and how this is currently being sustained by new historicism's fascination with absolute male power and its privileging of Jacobean over Elizabethan texts.²⁰

Women working in the Renaissance area must of course concern themselves with what women have written, and must recover those texts and make them available to today's readers. But we must also play our part in rereading the male-authored canon and ensuring that the traditionally male-dominated areas of literary studies become more accessible to women. We can also attempt to recover the lost contributions of past generations of women and do our best to foster present efforts. Returning to the title of Juliet Dusinberre's new Preface, 'Beyond the Battle?', and its allusion to the Witches in *Macbeth*, those of us who remember the battles we fought in the 1970s to put women writers and feminist criticism onto academic syllabuses might well ask each other 'Is the battle lost or won?' I would reply 'both', equivocating like the Witches, but I really believe we have gained more than we have lost and it isn't over yet.

NOTES

¹ *Shakespeare Restored*, London: v-vi.

² Gary Taylor, 1988: "Textual and Sexual Criticism: A crux in *The Comedy of Errors*", *Renaissance Drama* XIX: 195-225, p.195.

- ³ In Mark Thornton Burnett and John Manning, eds., 1994: *New Essays on 'Hamlet'*. New York, AMS Press: 189-205, pp.202-3.
- ⁴ Harold Jenkins, 1982: London, Methuen (now Routledge).
- ⁵ G. R. Hibbard, 1987: Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- ⁶ Philip Edwards, 1985: Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- ⁷ T. J. B. Spencer, 1980: Harmondsworth, Penguin.
- ⁸ Elaine Showalter, 1985: "Representing Ophelia: women, madness, and the responsibilities of feminist criticism", in Patricia Parker and Geoffrey Hartman, eds., *Shakespeare and the Question of Theory*. London, Routledge: 77-94. Juliana Schiesari, 1992: *The Gendering of Melancholia*, Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press.
- ⁹ Elizabeth Howe, 1992: *The First English Actresses*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- ¹⁰ Quoted by Michael Dobson, 1992: *The Making of the National Poet*. Oxford, Clarendon Press: 154.
- ¹¹ For further details on and quotations from the work of these eighteenth- and nineteenth-century women, see Ann Thompson and Sasha Roberts, *Women Readers of Shakespeare, 1660-1900* (working title), forthcoming from Manchester University Press in 1996.
- ¹² The original essay is unpaginated in the June 1884 issue of *Manhattan*, but this is on what should be p.9.
- ¹³ 'The Character of Hamlet's Mother' originally appeared in 1957 in *Shakespeare Quarterly* 8: 201-6. Heilbrun wrote this when she reprinted it in 1990 in *Hamlet's Mother and Other Women*. New York, Columbia University Press: 2.
- ¹⁴ Juliet Dusinberre. 1975: London, Macmillan.
- ¹⁵ Philip C. Kolin. 1991: New York, Garland.
- ¹⁶ Quoted from Dusinberre's typescript, p.2. I am most grateful to have had access to this prior to publication.
- ¹⁷ See, for example, Richard Levin, 1988: "Feminist Thematics and Shakespearean Tragedy", *PMLA* 103: 125-38, and Brian Vickers, 1993: "Feminist Stereotypes" in *Appropriating Shakespeare: Contemporary Critical Quarrels*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press: 325-71.
- ¹⁸ See, for example, Carol Rutter, 1988: *Clamorous Voices: Shakespeare's Women Today*. London, Women's Press, and Penny Gay, 1994: *As She Likes It: Shakespeare's Unruly Women*. London, Routledge.
- ¹⁹ See Margo Hendricks and Patricia Parker, eds., 1994: *Women, 'Race', and Writing in the Early Modern Period*. London, Routledge.
- ²⁰ See also my essay on "Feminist Theory and the Practice of Editing" in David Greetham ed. 1996: *Margins of the Text*. Forthcoming from Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press.

The Spanish Gipsy Under Spanish Eyes

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I

The *Spanish Gipsy* was performed at Whitehall, Charles Prince of Wales being the only member of the royal family present, on 5th November 1623. The Cockpit company (Lady Elizabeth's) performed it.¹ Throughout, the Cockpit theatre referred to is the Drury Lane Cockpit.

The Cockpit company was run by one of the most successful and ruthless company managers, Christopher Beeston. As an impresario, Beeston was notorious for breaking and reforming his company of actors. Another aspect of his ruthlessness was his control of play texts. In 1637, the Lord Chamberlain forbade the printing of a list of plays held by Beeston without Beeston's permission, a sort of copyright arrangement.² Christopher Beeston died in 1638, at which his son William, in some sort of uneasy financial partnership with Beeston's widow, took over as property-owner and theatre manager until falling foul of the Master of the Revels, Sir Henry Herbert in 1640, and being imprisoned. He apparently recovered his position in 1641.³ William Beeston's company, Beeston's Boys, performed *The Spanish Gipsy* in 1639. An edict of the Lord Chamberlain, 10th August 1639, confirmed ownership of a list of plays to Beeston, amongst which was *The Spanish Gipsy*.⁴ The play therefore remained under known Beeston family control for almost two decades. Since the play was judged valuable, it must have been popular.

Parliament closed the theatres in 1642. Perhaps the most astute publisher of that time, Humphrey Moseley, entered and advertised *The Spanish Gipsy* in 1653, and acquired the copyright as transferred from one Richard Marriott on June 11th 1659 (Stationers' Register).⁵ Two quarto editions of the play were published in 1653 and 1661. Authorship was attributed to Thomas Middleton and William Rowley.⁶

In common with numerous plays in the Beaumont and Fletcher canon (for example, *The Chances*, *Love's Pilgrimage*, *Rule A Wife And Have A Wife*) *The Spanish Gipsy* dramatises Cervantes' fiction, in this instance two exemplary novels. These plays enjoyed repeated court performances and revivals.⁷ The King's Men held ownership of the Beaumont and Fletcher canon. Since both companies, Beeston's and the King's Men, were rivals for Court performances, we may fairly infer that they commissioned plays with an eye on Court taste. James Shirley, dramatist to Beeston's company, drew upon Spanish source material for perhaps half his plays; the Beaumont and Fletcher canon is conservatively judged to be one third Spanish resourced.⁸ Arguably Spanish source material was a key element in meeting Court taste for dramatic entertainment, and Cervantes' fiction an important part of it. It is therefore logical to enquire why Cervantes' fiction and especially his exemplary novels, were so attractive to acting companies seeking prestige and income from entertaining the Stuart Court before the Civil War; and to an enterprising publisher like Humphrey Moseley, once the Interregnum had destroyed the copyright control imposed by the Lord Chamberlain. In modern slang, dramatised Cervantes was 'hot property'.

Peter Dunn has recently argued that Cervantes' fiction commonly manipulates a romance paradigm characterised by such elements as journey, quest, ordeals and return; in this fictional world, a central figure has a mission or purpose in life, chance equals providence, trials are endured, rewards attained, an original order is restored, and the ending effects a fresh social integration. Shipwrecks, captivity, multiple coincidences, sudden reversals of fortune, can all be explained away by reference to God's inscrutable design. Dunn drily comments that such a romance paradigm may have reflected

an aristocratic caste's fantasies about itself and its world⁹;

but he adds, I think justly, that Cervantes employed this romance structural paradigm with sophistication as a normative fiction and metaphor for order.

It seems entirely plausible that English dramatists turned to Cervantes' shorter prose fiction for plots in order to satisfy 'an aristocratic caste's fantasies about itself and its world'. However, as *The Spanish Gipsy* demonstrates, Cervantes took risks with the paradigm which his English dramatists did not.

A second possible reason for quarrying Cervantes' prose is that many of his stories highlight caste and honour and imaginatively confirm the ideology of home produced conduct books, whereby honour was a closed system of reciprocal obligations between a gentleman and his kinsmen, society was patriarchal, a patriarch's first responsibility was to protect the collective family good name, only gentlemen had honourable obligations, and the ultimate source of all honour was the King, who was the fount of honour:

were there no princes, there would be none to confer honour.

In the Civil War, the importance of honour drove many gentry to support the King in despite of sympathy with Parliament and Puritanism.¹⁰ Charles I revived the Order of the Garter and Spenser's *Fairie Queen* was amongst his favourite reading.

II

The Spanish Gipsy has a double plot and strictly neither is subsidiary to the other. It is therefore a composite stage adaptation of two Cervantes' exemplary novels, *The Force of Blood* [*La Fuerza de la Sangre*], a title obviously ambiguous in both languages; and *The Little Gipsy Girl* [*La Gitanilla*].¹¹ Both stories deal with the force of blood that is to say, the sex drive and its containment amongst aristocrats; there is a common basic fictional paradigm. A first young aristocrat commits a rape, the incident which opens the play, before marrying the raped woman; a second, abandons his aristocratic home to become a gipsy in order to marry the young gipsy girl with whom he has fallen in love. Both young women are in fact revealed to be of the same aristocratic caste; and marriage re-establishes social harmony. Both plots revolve around the same ideological postulates: female chastity, endogamous class marriage practices, and honour; and around multiple coincidences and sudden reversals of fortune that create narrative and situational variety but confirm the active and supportive intervention of an overarching Christian Providence. Such material does indeed point to entertainment intended for a caste fantasising about itself.

The stage adaptation involves fundamental changes and reworkings. The different locations of the ori-

ginal stories, Toledo, Madrid, Murcia, are reduced to one, Madrid itself; and it is the *corregidor* or chief magistrate of Madrid, the senior royal representative, who effects the dual harmonious resolution. Madrid is

the enchanted circle of Spain
Act II scene i 25-26;

and the King of Spain, the fount of honour and chivalry whose

beams of grace
Act III scene ii 30-31,

shine on all.

The rapist is renamed Roderigo, a change suggesting that the original audience knew the Spanish ballad of the last King of the Visigoths, whose act of rape precipitated the Moorish invasion and his downfall. Cervantes' cruel and insensitive youth who goes on an Italian tour, becomes a rapist filled with guilt and remorse, who sets out to find his unknown victim, disguising himself first as an Italian, then joining the troupe of gypsies. The rape victim does not fall pregnant and give birth to a son, at seven years old injured in a horse race, but is herself injured by a horse and for medical treatment, brought to the very same room where she had been raped. On recognising the bedroom and garden, she confesses all to her rapist's father, producing as conclusive evidence the family crucifix taken from the rapist's bedroom. The rapist's father is none other than the *corregidor* of Madrid. He kneels in penance, dishonoured and through the device of a play within a play, performed by the troupe of gypsies, exposes his son. In Cervantes, the rape victim confesses to her rapist's *mother* who in due course, masterminds her son's recall from Italy and the marriage.

The gypsies, as the play text pointedly and perhaps repetitiously observes, are Spanish not English, hence the title *The Spanish Gipsy*:

our stile has higher steps to climb over, Spanish gypsies, noble gypsies.
Act II scene i 9-11.

These gypsies are not low-life rogues, thieves or street entertainers but entertainers of the nobility:

Be not English gypsies, in whose company a man's not sure of the ears of his head, they so pilfer.

Act II scene i 38-39.

These gypsies may accept gifts but may not steal. Certainly in Cervantes' original story, the young nobleman-turned-gypsy does all in his power to prevent theft and return stolen goods; but this troupe of gypsies are all disguised aristocrats and their retainers, their socially responsible leader having taken up the life to escape punishment for killing another nobleman in a duel. As in Cervantes, the little gypsy girl is indeed the *corregidor's* daughter; but in the play, the mother of the gypsies is in fact his sister, the father of the gypsies, his brother-in-law. The gypsies of the play are not then the low life figures of convention in England or Cervantes' gypsies amongst whom social distinction does not exist, all property is held in common and, notwithstanding chaste monogamy, women enjoy remarkable independence; but aristo-

crats and their retainers in carnival guise, as the song, dances, palm reading and play acting all serve to emphasise. Cervantes' young nobleman-turned-gypsy reverts to caste in defence of his honour and kills a soldier, thus precipitating the story's dénouement; in the play, there is a less grave wounding followed by rapid reconciliation. Cervantes' original gypsy girl has been stolen as a baby; the *corregidor*'s wife actively intervenes on her behalf only to discover that she is her own daughter, a written document, some trinkets and two joined toes constituting verification of the old gypsy woman's testimony. The girl had then lived an aristocrat at real risk of losing caste amongst gypsies and had displayed vigorous independence. In the play, the *corregidor* is a widower—there is no wife to intervene—and since the mother and father of the gypsies are revealed as none other than his own sister and brother-in-law, to whom he had formally committed his lost daughter, the girl had never been at serious risk of losing caste. In the play, yet again, her birth is verified by a family crucifix.

There are three subsidiary aspects of the play, of some importance, which are completely absent in the Cervantes short stories. First the character of a foolish ward, under guardianship of the rape victim's parents; he and his servant join the gypsies and appear a dramatic device to enlarge a sense of aristocratic carnival. Second, a young man who had been a suitor to the rape victim must reconcile himself to losing her; but rather awkwardly for the plot, in parallel he has successfully petitioned the King of Spain for the recall from banishment of his father's murderer. This last is none other than the father of the gypsies. There is then a scene in which the audience witnesses an act of forgiveness over revenge in pursuit of honour, and the renunciation of a duel. Third, the wounded man and the jealous young woman who provoked the fight, express public regret and reconciliation and marry. The play, then, contains three betrothals.

Both of Cervantes' mothers, crucial to reconciliation and the restitution of harmony, are suppressed in the dramatic version, and instead a single male governor controls his rapist son and agrees to the marriage of his daughter now restored from her gypsy life. Those remarkable moments in Cervantes when for example his gypsy girl makes a vigorous declaration of sexual equality and independence and lays down strict conditions for her aristocratic suitor, or the rapist's mother's severe attack upon her son's conduct, incidents that cloud the romance world by intimating other moral grounds for human behaviour than the merely chivalrous, are simply cut out. Indeed the play's gypsy girl is treated with cloying condescension: 'a pretty little toy' (Act III scene ii, 80), 'a pretty child' (Act V, scene iii, 17). The dramatisation suppresses the human richness of Spanish originals in favour of patriarchy and absolutism. The topic of duelling is treated strictly in conformity with King James's proclamation of 1613 and the formal legal position.

Men subject to th' extremity of law
Should carry peace about 'em to their graves.
Act V scene i 132-133.

The double use of the crucifix to identify caste and register associated values of chastity and honour, hints in the direction of providence and the doctrine of divine right; the *corregidor* is, after all, the King in all but name and like James himself, he is a widower. Whereas Cervantes, against the background of racism peculiar to Spain at that time, treats blood as the carrier of both social status and racial purity, the dramatisation against the English background of great social change and new money, betrays anxiety at

'disparagement' alone, that is marrying downward in the social class structure: the *corregidor* of Madrid, not yet recognising his own daughter and believing her still to be a gipsy, puts down her plea to marry an aristocrat with the words

Yes, where the parties
Pledg'd are not too unequal in degree,
As he and thou art.

Act V scene iii 9-11.

The play's presentation of female sexuality conforms closely to Lisa Jardine's account in *Still Harping On Daughters*:

It is the male characters who perceive free choice on the part
of the female character as an inevitable sign of irrational lust, and
as the inevitable prelude to disorder and disaster....

the absence of sexuality early became ... the ultimate icon of female virtue¹²:

Ask her that's mine accuser: could your eyes
Pierce through the secrets of her foul desires,
You might without a partial judgment look into
A woman's lust and malice.

Act V scene i 141-144;

I crave your pardons;
He whose I am speaks for me.

Act V scene iii 76-77.

Male sexuality is treated more tolerantly:

Best men are molded out of faults -

the rapist is socially recuperated when able to marry his victim.¹³

III

Prince Charles and the Earl of Buckingham, wearing false beards and carrying pistols, set off for Spain on 17th February 1623 to court the Spanish Infanta María, arrived in Madrid 7th March and returned to London on 6th October 1623. According to one contemporary, Charles 'understood Greek, Latin, French, Spanish and Italian, which three last he spoke perfectly'¹⁴; hence presumably, Charles' confidence in going to Madrid to court the Infanta in person; and the episode in Madrid when Charles reportedly scaled a garden wall to speak with the princess suggests life become chivalrous art.¹⁵

The Spanish Gipsy was acted at Whitehall on 5th November 1623, a month after Charles' return. Three nights before, on 2nd November 1623, the court had seen a performance of Fletcher's *Rule A Wife*

And Have A Wife, which also dramatises a double Spanish source, one of which is a Cervantes exemplary novel and, as the title indicates, deals comically with marital power relations.

The text of *The Spanish Gipsy* as transmitted appears dovetailed for a particular audience. The subject matter is hispanophile, Act II Scene i, in which the gipsies first appear, being especially significant in this respect:

English and Spanish Court élites are effectively assimilated, cultural difference between English and Spanish gipsies is resolved in favour of the latter, English gipsies are rogues, Spanish gypsies are aristocrats; the vocabulary of the text itself is hispanized even quoting low life slang in Cervantes –cacoquismo, germanía, pickaroes– expressions that must have assumed some understanding in the audience; there is the overworked Jacobean stage joke that

We Spaniards are no great feeders (line 51);

Spain's financial generosity is celebrated (in fact the country was bankrupt and Buckingham had been very annoyed at the poor level of hospitality in Madrid¹⁶); there is a suggestion that Spanish members of the audience will

throw down gold in musses (line 101)

for good female impersonation by a boy actor:

Thou art my noble girl: a many dons
Will not believe but that thou art a boy
In woman's clothes.

(lines 97-100);

this again may be a reference to Spaniards in the audience. As Charles would have noted at his weekly plays in Madrid, the Spanish theatre had actresses; and *The Spanish Gipsy* ends with a dance and the couplet:

On, brides and bridegrooms! to your Spanish feasts
Invite with bent knees all these noble guests.

Indeed, many passages invite metatheatrical interpretation:

A time may come when we, besides these pastimes,
May from the grandoes and the dons of Spain
Have leave to try our skill even on the stage
And then your wits may help us.

Act III scene i 105-108;

and

T'is great pity,

Besides your songs, dances, and other pastimes,
 You do not, as our Spanish actors do,
 Make trial of a stage.

Act III scene ii 224-226;

Isn't an ass? give it to a lawyer, for in Spain
 They ride upon none else.

Act IV scene i 24-25;

there appears to be an express reference to King James' jester Archie Armstrong, who accompanied Charles and Buckingham to Madrid and caused much bad feeling amongst some members of the English delegation for his outspokenness:

The jester that so late arriv'd at court,
 And there was welcome for his country's sake,

Act III scene ii 250-251;

since the Castilian language is praised for its elegance (Act II scene ii 140) and the Spanish King identified as the fount of all honour (Act III scene ii 26-32), it is plausible that members of the Spanish diplomatic mission in England were part of the audience; the text appears shaped by calculated sycophantic gestures in their direction. Such an accumulation of hispanophile stage courtesies and knowing witticisms suggests a sensitivity to Anglo-Spanish negotiations.

In fact, as Carlton, a recent biographer of Charles I points out, the Spanish match had already slipped out of reach and eight weeks later, January 1st 1624, Charles saw a play by Fletcher, put on by the King's Men, called *The Wandering Lover*. Carlton comments:

[Charles] had decided to leave his old love and go looking for a new one.¹⁷

IV

Bullen accepted the 1653 quarto attribution to Middleton and Rowley; and *The Spanish Gypsy* comes immediately after *The Changeling* in Volume 6 of Bullen's edition of Middleton's works.

Since the 1920s there has been growing doubt about this ascription of authorship; nowadays, scholars no longer accept it. A standard work on the problems of authorship in the Middleton canon by reference to internal evidence is the doctoral study of David Lake who employs statistical analyses. He also makes two interesting points for this discussion:

the copy used by the printer in 1653 was not a prompt book but probably an authorial fair draft lightly annotated for theatrical use, or a scribal copy of such a draft;

the attribution to Middleton and Rowley could have been a deliberate fraud, the publisher Richard Marriott (for Humphrey Moseley) trying to profit by the recent publication of *The Changeling*; Lake concludes:

on available evidence, it is best to attribute *The Spanish Gypsy* to Ford and Dekker.¹⁸

As already noted, *The Spanish Gipsy* remained in the ownership of the Beeston family for certainly almost two decades and that ownership was fiercely defended. After Parliament closed the theatres in 1642, sheer poverty must have broken ownership and released plays for publication. The Cockpit was used as a school in 1646; and the military stopped a performance there in January 1649, the same month as Charles I's trial and execution. Subsequently Christopher Beeston's widow and son disputed the rights to the theatre and with each other and failed to secure the tenancy at the Restoration.¹⁹

In the 1639 edict confirming ownership of an inventory of plays on William Beeston, we find the following ordering:

*“The Changeling: A Fair Quarrel: The Spanish Gipsy”*²⁰

Since the first two plays were of known authorship, Middleton and Rowley, an unascribed fair draft in a common bundle could have resulted in innocent assimilation, especially as *The Fair Quarrel* had first been published in 1617. Further, the text itself of *The Spanish Gipsy* strongly hints that the same group of actors had originally performed *The Changeling* (Act II scene i, 104-112) and Henry Herbert's Office-book confirms that *The Changeling* had been played by the same company at Whitehall ten months before on Sunday January 4th 1623, 'the prince only being there'; there is also a common italianate name for a comic character, Lollio (see *The Changeling Dramatis Personae* and *The Spanish Gipsy* Act IV scene iii, 15). Indeed, the plays were so linked that as Bullen noted, in old editions the setting of *The Spanish Gipsy* was assimilated to that of *The Changeling*, namely Alicante. As editor Bullen corrected this.²¹

Middleton is an unlikely candidate for authorship for several reasons: plays associated with his name show an interest in strong female protagonists, an opportunity which the author of *The Spanish Gipsy* clearly ducked in his adaptation from Spanish sources; and above all else, we have his autograph copy of *A Game At Chess*, the first long run of the English stage, a transparent hispanophobic political allegory, ridiculing the Spanish monarchy and the former Spanish ambassador in London, Gondomar, savagely attacking the Roman Church and in its final scene, consigning the whole Spanish nation to hell. The play directly attacked the abortive Spanish marriage. The play's run was cut short by James on the appeal of the Spanish ambassador. *A Game At Chess* was first staged on Friday 6th August 1624, just nine months after *The Spanish Gipsy*. Common authorship defies belief.

But is Dekker's candidacy even for the comic scenes of *The Spanish Gipsy* any stronger? Like Middleton, with whom he had a long collaborative association, Dekker in those works attached to his name, had a history of anti-Spanish, indeed virulently hispanophobic writing (e.g. *Sir Thomas Wyatt* and *News from Hell*). One of his plays called *Match Me In London* was licenced by Buc without fee on 21st August 1623 as 'an olde Playe' at the height of hysteria against the Spanish marriage; its setting in Seville and Cordoba belies its title, and it crudely matches City tradespeople against a corrupt hispanophile court. Dekker is an equally unlikely candidate.

It is truly astonishing that the candidacy of Thomas Heywood has not received serious attention. Heywood and Christopher Beeston were longstanding friends and residents of Clerkenwell.²² Beeston, like other actors, had written a verse commendation to Heywood's *An Apology for Actors* (1612). There was a professional association between these two men for some three decades. Two traditional 'facts' of Heywood's life, that he wrote nothing for the stage 1614-1624 and that he retired from acting in 1619²³ are highly dubious; in the 1633 preface to *The English Traveller* he claims to have had 'either an entire

hand, or at least a maine finger' in two hundred and twenty plays; and Clark, still the most authoritative account of Heywood's life, repeats the tradition of Heywood's retirement, contradicts Fleay's supposition that Heywood was acting at the Cockpit in 1623-24, then contradicts himself by admitting that in the 1630's Heywood was perhaps still an actor of minor parts. Indeed Clark dates both *The Captives* and *The English Traveller* to the early 1620's partly by reference to a change in style which he attributes to imitation of Fletcher.²⁴ In the absence of evidence to the contrary, it would be safer to assume Heywood's ongoing involvement with the theatre, if only to earn his daily bread. He continued to write for money until shortly before his death. Heywood was middleclass, royalist, Anglican, conventional, humane, a chivalrous feminist and timid, as his career and writings confirm; such characteristics make him an ideal candidate for authorship of *The Spanish Gipsy*.

In common with the Prologue to *A Challenge For Beauty* and *An Apology for Actors*, *The Spanish Gipsy* exhibits some knowledge of theatrical conditions elsewhere in Europe and other theatrical traditions:

So, so; a merry tragedy! there is a way
Which the Italians and Frenchman use,
That is, on a word given, or some slight plot,
The actors will extempore fashion out
Scenes neat and witty.

Act IV scene ii 37-40;

the different Spanish tradition of women actresses has already been mentioned; the double plot accords with several other plays by Heywood (e.g. *The Captives*); did the dramatist himself take the part of Sancho, the foolish gentleman and ward to Don Pedro? Apparently he did, for Sancho's servant Soto tells the audience

That's our poet, he stands for a cipher.

Act IV scene ii, 31;

the reference to the poet (dramatist) as a cipher, fits perfectly with To The Reader, Heywood's prefatory remarks to *The English Traveller* (? acted 1627, published 1633):

True it is, that my Playes are not exposed unto the world in Volumes, to beare the title of *WORKES* (as others) one reason is, That many of them by shifting and change of Companies, have been negligently lost, Others of them are still retained in the hands of some Actors, who think it against their peculiar profit to have them come in Print, and a third, That it never was any great ambition in me, to bee in this kind volumniously (sic) read.

This indeed is the statement of a poet cipher. Heywood could have been playing a part like Sancho in *The Spanish Gipsy* in 1623. Neither is it a surprise that *The Spanish Gipsy* should have come into the printer's hands in 1653, twelve years after Heywood's death, with unattributed authorship; other such plays also performed at the Cockpit in the mid 1620's appear to be by his hand; Bullen discovered *The Captives* (licensed 3rd September 1624) in 1885 without title or author's name²⁵; and Clark argues convincingly that *Dick of Devonshire* (? licensed 18th July 1626) is similarly by Heywood, though again it has no authorial attribution.²⁶ The pro-Spanish posture of this last play connects with *The Spanish Gipsy* too:

many of our Kings and noblest Princes
 Have fecht their best and royallest wives from *Spainye*,
 The very last of all binding both Kingdomes
 Within one golden ring of love and peace...²⁷

Heywood (if he is the author) here writes of the marriage of Philip II and Mary Tudor in terms that neither Dekker nor Middleton would have used; the quarrel arising from 'a cast of hawks', not in Cervantes but in *The Spanish Gipsy* (Act II scene ii) strikingly resembles a similar event in Heywood's *A Woman Killed With Kindness* (Act II scene iii); in respect of marriage as an institution, women's physical frailties and Spanish abstemiousness in eating, there are striking parallels between *The English Traveller* and *The Spanish Gipsy*²⁸; the scenes of agnorisis in *The Spanish Gipsy* and *The Captives* are surely by the same dramatist²⁹; there are spellings apparently peculiar to Heywood: "grandoes" for "grandees" and debosh'd or debosh't for "debauched"³⁰; there is surely an echo of *The Fair Maid of the West* in the line:

send him to Muly-Crag-a-whee in Barbary
 Act IV scene i 22-23;

and there are the striking similarities in expression and sentiment between *The Spanish Gipsy* and *An Apology for Actors*: plays are the entertainment of Princes, actors should be gentlemen of quality; drama is presented as a European wide phenomenon and theatre as an index of cultural sophistication; Spanish practice is singled out; royalty is revered. Above all, there is one word which would seem confirmatory: Madrill, Heywood's preferred form of Madrid. Bullen's footnote describes it as an old form of Madrid. The Arabic etymology renders this description impossible. The form appears peculiar to Heywood. It occurs seven times in the play. The Prince Charles could not have failed to notice.³¹

V

In 1659, after the death of Oliver Cromwell and with a prospect of the restoration of some London theatrical life, perhaps the most successful publisher of the period, Humphrey Moseley, acquired full ownership of *The Spanish Gipsy*. The quarto was republished in 1661. He had similarly acquired ownership of a canon of plays attributed to Beaumont and Fletcher and published them in 1647. Fletcher had been a particular favourite of Charles I and his plays, a theatrical staple of the 1630's. During the interregnum Moseley met the market for play reading and amateur theatricals at home. Moseley knew his market and Dryden confirms that he got it right; in 1668 the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher still dominated the London stage.³² Moseley died in 1660 and his widow passed away, comfortably off in Tunbridge Wells in 1673(!).

The Restoration gave the ideological paradigm and values of *The Spanish Gipsy* a new lease of life, albeit against the background of a dissolute pleasure-seeking court very different from that of Charles I. Aphra Behn's *The Rover*, subtitled *The Banished Cavaliers* (1677), is a key text in identifying how this paradigm ran on. It is obviously derivative and harks back to pre-Civil War drama, and especially the Beaumont and Fletcher canon and a play like *The Spanish Gipsy*.

Whatever claims may be made for the novelty of a woman writing to earn her bread, no claims can be made for originality in *The Rover*, as Behn's contemporaries pointed out. It is based upon an unacted play by Thomas Killigrew, written during the Commonwealth and set in Madrid. Behn transfers the setting to Naples, also at that time ruled by Spain. The three central marriageable females (that is, possessing caste, virginity and wealth) dress as gypsies to go out on the streets of Naples at carnival time to transact with males. The atmosphere of *The Rover* is explicitly hispanophile and Catholic; the vocabulary includes Saint Iago, vows, Rome, saints, confession, abbesses, nuns, nunnery, rosary, Capuchins, inquisition, confession, Toledo sword, donships, viceroys, galleys, the Prado, patacoon [silver dollar], shame-room [runaway slave] and picaroon. English and Spanish aristocratic castes are assimilated. Key patriarchal values are encapsulated in Belvile's declaration

Nay, touch her not. She's mine by conquest, sir,
I won her by my sword.

Act IV scene ii³³.

In the best Beaumont and Fletcher style, a young woman is a 'toy' or a 'child', terms also used in *The Spanish Gypsy*.

The refugee cavalier Willmore who describes himself as impoverished, continues the tradition of the 'copper captain', a penniless military adventurer on the look out for an heiress.³⁴ He is, however, an eligible gentleman who picks up one of the masquerading women, 'a gypsy worth two hundred thousand crowns' and in the rest of the play variously refers to her as 'the gipsy', 'a dear gipsy', 'a little gipsy', 'an errant gipsy', and in his final negotiation with Hellena, expresses willingness to turn gipsy in order to sleep with her.³⁵

Behn's sympathies are further emphasised through the comic character Blunt, an Essex squire who has followed the refugees to Naples. According to Belvile

[Blunt was] educated in a nursery, with a maid to tend him till fifteen, and lies with his grandmother till he's of age: one that knows no pleasure beyond riding to the next fair, or going up to London with his right worshipful father in Parliament-time; wearing gay clothes, or making honourable love to his lady mother's laundry-maid, gets drunk at a hunting-match, and ten to one then gives some proof of his prowess - A pox upon him, he's our banker, and has all our cash about him, and if he fail, we are all broke.³⁶

This is an overt attack upon the mercantile city party of the Whigs; Blunt is dull, sexually immature, cowardly, a 'tame' man and his family, newcomers to political power. His character echoes Cacafofo [Shitfire] in *Rule A Wife And Have A Wife* and anticipates Bob Acres in *The Rivals*.

Blunt gives the play a comic climax; in his efforts to become a real swashbuckling cavalier and join in the Neopolitan escapades, he is contemptuously unsuccessful with females selected by higher caste males and dresses as a costume Spaniard. He cannot be the real thing, gentry. Blunt's dressing up recalls earlier sumptuary legislation whereby breaching a dress code was a

symbol of the threat to order which was perceived ... in the entire shift from feudal to mercantile society.³⁷

Blunt serves as a focus for caste neurosis, the fear of disparagement, when real power and wealth are

slipping away.

Both Charles II and James II loved *The Rover*, saw revivals and at James' request, Behn wrote a sequel. Charles II was the last British monarch to wed an Iberian princess; and James, the last to wed a Catholic queen. After 1688, the taste for Beaumont and Fletcher's plays declined; and when performed, they were heavily edited. The same occurred with *The Rover*. *The Spanish Gipsy's* theatrical history effectively ended. Names reminiscent of caste hegemony like Lovelace and Rochester appear demonised in a literature for a predominantly middle class female readership.

NOTES

¹ Bullen, A.H., *the Works of Thomas Middleton*. New York, 1964, [originally published 1904] (Volume VI). See notes on page 115.

² Gurr Andrew, *The Shakespearean Stage 1574-1642*. Cambridge University Press, 1985, pages 60-62.

³ Bentley, Gerald Eades, *The Jacobean And Caroline Stage*. Oxford, Volume VI 1968, Theatres, pages 68-77.

⁴ Bentley, G.E., *op.cit.* Volume I Dramatic Companies and Players 1941, pages 330-335.

⁵ Reed, J.C., "Humphrey Moseley, publisher", *Proceedings and Papers of the Oxford Bibliographical Society* (1927-30), Oxford Volume II, Part II, pages 57-142. See page 122.

⁶ Bullen, A.H., *op.cit.*, page 115.

⁷ Steele, Mary Susan, *Plays and Masques at Court During the Reigns of Elizabeth James and Charles*, Cornell, copyright Yale, 1926.

⁸ Forsythe, R.S. *The Relations of Shirley's Plays To The Elizabethan Drama*. Columbia, 1914, reissued, Benjamin Blom, 1965, page 10; and

Wilson, E.M., "Did John Fletcher Read Spanish?" in *Philosophical Quarterly* XXVII, II, April 1948, pages 187-190, final paragraph.

⁹ Dunn, Peter N., "Shaping Experience: Narrative Strategies in Cervantes" in *Modern Language Notes*, March 1994, Volume 109 no. 2, pages 186-203. The quotation is on page 191.

¹⁰ Marson, J.G., "Gentry, Honour and Royalism in Early Stuart England", *The Journal of British Studies*, November 1973, Volume XIII No. 2, pages 21-43. The quotation comes from a footnote, page 35.

¹¹ Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de, *Novelas Ejemplares*, vols. I and II, Sieber H. (ed), *Ediciones Cátedra*, Madrid, 1992. There is an excellent translation of *La Gitanilla* in Jones C.A., *Cervantes' Exemplary Stories*. Penguin Classics, reprinted 1984. Both stories are also available in: Ife, B.W. (ed) *The Exemplary Novels*, Hispanic Classics, Aris and Phillips, Warminster, 1992, Volumes I and II.

¹² Jardine, Lisa, *Still Harping On Daughters*. Harvester 1983, pages 72 and 77.

¹³ Clark, Sandra *The Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher*, Harvester Wheatsheaf, Hemel Hempstead 1994. See Note 22, Chapter 4, page 178.

¹⁴ Sir Thomas Herbert's words in *Threnodia Carolina*, quoted in Pickell, M.B., *Charles I as Patron of Poetry and Drama*, Müller, London, 1936, page 18.

¹⁵ Howell, James, *The Familiar Letters*, Jacobs, Joseph (ed), London 1892, Book I, Section 3, XV, XVIII, XIX. It is clear from Howell's account that Charles' fluency in Spanish is assumed. The incident referred to is in Letter XVIII.

- ¹⁶ *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series*. London 1858, Volume CLIII, page 103, October 23rd 1623; and Grice Hutchinson M., *Early Economic Thought In Spain*, London, 1978, Chapter 4.
- ¹⁷ Carlton, Charles, *Charles I, The Personal Monarch*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1983, page 50.
- ¹⁸ Lake, David J. *The Canon of Thomas Middleton's Plays*, Cambridge University Press, 1975, page 230. Andrew Gurr accepts this ascription, *op.cit.*, page 219.
- ¹⁹ Bentley, G.E., *op.cit.*, Volume VI, pages 75-77.
- ²⁰ Bentley, G.E., *op.cit.*, Volume I, page 331.
- ²¹ Bullen, A.H., *op.cit.*, page 116.
- ²² Clark, Arthur Melville *Thomas Heywood*. Oxford 1931, pages 58-60.
- ²³ See Baines, Barbara J. *Thomas Heywood*, Twayne Publishers, Boston 1984, Chronology and pages 2-3.
- ²⁴ Clark A.M., *op.cit.*, pages 88, 91-103, 105, 119-120 and 279-280. Clark does not appear to have fully integrated his evidence and opinions.
- ²⁵ Brown, Arthur (ed) *The Captives*, Malone Reprint 1971, vii.
- ²⁶ Clark, A.M., *op.cit.*, Appendix II.
- ²⁷ Clark, A.M., *op.cit.*, page 284.
- ²⁸ Compare *The Spanish Gipsy* Act V scene iii 90ff and *The English Traveller* in *the Dramatic Works of Thomas Heywood*, New York, 1964 page 9; *The Spanish Gipsy* Act III scene ii 293 and *The English Traveller*, *op.cit.*, page 93 and *The Spanish Gipsy* Act II scene i 51 and *The English Traveller*, *op.cit.*, page 12.
- ²⁹ Compare the final scene of *The Spanish Gipsy* and pages 88-89 of the Malone Reprint of *The Captives*.
- ³⁰ Bullen, A.H. (ed), *op.cit.*, Act II scene i 28 and footnote; and Act IV scene ii 66 and *The Captives* in *op.cit.*, page 10, 246.
- ³¹ Heywood, Thomas *An Apology for Actors*;; London 1612 in The Shakespeare Society reprint, London 1841, pages 11, 40, 43-44, 54, 55 and 60. Madrill is on page 60; it also occurs in *The Spanish Gipsy*, Act I scene i 40 and 58, Act II scene i 53, Act III scene i 20, Act III scene ii 81, Act III scene iii 11 and Act IV scene iii, 169.
- ³² Dryden, John, *An Essay of Dramatic Poesy* in Grant, Douglas (ed) *John Dryden*, The Penguin Poets, Penguin Books, 1955, page 199.
- ³³ Behn, Aphra, Todd, Janet (ed), *Oroonoko, the Rover And Other Works*, Penguin Classics, 1992. The quotation is from page 211.
- ³⁴ See *Rule A Wife And Have A Wife*, dramatis personae and *The Spanish Gipsy* Act II scene i 240.
- ³⁵ Behn, A., *op.cit.*, Act V scene i, page 242.
- ³⁶ Behn, A., *op.cit.*, Act I scene ii, pages 172-173.
- ³⁷ Jardine, L. *op.cit.*, Chapter 5. The quotation is on page 162.

“The Soul in Paraphrase”: The Devotional Poetry of George Herbert and His Contemporaries



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There is commonly by most people in the world a very small portion of our life time allowed for the practise of private devotion, and yet out of that small time, how apt are we to steal some part of it to trifle away in unnesesary vaine employments, such as... reading of romances for too many houer's at a time, practissing of play's, long unpr ofitable conversations with young people and such like foly's.

(Delaval 98)

Thus wrote Elizabeth Delaval in the 1650s in her autobiographical *Meditations*, with a wry commentary which sets the scene for our consideration of English devotional poetry from the mid-seventeenth century. As Delaval's remarks –and those of hundreds of her contemporaries– reveal, the practice of private devotion remained a high priority in the lives of seventeenth-century English people; however, this religious duty was not always an easy obligation to fulfil. The so-called ‘unnesesary vaine impl oyments’ with which Delaval managed to ‘trifl e away’ the time she should have been spending in devotion are (perhaps) comfortingly familiar; they include social encounters and pleasurable, even light, reading. The nature of these tempting digressions is of particular interest to us since they seem to suggest an implicit opposition between religious prayer or meditation on the one hand, and literary or linguistic pleasures on the other. The ‘practise of private devotion’ is contrasted by Delaval with reading, acting in drama and engaging in conversation. These text-based or spoken activities are, however, all vital features of the devotional verse of the period, poetry which is distinguished by its conscious textuality, dynamic dramatisation and animated dialogues with the divine.

Delaval's anxious personal experience gives us a brief glimpse of a prevailing dilemma of seventeenth-century devotional writing: how to manage, overcome or even eradicate the distance between God and humankind, betwe-

en seriousness and pleasure, piety and wit, silence and words. This series of oppositions was especially intense in the time of the post-Reformation debates concerning the expression of spiritual experiences, whether biblical, liturgical or personal, in the vernacular. Devotional poetry by its very nature arises from a tension between heavenly aims and worldly means; writers in the seventeenth century were all too aware that it is no simple matter to create in verse a 'picture of the many spiritual Conflicts that have past betwixt God and my Soul' (Walton 74). These alleged words of George Herbert about his own lyrics remind us that in addition to the fundamental conflicts between earthly and heavenly perspectives which have already been mentioned – and were encapsulated for Herbert in the relationship of the individual soul to God – the religious poet faces the further challenge of expressing 'spiritual' matters in a verbal 'picture' accessible to human readers. This was straining the ideal of 'ut pictura poesis' to the extreme; could the art of poetry capture in appropriate or adequate words the elusive experience of religious ecstasy or despair?

On the one hand, some writers and theologians upheld the eloquence of human language, stressing the absolute necessity and naturalness of words for the depiction of spirituality. This position was powerfully summed up by John Donne: 'the soul of man,' he asserted, 'is incorporate in his words' (Donne 1957 00). Only through language, Donne argues, is the soul rendered 'corporeal', or given substance as of a body. With complex echoes of the incarnation ('the Word was made flesh' – John 1.14), Donne here suggests that the soul is 'made flesh' in words. Religious matters thus need the substance of language for their expression. As Donne memorably wrote in a more secular context in 'The Extasie', the 'mysteries' within souls can only be read in the 'booke' of the 'body' (Donne 1985 102). In the case of devotional poetry, that 'body' which expresses the inexpressible mysteries is language.

On the other side of the argument, however, was a serious mistrust of verbal eloquence when it came to spiritual things. This was summed up by Richard Hooker in his *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1597) when he wrote, with striking simplicity, 'our safest eloquence concerning God is our silence' (Hooker 00). Since language is imperfect and is used by fallen humankind, 'eloquence' is never to be trusted; the only safe way to speak about God and our experience of the divine is, Hooker paradoxically suggests, not to speak at all. The implication is perhaps that, in our silence, God himself can speak with a greater and holier eloquence. But in the meantime, the making of devotional poetry is ruled out by this principle; or, if the poet risks writing about God, what results is an unsafe, unstable eloquence.

Is any compromise possible, in devotional terms, between these two positions? Can the embodiment of language and the dangers of eloquence ever

be reconciled? How can expression and silence co-exist? It seems to me that the space between the dynamic of language and the stillness of devotion is that which is filled by prayer, the activity vividly described by Herbert as 'the soul in paraphrase' (Herbert 70). This expression is itself a compromise between the two philosophies. The 'soul' and words here cannot quite be equivalents, as in Donne's vision, since a 'paraphrase' is something other, 'an expression in other words, usually fuller and clearer' (*OED* 1a). However, a 'paraphrase' is by definition not an abandonment to silence, as Hooker advised, since there is still an attempt to use words to express the meaning of the 'soul'. In Herbert's summary of prayer, therefore, we may have found a way of understanding how English devotional poets of the mid-seventeenth century attempted to write about the soul in its experience of God. This 'via media' between human expression and heavenly contemplation implies some kind of renunciation by the poet—for prayer is a process of listening as well as speaking, a two-way communication—but also suggests that a creative use of language can give expression to devotion. I will examine this contention by means of a reading of four mid-seventeenth century English devotional poems.

Where better to begin than with a lyric by George Herbert, the leading figure in English post-Reformation devotional poetry and source of the guiding phrase of our discussion, 'the soul in paraphrase'? The issue of the religious poet's dilemma is a prominent one in Herbert's posthumous sequence, *The Temple* (1633), and nowhere more so than in 'Jordan' (II), a text which scrutinises the methods and intentions of the eager devotional poet responding to his vocation:

When first my lines of heav'nly joyes made mention,
 Such was their lustre, they did so excell,
 That I sought out quaint words, and trim invention;
 My thoughts began to burnish, sprout, and swell,
 Curling with metaphors a plain intention,
 Decking the sense, as if it were to sell.
 Thousands of notions in my brain did runne,
 Off'ring their service, if I were not sped:
 I often blotted what I had begunne;
 This was not quick enough, and that was dead.
 Nothing could seem too rich to clothe the sunne,
 Much less those joyes which trample on his head.
 As flames do work and winde, when they ascend,
 So did I weave my self into the sense.
 But while I bustled, I might heare a friend
 Whisper, *How wide is all this long pretence!*

*There is in love a sweetness readie penn'd:
Copie out onely that, and save expense.*

(Herbert 116-17)

The original title of the poem was 'Invention', and that was, of course, its first subject: the poet's own 'trim invention', his delight in seeking out words whose 'lustre' and excellence matched those of the 'heav'nly joyes' they were describing. Unfortunately, as the poem reveals, the speaker's linguistic inventiveness was uncontrollable, taking on a life of its own, beginning to 'burnish, sprout, and swell' like a fast-growing plant, and 'swelling', too, in pride in its own ingenuity. The second stanza moves beyond the over-abundance of the first (with its suitable market-place metaphors of 'decking' and 'selling') to a paralysing uncertainty as to how to proceed with the task, which is itself impossible. How can a poet's words 'clothe the sunne'? Whether that means the high but hopeless honour of trying to find the right linguistic dress for the Son of God, or the futile attempt to cover up the sun, in either case the project is doomed, and the very attempt can begin to block out the life-giving light of the Son/sun. Here indeed is the danger of not remaining silent, as Hooker warned; eloquence can be dangerous and counter-productive.

The 'incorporation' of one's own religious experience can be an obstacle to devotional writing, too; the poet is shocked to find that he has woven his own self 'into the sense' of a poem supposedly dedicated to the 'joyes' that are above. How can he escape this trap of human 'bustling' around God? The change of title, which occurred during Herbert's own revision of the poem, hints at the possibility of a resolution of the poet's difficulty. From a focus on the poet's own skill or 'invention', the new title signals a shift to an external force, 'Jordan', the river which symbolises the crossing into the promised land (in the Old Testament) and the baptism of repentant sinners (in the New). The poem 'Jordan' (11) concerns the crossing of a boundary – into effective devotional writing – by means of a baptism, a washing clean of the old methods of writing in favour of a new devotional mode.

The incorporation of experience into language is not abandoned, nor is the attempt at eloquence concerning God; the difference is that the embodiment and the eloquence come from outside the poet rather than from inside. A 'friend' – almost certainly Christ, though there are echoes of Sir Philip Sidney's intervening Muse as well – whispers the advice to 'copie out' the pre-existing texts of divine love. Whether this means the Bible, or the 'Word made flesh', or the living acts of Christian Love, is unclear, and the poet's problems are not resolved, simply redirected from the search for words to the search for love. Meanwhile, the poem has found its own resolution in these whispered lines, a device which is again a middle way between the

essentiality of words and the eloquence of silence. The speaker has indeed been rendered silent by this closing trick of Herbert's; a new voice has apparently entered, replaced him and concluded the poem. However, the effect on the reader is not that of silence but of 'sweet' words, which themselves speak of a divine text 'readie penn'd'. For a poem which seeks to let its own voice go silent, in the interests of purer devotional writing washed clean in a poetic Jordan, its conclusion is remarkably practical. It is still focused on poetic success: the true 'invention' involves the discovery and incorporation of God's texts. This poetic method, the outside voice suggests, is not only less prone to the human weakness of pride, but will even 'save expense', an ironic recollection of the first stanza's concern with the market.

Herbert's 'Jordan' (II) is a fascinatingly over-explored of the dilemma with which he and his contemporaries were wrestling, and its witty device – to conclude with words which at the same time suggest the poet's silence – is an ingenious, if temporary, solution. Elizabeth Major, writing two decades later, took another route to the paraphrase of the soul in verse in her devotional collection *Honey on the Rod* (1656). Her poem entitled 'The Author's Prayer' builds her personal prayer and her own name into the structure of a sonnet:

<i>O</i>	Gracious God, inhabiting	<i>Eternity</i>
<i>My</i>	Blest redeemer, that hast	<i>Lovingly</i>
<i>Bless'd</i>	me with hope, a kingdom to	<i>Inherit,</i>
<i>Lord</i>	of thy mercy give an humble	<i>Spirit,</i>
<i>And</i>	grant I pray, I may my life	<i>Amend:</i>
<i>Savior</i>	tis thou that canst my soul	<i>Befriend.</i>
<i>Jesus</i>	with grace my guilty soul	<i>Endue</i>
<i>Christ</i>	promis'd grace, & thou, O Lord, art	
<i>True;</i>		
<i>Have</i>	care of me, deal out with thine own	
<i>Hand</i>		
<i>Mercy</i>	to my poor soul, thou canst com-	
<i>mand</i>		
<i>On</i>	me a shower of grace, sin to	<i>Avoid,</i>
<i>Thy</i>	praise to sing, my tongue shall be	
<i>Employ'd:</i>		
<i>Poor,</i>	Lord I am, with fear and care	<i>Opress'd,</i>
<i>Handmaid</i>	to thee I am, in thee I'll be	<i>Rest.</i>

(Major, 191)

How should we read this poem? If we pay attention to the title, then we might be tempted first to follow the italicised text down the left-hand mar-

gin of the sonnet, which is a brief prayer seeking contact with her Lord and asking for mercy from him. The acrostic down the right-hand side of the poem, spelling out the author's name cumulatively in the first letter of the final word of each line, might be seen to complete this short prayer and thus encircle the main body of the poem: 'O my blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, have mercy on thy poor handmaid, Elisabeth Maior'. The poem as a whole, into which these two marginal glosses are interwoven, also has a double structure even when read in the conventional way. It is both a sonnet (though with a simplified couplet rhyme scheme) and a prayer, following very clearly the syntactical structure of the 'collects' (prayers for the day) in the *Book of Common Prayer*. There is indeed enormous 'invention' here, combining literary and liturgical eloquence, attending to the visual as well as aural or cerebral impact of the verse, and allowing a two-way movement of the eye in reading, suggesting the dialogue of prayer itself.

The tensions within Major's poem are also suggested in its title; the purpose is 'prayer', but the focus is just as much on the 'author', name and all. Unlike Herbert, who was troubled by his tendency to 'weave' his own self 'into the sense', Major deliberately embodies herself, in the form of her name, in the text. A woman's good name was, of course, a symbol of her sexual and spiritual integrity in the early modern period. We might rephrase Donne's comment in Major's case, 'the soul of woman is incorporate in her name'. Is the acrostic, then, a sign of that eloquence which Hooker feared, which threatens to overwhelm the author's original devotional instinct? In fact it would seem that the two go hand in hand: the inscribing of the author's name in the text is as much a self-offering – a devotional sacrifice – as a self-assertion. While Herbert sought to 'copie out' the 'sweetness' of 'love', Major chose to 'copie out' her own name as an expression of her love of God. As the last line states, the author is 'handmaid' to God and seeks 'rest' only in him, a relationship and a purpose emphasised in the repeated 'thee' in the central portion of the line. It is this devotional commitment to the abandonment of her self 'in' God which simultaneously completes the acrostic of Major's name; to rest in God is thus to find (literally) self-fulfilment.

The dilemma over invention and creativity, then, finds expression in contrasting devotional forms and modes in the seventeenth century; eloquence and silence, prayer and self-definition, intermingle in the struggle to paraphrase the relationship of God and the human soul. It would be wrong to regard the context of these struggles as entirely personal; in the great age of religious controversy, biblical translation and public preaching, neither the soul nor the language in which it might be paraphrased was free from tradition and associations. Poetry and devotion were located intertextually, their words existing in a web of interconnections with other texts both lit-

rary and spiritual. Henry Vaughan's devotional poetry, for example, would be impossible to interpret without an awareness of his indebtedness to Herbert's lyrics on the one hand, and the Bible on the other. One of his most enthusiastic religious poems, 'Holy Scriptures' (from *Silex Scintillans*, 1650), asserts explicitly and implicitly his sources of inspiration:

Welcome dear book, soul's joy, and food! The feast
 Of spirits, heaven extracted lies in thee;
 Thou art life's charter, the Dove's spotless nest
 Where souls are hatched unto Eternity.
 In thee the hidden stone, the *manna* lies,
 Thou art the great *elixir*, rare, and choice;
 The key that opens to all mysteries,
 The *Word* in characters, God in the *voice*.
 O that I had deep cut in my hard heart
 Each line in thee! Then would I plead in groans
 Of my Lord's penning, and by sweetest art
 Return upon himself the *Law*, and *Stones*.
 Read here, my faults are thine. This Book, and I
 Will tell thee so; *Sweet Saviour thou didst die!*

(Vaughan 197- 8)

The subject of the poem is the Word (the divine 'logos') as found in the words of the bible; it is a celebration of God's own doubly powerful eloquence, which according to Vaughan can heal and reveal all. But these holy words are praised in words and eloquence derived from Vaughan's own human imagination in conjunction with his reading of Herbert's *Temple*, whose lyrics are richly echoed in the vocabulary and manner of Vaughan's sonnet. Human and divine intertextuality combine to give the poem its dynamism and resonance. Here, then, is another sort of 'copying' endorsed by the needs of the devotional poet; while Herbert invented what purports to be a divine voice in 'Jordan' (II) advising the poet to 'copy out' the pre-inscribed 'sweetness' of 'love', and Major copied out in prayerful offering the letters of the name given to her, Vaughan asserts his dependence on pre-existing texts. The sweetness which Vaughan seeks to copy is that of the scriptures themselves—they are his 'food', a heavenly 'feast' whose effects are comparable to the nourishment given by '*manna*' in the wilderness—and their authorship is clear to him: 'my Lord's penning'.

The most intriguing line in Vaughan's poem, at least in the context of our consideration of devotional language, is the last of the second quatrain, where the bible is described as 'The *Word* in characters, God in the *voice*'. The punning use of 'characters', meaning both letters and persons, refers to the lively written narratives of the bible, in which personalities are conveyed

by, and themselves convey, the word of God. Divine eloquence is upheld in this phrase; the characters of a word (its constituent parts), or of a story, can express the holy creative principle of 'the *Word*'. Does this therefore also sanction the 'characters', in both senses, of human 'penning'? If the words of the bible inspire the devotional poet, does that justify an earthly wit and eloquence? The second half of the line seems to offer a positive answer, for if the scriptures represent 'God in the *voice*', then the human organ of speech is capable of acting as a channel for God's wisdom. The '*voice*' is none other than the poet's, inspired by and echoing the scriptures in his own words. If he had taken the bible to heart, he asserts, 'Then would I plead in groans / Of my Lord's penning'. The devotional poet is more than a glorified ventriloquist's dummy here, since the inspiration of God is heard in the 'groans' of a human voice, not in a silence. Despite the suggestion of very vocal physicality, there is still an element of otherness in this arrangement: the suffering Christian is acting as a mouthpiece for the divine, whose eloquence is of a different order and register altogether. Once again, Donne's statement might be rephrased, to reflect Vaughan's position: 'the soul of man is incorporate in God's words'.

The personal longing of the speaker in the sestet of Vaughan's 'Holy Scriptures' further highlights the issue of the presence of the self in devotional eloquence. While Herbert's 'self' needed to be unravelled from his 'sense', and Major's was embodied and then relinquished in her acrostic sonnet, Vaughan desires his own hard heart to become the tablet of stone on which the scriptures are written. The individual thus becomes the material on which the divine 'characters' are engraved. In this process of sacrificial or passive eloquence, the speaking voice of the poem and the words of God's 'Book' are to merge: 'This Book, and I / Will tell thee so'. This is indeed a 'safe eloquence', to recall Hooker's phrase; the poem is allied to a recognised and authoritative text, the bible itself, so that the poet's creation itself may be seen as a paraphrase of the original 'word'.

Although the seventeenth-century poets found that 'heaven' lay 'extracted' in the bible –and consequently in their own texts– they, like other believers, still had their ordinary lives to lead on earth. As Elizabeth Delaval commented in the passage with which this essay began, for most people devotion was contained within 'a very small portion' of their lives, and even then it was imperfectly observed. The tension between heavenly and earthly callings –between, for example, Delaval's obligation to divine meditation and the attraction of 'reading of romances'– was expressed not only in terms of different uses of eloquence but also in the form of obedience to an external authority or to oneself. This clash of allegiances was especially difficult for women, who were enjoined to accept human males as representative of divine authority– a situation famously summed up by Milton in the

line 'Hee for God only, shee for God in him' (Milton IV 299). What was for men a relatively straightforward (though always difficult) tussle between divine and human values became for women a potentially three-way battle involving God, man and the self. This is particularly clearly demonstrated in the work of an anonymous mid-seventeenth century woman poet known only as Eliza because of the title of her collection of poems, *Eliza's Babes* (1652). In the tradition of biblical rhetoric she addresses Christ as her 'lover', a metaphor normally reserved for the meeting of the feminised soul and the redeemer, but here put under strain because an earthly husband arrives to complete the triangle. The eloquence of the Bible comes into direct tension in the lyric 'The Gift' with the need for the woman to accept an earthly male authority:

My Lord, hast thou given me away?
 Did I on earth for a gift stay?
 Hath he by prayer of thee gain'd me,
 Who was so strictly knit to thee?
 To thee I onely gave my heart,
 Wouldst thou my Lord from that gift part?
 I know thou wouldst deliver me
 To none, but one belov'd by thee.
 But Lord my heart thou dost not give,
 Though here on earth, while I doe live
 My body here he may retain,
 My heart in heaven, with thee must reigne.
 Then as thy gift let him thinke me,
 Sith I a dōnage am from thee.
 And let him know thou hast my heart,
 He onely hath my earthly part.
 It was my glory I was free,
 And subject here to none but thee,
 And still that glory I shall hold
 If thou my Spirit dost enfold.
 It is my bliss, I here serve thee,
 Tis my great joy; thou lovest mee.
 ('Eliza', 42-3)

As the poem opens, the reader is struck by the vehemence of the speaker's questions, which are prompted by a powerful sense of betrayal: has God really given her away to a human lover, when she is already betrothed to her divine lover? The title term, 'gift', begins to take on multiple meanings: she

has given her 'heart' to her saviour as a gift, but he has now 'given' her 'away' as though she had remained on earth simply as a gift for Christ to pass on to someone else. The tone is hurt and surprised, and a sense of rivalry enters the devotional conversation; are this man's prayers more powerful, she wonders, than her years of loving loyalty and spiritual betrothal to Christ? As the poem proceeds, 'Eliza' becomes more careful and specific about the gift which she will allow Christ to give to her husband: since her heart has already been donated, it is 'only' her 'earthly part', her body, which the unnamed human male can receive. The devotional self represented in this poem, then, is a divided one, with a heart in heaven and only its fleshly dress inhabiting the earth.

In 'The Gift' we discern another mode of the 'soul in paraphrase', in contrast to the external voice of Herbert's resolution, the prayerful manner of Major's acrostic, or the hymn of praise penned by Vaughan. 'Eliza' conducts a conversation with her Lord, interactive, questioning and even bargaining with God. The consequences for her earthly life are quite striking: while she longs to remain 'subject' to the Lord to whom she gave her heart, a saviour whose 'service is perfect freedom' (Common Prayer 59), she glories in her freedom in the meantime, as a woman. Her reluctance to agree to marriage is expressed in the radical terms of one who will lose her freedom - apparently a social and personal freedom, as well as the liberty to be totally 'enfolded' in God. The poem ends with a reassertion of the 'joy' and 'blessedness' of her relationship with God, perhaps a bond which can only be so total within the confines of the poem. By 'paraphrasing' her soul in this poetic dialogue, the speaker gives her heart the opportunity to be 'enfolded' by her divine lover in the words of the text, even if her body is to be 'enfolded' by a human husband. The 'incorporation' which devotional language enables here is a sort of escape, even of reassurance; the non-bodily elements of devotion are given substance in the rhetoric of the poem and its statement of the speaker's renewed 'gift' of her heart to God.

These four poems, demonstrating the triumphs and the uncertainties of the expression of spiritual experience in English verse of the mid-seventeenth century, have given us a glimpse of the range of poetic traditions, beliefs, gender positions, styles and moods to be found in the devotional poetry of this period. We have seen some of the many ways in which poets attempted to resolve the clash of eloquence and silence, of self and God, in their texts. We have discovered the poets' spiritual selves and experiences encapsulated in the devices of a voice, a name, a biblical text or an anxious debate, devices which are the poets' means of making the 'soul unto the lines accord', as Herbert defined 'A True Hymn' (Herbert 174). What is perhaps most important is that all these poems may be seen as versions of prayer, that mysterious exercise which Herbert described as 'the soul in pa-

paraphrase'. His poem 'Jordan' (II) takes the form of a confessional prayer, and Major's poem, which even calls itself 'The Author's Prayer', contains the text of a prayer and is also a collect of self-offering. Vaughan's 'Holy Scriptures' is a biblical-style prayer of praise and celebration, and 'The Gift' embodies the voice of 'Eliza' pleading with her God.

When Herbert attempted to define prayer in his poem 'Prayer' (I) from which the title quotation of this essay is taken, he came up with a dazzling range of further 'paraphrases' for the word prayer, including several which would also illuminate our reading of the devotional verse of Herbert's contemporaries. The description of prayer as, for example, 'God's breath in man returning to his birth' (Herbert 70) suggests not only the 'breath' of life itself being offered back gratefully to its author, but also hints at the ambivalence of the 'breath' which is speech or language being used to address the God who is himself the Word. However, what is most significant about Herbert's 'Prayer' (I) is its closing phrase, in which the attempt to define prayer by means of descriptive phrases and metaphors is abandoned; prayer is, he concludes, 'something understood'. This suggests that prayer is not a static or fixed process but, like the poems we have read, it is varied, fluid, always active and interactive. In prayer, and in these lyrics, what is it that is 'understood'? The answer is not singular but multiple: it is God, of course, but also the self, the soul given embodiment in words, prayer, poetry, even language itself, as the poets struggle towards the ultimate eloquence of silence.

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