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Preface

This volume contains selected papers presented at the Fifth Dakotas/Nebraska Conference on Earlier British Literature, which was hosted by Jamestown College on April 24 and 25, 1997. As usual at what now seems a securely established annual event, the papers covered a wide array of works from the Middle Ages through the eighteenth century, and the authors ranged from full professors to graduate students teaching and studying at institutions large and small in several states. I am especially glad to be able to include the paper presented by the featured speaker of the conference, Professor D. Allen Carroll of the University of Tennessee.

The contributions and participation of many people beyond those represented in this volume made the conference a success. I am most beholden to Dr. James Walker, President of Jamestown College at the time the conference was held. Without his commitment of support, this cadre of earlier British literature scholars spread across the Northern Plains would have had to look elsewhere for a meeting place in 1997.

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CONTENTS

Coded Names in Renaissance Texts
D. Allen Carroll 1

The Textual Context of Mary Chudleigh's *The Ladies Defence*
Barbara Olive 15

Monstrosities of Nature: The Significance of Acrasia's Punishment in Book II of Spenser's *The Fairie Queene*
Michelle L. Stie 24

Books for Good Manners in *As You Like It*
Douglas A. Northrop 32

"Why do the heathen rage?": Psalm 2 as Comfort and Instruction in *Paradise Lost*, Books 1-3
Robert De Smith 38

Plowing through the Fair Field: Teaching *Piers Plowman*
Jay Ruud 47

Shadwell's *The Libertine*: A Political Play
Margaret Duggan 57

Signs of Madness: A Foucauldian Reading of Robert Burton's "Symptoms" and the Illness of Samuel Johnson's Astronomer
William Archibald 63

Pamela's Irish Ancestry?
Andrew Alexander 69

What's Hunting Got to Do with the Green Knight? Bercilak, the Green Knight, and Sir Gawain
Muriel Brown 76

Coded Names in Renaissance Texts

D. Allen Carroll
The University of Tennessee

On several of Sir Christopher Hatton's lettbers to Queen Elizabeth there appears a superscription (on the middle panel, outer sheet) that historians have been unable fully to explain.[1] It consists of four triangles--"a curious cipher," one says, no doubt "intended for a representation of one of the Queen's nicknames for him" (Brooks 95; see Nicolas 20-29, 450). Perhaps. Among other affectionate nicknames, she called him "Mutton" and "Lids." But the cipher is, in fact, fairly readable Elizabethan:

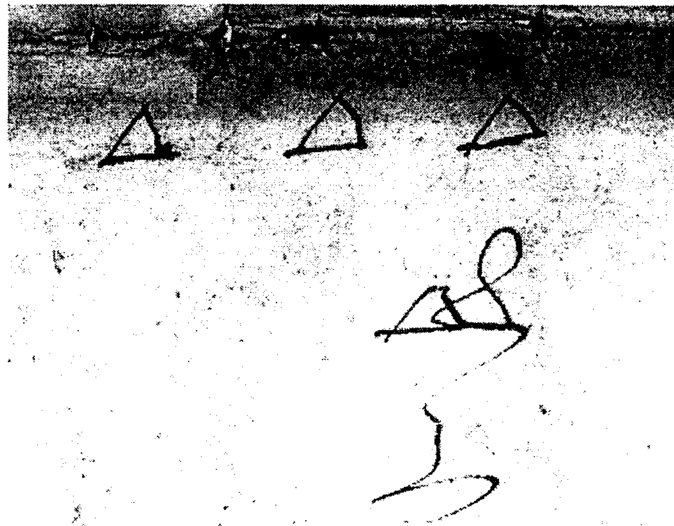

Figure One: Public Record Office
(at Kew) 12/89/146, by permission.

It represents *four hats* or *hatten*, the plural of hats--triangular hats--and is thus a visual pun (what we call a rebus) on the name Christo*four Hatten*. With each of these superscriptions the fourth "hat" has added above it or to the side, by the continuation of the quill, an "X," which probably, as a chi, stands for the *Christ* in the first name and perhaps as well for the *ten* in *Hatten*. One of Hatton's letters has as part of the signature, following an elaborate display of the initials "CH," a single triangular *hat* crossed through with a capital X (see Brooks 99). Here the rebus may represent more than simply the surname *Hatton* (= *Hat* + *ten*): the chi stands for *Christ* and the whole (X superimposed over triangle), one suspects, for the number *four*. Thus we have the full name. As for "Lids," Hatton's nickname, which has yet to be adequately explained, it's quite likely to have been inspired by his surname, though evidence is hard to come by--*hats* have been called *lids* where I came from time out of mind. We need not, as some have done,

[1] Except for the addition of light, essential documentation, the paper is printed here as presented. Some of this material has appeared in print; some of it, representing fairly early stages of thinking, has not as yet. Anyone wishing to consult printed accounts, which are fuller and more heavily documented, though always on quite specific examples, should see these items: Carroll 1970, 1975, 1987, 1990, 1996, and 1998.

speculate as to some "peculiarity of shape or trick" in Hatton's eyelids (Brooks 95). Hatton was, it is true, associated with eyelids in Elizabeth's mind; but this association, in my judgment, came *after* the suggestion prompted by his name and through a link with her other much-loved courtier, Leicester, for whom, as you may recall, her nickname was "Eyes." As for the source of *Leicester*'s nickname, which has also mystified historians, it probably came from the pronunciation of his titled name: L*eyes*ter. Everyone agrees, at least, that *Water*, another of her nicknames, came from Sir *Walter* Raleigh.

Elizabethans were obsessed with names. When they wanted to single out a person with words or other signs, whether openly or covertly, they went for the name, usually with a coded version of it; and they did so with the kind of careless gusto and simple playfulness we associate with high school sophomores. Their delight in names took the form of a sort of public doodling, often in loopy, silly forms. The name was primary matter on which the imagination played unembarrassed, whether in praise or blame, in earnest or jest. And it played uninhibited by any settled system of spelling or any rigid rules of pronunciation. I want to convince you, today, through a gathering of examples, that this feature of their culture must always inform our reading of its literary and social texts. You may in fact supply your own examples. Mine will be fresh to you, I hope, undetected hitherto in comment on the literature unless I suggest otherwise, and ought therefore to be of value.

My chief interest here today, I should say, is in codes for actual names, allusions to real people, not in poetic plays of a purely literary kind that function other than as ciphers, not, that is, in the fairly obvious and familiar kinds that you know, say, from Shakespeare. *Banquo* attends the *banquet*; *Fleance flees*. There's a *hell* in the midst of *Othello*, as your students will tell you; a *demon* there in *Desdemona*; *Iago* serves as the *Ego* figure in the play; and *Cassio* gets *cashiered*. Mistress Overdone, in *Measure for Measure*, has nine husbands, "*overdone*," she says, "by the last"; Constable *Elbow*, in the same play, is "out at *elbow*," and so on. My interest is in topical hits. Let me illustrate. I'm among those who would detect in Shakespeare's epitaph a direct allusion to him by name:

> GOOD FREND FOR IESVS **SAKE** FORBEARE,
> TO DIGG THE DVST ENCLOASED HEARE!
> BLESTE BE YE MAN YT **SPARES** THES STONES,
> AND CURST BE HE YT MOVES MY BONES.

Here you have it (emphases mine): "*SAKE SPARES*"; probably *SAKE*, certainly *SPARES*. Epitaphs historically play on the names of the diseased, to simple, direct effects, in crudely poetic, sometimes humorous styles. There's one at Boot Hill, I'm told, that's to our point, one you may know. At the top is chipped out the simple name: "Lester Moore." These few verses follow: "Here lies Lester Moore, / Two slugs from a 44 / No less, no more."

In 1592 a writer named Henry Chettle made a similar play on Shakespeare's name, I believe. He had published a book called *Greene's Groatsworth of Wit* containing a vicious attack on "an upstart Crow," a player who has the audacity to turn his hand to writing plays, part of a general attack on players that singles out several in particular (Chettle and Greene 83-85); he may have written it himself, passing it off as Robert Greene's. After Jonson's poem in the First Folio, this of Chettle-Greene is the most famous allusion to Shakespeare. In his next publication a few weeks later, Chettle,

having had second thoughts about publishing that attack, apologizes profusely to one of the playwrights. Two of those attacked were upset, he tells us, though he doesn't say clearly which two. We may believe that the one to whom he apologizes is Shakespeare, though some scholars think otherwise, because, among other reasons, Chettle plays on Shakespeare's name: "With neither of them that take offense was I acquainted, and with one of them [he's referring to Marlowe] I care not if I never be: The other, whome at that time I did not so much **spare**, as since I wish I had [and so on; my emphasis]. . ." (Chettle and Kemp 6). Chettle uses the word **spare** so that we'll know exactly whom he's talking about: Shake*speare*.

At times we know a name is meant even when we can't make out the connection. Such is often so with the rebus, that is, with a picture of the name, the name having been subjected to the associations of the visual imagination. We can learn how to interpret rebuses by studying the printers' and publishers' devices of the time. Ronald B. McKerrow's marvelous collection called *Printers' & Publishers' Devices* with its explanations shows how charmingly adolescent these were in their ingenuity. Thus *William Norton* had a for his device or rebus a *tun* (that is, a large wine cask) with the word "Nor" printed on it, and a sprig of sweet *william* growing out of it. *Henry Bell*'s had a *bell* with a *hen* on it, with a sprig of *rye* in the hen's beak. More elaborate and far-fetched was the one for *Garrat Dewes*; it took the form of a little picture of two men in a *garret* playing dice and casting a *deuce*. We are dealing here with the tendency of the mind, in visualizing images suggested by words, to wander off in some odd direction. It's the same mode of thought that makes it hard for us, especially now, after Lewis Carroll, to hear properly the warning given to Prince Hal that "the sheriff is at the door with a monstrous watch." Or there's that line you know from Coleridge, a little farther afield, that also sets the mind to wander: "the earth in thick, fast pants." McKerrow was stumped by the device of the publisher Nicholas Ling, which you'll find on the titlepage of the First Quarto *Hamlet*. The fish called the *ling* was clear enough to him, but not the *honeysuckle*. Here's how to complete the rebus. *Nicholas*, spelled variously, was at the time an anagram for *honeysuckle* in any number of its phonetic spellings (*honisocal*) (Carroll 1970). In the Elizabethan game of names, almost is enough, close counts. Hyder Rollins and others have had reservations about assigning an anthology of poetry called *England's Helicon* of 1600 to this same Nicholas Ling--they suspect that the "L.N." initials to the preface are his transposed, an Elizabethan trick we know about (ed. 2:41). What has gone unnoticed, however, is that the title *England's Helicon* is made up out of letters from both of his names and may join the two names precisely with an *and*: *leng and nicholes* (Carroll 1990). (We'll deal with the practice of using a *d* for the two letters *c* and *l* later.) We cannot have here a case of pure coincidence.

Several books in the early 1600s were registered to one "William Wrednot." The name seems to have been a fabrication; the current London telephone directory lists no name remotely resembling *Wrednot*. What we have, surely, is an anagram of one *Trundle*, John Trundle, a minor publisher of the day, a snapper-up of out-of-the-way printing projects, some inconsiderable, some not. This relatively obscure Trundle is the one generally held responsible for procuring, by indirect means, the text for the First Quarto *Hamlet*, once called the Bad Quarto of *Hamlet* (more of him later). The anagram would be for something like *Trondew* (a French-sounding pronunciation of his name).

The books were, in effect, stolen, so Trundle needed to cover his identity. He seems to have had his little joke, too, with *Wrednot*: "Don't blame me: I've *not read* them."

With anagrams we must admit some latitude. *Delia*, the title of Samuel Daniel's sonnet sequence, one may accept absolutely as an anagram of *Daniel*, especially when one recalls the use, back then, of the tilde--the horizontal line that floated over the *a* to suggest the missing *n* in *Da[n]iel*. And *Astrophel*, we know, is a play, a different kind of play, on *Phil*ip *Sid*ney. *Guyon*, he of Book II of the *Faerie Queene*, is an anagram of *Young*; I assume Spenserians have somewhere made a connection with Bishop Young. One of the reasons we have that peculiar title for a 1593 collection of poetry *Parthenophe and Parthenophil* is that the book was written by a man named *Bar*nabe *Bar*nes. The book called *Behemoth* has in its title the author's name, *Thom Hobbe*. Titles of books were often construed back then to suggest the names of their authors or editors, a practice of which not enough has been made by scholars.

Many think that the character who resembles Thomas Nashe in *Love's Labour's Lost* is named *Moth* to suggest Thomas Nashe. *Moth* is *Thom* spelled backwards, sort of. (It was Nabokov, I think, who said that *T. S. Eliot* was "toilets" spelled backwards.) For a special example of the anagram let's turn to a place in Nashe, a 1592 publication, for a description of a spendthrift. It begins as follows: "A yoong Heyre or Cockney, that is his Mothers Darling, if hee have playde the waste-good at the Inns of Court or about London," and so on (Nashe, 1:170). Now a scholar called F. G. Fleay long ago suggested that Nashe was describing *Thomas Lodge*; McKerrow, who did the fine, turn-of-the-century edition of Nashe, simply reports Fleay's guess, without comment. I think there's evidence of the kind we're talking about to support Fleay. Here we should see that "*Mothers Darling*," which is capitalized, calling attention to itself, is intended to be an anagram, a sort of phonetic anagram, of *Thomas Lodge*. (That's a good question: Why doesn't the word *phonetic* begin with an *f*?) We can assume that the two *r*'s went unpronounced--which is how many pronounce the two words today--and the *n* in *Darling* disappeared, either swallowed in pronunciation or else rendered unnecessary through the use of the tilde, as with *Daniel-Delia*, or for both reasons: thus *Mothas Da'li[e]'g*, for *Thomas Lodge*. This, I suggest to you, is close enough. It's certainly as close as "*Goldey*," which, we know, Michael Drayton set down as an anagram for *Lodge*. When Malvolio, in *Twelfth Night*, manages with great industry, and great need, to construct out of "M O A I" an anagram of his own name--"And yet," as he says, "to crush this a little" (2.5.137, ed. Bevington)--Shakespeare doesn't much exaggerate. *Twelfth Night* gives what was fairly common then in the making and detecting of anagrams. Malvolio would have been better off, rather, to find the inscription, though close, still *not close enough*.

At times we ought to suspect the play on a name even when our grounds for suspicion, by modern standards of taste, are quite dubious. Such is especially true in the literature of abuse, the satires and epigrams, where the idea is in some way to hurt one's victim by distorting his name or by the alien, hostile context into which the name can be thrust. Nashe lets on as though outraged that his books are read this way. "In one place in my Booke," he complains, "*Pierce Penilesse* saith but to the Knight of the Post, *I pray how might I call you*, & they say I meant one *Howe*, a Knave of that trade, that I never heard of before" (1:154). Of course Nashe doesn't expect you to be taken in my his apparent indignation. It may have been hard not to know the man named Robert *Howe*;

he was a goldsmith in Black Inn in Cheapside, notorious for going bail for debtors. What Nashe illustrates here, reducing it to absurdity, is in fact the very Elizabethan method of personal reference operating everywhere in the literature of abuse, in the wars of Marprelate, of Nashe-Greene-Harvey, of the Theatres, and in formal verse satire and epigram generally.

Let me illustrate this practice of directly suggesting the name in the language of the text from several places in the book I just edited, from *Greene's Groatsworth of Wit*. Those playwrights addressed in the famous Letter are not addressed by name. We must identify them ourselves with clues provided. If most of us didn't believe, for other reasons, that the first playwright addressed is Christopher Marlowe, we might well find a particular clue to the name, not noticed before, there in the text: the playwright is addressed as a "famous *gracer* of Tragedians." That odd word *gracer*, which has no earlier recorded history, might well have beem associated with Marlowe: "*graced*" appears prominently in the Prologue to *Faustus*, and "*Grace*" in the Prologue to *Jew of Malta*. It certainly was a word associated with Cambridge, Marlowe's university, where it was the term used for permission to proceed to a degree. Marlowe, you may recall, had to get special permission to proceed to his degree; everyone who knew of Marlowe must have known about the case. *Gracer* here, to me, sounds like a hurried or slurred *Christopher* (*Grace* sounds like *Chris*). Let's look at other examples. Why would Greene in this attack, or the publisher Chettle passing himself off as Greene, refer to members of the theatrical establishment as "burres [that] cleave" unless he intends to refer to the *Bur*bages--James, Richard, and Cuthbert? And why should Greene, or Chettle, protest his (that is, Greene's) mistreatment this way--"Is it not *strange* [my emphasis], that I, to whome they all have beene beholding"--unless he intends to refer to Lord *Strange*, Ferdinando Stanley, or those in theater in Strange's patronage, probably the Burbages and Shakespeare. I wasn't fully satisfied that I had explained Lamillia's elaborate beast allegory of badgers, foxes, sheep, and dogs in the book (called "Lamillia's Fable") until I saw that the phrase "a yoonge whelpe" (which is tautological, you may notice), used to refer to the dog that chases the badger, gives the name *Young*. Richard Young, Justice of the Peace for Middlesex, was the most active of Whitgift's instruments against religious dissidents (reformists in this case; badgers were reformists).

Often the wordplay goes the other way around, following from a name made explicit. With Shakespeare, we are taught to recognize hundreds of these, and we should be on the watch for what the commentators have missed. When Richard Gloucester, who will become Richard the Third, persists in addressing Elizabeth *Grey*, after she has joined in an unlikely marriage with Edward the Fourth, as "Lady *Grey*" (*Third Part, Henry VI* 4.1.2) and "My Lady *Grey*, his wife" (*Richard the Third* 1.1.64), the point of his sarcasm may be that *grey*, in Elizabethan English, was another word for badger, a low and most salacious beast. And when one of Jack Cade's rebels insists that Cade, despite his claim to the aristocratic name *Mortimer*, is really a bricklayer, we should see that Shakespeare has gotten his *mortar* straight out of *Mortimer*.

Let's look at an example of a fuller, more complex set of clues for names. The passage comes from a collection of epigrams and satires by Everard Guilpin called *Skialetheia* (which is Greek for "shadow of truth") in 1598 (ed. Carroll 1974). I give you a dozen or so lines, one of those places where the satirist, describing a series of grotesqueries and depravities in a typical London street scene, settles down on one couple

in particular. Our task is to identify the "lord and foole" of the first line by reference to what follows in the passage, and the lesson to be learned is how peculiar the clues can be:

> But who's in yonder coach? my lord and foole,
> One that for ape tricks can put *Gue* to schoole:
> Heroick spirits, true nobilitie
> Which can make choyce of such societie.
> He more perfections hath than y'would suppose,
> He hath a wit of waxe, fresh as a rose,
> He playes well on the treble Violin,
> He soothes his Lord up in his grosest sin,
> At any rimes sprung from his Lordships head, . . .
> He cries, *oh rare my Lord*, he can discourse
> The story of *Don Pacolet* and his horse,
> (To make my Lord laugh) sweares and jest . . . . (*Skialetheia* V.103-15)

When I edited this text years ago, I suggested, without much confidence, that the lord is probably Henry Wriothesley, Third Earl of Southampton, considered by most to be the Fair Young Man of the *Sonnets*, and that the fool or protegee, the flatterer-parasite who would seem to be a writer or poet, is Nashe or Shakespeare, probably Nashe. I'm now convinced that it's Southampton and Nashe on the basis of evidence to which I was not, back then, sufficiently alert. This parasite-poet flatters the lord and, through his verses, it seems, excites his lord's sexual urges. Probably the most conspicuous example of pornography at the time, something firmer than soft porn, was the poem called *The Choice of Valentines*, attributed by most to Nashe, written, it appears, for Southampton ("Lord S."), which is an account of a visit to a brothel. An alternative would be *Venus and Adonis*, which is dedicated to Southampton. But Shakespeare's poem is not genuinely pornographic, certainly not in the way *Choice* is, and not according to modern notions of the form. Note in the fourth line the word *choice*. Now note in the third line the initials to the four words: *H. s., t. n.*: *H*enry *S*outhampton, *T*homas *N*ashe. Doubtless there are other, clearer clues to Nashe we now miss; the clues to Southampton abound. The word *Heroic* was then considered to be an anagram for *Henrico*. (We may assume for the *n*, once again, a tilde.) Southampton's emblem (badge, device) was the *rose* (of the sixth line here); and the first syllable of his name *Wriothesley* may have sounded like the word *rose*. In line eight there is an overt (and outrageous) play on the name *Lord Southampton*: "*soothes* his *Lord vp*"--as against "*soothe* his *Lord down*" (or *soothe-him-down*)--"sooth him up" meant to arouse him sexually. If the first syllable in the name *Wriosthesley* was pronounced *ris*, as many now think, then the last line's "my *Lord laugh*" (my emphasis) would be a clear hit as well. (That is a metrically challenged line, for reasons unclear to me, but surely intentional.) As I say, there is doubtless much more in the passage. The most recent book on Southampton, Martin Green's, which is full and valuable, misses this allusion altogether, and so does scholarly work on Nashe. McKerrow himself seems never to have been convinced that Nashe wrote *The Choice of Valentines*. And F. P. Wilson, who revised McKerrow's *Nashe*, thought Lord Strange "a much more likely person" (5:141).

We need to be alert to the presence of this kind of code, to believe in the possibility of its operation. The problem in general with the approach is that it has long been used, perhaps abused, by those who promote bizarre, eccentric, radical interpretations, especially where the attribution of the Shakespeare corpus is concerned. It's a device employed by those on the fringe in our business, sometimes called the "crazies," the anti-Stratfordians, that is, Oxfordians or Baconians. I have heard it said that Kittredge, once upon a time, after hearing during a conference banquet a case for Bacon's authorship of Shakespeare that was based on anagrams and other crucial wordplay presumed to be coded, stood up to show that, using the same approach, we'd have to believe that Bacon composed the evening's menu. Still, we simply can't ignore this practice in the period because it has been abused now and then. One of my favorites among questionable readings is the way Oxfordians interpret Hamlet's dying speech:

> O God, Horatio, what a wounded name,
> Things standing thus unknown, shall live behind me!
> If thou didst ever hold me in thy heart,
> Absent thee from felicity awhile [and so on]. (5.2.346-49, ed. Bevington)

Here it is: "if thou *didst ever* hold me"--*ever* is code for *E. Vere*, Oxford's name, Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, or perhaps *didst ever* for *de Vere*--a "wounded" version of his name. Here, indeed, is a thing "standing thus unknown." We must acknowledge, at the least, that there is precedent for a play on *ever*: Hatton's letters to *E*lizabeth *R*egina have "all and EveR yours," with the E and R capitalized (Nicolas 29, e.g.). The initials she used for her name were "ER." One might, I suppose, see Hamlet as Elizabeth. And yet, just when I want to proclaim this reading a raving lunacy and reject it as wrong, gloriously wrong, I recall that, yes, Polonius is, in ways, very like Lord Burleigh, Oxford's father-in-law, that Oxford was Burleigh's ward, and had a long, troubled relationship with Burleigh's daughter, and so on. Not that Oxford wrote *Hamlet*, mind you, but that here and there, at some level, Shakespeare remembers that Hamlet is, more or less, like Oxford. Shakespeare often had real people in mind for characters who would on the surface appear to be largely fictional or seriously historical.

Let me draw my last illustrations, which are three, from Shakespeare, which is apt to be familiar to you and of special interest. First, there may be something more in the famous Latin epithet *Johannes Factotum* hurled at Shakespeare in the 1592 attack usually attributed to Robert Greene. Here's the context: "Yes trust them not: for there is an upstart Crow, beautified with our feathers, that with his *Tygers hart wrapt in a Players hyde*, supposes he is as well able to bombast out a blanke verse as the best of you: and beeing an absolute *Johannes fac totum*, is in his own conceit the onely Shake-scene in a countrey" (Chettle and Greene 84-85). Greene (or Chettle pretending to be Greene) is warning playwrights like himself, those educated at university, to watch out for this uneducated, pushy upstart, newly arrived on the scene, who thinks he can do everything, an actor who imagines he can write blank verse as well as they can, and who, we may assume, threatens to deprive them of their ascendancy and livelihoods.

Johannes Factotum may have been intended to suggest a name used by the chroniclers to identify the leader of what we know as Jack Cade's Revolt--that name was *John Mend-all* or *John Amend-all*. Apparently this name was applied to Cade in his own

time out of contempt, or else it was taken on by him, in the view of one historian, as "an expressive nickname . . . that might serve as an effective rallying-cry" (Griffiths 618). Another name, John Mortimer, one more aristocratic, he is supposed to have chosen in order to exploit its Yorkist connections. Everyone agrees that among Shakespeare's first assured successes for the stage, perhaps his very first, were the rebel scenes in *Second Henry the Sixth*, the Jack Cade scenes. These Cade scenes certainly were provocative and distinctive, and probably were the main attraction of the play. The epithet *Johannes Factotum* appears to be a Chettle-Greene creation, insofar as we can tell, a variation on an epithet of some currency in the sixteenth century, one that often appeared, and often in derision, as either *Dominus* or else *Magister Factotum*.

Cade was evidently known in Shakespeare's day as John Mend-all or Amend-all. Here is the relevant passage from Holinshed's *Chronicles* of 1587: "A certeine yoong man of goodlie stature and right pregnant wit, was intised to take upon him the name of John Mortimer coosine to the duke of Yorke (although his name was John Cade, or (of some) John Mend-all) . . ." (632). Stow's *Chronicles* (1580) and his *Annales* (1592) both have "or as hee was named of some *John amende all*" (652, 630).

I suggest that Greene (or Chettle), as he did with the "*Tygers hart*" line, which turns a line from *Three Henry the Sixth* in parody against Shakespeare, pillories Shakespeare here with his own creation--that preposterous ignoramus who is Cade in the play--and does so by rendering into pretentious Latin a name or names Cade was associated with? Shakespeare becomes, in a sense, for Greene, Jack Cade? Like Cade, this upstart from the country, who was taking over the theatrical scene with an authority altogether specious (his presumed competence), was threatening the established order (Greene and his fellow playwrights) by an appeal that was openly hostile to, even cruelly dismissive of, educated judgments (those, like Greene, university trained), and by an appeal that exploited the worst instincts in the common rabble (appealed to the lowest tastes in theater audiences). Playing on the name was a way of getting at the most outrageous features of Cade, his audacity and his ignorance. Shakespeare himself would have caught it, for in that very episode he had played shamelessly on both *Cade*, meaning *fall* and *barrel*, and *Mortimer*. Shakespeare's very device was turned against him, out of contempt.

Before I proceed to a second illlustration from Shakespeare, let me digress. We are all more or less neurotic on the subject of names. Everything I know and feel to be true about the history of the language tells me that the name *Shakespeare* derives ultimately, as some have thought, from the French, perhaps through the Norman. It is a Germanic rendering, or perhaps English in particular, of *Jacques Pierre* (= *Shakes peare*). And yet this notion of its origin seems not to have been taken seriously enough by scholars. I shall go to my grave thinking it so.

One place in *Love's Labour's Lost* has long been particularly vexing for its meaning, ranking (trust me) about seventh on the all-time top ten list of hard places. I think our point of view on names can supply a different, perhaps better, explanation than that now in vogue of the meaning of an allusion in the exchange between Armado the Braggart and Holofernes the Pedant:

> *Brag*. Do you not educate youth at the Charg[e]-house on the top of the Mountaine?

Peda. Or *Mons* the hill.
Brag. At your sweete pleasure, for the Mountaine.
Peda. I do *sans question*. (1598 Quarto, F4v)

In a play that positively bristles with topicalities this passage has long been assumed to contain one of the most certain. But no one has got it yet. "What was this charge-house?," Dover Wilson asked, "and where was this mountain? We are not told. The words refer to nothing that goes before or that follows, or indeed to anything else in the play. Yet they are pointed enough. . . . It is lost to us: but can there be any doubt that Armado and Holofernes have stepped out of the fable for a moment to exchange a sentence or two of topical 'back-chat'?" (ed., 1961, xxxvi-vii).

J. A. K. Thomson's explanation (72-73) has gained wide acceptance, as well it should; "a most attractive solution," G. R. Hibbard says about Thomson's comment in his Oxford edition, to a "passage which baffled earlier commentators" (ed., 184n.). The lines do indeed seem to recall, as Thomson suggests, a short joke in one of Erasmus's Latin *Colloquies*: "Where do you come from?" "From the college of the pointed Mountain [*E collegio Montis Acuti*]." "Then you come to us laden with learning." "No, with lice." An educated audience might well remember its Latin textbook and be amused by Erasmus's revenge against his old school in Paris, the College de Montaigu. Still, it is something stale for a joke, not quite so funny as we would expect from Shakespeare. What especially disappoints is the apparent absence of the local or immediate, of some relevant place in London.

Here is a different way to solve the riddle. Let's recognize that "the top of the Mountain," with or without the Erasmian context (remembrance, association), can refer to a place right there in London, to a place called *Montague House*. Montague House was one of two London residences of the Earl of Southampton. It was the home of his mother Mary, daughter of the First Viscount Montague. It had once been part of the close of the Priory of St. Mary Overy in Southwerk, that is, on the other side of the river, in the theater district, and stood by the church there. *Montague* and *Montacute*, you must realize, were absolutely interchangeable forms of the name then. A 1598 satire refers derisively to Southampton as one of the "Montacutes" (*Skialetheia* V.75-78).

One important interpretation of the play, that of Frances Yates, argues that Holofernes the Pedant is to be identified with John Florio, tutor to Southampton at least as early as 1594 (1936, Ch.2). Let's speculate for a moment about the "Charge-house," a Shakespeare coinage, apparently. It's a school, everyone agrees, possibly one that *charges* tuition and/or, perhaps, a *church* school. Holofernes may be, to quote from *Twelfth Night*, "like a pedant that keeps a school i' th' church." Indeed the early editor Theobald wondered if Shakespeare meant to say *church-house*. Montague House, as I have suggested, was almost literally a "church-house." It shared a wall with Saint Mary's. Charlotte Stopes turned up an entry in the Parish Books for 1593 that a new door was to be placed in the church wall opening into Lord Montague's house, in place of the old door, stopped up (302n.). Shakespeare did not require us to go to Paris, or even by way of Paris necessarily, to get the joke. Most Shakespeareans believe that Southampton was the Fair Young Man. And many believe not only that there is a strong presence of him and his crowd in *Love's Labour's Lost* but also that the play was probably performed

first privately, the plague then having closed the theatres, at some large London house. I suggest they consider Montague House.

My third example from Shakespeare, one that is apt to be quite familiar to you, shows even moreso the potential for discovery this approach offers toward the texts of our period. More speculative in its full shape than any of my other examples, it also carries more interesting consequences. At the moment it should be considered as work in progress, not fully developed. Let's start with a certainty. The passage occurs in *The Tempest*, in Act III, Scene 2, just a few lines after everyone's favorite stage direction: "*Enter Ariel, invisible.*" The servingmen of the King of Naples are there, very low characters, sources of comic humor, wandering about tipsy, with Caliban in tow, on this wonderful, exotic island. The invisible Ariel plays, on tabor and pipe, what must be the correct tune to a ballad that Stephano and Trinculo have been trying to sing, or perhaps plays the tune on key. Trinculo looks about himself in amazement and declares: "This is the tune of our Catch, plaid by the picture of No-body" (3.2.124-25, Folio), which is his way of saying he can't see the performer. Years ago Dover Wilson observed that there was "probably a reference to the sign of Nobody, used by John Trundle, bookseller and publisher of ballads and broadsides," though Wilson made little more of it (ed., 1965, *s.* "Nobody," 114-15). Since Wilson, the coincidence has not started any speculation, as far as I know. I give you a reproduction of a "picture of nobody" as it appears in the 1606 John Trundle publication *No-body and Some-body*.

NO-BODY,

AND

SOME-BODY.

With the true Chronicle Historie of Elydure,
who was fortunately three severall times
crowned King of England.
The true Coppy thereof, as it hath beene acted by the
Queens Majesties Servants.

Printed for Iohn Trundle and are to be sold at his shop in
Barbican, at the signe of No-body.

Figure Two: "Picture of Nobody"

Why should this picture of Nobody be Trundle's device or rebus? What does a picture of a man with head and limbs but no body have to do with *Trundle*? You may

resolve the rebus by representing the *d* in *Trundles* (as in *Trundle's* Shop) as if it were *cl*, as it would appear to be in the italic: you get *Truncless*. And there you have it: "no-body," that is, "with no trunk." The use by Trundle was not unique. Will Kemp in his 1599 account of dancing to Norwich refers to a place of publication for some pamphlet as "*Cullen*" (ed. 1966, 32). What Kemp gives is an anagram for *London*: it can be understood as such only if you realize that the *d* has been split into *c* and an *l*.

Needless to say, one is taken with the similarity between *Trinculo* and *Truncless*, and thus *Trinculo* and *Trundle*. Can it be that Shakespeare had this bookseller in mind when he created Trinculo? More generally, I mean, than in the moment of this particular remark. Is Trinculo our old friend John Trundle in some significant way?

Consider the following--and remember *The Tempest*: Trundle specialized in publishing reports of sensational news, especially from foreign lands, accounts of monsters and miracles; his name became a sort of byword for the publication of such ephemera. One of his "monsters" was the famous serpent or dragon of Sussex. You'll remember Trinculo's line: "Were I in England now, as once I was, and had but this fish painted,--not a holiday-fool there but would give a piece of silver" (2.2.28-30, ed. Wilson). Listen to Gerald D. Johnson, the scholar who knows most about Trundle's career: "other publishers of this time brought out such titles and engaged in similar practices, but none of them seems to have cultivated this area as assiduously as did Trundle, and few of them gained Trundle's reputation for the publication of such items" (177). And ballads. Ben Jonson, in *Everyman in His Humour*, has "Well, if he read this with patience, I'll be gelt, and trull ballads for Mr John Trundle" (1.3.62-64, ed. Herford and Simpson). Dover Wilson noticed the parallel between this line and Caliban's "Will you troll the catch [?]" (116), which occurs just before Ariel plays. Wilson also thought *gelt* might refer to the picture of Nobody. It may. I would simply add that Trinculo is always, in my own experience, played campy, that is, limp-wristed; his voice may have been performed to fit such a character.

There were constant plays on Trundle's name in his time. According to one 1626 source, "Spurious Pamphlets . . . spewed out" of his press were "*Trundled*, *trolled* and *marshalled* up and downe along the Streets" (in Johnson 178). According to another, of 1621, "monstrous newes came Trundling in my way" (178). One of his sensational pieces asks us on its title page to "*Reade and tremble*" (193-94). This is the same Trundle, you'll recall, who turned his name into "William Wrednot."

Let's notice certain links with *The Tempest*. In 1605 Trundle registered *Sir Thomas Smithes Voyage*. In 1607 he entered *Two Faces under a Hood*--which reminds us of the gaberdine scene in *The Tempest*, the scene in which Trinculo does all the trembling. And also, more than any other stationer, he formed associations, partnerships with others of his trade. One of these was with Nathaniel Butter, who may have inspired the "drunken butler" Stephano, Trinculo's mate. But if such won't do, then remember that Estienne, the most famous printer the world over at the time, was known everywhere as "Stephanus."

It shouldn't surprise us to find one or two booksellers wandering around an island dreamed up for what is, to some extent, an allegory of the playwright-artist. We certainly have it the other way around: a section of London, at least as early as 1614, was known as "the straits, or the Bermudas" (*Bar. Fair* 2.6.76, ed. Herford and Simpson). Nor should anyone be surprised that Shakespeare has a little smack at Trundle. He was,

judging by the *Stationers' Register*, the man responsible for getting for the printer, by means not considered quite proper, the First Quarto of *Hamlet*, as we have said, that ill-formed calf of the play, which might be thought to stand in relation to the actual play in the same way Caliban stands in relation to Europeans. The First Quarto of *Hamlet* was another one of those sensational "monsters" that were Trundle's specialties.

Most Shakespeareans would agree, I think, that on occasion the playwright represented actual people on stage, not fully, mind you, but in part, in a passing moment's gesture, word, gait, or facial expression, or in a name. The actors knew what was going on and so did those in the audience capable of such things. With Polonius there's a little Burleigh, with Moth a little Thomas Nashe. You may remember an oddly extraneous character in *Twelfth Night* named "Fabian." We've never quite understood him. He pops up a little late in the play, apparently not part of its original conception, and helps punish Malvolio for suppressing the good times in Olivia's house. It just may be that he was expected to represent one John Fabian, a cleric with a parish near London. This John Fabian, we know, was deprived of his church living by the authorities in 1596 because he had participated in the old Twelfth Night sports (Carroll 1975). At times names are absolute, exact clues to real people.

One last word on Trundle and *The Tempest*. The play was in part inspired by a particular voyage to the New World, one of the so-called "Bermuda Voyages." William Somers' ship sailed for Virginia in 1609 and was out, as you know, for some time thereafter. We know a good deal about Trundle's career, or at least can infer much, if we care to, from the extensive record in the *Stationers' Register*. Gerald Johnson's study, which I have mentioned, lays it out for us in great detail. Now get this--Johnson is absolutely stopped at one particular period in Trundle's career, nonplussed; Johnson can find (I'm quoting) "no record of activity [for Trundle] during [the years] 1609-1611" (183). Trundle may have been on that Bermuda voyage.

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The Textual Context of Mary Chudleigh's *The Ladies Defence*

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As teachers of early British literature in the 1990s, we face the challenge of finding ways to teach the writers new to us (these are often women) as they show up in our anthologies. We must teach the "new" authors without the degree of context to which we are accustomed; at times, traditional contexts may not be sufficient. We also face our own mixed reactions to the writers and may not be prepared to treat them seriously. Although I would like to take you into the process of my work with one of these writers, Mary, Lady Chudleigh--with how I have learned through working with her texts and contexts to take both her and other "new" writers seriously at the same time as my intellectual curiosity has been peaked and challenged--a more practical direction, and the intent of my paper, is to provide some context for one of Chudleigh's poems, *The Ladies Defence or, The Bride-Woman's Counsellor Answer'd. The Ladies Defence* is one of several of Mary Chudleigh's poems most frequently referred to in discussions of this late seventeenth-century author. Indeed, this satire of some length provides insight into late seventeenth-century discussions of authority and specifically into the discussion during the 1690s of women's rights to education and self-determination. Mary Chudleigh's *Ladies Defense* was both engendered by this conversation and also added to it by dismantling with keen wit assumptions about structures of authority within marriage.

Born in 1656, Mary Lee, Lady Chudleigh published *The Ladies Defence* in 1701 when she was 45 years old. At that point, three of her six children were still living, two sons of eighteen and fourteen and a daughter of six, Eliza Marie, who was to die two years later. Mary lived at Ashton, Devon, the seat of her husband, a third-generation baronet. Although Mary often mentions her isolation and solitude, she did travel to London at least occasionally, communicated by letter with the poet Elizabeth Thomas and was acquainted with Mary Astell, who, though younger than Mary Chudleigh, was a model for her, as apparent from the poem Chudleigh wrote in praise of Astell's writing. Mary Chudleigh also had connections with the recent political past through her mother's family, the Sydenhams, strong Independents who were leaders in the Civil War and the Republic, as well as connections with current scientific ideas through her uncle, Thomas Sydenham, who, at the Restoration, moved into the practice of medicine, becoming a well-known London physician and colleague and mentor to John Locke. Mary may also have been acquainted with the Clifford family, who lived within four miles of Ashton, and through them may have met John Dryden, whose translation of Virgil was completed in part while staying with the Cliffords and who commented favorably on a poem of Mary's that he carried in his pocket (*Poems and Prose* xxviii). After publishing *A Ladies Defence* anonymously in 1701, Mary went on to publish a book of poetry in 1703 and a book of moral essays in 1710, the year of her death.

Although *The Ladies Defence* was included along with five of her shorter poems in the 1775 edition of *Poems by Eminent Ladies*, the 1780 edition dropped the long satire, retaining only Chudleigh's shorter poems, "To the Ladies," "The Resolve," and "The Inquiry." A nineteenth-century collection, *Specimans of British Poetesses* (1827), again

printed two of Chudleigh's shorter poems (*Poems and Prose* xxxiii). Not until our decade has *The Ladies Defence* appeared in its entirety in Margaret Ezell's 1993 edition of Mary Chudleigh's poems and essays.

The Ladies Defence, an 845-line poem in heroic couplets, is a wittily written satire in dialogue form. The satire is explicitly directed against John Sprint's sermon, *A Bride-Woman's Counsellor*, which was delivered in 1699 and published shortly thereafter, in which Mr. Sprint explains that "all Married Women" are duty bound "to be extra-ordinary careful to content and please their Husbands" by giving them absolute love, "honour" and obedience. That Mary Chudleigh would publish a defense to this sermon—even anonymously—was likely an act of spontaneity. Mary hadn't published before, and even though she had pursued learning throughout her life and had written both for her own improvement (writing, she says in the preface to her essays, "firmly fixes what I know, deeply imprints the Truths I've learn'd") and to entertain a small circle of women friends (*Poems and Prose* 238), publishing a satire on the subject of women's freedom and power entered her into the public in a most precarious way, as part of the textual battle over women's roles that flared up in the final decades of the seventeenth century. In this paper, I will describe more specifically how Mary Chudleigh's publication of *The Ladies Defence* fits into this late seventeenth-century textual debate over women's freedom and power, with 1) a brief look at the general context or atmosphere during the late seventeenth century for discussions of women's roles, 2) a review of the likely textual influences on Mary Chudleigh's decision to publish her satire, and 3) an analysis of the immediate catalyst, John Sprint's published sermon and of Mary Chudleigh's response, *The Ladies Defence*, with attention to how the two authors position themselves as speakers within their texts.

During the last part of the seventeenth century, the discussion of women's roles—often in the areas of marriage, education and manners—increased significantly (*Satires* i-ii). A. H. Upham points out that in the Term Catalogues from 1660-1700, fifty books appear with titles suggesting they are about women (cited in *Satires* i), a phenomenon Felicity A. Nussbaum attributes to the lowered social and economic roles of women during this time (i). That there was growing awareness of and pressure for change in women's social and economic conditions is implied in particular by the concert of texts either instructing women in their duty, as does John Sprint's sermon, or condemning the whole sex—and in this way maintaining status quo. An example of the latter is available in an Augustan Reprint Society's edition of three satires published between 1682 and 1691. The first of the three satires, Robert Gould's *Love Given O're*, which went through five editions between 1682 and 1690, presents a strong—even obscene—attack on the "Pride, Lust, and Inconstancy, etc. of Women," as the subtitle reads; a second satire, *The Folly of Love*, one of two anti-women satires authored by Richard Ames in 1691, is a strongly misogynist statement that would eliminate women from the world altogether, including their role in procreation. The virulence of these satires is particularly striking given the fact that neither Gould nor Ames consistently wrote against women—Gould wrote a number of poems commending specific women and Ames wrote four satires supporting women, one in the same year he published *The Folly of Love*. This may suggest, as Ruth Perry has speculated, that the authors engaging in the condemning of women were not always serious, that these witty—though obscene—satires "were written to entertain as much as to convince" (Ballard 47, note). Whatever their exact intent, these

anti-women satires are often more memorable than the more serious defenses against them and often outnumbered the defences. The third satire in the Augustan Reprint edition, *The Female Advocate*, illustrates an attempt by Sarah Fige to answer Gould's satire; her answer to Gould was met, in turn, by Ames' response to her text. Fige thus sits in the center of two attacks on women that are not only lewd but also, as I will examine later in the paper, exploit the prevailing idea of women's deficiency. Despite the gamesmanship of this textual debate that Perry describes, the issues were real and compelling for women.

As made obvious through this description, entering the field of debate on women's roles—even to write or publish at all—was socially dangerous for women in the latter part of the seventeenth century. The negative reputations of the most public of these writers, Aphra Behn, Mrs. Manley, Susannah Cenlivre, continue to color our views of these writers even today. Ruth Perry explains that "unfortunately" for Mrs. Manly, "the applause and flattery, which she . . . received from the wits and fashionable gentlemen of the day, proved ruinous to her virtue" (Ballard 29). Thus, the women writers who did not confine themselves to publishing directly moral texts, as did Mary Countess of Warwick, Lady Pakington or Mrs. Wharton, or who didn't wait until their deaths to publish (the publishing of Anne Killigrew's poetry a year following her death appeared to be acceptable), were suspect, as evident in the attitudes that developed towards Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle. Perry interprets the publication of Cavendish's memoirs as "An utter anomaly in an age that considered publicity of any sort bad for a woman's reputation" (Ballard 29), and Cavendish's own contemporary, Dorothy Osborne, concluded, "'Sure, the poor woman is a little distracted, she could never be so ridiculous else as to venture at writing books'" (Ballard 46, note).

Even Mary Astell, who gained praise and recognition for her writing, maintained her respectability in part because she positioned herself physically and socially among persons of status well above her own (Perry 268). That she was able to retain respectability at all was striking in this age in which the prevailing "philosophical position," on women, as defined by Felicity Nussbaum, "differentiate[d] women from men" only in order "to define that difference as evil and dangerous" (*Satires* i). Writers who directed attacks against women criticized them "for entertaining insane delusions of power, adopting manly roles, and seeking better education. They [women] where made scapegoats for all immoral activities and accused of engendering madness" (*Satires* i). That Mary Chudleigh recognized this dangerous water she was entering when publishing *The Ladies Defence* is made explicit in her preface to the satire, where she comments on the "courage" demonstrated by an author who had already responded to Sprint's sermon and acknowledges that she is exposing her own self to "fresh Insults" (*Poems and Prose* 3).

What or who, then, might have precipitated Mary Chudleigh's response to John Sprint's sermon? I would suggest that three texts written and published by women in the 1690s may have prepared Mary Chudleigh to enter the public debate over women's roles. Although Mary may have been physically isolated in her country seat, she nevertheless found herself sharing similar beliefs and goals with several women writers, all of whom were attempting through their writing to elevate the stature of women. The first of these was Mary Astell, whose *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies* "burst upon London" in 1694 and "caught everybody's attention from the start" (Perry 99, 101), going through five

editions by 1701. This book calling for a concrete plan for educating women would have resonated with Mary Chudleigh, who had pursued her own learning since childhood. Indeed, Mary's own later writings raise the same theme as does Astell of improving women's knowledge. Both authors show their concern for improving women's stature through calling women to educate themselves. Surely the success of the young Astell's book (Astell was 28, Mary Chudleigh 38 when *A Serious Proposal* was published) would have encouraged literary women to consider publishing their work. In a poem that Mary Chudleigh writes in recognition of Astell, Chudleigh describes herself as a lesser writer than Astell, who, nevertheless, can be "taught" by her. In the last section of her poem to Mary Astell, Chudleigh employs the plural pronoun "we" to refer to the "nobler Path" that Astell has chosen, suggesting a sympathy between the two writers' ideas.

A second text that may have helped Mary Chudleigh move towards publishing *The Ladies Defence* is Judith Drake's *An Essay in Defence of the Female Sex* (1696), a book which has often been credited to Mary Astell's authorship, suggesting the close similarity in themes and concerns among a group of women authors from this decade. Drake's book provided for Mary Chudleigh both a model of a first-time attempt at publishing despite acknowledged dangers of retributive attack, together with a potential form for her satire. Drake incorporates into her *Defence* a number of male type characters (e.g., a pedant, a country squire, a beau, a virtuoso), thus interweaving satire into what is predominantly direct narrative. Her technique of locating negative qualities in several character types may have demonstrated for Mary Chudleigh a way to introduce negative qualities in males while retaining an illusion of distance. Indeed, Drake's technique allows her to make offensive attack while claiming to be only defending women, a position that Chudleigh claims in her satire as well, where she moves beyond Drake's directly narrated male types to the use of male characters in dramatic dialogue, whose own words reveal their flaws.

Mary Chudleigh was also aware of the anonymously authored *Female Advocate; or, A Plea for the just Liberty of the Tender Sex . . .*" (1699), an extensive response to John Sprint's sermon that preceded her own. Chudleigh praises the author of *The Female Advocate* in her poem, "To Eugenia," in which she speaks of the author as a sign of a lost "Golden Age," whose values of virtue, innocence, selflessness, love, and governance by nature have been rejected by current society. The themes in the anonymous text are remarkably similar to Mary Astell's—and to Mary Chudleigh's: that women should pursue knowledge, that members of their sex have clearly demonstrated women's capability as scholars and writers, and that a wife is indeed not a slave but "an honourable and noble companion." "Eugenia" argues that even men reject the idea of "passive obedience," a phrase meaning the tolerating of "intolerable commands" that Astell employs in *Some Reflections upon Marriage* (Perry 171)[1] and that Chudleigh uses in both the preface and text of *The Ladies Defence*. Not only does the author of *The Female Advocate* reinforce several important themes shared by this group of women writers but she provides an invitation and rationale for others to respond to John Sprint's sermon through her military metaphor that calls forward those women who would defend other women. Like Judith Drake, she claims her weapons to be only defensive, in this way

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[1] Ruth Perry notes that the concept of "passive obedience" was defined in *The Whole Duty of Man* (1657) and became a Tory "byword" during the years of William and Mary's rule (171). John Locke also uses the term and concept in *The Second Treatise of Government*.

establishing a moral justification for responding to the offensive attack of Sprint's sermon.

Thus, although Mary Chudleigh explains that she published *The Ladies Defence* only "in Compliment to" and at the urging of her friends (*Poems and Prose* 248), she had textual support for taking such a step. The sermon itself, of course, sparked the tinder. Even discounting for a moment the texts of the 1690s by women writers in support of women, a sermon that trapped the woman reader into having to accept herself as undutiful if she objected to its content, called for absolute subjection and obedience to husbands, and claimed that the "Truths" of the sermon will "pursue them [women] to Judgment, and then witness against them, not only as Traitors to their Husbands, whose Authority they usurp, but as Rebels to the great Monarch of the World, whose sacred Law they Impiously violate" (Sprint 2) would not suit well a woman like Mary Chudleigh, who saw herself as unique because of her self-education, whose mother's family had been strong Independents, and who valued rule from one's own use of reason. In the preface to her *Essays upon Several Subjects*, Mary Chudleigh explains that she attacked John Sprint's sermon, not because it offered reproof, for reproof delivered in appropriate fashion is beneficial, but because of its "indecent warmth," implying Sprint's own lack of reason. Women should be governed, Mary argues, by the qualities of "right reason," "Religion and Honour," and their "own Consciences" rather than by a man who doesn't understand women's lives, being "unavoidably ignorant of our Circumstances" (*Poems and Prose* 249). Such "Censures" from unknowing external sources, Chudleigh claims, are both "highly uncharitable" and "false and injurious" (249).

The theme of developing virtue and honor from knowledge and reason rather than from externally defined rule underlies much of Mary Chudleigh's writing. For instance, the implied high social status and rule-giving role of Sir John Brute, one of the three male characters that Chudleigh develops in *The Ladies Defence*, do not ameliorate his inability to reason, with the disparity, implied in his name, between Sir John's socially designated elevation and his unreasoned (animal-like) ideas creating the irony of his character. The least subtle, most obviously mistaken character of the three males in the poem, Sir John speaks only in unreflective cliches: men are wise, women fools; men should be rough in their treatment of women. He reveals his brutish nature by expressing the wish to mate freely, damning together marriage and women—even the parson who married him. It is clear that Sir John is at a loss trying to control women with external force—so he simply wishes to be rid of them (like taxes) and to silence their noisiness. That he does not comprehend to any degree the development of conscience by reflection is suggested in Sir John's solution to the problem of women: forbid them to read!

A complement to Sir John Brute, Sir Loveall admires and loves women—indeed he would like to possess their beauty. His words reveal, however, that his attraction to women is only to their exterior beauty and that he would not go so far as to change the status quo of keeping women ignorant—for that would limit his ability to possess women's beauty. Chudleigh has Loveall claim, ironically, that being beautiful is far superior than having "wisdom" or "science"; he would rather be a beautiful women, he explains, than to "have my Memory well stuff'd with all/Those whimseys, which they high-rais'd notions call" (ll. 636-7).

The third male character, the Parson, represents the most dangerous, because the most revered, form of externally defined value and rule. John Sprint's sermon is indeed

one example of the flourishing genres of sermons and religious conduct manuals at the end of the seventeenth century that establish absolute rules from exterior sources for the conduct of life. Sprint makes explicit husbands' roles as rulers—"both God and Nature hath given the Husband Authority to Command (13)—as well as his own role, like that of the conduct manuals, of defining and judging women as receivers of that rule. Women's duty itself, Sprint admits, is "less taking" than that of the rule-makers. Women, moreover, need extremely specific directives: "Line upon Line, Precept upon Precept" (4), and they must memorize and follow these precepts by rote, whether they "turn Fools and Slaves" (*Defence*, ll. 450) doing so. Mary Chudleigh adds a number of humorous twists to her paraphrase of Sprint's sermon in the form of the Parson's portion of the dialogue, for example, by turning his idea that men have become harder to please since the Fall into a concept of a genetic peevishness in men. At other points, Sprint's points are extreme enough—for example, his suggestion to use caution in giving women too many rules because they haven't the mental capacity to remember them—for Chudleigh to be able simply to use his point unchanged! "Each sentence," Marissa says to the Parson/Mr. Sprint, "is a Satyr on your Sex" (l. 481).

Underlying the explicit themes of the satire is a compelling distinction between views of human nature. The distinction lies in part between views of the source of reception of God's truth—whether in an institution (the Parson's "Divine Order") or an individual's conscience; and it lies in part between views of the degree to which individuals, particularly women, have potential for improvement through knowledge and reason. The very agenda of improving women's lives—their knowledge and consequently their virtue—to which Mary Chudleigh, Mary Astell, and the other women writers dedicated themselves suggests that they held a view of human nature, likely influenced by neoplatonic and emerging enlightenment concepts, that allowed for considerable human improvement. In their belief in the potential for "improvement," these women writers appear to be implicitly responding to the tendency of the popular theology of the day (e.g., sermons, religious conduct manuals) of placing the notion of human deficiency fully on women. Because men are typically defined in these popular religious genres as the rule makers, the literal "masters" or "lords" (Sprint 13), they are implied as possessing gifts of mind and vision from God. As Chudleigh has Marissa, the normative character in *The Ladies Defence*, summarize, "We have our Faults, but you are all Divine" (l. 72). In the satire, Chudleigh has the Parson position himself in the place of the "lord" or rule-maker/judge (as does John Sprint in his sermon) to the extent that he will not allow interruptions to his portions of the narrative. At the same time, the Parson of the satire makes explicit that the fault or deficiency with women lies not in popular books that may corrupt women's minds, and certainly not in sermons, but in women themselves. This humorous version of Mr. Sprint's sermon treats lightly Sprint's real point (Mary Chudleigh acknowledges that she paraphrases some of the harsher parts of Sprint's sermon through Sir John Brute), for Mr. Sprint, in his version of the Garden of Eden story, describes women as both the original source of "Mischief and Misery to Man" (6) as well as the continuing source of fall, as implied in his attributing to women the entire fault for discord within marriage (4). Thus, couched within the genres and language of popular religious instruction, John Sprint defines women, like other phenomena "out of their proper Places," as "Evils" (8), a more serious charge than Mary Chudleigh allows to surface fully in the arrogance of the Parson, the rough misogyny of

Sir John Brute or the false love of Sir Loveall. The combination of the three characters' attitudes, however, suggests that Chudleigh understands something of the pervasiveness of the belief in women's deficiency, a belief that would surely frustrate her and other women's goals of improving women's lives and status.

The theme of belief systems is implied in Marissa's description of women who escape marriage as "Safe Infidels" (l. 135), a phrase that suggests that only outside of the prevailing belief system are women safe. The Parson's words, Marissa suggests, are "destitute of Reason and of Thought" (l. 479). And the "resentment" and "anger" of women that Marissa speaks of emerge, I would suggest, out of women's growing awareness of and frustration with the wrong thinking that condemns their very nature. To counter the negative beliefs about women's capabilities, Chudleigh has Marissa remind women that they are part of God's creation; Marissa refers to women's potential "Brightness of Thought" (l. 641), an image that implies, in neoplatonic interpretation, a connection to God's own Mind. Women, Marissa argues, can indeed come to possess "Empires" in their minds (l. 661) (she includes suggestions for a course of study!). The metaphor of space or territory suggests the deliberate attempt by Mary Chudleigh to occupy different "grounds" than do men (she makes explicit that men may keep their riches and power), thus reinforcing the idea that the space must lie outside of prevailing social beliefs—and minimizing hindrances to the securing of the place. The position that Chudleigh assumes is similar to that taken by Mary Astell in her literal attempt to seek a separate space within which to "improve" women. For both Astell and Chudleigh, this space is one in which men's beliefs could be silenced ("Silence the Men" [l. 562]) and where the "rule" will emerge from the companionship of women (see l. 563).

From this place, Mary Chudleigh, though Marissa's language, can even rewrite men. Marissa creates her own categories of men, turns their words back on them with satiric results, discounts their words (see ll. 478-9). She rejects the exterior-based rules that define the Parson and the genres through which he speaks. She will respect him, she says, not because he is part of a divine order, but only when he himself displays "unblemishe'd Vertue," "Solid Learning," Substantial Sense" (l. 490). Finally, as the poem concludes, Marissa looks even beyond the place she has metaphorically set apart for women in the world to a place beyond the earth and thus beyond men's hate (see l. 825). This notion of moving beyond the confines of society and earth, which occurs regularly in Mary Chudleigh's contemplative poems and essays, informs us about Chudleigh's hope for women's lives, and also suggests, perhaps, that her own experience of life, even as a socially privileged woman, moved her frequently to an imagined position beyond society's reaches.

Despite Mary Chudleigh's attempt to protect herself from censure in publishing *The Ladies Defence*, a poem she considered an "inconsiderable Trifle" (*Poems and Prose* 248), her efforts failed, forcing Mary to devote a considerable portion of the preface to her final book, *Essays upon Several Subjects*, published in the year of her death, to explaining her intentions in the satire. The original publisher of *The Ladies Defence*, she explains "mangl'd" and "alter'd" the preface, which Mary had intended as an apology for the work (*Poems and Prose* 248). Then, against Mary's expressed wishes, the publisher of her book of poetry, which carried her name, added *The Ladies Defence* to the second edition, omitting the dedication and preface to the satire altogether! Thus, in her final years of life, Mary found herself having to defend and explain her satire, this time as a

known author whom others, her explanation suggests, interpreted as attacking them personally. In her final defense, however, Mary Chudleigh remains consistent about her belief in the potential for improvement of women, in her manner of seeking change through persuasion (reason) rather than absolute rule, and in her goal of motivating women to virtue and to actions that they can "reflect on with a rational Pleasure" (*Poems and Prose* 249).

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Monstrosities of Nature: The Significance of Acrasia's Punishment in Book II of Spenser's *The Fairie Queene*

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The Fairie Queene's Book II has more than its fair share of deviant and seductive women. The witch Acrasia, the hag Occasion, the simpleton Phaedria, the wanton Duessa, the intemperate sisters Elissa and Perissa all represent the negative stereotypes of women so prevalent during the Renaissance. Yet Acrasia shares her intemperate status with virtuous women as well, Belphoebe's intemperate virginity being one obvious connection. Like her sisters, Acrasia is created to provide a foil for the Book's virtuous hero, Guyon, and she is alien to the values Spenser privileges and promotes through his temperate knight. It is because Acrasia is the alien Other--the figure against whom Guyon will define himself--that Spenser is able to articulate his position on the proper role of women. Needless to say, the sterility that Acrasia represents will be reflected in the landscape around her, and this sterility challenges the natural order which Spenser establishes as right and good. As the "Other," Acrasia threatens all that Guyon holds dear; as a representative of the alien, the character "Acrasia" allows Spenser to comment on the proper role of women within the patriarchal system he represents.

These issues are addressed in *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, where Stephen Greenblatt draws a connection between Edmund Spenser's literature and the practices, policies, and ideologies of Elizabethan England. Greenblatt premises his argument on Spenser's statement that *The Fairie Queene's* purpose is to "fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline" (Greenblatt 175). According to Greenblatt, a gentleman constructs his identity by exercising control over his sexual impulses, even while these very impulses guarantee the continuation of the race (177). Guyon's very intemperate destruction of the Bower is an exercise of this control, and its excessive nature is deliberate. Greenblatt states:

> "Excess" is defined not by some inherent imbalance or impropriety, but by the mechanism of control, the exercise of restraining power. And if excess is virtually invented by this power, so too, paradoxically, power is invented by excess . . . . (177)

By restraining his violent impulses, an individual leaves open the threat of excessive punishment against his victims. Ironically, such restraint only serves to increase and perpetuate the very same power source which posed the initial threat. Greenblatt concludes that Guyon does not kill Acrasia so that she could remain a perennial threat--a threat which allows Guyon to define and continually reconstitute the power he embodies.

Like Greenblatt, I believe Acrasia symbolizes the demonic Other and that she represents Guyon's foil during the course of the Book. However, I also think that Acrasia's punishment deserves some further exploration; while Greenblatt does explain Guyon's necessity in keeping the Enchantress alive, he does not adequately address the ramifications of the punishment Guyon implements. Also, it is unclear why Guyon has spared the beastly Gryll, and it seems that the temperate knight allows the forces of

intemperance to escape uncontained. Finally, I find it interesting that Greenblatt does not speak of the Bower as a distinctly female landscape; the Garden's very structure and contents evoke images of feminine forms, behaviors, and stereotypes. In fact, all of *The Fairie Queene*'s gardens and bowers bear very similar descriptions, which serve to unite most of the female characters, be they Virgin or Whore.

Perhaps the place to begin this re-examination of the Bower of Bliss, as well as Acrasia's role within the garden, is with Acrasia herself. More specifically, I would like to examine why Guyon enacts the punishment of bondage upon Acrasia's body and what the implications of this type of torture have upon a reading of the Bower of Bliss episode. Arguably, Acrasia represents all that is foul and intemperate in Spenser's world: she is a fornicator, a murderess, and a witch. As a witch, Acrasia presents a direct challenge to social institutions such as the family and the Christian Church. During the Renaissance, the punishment for this type of challenge was swift and severe; alleged witches were quickly imprisoned, tried, and executed. Oftentimes, torture was implemented to exact confessions from the accused, as well as glean evidence about the existence of other so-called witches who were still at-large. Historians have documented cases of judicial torture during the witch hunts which bordered on pornography, relating cases where women were publicly stripped, probed, and mutilated, all while being bound (Barstow 132). The very public nature of these inquisition sessions creates a scene of excessive power, and the analogy between Guyon's destruction of the Bower and the torture of women's bodies is significant.

Yet in light of the witchcraze's bleak history, perhaps Acrasia's binding should cause more concern than Guyon's rabid destruction of the Bower. Guyon's excuse for binding the witch is that he is afraid of her malevolent and wily power. When Guyon and the Palmer throw their "subtle net" over Acrasia and Verdant, the knight makes doubly sure that the witch could not escape:

> For that same net so cunningly was wound,
> That neither guile, nor force might it distraine.
> They took them both, and both them strongly bound
> In captiue bands, which there they readie found:
> But her in chaines of adamant he tyde:
> For nothing else might keepe her safe and sound. (2.12.82)

After wrapping her in an indestructible net, Guyon proceeds to lock Acrasia in adamant chains, making escape impossible. Guyon neutralizes any threat that Acrasia might pose, either to himself or to other knights.

By binding Acrasia, Guyon creates a scene not only of punishment, but of male fantasy, and the binding signifies the figural restraint of women by an anxious patriarchy. Acrasia's binding also signals an uncomfortable relationship between Guyon's spiritual quest and pornography; perhaps Guyon's apocalyptic fit is provoked by the shame of his sexual arousal. The etymology of Guyon's name adds insult to injury: the term "guyon" is found in the *Golden Legend,* where it is equated with "wrestler" (Nelson 180). Clearly, Guyon wrestles with his own passions throughout Book II. His attack upon Red Crosse, his dalliance with Phaedria, and his swoon at the Cave of Mammon all signal that Guyon struggles repeatedly against intemperance; however, his sustained gaze at the

Bower's naked nymphs and his surveillance of the intimate scene between Acrasia and Verdant seem to suggest that Guyon must wrestle with sexual arousal as well: "the constant pair...swarued not, but kept their forward way, / Through many couert groues, and thickets close, / In which they creeping did at last display / That wanton Ladie, with her louer lose" (2. 12.76). By engaging in voyeurism, the "creeping" Guyon is associated with the Actaeon/Diana myth, which deals with issues of forbidden sexuality and passion--it is one of the many myths related to the incest prohibition and the consequence of a forbidden view of the body of the mother (Parker 31-32). Guyon and the Palmer creep pruriently through the garden's brush, gazing on a scene which is simultaneously erotic and maternal. Whatever his intentions, Guyon is guilty of voyeurism, which makes the binding of Acrasia problematic.

In her study of pornography, Mary Weaver contends that the conservative Christian vision, which Guyon arguably represents, is based on a pattern of dominance, submission, and erotic possibilities, all of which is predicated on a belief in male superiority (Weaver 79). Thus, the religiously-motivated attacks on women during the witch trials which link women with the perils of sexual contact also betray the inquisitioners' deepest desire: the desire to dominate, to subdue, to own the bodies of their prisoners. Guyon's binding of Acrasia takes on similar sexual overtones; after gazing upon her body, Guyon is shamed by his own weakness and proceeds to destroy the Bower and imprison the source of his rampant passions. Guyon's rage might also be fueled by Acrasia's seeming talent of duplicating nature. In the Bower, Acrasia has demonstrated her dual ability, in Sheila Cavanagh's words, to "delude the senses with forged nature and to disrupt the transition from the pagan world to the Christian world" (51). By targeting the Bower--the home of the alien and dangerously seductive woman--Guyon manages to subdue the "other" and reconstitute his moral standing simultaneously.

Yet it is possible to draw more sinister conclusions from Acrasia's punishment: her binding carries with it the overtones of rape. In her study of the history of rape, Susan Brownmiller argues that rape is not simply a sexual crime; instead, it is a crime of power--an effective weapon in asserting male prerogative, strength, and will. Claiming that rape is "the art of the conqueror," Brownmiller compares the bodies of rape victims to "ceremonial battlefields, a parade ground for the victor's trooping of the colors" (38). In short, rape becomes a device by which men could keep women under control, in line, and in fear. Brownmiller extends the argument further, claiming that gang rape, a violent attack on a woman's person by multiple aggressors, serves to teach young men proper gender roles, i.e., how to be masculine (14). If Acrasia's binding is perceived as a metaphor for rape, then Spenser's stated purpose in "fashioning a gentleman" through Guyon's example is particularly troublesome. In any case, Guyon's figural raping of Acrasia serves not only to refashion the knight as a morally superior force, but to contain the witch's threat through fear, intimidation, and violence as well.

Perhaps the best evidence to justify the interpretation of Acrasia's punishment as rape is found in Guyon's treatment of the wayward knight Gryll, one of Acrasia's victims. Gryll, whose very name signifies "fierceness" and "cruelty," refuses to let the Palmer return him to his former, human state. What makes Book II's last stanza particularly amazing is that Guyon, the knight of Temperance, allows the forces of intemperance to go free:

> Said Guyon, See the mind of beastly man,
> That hath so soone forgot the excellence
> Of his creation, when he life began,
> That now he chooseth, with vile difference,
> To be a beast, and lacke intelligence.
> To whom the Palmer thus, The donghill kind
> Delights in filth and foule incontinence:
> But let vs hence depart, whilest wether serues and wind. (2.12.87)

At first, it seems inconceivable that Guyon would allow Gryll to remain in an animal state. After all, Guyon has learned the importance of temperate behavior during his various adventures, and he has successfully defeated the forces of intemperance which have threatened his quest. Perhaps Guyon might have perceived Gryll as particularly beastly, someone who was beneath the great knight's attention. Or perhaps Spenser has an ulterior motive for "letting Gryll be Gryll": the transformed, beastly knight was allowed to escape so that his presence would engender fear in the female community. It isn't so surprising that Guyon would adopt a "boys will be boys" attitude toward Gryll's behavior, especially since Guyon had been unsuccessfully fighting against his own lustful feelings toward Acrasia and her nymphs. As the paradigm of Reason, the Palmer tells Guyon to proverbially cut his loses--perhaps Gryll cannot be redeemed. Or in Brownmiller's terms, it would be important for a representative of the patriarchy to permit a few rapists to exist, even while simultaneously condemning such behavior as abhorrent--such a move would serve to the keep the women of Glorianna's land in a state of fear and, more importantly, under control. In any case, without the aid of the Temperate Palmer, Guyon himself would have succumbed to the Bower's attractions, as demonstrated by his behavior in stanzas sixty-eight and sixty-nine:

> Now when they spide the knight to slacke his pace,
> Them to behold, and in his sparkling face
> The secret signes of kindled lust appeare,
> Their wanton meriments they did encreace,
> And to him beckned, to approch more neare,
> And shewd him many sights, that courage cold could reare.
> On which when gazing him the Palmer saw,
> He much rebukt those wandring eyes of his,
> And counseld well, him foward thence did draw. (2.12.68-69)

Perhaps Guyon would have followed Gryll's fate if it had not been for the chastising presence of the Palmer, who prevented his pupil from succumbing to female temptation. The Palmer is able to subdue Guyon's passion, thus bringing the knight back into a temperate state and salvaging Guyon's manhood simultaneously. Ironically, the Palmer saves Guyon from male lust, only to tacitly approve of that same lust in Gryll. Thus, by exploiting Gryll's lust, Guyon and the Palmer guarantee that Acrasia's threat, as well as the threat posed by the area's other female inhabitants, would be contained. Finally the

anxiety posed by intemperate women is assuaged. Brownmiller makes a similar observation in her examination of rape:

> That some men rape provides a sufficient threat to keep all women in a constant state of intimidation, forever conscious of the knowledge that the biological tool must be held in awe for it may turn to weapon with sudden swiftness born of harmful intent. (209)

One way of subsuming Acrasia's threat is to make sure other women do not follow her example; thus, Guyon's figural rape and the potential threat of Gryll's lust serves to contain female danger and to construct a masculine model of proper behavior, even after Guyon and the Palmer have left the scene.

So the binding of Acrasia and the destruction of the Bower allow Guyon to fashion himself as a morally superior force, as well as contain and subsume the threat posed by Acrasia and other intemperate women. Therefore, while Greenblatt sees the Bower's destruction as somehow reflective or supportive of England's colonial policies, I would suggest that the Bower, which represents a specifically female landscape, also allows Guyon to reconfigure male superiority through its destruction. Through Guyon, Spenser might be refiguring his own subject status in relation to Elizabeth I. Spenser is a gentleman by education, not by birth; thus he has to depend upon the Queen's patronage for financial and artistic support. Anxious about his own subject-status and uncomfortable by the Queen's powerful position over him, perhaps Spenser's Bower episode serves as a subtle rebellion. By binding Acrasia, Spenser is able to bind his own mistress, and the Queen's exceptional power is figurally overthrown by her anxious male subject.

While Acrasia's binding carries specific overtones about Spenser's attitudes toward female rule, a similar conclusion can be drawn regarding the Bower's destruction. The Bower, like all of the natural settings in Book II, is characterized by feminine imagery. The Bower of Bliss is compared to an earthly Eden, whose ivory gates are thrown open to the world. The Bower is figured as womb-like, as seen in stanzas fifty-three and fifty-four:

> . . . he came vnto another gate;
> No gate, but like one, being goodly dight
> With boughes and braunches, which did broad dilate
> Their clasping arms, in wanton wreathings intricate.
> So fashioned a Porch with rare deuice,
> Archt ouer head with an embracing vine,
> Whose bounches hanging downe, seemed to entice
> All passers by, to tast their lushious wine . . . . (2.12.53-54)

The Garden is characterized by sensual overabundance; the colors of flowers are more intense; the birdsong blends with the burbling brooks and fountains; the ivy wantonly wraps itself around the fences, fountains, and gates. The Bower shares these feminine characteristics with other gardens and bowers in Book II. Acrasia's Bower incorporates elements from Phaedria's pleasure island, such as the "wanton ivy," the

fragrant roses, and the murmuring stream, as well as characteristics from Belphoebe's chaste Bower; like the 'pumy stones," the sweet birdsong, and the myrtle trees. In short, the descriptions of Belphoebe's and Phaedria's home are remarkably similar to the description of Acrasia's Bower. Thus, Book II's natural settings might be read as particularly feminine; interestingly, the moral status of each garden's mistress does not seem to matter in Spenser's construction of setting. And the direct association between Nature and Woman complicates Guyon's destruction of the Bower. Acrasia's pleasure garden is annihilated during Guyon's rage, which is directly attributed to his uncontrolled sexual passions:

> But all those pleasant bowres and Pallace braue,
> Guyon broke downe, with rigour pittilesse;
> Ne ought their goodly workmanship might saue
> Them from the tempest of his wrathfulnesse,
> But that their blisse he turn'd to balefulnesse:
> Their groues he feld, their gardins did deface,
> Their arders spoyle, their Cabinets suppresse,
> Their blanket houses burne, their buildings race,
> And of the firest late, now made the fowlest place. (2.12.83)

Perhaps Guyon's reconstitution of himself during Acrasia's punishment is mimicked during the destruction of the female garden. After destroying the power of the Witch, Guyon is able to wipe out the beauty and power of the female garden. Again, all thing feminine are brought under male control, thus expressing a male desire to control what seems uncontrollable.

Certainly, Greenblatt's argument linking the destruction of the Bower to England's colonial policies is provocative. However, his view of the garden's annihilation could be extended to include the notion that women, as well as land, were being colonized in early modern England. The women of Book II are characterized by their intemperate reproductive powers: the virginal Belphoebe is too virtuous; the wanton Acrasia is too lascivious. Just as the intemperate bodies of women are contained and controlled, feminized Nature meets a similar fate. The Bower of Bliss is wild Nature; like a woman, she is a beast to men (Mason 189). Clearly, the Bower is a feminized space, and it is tortured and destroyed in quite the same manner as the bodies of accused witches. So violence ends in the civility of law, and the intemperate forces of sexual passion, rage, and shame finally are cloaked by the cooler logic of reason. Ostensibly, Spenser plays the role of courtly lover when he presents Guyon's journey as a culmination of Glorianna's wishes; yet Guyon is too zealous in his quest--and his behavior becomes a direct affront to female rule. Acrasia's punishment and the Bower's destruction demonstrate both Guyon's triumph over female spectacle as well as serve as indicators of Spenser's discomfort at being a male subject in a female realm. Whether or not Spenser consciously creates Acrasia and the Bower of Bliss as a direct challenge to his Queen / Mistress, his episode raises interesting implications as to how the New Gentlemen of the Renaissance patriarchy reconstituted themselves in the face of the female threat. *The Fairie Queene's* Book II captures these anxieties, and it presents a picture of male triumph and female degradation. In the end, Spenser makes certain that

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the proper natural order is restored, that female lust is subsumed, and that female virtue is reconceived in masculine terms.

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Books for Good Manners in *As You Like It*

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If there are times when a cigar is just a cigar, there are times when nonsense is merely nonsense. Jaques' refrain of "Ducdame, ducdame, ducdame" (2.5.48) may be only "deliberate mystification" as the Arden Shakespeare suggests (45). Surely the point of *As You Like It* is to be a comedy and to give us delight, which it does and has in each generation since its writing. But the play is no less a comedy and delights us more if we know that touchstone, even in the sixteenth century, was known as a way to test for genuineness, and that jakes was long since a common name for the privy. So we follow Touchstone's encounters with the rustics--Corin, Audrey, and William--with more interest exploring whether and how he reveals their true natures. Similarly when he responds to such courtly characters as Le Beau or Jaques, we note how the person is exposed to our understanding. Searching for scatalogical associations with Jaques' actions or words may be less rewarding, but there may be an aroma about the character that warns us that Shakespeare is not offering satire as the final response to life and that keeps us from George Sand's enthusiasm for Jaques when she rewrites the play to have him marry Celia.

Thus, I propose that some sense of contemporary background helps us to see and hear the play in richer terms by filling in context around the characters, the actions, and the themes. When Touchstone tells us that "the quarrel was upon the seventh cause" (5.4.47), we join with Jaques in wanting more information about what this means. We are delighted by Touchstone's detailed explanation of the elaborate codification of causes for quarrels and delighted even more when we discover (looking outside the play at the duelling handbooks so popular just at the close of the sixteenth century in England) how close he has sailed to the wind in his parody of those handbooks. There is not a great distance between William Segar in his *Book of Honor and Armes* who lists lies certeine, lies conditionall, lies generall, lies speciall, and vaine lies as causes for quarrels, and Touchstone who lists retort courteous, quip modest, reply churlish, reproof valiant, countercheck quarrelsome, lie circumstantial, and lie direct. Both Touchstone and Jaques are so pleased with the list and so eager to have the audience appreciate it, that Touchstone repeats the enumeration in answer to Jaques' request, but not before noting his source, the very handbooks we can consult. Touchstone says: "O sir, we quarrel in print, by the book, as you have books for good manners" (5.4.85).

Segar is quite explicit about the connection between quarreling and manners: they are both activities defining a gentleman and therefore necessary knowledge. Gentlemen need to know, Segar tells us:

> . . . what iniure is, and how to repulse it, when to fight, when to rest satisfied, what is Honor and good reputation, how it is gained, and by what meanes the same is kept & preserued; which was the respect that the Earle Balthaza Castilio in his booke of the Courtier doth among other qualities requireable in a gentleman, specially aduise he should bee skillful in the knowing of Honor, and causes of quarrell. (A3r)

Touchstone's parody of duelling codes of conduct parallels Mercutio's complaint in *Romeo and Juliet* about Tybalt that he is not only a "duellist" who fights by the book, but also a "new tuner of accents . . . .[like others] who stand so much on the new form that they cannot sit at ease on the old bench" (*Romeo and Juliet*, 2.4.20-35). This concern for new forms is again related, this time by Gabriel Harvey in the Spenser-Harvey correspondence, to the readers of courtesy books of the later sixteenth century. Harvey claims that those who value Machiavelli, Castiglione, Petrarch, Galateo, and Guazzo are "all inquisitiue after Newes, newe Bookes, newe Fashions, newe Lawes, newe Officers, and some after newe Elements, and some after newe Heauens, and Helles to" (621). Thus, when Oliver in *As You Like It* asks "What's the new news at the new court?" (1.1.90), we can recognize that the controversy of the 1580's and 1590's about the new behavior of courtiers and princes is providing a background for the practices of the court of Duke Frederick. One scene later when Monsieur Le Beau approaches, Rosalind anticipates that his mouth will be "full of news" and that she and Celia will be "news-crammed" (1.2.86,88). It is only fitting that Celia greet him with the question: "What's the news?" (90).

While Baldassare Castiglione's courtier was dedicated to honest sevice for his prince, in France in the 1570's and in England in the 1580's and after, the would-be courtier became portrayed as the fashionable, hand-kissing, pretentious-speaking, quarrel-mongering, self-seeking new arrival we find contributing some features to Tybalt in *Romeo and Juliet*, Osric in *Hamlet*, Oswald in *King Lear*, and perhaps even Malvolio in *Twelfth Night*. Harold Jenkins brings us back to *As You Like It* when he points out that "the courtier figure of Le Beau . . . with his foppery of diction and his expert knowledge of sport" is "a little sketch for Osric" (31). It is a partial sketch, however, for Le Beau's foppery is more apparent in Rosalind's and Touchstone's responses to him than in his own statements, and he proves a true speaker to Orlando in warning him about the Duke Frederick's humors. The other issues of the courtesy controversy -- such as ceremonious compliment and behavior, nobility by birth or virtue (or nature v. nurture), and the related argument of country v. court -- are readily apparent in the play. Shakespeare has read or at least heard the controversies about the books for good manners.

Orlando opens the play with a meditation on gentility and its dependence upon breeding and/or education. This nature/nurture controversy is central to many of the arguments about being or becoming a gentleman. While Orlando rightfully resents his brother's failure to provide him with the education appropriate to a gentleman, his very resentment and his widely admired demeanor indicate that his father's spirit resides in him. His defense of Adam, his rescue and forgiveness of his brother, his courtship of Rosalind in her guise of Ganymede all reveal his gentle nature without benefit of education even in the form of an example to follow.

Closely connected in both the play and the courtesy books is the issue of court and country. Can one be gentle if raised away from that location from which courtesy even derives its name? Touchstone's argument that the shepherd Corin is damned for never being in court is clearly in error not only for its faulty logic, but also because of the apparent quality of Corin whose response is simple and unanswerable: "I am a true laborer; I earn that I eat, get that I wear, owe no man hate, envy no man's happiness, glad of other men's good, content with my harm. . . (3.2.69-72). Corin's earlier comments have revealed that even the details of courtesy, such as kissing the hands, are discussed in

the play and dismissed with the same common sense he uses on other issues. He says: "Those that are good manners at the court are as ridiculous in the country as the behavior of the country is most mockable at the court. You told me you salute not at the court but you kiss your hands. That courtesy would be uncleanly if courtiers were shepherds" (42-48).

The fact that it is the fool in motley who is the spokesperson, the apologist, for the court makes clear that courtly courtesies are being subjected to scrutiny, review, and criticism. Touchstone may seem like a true knight of courtesy in Spenser or Sidney in going from the court for a pastoral interlude where he woos and wins the rustic maiden. The problem is that Audrey is not a princess in disguise, but an authentic and not very attractive goat herder, and of course Touchstone is just who he appears to be in his motley coat despite his insistence that he has been a courtier and "undone three tailors" (5.4.45).

Not all the virtues, however, reside simply in nature. It is Le Beau who points out that the loves between Celia and Rosalind "Are dearer than the natural bond of sisters" (1.3.257). The unkindness or unnaturalness of the conflict between the brothers Orlando and Oliver and the brother dukes would have been clear without Le Beau's comment; his mention only makes explicit that this theme is being used in the play.

Another theme common to the play and the courtesy books is the matter of service and its rewards. Orlando responds to Adam's offer to accompany him by saying:

> O good old man, how well in thee appears
> The constant service of the antique world,
> When service sweat for duty, not for meed!
> Thou art not for the fashion of these times,
> Where none will sweat but for promotion,
> And having that, do choke their service up
> Even with the having; it is not so with thee. (2.3.56-62)

The sixteenth century, like the twentieth century (and probably all centuries in between), lamented the loss of nobly motivated service. Castiglione's ideal, like Sir Thomas Elyot's in *The Governor*, proposed that the gentle person did service as an obligation and a right, certainly not for personal profit. It seems to be always some earlier period when that ideal was fulfilled to which we contrast the present with its crass, self-seeking ambition.

The most explicit discussion of manners occurs when Orlando interrupts Duke Senior's banquet under the greenwood tree to demand food for Adam. Orlando explains his threats by saying that he was merely playing the role he thought appropriate for the situation: "I thought that all things had been savage here,/ And therefore put I on the countenance/ Of stern commandment" (2.7.107-9). Once the reality behind his expectations has been revealed, true civility is expressed and reciprocated. The exchange has been extensively and delightfully analyzed by Madeleine Doran in relation to prevalent notions of manners and rudeness. She explores the court/country theme in the context of pastoralism and the myth of the golden age. She concludes that Shakespeare accepts the reality of both the Duke's civility and the plainness of Corin's sheepfold as appropriate to their separate realms (114). We can go one step further, however, by recognizing that the controversies about courtesy have raised the issue of artificial roles.

Jaques continues the scene with his apparently unconnected seven ages speech as a fill-in while Orlando goes off-stage to gather Adam. But we should notice that Jaques' speech continues the theme of appearances and roles. It begins: "All the world's a stage,/ And all the men and women merely players. . . " (2.7.139-40). Jaques explains further that "one man in his time plays many parts,/ His acts being seven ages" (142-3). The theme of role playing needs only to be mentioned to remind us of the many roles being acted out on the stage. Duke Senior will play Robin Hood in the forest of Arden. Jaques wishes a coat of motley so he can play the fool. Rosalind and Celia, of course, are disguised and playing the roles of brother and sister. The most complex role is Rosalind playing Ganymede playing Rosalind to pretend to cure Orlando of his love, but in fact to enjoy and direct his wooing. Other roles are perhaps less clearly stated: Duke Frederick has usurped the role of his older brother, and Oliver has neglected his role as loving brother. However, we get some help in accepting the quick conversions of these two characters if we recognize their earlier behaviors as expressing not their natures but their deliberate and falsifying actions against the natural bond Le Beau invokes, that is as playing roles against their nature, just as Rosalind plays a man.

The books of good manners that Castiglione, Guazza, Galateo, Segar, and others have provided for gentles (whether in fact or in aspiration) have been translated, misinterpreted, modified, and codified into a series of artificial actions, attitudes, and assertions which are widely satirized. The complaint by the satirists is not only that the new courtier is a novelty on the scene, but also that he is artificial, empty behind the ceremonious facade, lacking substance behind the appearance. Marston in *Occasional Satires* urges: "Come, come Castilion, skim thy posset curd,/ Show thy queer substance, worthless, most absurd" (47-8). It is this emptiness behind the ceremony, the cowardice behind the duelling codes, the falsity behind the declaiming of love that the satirists expose and the play explores.

Le Beau's character will depend much upon his costume and manner of speaking. But, if the jokes of Rosalind, Celia, and Touchstone are to have any point, Le Beau must be the proper butt for them. He must present himself as new-fangled in dress so the comments on his newness have force; he must be ceremonious in manner so that they can laugh at his pretentiousness and note his insensitivity in recommending a sport to the ladies in which ribs are broken and futures destroyed.

Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* includes in its final book an enraptured account by Pietro Bembo of the nature of love. It is the idealized love of the neoplatonic tradition and joins easily with the courtly love tradition and the Petrarchan sonneteering tradition. Along with fighting by the book and behaving by the book, we also have loving by the book as part of courtly/courteous behavior. Once again it is the artificiality which is revealed and ultimately repelled by the play. Phebe's rejection of Sylvius does not spring from a dislike of him, but from Phebe's playing the role of the imperious damsel, noted by scholars as linked to Mirabella in canto 7 of Edmund Spenser's Legend of Courtesy, Book 6 of *The Faerie Queene* (*Arden Edition* lxxix). Orlando must be brought from the artificial role of posting verses on the trees to a more direct address of his love. Touchstone once again serves his function of revealing the truth by the ease with which he parodies Orlando's strained and artificial verses. True nature will triumph in these cases as it does in Rosalind's complexion when Celia delays revealing the name of the

verse writer (3.2.185) and in Rosalind's fainting when she realizes the bloody napkin is soaked in Orlando's blood (4.3.157).

In *As You Like It* the new courtesy, seeking only self-advancement, has driven the old courtesy out to the forest of Arden. There the old courtesy will encounter the foolishness of courtier-like behavior in Touchstone, the artificiality of loving by the book in Phebe and Orlando, and the incompleteness of satirizing roles without accepting the natural role of one's life in Jaques. Nature will triumph over the fool, the lovers, and the melancholic, for the fool will become a lover, the lovers will become brides and grooms, and even the melancholic will seek to understand the conversions which bring people to their own natures.

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"Why do the heathen rage?": Psalm 2 as Comfort and Instruction in *Paradise Lost*, Books 1-3

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Reading the first two books of *Paradise Lost* means, at least in part, experiencing the absence of God. Such absence, of course, is a definition of hell,[1] which is exactly what Satan and "those bad Angels" (1.1.344) who have fallen with him are experiencing. Absence from God terrorizes Satan, motivates him, and is the fundamental pressure behind his self-justifications and his accommodations. Thus when Satan calls himself (and, as part of his argument, his fellows),

> "Irreconcilable to our grand Foe,
> Who now triumphs, and in th' excess of joy
> Sole reigning holds the Tyranny of Heav'n" (1.122-24)

he is not just creating an image of God as a distant, tyrannous enemy. He is also expressing his own distance from that God--a distance as much moral as physical. If that absence is not completely apparent in Satan's words, the comment by Milton's narrator, which follows in the next two lines, makes it clear: "So spake th' Apostate Angel, though in pain, / Vaunting aloud, but rackt with deep despair" (1.125-26). Satan's "pain" and "despair," the effects of his apostasy, are expressions of his absence from God. Absence from God now characterizes his existence.

But in as much as Stanley Fish is right that "the poem's centre of reference is its reader who is also its subject" (1), the reader experiences this hellish absence from God in these two books as well. Despite opening lines which trace out the sweep of redemptive history; despite Milton's invoking the Holy Spirit as his muse (1.17-19); and despite a description in the early lines of Book 1 of Satan's fall which presents God as benevolent "Creator," majestic "Most High," and "Omnipotent" (1.31, 40, 49)--all biblical names for God--the process of reading these two books largely buries that opening perspective, as under the weight of hell itself (or under the weight of Satan, called "in bulk as huge" as a Titan or Leviathan, 1.195-201).

As Fish has pointed out, we are not without reminders along the way--many of them coming by means of the narrator's intrusive comments--of God's goodness (compare 1.163-65 with 217-20). Still, the experience of absence from God is real. It is effected for us simply by the extended time we spend in hell. This is "that obscure sojourn" which "long detain'd" (3.14-15) the narrator and which he moralizes as his own blindness in the opening lines of Book 3. More specifically, it is effected by a great deal of malicious name calling on the part of Satan and his army of fallen angels. We have already noted Satan's calling God his "grand Foe," and his description of God as he who "holds the Tyranny of Heav'n" (1.122-24). In addition, Satan calls God "Thunderer"

[1] The Larger Catechism, based on the Westminster Confession, defines hell in this way: "The punishments of sin in the world to come are, everlasting separation from the comfortable presence of God, and most grievous torment in soul and body, without intermission, in hell-fire forever" (Cochrane 158).

(2.28), "Conqueror," and "angry Victor" (1.143, 169). Moloch calls God "the Torturer" (2.64), and Beëlzebub, snidely, "Heav'n's perpetual King" (1.131). We are presented with God in the devil's image: distant, inscrutable, and characterized by mere power and the will to rule.

For readers, God's persistent absence raises questions about his role in the events we are witnessing and his attitude toward those events. Indeed, these questions are all reflections (or deflections) of deeper questions centered on God's attitude toward us as sinners and--finally--on his goodness and providence. All of these questions can be summarized in a single, urgent query: Where is God? The force of this question increases in Books 1-2 as we witness Satan taking action, for instance when he breaks free from the burning lake. "Why'd you let that happen, God?" we may ask--a response that is not negated by the narrator's assurance that

> the will
> And high permission of all-ruling Heaven
> Left him at large to his own dark designs,
> That with reiterated crimes he might
> Heap on himself damnation. (1.211-15)

Again, the question's force increases when Satan talks his way through the gates of Hell and when he seemingly by chance is not lost forever in Chaos.

The intensity of this question climaxes at the end of Book 2, as we observe Satan perch himself on the edge of the created realm and then approach our world even nearer: "Thither, full fraught with mischievous revenge, / Accurst, and in a cursed hour he hies" (2.1054-55). Here the bombastic language of the lines broadcasts the impending evil and the powerful impetus of the bringer of evil. Given for a moment a God-like perspective on Satan, and feeling the full force of the poem's dramatic irony (we know not only Satan's intent but that he will succeed), we ask, with desperate urgency, "Where are you, God? Why are you absent?" "Don't you know what's happening? don't you care?"

The shift to God's perspective, presaged at the end of Book 2, is completed at the beginning of Book 3. In his invocation, Milton emphasizes the difficulty of such a shift, embodying it particularly in the radical disparity between the biblical truth that "God is light" (I John 1:5) and his own blindness. But for readers this piles difficulty upon difficulty: Milton suggests that we--like someone coming from a dark room into bright sunlight--may have trouble adjusting. That problem of adjustment, in turn, is located in the celestial dialogue between the Father and the Son in Book 3. To what extent do we carry our insistent questioning--"Where is God?"--over to the conversation we witness? To what extent are the Father's opening words comforting or disconcerting? God may seem, at least to our perspective, too calm, too unperturbed. We may even remember Belial's description of God's potential reaction to a devilish assault on heaven: "yet our great Enemy / All incorruptible would on his Throne, / Sit unpolluted" (2.137-39). Belial's God is too pure to get his hands dirty.

Fish comments on the Father's first words, "He sees what we see but his reaction differs from ours and the difference is corrective" (78). Ultimately, the Father's eternal perspective offers us reassurance that he is in control, and there is relief in the Son's subsequent expressions of love mediated from the Father through him to us. Still, the

Father's voice is unsettling, for it is convicting as well as comforting. Humankind is declared "ingrate" (3.97), an appellation the believer resists but knows is apt. Indeed, much of the Father's speech here seems designed to leave readers "without excuse" (Romans 1:20).[2]

But if this is the proper response to God at the beginning of Book 3, I am interested in how Milton prepares us for such a correcting answer to the question, "Where are you, God?" Fish calls Milton's rhetoric a "programme of reader harassment" (4): we are more or less beaten into submission by the disconcerting experience of getting things wrong so often. But it seems to me that Milton is also careful to see that we get it right, and this is where Milton's use of Psalm 2 in the early books of *Paradise Lost* comes in. Psalm 2, alluded to in significant ways in the first two books, offers readers a means to the correcting, biblical vision that is announced in the beginning of Book 3. God has been present all along: we just have to know where to look!

Psalm 2 is a coronation Psalm, celebrating the advent of David's kingship. It is also, typologically speaking, a Messianic Psalm, linking the earthly king to his offspring who will sit on David's throne forever (see Is. 9; Ps. 89) and linking the nation of Israel to the kingdom of God. These links probably explain why this Psalm is the one most often quoted in the New Testament, notably in Revelation, where references to it are used to describe the final consummation of God's kingdom. Moreover, this is a Psalm of comfort: it moves from images of rebellious nations to images of God's Anointed One who rules with holy power, to the injunction "Kiss the Son" and the declaration "Blessed are all they that put their trust in him." In the context that I have been suggesting--one of unsettling disturbance and discomfort--the consolation of the entire Psalm is relevant to Milton's purposes.[3]

Finally, the Psalm's most dramatic moment, in which the God the Father declares, "Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee" (vs. 7b), is central to Milton's structural design in *Paradise Lost*. Milton, borrowing the Psalm's language, enacts this exaltation of the Son before the angels in Book 5:

> This day I have begot whom I declare
> 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 Heav'n, and shall confess him Lord. (5.603-08)

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[2] The entire passage from Romans suggests what Milton has in mind as he presents us with the Father: "For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead; so that they are without excuse: Because that, when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened" (1:20-21; I quote from the KJV). In the context of Milton's poem, the passage stands as a warning: God is clearly portrayed--do not miss it in your vanity or foolishness.

[3] Woodhouse and Bush remind us that "Milton had a lifelong devotion to the Psalms," and they quote Darbishire: "they 'were in esteem with him above all Poetry'" (1000). Milton versified the first 8 Psalms--including Psalm 2--in 1653.

This is the earliest event in the chronology of *Paradise Lost*, and the inciting impulse for Satan's rebellion.[4] It is also a central image of the work--focusing attention on the preeminence of the Son. This theme is first alluded to in the proem to Book 1 with the "one greater Man" who will "regain the blissful Seat" (1.4-5). And as W. B. Hunter demonstrates, it recurs in a set of complementary scenes describing the Son's exaltation: in Book 3, when the Son assumes the role of Savior, in Book 6 when he ascends following his victory in the War in Heaven, and in Book 12 when Michael prophesies concerning Christ's death and resurrection in a way which evokes not only the Gospels but the Revelation account (in ch. 12) of the birth of a child which gives rise to the war in heaven where Satan, the great dragon, is defeated (Hunter 128-29).[5] In all these ways, then, Psalm 2 is an important and resonant one for Milton.

How does Milton use Psalm 2 as a kind of stabilizing influence as we read the first books of *Paradise Lost*? Fundamentally, he draws an analogy between the "kings of the earth" (vs. 2.) who are portrayed in the beginning of the Psalm and the rebellious angels in hell--an analogy which suggests not just what the devils are like but how futile their efforts will be. Here is how Psalm 2 describes the enemies of God in the first section of the Psalm:

> Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing?
> The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together,
> against the Lord, and against his anointed, saying,
> Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us.
> (vs. 1-3)

Milton's description of "great consult" (1.798) in hell mimics this scene in a number of ways. First, Satan at the beginning of Book 2 is described as a king--he sits "High on a Throne of Royal State" (2.1)--and he addresses his companions as "Powers and Dominions" (2.11). They meet, like the rulers in the Psalm, in an atmosphere of conspiracy and rebellion.[6] During the "great consult," Moloch blurts out, "'My sentence is for open War'" (2.51), voicing rebellion at its most apparent. A bit later, Beëlzebub summarizes the purpose, not just of their meeting but of their existence, in a rhetorical question: [Should we not be] "Yet ever plotting how the Conqueror least / May reap his conquest" (2.338-39). "'Yet ever plotting'" is an apt summary of God's enemies in both the Psalm and Milton's work.[7]

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[4] Calvin makes this observation on the first section of the Psalm (vss. 1-3): "Nor is it at all wonderful, or unusual, if the world begin to rage as soon as a throne is erected for Christ" (12). Milton seems to have reached a similar insight, applying it to angelic rebellion in Heaven.

[5] Significantly for our discussion, Revelation 12 alludes to Psalm 2: the child who is born "is to rule all the nations with a rod of iron" (vs. 5); compare Psalm 2, vs.9: "Thou shalt break them with an rod of iron." Hunter uses the links between these passages in Milton, various Scriptural references (especially Hebrews 1:3-5 and 5:5), and Psalm 2 to suggest that these repeated enactments of Christ's exaltation form "a theme which in both its literal and metaphorical sense dominates the poem" (129), becoming, as he says of the Son's exaltation in Book 5, "one enormous metaphor" (124).

[6] Calvin says the earthly kings in the Psalm are "making war against God" (12); Milton, in his versification of Psalm 2, interpolates the clause "though ye rebel" (l. 12), suggesting that rebellion summarizes the action of the heathen.

[7] In fact, Luther, in his commentary on this Psalm, links the earthly with the devilish when he writes that all believers "will suffer his Herods, Pilates, rulers, kings, Gentiles, and other people who rage against him, meditate vain things, set themselves against him, and take counsel together. And if this does not happen

The Psalm's image of chains--"bands" and "cords" in the KJV; "fetters" and "chains" in other versions--from which the earthly kings wish to rebel, are echoed by Milton in various places. Satan's opening statement at the "consult"--"For since no deep within her gulf can hold / Immortal vigor" (2.12-13)--evokes the image of breaking bonds. We have earlier seen Satan at least *seem* to enact this statement when, though "Chain'd on the burning Lake," he "rears from off the Pool / His mighty Stature" (1.210, 221-22). And later, Beëlzebub calls hell "our dungeon" (2.317). Even God the Father, describing in his first speech Satan's approach to the world, uses the images of breaking chains:

> Only begotten Son, seest thou what rage
> Transports our adversary, whom no bounds
> Prescrib'd, no bars of Hell, nor all the chains
> Heap'd on him there, nor yet the main Abyss
> Wide interrupt, can hold. (3.80-84)

In summary, Milton's devils voice the words of the Psalm, "Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us."

But as this passage from Book 3 suggests, the comparison between the devil's situation and the gathering of earthly kings in Psalm 2 is not without irony--irony which helps us gain some perspective on their activity. In the Psalm, the first verse poses ungodly rebellion as a bemused question: "Why do the heathen rage"; as if to say, "What's the point?" This is precisely the idea of of the Father's first words when he asks, "seest thou what rage / Transports our adversary?" (3.80). John Calvin, commenting on these verses, says that we know that the enemies of Christ "are making war against God over whom they shall not prevail" (12).

But this correcting--and comforting-- perspective is available to readers before we get to Book 3, and it is available within the dynamics of Milton's allusions to Psalm 2, even when those allusions come from the mouths of devils. As we've just noticed, the Psalm holds up the "heathen" declarations of rebellion for ridicule as so much "rage" and "vain" imagination (where "imagine," colored by "vain," suggests fruitless fantasy: Milton in his versification of the Psalm says they "Muse a vain thing"). Milton suggests both rage and futility in his description of Satan presiding over that "great consult":

> Satan exulted sat, by merit rais'd
> To that bad eminence; and from despair
> Thus high uplifted beyond hope, aspires
> Beyond thus high, insatiate to pursue
> Vain War with Heav'n, and by success untaught
> His proud imaginations thus display'd. (2.5-10)

The tenor of this passage is the irony of hope based on despair and of a rising which is a falling. Specifically, Satan's "proud imaginations" are glossed by Psalm 2, as is his "Vain War." And my point is that if as readers we hear, "Why do the heathen rage, and

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through men, it will surely happen through devils and finally at all events through conscience itself in death" (321).

the people imagine a vain thing?" as an echo to this description of Satan, we receive the comfort of understanding the ultimate futility of all the ungodly--earthly or devilish.

The irony of Satan and his cohorts mouthing the words of a Psalm which undercuts their voice and their actions occurs elsewhere in Book 2. Beëlzebub recognizes the futility of devilish plotting when he ends his speech of advice by characterizing Belial's counsel to do nothing this way: "To sit in darkness here / Hatching vain Empires" (2.378)[8] It is as if Beëlzebub has picked up the tone of Psalm 2.

Two other inhabitants in hell allude directly to verse 4 of the Psalm: "He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh: the Lord shall have them in derision." In the Psalm, this verse introduces a response to the gathering of God's enemies: as the beginning of Book 3 does in *Paradise Lost*, this verse shifts to God's perspective on these rebellious words and plots. Belial seems to sense this heavenly response, for when he argues against Moloch's call to direct action, he says he fears the one who "from Heav'n's highth / All these our motions vain, sees and derides" (2.190-91). Later in the book, when Satan and Death are about to fight, Sin interrupts them this way:

> For him who sits above and laughs the while
> At thee ordain'd his drudge, to execute
> Whate'er his wrath, which he calls Justice, bids,
> His wrath which one day will destroy ye both. (2.731-34)

Sin has turned prophet here, referring both to God's laughter at the petty actions of the wicked and to their ultimate end, which the Psalm puts this way: "Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel" (vs. 9).[9] And here is the crowning irony of Milton's use of Psalm 2 in Book 2: the devils, despite themselves, speak the good news of the gospel! Just as, following Satan's return to hell after his successful tempting of Adam and Eve, the devils are humbled into serpents which utter nothing more than "A dismal universal hiss" (10.508), in this early book they speak against themselves and in praise of him who "sitteth in the heavens" (vs. 4).

Belial, Sin, and (we infer) Satan himself, see only despair and mockery in God's laughter. They see it (to compare small things with large) a bit as I did when, as a young boy in church, I heard Psalm 2 read and wondered if God's laughter were not inappropriate, and perhaps even scary. After all, every kindergartner knows you're not supposed to laugh at people, especially if they are in a bad situation. But both Calvin and Luther find comfort--not unsettling distance--in heavenly laughter. Calvin says God's laughter teaches us "that he does not stand in need of great armies to repress the rebellion of wicked men, as if it were an arduous and difficult matter" (14). And Luther writes,

> In order to strengthen the assurance of the afflicted he says emphatically: "He will laugh and scorn," as if he were saying: So certain it is that they

[8] Is it pertinent here that the Revised English Bible (REB), a 20th century version, translates Psalm 2:1b "Why do the peoples hatch their futile plots?"

[9] That Satan's final defeat is implied in these lines is suggested by the Psalm's "rod of iron," which is picked up in Revelation 12, where it is the instrument by which the child rules, and by implication, defeats the dragon named Satan.

> struggle in vain, however solid their cause may be in the opinion of others, that the Lord does not consider it worthwhile to resist them seriously or as if it were a great thing. He laughs at and scorns them as being absolutely nothing. (321)

Comparing believing and non-believing responses to God's laughter in Psalm 2 is instructive: Milton's devils can only hear the laughter as convicting, derisive scorn, while believers find comfort in God's control, certainty, justice, and power. And indeed, Milton wants us, I think, to apply this lesson to the Father as he speaks in the beginning of Book 3. Allusions to the Psalm should remind us that God's laughter is our comfort.

If Milton's God the Father is not literally laughing in his first speech in Book 3, the early Reformers can provide a link. Luther and Calvin both find in God's laughter an evocation of his calmness and serene, benevolent control. Commenting on Psalm 2, Luther observes,

> He who concerns Himself about us dwells there secure and calm; and if we are disturbed, He who cares for us is not disturbed. We are tossed about, but He is calm; He will not let the righteous be eternally restless. (321-22)

Calvin responds to the vaunting of the heathen in the Psalm this way:

> Let them exalt themselves as they may, they shall never be able to reach to heaven; yea, while they think to confound heaven and earth together, they resemble so many grasshoppers, and the Lord, meanwhile, undisturbed beholds from on high their infatuated evolutions. (14)

Seeing the enemies of God as grasshoppers is an apt metaphor for God's seeing in *Paradise Lost*: he observes Satan "from his prospect high, / Wherein past, present, future he beholds" (3.77-79) and is, to cite the Reformers, "undisturbed." For Milton, our implicit response to Psalm 2 becomes a model for our response to the Father in Book 3.

A final connection between the Psalm and Milton's work is worth exploring. The climax of Psalm 2 is this heavenly declaration: "Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee" (vs. 7b). In the Psalm, the declaration confers on David, Israel's king, God's divine authority; typologically, it evokes the exaltation of Christ after his resurrection. We have already noticed that Milton uses this declaration, in Book 5, as a central metaphor and the inciting impulse of his work. But in Book 3, an enactment of this declaration, after the Son has assumed the role of Savior, brings closure to the set of allusions we have been examining. God declares the Son to be "By Merit more than Birthright Son of God" (3.309), a paraphrase of Psalm 2:7. A few lines later He expands:

> Therefore thy Humiliation shall exalt
> With thee thy Manhood also to this Throne:
> Here shalt thou sit incarnate, here shalt Reign
> Both God and Man, Son both of God and Man,
> Anointed universal King; all Power
> I give thee, reign for ever, and assume

> Thy Merits; under thee as Head Supreme
> Thrones, Princedoms, Powers, Dominions I reduce:
> All knees to thee shall bow, of them that bide
> In Heaven, or Earth, or under Earth in Hell. (3. 313-22)

This passage is comprehensive, as its last lines suggest. Its vision of the Son's reign is rooted in (among other places) Psalm 2, particularly verses 6-9, which assert the universal rule of God's King, a rule that will extend to "the uttermost parts of the earth" (vs. 9). Even Satan's "Powers and Dominions" (2.11) from his address at the "great consult" are encompassed by the Son's rule. As such, it follows Psalm 2 in answering the opening question "Why do the heathen rage?" with the overwhelmingly benevolent power of the Son. Here then is a striking answer to the question we found lurking in the first two books of *Paradise Lost*: "Where is God?" Among the answers that Psalm 2, and this vision of the Son's exaltation, suggests is that God is present in his Son, ultimately the central figure of *Paradise Lost*. These words of comfort and instruction, evoked in the context of *Paradise Lost* Books 1-3, provide--I have been suggesting--a stablizing perspective on the events of these early books. Milton would, I think, find the final verses of Psalm 2 a fitting doxology to this movement in his work: "Kiss the Son, lest he be angry," and "Blessed are all they that put their trust in Him."

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Plowing through the Fair Field: Teaching *Piers Plowman*

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Of the three major Middle English writers of the Ricardian period, the least taught is undoubtedly William Langland. Chaucer is the most influential, the most interesting, the most accessible, and the most fun, and if any medieval literature is taught at all in an undergraduate survey course, it will include some of the *Canterbury Tales*. Beyond Chaucer's works, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* stands alone as the shining example of courtly romance, and is everybody's second choice in the Middle English period. With recent emphases on feminist issues it is difficult not to include something from Julian of Norwich or Margery Kempe if one wants to provide students more than a quick taste of Chaucer and the Gawain poet and also include something representatively "religious." Despite his tremendous popularity in his own age--surpassing that of any late fourteenth-century author--Langland's difficult allegory, unfamiliar language, harsh didacticism, and confusing narrative have all but relegated him to those shadowy edges of literary history where lurk figures like Lydgate and Gower--known only to medieval specialists and other wackos but as foreign as Latin to the average college student.

I had taught British and medieval literature surveys for many years but had never attempted to include Langland until recently. This was partly a matter of choice--I didn't want to cut back on Chaucer or *Sir Gawain* and I preferred something complete, like a mystery or morality play, to adding a segment of a long and complex work like *Piers*. Partly, too, it was a matter of fear and trepidation: the huge, sprawling morass of *Piers* was too much, I thought, for my students, and too much for me to try to tackle in a day or two of a survey class.

But as a medievalist I know that Langland is of pivotal importance in late fourteenth-century British literature, and also that his popularity among scholars has been rising in recent years, possibly because he speaks much more with the "voice of the people" than an upwardly mobile courtier like Chaucer possibly could. Perhaps if I hadn't had a graduate seminar in *Piers* twenty years ago I would have been more confident that small pieces of the poem could be taught to undergraduates in a survey class. But I went into an NEH institute on Chaucer and Langland two summers ago with the avowed intent to include Langland in the new Survey of Medieval Literature course I was introducing last year, or die trying. After a summer of wrestling with Langland, with the intricacies among and the complex relationships between the different passus, and with the cumulative effect of the poem which reaches its stunningly powerful climax as everything comes together in the final three passus, I pronounced to my fellow institute participants my conclusion that to teach *Piers* effectively at all, one must teach it in its entirety and in the original language.

Neither of these options was open to me, of course. To teach all of *Piers* in the original would take an entire semester, and I did want to have a little time for Chaucer and Dante. So I opted for A.V.C. Schmidt's prose translation because it was somewhat cheaper than Donaldson's verse translation and because I believed it would be easier for poetry-impaired students to read large portions of it. This, I think, was my first mistake.

If you are going to teach more than a few snippets of *Piers*, more thought needs to go into the choice of text. One thing to decide is whether to use the A, B, or C text, though of course, if you are limited to using a translation, then this has already been decided for you: you must use the B-text, since all readily available translations are of B, and (C lovers notwithstanding), the B-text remains the one most often recognized, quoted, and alluded to. If you are using the *Norton Anthology of English Literature*, then you are provided with pieces of the Donaldson translation. If you are using individual texts or want to increase your students' experience of *Piers*, you have the choice of three popular translations. A comparison of the three, however, makes it clear that the Donaldson translation is far superior to the others. Consider, for example, the lines in the beginning of the poem describing Will's his first vision:

> A fair feeld ful of folk fond I ther bitwene--
> Of alle manere of men, the meene and the riche,
> Werchynge and wandrynge as the world asketh.
> (Schmidt edition, I, 17-19)

Donaldson renders these lines thus:

> A fair field full of folk I found between them,
> Of human beings of all sorts, the high and the low,
> Working and wandering as the world requires. (I, 17-19)

Donaldson's lines render the sense and meter of the original, as well as maintaining the alliterative flavor of the lines while still keeping them perfectly lucid, or as lucid as Langland can be, to modern readers. Schmidt's Oxford translation says

> Between them I made out a beautiful field full of all kinds of people, humble and rich, working and wandering about as life in this world demands. (1)

The sense is maintained, but none of the meter, alliteration, or punch of the original is there--we've even lost the rhythmically beautiful "fair field full of folk." Goodridge's Penguin translation is even worse:

> But between the tower and the gulf I saw a smooth plain, thronged with all kinds of people, high and low together, moving busily about their worldly affairs. (25)

Here the field is gone altogether and has become a plain (which isn't fair at all but at least it's smooth). Clearly, though it may cost a few dollars more, the Donaldson translation is the closest thing to really giving your students *Piers*.

The next problem to deal with is which parts of *Piers* will work best in an undergraduate survey class? What portions of the poem will appeal most to students, and will best complement other texts they will read?

One popular assignment from *Piers* is to contrast Langland's Prologue with the *General Prologue* to the *Canterbury Tales*. If you want to go this route, Helen Cooper

has written a useful article exploring the parallels between the two prologues, and has gone so far as to assert that Chaucer had not only read *Piers Plowman*, but that he had read the A-text specifically. She points out specific parallels within the A-text, especially in the use of Estates Satire, and parallels between particular portraits like those of the Miller, the Reeve, the Physician, and of course the Plowman. She also notes that *Piers* is the only suggested source for the *General Prologue* that has an opening Estates Satire and a band of storytelling pilgrims. One need not necessarily accept all of Cooper's argument to see that a comparison of the two prologues might be a useful exercise for students. When they see the similarities between Langland's lines

> A pardoner preached there as if he had priest's rights,
> Brought out a bull with bishop's seals,
> And said he himself could absolve them all
> Of failure to fast, or vows they'd broken.
> Unlearned men believed him and liked his words,
> Came crowding up on knees to kiss his bulls.
> He banged them with his brevet and bleared their eyes,
> And raked in with his parchment-roll rings and brooches. (I, 68-75)

and these lines of Chaucer's,

> Ne was ther swich another pardoner;
> For in his male he hadde a pilwe-beer
> Which that he saide was Oure Lady Veil;
> He saide he hadde a gobet of the sail
> That Sainte Peter hadde whan that he wente
> Upon the see, til Jesu Crist him hente.
> ...
> But with thise relikes whan that he foond
> A poore person dwelling upon lond,
> Upon a day he gat him more moneye
> Than that the person gat in monthes twaye;
> And thus with feined flaterye and japes
> He made the person and the peple his apes. (*GP* 695-708)

students can quickly see that the two poets are working with the same materials and in the same genre, Estates Satire. From an examination of the similarities it may be a small step for the students to then consider how and why two works with such similar beginnings end up so vastly different (a question which Cooper considers at the end of her article).

Another section of *Piers* that is often taught and can be logically paired with Chaucer's *General Prologue* is Langland's Confession of the Seven Deadly Sins in passus V. This is a section of the poem that students can read and understand out of its context, and so is often the section that gets taught. As a vivid example of personification allegory, it is useful to read in a survey class. Langland's portraits of the sins may be compared with Chaucer's pilgrim portraits, and students may be led to explore questions as to whether Chaucer's portraits are any more "realistic" than some of Langland's, and

whether Chaucer can then be said to be creating "characters" in any modern sense of the word.

But the Sins section of *Piers* may also be usefully compared with the *Pardoner's Prologue* and *Tale*. As Alfred David says in his suggestions on teaching *Piers,*

> the tavern scene in which Glutton, on his way to confession, is enticed into a drinking party, though an allegory, is also the most graphic picture we have of medieval London lowlife, not even excluding Chaucer's works.
> (85)

Thus a discussion of the "tavern sins" of the Pardoner's harangue can be usefully augmented by the passage on Glutton's confession.

But on a theological plane, the concept of confession, so important in the later Middle Ages, is certainly worth discussing in class. The nature and requirements of confession are clearly raised in both the *Pardoner's Prologue* and the Confession of the Seven Deadly Sins: one might look at Langland's lines on Envy, who in response to Repentance's admonition that he must be sorry for sins, claims

> "I am sorry. . . . I'm seldom anything else,
> And that makes me so miserable, since I may not avenge myself."
> (V, 128-29)

and consider what the elements of true confession are, and how this and some of Langland's others fall short. Then one might look at the *Pardoner's Prologue* itself, as a spiritually sterile confession, since it lacks the necessary steps of contrition, atonement, and absolution.

But an instructor need not look only at Chaucer as a context for Langland. Suppose you have an idea of organizing your course thematically, and are interested in exploring European encounters with and attitudes toward the "otherness" of Muslims, Jews, or pagans. Langland offers some fascinating ideas about the salvation of the heathen that might complement similar attitudes in someone like Julian of Norwich. While this would require teaching a more obscure section of *Piers*, it could prove very interesting to students who have been looking at, for example, the attitudes toward Muslims displayed in *The Song of Roland*, or Chaucer's *Man of Law's Tale*, or toward Jews in *The Prioress's Tale*, or even toward the fate of the virtuous pagans in Dante's Limbo.

An instructor interested in focusing on this theme might want to be sure his /her students read chapters 9 and 32 of Julian's *Shewings*, where her attitude toward the salvation of the heathen may surprise them. Julian, having the assurance from God that "all shall be well," cannot reconcile this to the Church's position that God must punish sin. She asserts in her ninth chapter

> God, as I see it, is everything that is good; he has made the whole of creation, and loves all that he has made. And whoever loves his fellow Christians for God, loves all there is. For everything is included in the "mankind who are to be saved": everything, I say, that has been created …
> (75)

Though she cannot understand how this can be, she accepts that God's absolute power enables him fo perform some great action, beyond the limited understanding of human beings, that will save all of those not currently in a state of grace:

> [P]art of our . . . belief is that many creatures will be damned. . . .--all these shall be condemned to hell everlastingly, as Holy Church teaches me to believe. This being so I thought it quite impossible that everything should turn out well, as our Lord was now showing me. But I had no answer to this revelation save this: "What is impossible to you is not impossible to me." (110-11)

If a class has read these parts of Julian, it might be highly productive to give them the section of Langland's passus XI (lines 140-317) in which Trajan speaks, and the brief section from passus XII in which Imaginitive comments on Trajan, saying

> "Trajan was a true knight and never took Christendom,
> And he is safe, the book says, and his soul in Heaven.
> For there is baptism both at the font and by blood-letting,
> And through fire there is baptism, and that's our firm belief."
>
> (XII, 283-86)

Like Julian, Langland believes that pagans may be saved, though the means--Langland's "baptism of fire"--may differ. Two valuable articles by Gordon Whatley which discuss this concept of a "baptism of fire" which circumvents the sacramental baptism with water and is essentially an inner revelation ("*Piers Plowman* B12 277-94") and the whole tradition of Pope Gregory and Trajan's salvation ("The Uses of Hagiography") are helpful to instructors dealing with these passages. Another useful reference is Sr. Mary Clemente Davlin's book *A Game of Heuene*, which gives a close reading of this section as well as other important parts of the poem.

I tried these and other portions of *Piers* in last year's medieval survey course. Judging by the students' performances on the final, my teaching of *Piers* was not an unqualified success. Many students found Langland unpalatable: one student commented "You know, I really don't remember much about *Piers Plowman* because I kept falling asleep and having strange little dreams."

But I trust that the manner of presentation of Langland probably was less effective with my students than it could have been. For the most part I went back and forth from Chaucer to Langland, which confused them (one student thought that Chaucer had written *Piers Plowman*). The direct juxtaposition to Chaucer also worked to Langland's disadvantage, because Chaucer is more immediately accessible. Ironically, I also think I may have used too much of Langland. I say this because, in reading portions from various sections of *Piers*, students seem to have seen it as unrelated chunks of stuff.

The most successful part of *Piers* in my course, judging from the final, was passus XVIII. If you must pick one section of the poem, this seems the best choice. For one thing it is, as Davlin proclaims, "in every sense the climax of *Piers Plowman*" (89), and so rather than being a tangential part of the poem taught because it is easily separable from its context (as in the case of the Confessions of the Sins), it is the central piece of the poem toward which all else has been leading. But it is also, in its presentation of the

traditional passion narrative (albeit in an untraditional way) immediately accessible to students who know nothing of the rest of the poem.

Passus XVIII is also ideal to teach as the climax of a survey of medieval literature because it combines, to a remarkable extent, a variety of discourses drawn from several popular medieval genres. That Langland makes use of a plethora of discourses--dream vision, estates satire, beast fable, legal documents, sermons, personification allegory, learned debate--throughout the poem is manifest to the most casual reader. Langland's use of both literary and institutional discourse is one of the central points of a very useful book for instructors, James Simpson's Piers Plowman*: An Introduction to the B-Text.* Simpson declares:

> Langland's poetry might be projected from the margins of literary discourses, but it is projected from the theoretical center of different institutional discourses. . . . [H]is commitment is . . . to the reformation of both social and ecclesiastical institutions, and his initial reliance is on genres of writing and speaking which ideally sustain these institutions. (14-15)

In passus XVIII, Langland quite clearly makes use of *literary* discourses of medieval romance, morality play, and fabliau in the three narrative sections of Christ's jousting scene, the debate of the Daughters of God, and the Harrowing of Hell episode. In a survey course, it is useful for students as a summary and review not only to be able to recognize these genres, but also to be able to understand Langland's transformation of the discourses into the unifying language of redemption.

In the first section of passus XVIII, Christ arrives in Jerusalem as an armed knight, coming for the "justes"--that is, "jousts," with a pun on "justice." The Samaritan describes him to Will in this way:

> "This Jesus for his gentleness will joust in Piers's arms,
> In his helmet and in his hauberk, *humana natura*,
> So that Christ be not disclosed here as *consummatus Deus.*
> In the plate armor of Piers the Plowman this jouster will ride,
> For no dint will do him injury as *in deitate Patris*." (XVIII, 22-26)

Christ's incarnation as the Godhead veiled in flesh is allegorically represented by the romance image of the well-known knight who comes to a tournament disguised so that others will not shun to meet him on the field. The arms in which Christ disguises himself are those of Piers the Plowman, allegorical symbol of human nature.

In a class that has previously read, for instance, the Fair Maid of Astolat episode from Malory in which Lancelot borrows arms from Sir Bernard to fight in the Winchester tournament, and also wears Elaine's red sleeve, so that he will not be recognized, students will find here a familiar romance motif. Lancelot disguises himself in unfamiliar arms as well in the tournament of Chrétien's *Knight of the Cart*, in which Guenivere recognizes him when he obeys her command to "do his worst." If the class has read neither of these texts, a rough parallel might be drawn with the Green Knight's anonymity and "disguising" of his supernatural powers in the opening scene of *Sir Gawain.*

But a broader parallel is also possible in that the representation of Christ as a jousting knight seems to owe a great deal to the popular image, deriving ultimately from Hosea, of Christ as lover of the soul who must, like a knight, battle the rival Satan for his beloved. Rosemary Woolf is particularly useful for the background of this image. Another good source is R.A. Waldron's "Langland's Originality," which also deals with the rest of the passus.

Again, an instructor might be able to make a cogent comparison here between Langland's use of the image of the Christ-Knight and Julian's depiction of Jesus as lover of her soul. In Julian, Christ is consistently presented as the lover of the human soul, willing, like the courtly knight of romance, to die for his beloved:

> "How could I not, out of love for you, do all I can for you? This would not be difficult, since for love of you I am ready to die often, regardless of the suffering." (97)

Christ intends even greater deeds than dying for his beloved, as becomes obvious in the aforementioned section where God will perform a great deed at the end of time that will save all from damnation in order that all may be well. In chapter 36 of the *Shewings*, God "showed me that he was going to perform this deed. . . . the deed will begin here on earth, and it will be worthy of God, and abundantly beneficial to his lovers" (115), ensuring that his beloved will love only him and no other.

Thus a comparison of passus XVIII with Julian can lead students into a discussion of the uses of romance discourse in religious texts. The second section of passus XVIII borrows from a genre already by nature concerned with the justice of redemption: the debate of the four daughters of God. The analogues of Langland's debate are thoroughly explored in a very old monograph by Hope Traver (summarized nicely in Malcolm Godden's book), though Traver concluded that there are no very close parallels to Langland's. But clearly this is the most dramatic section of the poem. This is a section which might be worth having students "stage," assigning parts and having the students read aloud and approach from four directions, as Langland's stage directions call for. If students have previously read the section of the *Castle of Perseverance* which contains the debate of the Four Daughters of God, a discussion of the different emphases of the two versions might prove useful. If, as is more likely, students have already read *Everyman,* then the dramatization of personified abstractions and the definition and uses of allegory might be explored at this time.

But more importantly for the students' understanding of *Piers*, a discussion of the theological points of view expressed will help to clarify both the previous section and the upcoming Harrowing of Hell episode. The main theological problem of the passus is the difference between the older "devil's rights" theory of atonement in which the devil claims the right to fallen man, and the newer notion that Christ's sacrifice *as man* demonstrates God's love and satisfies God's justice. Simpson (209-16) is particularly helpful on this point.

It is the "devil's rights" theory that is most clear in the third section of passus XVIII, the Harrowing of Hell. Again, if students have read any plays from the mystery cycles, an effective strategy might be to assign one of the "Harrowing of Hell" plays rather than the traditionally taught *Wakefield Second Shepherd's Play*, and a comparison

of such a text with Langland's may raise worthwhile questions like where Langland got his idea for this passus and also what exactly he was doing that was original.

But a less obvious and perhaps more beneficial approach might be to consider Langland's Harrowing of Hell episode in comparison with something like Chaucer's *Miller's Tale.* This may seem far fetched at first, and there is no good source for ideas for this approach, since it comes directly from discussions that took place in the Chaucer/Langland institute. But consider, first, that virtually all major genres of medieval literature are reflected in the varying discourses of *Piers Plowman.* Why should not the fabliau be represented as well?

Consider particularly the traditional pattern of the fabliau plot: in the first place, gullibility, vanity, innocence and naiveté are the chief sins of the fabliau world, and the chief virtues seem to be cleverness and brazenness. Thus, in Boccaccio, for example, Brother Alberto convinces the foolish and vain Madonna Lisetta that he is the Angel Gabriel desiring to sleep with her; the hermit Rustico convinces the young and naive Alibech that intercourse is a way of "putting the devil back into hell." In the fabliau that students have most likely read, Nicholas convinces the carpenter John that "Nowell's Flood" is about to arrive in an elaborate plot to sleep with John's wife Alison.

But there is a rough justice as well in fabliau narrative, which results in the deceiver--either through being outsmarted by someone even more clever or by outsmarting himself--loses what he has gained, or suffers consequences for his actions. Thus Brother Alibech is forced to leap naked into the Venice canals and is fooled into smearing himself with honey and marching through Venice pretending to be a bear; Rustico discovers that Alibech's pious desire to continually put the devil back into hell wears him out and torments him; and Nicholas is "scalded on the toute" by a jealous Absalon. As Chaucer's Reeve sums up at the end of his tale, "A gylour shal hymself bigyled be" (l. 4321).

This theme of "the beguiler beguiled" is precisely the point of Langland's version of the Harrowing of Hell episode. First, and most obviously, the devil had beguiled the innocent, gullible, naive first humans, and as a result (at least according to the "devil's rights" theory) now had claim to sinful man, if justice is to be done. Lucifer intends to defy Christ, saying

> "If he bereaves me of my right, he robs me by force.
> For by right and by reason the race that is here
> Body and soul belongs to me, both good and evil.
> For he himself said it who is Sire of Heaven,
> If Adam ate the apple, all should die
> And dwell with us devils: the Lord laid down that threat."
>
> (XVIII, 277-82)

Like the fabliau deceiver, though, Lucifer had suborned man through trickery and guile, disguising himself as a serpent and lying to Eve; thus the other devils are less certain of their rights:

> "It's an ill-gotten gain where guile is at the root,
> For God will not be beguiled," said Goblin, "nor tricked.
> We have no true title to them, for it was by treason they were damned."

(XVIII, 292-94)

When Christ enters, he contends that humankind was stolen from him falsely, and proclaims that "the Old Law confirms / That guilers be beguiled, and that is good logic" (XVIII, 338-39). By the law of "member for member" and "life for life," Christ claims that his own death has been given in exchange for humankind, thus settling the law:

> So what you got with guile through grace is won back.
> You, Lucifer, in likeness of a loathsome adder
> Got by guile those whom God loved;
> And I, in likeness of a mortal man, who am master of Heaven,
> Have graciously requited your guile: let guile go against guile!"
>
> (XVIII, 353-57)

Thus Christ's "disguise" in the arms of Piers at the beginning of the passus makes more sense here, in that it is through his disguise in mortal flesh that Christ has tricked the devil into unwittingly trading life for life and losing his hold on humanity, just as Lucifer's own disguise tricked Adam and Eve into becoming his prisoners. The beguiler has been beguiled--Nicholas has been scalded.

This kind of comparison is especially valuable for students. It helps them make sense out of *Piers Plowman* by putting it into a context, and it helps them see what Langland has done that is unique by enabling them to compare and contrast his use of the variety of discourses with genres in which they more typically occur. Thus, of the variety of possible approaches to teaching *Piers*, I think a look at the discourses of passus XVIII is the most beneficial if you are pressed for time. Every instructor needs to decide for him or herself just how much time can be devoted to Langland, but given his importance in the scheme of late fourteenth-century English literature, it is imperative that some time be given him. What better way to end a semester than with the triumph of Christ over Satan, the rejoicing of the daughters of God, and the universal salvation of humankind? If nothing else, it should help students feel better about and put into proper perspective those dreaded upcoming finals.

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Shadwell's *The Libertine*: A Political Play

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From its first appearance in Spain around 1616 in Tirso de Molina's play, *El Burlador de Sevilla*, the Don Juan myth has had political meaning: it warned that a nobleman's departure from the role expected of him by society, wrongful use of aggressive force and power derived from his class, and defiance of all authority and law would result in his downfall at the hands of the Almighty. Since then, the Don Juan myth has retained this feature, which has sometimes been emphasized when an artist, counting on the interest and approval of his audience, commented on an aristocracy lording it over its social inferiors.

Thomas Shadwell's version of the undoing of the noble villain, *The Libertine* (first acted in June 1675), bloodier and full of more sensational event than treatments by any of his predecessors (or followers, for that matter), retains this emphasis and adapts it to the English scene, where libertine philosophy had become fashionable. According to Sarah Wintle (135), this brand of libertinism included intellectual scepticism and challenges to the traditional conception of nature and natural law, to accepted ideas and practices of religious belief, to intellectual and social norms as well to the orthodox conception of woman and her status.

Shadwell's Don John is a cold, calculating villain. He is a materialist and practitioner of a crude philosophical libertinism. This code requires him to refer repeatedly to "Nature" and her voice in him to justify his appetites and his will. Thus he resembles such courtly devotees of the libertine philosophy and marauders about town as Buckingham, Dorset, Mulgrave, Sedley and Rochester. No ordinary lawbreaker and creator of mayhem, however, Don John goes to the extreme limit of libertinism in the removal of all objects in the way of his self- gratification. True, women are among his major victims, but in themselves they and their requirements -- marriage, monogamy and fidelity which restrain and restrict the ranging male -- represent the larger society of institutions, authorities and laws against which he rebels. So, though his wake is crowded with discarded females -- those he "married," those to whom he promised marriage, and those whom he merely raped -- it is also filled with some thirty corpses -- including that of his own father, whose heart he ran through with his sword. Don John killed people because they opposed him, because they were in his way, or merely because he felt like killing them. As Montague Summers comments, Don John is a monster, "such a brute as Nero was" (9-10) .

Don John's bravado might be mistaken for bravery when he singlehandedly takes on numerous adversaries and even for heroism when he defies his stone guest. But his responses to any and all opportunities for evildoing are mechanical and undiscriminating. He devotes the same energy and commitment to petty thefts or to the gratuitous insult of benefactors who save his life and shelter him as he does to setting fire to a convent and raping the fleeing nuns. Although he is at his best with major and public crime, he manages to find time for private and more minor malice, such as betraying his companions and engaging in various activities designed to humiliate his servant, Jacomo. A large part of his crimes is directed against members of his own class, but his special

delight, as he shows in his slaughter of unsuspecting shepherds and the gang rape of their girl friends, is to lead his followers to attack and destroy their social inferiors, especially the innocent, the poor, and the weak.

Don John operates on a universal scale: his victims encompass the whole range of human society; all institutions of both church and state are his targets. Even the locations of his crimes, which take place in private and in public, in town and in paradisical rural setting, on land and on sea, include all geographical possibilities.

Shadwell' *The Libertine* is quite different from other plays of the mid-1670s in which a libertine is the hero. That is, the libertinism in Shadwell's play is larger in scope. It is not exclusively sexual. And *The Libertine* is also much darker, much more sardonic, much more condemnatory than these other plays. Heroes of the other libertine plays of the time do not conform completely to the Don Juan mold. Wycherley's sexually triumphant Horner of *The Country Wife* (1675) exists more to show up the hypocrisy of his society than to condemn libertinism. Horner does not really do battle against conventional morality, traditions and rules. Instead he uses contemporary assumptions and practices to his own advantage. That is how he and his fellow believer in following natural urges, Margery Pinchwife, are the ones who win in the end. In Etherege's *The Man of Mode* (1676), Dorimant, another sexual athlete irresistible to women who either throw themselves at him or who succumb to him, falls to Harriet, the one woman who does neither. Perhaps this means that their marriage will be happy, that reason will win over natural instinct and that Dorimant's restless libertinism will wither and die in the presence of a true love.

Indeed, both *The Country Wife* and *The Man of Mode* are concerned not with conformity to moral norms but with conformity to standards of behavior in modish courtly society -- that is, to what is "in." The sins of such society are failure to recognize and/or to take advantage of vulnerability revealed by hypocrisy in other people, and, of course, dulness, foolishness, awkwardness and ridiculousness. Wit, evidence of recognition of such societal sins and of avoiding them, in such a milieu is the ultimate virtue.

The reckless young courtiers of the mid-1670s found a platform in the theatre where their libertine values -- values unacceptable to or unattainable by the rest of society -- were flaunted. Both they and their counterparts who strutted the stage deliberately excluded both persons outside their circle and those persons' moral judgments. In some cases, playwright and courtier formed a mutual admiration society. Etherege, a close friend and boon companion of Rochester's, modeled Dorimant on him. Rochester, who may have been flattered, returned the compliment in "An Allusion to Horace," where he praised "refined Etherege" for being "a sheer original." It was men like Rochester, Sedley, Dorset and Buckingham who gave the court of Charles II its tone and who made playgoing exciting. Because they were an influential part of the audience, it is not surprising that playwrights aimed to please them. It might be said that the libertine heroes of comedy in the mid-1670s represent housebroken versions of the libertine heroes of the court, such men as Dorset, Buckingham, Sedley, and Rochester, who were certainly less restrained in kind and quality of offense both in their writings and in their antics than libertines on stage.

As Laura Brown points out, *The Libertine* "provides a dramatic version of [Shadwell's] vehement rejection of the contemporary libertine hero . . . at the height of

that hero's dominance of major social comedy" (105). Shadwell's Don John, she says, is "clearly representative of a whole class of aristocratic marauders and rapists." Indeed, Shadwell's *The Libertine* is alone on the stage of its time in its opposition to fashionable and approved libertine sentiments associated with the court of Charles II.

Does Shadwell's antilibertinism have political overtones? One clue is that Shadwell dedicated the play to William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, an old man above and beyond party interests who in his own *Advice* to Charles II had counseled caution, observance of propriety and using Elizabeth I as a model monarch. Indeed, Shadwell's stance in *The Libertine* might be centrist, reflecting a conservative English nostalgia for Tudor times, like that of his patron. But it is also possible that his viewpoint corresponded more closely with that of the more extreme Country coalition in Parliament which was incipiently pro-exclusionist, dedicated to the preservation of old English liberties from the onslaughts of monarchy, and outraged by the moral tone of the court. Of course, it is possible that any resemblance between the doings of Shadwell's Don John and his gang and the developing myth which in several years erupted in the Popish Plot was merely accidental. But, while there is no reason to think that Shadwell had already become the "true blew Protestant" Whig of *The Lancashire Witches* (1681), his presentation of Don John and his crew is far from friendly to the ruling class and certainly allies him with those who opposed the court.

While Shadwell's *The Libertine* did not refer to specific individuals at the royal court, it is worth notice that the exaggerated evildoings of Shadwell's Don John and his gang resemble more those of the young rakes of fast courtly society of the mid-1670s than the actions of libertine heroes of the stage. While the latter generally confine their activities to the sexual sphere and to seduction rather than rape, the lively libertines of Charles II's court, like Don John and his fellow bullies, had in their repertoire , in addition to seduction and rape, also battery, theft, deliberate destruction of property and even an occasional murder.

To be sure, these young libertine courtiers were neither the King's intimates nor dependable royalists. Buckingham headed an antimonarchical party. Rochester flirted with republicanism and was sharply critical of Charles II in his verse -- for instance in the so-called "Scepter" lampoon, for which he was banished for a time from court (*POAS* I, 424). Nevertheless popular myth made them members of the royal "merry gang." Popular myth, in fact, which put Charles II at the head of a band of young roisterers, makes it possible to identify him with Don John in Shadwell's play.

The Libertine is also political in a way that *The Man of Mode* or *The Country Wife* are not because it shows the consequences of Don John's wilfullness not just on an individual or a small group, but on a whole society. That is, Don John points a parallel: his libertinism parodies the absolutism of a monarch who claims to be himself the source of the law he obeys himself and imposes on others. The ruins he leaves behind him are like the situation English opponents of divine right prophesized for a country where an absolute monarch ruled. And the punishment Don John receives in the end is like the retribution his godly enemies prophesized for Charles for having violated his covenant with the English people.

Overt censure of monarchy and of Charles II for sins against society, impossible on the stage, appeared frequently in, among other places, anonymous broadsides and privately circulated verse of the 1670s. Some of this verse can be found in the Yale

Poems on Affairs of State. A brief sampling might include "The King's Vows," (1670, attributed to Andrew Marvell), which presents Charles II as an eastern tyrant, reciting "jauntily. . . the chief misdemeanors with which he was charged during the first decade of his reign," and boasting: "I will have a fine tunic, a sash and a vest,/ Though not rule like the Turk, yet I will be so dress'd/ And who knows but the move may soon bring in the rest?" (I, 159-162)

Another is Marvell's "Upon the King's Freedom of the City" (1673), which makes the King into a roguish apprentice whose career parallels that of Charles and also that of Shadwell's Don John. The apprentice comes to England from overseas, breaks his indenture, spends his days in playgoing and his nights in "revelling, drinking, and whoring." His master's money goes for himself and his "wild crew." He contracts debts and flees from his creditors. He foments quarrels and hides from retribution among his whores. Only stout fortification of "the House" -- probably the House of Commons -- will keep him from stealing all the people's property, subjecting them to his soldiers, and making all their wives his strumpets.

"The History of the Insipids" (1674), attributed to John Freke has a darker tone, uses more threatening language, and is more explicit. It accuses Louis XIV and Charles II of spilling a sea of Christian blood and of being "Worse scourge to their subjects, Lord,/ Than pestilence, famine, fire, and sword," claiming that if "the wolf of France and the British goat" reigned by divine right, it would be "most prodigious blasphemy." Rather, "They know no law but their own lust:/ Their subjects' substance and their blood/ They count a tribute due and just,/ Still spent and spilt for public good./ If such kings be by God appointed,/ The Devil is then the Lord's anointed." The final question and the final answers are: "What can there be in kings divine?/ The most are wolves, goats, sheep, or swine./. . . . Then farewell, sacred Majesty,/ Let's pull all brutish tyrants down!/ Where men are born and still live free,/ There ev'ry head doth wear a crown." (*POAS* I, 243-251)

Of course, Shadwell's Don John is not a realistic portrait of Charles II. However, Don John is not unlike the image created of Charles II by his enemies. Therefore, it is not impossible but even likely, as John Wallace has made it possible to suggest, that Shadwell, like other Restoration playwrights, expected his audience to make political parallels of their own, even in the absence of explicit political references, because such parallel-making interested them greatly. After all, whatever the departure from facts and truth, in prose and verse of the 1670's Charles II is not merely associated with, but is actually identified with libertine belief, libertine rule, and libertine sexuality and is called a leader of a gang of ruffians, a murderer and a tyrant.

If *The Libertine* had been written several years later, at the time of the Popish Plot, it would probably be already identified as a political play.

After all, why would theatre audiences in June 1675, when *The Libertine* first appeared, *not* have politics on their minds? Why would they *not* make political parallels? According to all indicators, 1675 was a year when interest in politics was high. After all, although in 1675 the Popish Plot had not yet been hatched, its makings were already there: the King, who would neither get rid of his barren Queen nor declare his illegitimate son heir to his throne; the Duke of York, successor to the throne, found to be a fervent convert to Catholicism, a staunch believer in the divine right of kings, likely to try to overthrow established English order and restore the old Church and likely, too, to provide

progeny to continue this task. Suspicion of the King, the Queen, the Duke, certain members of the court and the French connection, and fears for the safety of English liberties were providing plenty of tinder, ready for the flame.

Shortly before *The Libertine* appeared, (June 1675), the political scene was especially lively. In April 1675, Parliament, reconvened after a long prorogation, tried to impeach two of the King's three ministers. In May, MPs divided into court and anti-court factions came to actual blows in House chambers. In early June, when a bill prohibiting any alteration in church or state government promised to produce more widespread violence, the King again prorogued Parliament. And while these events were in progress, a "Country" party, opposed to the French alliance and to court interests, and favoring "English liberty" formed. Under the guidance of the Earl of Shaftesbury, it was fast becoming the Exclusionist party, and daily gaining strength.

In any case, *The Libertine* was not censored -- in fact, no plays were censored between 1667 and 1680. Neither do we hear that *The Libertine* displeased Charles II, who might have been present when it opened on June 15. Quite possibly the King did not recognize himself in its formidable villain. Or if he did, he might have decided it was not politic to make an issue of it. Nor do we hear that Shadwell was ever beaten by bullies -- a favorite way for offended courtiers to deal with their social inferiors.

The Libertine remained a popular play throughout the last quarter of the seventeenth century and into the next century. It was last performed in 1741, just a few years before the final rout of the Stuarts in 1745. After that, in England Don Juan went downhill. True, in 1747, he surfaced again as Robert Lovelace in Richardson's *Clarissa*. But in this manifestation, he is almost non-political and certainly less far-ranging than Shadwell's hero, lacking both scope and energy. True, Lovelace's awareness of his superior class plays a part in his wish to seduce Clarissa, but what he achieves is the antithesis of a knightly conquest: the rape of an unconscious victim who triumps over him. Lovelace's eventual downfall, unaccompanied by fire and brimstone though not without some elements of divine retribution, is really brought about by Lovelace himself. By the century's end, Austen's post-French-revolutionary Don Juan, Wickham of *Pride and Prejudice*, is a mere ghost of Shadwell's political villain. Wickham ends, not defiant, but servile, a mere pretender to gentility. He is a small-scale would-be seducer who evokes neither love nor fear but scorn by many women. He becomes a prisoner within the bonds of matrimony. And so this sorry Don Juan ends, like Lovelace, as a victim himself.

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Signs of Madness: A Foucauldian Reading of Robert Burton's "Symptoms" and the Illness of Samuel Johnson's Astronomer

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> The [*Anatomy* is the] only book that ever took him [Johnson] out of bed two hours sooner than he wished to rise.
>
> (Boswell 159)
>
> In our era, the experience of madness remains silent in the composure of a knowledge which, knowing too much about madness, forgets it.
>
> (Foucault xii)

In this paper I will deal first with a short section of Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, five pages to be exact, and then concentrate on the last part of Samuel Johnson's *The History of Rasselas, Prince of Abissina*, the sections dealing with the Astronomer. These two texts will be read in light of Michel Foucault's history of madness. I do this to gain a better sense of the historicity of both Burton and Johnson and to begin to read them with a fresh eye.

There is no doubt that Foucault's style is tough going. His book, *Madness and Civilization,* is difficult stuff, especially if you have to hear it read. But it's important to hear from him that we cannot take representations of sanity or insanity at face value--that the truth about the nature of madness has been in process for a very long time.

> What is constitutive is the action that divides madness, and not the science elaborated once this division is made and calm restored. What is orignative is the caesura that establishes the distance between reason and non-reason; reason's subjugation of non-reason, wresting from it its truth as madness, crime, or disease, derives explicitly from this point. Hence we must speak of that initial dispute without assuming a victory, or the right to a victory; we must speak of those actions re-examined in history, leaving in abeyance all that may figure as conclusion, as a refuge in truth; we shall have to speak of this act of scission, of this distance set, of this void instituted between reason and what is not reason, without ever relying upon the fulfillment of what it claims to be. (ix-x)

If we take Foucault seriously in his desire to write an archeology of that "caesura that establishes the distance between reason and non-reason," then I argue that this gap occurs in the "moment" of the "Great Confinement" (Foucault's term) where the institutions that sequestered the beggar, the criminal, and the madman were established.

The "Great Confinement" took place between the middle to late 17th century (Burton died in 1640) and the end of the 18th century (Johnson died in 1784). According to Foucault the mad started to be confined long before this: during the high Middle Ages as a response to the disappearance of the Medieval leprosarium. With the edict (in France) establishing the Hopital General (1656) in Paris, the poor were also confined in this "prison," ostensibly to rid the streets of Paris of beggars. The reason the poor were

confined was both economic and moral. The insane and the poor were not initially (17th century) differentiated between; both were idle, and idleness was looked upon as immoral and socially reprehensible. Near the end of the 18th century, economic practices changed so that the poor and the merely degenerate were not incarcerated as they once were. Industrialization offered them work, almost full employment, which meant employment at the meanest wages. Work became a way to save your soul. The asylum, on the other hand, was fitted for those who were considered mad, and the doctor became their warden. But the anxiety of encountering the mad within this confinement had a devastating effect upon how the mad were perceived during and after the 18th century. This anxiety was transformed into institutional practice that was to result both in their closer confinement and in internal strictures to be borne deep in the bourgeois psyche from then on.

Both Burton and Johnson's writing can be seen to exist on either side of Foucault's caesura; that is, Burton merely anatomizes the disease, where Johnson, who lived in the Age of Enlightenment, allows madness to appear full blown. I don't want to give the impression here that Burton is some innocent who could never presume to punish the mad and that Johnson is culpable in what happened to create the 19th century asylum. I don't think anything is so simple. Burton is wise in a way that is completely unexpected, and Johnson's irony hides a master's use of the images of madness to write an aesthetic of it, even as it is being formulated by those who appear more enlightened.

The two texts I wish to examine are a section from Burton's *Anatomy*, entitled "Symptoms from Education, Customs, Continuance of time, or Condition, mixt with other Diseases, by Fits, Inclination, &c" (344) (I'll refer to this long title merely as "Symptoms" as I go along), and Johnson's *Rasselas*, Chapters XL-XLIV concerning the Astronomer.

One of Foucault's prime tenets is that we understand ourselves through the language we use, that a particular discourse in effect uses us, constructs us and not the other way around. In the case of the madness, its discourse originates in the image of the mad person. In *Madness and Civilization,* Foucault says:

> The essential thing is that the enterprise [knowing what constitutes madness] did not proceed from observation to the construction of explanatory images; that on the contrary, the images assured the initial role of synthesis, that their organizing force made possible a structure of perception, in which at last the symptoms could attain their significant value and be organized as visible presence of truth. (135)

In this Foucauldian light then, let us see what images Burton provides of melancholy, so that we might see how these images provide an originating point for both Johnson's, and our own view of madness. I want to argue that we can test Foucault's hypothesis via Burton and then Johnson's writing.

Robert Burton's *Anatomy*: "Symptoms"

Burton's *Anatomy* is properly read as a satire. But amid the laughter the work provokes, Burton's encyclopedic renderings of melancholy tend to produce a kind of anxiety that wishes to organize itself in order to establish a pathology--a cure. Burton is describing symptoms, relaying images, writing an anatomy. Webster's gives this

definition (3rd def.) of anatomy: "The art of separating the parts of an animal or plant in order to ascertain their position, relations, structure, and function."

Burton's *Anatomy* contains a compendium of Classical learning concerning melancholy separated as to relation and function. What happened next (18th century), according to Foucault, is that this knowledge began to be constructed in ways that try to assuage people's anxieties that undifferentiated knowledge must have provoked. One example of such a structure of thought--a product really--is the psychiatric category, manic-depression. We can see this only darkly from what Burton says about melancholy in the "Symptoms":

> Generally thus much we may conclude of melancholy: that it is most pleasant at first, I say, a most charming illusion, a most delightsome humour, to be alone, dwell alone, walk alone, meditate, lie in bed whole days, dreaming awake as it were, and frame a thousand phantastical imaginations unto themselves . . . He may thus continue peradventure many years by reason of a strong temperature, or some mixture of business, which may divert his cogitations: but at the last a wrecked imagination, his phantasy crazed . . . the Scene alters upon a sudden, Fear and Sorrow supplant those pleasing thoughts, suspicion, discontent, and perpetual anxiety succeed in their places; so by little and little, by the shoeing-hourn of idleness, and voluntary solitariness, Melancholy, this feral fiend, is drawn on. . . . (346)

Burton's narrative of a person experiencing the pleasures of solitude, which then deteriorates into a state of anguish seems at first to conform to what we know about manic-depression. But we can't be sure; he's not being very scientific, is he? And that's the point. Science hasn't taken Burton's symptoms and organized them yet. Foucault uses Thomas Willis, the "discoverer" of manic-depression, to help us see the change that took place when science finally started to act on the knowledge writers like Burton offered to them. Here's Foucault again:

> If mania, if melancholia henceforth assumed the aspects our science knows them by, it is not because in the course of centuries we have learned to 'open our eyes' to real symptoms; it is not because we have purified our perception to the point of transparency; it is because in the experience of madness, these concepts were organized around certain qualitative themes that lent them their unity, gave them their significance, made them finally perceptible. (130)

Burton at the end of "Symptoms" asks a series of questions to those who were trying to say what the truth was about melancholy:

> Who can sufficiently speak of these symptoms, or prescribe rules to comprehend them? As Echo to the Painter in Ausonius, foolish fellow, what wilt? If you must needs paint me, paint a voice? . . . (347)

Who indeed would try to paint a voice? Johnson's Astronomer tries to do something as marvelous in *Rasselas,* which we turn to now.

Samuel Johnson's *Rasselas*: The Astronomer

Johnson wrote *The History of Rasselas, Prince of Abissinia* "in evenings of one week" in 1758. It was to defray the cost of his mother's funeral. At the beginning of Johnson's book Prince Rasselas is the resident of a place called The Happy Valley, where he is not so happy, since he can't wait to leave it. He meets the poet Imlac who "pitied his [Rasselas] ignorance and loved his curiosity" (Price 543) So, accompanied by his sister, the princess Nekayah, and her companion Pekuah, they leave the valley in search of knowledge.

After a series of adventures in and around Cairo they are introduced to the Astronomer. Imlac brings the Astronomer to the attention of the group when Rasselas says that he wants to begin a life devoted to "science, and pass the rest of his days in literary solitude." Imlac warns him to take a look at those who have spent their lives in the lonely quest for knowledge, and he brings up the case of the Astromomer. Yet the Astronomer at first doesn't sound like a bad example. According to Imlac "he was sublime without hautiness, courteous without formality, and communicative without ostentation" (99). But Imlac continues that there was something unsettled about the man: "I had always reason to imagine that some painful sentiment pressed upon his mind. He often looked up earnestly towards the sun, and let his voice fall in the midst of his discourse" (100). This sounds oddly like someone suffering from Burton's innumerable symptoms of melancholy. Finally, the Astronomer tells Imlac the problem: "I have possessed for five years the regulation of weather and the distribution of the seasons. The sun has listened to my dictates, and passed from tropic to tropic by my direction." After more talk about his powers to control the heavens and the phenomena of the earth, Imlac asks dryly: "How long, sir, has this great office been in you hands?" "Ten years," he answers (101). Imlac has a slight problem when the Astronomer says he controls the flow of the Nile, but the Astronomer answers his doubts this way: "I sometimes suspected myself of madness, and should not have dared to distinguish the wonderful from the impossible, and the incredible from the false" (102). So Imlac agrees to take on the tasks the Astronomer's powers suggest. He says: "I promised that when I possessed the power I would use it with inflexible integrity" (103).

The reaction of the group to Imlac's story of the Astronomer is instructive for our Foucauldian reading of both Burton and Johnson. The Johnsonian narrator tells us: "The prince heard this narration with very serious regard, but the princess smiled, and Pekuah convulsed herself with laughter" (104). Imlac chastises the women for their mirth and proceeds to explain what the Astronomer's problem is, and reminds us that it can be our problem too (as Burton tells us), if we are not lucky. As a result of this chastisement the group is reformed of their own phantasies: the "favorite" [Pekuah] says she will never dream about being a princess, the princess says she will not dream of being a shepherdess, and the prince says he will stop his imaginations about a perfect government. The solution for the Astronomer's madness is to start enjoying the company of this little band and suddenly, he is "cured" too. And in the following chapters he is dissuaded of his "powers" and becomes placid in his resolve to effect only reason.

Imlac excuses the Astronomer's unreason by saying:

> Disorders of intellect happen much more often than superficial observers will easily believe. Perhaps if we speak with rigorous exactness, no human mind is in its right state. There is no man whose imagination does not sometimes predominate over his reason. . . . (104)

Here Imalac appears to undermine his own "reason"; he may at this very moment not be in his right mind. A little further on he says: "All power of fancy over reason is a degree of insanity." This all sounds very Burtonesque. If we take Johnson's irony, which he seems to be pouring on in this section, then here perhaps he begins to speak through his character from the perspective of the poet/artist who can manipulate fancy (madness) in order that the imagination will be served and art created, which is a very different type of construction than Foucault would say was prevalent during Johnson's age. Foucault values only figures like Nietzsche and Artaud as masters of the representation of madness, what Burton so rightly calls: "painting a voice."

The point I want to make with both Burton and Johnson is that they are not obviously promoting the designs of a culture that wants to confine the mad; moreover, they seem both to be saying that madness is not bad in itself, that it can be used to access states of mind that for better or worse give us works of art and that perhaps it may take a madman or madwoman to be a creative person. Yet there are dues to be paid to Reason; it confines and inhabits; Foucault attests to this in his history.

Burton defines a matrix that allows him to situate the many forms, symptoms, and cures of melancholy. Johnson on the other hand observes the states of madness within us in order that we may use them. He is looking for a rhetorical self-consciousness of what madness might mean, what the fictions we live involve and how they may continue to evolve. In place of this awareness, as Foucault informs us, has been inscribed a silence that going back to writers like Burton and Johnson can help to make speak.

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Pamela's Irish Ancestry?

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Where did the story for Samuel Richardson's novel *Pamela* originate? This question has been discussed ever since Richardson's controversial work was first published in 1740, but the discussion has mostly revolved around the issue of whether or not Pamela's story really happened. Early critics of Richardson, most notably Henry Fielding, found both the plot and the narrator so far removed from any reality they recognized that, in their view, the whole thing must have been a fantasy concocted out of Richardson's own imagination.

Richardson himself never admitted to that, but he did give two different, not entirely consistent answers to this question. The first comes in the Preface to the first edition of *Pamela*. There Richardson claims to be the editor of Pamela's letters. How they came to be in his possession he never tells us, but he does vouch for their authenticity, claiming that they "have their foundation in *Truth* and *Nature*," and that Pamela tells her tale "in so probable, so natural, [and] so lively a manner" that no one could long doubt its veracity (31). The second answer comes in a 1742 letter Richardson wrote to one Aaron Hill, who had asked whether Richardson's novel was in fact true. In response, Richardson acknowledges that he was merely pretending to be an editor, a pose he describes as "assuming and impudent" (*Selected Letters* 42). He insists, however, that "the general foundation of Pamela's story" was based on fact, and that he had first heard it "about twenty-five years ago [from] a gentleman with whom I was intimately acquainted . . . [who had] met such a story as that of Pamela" (*Selected Letters* 41).

Richardson never acknowledged any other source, but there is now some reason to think that he might have had one. Pamela's story may have had its origins not in real life, but in literature, specifically in another novel. The work in question is entitled *Vertue Rewarded; Or, The Irish Princess,* and was first published in London in 1693. It was not a popular novel, for it was never reprinted, and is not even listed in Halkett and Laing's *Dictionary of the Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature of Great Britain* (McDermott v). Hubert McDermott unearthed the work, edited it, and re-published it in 1992. Was this book a source for Richardson's novel? Was *Pamela* an Irish immigrant?

McDermott spends a good deal of space in his introduction arguing that *The Irish Princess* was a source for *Pamela*, and his case is worth discussing briefly. It is primarily based on several striking similarities between the two works. The smallest and most obvious of these is the fact that the phrase "virtue rewarded" is the title of *The Irish Princess*, and the subtitle of *Pamela*. McDermott notes that "no other work of fiction prior to 1740 ... contained 'vertue rewarded' in its title or subtitle" (xxxviii). He also points out that the author of *The Irish Princess*, like Richardson, insists on the truth of his story, claiming to have heard it from a gentleman who was acquainted with the principal characters (xxxix).

More important is the similarity in the basic story line, which in both works runs something like this: A single gentleman is attracted to a woman whose class status makes her, in his eyes, an unsuitable marriage prospect, but an excellent candidate for a sexual intrigue. The gentleman tries various methods to seduce the woman, but she

steadfastly resists all of his advances, not because she finds him repulsive (which she certainly does *not),* but rather because she is determined to preserve her virtue (i.e. her virginity) intact until she marries. As one after another of his strategies fails but his ardor for her continues unabated, the gentleman reluctantly comes to realize that he will never have this woman unless he marries her. After much soul-searching, he proposes, she accepts, and they are happily wed.

McDermott acknowledges that the basic conflict set up in this scenario was quite common in the English romances and novellas of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and had both external and internal dimensions. For in addition to the clash between the two characters, there was also a psychological struggle going on inside of each. In the male character, the conflict is between his love for the woman and his sense of class-based "honor" which tells him that she is unworthy of any respectable attention; in the woman, it is between her love for the man and her sense of sexual morality which tells her that his interest is illicit, and must be resisted. In most "romances of passion", however, the woman eventually gives in to the man's importuning, and then is cast aside and ruined (socially and psychologically) after he has fulfilled his desire. She must choose between love and virtue, and then must pay the price for choosing love (xiv-xvi). Most examples of this genre function, then, as cautionary tales for women, warning them of the dire consequences of choosing passion over traditional sexual morality . Less directly, they also critique a system of extensive class-based male sexual privilege exemplified by the libertinism of the hero.

The resolutions in *The Irish Princess* and *Pamela* radically depart from this convention. As McDermott observes

> It is against such a background as this that one can appreciate the particular fascination of *Pamela* and, no doubt, *Vertue Rewarded* also, for an eighteenth-century audience. At every stage, almost, of each novel, the contemporary reader must have expected the inevitable rape or seduction of Pamela and Marinda [the heroine of *The Irish Princess*]. The more this rape or seduction was postponed, the *more* inevitable it must have seemed next time. But the difference in each of these two cases is that, in spite of all the aggressive as well as benign attempts to overcome the resistance of both Marinda and Pamela, neither loses her honour. (xxviii)

This triumphant resolution does not depart from the genre's standard endorsement of traditional sexual morality, but does shift the emphasis from the price of passion to the rewards of virtue. Moreover, it forces the man, not the woman, to choose between love and honor, though since the "honor" to which the heroes are so attached is never presented as terribly admirable, it does nothing to undermine the genre's standard critique of libertinism.

Thus the structural similarities in these two stories imply larger similarities in theme and character development, and also make both works distinct from the bulk of the literary tradition out of which they arose. But is this enough to suggest that Richardson must have used *The Irish Princess* in writing *Pamela*? I remain somewhat skeptical, not because the similarities are superficial or uninteresting, but rather because without any persuasive external evidence, they prove only that *if* Richardson knew of this work, he

might have borrowed from it in creating his novel. And there is no real evidence that he did know of it. McDermott mentions Richardson's claim that, as a boy, he was frequently called upon to read books to the young women of his neighborhood; perhaps, McDermott speculates, *The Irish Princess* was a book he read on such occasions (xxxix). Perhaps. It seems at least as likely to me that, given the year Richardson claims to have heard the story that became *Pamela* (1717 -- just 14 years after the publication of *The Irish Princess*), the gentleman from whom he heard it was familiar with the earlier work, and was simply retelling a modified version of it to Richardson. But that too is nothing more than conjecture, which is where this question must remain pending more definitive evidence.

That said, I think *The Irish Princess* is a useful source for students of Richardson, though less for the similarities between the works than for the differences. Like any earlier version of a story, this one reveals much about how a subsequent author understood his theme and his art. To demonstrate this, I want to contrast several features of the two novels which reveal how Richardson saw the "virtue rewarded" story and its implications: the means of establishing narrative credibility, the use of subplots, and the depiction of the love relationship between the hero and heroine.

As was noted earlier, both works contain prefaces in which the authors insist on the truth of their narrative. The author of *The Irish Princess* says:

> know, that the main Story is true, I heard it of a Gentleman who was acquainted with the Irish Princess, and knew all the Intrigue, and having from him so faithful a Relation of it, I made the Scene the very same where it was transacted, the time the same, going on all the way with the Truth, as far as conveniency would permit; I only added some few circumstances, and interlined it with two or three other stories, for variety sake . . . . (3)

The standard of "truth" proposed in this statement is primarily historical and geographical; that is, we can know that the story really happened because it is accurate in its details of time and place. And as McDermott observes, the author was extremely careful about such details. The story is set in the Irish village of Clonmel during William of Orange's 1690 expedition against King James II. The author is accurate in describing Clonmel's general location and layout, accurate in naming its principal street, and accurate in placing two notable landmarks -- an old ruined Abbey and a holy well -- just outside of town (viii-ix). The story's time-frame also fits quite closely with the events of 1690. William's army was in this part of Ireland in the summer of 1690 carrying out the siege of Limerick, so it is quite possible that some of his soldiers would have been billeted in Clonmel, a nearby village. The story's hero, a prince identified only by the first initial of his name, is historically accurate to the extent that he is a foreign nobleman fighting in the Williamite army less for ideology than for glory, as were, in fact, a good many of William's officers. Even when the author diverges from historical truth in relating the course of the war, he does so not by inventing action that never happened, but merely by conflating events that actually happened a few months apart. McDermott calls this work, justifiably, an early example of "faction" (viii-ix), where the plausibility of the story is bound up largely in the accuracy of its historical and geographic details.

Richardson's claim of truth in *Pamela* could never withstand this kind of scrutiny. Though we learn that Mr. B has one estate in Bedfordshire and another in Lincolnshire, that Pamela's parents live in a village twenty miles from the former, and that the latter has a pond, a pasture and a wall, nothing more precise about either location is ever mentioned. And even this limited information is suspect, given Richardson's stated intention of concealing the personal identity of his characters. Much the same point holds for the narrative's time-frame. It is in one sense quite precise because Pamela is (to the dismay of many readers) positively obsessive about accounting for how she spends her days. Yet as Jina Politi observes, "The actual time of the novel is, roughly, seventeen months. But where is one to place these months? The years are not mentioned, not even the months. Pamela's letters bear no date, and when they do it is simply to name the day or the hour" (114). By the standards of "faction", then, *Pamela* must be judged utterly implausible, for its setting is simply an estate somewhere or other in rural England, sometime or other before the year when Richardson first heard the story.

But Richardson was not writing a historical novel, and the standard of truth he invites readers to apply to *Pamela* has nothing to do with details of time or place. Instead, he encourages us to judge the work by its narrator, who writes in "so probable, so natural [and] so lively a manner" that no one could doubt the truth of her words. Thus, as Michael McKeon points out: " the epistemological status of *Pamela* [the novel] is difficult to disentangle from that of Pamela [the narrator] -- from her claims to, and her capacity for, credibility" (358). This personal credibility is established in several ways. One is that all of the other characters, including, eventually, Mr. B, corroborate Pamela's version of events, though we only know that they do this because she tells us that they do. Another means of establishing credibility is her occasional recapitulation of the contents of her letters. As tedious and exasperating as this can seem to a reader, it does serve a purpose, for as McKeon observes, "even if we do not take the trouble to positively confirm the accuracy of her reviews, we are left with the subtle and pervasive sense of the objective integrity, the self-consistency, of ...[letters] that are so susceptible to systematic collation" (358). And finally, there is her famous tendency to "write to the moment," to break off her narrative because of some interruption. The sense of immediacy created by this technique becomes evidence of reality: not only did this really take place, but it *is* taking place right now (McKeon, 358). The "truth" these two works strive to create is, then, quite different: one invites confirmation through the accuracy of its physical and temporal details, the other through the consistency and authenticity of its narrator.

In the passage quoted earlier, the author of *The Irish Princess* also mentions having "interlined" the story of Marinda and the Prince with "two or three other stories, for variety sake" (3). This comment points to a second, more obvious difference between these works: the use of subplots. *The Irish Princess* is actually three overlapping love stories that, taken together, read like a narrative summary of a Restoration comedy. In addition to the Prince's pursuit of Marinda, there is a romance between the Prince's master of horse (a gentleman named Celadon) and a confidante of Marinda named Diana, and another between a Spaniard named Astolfo and an Indian princess named Faniaca. These plotlines certainly do help to bolster the main plot, which would, by itself, amount to no more than a few pages of text and lack much interest. As it is, most of the Prince's communication with Marinda occurs through the go-betweens Celadon

and Diana, who become interested in each other while acting in this capacity. And the story of Astolfo and Faniaca interrupts a ball at which the prince had hoped to seduce Marinda, but where nothing actually happens because he does not recognize that she is in disguise. The subplots also add variety in that they involve different obstacles to love and test slightly different virtues. In the case of Faniaca and Astolfo, physical separation and danger try Faniaca's perseverance and fidelity; in that of Diana and Celadon, Celadon's lies on behalf of the Prince test Diana's friendship and loyalty. In addition, since all three plots follow the same general course (initial attraction, complications which turn into apparently insurmountable difficulties, a sudden reversal, and a happy ending in a triple marriage), the subplots intensify the mood of the main story-line.

Though some readers might wish it were otherwise, *Pamela* lacks all such variety. It focuses relentlessly on the relationship of Pamela and Mr. B, but even so, manages to fill at least three times the number of pages as the whole of *The Irish Princess*. Richardson fills this space, in part, by adding many more encounters between Pamela and Mr. B than one would ever find between the Prince and Marinda. But more importantly, through the epistolary form of the novel, he adds introspection. Pamela never does anything without hashing over all its implications afterwards. She carefully analyzes all of Mr. B's comments and actions; she considers her situation and laments her fate; she devises plots for her escape; and she endlessly reaffirms her resolve to die rather than submit to her kidnapper, even as she realizes, little by little, that she cannot hate him, and could potentially love him. The form of *The Irish Princess* does not allow this level of access to the minds of its characters. Finally, Richardson adds to his story by refusing to end it with the wedding of Pamela and Mr. B. Fully a third of the novel concerns Pamela's reflections on her new station in life with all of its complications and adjustments. She must learn all about B's expectations of her as a wife, be formally introduced to his neighbors and friends, withstand the fury of B's sister Lady Davers and ultimately win her over, and reconcile with her husband following their first lovers' quarrel.

McDermott sees Richardson's addition to the ending of the virtue rewarded story as a serious flaw in *Pamela,* one which could have been avoided by simply wrapping up the story with the wedding, as the author of *The Irish Princess* did (xl). But Richardson's narrative strategy is understandable if one considers the relative level of conflict and sexual tension in the two works. It is not hard to imagine Marinda and the Prince, despite their class differences, living happily ever after. Their attraction to one another is instantaneous, and their few encounters during the story are all warm and cordial. Neither betrays any misgivings about the relationship directly to the other. It is only through their conversations with confidantes that we get any sense of how much each feels for the other and of how each struggles with such feelings. Moreover, the prince's misgivings about Marinda's class status, previously so enormous, are resolved as soon as he learns that she is willing to forsake him for another man. He instantly abandons his strategies for seduction and declares: "You deserve all things, divine Marinda ... what Title is too High, or Estate too Magnificent to admit you for a Partner? I will no more indulge this vain Ambition, or let it cross my Love..." (89).

It is, on the other hand, difficult to discern any love in the violent power struggle that Pamela and Mr. B engage in. He bullies her, molests her, kidnaps her, and twice tries to rape her. He berates and abuses her verbally, regularly calling attention to his

higher class status, and referring to her, at various times, as a "saucebox," a "jade," a "slut," and a "hussy". Even his acts of kindness towards her seem despicable, as when he offers to support her family financially if she will agree to become his mistress. All of this she finds abhorrent, and resists. So far, so credible. And yet this is the same man whom she declares herself unable to hate, to whom she returns immediately after he has freed her from her kidnapping, and whom she agrees to marry as soon as he proposes. To reconcile such incongruities by simply ending the story with their wedding, as McDermott would have preferred, would be unacceptable, Instead, as Michael McKeon observes, "Pamela's marriage marks not the end of a struggle, but the beginning of a long period of socialization [whose] practical reality requires the gradual accretion of layers of social experience..." (376). Richardson shows the couple working out the details of daily life together, adjusting to their new roles as husband and wife, and eventually gaining a sense of what each expects from the other. This is not, for me, an entirely satisfactory resolution, for Pamela seems to lose much of the spirit of resistance to tyranny that initially makes her sympathetic. Indeed, these so-called "discussions" are in fact more like lectures at which Mr. B dictates to Pamela what her spousal duties and privileges will be, with Pamela happily assenting to his pronouncements, and then going off to record his wisdom and kindness in letters to her parents. But imperfect as it is, this resolution seems far more credible than the alternative of a wedding that simply implies a happy ending.

In conclusion, then, we need not insist that *The Irish Princess* was a source for *Pamela* to notice its value in illuminating Richardson's very different art and purpose. For when we see these works in the context of each other, we get a sense of how differently each writer develops the theme of "virtue rewarded." The author of *The Irish Princess* depicts Marinda's determined chastity as the crown jewel among several female virtues, set off by the lesser virtues that her female companions demonstrate in their love affairs: perseverance and hope in the case of Faniaca, loyalty and resourcefulness in that of Diana. The reward for all of these virtues is simple and obvious: marriage to one's true love, and the promise of marital happiness. Richardson does not complicate his version with other plots and other characters. He makes a single character the repository of many virtues, all of them called forth in defense of chastity, the ultimate symbol of Pamela's integrity and honor. Pamela's reward, like that of the women in *The Irish Princess,* is marriage, but Richardson is far more concerned about depicting how marital bliss is actually achieved, a concern that seems justified given the intensity of the antagonism that precedes the union of Pamela and Mr. B. That Richardson's depiction of Pamela's married life is less than entirely credible can readily be acknowledged, but it is something for which *The Irish Princess* could never have provided a satisfactory model.

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What's Hunting Got to Do with the Green Knight? Bercilak, the Green Knight, and Sir Gawain

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A connection has long been recognized in Medieval Literature between the hunt for game and the hunt for love. For example, in Marie de France's lai *Guigemar*, the titular hero while hunting wounds a magical white deer. The arrow rebounds and strikes Guigemar, even as the deer warns him that he will not be cured of his wound until he suffers from love in the same way that the deer now suffers. Similarly, in the medieval romance, *Sir Launfal*, a retelling of Marie's *Lanval*, Sir Launfal finds himself rejected by Arthur's court, goes hunting alone, sits under a tree, and is visited by two maidens who guide him to their mistress with whom he falls in love immediately. It would be easy to cite any number of other medieval works where such connections are made.

Not only does hunting lead to love, but hunters are dressed in a particular way, as they pursue their game in the woods, a place where they often encounter supernatural creatures, like the deer and the lady mentioned above. In the Middle Ages they typically wear green, a pleasant color designed to disguise their identity to wild beasts. One example occurs in *The Awntyrs off Arthure at the Terne Wathelyne* when Arthur encounters a knight, fully armed, who is angry because of a land dispute. Arthur is dressed for hunting, not combat, and he reminds the knight,

> "We ar in the wode went to walke on oure waith, . . .
> We are in oure gamen; we have no gome graithe . . ."
> (We have been in the woods to pursue the hunt, . . .
> We are dressed for sport; we have no man ready for combat) (434-36).

One further example occurs in *The Weddyng of Syr Gawen and Dame Ragnell* when Arthur is hunting and he encounters his antagonist, Sir Gromer Somer Jour, who seeks to regain his land, unlawfully given away to Gawain, by fighting with the king. The king quickly reminds him, "'Shame thou shalt have to sle me in venere, / Thou armyd and I clothyd butt in grene, perde!'" (82-83). A word, used above, that links the world of the hunt and the world of love is "venerie," which can mean both hunting and love, the latter meaning linked etymologically to Venus, the goddess of love (See Robertson, *Preface* 253, 263-64), and preserved in Modern English in words as dissimilar in meaning as "venereal" and "venerate."

Still another source for this kind of connection is Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, in particular, the portrait of the yeoman, who accompanies the knight. In the General Prologue he is described as being "clad in cote and hood of grene" and "Of wodecraft [annotated as "the ceremonies of the hunt"] wel koude he al the usage" (Fragment 1.Lines 103, 110). Finally, at the end of the portrait he is called "a forster" (a woodsman, a gamekeeper) whose "bawdryk was of grene" (1.116-17).

In the Friar's Tale, Chaucer also writes about a yeoman who is hunting "under a forest syde" and who wears "a courtepy of grene" (3.1380, 1382). This hunter, clearly identified as a yeoman, takes on far more omnious tones as he seeks to identify himself

with the summoner to whom he is speaking. Both agree that they are bailiffs, "an agent for the lord's estate who collected revenues and administered justice" (3.1392n). As the yeoman/bailiff continues talking it becomes clear that he hunts neither for love nor game, but for souls. D. W. Robertson, Jr., in his essay "Why the Devil Wears Green," summarizes Pierre Bersuire's encyclopedia, noting "[Green] is a pleasant color so that beasts like it and are attracted to green places. Hunters who seek beasts in such places dress in green so as not to forewarn their victims and so as to appear pleasant themselves" (471). Robertson goes on to observe that the yeoman/bailiff's "cheery welcome, his very polite 'deere brother,' and his courteous and frank replies to the summoner's inquiries give him a sufficiently 'green' air, just the kind of protective coloration needed to attract his fellow worker the summoner" (472). While the yeoman/bailiff's character is disguised by his demeanor, his words are frank as he openly admits that he is a fiend, going so far as to explain his powers to seize both body and soul. He is successful with his victim, the summoner, because the summoner pays more attention to surface meanings than the actual meaning of the Old Hunter's words. The connection between green and hunters, as well as their hunting for game, love, or even souls seems firmly established.

Given these connections, readers should be immediately suspicious of the nature of the Green Knight when he hurtles into the Christmas celebration at Arthur's court in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. Readers, knowledgeable about this tradition, find medieval commonplaces transformed as hunting takes on unexpected guises. (Perhaps, one of our problems in reading this romance is that we are introduced to it long before we have become aware of these conventions and miss the writer's skill in manipulating them in unexpected ways.) While it would be too strong to identify this green creature with the devil, he certainly does take on the guise of a tempter (See Randall 491). However, the reader is lulled into a false sense of security. After all, the context is wrong. It is winter, not the time of year when the green clothing of the hunter would afford protective coloration to prevent being readily identified by his prey. Yet his appearance, despite the splendor of his dress, is startling. Many medieval poems show those who seek admittance to a castle first encountering a porter who determines who shall be permitted to enter, as is true of Gawain later at Bercilak's castle.

We have no such scene here, suggesting that the Green Knight is a supernatural being for whom the laws of nature do not apply. In fact, the court connects his appearance to marvels, "For-thi for fantoum and fayryghe the folk there hit demed" (240), seemingly connecting his appearance to Arthur's desire to be entertained. On the other hand, a first impression, based on his appearance alone, might lead to the conclusion that he is a yeoman, a forester or woodsman. After all he is fully dressed in green and carries an ax and "a holyn bobbe, / That is grattest in grene when greves ar bare" (206-07), as if he has just come from the forest. The author is careful to point out that he wears "no helme, ne hawbergh nauther, / Ne no pysan, ne no plate that pented to armes / Ne no schafte, ne no schelde" (203-05). He might have also pointed out that he has no bow and arrows either, the typical weapon of hunters who wear green. The Green Knight's bold entrance is followed by his asking to speak to "'the governour of this gyng'" (225), while Arthur, showing no fear and acting as the gracious host welcomes him and asks what he wants. While the rest of Arthur's court cowers, the Green Knight reveals that he left his armor at home, he reassures all that he comes seeking peace, and he desires a "'Crystemas gomen'" (283)--a desire that fits Arthur's insistence on entertainment befores he eats.

While the initial episode is called the "Beheading Game" Sherri Ann Strite points out that the language of the poem carefully delineates that the bargain between Gawain and the Green Knight is an exchange of blows. The Green Knight uses the words "stroke" (294), and Gawain uses "buffet" (382), as he repeats the bargain they have agreed on. The Green Knight provides the weapon, his ax, and bares his neck. Thus he leaves to Gawain the choice of how to respond, "*inviting* a particular conventional response from Gawain as a kind of test" (4).

While Gawain responds in a conventional way to the "covenant" (393), the Green Knight's word, and takes the action that results in this being called the "Beheading Game," he does not think of the Green Knight as a hunter nor of himself as prey. This is not surprising given the fact that Gawain may well have struck off his opponent's head because he expected him to respond like an ordinary mortal, and thus he would not have to face his opponent in a year and a day and receive a similar stroke. Once the Green Knight survives his stroke, Gawain knows he faces certain death. In fact, as he leaves Arthur's castle on All Saints Day, he "gef hem alle goud day, / He wende for ever more" (668-69). Later he observes, "'Bot, thagh *my* hede falle on the stones, / I con not hit restore!'" (2282-83). Natural laws will not be suspended for him. Yet it becomes more and more clear that his formidable foe is a hunter testing at least the courage of Arthur's court and Gawain's in particular. It remains to be seen if this hunter takes on more omnious characteristics.

Gawain's preparation for meeting the Green Knight is both a physical and moral arming with particular emphasis placed on his shield as it reflects the Christian virtues that he upholds (Howard 426-27). Gawain's determination to find the Green Chapel and the Green Knight is demonstrated by his leaving two months before his agreed upon rendezvous. Gawain could well evade the whole encounter since neither Arthur nor he expect to see each other ever again.

While Gawain's first encounter with the Green Knight takes place in Arthur's castle--at home, so to speak--his second encounter is clearly a journey into the unknown as he makes his way northward in England--the fiend in the Friar's Tale is from "fer in the north contree" also (3.1413). The physical dangers include battles with many beasts, "wodwos" (721), and giants, as well as with the winter weather--all of which he overcomes with a minimum of difficulty. He is undaunted in facing these physical trials. He has prepared himself well and his courage does not falter.

When he come to the castle on Christmas Eve, surrounded by a meadow and trees, his physical trials are mostly over since his host assures him the Green Chapel, and thus the Green Knight, is nearby. He can afford to rest since his physical struggles are nearly over. Little does he know that his character will be most severely tested in the luxurious surroundings of the castle.

Gawain does not question how it is possible that he missed seeing the castle earlier nor why the castle is suddenly there after he prays--a huge structure he has not previously noted. He is welcomed and treated royally during the Christmas festivities. When three days remain until his encounter with the Green Knight, Gawain is ready to leave, but his host notes that the Green Chapel "'is not two myle henne'" (1078). Thus the host suggests the bargain that results in the Exchange of Winnings, a pact easily accepted by Gawain.

The idea of hunting is readily apparent in this section of the poem. The three hunts are described in realistic terms, and Bercilak brings back deer, wild boar, and fox, all dressed and ready for Gawain to use. Unlike the earlier encounter at Camelot there is little emphasis on color; we learn a good deal about pursuing game, including the kind of dogs used as well as the terrain where each type of animal is found, but not how the host is dressed as he hunts. If he follows tradition he should be wearing green, but perhaps not in winter. The hunter, however, who pursues an unprepared Gawain is the host's wife, probably not dressed in green either, who brings up an issue much like that of the Green Knight when he earlier taunted the court with his question: "'Where is now your sourquydrye and your conquestes, / Your gryndel-layk and your greme and your grete wordes?'" (311-12). She reminds him of his reputation:

> "Your honour, your hendelayk is hendely praysed
> With lordes, wyth ladyes, with alle that lyf bere.
> And now ye ar here, i-wysse, and we bot oure one." (1228-30)

Knights, generally, and Gawain, in particular, are known for their skill in arms and skill as lovers. Thus Gawain is facing a second test, and again the test is disguised. The model of courtesy here is the one pursued rather than the pursuer. He is the one hunted, prey, but hardly aware of the full implications of his responses as he seeks to be faithful to his host whose wife has invaded his private space and yet not offend Lady Bercilak as she appears to desire to seduce him.

The situation portrayed reverses the conventions of the typical medieval romance. If the lover courts a married woman, it is usually love from afar and not consummated. But more typical, is the knight pursuing an unmarried woman, often by proving himself in battle as in *Ywain and Gawain* (in this case, Alundine is a widow). It is true Rymenhild aggressively pursues Horn in *King Horn* initially, but the way for their marriage is cleared by Horn's courageous righting of wrongs in four countries before claiming Rymenhild as his bride. In *Sir Gawain*, as Gawain awakens each morning to the lady's advances, Gawain's discomfort is apparent with his behavior in each of the three hunting scenes clearly linked to the game that his host is hunting. All the details point to Gawain's behaving like the shy deer on day one, behaving like the aggressive boar on day two, and behaving like the sly fox on day three (Benson 191-97), or as Donald R. Howard has observed, "the animals hunted suggest those qualities which Gawain must conquer--timidity, ferocity, and cunning" (432). His resistance is gradually weakened as Lady Bercilak enters his room on day three, he having just awakened from a bad dream about his impending encounter at the Green Chapel. While Gawain collects three kisses, she asks for a token, such as a glove, but Gawain has nothing extra with him to give. Then she tries to get him to accept a gift from her; she offers him first a gold ring and then a girdle made of green silk with gold trim, both of which he declines. Strangely, he makes no connections with the Green Knight with whose "covenant" he has been living for almost a year. It is only after she explains the green girdle's magical powers that he becomes interested. She promises,

> "For what gome so is gorde with the grene lace,
> While he hit hade hemely halched aboute,

> Ther is no hathel under heven to-hewe hym that myght;
> For he myght not be slayn for slyght upon erthe." (1851-54)

He sees the green girdle as a "juel for the joparde" (1856), as a way to escape certain death. After he takes the girdle, she swears him to secrecy in order, she says, not to offend her lord. Gawain earlier worried about not offending Lady Bercilak and remaining true to his host, but now the moral dilemma he has created for himself does not induce anxiety. Instead, he conceals the girdle, and when it is time to exchange the day's winnings, Gawain is right there offering the three kisses before the host gives him the fox pelt, the actions of someone who feels guilty.

Conventions continue to be changed in Gawain's final encounter with the Green Knight. As he leaves Bercilak's castle on New Year's Day, he is fully armed with the green girdle firmly in place. Usually such an object would be regarded as a love token from the knight's lady, but he wears it solely for its magical power to protect him. As he rides away with a guide to show him the way to the Green Chapel, the guide tempts him to avoid going any further, telling him the villain he seeks kills anyone, including churls, monks, or priests, who ventures close to his place. He advises him to go another way, and promises to keep his secret, but Gawain cannot be dissuaded.

The terrain becomes more omnious as Gawain descends to where the Green Chapel may be, but all he finds is a mound near a stream which bubbles as if it were boiling. He thinks, "'Here myght aboute mydnyght / The Dele his matynnes telle'" (2187-88) in what he calls the "'chapel of meschaunce'" (2195). Other details emphasize the sound of a grindstone as an ax is being sharpened for Gawain's fatal stroke. The "grene gome" (2239) quickly takes control of the situation and commands him to "'Haf thy helme off thy hede, and haf here thy pay'" (2247). Both he and the Green Knight were without armor in their earlier encounter. (Strangely, we never see the character we know as the Green Knight dressed in armor.) Only Gawain is armed, the appropriate dress for most climatic scenes in conventional medieval romances. His dress is conventional as if he were going to participate in a tournament. Yet this is a most unconventional ending with Gawain's fate determined not by some kind of major battle, but by his behavior with Lady Bercilak. Gawain suffers two feigned blows, reflecting his impeccable behavior the first two days in the castle. The third blow nicks his neck because he accepted and is now wearing the Green Knight's green girdle. He says,

> "Now know I wel thy cosses and thy costes als
> And the wowyng of my wyf; I wroght hit myselven.
> I sende hir to asay thee, and sothly me thynkkes,
> On the fautlest freke that ever on fote yede.
> As perle bi the white pese is of prys more,
> So is Gawayn, in god fayth, bi other gay knyghtes." (2360-65)

Gawain returns to Camelot, not in triumph nor as the hero who lives happily ever after, but much chastened. While the court is delighted with his return, he wears the green girdle, explaining

> "This is the lathe and the losse that I laght have

> Of cowardise and covetyse that I haf caght thare.
> This is the token of untrawthe that I am tan inne,
> And I mot nedes hit were wyle I may last." (2507-10)

Larry D. Benson comments on the unconventional ending: "This is not the way a romance is supposed to end; the glorious affirmation of the hero's virtues and of the ideal he represents is conspicuously absent" (242).

Readers have long admired the skill with which *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* is told. Yet familiarity with other medieval romances reveals that part of the skill comes from the author's using typical situations unconventionally. This unconventionality results in his creating a hero who, though near perfection, reveals himself to be very human. He fears what he must face. He should be more aware, more alert. Ultimately he reveals enormous courage in facing his own death even though he relies on the magical powers of an object instead of the abstract virtues represented by the pentangle on his shield. The author has succeeded, by playing with convention, in creating, not a super hero, but a complex human hero.

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