

SHAKESPEARE'S PERICLES: A STUDY IN THE INFLUENCE
OF THE GREEK NOVEL, CHIVALRIC ROMANCE,
AND MEDIEVAL RELIGIOUS DRAMA

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PREFACE

Recently, the habit of prefacing any study of Shakespeare with an apology for entering a field already so adequately handled by eminent scholars has been the vogue. However, there is no need to employ this rhetorical device in a preface to a study of Pericles, which has been sorely neglected as a part of Shakespeare's canon since the closing of the theatres in 1642. The reasons for this lack of critical attention are many and varied, but, thankfully, the twentieth century has generated a wave of scholarly monographs on Pericles. However, the overriding concern of these essays is the question of authorship; and, while interesting, they are hardly conclusive. Moreover, in terms of immediate and positive results, they are fruitless.

I became convinced that study of Pericles must include an investigation of the nature of its romance material after reading an essay which attempts to deal with the play formalistically. By treating Pericles in an historical vacuum, the author makes several serious errors in interpretation. To understand Shakespeare's play, it must be put into some kind of historical context. The play is a product of a Renaissance mind, which, in turn, is the

product of a curious mixture of the medieval scholastic world view and the humanist world view based on the revival of classical learning. In the present study, I have tried to place Pericles into the historical perspective of three traditions of romance, i.e., the Greek novel of the third century A. D., medieval chivalric romance, and medieval religious drama.

I would like to thank the members of the English faculty at Kansas State Teachers College who encouraged me in this project and were free with their advice. I am especially grateful to Dr. James F. Hoy and Dr. Charles E. Walton for their critical and stylistic expertise.

Emporia, Kansas

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: BACKGROUND OF THE APOLLONIUS STORY, SHAKESPEARE'S PERICLES, AND CRITICAL OPINION OF THE PLAY

The story of Apollonius of Tyre, who became Shakespeare's Pericles, probably originated in Asia Minor during the third century A. D.¹ The story developed in prose rather than in drama or verse, and although the original is non-extant, one can readily see that the later versions of the Apollonius tale and works such as Longus's Daphnis and Chloe, Xenophon of Ephesus's An Ephesian Tale, Dio Chrysotom's The Hunters of Euboea, and Heliodorus's Ethiopica are of the same genre. One theory of the origin of the genre states that the novel grew out of textbooks used by the practitioners of the "Second Sophistic" to teach rhetoric in the second century A. D. Some of the examples were taken from the rhetorical handbook of Seneca the Elder, and they became one source of the Gesta Romamorum.² However, the Apollonius story did not find its way into the Gesta

¹R. M. Dawkins, "Modern Greek Oral Versions of Apollonius of Tyre," MLR, XXXVII (1942), 169.

²Moses Hadas (ed.), Three Greek Romances, p. 6.

Romanorum until the fourteenth century,³ so the story's origin as a rhetorical example is doubtful.

Another explanation for the development of the Greek novel is that the prose form was used both to "justify the ways of God to men" and as a propaganda device by certain cults and minorities after the victories of Alexander the Great in Asia Minor. Heliodorus's Ethiopica supports this explanation, as does Xenophon's An Ephesian Tale. Aside from its value as an entertainment, An Ephesian Tale served as a defense of the cult of Diana.⁴ In this story, Habrocomes and Anthia, husband and wife, are reunited at the Temple of Diana in Rhodes after many years of separation and trials:

And he [Habrocomes] did meet Anthia and those with her near the temple of Isis [Diana]. . . . When they saw one another they recognized each other immediately, for this was their very soul's desire. They embraced one another, and sank to the ground. . . .⁵

Soon, Habrocomes, Anthia, and their retinue leave Rhodes for Ephesus:

And in a few days they completed their voyage and landed at Ephesus. All the city learned of their deliverance in advance; and they disembarked, immediately and just as they were they proceeded

³F. D. Hoeniger (ed.), Pericles, p. xiii.

⁴Hadas, p. 8.

⁵Ibid., p. 168. (Subsequent references to An Ephesian Tale are from this edition, with the page number noted parenthetically within the text.)

to the temple of Artemis and offered many prayers and performed various sacrifices, but in particular they dedicated to the goddess an inscription which recounted all that they had suffered and all that they had done. (p. 170)

Xenophon of Ephesus uses Diana as the force that resolves the conflicts of the story. Habrocomes and Anthia are reunited and made happy through the auspices of the goddess. The resolution of the Apollonius story is brought about by the same goddess. In John Gower's Confessio Amantis, Diana appears to Apollonius in a dream and tells him to go to Ephesus and there give sacrifice at her temple. At the temple Apollonius is reunited with his wife. This incident is much the same in Laurence Twine's The Patterne of Painefull Adventures. An angel appears to the sleeping Apollonius and orders him to sail to Ephesus and to present himself at the Temple of Diana. He obeys the angel's command and is reunited with his wife. Just as Habrocomes and Anthia dedicate "to the goddess an inscription which [recounts] all that they had suffered and all that they had done," so Twine's Apollonius

. . . wrote the whole storie and discourse of his owne life and adventures at large, the which he caused to be written foorth in two large volumes, whereof he sent one to the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, and placed the other in his owne library.⁶

⁶Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare, VI, 481.

Apparently, Apollonius of Tyre, as well as An Ephesian Tale, originated as a defense of the cult of Diana. Of course, by the time Gower and Twine were writing their versions, the propaganda aspects were lost, and the goddess was used by them simply as a deus ex machina.

An original Greek manuscript of Apollonius of Tyre has not been found. The earliest extant Greek version of the romance was printed in 1534. The story was probably translated into Latin in the fifth century A. D., at which time expansions were made.⁷ At present, nearly a hundred Latin manuscripts are known, the earliest dating from the ninth century.⁸ Perhaps the most important of the Latin versions is that of Godfrey de Viterbo, who used the story in his history, Pantheon, written in approximately 1186 and first published in 1559, the source of the Apollonius story included in the Gesta Romamorum during the fourteenth century.⁹ The story was translated into the vernacular of many European countries; fragments exist in both Old and Middle English.¹⁰

⁷Dawkins, pp. 169-170.

⁸Hoener, p. xiii; Albert H. Smyth, Shakespeare's Pericles and Apollonius of Tyre, p. 17.

⁹Bullough, p. 351-352.

¹⁰Albert H. Mardkwardt and James L. Rosier, Old English: Language and Literature, p. 111.

The sources used by Shakespeare in Pericles are John Gower's story in Confessio Amantis and Laurence Twine's The Patterne of Painefull Adventures.¹¹ In turn, Gower used Godfrey de Viterbo's Apollonius as the source for his poem;¹² and Twine's prose work is an English translation of a French translation of the Latin Gesta Romamorum.¹³ The French version may have been either La Chronique d'Appollin, Roy de Thyre (Geneva, no date), or Plaisante et agreable Histoire d'Apollonius Prince de Thyre en Afrique, et Roi d'Antioche, translated by Gilles Corozet and published at Paris in 1530.¹⁴ Also there are some rather close analogues to Pericles in Sidney's tale of Pyrocles in The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia¹⁵ and in the Digby Mary Magdalene miracle play.¹⁶ One can readily see that the story of Apollonius has attracted many authors; and, it may be posited that each of these writers, regardless of his competence as an artist, has added something distinctive and valuable to the story.

¹¹Hoeniger, p. xiv.

¹²Bullough, p. 355.

¹³Hoeniger, p. xiv.

¹⁴Edmond Malone (ed.), The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare, XXI, 6.

¹⁵Bullough, p. 355.

¹⁶Hoeniger, p. lxxxix.

Consequently when Shakespeare came to write Pericles, he had a long and rich tradition of source material upon which to rely.¹⁷

An allusion to a performance of a play called Pericles has been found in the Venetian Calendar of State Papers for 1615-1617. T. S. Graves has pointed out that, in 1617, a Venetian ambassador, Fosarini, went on trial for dereliction of duty. One of the charges was that he attended plays. A witness, Odoardo Guatz, stated that playgoing was quite common among ambassadors to England. He went on to say that Giustinian, a former Venetian ambassador, ". . . went with the French Ambassador and his wife to a play called Pericles, which cost Giustinian more than 20 crowns. He also took the Secretary of Florence." The Giustinian mentioned in the testimony came to London as ambassador on January 5, 1606 and left on November 23, 1608. The French

¹⁷The question of authorship has been dealt with by many scholars, and there is no reason here to enter the debate. The theory that Shakespeare revised an older version (which may or may not be his) extensively in the last three acts and only in parts of the first two is accepted here. A sampling of the various opinions can be found in Philip Edwards, "An Approach to the Problem of Pericles," ShS, V (1952), 25-49; Hardin Craig, "Pericles and The Painfull Adventures," SP, LXV (1948), 600-605; D. J. Lake, "The Pericles Candidates--Heywood, Rowley, Wilkins," N&Q, XVII (1970), 135-141; Arthur Acheson, Shakespeare, Chapman and Sir Thomas More; James O. Wood, "The Running Image in Pericles," ShStud, V (1969), 240-252; Hardin Craig, "Revised Elizabethan Quartos: An Attempt to Form a Class," pp. 54-55.

ambassador, Boderie, came to London on May 16, 1606, and first met Giustinian sometime between May 18 and May 30 of that same year. By August, 1607, animosity developed between England and Venice on the one hand, and Florence on the other; it is improbable that Giustinian would have invited the Secretary of Florence to the play after that date. So, it would seem that a play entitled Pericles was performed in a London theatre sometime between May 18, 1606, and August, 1607.¹⁸ If the veracity of this evidence is accepted, Pericles was acted at least a year earlier than the 1608 date usually assigned it. This information is interesting because of the questions it raises. For example, Twine's Patterne of Painefull Adventures was republished in 1607. That Shakespeare used Twine's work as a source for Pericles is generally accepted. However, it is not known whether the author of the Ur-Pericles (if, indeed, such a play once existed) used Twine or not. Another interesting point for speculation concerns the problem of whether it was the reissuing of Twine's work or the success of the play that first touched off the popularity that the Pericles/Apollonius story enjoyed at that time. However, since these questions can be answered only by the discovery of pertinent historical documents, at present, they remain speculative.

¹⁸"On the Date and Significance of Pericles," MP, XIII (1916), 546-548.

In 1608, *Pericles* was entered in the Stationer's Register:

20 Maii
Entered [to Edward Blount] for his copie under
thandes of Sir George Buck knight and Master
Warden Seton A booke called. The booke of
Pericles prince of Tyre vjd.¹⁹

However, Blount did not thereafter publish an edition of *Pericles*. He also entered *Antony and Cleopatra* in the Register on the same day as *Pericles*, but, again, did not publish an edition of that play. Hoeniger suggests that the plays were entered in order to prevent pirated editions from being printed.²⁰

George Wilkins wrote a prose version of the *Pericles* story entitled *The Painfull Adventures of Pericles, Prince of Tyre* published in 1608, in which he combined material taken from Laurence Twine's *Patterne of Painefull Adventures* and from a play, *Pericles*.²¹ The title-page of the novel contains this information:

The Painfull Adventures of *Pericles* Prince of Tyre.
Being the true History of the Play of *Pericles*, as
it was lately presented by the worthy and ancient
Poet John Gower. At London Printed by T. P. for
Nat: Butter, 1608.²²

¹⁹Alfred R. Bellinger (ed.), *Pericles*, p. 116.

²⁰*Pericles*, *The New Arden Shakespeare*, p. xxiv.

²¹Bullough, p. 357.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 492.

In the argument of the novel, Wilkins urges ". . . the Reader to receive this Historie in the same maner as it was under the habite of ancient Gower the famous English Poet, by the Kings Majesties Players excellently presented."²³ It seems obvious from this information that Wilkins was attempting to capitalize on the reputation of the play.

Although Pericles was entered in the Stationer's Register by Edward Blount in 1608, the first printed edition was published by one Henry Gosson in 1609.²⁴ No evidence exists to show that the publication rights were transferred from Blount to Gosson. The title-page of Gosson's edition reads as follows:

The Late, And much admired Play, Called Pericles, Prince of Tyre. With the true relation of the whole Historie, adventures, and fortunes of the said Prince: As also, The no lesse strange, and worthy accidents, in the Birth and Life of his Daughter Mariana. As it hath been divers and sundry times acted by his Majesties Servants at the Globe on the Banck-side. By William Shakespeare.²⁵

Two points may be gleaned from this title-page. First, and significantly, Pericles is attributed to Shakespeare in an edition published in his lifetime. Secondly, the title-page asserts that the play had been acted at the Globe theatre.

²³Ibid., p. 494.

²⁴Hoeniger, p. xxiv.

²⁵W. W. Greg (ed.), Pericles, 1609, p. 1.

In light of Bentley's opinion that Shakespeare wrote his later plays for the Blackfriar's theatre,²⁶ this statement may prove valuable in determining the nature of the dramatic effect of Pericles.

A second quarto, which was set in print from the first, was also published in 1609. Four other quarto editions were published in 1611, 1619, 1630, and 1635.²⁷ In 1619, William Jaggard printed a collection of nine plays, including Pericles (the 1619 Quarto) which he attributed to Shakespeare. However, two of the plays, A Yorkshire Tragedy and Sir John Oldcastle, were written by authors other than Shakespeare.²⁸ John Heminge and Henry Condell, the editors of the first Folio who had been associated with Shakespeare throughout his theatrical career, did not include Pericles in their 1623 collection. Pericles, finally, found its way into the second edition of the third Folio in 1664; six other plays whose inauthenticity has been proved (among them A Yorkshire Tragedy and Sir John Oldcastle) were added to this edition causing some critics to look upon

²⁶"Shakespeare and the Blackfriars Theatre," ShS, I (1948), 38.

²⁷Bellinger, p. 116.

²⁸E. K. Chambers, William Shakespeare, I, 518-520; Peter Alexander, A Shakespeare Primer, pp. 154-155.

Pericles with suspicion.²⁹ However, as Alexander has noted, the pagination used in the third Folio implies that originally Pericles was the only play intended to be added to this edition.³⁰

Because each edition of Pericles seems to have been placed in print from the preceeding edition and Q₁ is in such poor condition,³¹ and because of the question of authorship, Pericles has been neglected by scholars and critics. Moreover, for the most part, those critics who have dealt with the play, until recently, have been unkind. One of its earliest disparagers is Ben Jonson, who in "Ode to Himself" writes:

No doubt some moldy tale,
Like Pericles; and stale
As the Shrieves crusts, and nasty as his fish--
scraps, out of every dish
Throwne forth and raked into the common tub
May keep up the Play-club:
There, sweepings do as well
As the best ordered meal;
For, who the relish of these ghests will fit
Needs set them, but, the alms-basket of wit.³²

²⁹William J. Rolfe (ed.), Pericles, p. 11.

³⁰Shakespeare's Life and Art, p. 222. An examination of a facsimile of the 1664 Folio shows that Pericles is the first of seven additional plays included in this volume. Its pages are numbered 1 through 20. The pagination of the second of the added plays, The London Prodigal, begins with 1 and runs continuously through the last five plays to 100.

³¹Edwards, p. 29.

³²Ben Jonson, VI, 492-493.

Of course, some of Jonson's ire is due to his esthetic standards; after all, he was a classicist and, as such, would have nothing but contempt for the dramatic technique of Pericles. But, perhaps, professional jealousy is the major cause for his indictment of Shakespeare's play. The play was extremely popular, and at a time when Jonson's own popularity was dwindling.³³ In his introduction to Pericles, Malone quotes from a pamphlet, Pymlico, or Run Redcap, published in 1609:

Amaz'd I stood, to see a crowd
Of civil throats stretch'd out so loud:
As at a new play, all the rooms
Did swarm with gentles mixed with grooms;
So that I truly thought all these
Came to see Shore or Pericles.³⁴

He also alludes to the prologue of The Hog Has Lost His Pearl, 1614:

--if it prove so happy as to please,
We'll say, 'tis fortunate like Pericles.³⁵

Contemporary references like those cited by Malone, added to the fact that two editions of the play were printed within the year, 1609, lend credence to the opinion that Pericles was one of the more attractive plays of its time.

³³Felix E. Schelling, Elizabethan Playwrights, p. 223.

³⁴The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare, p. 4.

³⁵Ibid.

Pericles was popular, not only with the general public, but with the Court, as well. On May 20, 1619, the play was presented at Whitehall to mark the departure of the French ambassador, Marquis de Tremoville, from the English court.³⁶ The event was recorded in a letter written by Sir Gerrerd Herbert to Sir Dudley Carleton:

. . . In the kinges greate Chamber they went to see the play of Pirrocles, Prince of Tyre. which lasted till 2 aclocke. after two actes, the players ceased till the french all refreshed them wth sweetmeates brought on Chinay voiders, & wyne & ale in bottells, after the players, begann anewe. The Imbassadour parted next morninge for Fraunce at 8 aclocke. . . .³⁷

While Pericles apparently was entertaining to its contemporary audience, it has almost no stage history between 1642 and 1854.³⁸ Perhaps, one reason for critical contempt during this time is that any evaluation made had to be based on a reading rather than a viewing of the play. At any rate, the Augustans could not tolerate the fact that the action in the play spans a period of about sixteen years and is located throughout the eastern Mediterranean area. Furthermore, the Victorians were dismayed with the brothel scenes.³⁹ As late as 1890 William J. Rolfe could preface

³⁶J. J. Munro (ed.), The Shakespeare Allusion-Book, I, 277.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Hardin Craig (ed.), The Complete Works of Shakespeare, p. 1155.

³⁹Hoeniger, p. lxx.

his edition of Pericles with the following unscholarly statement that typifies the Victorian attitude toward the play:

It was at first my intention to print in this edition only Shakespeare's part of Pericles; but, on second thought, I concluded to give the other portions in smaller type, as in Timon of Athens. The wretched brothel scenes in act iv. have been freely abridged, not because I suppose that the play will be read in schools, but because the scenes are not worth printing at all, except for the critical student, who of course has other and "unexpurgated" editions. My aim was to pick out from the nastiness no more than might serve to show the plan of the scenes and their relation to the rest of the play.

This is not meant to discredit any of the accomplishments of the Victorians, including Rolfe, in Shakespeare scholarship, but too often when dealing with Pericles, their biases intruded upon their erudition.

In order to come to a better understanding of Pericles, one must put aside such comments as that of Rolfe and re-study the play without prejudice. One aspect that should be included in such an investigation is that of the nature of the source material, i.e., the romance. Although Pericles is not the first play in which Shakespeare uses the romance genre, it does mark a change in the way in which he handles such material.⁴⁰ A study of Pericles as indicative of the later romances or tragi-comedies may illuminate both

⁴⁰Carol Gesner, Shakespeare and the Greek Romance, p. 88.

the final stage of Shakespeare's development as a dramatist as well as Pericles as a unique contribution separate from the playwright's other works.

CHAPTER II

ROMANCE: THE GREEK NOVEL, MEDIEVAL VERSE ROMANCE AND THE MIRACLE PLAY

The term romance has been used rather freely since the early nineteenth century, and as a result the word is almost meaningless today. At one time, romance was simply the name of the vulgar tongue which evolved from Latin and which was spoken in France. After some time, the word was applied to a certain kind of literature produced in France (les Chansons de Geste and le Roman d'Aventure), and finally became synonymous for "a French book."⁴¹ The denotation of the word has become somewhat less general, being defined in the Oxford English Dictionary as

an extragant fiction. . . . A fictitious narrative in prose of which the scene and incidents are very remote from those of ordinary life, especially of the class prevalent in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in which the story is overlaid with digressions.

The second definition is specific and includes works like Lyly's Euphues, Greene's Menaphon, and Sidney's Arcadia;

⁴¹Dorothy Everett, Essays of Middle English Literature, pp. 2-3; Nathaniel E. Griffin, "The Definition of Romance," PMLA, XXXVIII (1923), 50-70; D. M. Hill, "Romance as Epic," ES, XLIV (1963), 95-107.

however, it seems that from the ubiquitous nature of the word most people think of romance as "extravagant fiction."

Even a cursory look through the various definitions of romance in the OED will show the impossibility of establishing a definition of the genre of romance. However, some fundamental similarities can be elucidated so that the word will be, at least, pragmatically intelligible.

Shakespeare's Pericles contains three types of romance. The source of the play is ultimately derived from a Greek prose romance of the third century A. D. There are, also, elements of chivalric romance in the play, mainly in the first two acts. Lastly, there is a type of romance in Pericles that has been overlooked until recently-- e.g., the romance of the miracle or saints' plays of the medieval period.⁴² Since each of these three traditions would have been known to Shakespeare, and since it seems that each has contributed somewhat to Pericles, an investigation of these traditions may increase one's awareness of their contributions and, in doing so, further illuminate Shakespeare's play.

The telling of stories is an ancient as man. Neolithic cave paintings indicate that man has always attempted to communicate various adventures to his fellows;

⁴²Howard Felperin, Shakespearean Romance, pp. 12-13.

for example, the cave paintings usually depict details of a hunt, and thereby, may be termed historical or biographical. However, history and biography tend to become distorted by exaggeration. The desire to communicate and elaborate is not limited to any one tribe or locality; story-telling has its origin in man in general and can not be attributed to any one race or geographical locale.

One explanation for the development of the Greek novel of the third century A. D. describes the close connection between fiction and historical fact, or presumption of historical fact. As early as 500 B. C., Acusilaus composed a genealogy using Hesiod's poems as his source, and in 440 B. C., Hellanicus tried to tone down what he thought to be hyperbole in Homer.⁴³ The important point to note, here, is that, in both cases, the later writers accepted the works of the earlier writers as historical. Herodotus, the so-called "Father of History," included many legends and fables in his histories, and he did so in good faith.⁴⁴ A work which purports to be an historical biography, Xenophon's Cyropaedia of the third century B. C., contains what well may be the earliest extant romance. The story of Abradatas and Panthea is thought to be entirely the product of Xenophon's imagination; and its literary value is deemed

⁴³Ernest A. Baker, The History of the English Novel, I, 25.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 28.

greater than many of the romances to follow.⁴⁵ Like Plato before him, in describing in Cyropaedia the ideal ruler and his education, Xenophon blends fiction and reality for ethical and practical considerations.⁴⁶ As an example of the real in Xenophon, the following passage occurs immediately after the episode in which Abradatas and Panthea are reunited and in which Abradatas pledges fealty to Cyrus:

Such was the work of Abradatas; and when Cyrus saw his chariot with four poles, he conceived the idea that it was possible to make one even with eight poles, so as to move with eight yoke of oxen the lowest story of his movable towers; including the wheels, this portion was about three fathoms high from the ground. Moreover, when such towers were taken along with each division of the army, it seemed to him that they were a great help to his own phalanx and would occasion great loss to the ranks of the enemy. And on the different stories he constructed galleries also and battlements; and on each tower he stationed twenty men. . . . Inasmuch, therefore, as he found that the hauling of the towers was easy, he made ready to take them with the army, for he thought that seizing an advantage in time of war was at once safety and justice and happiness.⁴⁷

This passage, like much of Julius Caesar's descriptions of battle implements, seems to be based on fact, except for the use of Abradatas's chariots to inspire Cyrus. The fictional and the real are well integrated by this lead-in device. A

⁴⁵Elizabeth H. Haight, Essays on Ancient Fiction, pp. 22-23.

⁴⁶Baker, p. 35.

⁴⁷Xenophon, Cyropaedia, II, 147-149. (Subsequent reference to the text is from this edition.)

comparison of the above passage to one that describes the burial of Abradatas shows vividly the difference in subject matter:

When he had said this, Cyrus went away, his heart full of pity for the woman, as he thought what a husband she had lost, and for the man, that he must leave such a wife and never see her more. The lady then desired the eunuchs to retire, "until," she said, "I have bewailed my husband here, as I desire." But her nurse she told to stay with her, and she charged her to cover her and her husband, when she, too, was dead with the same cloak. The nurse, however, pleaded earnestly with her not to do so; but when her prayers proved of no avail and she saw her mistress becoming angered, she sat down and burst into tears. Panthea then drew out her dagger, with which she had provided herself long before, and plunged it into her heart, and laying her head upon her husband's bosom she breathed her last. . . . And when the eunuchs, three in number, beheld what had occurred, they also, standing in the spot where she had ordered them to stand, drew their daggers and drove them into their own breasts. . . . And when Cyrus drew near to the place of sorrow he marvelled at the woman; and having made lament over her, he went his way. He also took care that they should find all due honours, and the monument reared over them was, as they say, exceeding great. (II, 249-251)

The romance elements in this passage are obvious, and the contrast between it and the passage cited previously is striking. Moreover, the qualifier "as they say" helps to remove the narrator from the scene and makes him dependent on the word of another. In this way, romance may be passed off as history.

One of the characteristics of Greek romance is an inversion of the practice of Herodotus and Xenophon of including

legends and fables in their histories. Authors of the romances tended to weave their fabrications around historical personages and events. For example, the heroine of the Ninus romance, a fragment dated 100 B. C. to 50 A. D.,⁴⁸ has been identified with an historical person, Sammu-ramat.⁴⁹ Also, in the Apollonius story itself, the character of Antiochus the Great, who founded Antioch and gained the kingdom of Tyre in 221 B. C., is an historical person.⁵⁰ Although, as Dunlop has stated, all early prose fiction is marked by "the interest . . . in a succession of strange, and often improbably adventures,"⁵¹ it is also marked by a dependence on reality, no matter how shallow, to help it gain currency.

There is another theory concerning the rise of the Greek novel that explains differently the use of historical figures. For example, when Alexander conquered the eastern Mediterranean nations, he also suppressed the rich cultural heritage of those nations. At this time, the Stoic and Epicurean philosophies developed to compensate for the loss

⁴⁸J. M. Edmonds and S. Gaselee, Daphnis & Chloe and Parthenius, p. 383.

⁴⁹Gesner, p. 3. Also, Elizabeth H. Haight, Essays on the Greek Romance, p. 10.

⁵⁰Gesner, p. 7.

⁵¹John Colin Dunlop, History of Prose Fiction, I, 89.

of the prestige of the various national heritages.⁵² The Stoics taught that man should free himself from all passion and emotion and accept life as it is. The Epicureans, on the other hand, believed that pleasure constitutes good and that what is not pleasurable is evil. Clearly then, by giving oneself entirely to material pleasure or by completely rejecting pleasure, one is able to adjust his mental attitude to a hostile environment. Both Stoicism and Epicureanism helped their respective adherents tolerate subjugation, in much the same way that Existentialism helped the French during the Nazi occupation.

The conquered peoples of Asia Minor had another way of adapting to Alexander's triumphs. Legends and fables had been transmitted orally for centuries throughout Asia Minor, many of the stories growing up around an ancient historical or mythological figure. At the time of the conquests, some of the stories were written out.⁵³ One of these works is the Babyloniaca,⁵⁴ which now exists only in an epitome by Photius.⁵⁵ Among the figures honored in other works are

⁵²Moses Hadas, "Cultural Survival and the Origin of Fiction," SAQ, LI (1952), 254.

⁵³S. Gaselle, "Appendix on the Greek Novel," in Daphnis and Chloe and Parthenius, p. 408.

⁵⁴Hadas, "Cultural Survival," p. 255.

⁵⁵Dunlop, p. 16.

Semiramis, Sesostris, Manes, and Moses. Each of these figures is used by his people as an embodiment of their respective heritage, that is, that of the Assyrian, Egyptian, Phrygian, and Jewish nations.⁵⁶

By the second and third centuries A. D., there seems to be no need to adapt stories of older heroes for the purpose of transmitting a national culture. The Greek romances of this period available to modern readers have little didactic content in respect to national pride and heritage. However, some of the romances, including Chariton's Chaereas and Gallirhoe, Xenophon of Ephesus's An Ephesian Tale, Heliodorus's Ethiopica, and the lost original of Apollonius of Tyre contain sincere defenses of certain religious cults.⁵⁷ But since the time devoted to the defense of religious cults in these novels is small in comparison to the novel as a whole, one may safely conclude that these novels are not primarily didactic in this respect.

According to Samuel Wolff, The Ethiopica, Clitophon and Leucippe, and Daphnis and Chloe are "the only extant Greek Romances which . . . have exercised any influence upon Elizabethan prose fiction."⁵⁸ The Ethiopica was

⁵⁶Hadas, "Cultural Survival," p. 255.

⁵⁷Ibid., pp. 257-258.

⁵⁸Samuel Lee Wolff, Greek Romances in Elizabethan Fiction, p. 7.

translated into English from a Latin text by Thomas Underdowne in either 1569 or 1577, with a second (or possibly a third edition) published in 1587. Daphnis and Chloe was loosely translated by Angel Day from Amyot's French translation in 1587. William Burton translated Clitophon and Leucippe in 1597; however, in 1568, a French translation by one B. Comingeois was issued,⁵⁹ and it is possible and, indeed, probably that some English writers were familiar with this work. Translations of Italian novels, the descendants of the Greek romance, were plentiful in England during this period. In 1566, William Painter issued a translation of tales by Boccaccio, Bandello, Apuleius, Xenophon, Belleforest, and Froissart.⁶⁰ Consequently, although only three Greek romances were extant and in English translation during the Tudor period, the influence which the genre had on prose and drama is great.

The attempt by the English court to adopt the culture and manners of the various Italian courts set an example for English writers. Just as Castiglione's The Courtier and Machiavelli's The Prince affected the English court, Italian writers such as Petrarch (1304-1374), Boccaccio (1313-1375), and Ariosto (1474-1532) affected English

⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 8-9.

⁶⁰J. J. Jusserand, The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare, p. 86.

poetry and prose in the sixteenth century. The works of Boccaccio, for example Decameron and Filocolo, indicate that he was well acquainted with the Greek romances and made use of the subject matter and style of those romances. When John Lyly turned to the works of Boccaccio for subject matter in the composition of Euphues, he turned indirectly to the Greek novel.⁶¹

Lyly popularized prose fiction in England with the publication of Euphues, the Anatomy of Wit in 1578.⁶² Although the modern reader might find the popularity of the novel hardly credible, Euphues had such an effect on the literature of the period that it not only generated imitators, for instance, Greene, Lodge, Riche, and Munday, but also, as Jusserand states, imitators who "were careful by choosing appropriate titles for their novels to publicly connect themselves with the euphuistic cycle."⁶³ Once Lyly established the trend in prose fiction, other writers went to the works of Boccaccio and, also, to the extant Greek romances and adapted that material which suited their purpose. Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia shows evidence of a

⁶¹Wolff, pp. 248-249.

⁶²Jusserand, p. 104.

⁶³Ibid., p. 145.

strong influence by Heliodorus's Ethiopica.⁶⁴ Robert Greene's many romances, among them Perimedes, Menaphon, and Pandosto, indicate that he was influenced, not only by the extant romances, but also by the elements of Greek romance found in Boccaccio's Decameron. Moreover, as Wolff has noted, Greene took from that work only the subject matter derived from Greek romance.⁶⁵ Finally, William Warner's Pan His Syrinx is clearly influenced structurally by the Greek romance.⁶⁶

With the exception of Sidney's Arcadia, the Elizabethan prose romance, like the Greek romance, is thematically shallow.⁶⁷ Certainly, the English authors attempted to write something other than escape literature, but one feels that thematic concerns are subservient to adventure, sentiment, and rhetoric. A typical romance involves two young lovers who are separated shortly after they realize that they are in love. The cause of separation may be a shipwreck, irate parents, capture by pirates, a war, or similar catastrophe. The lovers are sold into slavery at

⁶⁴Wolff, p. 366.

⁶⁵Ibid., pp. 374-375.

⁶⁶Walter R. Davis, Idea and Act in Elizabethan Fiction, p. 158.

⁶⁷See Hadas, "Cultural Survival," p. 257; and Wolff, p. 461.

one point or another; they contemplate or actually attempt suicide; and usually they falsely believe the other to be dead. These lovers are so beautiful physically that their virtue is under constant attack. Finally, they are reunited, oftentimes by the direct intervention of the gods, and order is restored. This ability of love to restore order in a chaotic universe is the thematic bond between Elizabethan and Greek romances. But, theme is not the overriding concern of the authors of these romances. It may be inherent in the plot structure, but it is not developed systematically by the respective authors. Shakespeare, however, unlike the Greeks and his contemporaries, did develop the thematic possibilities of romance.

A link between the Greek romance and the romance developed in medieval England is that of Alexander the Great by Pseudo-Callesthenes. Variations of this story, prevalent throughout Europe in the Middle Ages, greatly affected the cyclic romances of France and Germany.⁶⁸ Moreover, most medieval English romance is based on French romance, with one important difference. Although the English translations retain character and event, the handling of the material is substantially different. First, the verse romance became popular in England a century after

⁶⁸Albert M. Wolohojian, The Romance of Alexander the Great, p. 2.

it had become an established form in France and Germany. In fact, the rise of the romance in England corresponds with the decline of that genre in France. Even if its introduction into England had occurred at the same time as it appeared on the continent, its reception would have been fundamentally different, because the audience of the English romance was not the courtly audience of the French romance.⁶⁹ For this reason, the English romance tends to be more popular in nature and emphasized the individual, the hero, rather than the court system.⁷⁰

It is in the treatment of the hero that the English romance departs from its French source. Matter from saints' legends or exempla and from romance merge to such an extent that, after the thirteenth century, classification becomes difficult.⁷¹ This form is a sub-genre which develops in England alone. The romances of Sir Isumbras, Sir Eglamour of Artois, Sir Torrent of Portygale, Octovian, Sir Triamour, The King of Tars, Le Bone Florence, and Emaré have Christian patience and endurance as their theme⁷² which they illustrate

⁶⁹Derek Pearsall, "The Development of the Middle English Romance," MS, XXVII (1965), 91-92; also, Anna H. Billings. A Guide to the Middle English Metrical Romances.

⁷⁰Dieter Mehl, The Middle English Romance of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, p. 17.

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²John Edwin Wells, A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1400, p. 112.

by a story involving either a "man tried by fate" or a "calumniated wife" or a mixture of the two story lines. Sir Isumbras exemplifies the story of the "man tried by fate," while Sir Triamour is an example of the "calumniated wife" story.⁷³ The other romances mentioned above contain aspects of both story lines.⁷⁴

Sir Isumbras has its source in the legend of Saint Eustace--a clear case of an exemplum which becomes a romance.⁷⁵ The Eustace story found in the Gesta Romanorum differs in detail from Sir Isumbras and, also, in theme. In this tale, Eustace hears a nightingale sing and immediately considers it to be a sign from God. An old man interprets the bird's song:

pat thou shalt within thes thre daies to
 be Emperours feste, & pou shalt suffre
 grete persecucion or pou shalt come pere;
 and if pou be constant, & pacient in all
 this tribulacion thy sorowe shal turne
 the to grete joy . . .⁷⁶

⁷³Laurel Braswell, "Sir Isumbras and the Legend of Saint Eustace," MS, XXVII (1965), 133.

⁷⁴Wells, p. 113.

⁷⁵Braswell, p. 128. For an exhaustive study of the Eustace legend, see G. H. Gerould, "Forerunners, Congeners, and Derivatives of the Eustace Legend," PMLA, XIX (1904), 335-448.

⁷⁶"The Story of Saint Eustace," Gesta Romamorum, p. 87. (Subsequent references to the text are from this edition.)

On the way to the festival, Eustace's wife is held by a shipman in lieu of payment for their passage, and his two sons are stolen away by a lion and a bear. After some lamentation, Eustace arrives at the Emperour's palace, wins a tournament, and is made commander of the Emperour's army. Time passes, and he finds "a precious Stone, colourid with thre maner of colours, as in oo partie white, in as nothir partie red, and in the third partie blak." (p. 88) He is told that the stone will restore to him anything that he has lost. Eustace, then, leads the Emperour's army into battle, and two young knights who were hired by Eustace distinguish themselves. After the victory, they return to their lodging where they question each other on their parentage. The wife of Eustace, who is lodging in the same inn, recognizes the knights as her sons, and on the following morning they are reunited with Eustace, who returns to his homeland "and ended faire his lif." (p. 91)

Obviously, this story approaches romance, but the moral which follws makes the intent clear:

Dere frendis, this Emperour is our lord Ihesu Crist, the which callith vs to the turnement of penaunce, wherthrough we now come to everlastyng ioy. The knyghtes two sonys and his wif is eche good Cristen man. . . . (p. 91)

The moral continues, and the reader is aware that the story is not to be considered a romance, but rather, an exemplum.

Certain incidents and details are added to Sir Isumbras which make the story quite different from "Saint Eustace." First, the bird speaks directly to the knight:

". . . Welcome, syr Ysumbrace,
Thou hafes forgetyne whate thou was,
For pride of golde and fee!
The kyng of hevene gretis the soo,
Werldes wele the bus fro-goo,
In elde or 3outhe thou salle dry woo,
Chese whethir es lever to thee!"⁷⁷

In relating this passage to the corresponding one in the Gesta Romanorum, the reader notices two things at once. Isumbras is being punished because ". . . in his hert a pride was broughte,/Of Goddis werkes gafe he noughte" (p. 89) So, for Isumbras, a sin must be expiated before he can be reconciled to God. On the other hand, Eustace is guilty of no sin; like Job he is tested by God, and his worthiness is proven. In no sense are his tribulations a punishment for past acts.

Another contract between the stories lies in the fact that, here, Isumbras has a choice.⁷⁸ "Werldes wele the bus for-goo,/In elde or 3outhe thou salle dry woo,/Chese whethir es lever to thee!" That is, Isumbras can do his penance now or later, and he chooses to suffer while he is still young. Eustace has no such choice. He is told

⁷⁷"Sir Isumbras," The Thornton Romances, p. 90.
(Subsequent references to this text are from this edition.)

⁷⁸Braswell, p. 136.

that, within three days, he will suffer great tribulations. God has decreed it, and so it must be. In terms of theme, this difference is significant because since Isumbras's trials are a punishment, his choosing the time of penance is a part of that punishment. The foreordained trials of Eustace reinforce the idea that his patience and humility are being tested.

Sir Isumbras's trials are much more severe than those of Eustace, who loses his wife and children within the space of three days but wins the Emperour's tournament and is made commander of his army. In contrast, the physical hardships of Isumbras last fifteen years. He works for seven years as a blacksmith:

And this bare the knyght iryne and stone
 Unto the sevene wynter were alle gone,
 And wroghte hym-selvene full woo;
 And untill that he couthe make a fyre,
 And then thay gafe hym 3omans hyre,
 Wele more he wroghte thane twoo!
 A smethyman thus was he thore
 Fully sevene 3ere or more,
 And blewe thaire belyes bloo
 (p. 105)

During his years as a smith, the Saracens win victory upon victory. At last Isumbras, wearing a suit of armour he has made for himself, joins a Christian army. He distinguishes himself in battle but is wounded and left to recover at a nunnery. When he is well enough, he travels to the Holy Land, where he sojourns another seven years:

The knyghte purveyed bothe slavyne and pike,
 And made himselfe a palmere lyke,
 And thoughte that he wolde wende. . . .
 Whenne thay in that havene lenede,
 With wery bones the knyghte up-wenede
 In to that haythene stede;
 And sevene 3ere he was fully thore,
 With hungere, and thriste, and bones sore,
 In storye thus als we rede.
 Full weryle thane 3ode he thore aye,
 And wrechidly one nyghttis he laye
 In his povre wede,
 Goddes werkkes for to wyrke,
 To serve Gode and haly kyrke,
 And to mende hir are mysdede.
 (pp. 108-109)

Finally Isumbras is reunited with his wife and, then, defeats the Saracens with the help of his three previously lost sons. The difference in the themes of "Saint Eustace" and Sir Isumbras lies, of course, in the motivation for the action of the stories. Saint Eustace is truly a "man tried by fate"; Sir Isumbras is not "tried" in the strict sense of the word but, rather, punished for his sin of pride. Eustace is proved to be a patient and humble man worthy of redemption, and Isumbras expiates his sin.

On the other hand, the story of the "calumniated wife" differs from the "man tried by fate" in that the action is not precipitated by the intervention of God. In Sir Triamour, as in other stories of this type, the plot begins through the actions of a jealous and misinformed husband. Aradas, the king of Arragon decides to undertake a crusade to the Holy Land in the hope that God will reward him with a son. On the eve of his departure, his wife,

Margaret, conceives that son. While Aradas is in the Holy Land, his steward, Marrock, attempts to seduce Margaret, who, of course, rejects his proposition. He, then, insists that he was only testing her virtue. When the king returns to find Margaret pregnant, Marrock secretly tells him that the child is not his. Aradas is infuriated and agrees to exile Margaret without giving her a chance to reply to the accusation. The queen sets out with a kinsman, Sir Roger, who is ambushed and killed by Marrock. Margaret escapes and eventually arrives at Hungary where she gives birth to Triamour. A kind knight, Sir Bernard Mowswinge, takes her to his home where

. . . there dwelled that Ladye longe
 with much Ioy them amonge;
 of her the were never wearye.
 the child was taught great nurterye;
 a Master had him under his care,
 & taught him curtesie.⁷⁹

The remainder of the romance deals with the exploits of Triamour, centering around the winning of his wife, Helen, and his combat on behalf of Aradas. The romance is resolved when Margaret tells Triamour that his father is Aradas; Triamour marries Helen, and Margaret and Aradas are reunited. The romance ends in the hope that the reader will have the grace of Margaret and share in the pleasures of heaven.

⁷⁹"Sir Triamour," Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript, p. 96.

The stories of the "man tried by fate" and the "calumniated wife" are particularly suited to romance. In each, there are splendid opportunities for the inclusion of one fantastic adventure after another, but they are also suited to moralistic studies. In fact, a "man tried by fate" plot necessarily becomes moralistic in that the fates, whether they be the Christian god, the Greek deity, or an indifferent cosmic mechanism, force the hero out of his accustomed life style and into a confrontation with his own value system.⁸⁰ For example, Sir Isumbras is made to reevaluate experientially his "pride of golde and fee!" So, the blending of romance with saints' legends seems to be an almost natural development, and it is not at all surprising that the gospels themselves were cast into romantic form by a Catholic priest in 1600.⁸¹ One can see that romance is not necessarily an escapist genre. It can be "sage and serious" and, at any rate, should not be taken so lightly as some critics are wont to do. Indeed, Shakespeare not only uses chivalric romance in parts of Pericles, but in another play of disputed authorship, The Two Noble Kinsmen, he uses Chaucer's "Knight's Tale" as his major source.

⁸⁰Mehl, p. 121.

⁸¹Stanley Wells, "Shakespeare and Romance," Later Shakespeare, p. 52.

While the lives of the saints were used as material for verse romance, usually applying the incidents of the saint's life to a Christian knight or princess, medieval drama utilized this material directly. At Dunstable a ludus de Sancta Katarina was written either in Latin or Anglo-Norman before 1119.⁸² Various documents indicate that the lives of approximately twenty-five saints were staged,⁸³ although only two such miracle⁸⁴ plays, The Conversion of Saint Paul and Mary Magdalene, are extant, today.⁸⁵

Thematically, the difference between verse romance based on saints' legends and the saints' plays is found in the more explicit moral content of the saints' plays. Since the verse romance is usually concerned with the adventures of a knight (or princess) rather than saint, the religious content of the romance has a different emphasis. In the verse romance, the chivalric code and the Christian code are portrayed as coordinates; whereas, in the miracle plays,

⁸²Gordon H. Gerould, Saints' Legends, p. 295. Also, Hardin Craig, English Religious Drama; E. Hamilton Moore, English Miracle Plays and Moralities; Karl Young, The Drama of the Church.

⁸³Gerould, Saints', p. 297.

⁸⁴The term "miracle" denotes those plays that deal with saints' legends or miracles attributed to the saints.

⁸⁵Williams, p. 163.

the chivalric code, if it has any part at all in the play, is clearly subordinate to the Christian code. Sir Isumbras wins glory for God with his sword and lance; chivalry and Christianity are inseparable in this instance. However, in the Digby play, The Conversion of Saint Paul, one can see the split between Christianity and chivalry. For example, before his conversion, Paul is seen as a pagan knight in the service of his king:⁸⁶

Nobyll prelates and princes of Regalyte,
Desyryng and askyng of your benyngne wurthynes,
Your letters and epystolys of most souerente,
To subdue rebellyons that wyll of frawardnes,
A-gaynst our lawes rebell of transgresse,
Nor wyll not incline but mak obieccion,
To pursue all such I wyll do proteccion.⁸⁷

After his conversion, Paul loses all vestige of the knight and becomes a humble and meek discipline of Christ.

The problem of dealing with saints' plays is the lack of texts with which to work. It is obvious that saints' legends, verse romances, and miracle plays are closely related in subject matter and, to some extent, in theme. But more important than theme to the present concern is the fact that the miracle plays, unlike the Greek novel and the medieval verse romance, are in dramatic form. Many scholars view the saints' plays as the beginning of romantic drama

⁸⁶Ibid.

⁸⁷The Digby Plays, p. 28. (Subsequent references to this play and to Mary Magdalene are from this edition.)

in England.⁸⁸ The nature of romance, with its inherent disunity of time, place, and action,⁸⁹ presents serious problems to the playwright, and the miracle plays, more specifically the saints' plays, are among the earliest drama to deal with this amoebaeen subject matter.⁹⁰

There can be no question but that Shakespeare was familiar with the Greek novel, either directly or through the works of Boccaccio and, in his own time, Greene. One may take it for granted also, that he knew medieval verse romance; at any rate, he had read Chaucer and Gower. Moreover, it is certain that he was aware of the religious drama of the medieval era.⁹¹ Finally, he purposely drew upon the traditions of that drama in his last plays.⁹²

⁸⁸K. L. Bates, The English Religious Drama, p. 35; L. G. Salingar, "Time and Art in Shakespeare's Romances," RenD, IX (1966), 3-35; Glynne Wickham, Shakespeare's Dramatic Heritage; M. D. Anderson, Drama and Imagery in English Medieval Churches.

⁸⁹This is not to say that the unities of time, place, and action are absolutely essential to drama. However, given the conditions with which a playwright works in the theatre, the lack of the unities in subject matter compounds the problems of the creation of dramatic effect and necessitates a compensation of some kind.

⁹⁰Williams, pp. 166-167.

⁹¹Craig (ed.), Works, p. 16.

⁹²Salingar, p. 12.

CHAPTER III

SHAKESPEARE'S PASTORAL, RELIGIOUS, AND UTOPIAN TRAGICOMEDIES

Among Shakespeare's final work is a group of four plays, Pericles, Cymbeline, The Winter's Tale, and The Tempest, whose subject matter is traceable to the Greek novels. Critics usually refer to them as either "tragicomedies" or "the late romances," but neither reference is totally adequate. To be sure many of Shakespeare's early plays are romances, but not like the "late" romances. And while "late" places them in time, it does not identify the differences between The Comedy of Errors⁹³ and The Winter's Tale. On the other hand, tragicomedy, perhaps because of the many attempts at definition, is an elusive term. In his preface to the first quarto edition of The Faithfull Shepherdess, John Fletcher made sure that the reader would not mistake his form:

If you be not reasonably assured of your knowledge in this kind of poem, lay down the book, or read this, which I would wish had been the prologue. It is a pastoral tragi-comedy . . . A tragi-comedy is not so called in respect of mirth and killing, but in respect it wants deaths, which is enough to

⁹³Gesner, p. 51; Felperin, p. 57.

make it no comedy, which must be a representation of familiar people with such kind of trouble as no life be questioned, so that a god is as lawful in this as in a tragedy, and mean people as in a comedy.⁹⁴

This definition, as far as it goes, fits Pericles, Cymbeline, The Winter's Tale, and The Tempest; but in spite of the satire directed at the classification of plays in Hamlet, the nature of these plays in relation to tragicomedy should be made more specific.

While tragicomedy (in the broadest sense of a mixture of tragic and comic elements within one play) has been a part of the drama of every era, the tragicomedy of the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods evolved from medieval religious drama.⁹⁵ That religious drama should contain elements of tragicomedy is quite natural, since the Church views man's time on earth as only a period of trial before he is reunited with God in perfect bliss. The characteristics of the tragicomedy that grew out of this religious drama are "the serious nature of the plot, the absence of deaths, the freedom from rule, the noble rank of the characters, the romantic nature of the subject, the happy denouement, and the mixture of tragic and comic plots."⁹⁶

⁹⁴Elizabethan and Stuart Plays, p. 1147.

⁹⁵F. H. Ristine, English Tragicomedy: Its Origin and History, pp. 60-61.

⁹⁶Ibid., p. xi.

These characteristics are, of course, flexible, and very few plays known as tragicomedies possess all of them.

Certainly, Shakespeare's late romances conform to most of the above characteristics in some manner. All four plays have a serious plot, and, while death is absent only in The Tempest, in Pericles and Cymbeline the characters who die are deserving of their fate. However, in The Winter's Tale occur the deaths of two sympathetic characters, and such events is not supposed to happen in tragicomedy. Following the famous stage direction, "Exit, pursued by a bear," the clown reports what he has seen to his father:

Clo. I have seen two such sights, by sea and by land! but I am not to say it is the sea, for it is now the sky: betwixt the firmament and it you cannot thrust a bodkin's point.

Shep. Why, boy, how is it?

Clo. I would you did but see how it chafes, how it rages, how it takes up the shore! but that's not to the point. O, the most piteous cry of the poor souls! sometimes to see 'em, and not to see 'em; now the ship boring the moon with her mainmast, and anon swallowed with yest and froth, as you'd thrust a cork into a hogshead. And then for the land-service, to see how the bear tore out his shoulder-bone; how he cried to me for help and said his name was Antigonus, a nobleman. But to make an end of the ship, to see how the sea flap-dragoned it: but, first, how the souls roared, and the sea mocked them; and how the gentleman roared and the bear mocked him, both roaring louder than the sea or weather.

Shep. Name of mercy, when was this, boy?

Clo. Now, now: I have not winked since I saw these sights: the men are not yet cold under water, nor the bear halfed dined on the gentleman: he's at it now. . . .

Clo. Go you the next way with your findings.
 I'll go see if the bear be gone from the
 gentleman and how much he hath eaten:
 they are never cust but when they are
 hungry: if there any of him left, I'll
 burie it.⁹⁷

This scene is not merely a mixture of comic and tragic elements for while the son has witnessed death (that of Antigonus and the ship's crew), his father has found a new born child, Perdita. The juxtaposition of youth and age with death and birth is an expression of the cyclic nature of existense which lies at the core of the play's meaning. The inclusion of the physical death of a sympathetic character such as Antigonus, at the expense of the proper tragicomical form, serves to intensify this meaning. Moreover, the death of Leontes's son, Manilhus, is without parallel in Shakespeare's tragicomedies, and it, too, represents a sacrifice of form to meaning.

Although Ristine rejects the "mere mixing of tragic and comic elements" as an important characteristic of tragedy, such a mixture can be found in Shakespeare's plays. The passage from The Winter's Tale cited above is, perhaps, the most vivid example of tragic and comic elements in a

⁹⁷William Shakespeare, The Winter's Tale, p. 1231. (References to The Winter's Tale, Cymbeline, and The Tempest are from Craig's edition; references to Pericles are from the New Arden Shakespeare edited by F. D. Hoeniger.)

single scene.⁹⁸ Antigonus, unlike Cloten or Antiochus, is neither a braggard nor a villain. The dialogue between the clown and his father would be more fitting had the victim been another Cloten. But Shakespeare has chosen to include in the scene both tragedy and comedy rather than, like Fletcher, to create a scene that is neither tragedy nor comedy.

Three of the four plays in question, Pericles, Cymbeline, and The Winter's Tale, lack the unities of time, place, and action. The Tempest, however, is cast in a strictly classical form. H. C. Lancaster in his study of French tragicomedy mentions that it includes ". . . types as various as the medieval genres from which they sprung, united by the common possession of a happy dénouement, a classical form and name."⁹⁹ Hence, although many tragicomedies violate the classical unities, others, like The Tempest, conform to the rules. In this respect, the technique used in The Tempest has much in common with The Comedy of Errors.¹⁰⁰

There is, perhaps, too much emphasis placed on the similarities of Shakespeare's tragicomedies, so that their

⁹⁸Nevill Coghill, "Six Points of Stage-Craft in The Winter's Tale," ShS, XI (1958), 34-35; Gesner, p. 141; Wickham, p. 262.

⁹⁹The French Tragi-Comedy, p. ix.

¹⁰⁰S. Wells, p. 70.

power as individual plays is lost. For instance, E. M. W. Tillyard lists their common elements:

We find in each the same general scheme of prosperity, destruction, and recreation. The main character is a King. At the beginning he is in prosperity. He then does an evil or misguided deed. Great suffering follows, but during this suffering or at its height the seeds of something new to issue from it are germinating, usually in secret. In the end this new element assimilates and transforms the old evil. The King overcomes his evil instincts, joins himself to the new order by an act of forgiveness or repentance; and the play issues into a fairer prosperity than had first existed.¹⁰¹

Indeed, the tragicomedies have much in common, but many of these common elements are presented in different ways and for different reasons. For example, Pericles's wooing of the daughter of Antiochus is neither evil nor misguided since, in no way, could he have known of her degeneracy prior to his solution of the riddle. His actions are entirely in keeping with his noble rank, i.e., as a prince he is justified in seeking marriage with a beautiful princess. On the other hand, Prospero's misfortunes are brought about more through the evil of his brother, Antonio, than any thing else. Although Prospero berates himself somewhat for not tending conscientiously to his dukedom, the onus is placed on Antonio:

Prospero. I pray thee, mark me.
I, thus neglecting wordly ends, all dedicated

¹⁰¹Shakespeare's Last Plays, p. 26.

To closeness and the bettering of my mind
 With that which, but being so retired,
 O'er-prized all popular rate, in my false
 brother
 Awakened an evil nature; and my trust,
 Like a good parent, did beget of him
 A falsehood in its contrary as great
 As my trust was; which had indeed no limit,
 A confidence sans bound. He being thus
 lorded,
 Not only with what my revenue yielded,
 But what my power might else exact, like one
 Who having into truth, by telling of it,
 Made such a sinner of his memory,
 To credit his own lie, he did believe
 He was indeed the duke; out o'the substitution,
 And executing the outward face of royalty,
 With all prerogative . . .
 (Temp. I. ii. 89-105)

Moreover, in The Tempest the reconciliation is not brought about by the younger generation. Prospero controls the situation from the outset, and so it is not the "new element" that transforms the "old evil." Neither Prospero nor Pericles have "evil instincts" that need to be overcome. And, strictly speaking there is no forgiveness or repentance in Pericles.¹⁰² The prince is reunited with Thaisa and Marina, and not reconciled to them, as is the case in The Winter's Tale. Moreover, Pericles fully intends "to strike/ The inhospitable Cleon. . ." (V. ii. 250-251) and is prevented from doing so only by the citizens of Tharsus, who burn Cleon in his palace when they hear of "his cursed deed to th'honour'd name/Of Pericles. . . ." (Epilogue, 12-13)

¹⁰² Ernest Gohn, "The Tempest: Theme and Structure," ES, XLV (1964), 117.

One sees that there are differences within the common elements in these plays that should not be overlooked.

There is another basic difference in the nature of the four tragicomedies hinted at by various commentators but never incorporated into an overview of these plays. This difference may be traced to the Greek romances. As Moses Hadas has noted, many of the Greek novels are apologias. In most of the romances, the relationship of cause-and-effect is flimsy, and life appears to be absurd. However, in this type of romance, the gods intervene in the action to put order into what seems to be chaos. An Ephesian Tale and Ethiopica are representative of this type. Another variation on the romance is the pastoral of which Daphnis and Chloe is the prototype. The third kind of romance is utopian in nature, as exhibited in the short piece by Dio Chrysostom, The Hunters of Euboea. These three types of romance all occur within the standard framework of the Greek novel already cited; and, for the most part, they do not occur homogeneously in any one work, although one type usually dominates in a given novel.¹⁰³ One can see a similar pattern in Shakespeare's tragicomedies, a pattern that would seem to contradict those critics, e.g. Tillyard, who insist too much on the common elements of these plays.

¹⁰³Three Greek Romances, pp. 7-8.

Cymbeline, written in 1609 or 1610, has been the recipient of critical extremes. One claims that the play is "one of Shakespeare's most wonderful compositions," while the other states that "as the work of a dramatist Cymbeline is nothing."¹⁰⁴ Of course, if one searched long enough, one might find similar critical extremes about all of Shakespeare's plays; but Cymbeline is one of the most problematic plays in this respect. Its sources are found in Holinshed and in Boccaccio's Decameron.¹⁰⁵ The plot has three separate lines, that of Imogen and Posthumus's marriage, the loss of Cymbeline's sons, and the war with Rome.¹⁰⁶ Gesner traces this structure directly to the Ethiopica of Heliodorus.¹⁰⁷

In terms of Hadas's distinction between types of Greek romance, Cymbeline contains elements of all three and to such an extent that it is impossible to determine which one dominates. Perhaps, the most obvious type is the pastoral element that surrounds that aspect of plot dealing with Cymbeline's lost sons. The pastoral element is

¹⁰⁴Bernard Harris, "'What's Past is Prologue': Cymbeline and Henry VIII," Later Shakespeare, pp. 204-205; A. A. Stephenson, "The Significance of Cymbeline," Scrutiny, X (1942), 329.

¹⁰⁵Craig, Works, p. 1180.

¹⁰⁶Felperin, p. 179.

¹⁰⁷Shakespeare and the Greek Romances, p. 99.

alluded to in the play's first scene when Imogen, in defense of her marriage to Posthumus, tells Cymbeline "Would I were/A neat-herd's daughter, and my Leonatus/ Our neighbor shepherd's son!" (I.i.147-149). However, the pastoral itself actually begins in III.iii, when the locale shifts to Wales. But, it is clear that this plot line is not true pastoral in that Belarius, Guiderius, and Arviragus make their living as hunters, not as shepherds. However, the traditional pastoral conflict between the court and country¹⁰⁸ occurs in the following scene in the dialogue between Belarius and the sons of Cymbeline:

Bel. A goodly day not to keep house, with such
 Whose roof's as low as ours! Stoops, boys, this gate
 Instructs you how to adore the heavens and bows you
 To a morning's holy office: the gates or monarchs
 Are arch'd so high that giants may jet through
 And keep their impious turbans on, without fair!
 Good morrow to the sun. Hail, thou heaven
 We house i' the rock, yet use thee not so hardly
 As prouder livers do. . . .

O, this life
 Is nobler than attending for a check,
 Richer than doing nothing for a bauble,
 Prouder than rustling in unpaid-for silk:
 Such gain the cap of him that makes 'em fine,
 Yet keeps his book uncross'd; no life to ours.

Gui. . . . Haply this life is best,
 If quiet life be best; sweeter to you
 That have a sharper known; well corresponding
 With your stiff age: but unto us it is
 A cell of ignorance; travelling a-bed;
 A prison for a debtor, that not dares
 To stride a limit.

¹⁰⁸Hallett Smith, "Elizabethan Pastoral," Pastoral and Romance, p. 19.

Arv.

What should we speak of
 When we are old as you? when we shall hear
 The rain and wind beat dark December, how,
 In this our pinching cave, shall we discourse
 The freezing hours away? We have seen nothing;
 We are beastly, subtle as the fox for prey,
 Like warlike as the wolf for what we eat;
 Our valour is to chase what flies; our cage
 We make a quire, as doth the prison'd bird,
 And sing our bondage freely.

(III. iii. 1-44)

As in Shakespeare's other pastorals, the nobles return to the court at the end of the play. No matter how ideal the country may be, its function is recreational. It is a resort area, a spa, where one can peacefully reorder one's priorities, and, after a time, return to court renewed.¹⁰⁹

The utopian element of the play centers around the conflict between Britain and Rome. Britain had been conquered by Julius Caesar, and, from that time until the time of the action of the play, the two countries had lived in peace. That peace is disturbed by the queen who spurs Cymbeline to refuse to pay tribute to Rome. The source for this aspect of the plot of Cymbeline is Holinshed, and it should be noted that Shakespeare used material from this and other sources, because it was well known to his audience and, therefore, could be counted on to effect in the audience the reaction wished for by the playwright.¹¹⁰ Finally,

¹⁰⁹Harold Jenkins, "As You Like It," ShS, VIII (1955), 44-45.

¹¹⁰W. B. Thorne, "Cymbeline: 'Lopp'd Branches' and the Concept of Regeneration," SQ, XX (1969), 144.

the source for this part of the play makes the utopian aspect clear:

. . . But whether this controversy, which appearth to fall forth betwixt the Britons and Augustus, was occasioned by Cymbeline or some other prince of the Britons, I have not to avouch. For that by our writers it is reported that Cymbeline, being brought up in Rome and knighted in the court of Augustus, ever showed himself a friend to the Romans, and chiefly was loath to break with them because the youth of the Briton nation should not be deprived of the benefit to be trained and brought up among the Romans; whereby they might learn both to behave themselves like civil men and to attain to the knowledge of feats of war.¹¹¹

The connection with Rome is vital to the prosperity of the Britons, as Cymbeline and the Soothsayer indicate after the British victory:

- Cym. . . . My peace we will begin. And, Caius Lucius, Although the victor, we submit to Caesar, And to the Roman empire; promising To pay are wonted tribute, from the which We were dissuaded by our wicked queen; Whom heavens, in justice, both of her and hers, Have laid most heavy hand.
- Sooth. The fingers of the powers above do tune The harmony of this peace. The vision Which I made known to Lucius, ere the stroke Of this yet scarece-cold battle, at this instant Is full accomplish'd; for the Roman eagle, From south to west on wing soaring aloft, Lessen'd herself, and in the beams o' the sun So vanish'd: which foreshadowed our princely eagle, The imperial Caesar, should again unite His favour with the radiant Gymbeline, Which shines here in the west.
- Cym. Laud we the gods; And let our crooked smokes climb to their nostrils From our blest altars. Publish we this peace

¹¹¹Shakespeare's Holinshed, p. 5.

To all our subjects. Set we forward: let
 A Roman and a British ensign wave
 Friendly together: so through Lud's-town march:
 And in the temple of great Jupiter
 Our peace we'll ratify; seal it with feasts.
 Set on there! Never was a war did cease,
 Ere bloody hands were wash'd, with such a peace.
 (V. v. 459-485)

The British utopia is reestablished as Cymbeline voluntarily agrees to pay tribute to Rome. The political order is restored, and "the harmony of this peace" suggests the perfection of the system.

Although the gods intervene in the action of Cymbeline, the religious elements in the play are extremely subtle and, once again, the source material is of assistance. In the fifth act, there occur several prophetic dreams in one of which Jupiter makes an appearance and tells the father of Posthumus:

Whom I love best I cross; to make by gift,
 The more delay'd, delighted. Be content;
 Your low-laid son our godhead will uplift:
 His comforts thrive, his trials well are spent.
 (V. iv. 101-104)

But the source material and contemporary references to Cymbeline indicate that Jupiter is not the deity that governs this play. Holinshed remarks that the only significant event to occur during Cymbeline's reign is the birth of Christ.¹¹² As it has been previously cited, Holinshed and other "historians" were not at all sure that the war of

¹¹²Ibid., p. 4.

tribute took place during Cymbeline's reign. In fact, every indication points to the contrary. As one critic has stated, Shakespeare's use of Cymbeline as the titular character is not completely warranted by its dramatic effect.¹¹³ Since the contemporary audience was very much aware of the fact that Christ was born in the time of Cymbeline, the peace which is accomplished at the end of the play would have had an aura that would take it out of the political spectrum.¹¹⁴

Pastoral, utopian, and religious elements are interwoven throughout Cymbeline in such a way that none of them dominates the play. It is no coincidence that Howard Felperin, in dealing with the play from a different perspective in Shakespearean Romance, entitles his chapter on Cymbeline "Tragical-Comical-Historical-Pastoral." The motifs of the play are so many and so varied that it is difficult to ferret out the direction of the meaning of the play. The theme of rebirth is, of course, common to the pastoral, utopian, and religious aspects, but it is, perhaps, merely speculation to try to pinpoint the implications of that rebirth in the personal, political, or spiritual sphere.

¹¹³Robin Moffett, "Cymbeline and the Nativity," SQ, XIII (1962), 207.

¹¹⁴J. P. Brockbank, "History and Historionics in Cymbeline," ShS, XI (1958), 45-46; Moffett, p. 209; Felperin, pp. 180-181.

That The Winter's Tale is a pastoral scarcely needs proving. The source of the play is Greene's Pandosto, based on the prototype of pastoral romance, Daphnis and Chloe. There is also evidence in The Winter's Tale that Shakespeare borrowed certain incidents from Amyot's translation of Daphnis and Chloe.¹¹⁵ The pastoral element is introduced by Polixenes in the first act when he recounts to Hermione his earlier relationship with Leontes:

We were as twinn'd lambs that did frisk i' the sun,
 And bleat the one at the other: what we changed
 Was innocence for innocence; we knew not
 The doctrine of ill-doing, not dream'd
 That any did. Had we pursued that life,
 And our weak spirits ne'er been higher rear'd
 With stronger blood, we should have answer'd heaven
 Boldly 'not guilty;' the imposition clear'd
 Hereditary ours.

(I. ii. 67-74)

The ideal setting is disturbed by the addition of women to their world:¹¹⁶

O my most sacred lady!
 Temptations have since then been born to's; for
 In those unfledged days was my wife a girl;
 Your precious self had then not cross'd the eyes
 Of my young play-fellow.

(I. ii. 75-79)

The pastoral world is one which has personal, rather than political or spiritual implications. It is one in which the ideal interpersonal relationship between Leontes and

¹¹⁵Gesner, p. 116.

¹¹⁶Peter Lindenbaum, "The Uses of Pastoral in The Winter's Tale," ShN, XX (1970), 28.

Polixenes is threatened and destroyed by women; and it is their inability to cope with this new relationship maturely that causes the dissolution of the ideal.¹¹⁷

The pastoral existence of Perdita, Florizel, the shepherd, and the clown is intruded upon on several occasions by factions from the court. First, Autolycus, who had been in the service of Florizel at court, cozens the clown and makes off with money that was to have procured various goods for the sheep-shearing feast. But this is a comic invasion and is not so serious as that of Polixenes at the sheep-shearing feast. The disguised Polixenes reveals his identity after his son, Florizel, declares that he will not tell this father of his forthcoming marriage to Perdita:

Pol. Mark your divorce, young sir,
 Whom son I dare not call; thou art too base
 To be acknowledged: thou a sceptre's heir,
 That thus affect'st a sheep-hook! Thou old traitor,
 I am sorry that by hanging thee I can
 But shorten thy life one week. And thou, fresh piece
 Of excellent witchcrafts, who of force must know
 The royal fool thou copest with--

Shep. O, my heart!

Pol. I'll have thy beauty scratch'd with briars,
 and made
 More homely than thy state. For thee, fond boy,
 If I may ever know thou does but sigh
 That thou no more shalt see this knack, as never
 I mean thou shalt, we'll bar thee from succession;
 Not hold thee of our blood, no, not our kin,
 Far than Deucalion off: mark thou my words:
 Follow us to court. Thou churl, for this time,

¹¹⁷Ibid., p. 28.

Though full of our displeasure, yet we free thee
 From the dead blow of it. And you, enchantment,--
 Worthy enough a herdsman; yea, him too,
 That makes himself, but for our honour therein,
 Unworthy thee,--if ever henceforth thou
 These rural latches to his entrance open,
 Or hoop his body with thy embraces,
 I will devise a death as cruel for thee
 As thou art tender to't.

Per.

Even here undone!

I am not much afeard; for once or twice
 I was about to speak and tell him plainly,
 The selfsame sun that shines upon his court
 Hides not his visage from our cottage but
 Looks on alike.

(IV. iv. 427-456)

The pastoral world is threatened by the court, but again, this threat is caused by the failure of an individual to interact properly with others. The ideal world of Polixenes's childhood was shattered by his (and Leontes's) inability to cope with women; the ideal world of Florizel and Perdita, who are able to interact, is shattered by Polixenes.

A study of Pandosto, the source of The Winter's Tale, reveals an interesting alteration on the part of Shakespeare. In Greene's novel, the character who corresponds to Hermione dies. Shakespeare, in the restoration scene at the end of the play, shifts the focus of the play from the young lovers to Leontes and Hermione,¹¹⁸ and by doing so emphasizes the personal nature of the events rather than any

¹¹⁸Jerry H. Bryant, "The Winter's Tale and the Pastoral Tradition," SQ, XIV (1963), 394-395.

cosmic significance. More than anything else, the pastoral world becomes the vehicle for personal revitalization.¹¹⁹

In The Tempest, Shakespeare does not dramatize all of the events relevant to the restoration scene as he does in Pericles and The Winter's Tale. For example, Prospero's overthrow as Duke of Milan, the voyage of Prospero and the infant Miranda, and the twelve years spent on the island are a part of the narrative exposition and not of the action of the play.¹²⁰ Although the stock romance situations are not, for the most part, dramatized, they are nevertheless, present in The Tempest. Shakespeare has seen fit to employ in this play the classical unities, the components of a formalistically perfect drama. It is apt that he should construct The Tempest in such a unified manner, since the play is an example of the utopian romance.

Both pastoral and utopian romance depict an ideal environment. The distinction between the two is simple: the pastoral environment is peopled by rustics, or nobles pretending to be rustics, supported by an agrarian economy, and governed solely by nature; the utopian environment is peopled by a variety of social classes, supported by a mixed economy, and governed by man. Melvin Seiden draws a parallel between the two: "Utopianism is to politics what

¹¹⁹Felperin, p. 212

¹²⁰Craig, Works, p. 1248; Felperin, p. 247.

[pastoral] romance is to ordinary quotidian life."¹²¹

The implication is clear that a utopian romance will concern itself with the body politic; whereas, the pastoral will deal with the individual and his orientation to life. The Tempest, then, is only superficially concerned with the reconciliation of Prospero and Antonio; the primary concern of the play lies in the nature of the state.

The first scene of The Tempest deals with a micro-cosmic state that is anything but utopia. In an interesting juxtaposition of roles, the noblemen, Alonso, Sebastian, Antonio, Ferdinand, and Gonzalo, become subjects of the shipmen who constitute the ship's ruling class. This situation is elucidated in the exchange between the nobles and the boatswain:

Alon. Good boatswain, have care. Where's the master?
Play the men.

Boat. I pray now, keep below.

Ant. Where is your master, boatswain?

Boat. Do you not hear him? You mar our labor:
keep your cabins: you do assist the storm.

Gon. Nay, good, be patient.

Boat. When the sea is. Hence! What cares these
roarers for the name of king? To cabin: silence!
trouble us not.

Gon. Good, yet remember whom thou hast aboard.

Boat. None that I more love than myself. You are a
counsellor; if you can command these elements to
silence, and work the peace of the present, we
will not hand a rope more; use your authority:
if you cannot, give thanks you have lived so
long, and make yourself ready in your cabin
for the mischance of the hour, if it so hap.

¹²¹"Utopian in The Tempest," MLQ, XXXI (1970), 21.

Cheerly, good hearts! Out of our way, I say.
(I. i. 10-29)

As the shipmen work to save the ship, the nobles impede their efforts¹²² because they lack the ability to aid the shipmen, and because they fail to comprehend their own position as subjects of the shipmen. Thus, it is not so much the storm or external force that disrupts the well-being of the ship as it is the internal disharmony caused by the nobles. This is the second rebellion in the play, the first being the take-over of Milan by Antonio.

When Prospero arrives at the island, it is ungoverned. Sycorax, who had imprisoned the spirit Ariel in a pine tree, had died some years before, and so, Prospero is free to put order into the island by releasing Ariel and relegating Caliban to his proper station. After Prospero experiments with Caliban and attempts to treat him with kindness, Caliban responds to Prospero's warmth, by trying to rape Miranda. Since Caliban is an ugly character, more animal than human,¹²³ his claim of kingship of the island (through his mother, Sycorax) is absurd. Prospero, in a position to create a utopia with his magic, takes advantage of the situation.¹²⁴

¹²²Felperin, p. 270.

¹²³G. Wilson Knight, The Crown of Life, p. 211.

¹²⁴Leo Marx, "Shakespeare's American Fable," MR, II (1960), 58-59.

The several tries at rebellion in The Tempest, including Sebastian and Antonio's plot to kill Alonso and Caliban's conspiracy with Trinculo and Stephano to take over the island, fail because of Prospero's magic. However, the magic cannot prevent rebellious thoughts and intentions; and in light of this evil, the utopia seems fragile. Only through the forgiveness which marks the resolution of the play does an efficacious utopia seem possible.¹²⁵ Certainly, the utopia proposed by Gonzalo is pure fantasy, fiction within fiction:

Gon. I' the commonwealth I would by contraries
Execute all things; for no kind of traffic
Would I admit; no name of magistrate;
Letters should not be known; riches, poverty,
And use of service, none; contract, succession,
No use of metal, corn, or wine, or oil;
No occupation; all men idle, all;
And women too, but innocent and pure;
No sovereignty;--

Seb. Yet he would be king on't.

Ant. The latter end of his commonwealth forgets
the beginning.

Gon. All things in common nature should produce
Without sweat or endeavor: treason, felony,
Sword, pike, knife, gun, or need of nay engine,
Would I not have, all foison, all abundance,
To feed my innocent people.

Seb. No marrying 'mong his subjects?

Ant. None, man; all idle: whores and knaves.

Gon. I would with such perfection govern, sir,
To excel the golden age.

(II. i. 147-168)

Prospero realizes that such a commonwealth would be impossible. The essential component of a utopia is the contentedness of

¹²⁵Dean Ebner, "The Tempest: Rebellion and the Ideal State," SQ, XVI (1965), 161.

its inhabitants; everyone must be satisfied with his station. There will always be Calibans to threaten the ideal, but through forgiveness even they can be controlled.

While the motif of rebirth and restoration informs the meaning of Cymbeline, The Winter's Tale, and The Tempest, it does so through its context. In each case, the rebirth or restoration that takes place is of a different order. Cymbeline remains ambiguous because of the mixture of orders. Whether the thrust of the play is aimed at the personal, the political, or the spiritual order is an open question. In fairness to the play, perhaps this mixture is indicative of a total integration of human phenomena. The Winter's Tale deals with the problem of an individual's attempts to understand reality as it affects him. The action of the play is set into motion by Leontes, but unlike Prospero, he has no control over events, once they begin.¹²⁶ Leontes is reconciled to the reality of situations which he caused but could not control. The pastoral frame is a means to separate the man from his context, that, his kingdom, which is accomplished through his daughter, Perdita. The Tempest is utopian in nature in that the focus of the play is not on Prospero's individual psyche, but rather on his manipulation of his

¹²⁶Gohn, p. 117.

island kingdom which results in his restoration ad Duke of Milan. Finally, the integration that is achieved in The Tempest is more political than personal.

CHAPTER IV

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MEDIEVAL RELIGIOUS DRAMA IN PERICLES

Pericles, like Cymbeline, The Winter's Tale, and The Tempest, exhibits a tragicomical world view--in this case, a Christian world view.¹²⁷ Like the other plays just mentioned, it, too, illustrates the motif of rebirth and restoration, but one that is essentially spiritual in nature, not personal or political. Hence, Pericles, as the "man tried by fate," becomes a Job-like character.¹²⁸ Herein, Shakespeare utilizes the conventions of romance derived from three traditions. Although a Greek novel provides him with the main plot, and although the conventions of chivalric romance provide him with spectacle, he has taken the theme from the traditions of medieval religious drama, namely in the form of saints' or miracle plays, the

¹²⁷The tragicomic world view can be equated with most religious traditions, Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, etc. However, since Shakespeare lived and worked in a Christian culture, it is best to emphasize the Christian values.

¹²⁸Gerard A. Barker, "Themes and Variations in Shakespeare's Pericles," *ES*, XLIV (1963), 414; Gesner, p. 88; Felperin, p. 167.

Apollonius story merely providing him with the framework through which this theme of Christian patience, so prominent in the medieval drama, may be displayed. Moreover, it will be seen, that the medieval religious drama supplies not only the theme, but much of the dramatic technique manifest in this play.¹²⁹

Shakespeare was familiar with the story of Apollonius of Tyre early in his career as playwright. In The Comedy of Errors, perhaps his first play,¹³⁰ he framed the plot of the Menaechmi of Plautus with the Apollonian-like story of Aegeon.¹³¹ However, as he was to do later in The Tempest, he exercised restraint in utilizing romance elements. The requisite stock devices of the storm at sea, the shipwreck, the loss of wife and child, and the years of search are disposed of by means of expository narration in the first scene of the play and are not dramatized. Thus, the romance material becomes a frame for the mistaken identity plot, and its main contribution to the play is mechanical rather than thematic.¹³² In Pericles, the use of romance material becomes primarily thematic.

¹²⁹Hoeniger, p. lxxxviii.

¹³⁰Irving Ribner and George Kittredge (ed.), The Complete Works of Shakespeare, p. 87.

¹³¹Craig, Works, p. 80; Salinger, p. 10.

¹³²Gesner, p. 140.

Although Greek romance provides the conventional incidents and situations in Pericles, the relationship of the protagonists in both Shakespeare's play and Apollonius of Tyre is significantly different from that involving the protagonists of most Greek novels. For example, in the typical romance, there are two protagonists, as there are in Pericles; however, in such works as Ethiopica and An Ephesian Tale, the protagonists are young lovers.¹³³ In Apollonius of Tyre and Pericles, the protagonists become father and daughter, thus elevating the love theme between them to a more spiritual level. Moreover, to emphasize the nature of this spiritual love, in these two works the authors contrast the love between the protagonists to the incestuous relationship of Antiochus and his daughter. Since the theme of Pericles deals with spiritual values, Shakespeare chose source material that precluded sexual love between the two protagonists. Thus, when the nature of the relationship of the protagonists of Pericles is contrasted to that of Cymbeline and The Winter's Tale, the spiritual aspect of the rebirth theme becomes increasingly clear.

While Greek romance provides for some of the thematic content of Pericles, notably in the relationship of the

¹³⁴Felperin, p. 12.

protagonists, chivalric romance seems to have very little effect on the theme. The second act of Pericles is dominated by the conventions of chivalric romance, manifest more in spectacle than in thematic import.¹³⁴ For example, the second scene, in which the knights present their devices to Thaisa, and the third scene, in which the knights in armor dance, are masque-like scenes, and although they contain several lines that touch upon Pericles's humility and acceptance of Fortune, their main function is visual.

Since the medieval religious drama provided Shakespeare with the theme of Pericles, his use of this romance tradition leads one to suspect that religious values are most important to an interpretation of the play. The source, the lost Greek novel, Apollonius of Tyre, offers the possibility of incorporating into the same work two of the most popular motifs of the medieval period, a popularity that continued into the Renaissance.¹³⁵ The motifs of the "man tried by fate" and the "calumniated wife" are inherent in the plot of Apollonius which provides a highly suitable structure for the development of the theme of the efficacy of Christian patience in the face of suffering and hardship.

¹³⁴Felperin, p. 12

¹³⁵Mehl, pp. 121-122.

Pericles is, without doubt, a "man tried by fate." Although one critic suggests that Pericles was "tainted" by the incest of Antiochus and his daughter,¹³⁶ this concept is nonsense. Pericles's trials are not brought about by his contact with the court of Antiochus, but rather, like St. Eustace, he is tested, and his first trial takes place when he discovers that the woman he is seeking to win is incestuous:¹³⁷

Fair glass of light, I lov'd you, and could still,
 Were not this glorius casket stor'd with ill.
 But I must tell you, now my thoughts revolt;
 For he's no man on whom perfections wait
 That, knowing sin within, will touch the gate.
 You are a fair viol, and your sense the strings,
 Who, finger'd to make man his lawful music,
 Would draw heaven down and all the gods to hearken;
 Being but played before your time,
 Hell only danceth at so harsh a chime.

(I. i. 77-86)

This, then, rather than the sin that is the cause of later trials, is the first of a series of misfortunes to befall the prince. The plot line involving Marina, the daughter of Pericles, while not in a conventional sense the story of a "calumniated wife," is definitely an offshoot of that motif. Inherent in the "calumniated wife" motif is the test of the woman's virtue. Since she has been accused of adultery, the wife's chastity is seriously threatened on a

¹³⁶W. B. Thorne, "Pericles and the 'Incest-Fertility' Opposition," *SQ*, XXII (1971), 47.

¹³⁷Kenneth Muir, Shakespeare as Collaborator, p. 80.

a number of occasions, but she never falls. One recalls that the most common situation in medieval saints' plays involving a female protagonist is the attempt by the heroine to protect her chastity. The legends of St. Catherine,¹³⁸ St. Lucy, St. Margaret,¹³⁹ and St. Dorothea,¹⁴⁰ dramatized in medieval England, share this motif of threatened virginity. In each case, the heroine chooses to die a martyr's death, rather than to submit to the seducer's demands.¹⁴¹ The story of Marina in the brothel at Mytilene is analogous to the legends of the above-mentioned saints.¹⁴²

The spiritual significance of Pericles, reflected in the motifs taken from religious drama, is noted in Gower's first speech in which he tells the audience that the story ". . . hath been sung at festivals,/On ember-eves and holy-ales. . . ." (I. chorus. 5-6) The spiritual quality of the story is intensified by two images in the same speech. In the first, it is stated that "lords and

¹³⁸Gerould, Saints', p. 259.

¹³⁹E. K. Chambers, The Medieval Stage, II, 133.

¹⁴⁰Gerould, Saints', p. 309.

¹⁴¹For further background on the legends see H. Delehaye, The Legends of the Saints or The Catholic Encyclopedia.

¹⁴²For what it is worth, St. Margaret is known in the Eastern (Greek Orthodox) Church as Marina. This fact may, however, be more than coincidence, since the name is used

ladies . . ./Have read it for restoratives" (I. chorus. 7-8) The implication, here, is that the story was read as an exemplum by certain people, that is, as a moral tale, the purpose of which is to bolster or restore faith. The second image is more subtle but also more effective. Gower, who has a reputation for being "moral,"¹⁴³ states, "I life would wish, and I might/Waste it for you like taperlight." (I. chorus. 15-16) These lines suggest that the poet would sacrifice his life in order to bring light into the world, an allusion to Christ that is appropriate to a play the theme of which deals with the patience of faith and chastity.¹⁴⁴ When Pericles returns to Tyre after solving Antiochus's riddle, he falls into a fit of "dull-ey'd melancholy." While other advisers flatter him, Helicanus advises him "To bear with patience/Such griefs as you do lay upon yourself." (I. ii. 65-66) This instance is the first of many in which the prince is asked to be patient. This scene ends with Pericles's decision to travel and with the appointment of Helicanus to rule in his absence:

in neither Twine nor Gower. Although Hoeniger thinks it "improbable that Shakespeare had heard of her," the records of a play based on St. Margaret make for interesting speculation.

¹⁴³Geoffrey Chaucer, "Troilus and Criseyde," The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, p. 479.

¹⁴⁴Barker, p. 414.

I'll take thy word for faith, not ask thine oath;
 Who shuns not to break one will crack both.
 But in our orbs we'll live so round and safe,
 That time of both this truth shall ne'er convince,
 Thou show'dst a subject's shine, I a true prince'.
 (I. ii. 120-124)

Pericles's faith in Helicanus is a foreshadowing of the religious faith eventually realized in the play.

After a shipwreck off the coast of Pentapolis, Pericles has an intimation of the workings of Fortune when a fisherman informs him that a tournament is to be held in Pentapolis in honor of the king's daughter:

Per. Were my fortunes equal to my desires, I could
 wish to make one there.
 1 Fish. O, sir, things must be as they may . . .
 (II. i. 110-114)

The fishermen, then, snare Pericles's armor in their nets; for which he

Thanks, Fortune, yet, that after all thy crosses
 Thou giv'st me somewhat to repair myself . . .
 I thank thee for't; my shipwreck now's no ill,
 Since I have here my father gave in his will.
 (II. i. 120-1, 132-3)

This incident introduces a pattern that goes beyond tragedy and which is, in fact, tragicomedy. To be specific, tragicomedy is a reflection of the Christian world view which claims that suffering brings one into a closer communion with God.¹⁴⁵

The most thematically important scene in the play, from the standpoint of the spiritual nature of Pericles's

¹⁴⁵Hoeniger, p. lxxxviii.

rebirth, is III. i., in which Marina is born during a storm at sea. The importance of this scene is made vivid when contrasted to the corresponding scenes in Shakespeare's sources, since it is obvious that Shakespeare has drastically altered the character of Pericles:

Lyc. Here is a thing too young for such a place,
Who, if it had conceit, would die, as I
Am like to do. Take in your arms this piece
Of your dead queen.

Per. How? how, Lychorida?
Lyc. Patience, good sir; do not assist the storm.
Here's all that is left living of your queen,
A little daughter: for the sake of it,
Be manly, and take comfort.

Per. O you gods!
Why do you make us love your goodly gifts,
And snatch them straight away? We here below
Recall not what we give, and therein may
Use honour with you.

Lyc. Patience, good sir,
Even for this charge.

Per. Now, mild may be thy life!
For more blusterous birth had never babe;
Quiet and gentle thy conditions! for
Thou art the rudeliest welcome to this world
That e'er was prince's child. Happy what follows!
Thou hast as chiding a nativity
As fire, air, water, earth and heaven can make,
To herald thee from the womb. [Poor inch of nature!]
Even at the first thy loss is more than can
Thy portage quit, with all thou canst find here.
Now the gods throw their best eyes upon't.

(III. i. 15-37)

Twice, the nurse bids Pericles to be patient, and, all things considered, he responds to his wife's death with resignation. However, this is not the case in the versions of Gower and Twine. For example, in Gower's Confessio Amantis,

Appolinus when he this knewe,
For sorowe a swoune he overthrewe,
That no man wist in hym no life.

And whan he woke, he said: Ah, wife,
 My jove, my lust, and my desyre,
 My welth, and my recoverire,
 Why shall I live, and thou shalt die?
 Ha, fortune, I the defie,
 Now hast thou do to me the werst.
 Ah herte, why ne wilt thou berst,
 That forth with hir I might passe?
 My peynes were well the lasse.
 In such wepyng and suche crie
 His dead wife, which laie hym bie,
 A thousande sithes he hir kiste.
 Was never man that sawe ne wiste
 A sorowe to his sorowe liche,
 He fill swounyng, as he that thought
 Unto the goddes all above,
 With many a pitous worde of love:
 But suche wordes as tho were
 Herde never no mannes eare
 But onely thilke, whiche he saide.¹⁴⁶

Unlike Pericles, Apollonius twice swoons, defies fortune,
 and prays for his own death. The difference between
 Shakespeare's Pericles and Gower's Apollonius is obvious.
 Pericles possesses greater self-control, patience, and
 resignation to the will of the gods than does Apollonius.
 Twine's character, however, reacts in a similar manner to
 that of Gower:

When Apollonius beheld this heavy spectacle [his
 dead wife], no heart was able to conceive his
 bitter grief, for like a mad man distracted he
 tore his clothes, and rent his haire, and laying
 himself upon the carkas, he uttered these wordes
 with great affection: O my deare lady and wife,
 the daughter of king Altistrates, what shall I
 now answer to thy father for thee? would God thou
 haddest remained with him at home, & if it had
 pleased God to have wrought this his pleasure in

¹⁴⁶Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare, p. 397.

thee, it had rather chanced with thy loving father in his quiet land, than with me thy woeful husband upon the wild seas. The whole company also made great lamantation for her, bewailing the death of so noble and beautiful a ladie, and so curteous a gentlewoman. Howbeit in the hottest of the sorrowe the governour of the ship came unto Apollonius, saying, My lord, plucke up your heart, and be of goode cheere, and consider I pray you that the ship may not abide to carie the dead carkas, and therefore command it to be cast into the sea, that we may the better escape. Then answered Apollonius: What saiest thou varlet? wouldest thou have me cast this bodie into the sea, which received me into house and favour, when I was in miserie and drenched in the water, wherein I lost ship, goods & all?¹⁴⁷

While the actions of Twine's Apollonius are not quite so extreme as those of Gower's character, they are still different from those of Shakespeare's Pericles. Clearly, Shakespeare has remodeled his source material and in doing so, has changed the character of Pericles. The Apollonius of Gower and of Twine reacts to the death of his wife in the manner in which the heroes of Greek romance react to the supposed deaths of their ladies. On the other hand, Pericles reacts in the manner of Job;¹⁴⁸ the world view expressed by Shakespeare is that of the miracle plays, not that of the Greek novel.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 446.

¹⁴⁸ Gesner, pp. 88-89.

¹⁴⁹ Felperin, p. 166.

While Pericles exhibits patient endurance after the death of his wife, Marina exhibits another kind of patience. She undergoes numerous threats to her virginity at the brothel, but, through it all, she remains untainted and heroically endures her suffering:

Bawd. Come, the gods have done their part in you.
Mar. I accuse them not.

(IV. ii. 66-67)

Not only does Marina protect her virginity, but she also makes converts among the brothel's clientele:

1 Gent. Did you ever hear the like?
2 Gent. No, nor never shall do in such a place as this, she being once gone.
1 Gent. But to have divinity preach'd there! did you ever dream of such a thing?
2 Gent. No, no. Come, I am for no more bawdy-houses. Shall's go hear the vestals sing?
1 Gent. I'll do anything now that is virtuous; but I am out of the road of rutting for ever.

(IV. v. 1-9)

This scene echoes the saints' legends of Catherine, Dorothea, and Margaret.¹⁵⁰ In each case, the heroine's defense of her chastity is so great that a number of her attackers are converted. Moreover, although the audience or reader of Pericles does not witness the defense, the results of it are plain. Marina's virtue is such that it can influence the most degenerate of men, as it does in IV. vi., when she convinces Boult to obtain a position for her in an honorable house.

¹⁵⁰The Saints: A Concise Biographical Dictionary.

The two motifs of medieval religious drama, as exemplified by the stories of Pericles and Marina, coalesce in the recognition scene in which these characters are reunited after fourteen years of separation. Pericles loses his ability patiently to endure suffering. When he is told of Marina's supposed death, he becomes comatose, neither eating nor speaking. When his ship arrives at Mytilene, Marina, brought forth to restore his senses, is able to penetrate his trance-like state. He responds to her:

Per. Tell thy story;
 If thine consider'd prove the thousandth part
 Of my endurance, thou art a man, and I
 Have suffer'd like a girl; yet thou dost look
 Like Patience gazing on kings' graves, smiling
 Extremity out of act. What were thy friends?
 How lost thou them? Thy name, my most kind virgin?
 Recount, I do beseech you. Come, sit by me.

Mar. My name is Marina.

Per. O, I am mock'd,
 And thou some incensed god sent hither
 To make the world to laugh at me.

Mar. Patience, good sir,
 Or here I'll cease.

Per. Nay, I'll be patient.
 (V. i. 134-145)

Marina, who "dost look like Patience," is able to elicit from Pericles a promise to be patient. His philosophical response is restored, and all that is left is the reunion with Thaisa. It is interesting to note that, when Marina tells Pericles her name, he thinks immediately that the gods have sent her to punish him for his lack of faith and endurance. Very much aware of the gods and his own

relationship with them, he realizes that he has been lax in his resignation to their will.

In addition to providing the theme of this play, medieval religious drama also made another very practical contribution to the play. In writing Pericles, Shakespeare was confronted with the problem of having to dramatize subject matter which is basically narrative.¹⁵¹ Medieval religious drama had already dealt with this type of material and, thus, afforded him models on which to base his play.¹⁵² The first problem to be solved was the handling of time; the action in Pericles takes place over some fourteen years. However, fourteen years seems a short time, indeed, when compared with the subject matter of the Corpus Christi plays that stretches from the fall of Lucifer to Doomsday.¹⁵³ Within the different pageants, a more modest amount of time is dealt with, perhaps naively, but unself-consciously. For example, in the Towneley play of Noah, the building of the ark is an example of the medieval handling of time. Noah constructs the ark as quickly as he can tell about it with, of course, "the Trynyté socoure." (See lines 253-293.) By the simple method of invoking the divinity to help in

¹⁵¹John Arthos, "Pericles, Prince of Tyre: A Study in the Dramatic Use of Romantic Narrative," SQ, IV (1953), 257.

¹⁵²Salingar, p. 23.

¹⁵³Chambers, pp. 321-323.

building the ark, he circumvents the time factor. If this method seems naive, it must be remembered that the material of this and other such plays is filled with supernatural occurrences, and to the deities that preside over the action nothing is impossible.

Moreover, the Digby play of Mary Magdalene contains several incidents in which time is also telescoped.¹⁵⁵

In one such scene, Mary Magdalene takes passage on a ship at the coast of Judea bound for Marseilles. Exactly nine lines of dialogue are all that are needed to move the ship across the Mediterranean:

master.
Of sheppyng þe xall natt faylle;
for us þe wynd is good and saffe.
yond þer is þe lond of torke,
I wher full loth for to lye.

now xall þe shep-men syng.
of þis cors we thar nat a-batte,
yender is þe lond of satyllye.
stryk! be-ware of sond!
cast a led, & In vs gyde!
of marcyll, þis þe kyngges lond!
(ll. 1433-1441)

Similarly, in scene forty-six, Magdalene goes to the desert to live. There is no indication of any great passing of

¹⁵⁵The second part of this play contains an incident amazingly similar to the third act of Pericles. In Mary Magdalene, as in Shakespeare's play, a king's wife gives birth during a storm at sea and dies. The sailors demand that the body be thrown overboard; a compromise is reached, and the body of the wife and the living child are abandoned on a rock. Eventually, after he travels in the Holy Land, the queen and child are restored to the king.

time until scene forty-nine in which she is met in the desert by a priest, who states that he has not seen her in thirty years. Magdalene replies that she has been living as a recluse for the past thirty years (ll. 2046-2057), and this statement is the only indication that such a time span has elapsed. Time is no problem in these plays; it is simply glossed over and understood by the audience as a convention. There is no attempt at realism in the handling of time, and, obviously, this technique did not disturb the contemporary audience.

But the Jacobean audience was a different breed. Ben Jonson's neo-classical dicta illustrate that difference. The Jacobean audience would find it difficult to accept a character who casually mentions that thirty years have just gone by.¹⁵⁶ Shakespeare needed a device to alleviate this problem, and again, medieval drama supplies the answer.¹⁵⁷ Shakespeare resurrects the author of one of the sources of Pericles, John Gower, to act as chorus and to direct the flow of the story. Between acts three and four, there is a span of fourteen years. The chorus, in the person of Gower, helps the audience to accept the time change:

Imagine Pericles arriv'd at Tyre
 Welcom'd and settled to his own desire.
 His woeful queen we leave at Ephesus,

¹⁵⁶Arthos, p. 257.

¹⁵⁷Hoeniger, p. lxxvi.

Unto Diana there's a votaress.
 Now to Marina bend your mind,
 Whom our fast-growing scene must find
 At Tharsus, and by Cleon train'd
 In music's letters; who hath gain'd
 Of education all the grace,
 Which makes her both the heart and place
 Of general wonder. . . .

The unborn event

I do commend to your content;
 Only I carried winged time
 Post on the lame feet of my rime;
 Which never could I so convey,
 Unless your thoughts went on my way.

(IV. chorus. 1-11; 45-50)

Gower not only sets the scene but also moralizes, particularly in the epilogue. The similar use of a poet as chorus occurs in the Digby The Conversion of Saint Paul, in which Poeta directs the audience from one pageant to the next. Thus, the conclusion to the first act and the opening of the second are fused by the chorus, who leads the audience from one station to the next. He also informs them of the subject matter of the second act. (ll. 155-158) In this instance, the function of the poet-chorus is to lead the audience physically to the next station; in Shakespeare's play, the Gower chorus, on the other hand, exhorts the audience to set the scene in their imagination. Nevertheless, both choruses serve as transitions between the episodes of their respective plays.

Another variation of the device of poet as chorus is the one in which the chorus is an older poet who comments on

a new version of a story once told by him. This device is both used and described in John Lydgate's Troy Book:¹⁵⁸

And whilom thus was halwed the memorie
 Of tragedies, as bokes make mynde,
 Whan thei wer rad or songyn, and I fynde,
 In the theatre ther was a smal auther
 Amyddes set, that was half circuler,
 Which in to the Est of custom was directe;
 Upon the whiche a pulpet was erecte,
 And therin stod an awncien poete,
 For to reherse by rhetorikes swete
 The noble dedis, that wer historial
 Of kynges, princes for a memorial . . .
 And whil that he in the pulpit stood,
 With dedly face al devoide of blood,
 Singinge his dites, with muses al to-rent,
 Amydde the theatre schrowded in a tent,
 Ther cam out men gastful of her cheris,
 Disfigurid her faces with viseris,
 Pleying by signes in the peples sight
 That the poete songen hath on hight;
 So that ther was no maner discordaunce
 Atwen his dites and her contenaunce . . .
 So craftily thei koude hem transfigure,
 Conformyng hem to the chantplure.

(Bk. II, 860-914)

This description is, indeed, analogous to the dumb shows within Pericles. For example, a dumb show is given during Gower's speech at the beginning of the second act:

But tidings to the contrary
 Are brought your eyes; what need I speak?

DUMB SHOW

Enter, at one door, Pericles, talking with Cleon; all the train with them. Enter, at another door, a Gentleman, with a letter to Pericles; Pericles shows the letter to Cleon; Pericles gives the

¹⁵⁸This device also appears in continental poetry contemporary with Lydgate and can be traced back in literature as far as 500 A. D. in the works of Isidore of Seville; see Nevill Coghill, Shakespeare's Professional Skills, pp. 173-174.

Messenger a reward, and knights him. Exit Pericles at one door, and Cleon at another.

Since Gower's poem is one of Shakespeare's sources for his play, Gower is an eminently apt commentator on the action of Pericles.

Thus, it is clear that three distinct romance traditions have contributed to the composition of Pericles. Shakespeare added elements of chivalric romance, for example, the tournament in honor of Thaisa, to a Greek novel of adventure. By changing the reactions of Pericles in certain key situations, he incorporated into his play the theme of Christian patience and endurance of suffering found in the saints or miracle plays of the Middle Ages. He also made use of certain techniques developed in medieval theatre to alleviate the problems inherent in the dramatization of narrative subject matter. By incorporating these three traditions into Pericles, Shakespeare created one of the more popular plays of his day.¹⁵⁹ It is fitting, then, that Pericles, a play whose major concern is with the rebirth of the spirit, should be enjoying a rebirth of its own in the twentieth century.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹Schelling, p. 223.

¹⁶⁰Hoeniger, p. lxviii.

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