

**Theophany on the Shakespearean Stage**

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*Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy*

The University of Leeds

The School of English

*January 2020*

*The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.*

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## Acknowledgements

Thanks are due to more and in greater degree than can be stated fully here. First and foremost, I must thank Professor Paul Hammond for his supervision of this thesis, as well as its Master's-level predecessor. I thank this thesis' examiners, Professors David Lindley and Alison Shell, for their stimulating suggestions. I have worked with the staff of the School of English, University of Leeds for over seven years; I owe them much, especially Professor Martin Butler and Dr Jane Rickard. I owe as much to my PhD colleagues: in particular, I would like to thank Ed Reiss, Matthew Blaiden, Jeri Smith-Cronin, and Charley Roe for fascinating and profitable discussions. I hope it not platitudinous to thank my undergraduate and Master's students. I would also like to thank Mr Vlad Condryn Toma.

The research would not have been possible without the Douglas Jefferson Prize, which was kindly awarded to me by the School of English, University of Leeds. This project greatly benefitted from the resources and staff at Special Collections, the Brotherton Library, University of Leeds. I would also like to thank the staff at the Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth.

I must thank my family for their support, and lastly, Chiara: you read every word of this thesis—'by sheetes, sent unto you, as fast as they were done'—and you brought to it care, intelligence, and (as befits your name) clarity.

## Abstract

This thesis offers a reading of five of Shakespeare's late plays—*Pericles*, *Cymbeline*, *The Winter's Tale*, *The Tempest*, and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*—via the idea of theophany. Theophany takes a different form in each of these plays. In *Pericles* and *Cymbeline*, Diana and Jupiter appear, ostensibly in body, on the stage. In the other plays examined here, theophany might retire into the imaginative hinterland of the work, or be veiled in language or explicit artifice. *The Two Noble Kinsmen* does not divulge its cardinal deity openly; likewise *The Winter's Tale* offers a number of gods and divine suggestions, and burdens the reader or audience with deciding the contours of the play's implicit divine hierarchy. *The Tempest* presents nearly intractable difficulty and mystery, which the relevant chapter attempts to elucidate. Nevertheless, the thesis contends that each of these plays presents a moment, set of moments, or a general suffusion which is answerable to the term 'theophany'. In order to understand such peculiar moments in the Shakespearean corpus, the thesis draws on a number of considerations, such as 1) the various precedents in classical and contemporary literature and visual culture; 2) the importance of genre in understanding Shakespeare's theophanies and those on the early modern stage in general; and 3) the staging of these scenes. The thesis also enquires into Shakespeare's use of allegory and its importance for his thinking about the relationship between the gods and ideas. Owing to its focus on genre, the thesis also explores competing and coexisting concepts of Providence and Fortune in the plays, as well as other modes of thinking about destiny. Finally, the thesis finds that, instead of sidelining Shakespeare's theophanies as criticism has frequently done, placing them at the very centre of enquiry yields a rich and holistic reading of these complex plays.

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## Abbreviations and References

Quotations from primary sources are generally, where convenient, in original spelling, with 's' for 'f' (for expedience). In the case of Shakespeare's plays, references use the through-line-numbering (TLN) from *The Norton Facsimile: The First Folio of Shakespeare*, and the act, scene, and line numbering from *The Arden Shakespeare Complete Works*. The exceptions to this rule are as follows.

For *Pericles*, I refer to W. W. Greg's facsimile of the first of the two 1609 Quartos; this copy supplies both signatures and act, scene, and line numbering. For *The Winter's Tale* I have used the magisterial 2005 Variorum edition, edited by Virginia Westling Haas and Robert Kean Turner, which gives through-line-numbering (TLN) and act, scene, and line numbering. For *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, I use the through-line-numbering (TLN) from the Malone Society's 2005 facsimile, supplying act, scene, and line numbering from Virginia Tatzpaugh and Robert Kean Turner's excellent New Cambridge edition. For *Cymbeline* and *The Tempest*, through-line-numberings are taken from the Norton facsimile and act, scene, and line numbering are supplied by the plays' excellent New Cambridge editions, edited by Martin Butler and David Lindley respectively (the latter using the updated edition). Since for *King Lear* I have only had recourse to the Folio text, I use Jay L. Halio's updated New Cambridge edition of this text, *The Tragedy of King Lear*. For Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, I use *Shakespeare's Sonnets: An Original-Spelling Text*, edited by Paul Hammond. For *Venus and Adonis*, I use the signatures from Sidney Lee's 1905 facsimile, and the line numbering from John Roe's updated New Cambridge edition. Use of any other Shakespeare editions is noted in the chapters' footnotes.

Biblical references use *The Geneva Bible: A Facsimile of the 1560 Edition*. References to Plato use *The Collected Dialogues of Plato*, ed. by Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns. References to Chaucer use *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd edn, edited by Larry D. Benson. References to Jonson use *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, edited by David Bevington, Martin Butler, and Ian Donaldson. References to the works of Virgil use the Loeb Classical Library *Virgil*, trans. by H. Rushton Fairclough, revised by G. P. Goold. Full details of the above are in the Bibliography. Other abbreviations follow below:

- Alciati *A Book of Emblems: The Emblematum Liber in Latin and English*, ed. and trans. by John Moffitt (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2004)
- Amphitruo* Plautus, *Amphitruo*, in *Plautus*, ed. and trans. by Wolfgang de Melo, 5 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011–13)
- Apollodorus *The Library of Greek Mythology*, trans. by Robin Hard (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997)
- Arraignment of Paris* *The Arraignment of Paris*, ed. by R. Mark Benbow, in *The Dramatic Works of George Peele*, ed. by Charles Tyler Prouty, 3 vols (New Haven: Yale University Press)
- Atheist's Tragedy* Cyril Tourneur, *The Atheist's Tragedy*, ed. by Irving Ribner (London: Methuen, 1964)
- Batman Stephen Batman, *The Golden Booke of the Leaden Goddes* (London, 1577)
- Bullough Geoffrey Bullough, ed., *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, 8 vols (London: Routledge, 1957–75)
- Cartari Vincenzo Cartari, *Le Imagini de i dei de gli antichi* (Venice, 1571)
- Clyomon* *Clyomon and Clamydes*, ed. by W. W. Greg (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1913)
- Dido* Marlowe, *Dido Queen of Carthage*, in *The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe*, ed. by Fredson Bowers, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981)
- Faerie Queene* Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, 2nd edn, text ed. by Hiroshi Yamashita and Toshiyuki Suzuki, ed. by A. C. Hamilton (London: Longman, 2001)
- Faithful Shepherdess* Fletcher, *The Faithful Shepherdess*, in *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, ed. by Fredson Bowers, 10 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966–96)
- Faustus* *The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe: Volume II: Dr Faustus*, ed. by Roma Gill (Oxford, 1990) [A-text]



<i>Historia Apollonii</i>	<i>Apollonius of Tyre: Medieval and Renaissance Themes and Variations: Including the Text of Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri with an English Translation</i> , ed. and trans. by Elizabeth Archibald (Cambridge: Brewer, 1991)
Heywood	<i>The Dramatic Works of Thomas Heywood</i> , 6 vols (New York: Russell and Russell, 1964)
Horace, <i>Odes</i>	Horace, <i>Odes and Epodes</i> , ed. and trans. by Niall Rudd (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004)
Macrobius, <i>In Somnium Scipionis</i>	Macrobius, <i>Commentary on the Dream of Scipio</i> , ed. and trans. by William Harris Stahl (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952)
<i>Mary Magdalene</i>	<i>Mary Magdalene</i> , in <i>Medieval Drama</i> , ed. by David Bevington (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1975), pp. 687–753
<i>Metamorphoses</i>	Ovid, <i>Metamorphoses</i> , trans. by Frank Justus Miller, revised by G. P. Goold, 2 vols, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977–84)
Middleton	<i>Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works</i> , ed. by Gary Taylor, John Lavagnino, and others (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)
OED	<i>OED Online</i>
<i>Rare Triumphs</i>	<i>The Rare Triumphes of Loue and Fortune</i> (London, 1589)
<i>Twelve Goddesses</i>	Samuel Daniel, <i>The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses</i> , in <i>The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Samuel Daniel</i> , ed. by Alexander Grosart, 5 vols (London, 1885–6)
Webster, <i>Malfi</i>	<i>The Duchess of Malfi</i> , ed. by Leah S. Marcus (London: Bloomsbury, 2009)
<i>Woman in the Moon</i>	John Lyly, <i>The Woman in the Moon</i> , in <i>The Complete Works of John Lyly</i> , ed. by R. Warwick Bond, 3 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1902)

## Introduction

*Aber meinest du nun, es haben die Thore vergebens  
Aufgethan und den Weg freudig die Götter gemacht?  
Hölderlin, 'Stuttgart'<sup>1</sup>*

### *i. Preamble*

In Act IV, Scene III of *Titus Andronicus*, Titus complains that Astraea, Justice, has left the earth: '*Terras Astrea reliquit*' (TLN 1871, 4.3.4). In response to this desertion, he petitions heaven itself, using messages tied to arrow shafts:

And sith there's no iustice in earth nor hell,  
We will sollicite heauen, and moue the Gods  
To send downe Iustice for to wreake our wrongs. (TLN 1915–17, 4.3.50–2)

Although the Andronici begin shooting arrows, at Marcus' command, 'into the Court' so that they might 'afflict the Emperour in his pride' (TLN 1928–9, 4.3.63), Titus thinks that he and the Andronici solicit the gods: 'Ther's not a God left vnsollicit-ed' (TLN 1927, 4.3.61). Rather than send a god, Shakespeare mocks Titus' appeal by sending in a clown:

*Enter the Clowne with a basket and two Pigeons in it.*

*Titus.* Newes, newes, from heauen,  
*Marcus* the poast is come.  
Sirrah, what tidings? haue you any letters?  
Shall I haue Iustice, what sayes *Iupiter*?

*Clowne.* Ho the libbetmaker, he sayes that he hath taken them downe againe,  
for the man must not be hang'd till the next weeke. (TLN 1943–50, 4.3.77–9)

'Jupiter' is misheard as 'gibbet-maker'. At once a stock joke in which a classical reference is lost upon one of lesser learning,<sup>2</sup> it is also a joke on Titus: he searches for Jupiter and Astraea, and finds the hangman. The spectacle of the arrows flying up into the heavens stands as a powerful visual symbol in which the play's tragic cosmos is summed up.

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1. 'Think'st thou for naught that the gates have been opened, and the gods made joyful the way?'

2. It is also a joke borrowed almost verbatim by Heywood in *The Golden Age* (Heywood, III, p. 45). This is also acknowledged by Jonathan Bate in his *Titus Andronicus*, n. to 4.3.80.

Much of the tragic design is in place before the end of Peele's opening scene.<sup>3</sup> The remainder of the play acts out the consequences of the errors made in this first part. Titus' tragic errors are at least twofold. (They can be made to multiply beyond this, but each of the protagonists' misfortunes is traceable back to one of these two causes.) The second in sequence, as well perhaps as importance, is an error of policy, namely Titus' election of the obviously evil Saturninus rather than the virtuous Bassianus as emperor (TLN 231–307, 1.1.205–79). This shows his weakness as a political actor, in contrast to, say, the ingenious and Machiavellian Tamora. The first error in sequence and perhaps importance, however, is a religious error, an impiety. Soon after the entry of Titus and the interment of his recently deceased sons, Lucius (Titus' eldest living son) requires that Tamora's eldest son be brutally sacrificed:

Giue vs the proudest prisoner of the Gothes,  
That we may hew his limbes, and on a pile  
*Ad manus fratrum*, sacrifice his flesh:  
Before this earthly prison of their bones,  
That so the shadowes be not vnappeas'd,  
Nor we disturb'd with prodigies on earth. (TLN 118–23, 1.1.99–104)

Tamora pleads for mercy, and argues that the act is unjust:

But must my Sonnes be slaughtred in the streetes,  
For Valiant doings in their Countries cause?  
O! If to fight for King and Common-weale,  
Were piety in thine, it is for these:  
*Andronicus*, staine not thy Tombe with blood.  
Wilt thou draw neere the nature of the Gods?  
Draw neere them then in being mercifull. (TLN 134–40, 1.1.115–21)

Titus insists on the rightness and decorum of the sacrifice, appealing to a piety both towards the family and towards the gods:

These are the Brethren, whom your Gothes beheld  
Aliue and dead, and for their Brethren slaine,  
Religiously they aske a sacrifice. (TLN 144–6, 1.1.125–7)

They ask a sacrifice 'religiously'. Titus appeals to his sons' wishes, the sons to those of the gods. But most of the audience would agree with Tamora, that this is 'cruell ir-religious piety' (TLN 153, 1.1.133). It is here that Demetrius quietly suggests revenge

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3. See *Titus Andronicus*, ed. by Jonathan Bate, 2nd edn (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), pp. 121–46 for a summary of the scholarship on the authorship of *Titus'* first act.

(TLN 155–64, 1.1.135–44); by the end of the long opening scene, Tamora has determined her intention to this effect (TLN 500–5, 1.1.455–60). Titus' appeal to familial piety in order to commit this 'cruell irreligious piety' is greatly ironic, since his next great errors (which stem from his election of and declaration of loyalty to Saturninus) are his killing of Mutius, then his resistance to the pleas of Marcus and the other Andronici to inter him (Mutius) in the family tomb. For the former of these, Marcus calls Titus 'unjust' (TLN 326, 1.1.297); the latter action he describes as 'impiety' (TLN 394, 1.1.360). A few lines earlier, prior to his entry, Titus had been, by reputation, 'the good *Andronicus*, | Patron of Vertue, Romes best Champion' (TLN 77–8, 1.1.67–8), had been 'Sur-named *Pious*, | For many good and great deserts to Rome' (TLN 31–2, 1.1.23–4), and had 'euer bene [...] friend in iustice' to the people of Rome (TLN 208–9, 1.1.182–3).

Part of the point of Titus' impiety is that it inflames the rage of Tamora; but that is only part of the point. The play makes clear that Tamora's general and unrepenting evil might anyway have plotted revenge against Titus even if he had not 'let a Queene [...] | Kneele in the streetes, and beg for grace in vaine' (TLN 504–5, 1.1.459–60), but simply for his victory in the battlefield. Be that as it may, the main point is that Titus' human sacrifice is an offence to the gods because it ignores those 'offices of Pitty' (*The Winter's Tale*, TLN 1121, 2.3.189) which to the early modern period stood as axiomatic. The relevance of the quotation from *The Winter's Tale* is perhaps not merely coincidental: Leontes shows comparable impiety when he threatens to have Perdita consumed by fire, and this is prior to the apparently divine revenges which *The Winter's Tale* presents in III. ii and III. iii. *Titus* is not an atheistic play. IV. iii seems not to suggest an empty or indifferent, Epicurean heaven—to conclude this would be a leap, and one of which modern, largely secular readers should be cautious—but rather one which responds with punishment for impiety; ironically, the punishment-response is to appear not to respond, to be hidden.

*King Lear*, although a work from Shakespeare's maturity, shares certain affinities with the divine imagination of *Titus*, and at the same time has been seen as a 'prologue' to the late plays.<sup>4</sup> Its relationship to *Titus* seems particularly strong in the

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4. Arthur Kirsch, "'Twixt Two Extremes of Passion, Joy and Grief": Shakespeare's *King Lear* and Last Plays', *Yale Review*, 103 (2015), 26–47; Glynne Wickham, 'From Tragedy to Tragic-Comedy: *King Lear* as Prologue', *Shakespeare Survey*, 26 (1973), 33–48. (Wickham's essay sees the play as tragic prologue to the tragicomic late plays mainly for extrinsic, political reasons.)

two plays' similar portrayals of a hidden, inscrutable pantheon which may be indifferent, or even malevolent towards human affairs. Gloucester says, in one of *Lear's* most lapidary moments: 'As Flies to wanton Boyes, are we to th'Gods, | They kill vs for their sport' (TLN 2221–2, 4.1.36–7). But this is a rash utterance, made in a moment of despair. Gloucester's later prayer, though not as radical in attitude, shows a return to the basic piety which is consistent with his attitude throughout the rest of the play:

You euer gentle Gods, take my breath from me,  
Let not my worser Spirit tempt me againe  
To dye before you please. (TLN 2663–5, 4.5.208–10)

The despair for life remains; but it is tempered by a reverence for the will of heaven. In its basic tragic design, largely established in I. i, *Lear* broadly resembles *Titus*. *Lear*, for its first hundred lines or so, may seem a secular play. The gods are first invoked when Lear curses Cordelia:

For by the sacred radience of the Sunne,  
The misteries of *Heccat* and the night:  
By all the operation of the Orbes,  
From whom we do exist, and cease to be,  
Here I disclaime all my Paternall care,  
Propinquity and property of blood,  
And as a stranger to my heart and me,  
Hold thee from this for euer. (TLN 116–23, 1.1.103–10)

As fits *Lear's* focus on Nature and the natural world,<sup>5</sup> the gods here are named chiefly by their representatives in the natural world (Saturn is referred to immediately following this passage, but not by name (TLN 124–5, 1.1.111–12)): the sun's sacred radiance is sworn by, not Apollo's; Hecate, the only named god, is tied to night; the 'Orbes', those heavenly bodies which bring into and take out of being (*Lear* does not seem to allow afterlife, and perhaps refuses the (neo)platonic belief in the preexistent soul), are astral bodies and not tied to a god, though they are moved by intelligences. The point here is that Lear invokes the gods of nature precisely to do something which the period would describe as *unnatural*.<sup>6</sup> *Titus* and *Lear* both commit a fatal

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5. For the complications of the ideas of 'Nature', 'nature', and 'the natural', both *per se* and in Shakespeare's thought, see this thesis' chapter on *The Winter's Tale*.

6. C. S. Lewis, *Studies in Words*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), defines this meaning of 'unnatural' or 'against nature' as 'lacking [...] due family affection' (p. 30); see pp. 24–74 in general; for this sense in particular, see 29–30; for senses related to this, 32–3, 43–4, 50–3. For concepts of nature in *Lear* in general, see John Danby, *Shakespeare's*

impiety against the gods, Titus for (he thinks) the family, and then against it, Lear against the family (and therefore the gods). This is true of Gloucester and even Edmond, both of whom act 'unnaturally' or impiously towards Edgar. As the latter states before his duel with Edmond: 'thou art a Traitor: | False to the Gods, thy Brother, and thy Father' (TLN 3088–9, 5.3.123–4). Likewise, Regan and Goneril fall afoul of the play's general catastrophe by their unnaturalness and impiety against Lear.

In tragedy, Shakespeare never stages a god (the attribution of the Hecate material in *Macbeth* to Middleton seems uncontroversial if not incontrovertible).<sup>7</sup> Yet his interest in the pagan gods is evident from the earliest works (*Titus, Venus & Adonis*) to the last. Although Shakespeare seems to have thought of romance as the fittest genre for staging a god, his first staged god—in *As You Like It*—is resoundingly comic. In the Prologue to the unprinted Latin play *Hymenæus* (probably acted in 1578/9 at St. John's College, Cambridge), the titular god Hymen says of himself: 'sum clementia comicus deus'.<sup>8</sup> The god who oversees matrimonial rites, this would seem to say, being tied to marriage and the wedding ceremony, is therefore tied to the comic genre, too. Although Shakespeare likely did not know this academic play (though he might have known the play performed there the year after, Thomas Legge's *Richardus Tertius*, which does then offer a tempting suggestion for his knowledge of *Hymenæus*), he seems to have understood this connection and shared this insight, since it is in exactly this role that Hymen is introduced at the conclusion of *As You Like It*:

Peace hoa: I barre confusion,  
'Tis I must make conclusion  
Of these most strange euent:  
Here's eight that must take hands,  
To ioyne in *Hymens* bands,  
If truth holds true contents. (TLN 2699–2704, 5.4.123–8)

'Confusion' here is apparently another term for the 'most strange euent' of the play's preceding action. But it also suggests tragedy: one thinks of Macduff's remark on

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*Doctrine of Nature: A Study of King Lear* (London: Faber, 1948).

7. See Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino, eds, *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture: A Companion to the Collected Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 383–97, 690–2, and 995–7 for useful summaries of the available information.

8. *Hymenæus: A Comedy acted at St. John's College, Cambridge: now first printed*, ed. by George Charles Moore Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908), Pr. 15.

discovering Duncan's murder: 'Confusion now hath made his Master-peece' (TLN 819, 2.3.66). Here, rather, in order to conclude the comedy, such 'confusion'—tragic or comic—is 'barred': Hymen 'must' conclude the 'strange euent's' by resolving them *comically*, i.e., via marriage. This shows the joyful, and symbolic, use to which this god can be put, just as the use in *Hymenæus* shows the god in a pleasant, sanguine humour. Yet, precisely because he is 'comicus deus', Hymen can be turned to great tragic effect, too: it is with great, knowing irony that Middleton uses the figure of Hymen to initiate the masque which concludes the revenge tragedy in *Women Beware Women*. Perhaps it is in a similar spirit that Hymen appears at the start of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*.

Evidently, then, Shakespeare disagreed with such positions as that given by Fletcher in the preface to *The Faithful Shepherdess* that 'a God is as lawfull in [a tragic-comedy] as in a tragedie, and meane people as in a comedie' (*Faithful Shepherdess*, 'To the Reader', ll. 24-7). (Fletcher later shows his tragic employment of a god in *Cupid's Revenge* (1615), written with Beaumont.) Shakespearean tragedy involves no god, but plentiful, distinct, and memorable 'meane people'; likewise, in *As You Like It*, Shakespeare shows indifference towards the theoretical idea that a god may not be appropriate to the comic genre. As so often, Shakespeare's theatrical practice can seem like a wilful attempt to disprove any theoretical edict which might be imposed upon his play-writing. In his late plays, which are often thought of as tragicomic, the tension between theatrical precept and theatrical practice is frequently in the playwright's mind. One sees this, for example, in Time's apology in *The Winter's Tale*, IV. i, which this thesis later explores in detail, or in the use of the neoclassical unities in *The Tempest*. This is as much as to say that thinking about the gods for Shakespeare entails thinking about genre. This is apparently true of other playwrights, even beyond the period with which this thesis is concerned. There seem to be traces of evidence, for example, for a tradition which ties Zeus to comedy rather than tragedy in the Classical Greek theatre; we see this tradition survive in Plautus' explicitly tragicomic uses of Jupiter in *Amphitruo*, and perhaps a trace of it persists in the strange Jupiter of *Cymbeline*, whom criticism has had manifest difficulty understanding, perhaps owing in part to that play's generic complexity, which leads to a complexity of tone in the theophany, as elsewhere. I explore this possibility in greater depth later when treating *Cymbeline*. Dionysus seems suited both for Euripides' *Bacchae*, and Aristophanes' *Ranae*. Artemis-Diana, by contrast, is apparently too pure to be suited to appearances other than the serious and sometimes chilling ones made in, say, *Pericles*,

or Euripides' *Hippolytus*; in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, her appearance seems always to increase seriousness.<sup>9</sup>

A large part of the tragic purpose is to be left with the question 'why?'. Tragedy is always concerned to some degree with the so-called 'problem of evil and suffering'. This question—'why?'—is asked by Lear: 'Why should a Dog, a Horse, a Rat haue life, | And thou no breath at all?' (TLN 3278–9, 5.3.280–1). But it is also asked by Pericles:

O you Gods!

Why do you make vs loue your goodly gyfts

And snatch them straight away? (E2r, 3.1.23–5)

However, timing and genre are crucial here. Whereas Lear asks his 'why?' question mere lines and minutes before his death and the play's cessation, Pericles addresses his question to the gods at the start of Act III. The scene, III. i, has an ostensibly tragic character, but this is reversed in III. ii with the revival of Thaisa. Thus *Pericles'* brief third act sketches in two scenes the nature of romance as hypertragic.<sup>10</sup> The romance conclusion is, as it were, a suraddition to the tragic narrative, an extension of plot, drama, and life beyond the moment of suffering. To use the language of Scaligerian tragic theory, romance places its *catastrophes* almost anywhere other than Act V, whereas tragedy by nature must place its tragic catastrophe in the Act V conclusion. In romance, the protagonists may ask 'why?', but another question is available and arguably more pertinent, namely, 'when?'. In romance, everything points and works towards the reunion and restoration—essentially a form or figure of salvation—staged in the final act, just as everything in tragedy builds towards the tragic catastrophe and conclusion. In these differences between the two genres seems to reside Shakespeare's rationale for employing theophany.

## *ii. Characters and Characteristics of the Shakespearean Theophany*

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9. For these considerations, and in many places throughout this thesis, I am indebted to the paper presented by Professor Martin Revermann at the University of Leeds' Classics Research Seminar on 14 November 2019 entitled 'Divinity on the Stage', which focused on theophany in the Athenian theatre.

10. *Vide* Ben Quash, 'Christianity as Hyper-Tragic', in *Facing Tragedies*, ed. by Christopher Hamilton and others (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2009), pp. 77–88.



The Shakespearean theophany has several distinguishing features. It is curious how infrequently all of these appear together in other English plays of the period, numerous theophanies though there are in this corpus.<sup>11</sup> Whenever a Shakespeare play stages a pagan god, the methods and results are somewhat consistent. Firstly, a Shakespearean god will always speak in rhyme, rather than blank verse, with a mixture of end-stopping and enjambement; I suspect, without resorting to calculation, that end-stopping sees more use in the gods' speeches than those of the average mortal Shakespearean character. These features remove Shakespeare's gods from the realms of ordinary dialogue and soliloquy; their speech style is closer to that of song or aria. It is as though the gods participate in that music which accompanies their appearances. In the case of Diana in *Pericles*, her short poem—a curious composite of lyric and exposition—may figuratively or even literally harmonise with the music of the spheres which Pericles hears before falling asleep. (There is a debate to be had over whether the music of the spheres would have been heard by the play's first audiences and, consequently, whether it should be heard in performances today. I suggest that it should, and discuss this in more detail in the *Pericles* chapter.) The fact that the Shakespearean theophany is accompanied by—or rather set to—music is not surprising, and, in staging or reading these moments today without the original music, it might be well to think of them as akin to the choruses in Greek tragedy—bereft of the full decoration of their original music, although some survives in the music and lyricism of the verse. However, songlike though they are, these theophanies remain distinct from this genre too, since they have elements of narrative exposition which are rather alien to the genres of song and aria. Perhaps their closest analogues in the art familiar to us today, then, would be in the recitative of opera and oratorio, where exposition of plot melds with music and lyricism. Yet, I would insist that their nature as set pieces means that they are comparable to aria, too.

As already touched on, one of the most important and idiosyncratic qualities of the Shakespearean theophany is its dramatic, i.e., temporal placement. With the exceptions of the unspoken part played by Hymen at the beginning of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, the staging of Iris, Ceres, and Juno in the Act IV masque of *The Tempest* (explicitly ersatz deities), and of Hecate in *Macbeth* (who belongs to Middleton), Shake-

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11. Gary Taylor gives a rough idea of the number of appearances of the most popular gods in the period's plays; the number is around 210 across seventy-six plays. See his 'Divine [...] Sences', *Shakespeare Survey*, 54 (2001), 13–30 (p. 14).

spere's theophanies all occur in Act V at a culminating point in the action. In the case of *Pericles* and *Cymbeline*, these are tied to the romance genre and its resulting structure; indeed, their closest analogues appear to be the descent of Providence in *Clyomon and Clamydes* and the intervention of the gods in general and theophanies of Venus and Fortune in particular in *The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune*—both of which romances are commonly thought to be influences on *Cymbeline* in particular. This chapter will go on to demonstrate how different Shakespeare's theophanies are from those in these plays; nevertheless, it is clear that Shakespeare knew these two romances and used them, at the very least, as points of departure for his own ideas. However, they seem to have been useful for suggesting plot points rather than as a source for thinking about theophany.

There is also the question of the *character* of Shakespeare's gods themselves, as evidenced both in the theophanies and elsewhere in the relevant plays. This is important since, if looking at a god as a key to a holistic understanding of these plays—which is part of this thesis' contention—then it is necessary to know what sort of character of god contributes to what sort of play. Leonard Barkan, under the rubric of 'the Faces of Divine Power' in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, makes an important distinction between two types of divine presentation, namely the fundamentally intelligible and the fundamentally mysterious. It is worth quoting his explanation at length:

The world of the *Metamorphoses* is ruled by some forces which, however selfish and wilful, are fundamentally intelligible, and at the same time other forces which are mystical, remote, and inexplicable. The first group is personified either by the Olympians or by powerful mortals who are essentially identical to the Olympians. The second group is not, strictly speaking, personified at all. These are not so much gods as presences, mysterious forces implanted in particular parts of the universe or occasionally in some mythic creature.<sup>12</sup>

The case is slightly different in Shakespeare, where the distinction is not so sharp. This is a curious feature: it is platitudinous to speak of Ovid's importance to Shakespeare; but Shakespeare's gods are not greatly Ovidian. Although Shakespeare everywhere makes use of the myths narrated in the *Metamorphoses*—the ghost of Sicilius even refers to Jupiter's adulteries in his petition to the god for justice—Shakespeare's personified gods, when they appear in the scenes of theophany, align more

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12. Leonard Barkan, *The Gods Made Flesh: Metamorphosis & the Pursuit of Paganism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), p. 37.

with Barkan's second type. This is particularly true of the strange, planetary, and distant Apollo of *The Winter's Tale*. Diana occupies a middle ground. Although in *Pericles* she seems, at least in costume, to be the Ovidian huntress, she is yet, as Emilia says in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, a

sacred, shadowie, cold and constant Queene,

Abandoner of Revells, mute contemplative. (TLN 2800–1, 5.1.137–8)

She is distant and mysterious, not the huntress with her train. At the same time, I would resist making too much of the Ephesian Diana whom Faith Elizabeth Hart argues *does* have much to do with *Pericles* and *The Comedy of Errors*, for reasons which I discuss in this thesis' *Pericles* chapter.<sup>13</sup> However, there is hardly more contrast possible than between *Pericles*' Diana and *Cymbeline*'s Jupiter. Where the latter expatiates, Diana is laconic. The fragmentary and imperfect text of her speech, in fact, perfects and completes the effect, so that her broken poem makes the goddess read almost like Anne Carson's fragments of Sappho.<sup>14</sup> Were we to find that Shakespeare had originally written a colossal speech for Diana which did not make it to the Quarto, this point would collapse; but happily, what survives of the text in the Quarto suggests that she only had two swift quatrains to say or sing before departing.

### *iii. Justification for the Study and Literature Survey*

Focusing on theophany allows this thesis to approach the problems of the last plays from a perspective wherein the theatrical, classical, thematic, and spiritual elements in Shakespeare may all be brought into play, thereby offering a holistic treatment of the plays. Where many studies have pushed Shakespeare's gods aside, seeing them as sometimes annoying intrusions into otherwise reasonably good plays, this approach places the gods at the very thematic, philosophical, ideational, and religious centres of these plays, yielding a reading which seeks integration and overall coherence, and therefore an increase in appreciation for the richness of Shakespeare's use of the gods and the divine, as well as a greater appreciation for his late plays.

Thankfully, there seems to be a growing rather than receding interest in Shakespeare's gods. (In the past half-a-century or so, criticism has in general tended

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13. F. Elizabeth Hart, "'Great is Diana" of Shakespeare's Ephesus', *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 43 (2003), 347–74; 'Cerimon's "Rough" Music in *Pericles*, 3.2', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 51 (2000), 313–31.

14. In *If Not, Winter: Fragments of Sappho*, trans. by Anne Carson (London: Virago, 2003).

to make fewer value judgements—seeing these, I think, as flippant and or hasty—and has sought to read texts increasingly on their own terms.) In the past year, Jonathan Bate has remarked that 'Shakespeare's way of dramatizing divinity was more profoundly shaped by the humanist inheritance from ancient Rome than the modern contentions between Rome and Geneva', shifting the emphasis on Shakespeare's religious thinking—appropriately, I think—from Reformation controversy to humanist and Classical influences.<sup>15</sup> Also in the past year, Virginia Mason Vaughan has added a welcome contribution in her *Shakespeare and the Gods*. This is a useful study; I have benefited from it in many parts of this thesis. But it is explicitly directed more towards the undergraduate student for whom Shakespeare's deities might be obscure rather than towards the scholar.<sup>16</sup> I might add that the book asserts Shakespeare's familiarity with some sources which remain uncertain,<sup>17</sup> and I am not sure that each chapter's beginning with a review of each god's appearance in the Hellenic literature is particularly useful. To turn to older studies, any consideration of Shakespeare's thinking about the gods continues to benefit today from Elton's classic *King Lear and the Gods*,<sup>18</sup> but this is less a treatment of Shakespeare's gods than of their absence or hiddenness. As for theophany itself, there are two short but important essays. The more recent of the two is Richard Paul Knowles' "'The More Delay'd, Delighted": Theophanies in the Last Plays'; this is a valuable and insightful article which shows great sensitivity towards genre.<sup>19</sup> Its downside is a strange reliance on ideas of the audience's 'creative will' and 'universal will'<sup>20</sup> which requires more explanation than it receives, and which perhaps suggests an unhelpful amount of reading in German idealist philosophy. Thus his conclusion, for example, of Jupiter's theophany is that 'we [the audience] have willed Jupiter into existence'—a strange remark to make of a moment which may more frequently than any other moment in

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15. Jonathan Bate, *How the Classics Made Shakespeare* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019), p. 4.

16. Virginia Mason Vaughan, *Shakespeare and the Gods* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), pp. ix–x, 2.

17. Vaughan, pp. 8–9.

18. William R. Elton, *King Lear and the Gods* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1968)

19. R. P. Knowles, "'The More Delay'd, Delighted": Theophanies in the Last Plays', *Shakespeare Studies*, 15 (1982), 269–80.

20. Knowles, p. 274.

Shakespeare have been willed out of existence.<sup>21</sup> The discussion of *Pericles* is so short as to be almost non-existent; Knowles' dislike for the play is not well-concealed next to his effusive praise for *Cymbeline*. There is also a short essay from Kenneth Muir, 'Theophanies in the Last Plays', which, although it makes a few helpful comments in speaking of the implicit religious worldviews of the late plays, breaks no really new ground with regard to the theophanies themselves.<sup>22</sup>

However, as said above, the theophanies do seem to be attracting slightly more attention in our day. This is evinced, for example, by Daryl Kaytor's essay, 'Shakespeare's Gods'—an eccentric but valuable discussion of *Cymbeline*'s Jupiter and *Pericles*' Diana as influenced by Shakespeare's reading of Plato (for which Kaytor provides no evidence)—and Robert Miola's essay on Shakespeare's ancient religions, although his treatment of Diana and Jupiter concerns itself chiefly with classical reception within the field of Reformation controversy.<sup>23</sup> Gary Taylor, in the same issue of *Shakespeare Survey* as Miola's essay, offers 'Divine [...] Sences' (citation above), a stimulating and wide-ranging essay on the representation of the divine in the commercial theatre, from which I have benefited frequently in this thesis. Thomas Kullmann has offered a few useful contemplations on the dramatic usefulness of paganism in 'Pagan Mysteries and Metaphysical Ironies: Gods and Goddesses on Shakespeare's Stage'.<sup>24</sup> Faith Elizabeth Hart, as mentioned above, has provided some eccentric and stimulating, if not watertight readings of Shakespeare's Diana in two essays: 1) "'Great is Diana" of Shakespeare's Ephesus' and 2) 'Cerimon's "Rough" Music', the latter actually being the better essay on the goddess and the religious mind of *Pericles*, the former focusing more on *The Comedy of Errors*.<sup>25</sup>

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21. Knowles, p. 272.

22. Kenneth Muir, 'Theophanies in the Last Plays', in *Shakespeare's Late Plays: Essays in Honour of Charles Crow*, ed. by Richard C. Tobias and Paul G. Zolbrod (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1974), pp. 32–43.

23. Daryl Kaytor, 'Shakespeare's Gods', *Literature & Theology*, 29 (2015), 3–17; Robert S. Miola, "'An Ancient People Clutching Their Gods?" Shakespeare's Ancient Religions', *Shakespeare Survey*, 54 (2001), 31–45.

24. Thomas Kullmann, 'Pagan Mysteries and Metaphysical Ironies: Gods and Goddesses on Shakespeare's Stage', *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, 149 (2013), 33–51.

25. "'Great is Diana" of Shakespeare's Ephesus', *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 43 (2003), 347–74; 'Cerimon's "Rough" Music in *Pericles*, 3.2', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 51 (2000), 313–31.

A number of studies of the gods which do not bear a direct relation to Shakespeare have influenced the direction, arguments, and shape of this thesis. One of the most important of these is Jean Seznec's classic *The Survival of the Pagan Gods*.<sup>26</sup> The first part of the book, which focuses on the three ways (described fully later in this introduction) in which the gods were able to 'survive' the transition from a pagan to a Christian European culture through forms of allegorisation, has been particularly helpful in making sense of manifestations of these approaches in certain early modern texts. Other studies from the Warburg school have been useful, notably Edgar Wind's encyclopaedic *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance* and Rudolf Wittkower's *The Migration of Symbols*.<sup>27</sup> Peter Saccio's *The Court Comedies of John Lyly: A Study in Allegorical Dramaturgy* offers a long discussion of 'The Gods of Gallathea' which provides many useful insights concerning the gods in early modern drama in general, and which offers a few useful remarks on Shakespeare's gods by way of exploring those in Lyly's plays.<sup>28</sup>

Then there is the literature on Shakespeare's religious thinking in general. Preeminent for its balance, sensitivity, and immediate relevance to this thesis must be Maurice Hunt's 'Syncretistic Religion in Shakespeare's Late Romances', which offers a useful description of the way in which Christian and pagan elements play together in the romance writing of Shakespeare and, for that matter, Sidney.<sup>29</sup> Robert Reid's 'Epiphanal Encounters in Shakespearean Dramaturgy' benefits from exploring specific Christian ideas in Shakespeare without limiting itself to a particular play or set of plays, although Reid seems to acknowledge that the romances are best qualified to answer to the subject of his enquiries.<sup>30</sup> I have benefited from Alison Shell's informative and detailed *Shakespeare and Religion*, particularly its thoughts on 'Providence, Fate, and Predestination: From Tragedy to Tragicomedy', and its vivid sketch-

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26. Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods*, trans. by Barbara F. Sessions (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953).

27. Edgar Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*, revised edn (New York: Norton, 1968); Rudolf Wittkower, *Allegory and the Migration of Symbols* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977).

28. Peter Saccio, *The Court Comedies of John Lyly: A Study in Allegorical Dramaturgy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), pp. 95–160.

29. Maurice Hunt, 'Syncretistic Religion in Shakespeare's Late Romances', *South Central Review*, 28 (2011), 57–79.

30. Robert L. Reid, 'Epiphanal Encounters in Shakespearean Dramaturgy', *Comparative Drama*, 32 (1998), 518–40.

es of the Christian culture of Tudor and Jacobean England.<sup>31</sup> Another useful work for its general comments on the relationship between Providence and history is Henry Ansgar Kelly's *Divine Providence in the England of Shakespeare's Histories*.<sup>32</sup> Howard Felperin also writes well on the relationship between Providence and history in discussing *The Tempest* and its contemporary travel sources, William Strachey's *A True Reportory* and Sylvester Jourdain's *A Discovery of the Bermudas*.<sup>33</sup> Any current discussion of romance and Providence is indebted to Helen Cooper's *The English Romance in Time*.<sup>34</sup> Piero Boitani's *Il vangelo secondo Shakespeare*—translated by Rachel Jacoff and Vittorio Montemaggi as *The Gospel According to Shakespeare*—provides a brief but stimulating stroll through the romances (as well as *King Lear* and *Hamlet*), observing the various evangelical echoes, patterns, and keywords in those plays, without going so far as to ignore their non-Christian elements.<sup>35</sup> For any work on Shakespeare and the sacred, Naseeb Shaheen's *Biblical References in Shakespeare's Plays* is indispensable, as is Peter Milward's *Shakespeare's Religious Background*.<sup>36</sup>

There is of course ample criticism on the late plays. To generalise—and without ignoring the merits of these studies—this body of literature tends to miss the importance of Shakespeare's use of the gods and theophany in the late plays. Sometimes these are good studies which are somewhat dismissive of these features—examples here would include Howard Felperin's *Shakespearean Romance* and Simon Palfrey's *Late Shakespeare: A New World of Words*, E. M. W. Tillyard's *Shakespeare's Last Plays*, Barbara Mowat's *The Dramaturgy of Shakespeare's Romances*, Northrop Frye's *A Natural Perspective*, Russ McDonald's *Shakespeare's Late Style*<sup>37</sup>—and sometimes they

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31. Alison Shell, *Shakespeare and Religion* (London: Bloomsbury, 2004), pp. 175–222.

32. Henry Ansgar Kelly, *Divine Providence in the England of Shakespeare's Histories* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970).

33. Howard Felperin, *Shakespearean Romance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), pp. 246–83.

34. Helen Cooper, *The English Romance in Time: Transforming Myths from Geoffrey of Monmouth to the Death of Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

35. Piero Boitani, *Il Vangel secondo Shakespeare* (Bologna: Mulino, 2009); *The Gospel According to Shakespeare*, trans. by Vittorio Montemaggi and Rachel Jacoff (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2013).

36. Naseeb Shaheen, *Biblical References in Shakespeare's Plays* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999); Peter Milward, *Shakespeare's Religious Background* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1973).

37. Felperin cited above; Simon Palfrey, *Late Shakespeare: A New World of Words* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); E. M. W. Tillyard, *Shakespeare's Last Plays* (London: Chatto &

are openly hostile to the theophanies (H. W. Fawkner leads the way with his *Shakespeare's Miracle Plays*).<sup>38</sup> Gordon McMullan's *Shakespeare and the Idea of Late Writing: Authorship in the Proximity of Death* appears to me to be largely about Beethoven.<sup>39</sup> There have been two recent edited collections which are especially useful: *Late Shakespeare, 1608–1613* (edited by Andrew J. Power and Rory Loughnane) and *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare's Last Plays* (edited by Catherine M. S. Alexander).<sup>40</sup> Both of these touch on the theophanies or gods at certain points and in important ways. A classic, distinguished contribution to the late plays from a quasi-religious perspective is George Wilson Knight's *The Crown of Life*, which conceptualises the last plays as a grand cycle, 'throughout impregnated by an atmosphere of mysticism' and 'pseudo-Hellenistic' theology.<sup>41</sup> Such a reading is agreeable, but Knight sometimes mires his arguments in needless and unhelpful generality and grandiloquence, as when he writes: 'Art is an extraverted expression of the creative imagination which, when introverted, becomes religion'.<sup>42</sup> Does it? Frances Yates provides a view more attentive to the *history* of religious and spiritual ideas than does Knight, but which is also more attentive to this history than to the ideas themselves.<sup>43</sup>

Rarely do critics concerned with sacred motifs in these later plays, then, look directly towards the gods who appear in them. Focusing on theophany in these plays brings a governing focus to these thematic concerns. Whereas some critics have felt these apparitions to be so disconnected from the plays as to argue interpo-

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Windus, 1938); Barbara Mowat, *The Dramaturgy of Shakespeare's Romances* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1976); Northrop Frye, *A Natural Perspective: The Development of Shakespearean Comedy and Romance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965); Russ McDonald, *Shakespeare's Late Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

38. H. W. Fawkner, *Shakespeare's Miracle Plays: Pericles, Cymbeline, and The Winter's Tale* (London: Associated University Presses, 1992).

39. Gordon McMullan, *Shakespeare and the Idea of Late Writing: Authorship in the Proximity of Death* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

40. *Late Shakespeare, 1608–1613*, ed. by Andrew J. Power and Rory Loughnane (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare's Last Plays*, ed. by Catherine M. S. Alexander (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

41. G. Wilson Knight, *The Crown of Life* (New York: Methuen, 1948) [originally Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947], p. 14.

42. Knight, p. 22.

43. Frances A. Yates, *Shakespeare's Last Plays: A New Approach* (London: Routledge, 1975).



lation by another hand,<sup>44</sup> we will see that the gods, who are, among other things, ideas, tie together the concerns of the plays more felicitously than this or that intertext, this or that interesting but unnecessary historical or scriptural connection. A focus on theophany allows us to direct our attention straight to specific textual moments, and straight to the materiality of the theatre, providing a critical enquiry which sets out with a precise object in mind. This thesis considers theophany not only as an end in itself, but as something like a Warburgian *Denkform*, a mode or manner of thinking about the plays themselves.

#### *iv. Definition of Terms*

A robust definition of 'theophany' is needed, however, in order properly to treat both it and this thesis' focal texts. The word 'theophany' signifies the manifestation (*φάνεια*) of a, or the, god (*θεός*). What exactly one means by 'god' and 'manifestation', however, is to some extent unfixable. We do not need to labour this point: everyday experience tells us how wide a semantic field the word 'god'—and its equivalents in other languages—have. *Φάνεια* is formed from the transitive verb *φαίνω*, meaning 'I bring to light, make to appear, show', and is formed from the noun *ὁ φάος* ('light'). It would seem that this word has all sorts of applications, ranging from the banal to the mysterious. I can 'show' that I have had a productive day and read many useful and stimulating essays. Equally, if I were Aeschylus, I could 'bring to light' the tragic consequences of the evil inherent in the line of Tantalus since the time in mythic prehistory when he stole ambrosia from, and served his son Pelops to, the gods. The mystical and intellectual consequences of the word are unfolded by Heidegger in his definition of phenomenon—which word also comes from *φαίνω* (and therefore *φῶς*)—in the early pages of *Sein und Zeit*.<sup>45</sup> Literally then, phenomena are something like enlightenments, although even that attempt towards a closer defi-

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44. See for example Kristian Smidt, 'Spirits, Ghosts, and Gods in Shakespeare', *English Studies*, 77 (1996), 422–38, and *Pericles*, ed. by K. Deighton, Arden First Series (London: Methuen, 1907), n. to 5.1.236SD. The tradition of omitting Jupiter from *Cymbeline* is comprehensively but briefly detailed in *The Tragedie of Cymbeline*, ed. by Horace Howard Furness (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1913), pp. 374–9; pp. vii–viii are also informative. These arguments were well rebutted by G. W. Knight in *The Crown of Life*, pp. 168–202. I add one suggestion concerning the use of the word 'geck' in the Jupiter scene in my MA thesis, which is briefly restated in this thesis' *Cymbeline* chapter.

45. *Being and Time*, trans. by Joan Stambaugh, revised by Dennis J. Schmidt (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2010), pp. 27–30 (§7.A. The Concept of Phenomenon').

dition does not allow the nuances in each word to align. The thesis therefore proceeds with notions such as 'manifestation' and 'appearance', as well as the less neutral but more phenomenologically focused 'vision' at the forefront of its discussions.

Since these are concepts which are difficult to delimit, there needs to be set, first of all, a primary, strict definition of what theophany means in Shakespearean drama: by 'theophany' is meant those moments in Shakespeare's plays at which a god enters the stage in body. For moments such as the indirect significations of Apollo in *The Winter's Tale*, or when there is a certain, objective sense of the mysterious, there should be recourse to another word, namely Mircea Eliade's hierophany (*la hiérophanie*), by which the idea is communicated of an atmosphere of the sacred conveyed via some object (concrete or verbal) other than the strict, incarnate theophanies of which there are five examples in the Shakespearean corpus: Hymen in *As You Like It* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, (Middleton's) Hecate in *Macbeth*, Diana in *Pericles*, and Jupiter in *Cymbeline*.<sup>46</sup>

#### *v. Shakespeare's Use of Allegory*

It is useful here to discuss Shakespeare's use of allegory, since, as will be seen later in this introduction and throughout the thesis, the rare and singular occurrence of theophany is to some degree continuous with the playwright's use of different forms of this device. All things are potentially allegorical inasmuch as every object can stand for a concept. For example, if I were to speak to someone foolish, I might take them to represent *Ignorantia*. Similarly, if I talk to a knowledgeable professor, I could be said to speak with someone who stands for *Sapientia*. It would seem that the gods become ripe for this sort of treatment when the general belief in them first begins to recede. Jean Seznec asserts that the pagans of antiquity 'found themselves in a dilemma from the moment they first began to reason about their beliefs'.<sup>47</sup> Seznec offers a somewhat teleological view in which societies progress from a primitive religion to a more sophisticated, self-critical one; a more agreeable view is found in Thomas Blackwell's *Letters Concerning Mythology*. He writes:

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46. Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, trans. by Willard R. Trask (New York: Harcourt, 1959), pp. 11–13.

47. Seznec, p. 4.

The Gods of the Ancients, you see, appear in a double Light; as the Parts and Powers of Nature to the Philosophers, as real Persons to the Vulgar; the former understood and admired them with a decent Veneration; the latter dreaded and adored them with a blind Devotion.<sup>48</sup>

Although Blackwell essentially writes within the tradition which Seznec seeks to describe, his view tends less towards caricature. However, Seznec's threefold allegorical scheme for thinking about the gods does prove useful to this thesis, and is accordingly summarised below. Before exploring Seznec's allegorical scheme, however, it is important to have a more detailed sense of what allegory is and is not in and for Shakespeare. In their compressed, yet expansive and well-documented summary of the history of allegory, Rita Copeland and Peter Struck inform us that the word 'allegory' has neither one fixed idea in its classical origins, nor attains to any real stability at any point in its development; and that, as meaning can tend to follow use, so a study of the meaning must be nested in its historical development.<sup>49</sup> There are three basic categories: 1) *allegoresis*, or allegorical reading, the act, on the reader's part, of interpreting a text allegorically; this is in fact the oldest documented of the three categories; 2) *topical allegory*, the use of allegory as one rhetorical *topos* among many by which to decorate a speech or piece of writing; this originated with Roman oratory, whose appropriation of the Greek word results in something of a misnomer, compared with the use of the word to denote a form of enquiry which is chiefly philosophical and mystical; finally we have 3) *extended or sustained allegory* on the part of the author, which is akin to what Spenser means by his description of *The Faerie Queene* in his 'Letter to Raleigh' as 'a continued Allegory, or darke conceite' (*Faerie Queene*, p. 714), and which seems to originate more with the Christian tradition, such as in (say) Prudentius' *Psychomachia*.<sup>50</sup>

There remains a fourth concept which does not form a category on its own, but rather moves between 2) and 3). This is *personification allegory*, of which Shakespeare makes continuous use throughout his career. His most usual method by far is

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48. Thomas Blackwell, *Letters Concerning Mythology* (London, 1748), p. 63 [Garland reprint, 1976].

49. Rita Copeland and Peter T. Struck, 'Introduction', in *The Cambridge Companion to Allegory*, ed. by Rita Copeland and Peter T. Struck (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 1–11 (pp. 1–6 are most relevant to this thesis).

50. See also Bernard Spivack's ambitious history of this species of allegory in the Church from St. Paul to Bunyan in *Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil: The History of a Metaphor in Relation to his Major Villains* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), pp. 63–95.

2) the rhetorical or topical application, which gives him many of his most famous, memorable figures. One of the most celebrated appears in *Pericles's* recognition scene as one of the climaxes of the entire drama: 'yet thou doest looke like patience, gazing on Kings graues, and smiling extremitie out of act' (H4r, 5.1.138–40). There are many famous examples, but perhaps the most illustrative for our purposes is in the complaint of Claudio in *Measure for Measure*:

Thus can the demy-god (Authority)  
Make vs pay downe for our offence, by waight  
The words of heauen; on whom it will, it will,  
On whom it will not (soe) yet still 'tis iust. (TLN 211–14, 1.2.121–3)

This is particularly useful in illustrating how there joins together in Shakespeare's imagination two ideas which are at first distinct: the abstract concept (authority) and the idea of divinity. Let us not overstate this, however: in context, Claudio's complaint is caustic and ironic, and he is criticising the dressing up of the state's notion of justice as heavenly, transcendent, and therefore inviolable. This is shored up in his later speech on death in which he explores arguably un-Christian thoughts of possible afterlives (III. i).<sup>51</sup> But let us leave for now the complex religious world of *Measure for Measure*.

It is useful here to return to and to detail Jean Seznec's threefold framework for understanding the methods via which the pagan gods were allowed or able to 'survive' the eclipse of paganism and rise of Christianity. This was via three methods or modes of allegorisation. The first which Seznec describes is the 'historical' tradition, which holds that the myths of the gods were developed out of the legendary status of famous, mortal men. Seznec's second tradition is the 'physical', in which the gods are allegorisations of cosmic powers and astral bodies. (The thesis of the physical tradition is wonderfully rebutted by Tolkien in 'On Fairy-Stories'.<sup>52</sup>) The third is the most ubiquitous in the early modern period; this is the 'moral' tradition, which sees the body of mythical tales as literally fabulous allegorisations of moral truths and philosophical ideas.<sup>53</sup> The first and second of these have no great bearing on Shakespeare but are worth a quick summary, since it can be difficult to see their im-

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51. *Vide* Milward, *Shakespeare's Religious Background*, p. 246.

52. J. R. R. Tolkien, *Tree and Leaf* (London: Harper Collins, 2001), p. 24.

53. Seznec summarises the traditions briefly on p. 4, and expatiates on them not at all briefly on pp. 11–121.

mediate relevance to early modern theatre, in which Seznec's study shows almost no interest. In the early modern theatre, the historical tradition is most evident in Heywood's *The Golden Age*, in which, until the apotheoses of Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto in the final scene, the gods are explicitly—presumably mortal—men. Heywood works from Caxton's *Recuyell of the Histories of Troye*, which is a translation of Raoul Lefèvre's *Recueil des histoires de Troyes* (1464), which Seznec cites as an example of this tradition.<sup>54</sup> One sees the physical, or as I think of it, astral tradition in Lyly's *The Woman in the Moon*, in which the gods are explicitly imagined as planets, though they are personified so that they can function as characters. Much of the plot works through the ability which this allegorisation gives them to work malignant influences upon human kind—in the case of this play, Pandora. To my mind, this aspect of the gods is not obviously present in Shakespeare's versions, though he does show interest in ideas of planetary influence, for example, when Hermione says:

There's some ill Planet raignes:

I must be patient, till the Heauens looke

With an aspect more fauorable. (TLN 712–14, 2.1.105–7)

This use of the idea of planetary influence in *The Winter's Tale* may account for the peculiar, distant, and planetary version of Apollo which appears in that play. Shakespeare regularly invokes Phoebus Apollo, or Apollo Helios, as a synonym for sun, e.g., 'The blest eye | Of holy *Phæbus*' (*The Two Noble Kinsmen*, TLN 113–4, 1.1.145–6); 'and *Phæbus* gins arise' (*Cymbeline*, TLN 983, 2.3.18). Perhaps Shakespeare's conception of Apollo as sungod, rather than as the capricious, youthful archer who he tends to appear as in Ovid's most famous stories, accounts for the strange and somewhat impersonal Apollo of *The Winter's Tale*.

The third type of allegorisation in Seznec's scheme, the moral allegorical tradition, may be the most widespread and important in the early modern period. We see its fruits in a number of genres, namely in emblem books, in *Ovid moralisé* (of which Golding's and Sandys' translations of the *Metamorphoses* can be said to be versions), in visual culture in general, and—most importantly for this part of the introduction—in mythographical texts of the period, which it is known were used by a number of Elizabethan and Jacobean playwrights. Marston namedrops two of the most popular in the second satire from *The Metamorphosis of Pygmalion's Image*:

Reach me some Poets Index that will show.

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54. Seznec, p. 25.

*Imagines Deorum*. Booke of Epithites,  
Natales Comes, thou I know recites,  
And mak'st Anatomie of Poesie.<sup>55</sup>

'*Imagines Deorum*' refers to a Latin edition of Vincenzo Cartari's originally Italian *Le imagini de i dei de gli antichi*; 'Natales Comes' is Natale Conti, whose *Mythologiae* was widely used, notably by Spenser—which can be confirmed by the fact that 'when Conti errs, Spenser errs with him'.<sup>56</sup> Marston and Spenser certainly engaged with mythography; did Shakespeare? I have come to the conclusion that Shakespeare probably did refer to at least one of the three famous Italian mythographers, since his gods are never inaccurate in mythographical details—this is to say that he never apparently disagrees with mythographers—albeit that he deploys these details with a lighter touch than is used by, say, Jonson in his masque notes. But there seems to be little sign of extensive or enthusiastic reading; finally, I suspect that his estimation of mythography might roughly have matched that of Samuel Daniel, who dismisses them in the epistle to the Countess of Bedford which prefaces *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*:

And though these Images [of Daniel's twelve goddesses] haue oftentimes diuers significations, yet it being not our purpose to represent them, with all those curious and superfluous obseruations, vve tooke them onely to serue as Hieroglyphicqs for our present intention, according to some one propertie that fitted our occasion, without obseruing other mysticall interpretations; wherein the authors themselues are so irregular and confused, as the best Mytheologers, vvho will make somewhat to seeme any thing, are so vnfaithfull to themselues, as they haue left vs no certaine way at all, but a tract of confusion, to take our course at aduenture. And therefore owing no homage to their intricate obseruations, vve vvere left at libertie to take no other knowledge of them, then fitted our present purpose. (Daniel, *Twelve Goddesses*, I. 44–57)

But, as said, Shakespeare is always accurate in his presentation of the gods, though never pedantic. In this he differs from, say, Peele and Marlowe, who use mythology more freely. That Shakespeare chose to be precise with the gods in a way that he was not with geographical location (e.g., Bohemia) or time (e.g., his numerous anachro-

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55. Marston, *The Metamorphosis of Pygmalions Image and Certaine Satyres* (London, 1598), 39–40. Quoted by Anna-Maria Hartmann, *English Mythography in its European Context, 1500–1650* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 49–50.

56. *The Spenser Encyclopaedia*, ed. by A. C. Hamilton (Abingdon: Routledge, 1996), p. 494.

nisms) is in itself telling. Perhaps, then, the image-based Cartari was the most useful to Shakespeare, given the way in which its images and efficient communication of information might lend itself to the practical exigencies of stage work, whereas the more allegorical and minutely-detailed Giraldi and Conti were better for the sprawling, non-theatrical writings of Spenser. There were a very few English mythographies available, but these are strange texts, rarely as useful as their Italian forbears for harvesting details about the gods.<sup>57</sup>

Shakespeare's relationship with emblem and visual culture—both of which are profoundly shaped by the moral allegorical tradition and therefore its versions of the gods—requires a few words. The relationship between the early modern emblem and the drama of the period is well represented in contemporary scholarship, and has a long tradition, seemingly going back as far as Henry Green's *Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers* (1870), although Green also cites Francis Douce's *Illustrations of Shakespeare* (1839) as a leading light for his own emblem studies.<sup>58</sup> Whilst the latter spends but a few pages on the topic, Green's study shows an impressive breadth of research, referring to emblem books across the continent and in various languages; but, for all this, many of his concluding arguments for this or that connection to a certain passage in Shakespeare appear strained, if ingenious. Of book-length treatments of Shakespeare's engagement with iconography which belong to our own day, Stuart Sillars' *Shakespeare and the Visual Imagination* (2015) and Frederick Kiefer's *Shakespeare's Visual Theatre: Staging the Personified Characters* (2003) stand preeminent. Both give good accounts of the symbolic visual culture which surrounded virtually any early modern person but, being general studies, they are limited, and occasionally risk generalisation. Sillars shows no great interest in Shakespeare's gods, despite spending several pages on Geoffrey Whitney's (and Johannes Sambucus') emblem depicting Diana and Actaeon, which is discussed in this thesis' *Pericles* chapter.<sup>59</sup> Kiefer, however, does spend a whole chapter on Shakespeare's use of the deities. His study's purpose is principally to offer—through imaginative reconstruction of the

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57. Vide Hartmann, *English Mythography*, for an idea of the idiosyncrasy of English mythographical texts and their frequently *ad hoc* political and theological purposes.

58. Henry Green, *Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers* (London: Trübner & Co., 1870), p. vii; Francis Douce, *Illustrations of Shakespeare, and Ancient Manners* (London: Thomas Gegg, 1839), pp. 392–4.

59. Stuart Sillars, *Shakespeare and the Visual Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 191–7.

'largely lost [...] visual vocabulary of Elizabethan England'—explications of the sometimes dense symbolism operating both in that culture in general and in Shakespeare's plays in particular.<sup>60</sup> This he does well, although often the range of continental sources Kiefer uses would seem to ask more justification—as shedding light on Shakespeare—than he supplies, and at times his enumeration of visual examples can seem list-like, without integration into the texts which are supposedly the object of his enquiry. Peggy Muñoz Simonds' *Myth, Emblem, and Music in Shakespeare's Cymbeline* (1992) is important for this project's later engagement with that play, but makes Green's mistake of over-arguing the importance of the emblem culture as a frame of reference in our reading and understanding of the play. A slightly older, but venerable work by John Doeblér, *Shakespeare's Speaking Pictures* (1974), gives many enlightening general observations and local insights, but disregards Shakespeare's theophanies, focusing on the iconic imagery of his speeches.

All of these studies offer insights into a visual conception of Shakespeare, as well as the interaction between the visual and verbal art of the Renaissance. However, it seems to me a mistake to trawl through seemingly endless numbers of emblem books and other iconographical or visual material, looking for analogues and or sources for moments in Shakespeare's plays. Care is needed here: certainly Shakespeare had a rich iconographical imagination; certainly his theatre and works are a key part of the visual culture of the period; his knowledge of moral and visual commonplaces suggests a familiarity with the sort of material which can be seen in emblem books. But, because these are commonplaces, it seems to me that it is of limited value to marshal leagues of emblems to illustrate analogous moments in the plays. In short, just as Shakespeare shows a casual acquaintance with mythography, so too he shows a casual acquaintance with the emblem. Therefore, this thesis limits itself to the one English book of emblems widely available in Shakespeare's lifetime, Geoffrey Whitney's *A Choice of Emblemes* (1586). This is a useful composite or anthology of emblems lifted mainly from Alciati's *Emblematum Liber* (1531) and the two editions of Sambucus' *Emblemata* (1564, 1566). Whitney translates the Latin (and sometimes Greek) of Alciati and Sambucus into an eloquent and graceful English verse. I also refer to Alciati and Sambucus where relevant. Having looked at such emblem books

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60. Frederick Kiefer, *Shakespeare's Visual Theatre: Staging the Personified Characters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 13 for the statement of purpose, p. 14 for the quotation.



as, say, Claude Paradin's *Devises Heroïques* (1557), I can only conclude that there is no compelling evidence for Shakespeare's use of such out-of-the-way texts. Although *Pericles*, II. ii, shares certain emblems with Paradin, it also shares these (for the most part) with Whitney. Furthermore, this scene—one of the dullest in all drama—is more than likely Wilkins' rather than Shakespeare's. Henry Green has given the most significant treatment of *Pericles*, II. ii. He provides the source for three *imprese*, two of which we can trace back to Whitney's *A Choice of Emblemes* and these two, plus a third, to Paradin's *Devises Heroïques*.<sup>61</sup> Green himself concludes that, although Paradin provides three sources in contrast to Whitney's two, yet

between certain expressions of Whitney's and those of *Pericles*, the similarity is so great, that the evidence of circumstance inclines, I may say decidedly inclines, to the conclusion that for two out of the three emblems referred to, Shakespeare was indebted to his fellow Elizabethan poet, and not to a foreign source.<sup>62</sup>

So much for Paradin. Green's assumption that II. ii is by Shakespeare does not weaken his point that Whitney remains a more likely source for most English playwrights than the swathe of continental emblem books. In conclusion, this thesis restrains itself to the ample resources to be found in Whitney (and his principal antecedents, Alciati and Sambucus).

#### *vi. Music and Thunder*

Thinking of the emblematic and of the morally allegorical brings this introduction to a related concern. This is the significance of two soundworlds which are associated with the gods, both in and outside of Shakespeare, namely music and thunder. Let us begin with thunder. Only George Wilson Knight, to my knowledge, has explicitly acknowledged the importance of thunder to the Shakespearean sense of who and what the gods are. He writes of 'the Shakespearian emphasis on thunder as the voice

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61. Green, *Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers*, pp. 158–86; see also Alan R. Young, 'A Note on the Tournament Impresas in *Pericles*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 36 (1985), 453–6.

62. Green, pp. 167–8.

of the gods, or God'.<sup>63</sup> Danby does not go quite as far, but he offers the following suggestion:

In *King Lear* as in *Julius Caesar* the Thunder has metaphysical status. It is the super-natural and the super-rational and the super-human [...] The Thunder, as Lear reacts to it, might itself be an order and not a chaos.<sup>64</sup>

Indeed, every Shakespearean storm has, in its thunderclaps, some sense of divine response. King Lear's apostrophe to the storm in III. ii is so indelible to its readers and audiences partly because of the sense of tragic magnitude (Aristotle's *megathos*) instilled by Lear's raging against the winds themselves. A similar tragic magnitude is added by way of the catastrophes following Duncan's murder in *Macbeth* (II. iv) and that preceding Julius Caesar's assassination (I. iii). The sense that Antigonus and his crew are being punished by an angry Apollo—or some divine agency—is at the forefront of *The Winter's Tale*, III. iii. In comedies such as *Twelfth Night*, *The Comedy of Errors*, and *The Tempest*, the storms are elided and made external to the play in order to throw the focus more onto the comic trajectory of the action. Michael Gearin-Tosh, in speaking of the death of Antiochus in *Pericles*, notes that the popular belief that lightning (even sudden death of any kind) signified divine judgement persists from the Classical period into the eighteenth century.<sup>65</sup> I might only make the comments of Knight and Danby more specific by adding that thunder is aligned consistently with the idea of divine *judgement*. The complicated exception is Prospero's role in *The Tempest*'s opening storm; this is discussed in this thesis' chapter on the play.

This is not unique to Shakespeare, however. Jupiter *tonans*, i.e., Jupiter the thunderer, is found throughout Classical literature. His thunderous intervention proves theatrically effective at the conclusion of Plautus' *Amphitruo*, which will be discussed in detail later in this thesis' chapter on *Cymbeline*. The earliest mythic precedent (in writing; there is probably an earlier myth transmitted orally) is probably that of the great flood, found in Genesis 7. 11–24. However, the Pentateuchal author does not explicitly mention thunder. (God is a 'thunderer' in, for example, 1

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63. Wilson Knight, p. 217.

64. John F. Danby, *Shakespeare's Doctrine of Nature*, pp. 184–5. Cf. William Elton, *King Lear and the Gods* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1968), p. 71: comparing the uses of thunder in *King Lear* and *King Lear*, Elton concludes that in the latter 'the thunder itself, perhaps for the first time in Christian literature, becomes ambiguous—not clearly on the side of God or the good'.

65. Michael Gearin-Tosh, 'Pericles: The Death of Antiochus', *Notes & Queries*, 18 (1971), 149–50. See also Alison Shell, pp. 175–6.

Samuel, 2. 10, 7.10, and so on.) For this, one turns to Ovid's later, pagan account of a similar myth, wherein Jupiter as Thunderer is the punisher of the human race. He prepares to disperse thunder all through the earth ('Iamque erat in totas sparsurus fulmina terras' (*Metamorphoses*, I. 253)), but, not wanting to destroy heaven in the conflagration, decides that the human race shall perish beneath the waves instead: 'genus mortale sub undis | perdere et ex omni nimbos demittere caelo' (*Metamorphoses*, I. 260–1).

The matter is made more complicated, however, by the mobility of thunder as a symbol. The thunderstorm is virtually synonymous with the idea of Fortune, though this meaning is hardly present in the diluvian myths. The most famous illustration of this conception is that of the ship upon a stormy sea: we see this at the start of the *Aeneid*, and *The Tempest*. But it is not limited to nautical imagery. In Aaron's first soliloquy in *Titus Andronicus*, for example, Fortune is figured as an archer:

Now climbeth *Tamora* Olympus toppe,  
Safe out of Fortunes shot, and sits aloft,  
Secure of Thunders cracke or lightning flash,  
Aduanc'd about pale enuies threatning reach. (TLN 555–8, 1.1.500–3)

That Fortune shares this symbol with Jupiter *tonans* implies several possible things. Firstly, it can elide Jupiter and Fortune together. This begins to combine two competing divine ideas and pictures of human destiny. The shared symbol may also work to mistake one figure's agency for that of the other. The storms in *Pericles* make a fine example. They seem almost to be lifted from the pages of an emblem book in their illustration of Fortune's caprice. However, one later learns that the storms were part of the divine plan, which the play implies was overseen by Diana. A fortunate conception of the world gives way to a providential one, overseen by an interested and personal goddess.

Given its status as commonplace, the use of thunder to signify divine judgement is also present in non-Shakespearean plays. An effective example appears in Tourneur's *The Atheist's Tragedy*. D'Amville, the title's atheist, is both protagonist and villain of this fine play. In Act II, after carrying out his intended money-getting schemes and the necessary murder and betrayal attendant on them, he and his accomplice Borachio, surprised by a storm, discuss a godless philosophy of Nature:

*Thunder and Lightning.*

[D'Amville.] What!

Dost start at thunder? Credit my belief;

'Tis a mere effect of Nature. (*Atheist's Tragedy*, 2.4.139SD–142)

Whereas D'Amville sees 'a mere effect of Nature', evidence suggests that the prevailing opinion in the period is the reverse; accordingly, the assumptions shared by Tourneur and his audience are crucial to understanding the play's speeches and action. Nature is for D'Amville, as for Edmund in *King Lear*, effectively his goddess. (See the opening dialogue between D'Amville and Borachio for their understanding of 'Nature' and its moral-ethical implications.) Tourneur is alive to the irony of this devotion and exploits the broadness of the word in the play. I expand on 'Nature' in Shakespeare—as well as other writers of the period—in this thesis' chapter on *The Winter's Tale*. As that chapter is at pains to show, Nature may be the most important 'deity' in the early modern period's Christianised version of the pagan pantheon.

Besides thunder, the gods have another chief 'voice' which reflects their beneficent side, namely, music. David Lindley has written the most recent general account of the spiritual significance of music and, specifically, harmony in the period. This comes chiefly via Neoplatonism, which holds the Ptolemaic 'Music of the Spheres', heard in *Pericles* (or perhaps, as I discuss in the chapter, not heard), in high esteem.<sup>66</sup> Lindley picks the particular and famous example of Marsilio Ficino, though he points out that Shakespeare probably did not know Ficino's writings first-hand. I think that Macrobius' enormously influential commentary on the closing part of Cicero's *De re publica*, known as the *In Somnium Scipionis* is a safer bet, especially given its citation in the sort of medieval dream vision poetry which Shakespeare would have read with interest, given his own interest in dream, and its legacy in the dream vision poems of Chaucer, which Shakespeare may well have read in addition to his known reading of 'The Knight's Tale' and *Troilus and Criseyde*. While Shakespeare's theophanies involve religious experience, the experience, as effectively a dream vision, is steeped too in the literary tradition. That Cicero's Scipio hears the music of the spheres in the 'Somnium Scipionis', which becomes, along with Macrobius' commentary, the fountainhead of medieval dream vision poetry, is hardly coincidence. And that the association of dream and mystical experience is so widespread is shown, for example, in St. Matthew's account of Joseph's angelic vision, which is a—highly artificial and literary—dream vision:

But while he thought on these things, behold, an angel of the Lord appeared [ἐφάνη] unto him in a dream, saying, Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to

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66. David Lindley, *Shakespeare and Music* (London: Thomson, 2006), pp. 13–49.

take unto thee Mary thy wife: for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost. (Matthew, 1. 20)

Angels—'ἄγγελος' means 'messenger'—manifest chiefly in dream. But it is in the Cicero-Macrobius tradition that mystical experience, dream, and music are fused together. However, in medieval dream visions, to my knowledge, the focus is on vision rather than audition. This might suggest Shakespeare's reliance more on the threefold connection of vision, dream, and music as given in *De re publica*, VI.

Music, in the theoretical thinking of the period, has not only spiritual significance, but plays a physically restorative role, too. A marvellous illustration of the dramatic deployment of a divine, restorative music is found in *The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune* (probably performed in 1582, quarto published 1589), a play which was almost certainly used by Shakespeare for *Cymbeline*, and which seems perhaps to have been in his mind during the writing of the late plays generally, though I agree with Leo Salinger's conclusion that its theophanies bear little relation to that of Jupiter in *Cymbeline*.<sup>67</sup> At the close of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth acts, Bomelio—who has been driven mad by his son Hermione's burning of his books of magic and witchcraft and who looks set to wreak wrongful revenge on his son's beloved, Fidelity—is cured by Mercury's sudden intervention:

*Bomelio.* Hark ye hore, see what an impude[n]t hore it is, sleep you hore ile sleep with you anon, gogs blood you hore, ile hang you up,

*Fidelity.* Helpe helpe Hermione.

*Hermione.* Good father let her alone, come let us goe,

*Mercury.* Now with my musick ile recure his woe.

*Play.* (*Rare Triumphs*, TLN 1616–21)

The god intervenes suddenly and, appropriately, given that he is the god of eloquence, completes a rhyming couplet set up by Hermione's preceding line—where the scene had been in prose. He brings verse music to the scene as prelude to his bringing literal, instrumental music (presumably instrumental, or the stage directions would be 'Sing. '; see also Bomelio's description of the music, quoted below), which is itself prelude to his bringing harmony to the mind of Bomelio and so resolving this strand of the plot. This sort of musical intervention recalls those of Ariel in *The Tempest*, and perhaps that of Diana and the way in which the music of the

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67. Leo Salinger, *Shakespeare and the Traditions of Comedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), p. 59. Salinger points rather to Plautus' *Amphitruo* as a likely source (p. 56). See this thesis' chapter on *Cymbeline*.

spheres sends Pericles to sleep in that play. Its influence can perhaps be detected in Cerimon's revival of Thaisa in *Pericles*, III. ii. Before Bomelio sleeps, however, we are assured of his transformation but not his total recovery:

*Bomelio.* Harke harke my hartes, Pipes, Fiddels, oh braue, O shall haue my  
bookes againe, daunce about, Robin Hood is a good knaue, come besse, lets  
goe sleep, come besse together together

*Mercury.* Now will I charme him that he shall not wake,  
Untill he be releued in this place:

Then take her blood and cast it on this brake.

And therewithall besprinkle all his face.

And he shall be restorèd to his sence,

His health and memory as heeretofore:

Doo this for I must now departe from hence,

And so your sorrowes shall increase no more. (*Rare Triumphs*, TLN 1622–32)

The god of eloquence is, like *Pericles'* Diana, terse, and quickly departs, having imparted only the necessary information, which consists of clear instructions on what the characters are to do in order to secure their happiness. Like Shakespeare's *Pericles* and *Posthumus*, *Hermione* and *Fidelia* seem uncertain—almost unaware—of the experience:

*Hermione.* *Fidelia*, what hast thou heard my deere,

O comfortable woordes were they but true:

If any God or Goddesse be so neere,

Vouchsafe of pitie on our paines to rue.

Delude not with a fainèd phantasie:

The wretched minde of men in miserie.

*Fidelia.* Alas *Hermione*, let us not feede

And flatter our selues with my good surmise:

We are too much accursèd so to speed,

Or any hope therof for to deuise. (*Rare Triumphs*, TLN 1633–42)

Like *Pericles'* suspicion that *Marina* is a fairy or incensed god sent to torment him (H4r, 5.1.144), *Hermione* and *Fidelia* remain in a mood of despair rather than being transported to one of secure hope. Their understanding currently lags behind ours, and it falls to the remainder of the plot to bring them to the recognition and understanding with which romance typically concludes.

In precedents such as this—one thinks also of *Neronis'* 'blank' song prior to the theophany of Providence in *Clyomon and Clamydes*—as in Shakespeare's later implementations and adaptations, music is associated with divine mercy: Providence

intercedes apparently in response to Neronis' presumably woeful and prayerful song; Mercury in response to Bomelio's cruel lunacy; Diana and the Music of the Spheres manifest in response to Pericles' reunion with Marina; and Jupiter appears in response to the petitions of the Leonati ghosts. But these examples cover only two of the main focal texts here. At other moments in *Pericles* and *Cymbeline*, as well as at certain points of high emotion and or solemnity in *The Winter's Tale* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*—*The Tempest* needs separate treatment—music accompanies and enhances the sense of general wonder. This is usually marked in the stage directions as 'solemn music'. Of such moments, Martin Butler writes in his *Cymbeline* edition that '[i]n Jacobean stage practice [solemn music] would have meant a consort of recorders' (*Cymbeline*, n. to 4.2.185SD). Direct and telling evidence comes from one of this thesis' focal plays, namely when Emilia's sacrifice and prayer to Diana are prefaced by the stage direction 'Still Musicke of Record[er]s' (*The Two Noble Kinsmen*, TLN 2793, 5.1.146SD). Butler provides a number of other supporting examples: in *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, the funeral of Moll and Touchwood Junior is introduced by the stage direction 'Recorders dolefully playing' (5.4.1SD) and at the end of the same playwright's *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* (to give it its traditional title; in the Oxford Middleton it is called *The Lady's Tragedy*) the characters are played out by 'Recorders or other solemn music' (5.2.A213SD, B164SD).<sup>68</sup> Lindley ratifies these, but adds that Barnabe Barnes' *The Devil's Charter* requires a 'solemn flourish of trumpets' and that solemn and superhuman moments in *Macbeth* (TLN 1641, 4.1.106SD) and *Antony and Cleopatra* (TLN 2482, 4.3.12SD) ask for hautboys.<sup>69</sup>

A picture emerges, then, of the gods' attitudes, actions, and intentions being expressed through the two natural phenomena of thunder and music: the former represents judgement and associated ideas such as divine vengeance; the latter, roughly, mercy. In *The Tempest*, which bears a complex relationship to the divine and superhuman, the two forces coincide in Ariel's interactions with Alonso and his company. In II. i, the spirit enters 'playing solemne Musicke' (TLN 862, 2.1.180SD). Antonio and Sebastian, who remain awake, are useful in telling us of how Ariel's spiritual qualities (that is, those qualities inherent in him as spirit) are understood by those who, unlike Prospero, cannot perceive the essence or agency of Ariel himself, but only his effects:

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68. The Oxford Middleton offers parallel A- and B-texts of this play.

69. Lindley, p. 137.

*Seb.* What a strange drowsines possesses them?

*Ant.* It is the quality o'th'Clymate [...]

They fell together all, as by consent

They dropt, as by a Thunder-stroke. (TLN 878–9, 884–5; 2.1.194–5, 199–200)

As said, thunder is consistently linked in the Shakespearean imagination with divine activity in general, and judgement in particular, in such a way as to tie the divine and the natural intimately together. Here, moreover, Antonio—correctly, given Ariel's being 'an ayrie spirit'—associates the activity which is directly Ariel's with nature—the local climate—itself. The suggestion, given the situation, is not merely that the temperate climate of the isle is conducive to drowsiness, but rather that it is 'a *strange* drowsiness' in which all drop simultaneously into sleep 'as by consent [...] as by a Thunder-stroke'. The word 'consent' alludes to musical agreement, as when Exeter says, in *Henry V*,

For Gouernment, though high, and low, and lower,

Put into parts, doth keepe in one consent,

Congreeing in a full and natural close,

Like Musicke. (TLN 326–9, 1.2.180–3)

Note here the association between 'Musicke' and what is 'natural'. The association of these with 'Gouernement' is a rich one with which we shall not here be detained. Thus, even in the superficially contemptible characters of Antonio and Sebastian, the powers of music, nature, and elemental spirit are emphatically tied together and reinforced in the play's imaginative hinterland. The combination of the ideas of music and thunder here results in a rough equivalence: both are natural phenomena, given a surhuman significance and quasi-agency which shows a direct interest in the human—although the source and identity of this interest is left veiled in *The Tempest*.

After Ariel's appearance as a harpy to Alonso and his party in III. iii, Alonso is deeply affected. His is a mystical-moral experience, in which music, thunder, and conscience seem to combine in a resounding voice of judgement:

O, it is monstrous: monstrous:

Me thought the billowes spoke, and told me of it,

The windes did sing it to me: and the Thunder

(That deepe and dreadfull Organ-Pipe) pronounc'd

The name of *Prosper*: it did base my Trespasse,

Therefore my Sonne i'th Ooze is bedded; and

I'le seeke him deeper then ere plummet sounded,

And with him there lye mudded. *Exit.* (TLN 1632–9, 3.3.95–102)



With its emphasis on sound, musical and speaking, Alonso offers, and describes, a symphony of sorrows. The verbs of the speech show the focus: the billows 'spoke' and 'told'; the winds 's[a]ng'; the thunder, like an organ-pipe, 'pronounced' Prospero's name, and 'base[d]' Alonso's trespass. (Note again the association of music and thunder with what is natural, i.e., 'organic'.) Lytton Strachey, quoting this speech, writes that the play's dénouement is 'brought about by a preposterous piece of machinery, and lost in a whirl of rhetoric, [which] is hardly more than a peg for fine writing'.<sup>70</sup> This is amusing, but unfair: it ignores a sophisticated use of theatrical resource, verbal echo (which creates meaningful connection), and a witty use of musical conceit, all geared collectively towards prompting Alonso's repentance. A crucial phrase here is 'Me thought'. Although we have seen, on the stage, something concrete and objective (indeed, something mundane, a performance of theatrical tricks and techniques—sound and costume effects, the '*quient deuce*' by which the banquet disappears), to Alonso it seems a deeply personal, subjective experience. The moment is akin to that in which Macbeth sees Banquo's ghost. The gods speak through the phenomena of the natural world to the characters' moral epicentre, the 'center of [their] sinfull earth' (Sonnet 146, 1).

#### *vii. Fortune into Providence*

There seems to be a formula implicit in Shakespeare's late romances—here I exclude *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, which implies a different formula—whereby Fortune is transformed into Providence. One might at first assume that the genre of romance totally eschews Fortune in favour of Providence, the latter displacing the former. In fact, the two seem most of the time to co-exist. This is best illustrated in the early romances, particularly *The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune*, which make the two ideas more explicit than does Shakespeare, who rarely mentions Providence, and who speaks of Fortune in a somewhat idiosyncratic way when compared with other writers in the period. In Machiavelli, for example, Fortune seems to be a ubiquitous, eternal force sometimes in harmony with human action, and sometimes warring against it. In Shakespeare, Fortune seems more shadowy, and a more flexible concept; his is

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70. Lytton Strachey, *Books and Characters, French and English* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1922), p. 53.

a complex attitude towards Fortune which seems to shift between and within each play.

A look through a Shakespeare Concordance can tell us how little interest he finds in the concept of Fortune compared to other prominent Renaissance thinkers. For example, Greene's *Pandosto*—the source of *The Winter's Tale*—offers some thirty mentions of Fortune in about as many pages. *The Winter's Tale* hardly mentions Fortune, however, doing so in only the most cursory way. When Shakespeare does invoke this stock deity, he is almost always at pains to reinvent or reimagine her in some way. The most famous example would perhaps be the jocular scene in *Hamlet* in which he and his fellow Wittenberg scholars liken her to a prostitute. This is not a radically original comparison, but rather a treatment of Fortune as a means of characterising Hamlet and his fellows while offering a scene of witty dialogue, rather than an appreciation of her as a fearsome force in herself, as she is so memorably framed in Boethius and the medieval tradition. This joking also appears in a dialogue between Rosalind and Celia in *As You Like It*, I. ii. Romeo, to take another example, laments that he is 'Fortunes Foole' (*Romeo & Juliet*, TLN 1574, 3.1.137). Here, again, Fortune is as it were cast aside—a genitive to the central concept in which Shakespeare took far more interest, namely Folly.<sup>71</sup>

Here we may be helped by an extract from Louis MacNeice's poem on late Shakespeare. The central idea in this consideration is the wind:

Such innocence—In his own words it was  
Like an old tale, only that where time leaps  
Between acts three and four there was something born  
Which made the stock-type virgin dance like corn  
In a wind that having known foul marshes, barren steeps,  
Felt therefore kindly towards Marinas, Perditas...<sup>72</sup>

Repeatedly in these plays, as well as pointedly in MacNeice's poem, the wind is given agency and, moreover, significance as agent. It is possible here that we are tacitly supposed to translate wind, or to think of it through, the Greek *τό πνεῦμα*, whose meanings range from the bone-literal 'wind' to the breath or spirit of God. Whether

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71. The best treatment of Shakespeare's interest in this Erasmian idea is Jonathan Bate, 'Shakespeare's Foolosophy', in *Shakespeare Performed: Essays in Honour of R. A. Foakes*, ed. by Grace Ippollo (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2000), pp. 17–32.

72. Louis MacNeice, 'Autolycus', in *The Collected Poems of Louis MacNeice*, ed. by E. R. Dodds (London: Faber, 1966), ll. 19–24.

or not Shakespeare was acquainted with the Greek term, the idea that the wind could be so invested was—and remains—common to all familiar with the second chapter of The Acts of the Apostles:

And when the day of Pentecoste was come, they were all with one accorde in one place. And suddenly there came a sounde from heauen, as of a russhing *and* mightie winde, and it filled all the house where they sate. And there appeared vnto them clouen tongues, like fyre, and it sate vpon eche of them. And they were all filled with the holie Gost, and began to speake with other tongues [καὶ ἐπλήσθησαν πάντες Πνεύματος Αγίου, καὶ ἤρξαντο λαλεῖν ἑτέραις γλώσσαις]. (Acts, 2. 1–4)

In the spiritual conception of *pneuma*, then, the divine will (*numen*) and its providence and the wind become, as it were, a single, unified agent and, indeed, act almost as the same force, the consequent benevolence of the elements being woven into the fabric of the quotidian world.

Fortune's development into Providence is well-illustrated in the episode in *Pericles* in which the fishermen draw Pericles' rusty armour to shore. This is the first benison of—or from—the sea, and immediately follows its first privation (the shipwreck and loss of Pericles' crew). Stochasticity, or mere chance, does not seem to exist in the minds of *Pericles*' characters. The hero instantly addresses Fortune:

Thankes Fortune, yet that after all crosses,  
Thou giuest me somewhat to repaire my selfe. (C3v, 2.1.128–9)

The word 'crosses', although common, should be noted for its recurrence in Diana's theophany: 'to mourne thy crosses with thy daughters[,] call, & giue them repetition to the like' (I1v, 5.1.244–5), as well as Jupiter's: 'Whom best I loue I crosse, to make my guift | The more delay'd, delighted' (TLN 3137, 5.4.101), as well as its clear Christian echo. In each of these three episodes, a common word is also something of a key-word, each occasion bolstering the importance of the other. What this armour episode tells us is that really very little changes in the heavens' methods: they take an object—armour, Thaisa, Marina—then return it in a new aspect. C. L. Barber aptly notes the role of 'the transformation of persons into virtually sacred figures' in the concluding scenes of Shakespeare's late plays,<sup>73</sup> but really we can extend this outwards to any object which is taken away and returned, a process which allows—perhaps forces—a new focus on and consequent gratitude for the object and, as impor-

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73. C. L. Barber, "'Thou that beget'st him that did thee beget': Transformation in *Pericles* and *The Winter's Tale*", *Shakespeare Survey*, 22 (1969), 59–67 (p. 59).

tantly, its provenance, which, in the case of the armour, is human (Pericles' father) and providential (as figured by the sea-as-fortune). Marina and Thaisa seem as if back from the dead. The armour survives the deaths of the shipwreck, and is indeed an explicit symbol of a surviving inheritance:

it was mine owne part of my heritage,  
Which my dead Father did bequeath to me,  
With this strict charge, euen as he left his life,  
Keepe it, my *Perycles*, it hath been a Shield  
Twixt me and death, and poynted to this brayse,  
For that it saued me, keepe it in like necessitie:  
The which the Gods protect thee, Fame may defend thee. (C3v, 2.1.130–6)

A crabbed concluding expression, but at least we can firmly describe it, in Lynne Magnusson's phrase, as a 'godly optative'.<sup>74</sup> (Gossett is right that 'Fame' here introduces a superfluity which has nothing to do with the subject, the armour, but her emendation to 'from' does nothing for the metre, and little for the sense.<sup>75</sup>) Pericles continues:

the rough Seas, that spares not any man,  
Tooke it in rage, though calm'd, hath giuen't againe:  
I thanke thee for't, my shipwracke now's no ill,  
Since I haue heere my Father gaue in his Will. (C3v, 2.1.138–41)

The final line-and-a-half echoes his famous declaration at Ephesus: 'This, this, no more, you gods, your present kindenes makes my past miseries sports' (I2v, 5.3.40–1). If, by the fifth act's opening, Pericles' despair has the better of him, it is Pericles, and not the divine order, that has changed. This is a thematic and imaginative unity tying together the final act and the earliest part of the second. It is summed up explicitly by Gower in the play's epilogue:

In *Pericles* his Queene and Daughter seene,  
Although assayl'de with *Fortune* fierce and keene,  
Vertue preferd from fell destructions blast,  
Lead on by heauen, and crown'd with ioy at last. (I3v, Ep. 3–6)

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74. Lynne Magnusson, 'Grammatical Theatricality in *Richard III*: Schoolroom Queens and Godly Optatives', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 64 (2013), 32–43.

75. *Pericles*, ed. by Suzanne Gossett (London: Bloomsbury, 2004), n. to 2.2.124–5. Roger Warren's edition of *Pericles* (Oxford, 2003) gives: 'The which the gods forfend, the same may defend thee' (sc. 5, l. 168)—also extra-metrical, as well as extra-sensible.

Providence remains implicit in Shakespeare's romances: it is almost never invoked by name. In *Pericles* all is attributed to Fortune, but the sense of Fortune's intrinsic instability and caprice has vanished by the end of the play. The text says 'Fortune' but it is a version of the goddess whose fruits seem providential. The same is true for each of these plays save for *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. When Alonso, reunited with Ferdinand, asks him (referring to Miranda), 'Is she the goddesse that hath seuer'd vs, | And brought vs thus together?' (TLN 2164–5, 5.1.187–8), he is perhaps showing his reading in the romance genre, implying its basic theology in a sentence.

But Providence is not necessarily to be thought of as a simplistic alternative to Fortune. The romance genre, by virtue partly of its highlighting of Providence, tends to stress the passivity of its characters in a way which is somewhat reminiscent of tragedy so that, as Martin Butler says in his introduction to *The Tempest*, although '[a] hidden controlling pattern is suddenly revealed' to the characters of romance (necessarily and almost invariably in the final act), yet

the form is not exactly optimistic, for there is often something arbitrary about romance reunions. The characters have not brought about their own happiness, nor is it always clear why they should be rewarded, or why the rewards should come at this particular moment. Romance thus underlines the individual's insignificance and vulnerability, even as it provides a structure within which families find their lives falling into place [...] romance theology remains agnostic, even though its conclusions seem miraculous.<sup>76</sup>

It is no wonder, then, that Shakespeare found stimulation—*pace* Lytton Strachey's suggestion of Shakespeare's final boredom with the world<sup>77</sup>—in such a pliant genre, one which cleaves close to tragicomedy, and which can incorporate others. It is a mode which can be, as Polonius says, 'Tragicall-Comical-Historical-Pastorall' and can create 'Scene indiuisable: or Poem vnlimited' (*Hamlet*, TLN 1446–8, 2.2.399–401). Whereas tragic protagonists such as Titus Andronicus, discussed above, ask for Astraea, that is, Justice, romance protagonists finally 'seek for grace'. When Sicilius asks Jupiter, 'Hath my poor boy done aught but well?' it is a rhetorical question. However, Jupiter—if he stood for absolute, perfect Justice in the way the Judaeo-Christian God does—might very well say: 'Yes', for Posthumus has by this point many sins. He has gambled his wedding ring on a wager which puts his beloved wife in a posi-

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76. *The Tempest*, ed. by Martin Butler (London: Penguin, 2007), p. xxxii.

77. Strachey, *Books and Characters*, p. 52.

tion of the utmost compromise; then, when he believes, without proof, that she is guilty, he orders Pisanio to murder her. Although neither the play nor any of its characters condemn Posthumus—Imogen refers to his wrongdoing with sadness rather than anger—he cannot be said to have done all 'well'. Jupiter's 'guilt' to Posthumus, then, flows not from Astraea's justice but purely from mercy and grace. Romance tends to agree that all is well that ends well.

*viii. Theophany on the Early Modern Stage outside of Shakespeare*

There are many theophanies in the works of other playwrights in the period, all of which furnish useful evidence in drawing conclusions about Shakespeare's. Since, as Gary Taylor observes in his article on this subject, 'Divine [...]Sences', there are something like 210 appearances of the major gods across seventy-six different plays in the period—even more if one includes minor deities and the genres of masque, pageant, and entertainment<sup>78</sup>—this subsection must be selective rather than comprehensive. A treatment of theophany on the early modern English stage in general would be a (large) book in itself. This thesis holds that these dramatically and theatrically deployed gods are generally of more use—to us, and perhaps to Shakespeare himself—than those found in the pages of mythography and even classical literature and visual culture: they are informed by these, certainly; but they have the advantage of showing the gods in a practical, theatrical, and dramatic application—and, crucially, speaking and acting. As Martin Revermann has said, theatrical theophany has an almost unique opportunity—not found in static visual culture or on the page—to show a god whose powers are actual rather than potential.<sup>79</sup> A god through their playwright lives, moves, and has his being. Shakespeare's interest in contemporary playwrights' work is obvious. The late plays seem to recollect earlier ones: Hermione's name probably comes from the Hermione in *The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune*; Cloten's probably from *Gorboduc's* Clotyn; *Cymbeline* also takes roughly its plot points from *Rare Triumphs*, whereas Imogen's mistaken thought that Posthu-

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78. Gary Taylor, 'Divine [...]Sences', p. 14.

79. As noted above, I am indebted to Prof. Revermann's paper 'Divinity on the Stage' presented to the Classics Research Seminar at the University of Leeds on 14 Nov 2019. Prof. Revermann goes as far as to describe theatrical theophany—at least in the Greek theatre—as 'a first order religious experience'. I would not follow in every case, though I agree that some staged theophanies reach this height.

mus has been killed seems to be taken from an analogous moment in *Clyomon and Clamydes*; *Pandosto* has long been recognised as the source for *The Winter's Tale*. Shakespeare perhaps saw some of the plays referred to throughout this thesis; others he was certainly familiar with at least from his reading.

Marlowe's influence on Shakespeare is well-known; it seems to me that *Dr Faustus* may have been in Shakespeare's mind—if not by his very side—as he concocted certain, particularly magical, speeches not only of Prospero but Cerimon in *Pericles*, and perhaps even in *The Winter's Tale*. (This would of course have been the 1604 A-text, not the B-text published after Shakespeare's death.) For example, Hermione's last words in *The Winter's Tale* begin with a prayer:

You Gods looke downe,  
And from your sacred Viols [i.e., vials] poure your graces  
Vpon my daughters head. (TLN 3333–5, 5.3.122–4)

Perhaps here Shakespeare was remembering an image spoken by the Old Man towards the end of *Dr Faustus*:

Ah stay good *Faustus*, stay thy desperate steps,  
I see an Angell hovers ore thy head,  
And with a violl full of precious grace,  
Offers to powre the same into thy soul,  
Then call for mercie and avoyd despaire. (*Faustus*, 11. 43–7)

Indeed, in his exhortation to Faustus to repent and, here, to call for mercy and not to despair, the Old Man is not too far from Paulina. Likewise, when Marina intends to leave *Pericles* in V. i, but is prevented—

I will desist, but there is something glowes vpon my cheeke, and whispers in  
mine eare, go not till he speake (H3v, 5.1.95–7)

—it is possible that Shakespeare remembers here a comparable moment in *Faustus*. In the A-text's fifth scene, in which the Faustus makes his deal with Mephistopheles, the former wavers and vacillates. The scene opens with a soliloquy spoken by Faustus, which is here partly quoted:

Despaire in God, and trust *Belsabub*:  
Now go not backward: no *Faustus*, be resolute,  
Why waverest thou? O something soundeth in mine eares:  
Abjure this Magicke, turne to God againe,  
I and *Faustus* wil turne to God againe. (*Faustus*, 5. 5–9)

Whereas Marlowe conceives of this 'something' solely as aural (although the verb 'soundeth' may also entail the sense of plunging or plummeting, as in Prospero's

'And deeper then did euer plummet sound | Ile drowne my booke' (TLN 2007–8, 5.1.56–7), itself held to be an allusion to *Faustus*), Shakespeare makes the—I think it not too far to say Dianan, or at least faery—intervention into Marina's decision-making both aural and physical: the 'something' not only whispers in her ear, but 'glowes' upon her cheek. It suggests light (reminding us of the idea of light resident in the word φαίνω, from which we take the word 'theophany') or fire—something primitive, elemental, or ethereal.

Perhaps the influence of Marlowe on Shakespeare's thinking about the heavenly, the magical, and the demonic can be traced to other of the former's works as well. One non-numinous example appears in *Dido, Queen of Carthage* at the moment where Aeneas looks on the statue of Priam:

*Achates* though mine eyes say this is stone,  
 Yet thinkes my minde that this is *Priamus*:  
 And when my grievèd heart sighes and sayes no,  
 Then would it leape out to give *Priam* life:  
 O were I not at all so thou mightst be.  
*Achates*, see King *Priam* wags his hand,  
 He is alive, *Troy* is not overcome. (*Dido*, 2.1.24–30)

He sounds not entirely unlike Leontes looking at Hermione's 'statue' in *The Winter's Tale*. When it comes to theophany, Marlowe staged the gods only in *Dido* (which is thought to be coauthored by Nashe), which begins with the king of the gods 'dangling' (1.1.0SD) Ganymede on his knee while Mercury sleeps. This moment is discussed in this thesis' chapter on *Cymbeline*. There then begins a 'synod of the gods' like that seen at the start of *The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune*, or like that referred to in *Cymbeline* (TLN 3121, 5.3.155) and *Hamlet* (TLN 1533–4, 2.2.494–5), and which sets out the premise of the ensuing action. The play offers many intriguing presentations of the gods, whom Marlowe treats freely and with little reverence. As one would perhaps expect of an adaptation of the *Aeneid*, Venus is the main god of the play (along with Cupid). There may be traces of Marlowe's fiery Venus—her best moments on stage are her chiding of Jove in I. i and her threats made towards Juno in III. ii—in Shakespeare's thinking about the goddess (for which see this thesis' chapter on *The Two Noble Kinsmen*). Besides Marlowe, this thesis also makes use of certain pre-Shakespearean plays by Lyly and Peele; these are discussed where relevant in the chapters.

Some of Shakespeare's younger contemporaries are important to consider here, too. Middleton shows a proclivity for staging the gods and for presenting alle-



gorical shows within his plays, often blurring the line between the two. I have already mentioned, above, his clever use of the traditionally comic god Hymen in the climactic masque which concludes the tragic *Women Beware Women*. Middleton's proclivity is important for two reasons since it shows in two Shakespeare plays, namely *Macbeth* (Act IV), and *Timon of Athens* (Act I), which presents an explicit 'Masque of Cupid'. Middleton is the younger collaborator of the two, and continues to use theophany after his acquaintance with Shakespeare. It is tempting to imagine the younger Middleton, who employs theophany, as far as I can tell, later in his career, as taking a cue from Shakespeare here, but this is impossible to confirm. There are many deities in *The World Tossed at Tennis* (1620), though this is partly owing to its being a masque originally intended to be played before King James and Prince Charles at Denmark House, but which ended up being performed publicly at the Swan theatre for intricate political reasons (see Middleton, pp. 1405–8). *Hengist, King of Kent* (written c. 1616–20) stages Fortune in a dumb show in I. ii:

*Music. Dumb Show: Fortune is discovered upon an altar, in her hand a golden round full of lots. Enter Hengist and Hersus with others; they draw lots and hang them up with joy; so all departs saving Hengist and Hersus, who kneel and embrace each other as partners in one fortune. (1.2.0SD)*

Conferring Middleton and Shakespeare, one sees two playwrights who both use theophany but in different ways. Middleton is likely to place a theophany for spectacular purposes towards the start of a play (as in *Timon*, I. ii or *Hengist*, above) or in the fourth act (*Macbeth*); one thinks also of how the boy's song at the start of the fourth act of *Measure for Measure*—likely a Middletonian addition—creates a set piece which interrupts the action and plot by introducing a new element. The purpose (apart from spectacle) of the Middletonian Act I theophany, I suspect, is to present in symbolic form a concern of the play, as does the appearance of Fortune in *Hengist*, or as the masque in *Timon* helps to demonstrate the protagonist's prodigality and the sensual priorities of his guests. I imagine that Middleton's use of an Act IV theophany is to introduce interest in the part of a play which can often lag. As Inga-Stina Ewbank writes in the introduction to the Collected Middleton's text of *Macbeth*, evidence from Holinshed, and from Simon Forman's review of the performance he saw of the play on 20 April 1611, suggest that IV. i may have been significantly less spectacular than it had become in the Folio's 1623 text (Middleton, p. 1166).

Douglas Arrell has recently offered a few valuable articles on the possible influence of Thomas Heywood on Shakespeare. Shakespeare certainly influenced the younger playwright. Besides the above-mentioned confusion of 'Jupiter' with 'gibbet-maker' (which appears in *Titus Andronicus* III. iv and Heywood's much later *The Golden Age* (Heywood, III, p. 45)), Heywood also borrows in *The Golden Age* from *Othello* when Sibilla says to the new-born Jove: 'T'le kisse thee ere I kill thee' (Heywood, III, p. 18). The contribution of first importance for this thesis is a note on Jupiter in *Cymbeline* and *The Golden Age*; I discuss the details of this and assess its claims in the chapter on *Cymbeline*.<sup>80</sup> His work on the relationship between *1 and 2 Hercules*—which appear in *Henslowe's Diary*<sup>81</sup> but whose texts are lost, and which Arrell argues are by Heywood and became his *The Silver Age* and *The Brazen Age*—and *Troilus and Cressida* has persuaded David Bevington, the latter play's most recent Arden editor, to accept the influence of the former on the latter.<sup>82</sup> Heywood's *The Golden Age*—or as the 1611 Quarto has it, *The Golden Age: or The liues of Jupiter and Saturne, with the deifying of the Heathen Gods* (Heywood, III, p. 1)—as mentioned above, follows the template of Seznec's 'historical tradition' thesis (i.e., that the gods were, historically, mortal, and that later mythologisation and tradition gave the figures to posterity amplified as deity). The play begins just after the death of King Uranus—of Crete, not of the cosmos. His crown is bequeathed to his youngest son, Saturn; Uranus' eldest son, Titan, is incensed. He eventually agrees to let the crown go to Saturn as long as his issue inherit it; Saturn must kill any son born to him in order to keep his oath to Titan. Saturn's reign goes well; he establishes archery, architecture, husbandry, and more. He is popular and there is great clamour to make of him a god. This is voiced by his two attendant Lords:

*I. Lord. Saturnes inuentions are diuine, not humane,*

*A God-like spirit hath inspir'd his reigne. [...]*

*2. Lord. Saturne is a God. [...]*

*I. Lord. [to Saturn] Tis thy people*

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80. Douglas Arrell, 'Jupiter's Descent in *Cymbeline*: A Suggestion', *Notes and Queries*, 65 (2018), 543–6.

81. These are referred to many times in *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. 28–34, 89, 93, 185, 318, 324.

82. Douglas Arrell, 'Heywood, Henslowe and Hercules: Tracking *1 and 2 Hercules* in Heywood's *Silver and Brazen Ages*', *Early Modern Literary Studies*, 17 (2014), 1–21; the claim is accepted in *Troilus and Cressida*, ed. by David Bevington, 2nd edn (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), p. 142. See also Arrell's 'Heywood, Shakespeare, and the Mystery of *Troye*', *Early Modern Literary Studies*, 19 (2016) [published online without page numbering].

Deuineſt *Saturne* furniſht with theſe vſes,  
(More then the Gods haue lent them) by thy meanes,  
Proclaime to thee a laſting deity.  
And would haue *Saturne* honoured as a God. (Heywood, III, p. 12)

This he reſiſts, ſaying:

But Gods are neuer touch't with my ſuſpires,  
Paſſions and throbs: their God-like Iſſue thriue,  
Whiſt I vn-man-like muſt deſtroy my babes. (Heywood, III, p. 12)

Saturn's eventual apotheosis presumably occurs, but is not presented by the play, which devotes the last scene to the deification of Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto, in order to rule earth, sea, and underworld respectively.

*The Golden Age* has much common ground with certain parts of Shakespeare's late plays. Just as Gower acts as Chorus/Prologue in *Pericles*, so does Homer in Heywood's play. The first act of Heywood's play is particularly rich in Shakespearean overtones. Both *The Golden Age* and *The Winter's Tale* make use of an oracle from *Delphos* (Heywood, III, p. 13). The place is however called Delphos in Shakespeare's source, Greene's *Pandosto*, suggesting either (1) that Heywood took his cue from Shakespeare in writing 'Delphos' or (2) that it was common in the period to confuse Delphos and Delphi (perhaps via Delos). As Shakespeare's Cleomenes and Dion report the ceremony at Delphos, so in Heywood the third Lord, returning thence, says:

After our Ceremonious Rites perform'd,  
And Sacrifice ended with reuerence,  
A murmuring thunder hurried through the Temple.  
When fell a pleaſant ſhower, whoſe ſiluer drops,  
Fil'd all the Altar with a roſeate dew.  
In this amazement, thus the Delphian God,<sup>83</sup>  
Spake from the Incenſt Altar. (Heywood, III, p. 13)

Though not every feature exists in Shakespeare—the latter has no equivalent, for better or worse, to the beautiful image of the 'roseate dew'—most appear in his descriptions or presentations of pagan ritual. Whatever the precise relationship of *The Golden Age* to Shakespeare's late plays, the interests of each playwright sheds light on those of the other.

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83. This scene takes place before the birth of Apollo. The identity of 'the Delphian God' therefore remains mysterious.

The 'Act V theophany' which we find in Shakespeare has its closest analogue in the romances of the 1580s and 90s. In *The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune*, after Mercury's intervention into the human action slightly fewer than one hundred lines into Act V (discussed above in relation to music), Venus (Love) and Fortune themselves intervene and speak directly to King Phyzantius. The play's last act, though only about 300 lines in duration, stages three gods and two separate interventions into human action within about 120 lines of each other. The act begins with a council of the three gods, which acts as a prologue. Looking at the second theophany (of Venus and Fortune), one sees certain differences between it and Shakespeare's manner of theophany, even if they share affinities when considering dramatic-temporal placement:

*Venus and Fortune shew themselues and speak to Phyzantius, while Hermione standeth in a maze.*

*Venus.* Hye time it is that now we did appeare,  
If we desire to end their miserie:

*Fortune.* Phizantius stay, and unto us giue eare,  
What thou determinest perfourmed cannot be.

*Phyzan.* Dread goddesse, whatsoeuer of this place,  
If I heerin haue disobaied thy grace.

Of fauour graunt for to remit the same,  
Let me not suffer undeserued blame.

*Venus.* Phyzantius stand up be of good cheere,  
None but thy freendes are met together heere.  
Thy freends though goddesses in other thinges,  
Yet enterchange an alteration bringes. (*Rare Triumphs*, TLN 1739–52)

We have established the importance of music in Shakespeare's presentations of theophany. Although in their triumphs at the ends of Acts I–IV Venus and Fortune enjoy a musical accompaniment, there is none specified in the stage directions here. This is not to say that there necessarily was no music, but the situation seems different from Shakespeare's in this, and another, related, and important aspect, namely dream. As discussed above, to Shakespeare, a vision of a pagan deity seems to co-exist necessarily with a mystical dream-state in which music is heard. Additionally, the gods' speech is not greatly differentiated from that of the human characters in *Rare Triumphs*. Most characters throughout the play speak a variable metre which ranges from pentameter to fourteeners; the rhyme is usually either couplet or quatrain (ABAB). The most striking difference between this and the Shakespearean theophany

nies, however, is the fact that the gods and Phyzantius engage in dialogue—a feature absent from Shakespeare's theophanies. No clear indication in *As You Like It* tells us that the characters *see* Hymen; none of the characters show a sign of positive, conscious recognition of his presence (of course, much depends here on the choices of each production). Although *Pericles'* text makes firm conclusions impossible, the text seems to suggest that the hero speaks to Diana as he awakes from his dream and his vision of her disappears. Posthumus recalls dreaming of his family, but does not mention seeing Jupiter immediately after his dream (TLN 3160–88, 5.3.187–213). However, towards the very end of the play, he says:

Good my Lord of Rome  
Call forth your Sooth-sayer: As I slept, me thought  
Great Iupiter vpon his Eagle back'd  
Appear'd to me, with other sprightly shewes  
Of mine owne Kindred. (TLN 3753–7, 5.4.425–9)

It is clear that he remains unsure of his having seen Jupiter (in spite of the evidence provided by the manifest, material, written prophecy upon the tablet). Phyzantius however is not only certain, but speaks to the goddesses on bended knee (TLN 1749); moreover, the comic characters Penulo and Lentulo, interjecting into the exchange between king and gods, say:

*Penulo.* I faith surra thou and I may holde our peace with their leaue,  
For none but wise men speak heere I perceiue.

*Lentulo.* In some respectes so, in some respectes not,  
For a foolles bolte is soon enough shot. (*Rare Triumphs*, TLN 1775–8)

It is a strange exchange, incongruous with what is around it in the text. I assume that the reference to a fool's speech is to the oncoming recovery of Armenio—the character in the play closest to Shakespeare's Cloten—who had been left dumb by Bomelio (who is somewhat like Shakespeare's Belarius, as well as his Prospero), who cursed him towards the end of the third act. If this is right, then Lentulo and Penulo too are privy to the vision of Venus and Fortune. This is then a general rather than a private theophany. Owing to this and the other differences discussed, it is of another sort than Shakespeare's theophanies and shares only a similarity of dramatic placement.

Another Act V theophany from the plays of this time is that of Providence in *Clyomon and Clamydes*. In her function as Jove's messenger, Providence would seem here to be a re-appropriation and -invention of Mercury. The scene begins: '*Enter Neronis like a Shepheardes boy*' (F4v), possibly providing thereby a precedent for Imogen's disguise as Fidele in the Cambrian pastoral of *Cymbeline's* fourth act—a point

reinforced by the similarity of dramatic situation, Neronis believing Clyomon to be slain. After a lament, a vow to commit suicide, and a 'blank' song—that is, a song for which the play offers no text beyond the direction to the actor to sing—she addresses a prayer to the gods. Immediately after Neronis' short prayer, Providence descends:

*Descend Providence.*

*Proui.* Stay, stay thy stroke, thou wofull Dame, what wilt thou thus dispaire?  
Behold to let this wilfull fact, I Prouidence prepaire  
To thee, from feate of mightie Ioue, looke hereupon againe,  
Reade, that if case thou canst it reade, and see if he be slaine  
Whom thou doest loue. (*Clyomon*, F4v)

Again we see a precedent for a part of the theophany in *Cymbeline*: Providence tells us, as does the tablet which Jupiter leaves with Posthumus, that revelation comes through reading. More importantly, this theophany shares almost the exact same temporal placement as Shakespeare's theophanies of Jupiter and Diana, that is, in a penultimate or antepenultimate scene (depending on where scene divisions are drawn), leaving the final scene for the general reunions and recognitions which characterise the ends of *Pericles*, *Cymbeline*, *Clyomon*, and other romances. *Clyomon's* theophany, then, is apparently closer to Shakespeare's than those found in *Rare Triumphs*. However, it is far from being his sole source in thinking of such moments.

### *ix. Staging*

This is a useful juncture for a brief discussion of the staging of theophany in the early modern playhouse. It seems that a number of the early modern theophanies were presented as a descent from the theatres' aptly named 'heavens'. Certainly this is true in the case of *Cymbeline's* Jupiter, though it is uncertain in the case of Shakespeare's other theophanies. Gurr offers a good description of the basic mechanics behind a descent in early amphitheatre design:

Over the stage, extending out from the tiring-house above the balcony or tar-ras [a first-gallery-level 'terrace'], was a cover, 'shadow' or 'heavens' usually supported by two pillars rising from the stage. [...] Set on top of the heavens or cover was a 'hut' or huts, within which stage hands operated the machinery for the 'flights', windlass-driven descents on to the stage. Stage hands would also produce thunder and lightning effects from the heavens.<sup>84</sup>

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84. Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage, 1574–1642*, 4th edn (Cambridge: Cambridge

These are, as Gurr says, inferences and conjectures taken from sparse available evidence of what the various playhouses were altogether like, but the statements are broadly secure, and predicated on about as careful and thorough scholarship as is today available. These properties seem basically similar at indoor theatres such as the Blackfriars.<sup>85</sup> Gurr writes that in earlier examples, such as in the case of Hymen in *As You Like It*, 'the gods tended to walk on from the stage doors like any mortal'. This would appear to be true of such plays as Lyly's, of Peele's *Arraignement of Paris*, of Marlowe and Nashe's *Dido*, and other late sixteenth-century drama. Certainly some earlier plays do use descent, however: we have already seen the descent of Providence in *Clyomon and Clamydes*, though this was likely acted at court (by the Queen's Men in the 1580s), not a public amphitheatre (*Clyomon*, p. 5).<sup>86</sup> Leo Salingar points to the Digby *Mary Magdalene* (c. 1480–1520) as an example of descent from the English medieval theatre.<sup>87</sup> This play stages angelophany rather than theophany:

*Here shall t[w]o angylles descend into wildirnesse; and other t[w]o shall bring an oble, opynly apering aloft in the clowddes. The t[w]o benethyn shall bring Mary, and she shall receive the bred, and than go agen into wildirnesse. (Mary Magdalene, 2019SD)*

It is hard to make a direct connection with Shakespeare's theophanies, but this example at least offers evidence of descents in the popular theatrical tradition.

It is a shame that a significant part of what Gurr calls the 'colour symbolism'<sup>88</sup> of theophanic and even hierophanic moments is irrecoverable. Gurr writes that in general '[t]he bright colours of [all or most of] the costumes matched the spectacular painting of the playhouse interiors'.<sup>89</sup> How did the gods of the early modern stage stand out amongst this, or indeed blend into it? Shakespeare apparently imagines the deities as bright and visually dazzling; at the start of *Henry VIII*, Norfolk describes the French (in speaking of the Field of the Cloth of Gold) as 'All Clinquant all

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University Press, 2009), p. 151.

85. Gurr, p. 153, pp. 198–9.

86. K. M. Lea, 'Studies in English Literature, Volume XXXV: *Clyomon and Clamydes*, a Critical Edition by Betty J. Littleton', *Notes & Queries*, 16 (1969), 308–9 (p. 308). Unfortunately, neither I nor my Library has been able to gain access to Littleton's edition itself, hence my reliance here on this review.

87. Salingar, *Shakespeare and the Traditions of Comedy*, p. 68.

88. Gurr, pp. 239–41.

89. Gurr, p. 239.

in Gold, like Heathen Gods' (TLN 63, 1.1.19). We know, at least, that the Hymen in *As You Like It* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen* would have looked somewhat like that in Jonson's *Hymenaei*, 'in a saffron-coloured robe, his under-vestures white, his socks yellow, a yellow veil of silk on his left arm, his head crowned with roses and marjoram, in his right hand a torch of pine tree' (*Hymenaei*, 35–7), though these two plays lacked the lavish spending and therefore the resources afforded the Jacobean masque. All the evidence suggests that Shakespeare associated Diana with silver (with, as Emilia says, a 'rare greene eye' (*The Two Noble Kinsmen*, TLN 2807, 5.1.144)); but this does not tell us much about what one imagines was a luminous, glimmering, and radiant original costume and appearance. Then again, there is every chance that the effect did not come off, which might explain why Shakespeare and Fletcher deliberately choose *not* to keep Chaucer's theophany of Diana ('Knight's Tale', 2346f) in adapting 'The Knight's Tale' for the stage; but this would raise the question of how *Pericles* could have enjoyed its apparent success and popularity in the theatre if its most spectacular moment failed. For appearances such as those of Diana and Jupiter, the following chapters offer certain clues—some well-known, some less so—from the contemporary visual culture; however, none of these uses colour.

This brings us to a brief consideration of masque. It is hard to know what to do here: plays and masques have notable similarities (stage performance of verse and music) but they have great differences (duration and type of plot; budget and therefore degree of spectacle; differing moral, intellectual, and imaginative purposes). I find myself in agreement with Martin Butler and David Lindley, both of whom argue that theophanies such as those seen in Shakespeare's late plays belong to the popular, open-air amphitheatres, and not the elite theatre of the court with its love for masque, or the wealthy Blackfriars audience.<sup>90</sup> Butler, drawing on evidence from Heywood's four *Age* plays (written for the Red Bull theatre), observes that 'it was the open-air playhouses that provided most scope for stunning visual effects' (*Cymbeline*, p. 15), not the small, intimate Blackfriars. He concludes that *Cymbeline*'s 'literary self-consciousness may reflect a Blackfriars taste for tragicomedy, but its stagecraft belongs firmly to the popular theatre' (*Cymbeline*, p. 15). However, as Gurr notes,

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90. *Cymbeline*, ed. Butler, p. 15; David Lindley, 'Blackfriars, Music, and Masque: Theatrical Contexts of the Last Plays', in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare's Last Plays*, ed. by Catherine M. S. Alexander (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 29–46 (pp. 32, 40–1).



Shakespeare's period was one in which the two traditions come together.<sup>91</sup> If dramatic romance does belong more to popular theatrical tradition, then, as Leslie Thomson writes, this is, as late as 1630, a popular tradition well-loved by elite audiences.<sup>92</sup> Regardless, I conclude that, while masque offers useful details and clues in imagining, staging, and understanding the gods, it is erroneous to rely too much on the genre or necessarily to see its examples simply as 'sources'.

The importance of the Jonsonian masque to *The Tempest* seems incontestable, however. Bullough makes a good, formal, and classic case for the influence of Jonson's *Hymenæi* (1606), adding suggestive points on his Masques of *Blacknesse* and *Beautie* (both published together in a 1608 Quarto, though *Blacknesse* was performed on Twelfth Night 1605) and also suggests Samuel Daniel's *Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* (1604), though he finally concludes that the last 'was a stiff formal entertainment', seemingly discrediting its likelihood as a source (Bullough, VIII. 261–5). I examine some affinities between *Hymenæi* and *The Tempest* in this dissertation's chapter on the latter. On the basis of Bullough's suggestion, Eugene Waith considers in his edition of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* that Hymen's prominent role and procession in Jonson's masque bear a resemblance to and perhaps show an influence on Shakespeare's wedding procession at the beginning of this play.<sup>93</sup> Given the proximity of the writing of *The Tempest* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, the affinities which both have with certain aspects of *Hymenæi* make fairly compelling evidence, to my mind, for Shakespeare's use of this masque.

#### x. Summary

I hope that the above has begun to sketch some of the broader lines in Shakespearean theophany, and to have offered a useful intellectual and imaginative background to such moments—in Shakespeare, and in other plays of the period—highlighting those areas which are especially relevant, and allowing other, less important factors to recede into the background. In the following chapters, the basis given above should help to illuminate what is often a close attention to the focal texts. As the thesis proceeds, I hope to add a few defter touches to the general picture drawn above

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91. Gurr, p. 34.

92. Leslie Thomson, p. 147.

93. *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, ed. by Eugene Waith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), n. to 1.0.1–9.

by way of a more detailed examination of the theophanies; the chapters will also look in detail at how these moments relate to and, I contend, help to unify what are diffuse, heterogeneous, and complex plays.

## *Pericles*

*Dianae sumus in fide,  
puellae et pueri integri.*<sup>1</sup>

Catullus, XXXIV

Although *Pericles* is a sophisticated play, full of moments of often stunning beauty, it is afflicted by two major problems. The first is its corrupted, likely reported, text.<sup>2</sup> This textual problem means that the two 1609 Quartos present numerous uncertain readings—some of which this chapter addresses and engages with by looking both at the original text and its modern emendations.<sup>3</sup> The original text(s) can make a serious obstacle to critical enquiry. With plays such as *Cymbeline* or *The Winter's Tale*, which have ample and largely correct texts, the job is one of exploration; with *Pericles*' circa 2,000, often corrupted lines, the job is more one of excavation—no matter how much emendation has been undertaken in the past. (Indeed, sometimes emendation provides another obstacle in itself.) The other great problem arises from the almost certain division in authorship. This chapter accepts the (by now, I think, uncontroversial) arguments for George Wilkins' authorship of Acts I–II, and the view that Acts III–V are by Shakespeare.<sup>4</sup> This is not to say that all collaborative authorship necessarily results in a deficient play or playtext: looking at *Macbeth*, *Timon of Athens*, and *Measure for Measure* would argue against this, as would looking at the numerous other fine co-authored plays in the early modern period. But in *Pericles* a great problem arises from the fact that the two halves of the play are in significantly different *styles*. Furthermore, as I intend to show in this chapter, significant differences in the two authors' religious imaginations help to create two quite different religious world pictures for *Pericles*' two halves. (I expand on this below.) In short, the

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1. 'We are Diana's in trust, | We girls and boys unsullied.'

2. See *Pericles*, ed. by Suzanne Gossett (London: Bloomsbury, 2004), pp. 20–30 for a summary of the complex debate on this topic.

3. Of the two 1609 Quartos, the first—which Greg uses for the facsimile referred to throughout this chapter (see 'Abbreviations')—differs from the second in spelling, punctuation, and capitalisation; but the two texts are, as Greg says, 'closely similar' (p. 2).

4. The two major voices and arguments in defence of this view are MacDonald P. Jackson, *Defining Shakespeare: Pericles as Test Case* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); and Brian Vickers, *Shakespeare, Co-Author: A Historical Study of Five Plays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

chief consequence of the two cardinal problems—of textual corruption on the one hand, of the coexistence of two greatly divergent writing styles on the other—is that *Pericles* is inevitably, for all its greatness, an incomplete text, one which remains exceptional for its disunity.

This notion of disunity is always a problem in thinking about *Pericles*, and a discussion of this issue properly stands prior to any careful reading of the play. One sees what a great issue this disunity has been for (some) criticism, especially when it is not confronted in starting out. Arthur Quiller-Couch, to take one example from older criticism, criticises *Pericles* on these exact grounds, saying that 'a great deal more than a third of the play (in fact, it is nearer a half) [...] has scarce anything to do with the story, and no *necessary* bearing on it whatever'.<sup>5</sup> However, in total contrast to this sort of view, Northrop Frye, a critic more sympathetic to romance than Quiller-Couch's implicitly Classical, Aristotelian position, states that '[*Pericles*]' first two acts, however they got into that form, certainly contain the incidents and images that belong to that part of the *Pericles* story, and there is no break in structure corresponding to the break in style'.<sup>6</sup> This is, I think, a crucial thing to observe: although it is important to remember *Pericles*' problems, it is equally useful to note how consistent and finished the play can seem despite these. This chapter maintains that—despite problems and qualifications—there *is* a unity to *Pericles*, which consists in, as Frye says, its *narrative*; moreover, given this narrative coherence, there is apparently a unity also of *design*: *Pericles* is relatively consistent in its thematic and imaginative interests, and this yields an evident attempt towards, if not an achievement of, a (in the literal sense of the word) perfect work. Part of this chapter's contention is that it is through the presence of Diana, crowned by the theophany, that this is achieved. In many ways the thinking and the themes of the play are arranged and organised around this figure and her appearance in V. i.

However, as alluded to above, the division in authorship (and therefore style) does have one consequence of great concern for this chapter. Although *Pericles* presents a world through-breathed with the divine, the religious imagination of this world is complex and, this chapter contends, mobile, even unstable. From Acts III–V,

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5. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, *Shakespeare's Workmanship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1931 [originally London: Unwin, 1918]), p. 198.

6. Northrop Frye, *A Natural Perspective: The Development of Shakespearean Comedy and Romance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), p. 38.

Diana seems clearly to be the goddess of chief concern to the play. But this is not the case in Wilkins' half, since Wilkins' religious imagination apparently differs markedly from that seen in the second, Shakespearean half of the play. Wilkins' half of *Pericles* tends not to mention Diana; instead, he takes a much broader view of deity in his half of the play. (There are two mentions of Diana in Wilkins' half: a reference at D3r, 2.5.10–11 seems to set up her important role in Acts III–V; this may therefore have been Shakespeare's suggestion. The second reference is made by Antiochus to the perhaps related goddess Lucina—on whom more below—at A2r, 1.1.8, which the authors may have agreed to place early in the play in order to establish the Diana theme.) This chapter will look at the divine world picture of Wilkins' half of *Pericles* below. The religious imagination in the play, then, is tied intimately to the issue of its divided authorship. Richard P. Knowles, without commenting on the authorship issue, observes that 'though "Fortune" dominates in the first two acts, by Act III we sense the controlling and comforting presence of the play's presiding deity, Diana'.<sup>7</sup> When Thaisa wakes from apparent death in III. ii, and says: 'O deare *Diana*, where am I? where's my Lord? What world is this?' (E4r–E4v, 3.2.105–6), this is only the second explicit mention of the goddess so far in the play. (The first, as briefly mentioned above, occurs when Simonides says to Thaisa's suitors that she 'One twelue Moones more [will] weare *Dianas* liuerie' (D3v, 2.5.10).) This marked difference perhaps unfortunately assists in adding to the sense of schism which disturbs the play; but it may, as Knowles suggests, be felicitous. He says: 'The precedence of Fortune in the first two acts is, in fact, singularly appropriate, as the confusing, chaotic and "painful adventures" create in the audience a sense of the need for a controlling force'.<sup>8</sup> Thus, whether by accident or by design, *Pericles*, the first of the 'romances', seems to stage a progress from a world ruled by the vicissitudes of Fortune to the benison of Diana's providence.

I ought briefly to add here before moving on that, in a certain reading of the play, much can be made of the idea of Nature as a deity. However, since I focus on this goddess or concept in this thesis' chapter on *The Winter's Tale*, I treat Nature only incidentally in this chapter as and when she comes up in relevant or quoted parts of the text. Finally, I think that this figure does play an important role in *Peri-*

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7. R. P. Knowles, "'The More Delay'd, Delighted": Theophanies in the Last Plays', *Shakespeare Studies*, 15 (1982), 269–80 (p. 270).

8. Knowles, p. 270.

cles, but it is generally as a precondition within which more active deities such as Diana work. One can see Diana and the pagan gods as instruments of Nature—this is the view I take in reading *The Winter's Tale*—but it does not follow that a reading of *Pericles*' religious world ought to focus on Nature instead of Diana. To do so, in view of the ample material in the play which is concerned with the latter, would, I think, be a mistake.

Much of the secondary literature on *Pericles* recognises to some extent a mystical or sacred import to the play. There have been explicitly scriptural readings, such as Richard Finkelstein's 'Pericles, Paul, and Protestantism',<sup>9</sup> or Maurice Hunt's suggestion that The Acts of the Apostles may be a useful 'intertext' for the play.<sup>10</sup> There have been quasi-mystical readings such as David Solway's eccentric though affable 'Pericles as Dream'<sup>11</sup> and Philip Brockbank's 'Pericles and the Dream of Immortality', which seems to discuss Keats as much as Shakespeare, and starts out by linking Shakespeare with Wittgenstein, never to elaborate on that connection.<sup>12</sup> The most important contributions on Diana herself have come from Faith Elizabeth Hart in two essays, (1) "'Great is Diana" of Shakespeare's Ephesus' and (2) 'Cerimon's "Rough" Music in *Pericles* 3.2'.<sup>13</sup> Unexpectedly, the latter is the better of the two articles on the goddess in *Pericles*, the former being more concerned with *The Comedy of Errors*. Both essays distinguish between the Ovidian presentation of Diana as huntress and the Diana of the Ephesians, who is a combination of Artemis the woodland goddess and 'the much more ancient Cybele of Anatolia' and other eastern goddesses.<sup>14</sup> Hart marshals much interesting material on this Ephesian Diana but, in doing so, tends to obscure the Ovidian huntress who is actually seen on the stage. It is clear that Shakespeare's Diana is imagined as the latter, and one wonders whether (and if so, how,

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9. Richard Finkelstein, 'Pericles, Paul, and Protestantism', *Comparative Drama*, 44 (2010), 101–29.

10. Maurice Hunt, 'Shakespeare's *Pericles* and the Acts of the Apostles', *Christianity and Literature*, 49 (2000), 295–309.

11. David Solway 'Pericles as Dream', *Sewanee Review*, 105 (1997), 91–5.

12. J. P. Brockbank, 'Pericles and the Dream of Immortality', *Shakespeare Survey*, 24 (1971), 105–16.

13. "'Great is Diana" of Shakespeare's Ephesus', *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 43 (2003), 347–74; 'Cerimon's "Rough" Music in *Pericles* 3.2', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 51 (2000), 313–31.

14. Hart, 'Diana', p. 348.

since Hart does not offer a way) Shakespeare knew of—or indeed cared about—Ephesian Diana and her more *recherché* relations with other goddesses and divine figures. If scholarship on the Diana of *Pericles* is to suggest her—and therefore the text's—relationship to other important goddesses, it first needs a thoroughgoing, basic examination of the goddess who really appears on the stage. I hope that this chapter supplies the latter.

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It falls to this chapter first, then, to decide exactly what Diana the play employs and, consequently, how this employment works. The goddess' appearance in V. i marks a significant departure from the play's immediate sources; this suggests, I would say, Shakespeare's distinct interest in the figure of Diana. In the earliest extant story, the *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*—probably an adaptation or translation of an earlier text originally in Greek<sup>15</sup>—the forty-eighth chapter describes the moment equivalent to *Pericles*'s theophany of Diana in V. i:

Vidit in somnis quendam angelico habitu sibi dicentem: 'Apolloni, dic gubernatori tuo ad Ephesum iter dirigat; ubi dum veneris, ingrediere templum Dianae cum filia et genero, et omnes casus tuos quos a iuvenili aetate es passus, expone per ordinem. Post hae veniens Tarsum vindica innocentem filiam tuam.' (*Historia Apollonii*, 48. 2–6)

[He saw in his dreams someone in the habit of an angel, saying to him: 'Apollonius, tell your captain to steer towards Ephesus; when you come there, enter the Temple of Diana with your daughter and your son-in-law, and then tell of all the casualties you have suffered from your youth onwards. After this proceed to Tharsus in order to avenge your innocent daughter.' (My translation)]

Elizabeth Archibald translates the figure—'quendam angelico habitu'—as 'someone who looked like an angel' (*Historia Apollonii*, p. 173), but it is generally taken to be an angel of Diana.<sup>16</sup> Gower changes this considerably. Saying, as in the original and in

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15. Vide G. A. A. Kortekaas, *The Story of Apollonius, King of Tyre: A Study of its Greek Origin and an Edition of the two oldest Latin Recensions* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

16. The tradition of Diana and dream vision is extensively demonstrated by G. A. A. Kortekaas, *Commentary on the Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 808–10.

the Wilkins-Shakespeare play, that the heroes' intention was to go to Tarsus, this divine intervention follows:

But he that wote what shall betide,  
The hie god, which wolde hym kepe,  
Whan that this kynge as fast a slepe  
By nightes tyme he hath hym bede  
To sayle unto another stede. (Bullough, VI. 417)

An angel is displaced for this figure referred to or named as 'the hie god'. Whoever this god is—and however Christian or pagan he might be—this is evidently not Diana, since the relevant pronoun is 'he'. Twine's *The Patterne of Painefull Adventures* reverts to the original:

And when they had sailed one whole day, and night was come, that Apollonius laide him downe to rest, there appeared an Angell in his sleepe, commaunding him to leave his course toward Tharsus, and to saile unto Ephesus, and to go into the Temple of Diana, accompanied with his sonne in lawe and his daughter, and there with a loude voyce to declare all his adventures, whatsoever had befallen him from his youth unto that present day. (Bullough, VI. 471)

It is in the 1608 Quarto of Wilkins' *The Painfull Adventures of Pericles Prince of Tyre* that the angel or 'hie god' is replaced by Diana. Wilkins writes:

so one while weeping at others joying, and his senses being mastered by a gentle conqueror, in that extremitie of passion he fell into a slumber: in which sweet sleepe of his, hee was by Diana warned to hie to Ephesus: and there upon the Altare of that Goddess to offer uppe his sacrifice before the Priests, and there to discourse the whole progresse of his life. (Bullough, VI. 544)

It is perplexing that Diana is used here but that Wilkins shows such apparent lack of interest in the goddess both in his novella and in his half of the play. Altogether, the above sources seem to suggest Shakespeare's special interest in this deity. (It is also important to note that the use of the music of the spheres is unique to the play; this will be discussed later.)

There could be a number of reasons for Shakespeare's interest in Diana. Chastity is celebrated frequently throughout his work, often being aligned with youth, beauty, and moral goodness. At any rate, it seems to agree with his unfavourable representations of Diana's ideal opposite, Venus,<sup>17</sup> and to agree with the

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17. See this thesis' chapter on *The Two Noble Kinsmen* for Shakespeare's disparaging



favourable—if not uncomplicated—depiction of the mortal Diana in *All's Well That Ends Well*, who, by virtue of her theophoric name, is connected with the goddess. She is, as Bertram says, 'holy cruell' (TLN 2057, 4.2.32), an apt description, as it happens, of the goddess after whom she is named, and who is perhaps first and foremost associated in the period with the Actaeon tale in *Metamorphoses*, III. This complex description, combining ideas of sanctity and chastity with a certain cruelty—besides its Petrarchanism—captures something of the complicated picture of Diana in the period, beautiful in her absolute adherence to principle and virtue, but, as the popular Actaeon story keeps in mind, not a deity readily to be associated with mercy and forgiveness. When the Greek version of the goddess, Artemis, appears to the dying Hippolytus in Euripides' play of that name—which Shakespeare might have known<sup>18</sup>—the goddess is sympathetic towards her devotee, but firmly states that the moral, implicitly natural, law prevents her from shedding tears: 'κατ' ὄσσων δ' οὐ θέμις βαλεῖν δάκρυ' (*Hippolytus*, 1396). This important word '*themis*', signifying what is right or lawful, returns at the end of Artemis' speech. She says that it is not 'lawful' for her to look upon the dying or dead (*Hippolytus*, 1437–8).<sup>19</sup> This relationship between Artemis and a purity defended severely by law survives in Ovid's Diana. It is plain to see in the narratives of both Actaeon and Callisto that Diana will be—to recall the formulation in *As You Like It*—holy, even if it requires cruelty. Hippolytus says to his departing goddess: 'How swiftly do you leave our friendship' ('μακρὰν δὲ λείπεις ῥαδίως ὀμιλίαν' (*Hippolytus*, 1441)). Similarly, even at the moment of joy and reconciliation, graced with the music of the spheres, Pericles encounters a Diana who, though she offers the way to a happy resolution, does so mostly via imperatives, and who even threatens: 'or performe my bidding, or thou liuest in woe' (I1v, 5.1.248–9).

Diana is a complex figure in the mythological and mythographical literature. The play does occasionally remind its readers and audience that Diana has an at

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presentations of Venus in that play, *The Tempest*, and in *Venus and Adonis*.

18. The bibliography on Shakespeare's possible reading of Euripides is now quite large. The most recent and relevant contributions appear in Laurie Maguire, *Shakespeare's Names* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 94–104 and Sarah Dewar-Watson, 'The *Alcestis* and the Statue Scene in *The Winter's Tale*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 60 (2009), 73–80.

19. I would like here to reiterate my debt to Prof. Martin Revermann's 2019 paper, 'Divinity on the Stage', cited above in this thesis' introduction, for its insightful discussion of this scene.

least threefold nature, which the mythographers refer to as *Diana triformis*, or Diana 'Triforme, Trigemina, e Triuia' (Cartari, 110).<sup>20</sup> Precedents for this are found in Horace's Ode to Diana:

Montium custos nemorumque Virgo,  
quae laborantis utero puellas  
ter vocata audis adimisque leto,  
                  diva triformis (Odes, III. 22, 1–4)

[Virgin who guards the mounts and woods,  
Who, when in labour ladies thrice over  
Call you, you hear and save from death,  
                  Goddess three-formed]

and in Virgil's account of Dido's death:

stant arae circum et crines effusa sacerdos  
ter centum tonat ore deos, Erebumque Chaosque  
tergeminamque Hecaten, tria verginis ora Dianae. (*Aeneid*, IV. 509–11)  
[Altars there stood about; with hair unbound  
The priestess thundered, called three hundred gods,  
Hell, Chaos, triple-Hecate, three-formed Diana.]

Neither poet says what the three aspects of Diana are, perhaps because this was obvious to the culture of the time, and perhaps since neither a short ode, nor a dramatic description of the tragic death of a great queen, presents the opportunity for a disquisition on the topic. But Cartari does not specify the three 'forms' of Diana either. Really, Diana seems to have at least four, perhaps five, aspects: the huntress and goddess of chastity (these two are so collapsed into one another as to seem one, although technically they are distinct); Luna, goddess of the moon; Hecate, of the underworld; and Lucina, the goddess of childbirth. This Diana *Triformis* could not appear on the stage—or not, I think, without causing great confusion—so this point is only relevant to those moments when the text refers to her as the moon goddess (or the moon itself) or when it refers to Lucina. Rather, it is Diana's chief aspect, that of the chaste huntress, which is apparently the most important in *Pericles*, and it is apparently this one which is imagined in the theophany in V. i.

This makes sense. The combination of the idea of chastity with the picture of the huntress seems indelible in the early modern imagination, perhaps owing chiefly

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20. See also Edgar Wind's more general discussion of 'Pagan Vestiges of the Trinity' in *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*, revised edn (New York: Norton, 1968), pp. 241–55.

to Ovid's Actaeon myth (and, earlier than this, the story of Artemis-Diana and Hippolytus). Orsino, for example, puns on 'heart' and 'hart' at the start of *Twelfth Night* in the secure knowledge that the allusion to the myth is familiar (TLN 20–28, 1.1.16–23). Likewise, when Iachimo taunts Posthumus with details of Imogen's bedchamber, he speaks of 'the Chimney-peece' which shows 'Chaste *Dian*, bathing' (TLN 1245–6, 2.4.81–2), though this could equally refer to the Callisto myth, or even a blend of the two. Additionally, there is something of Diana's combination of purity and severity in Isabella when she declares:

"More then our Brother, is our Chastitie. (*Measure for Measure*, TLN 1199, 2.4.184)

The quotation mark denotes a sententious utterance; there is here a sense of defensive self-justification for what may well be—as is the case with Diana—her pitiless adherence to law and principle. Miola puts it well when he writes of Isabella that 'the display of fierce chastity reveals the lurking dangers of pride and self-love'.<sup>21</sup> Quoting 'More then our brother', he emphasises how un-Christian Isabella's preoccupation with chastity is: 'Maybe, but that doesn't sound like anything in Matthew, Mark, Luke or John'.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, one senses more approbation than condemnation in Shakespeare's portrayal; this again suggests his fondness for the virtue of chastity and its patron goddess. In the next scene of *Measure for Measure*, in which Isabella effectively sentences her brother, and not for the first time, to death, there is a sense of his being something of an Actaeon:

Oh you beast,  
Oh faithlesse Coward, oh dishonest wretch,  
Wilt thou be made a man, out of my vice? (TLN 1357–9, 3.1.135–7)

One of the moralisations of this myth is explained by Stephen Batman in his 'Signification' of the image of Diana:

The Poetes faygne that Actæon, a man seekinge more for vaine pleasure and iolitye, then Vertue, and of the progenie of Cadmus, after much wearynesse in folowing his houndes, sodainly espied Diana with her Dryades & Nymphes bathing, was for his umannerly viewing, transformed into an Hart, & so deuoured of his owne Dogs. (Batman, A3v)

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21. Robert Miola, "'An Alien People Clutching Their Gods'? Shakespeare's Ancient Religions', *Shakespeare Survey*, 54 (2001), 31–45 (p. 39).

22. Miola, p. 39.

Through vice, Actaeon becomes a beast. Similarly Isabella, already persuaded of her brother's beastliness, will not allow him to be 'a man, out of [her] vice', just as Diana would not allow Actaeon to 'seek [...] more for vaine pleasure and iolitye, then Vertue' at her expense and so—literally—dehumanises him.

A short digression into the emblem tradition and its use of Diana will be useful here. Despite the suitability for visual display in Diana's most famous myth, emblems depicting her are relatively few. Nonetheless, Whitney (and Sambucus, Whitney's source) offer a useful example:

*Voluptas ærumnosa.*

15



**A**CTÆON heere, vnhappy man behoulde,  
 When in the well, hee sawe Diana brighte,  
 With greedie lookes, hee waxed ouer boulde,  
 That to a stagge hee was transformed righte,  
 Whereat amafde, hee thought to runne awaie,  
 But straight his howndes did rente hym, for their praie.

Quid. lib. 3.  
 Metamorph.

By which is ment, That those whoe do pursue  
 Theire fancies fonde, and thinges vnlawfull craue,  
 Like brutishe beastes appeare vnto the viewe,  
 And shall at lenghte, Actæons guerdon haue:  
 And as his howndes, foe their affections base,  
 Shall them deuowre, and all their deedes deface.

Horatius 1.  
 Epist. 12.  
 Sperne voluptates,  
 nocet omnia  
 dolere voluptas.

*Cornibus in Ceruum mutatum Actæona sumptis,  
 Membratim proprij diripuerunt canes.*

Anulus, in pi-  
 eta positi.

*Ita diu placitum, voluptati vt mæror comes consequatur.*

Plautus in  
 Amphitru.

*Quod*

Fig. 1. *Voluptas ærumnosa*, from Whitney, *Emblemes*, p. 15.

As in Batman's 'Signification' (the tone of which is comparable to the didactic poems of Whitney), the moralised point is made, that:

those who doe pursue  
Theire fancies fonde, and thinges vnlawfull craue,  
Like brutishe beastes appeare vnto the viewe,  
And shall at lenghte, Actæons guerdon haue.

This emblem, along with its poem and motto, present a or the prevailing view of Diana: she is a just but merciless punisher of those who, through the sin of craving 'thinges vnlawfull', become 'brutishe beastes'. Although a popular image of Diana, this image is still in some sense unusual: she does not appear to be holding a bow, but in one hand lets perch what one assumes is a hawk (this bird of prey with the sharpest sight being well-suited to the goddess of the hunt) and in the other a staff, which tantalisingly echoes Pericles' description of Marina (and indirectly Thaisa) as 'wandlike-straight' (H4r, 5.1.110), although it would probably be an error to make too much of this. It is in fact probably the torch (*facella*) of Diana (Cartari, 109). The point remains that it is the Ovidian Diana, the huntress, who most immediately comes to mind for Shakespeare and his contemporaries.<sup>23</sup>

Having begun to sketch Diana's character, it is necessary to consider the appearance of the goddess on the stage. C. Walter Hodges offers a speculative staging of the theophany of Diana:

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23. Pace Hart, 'Great is Diana', 'Cerimon's "Rough" Music'.

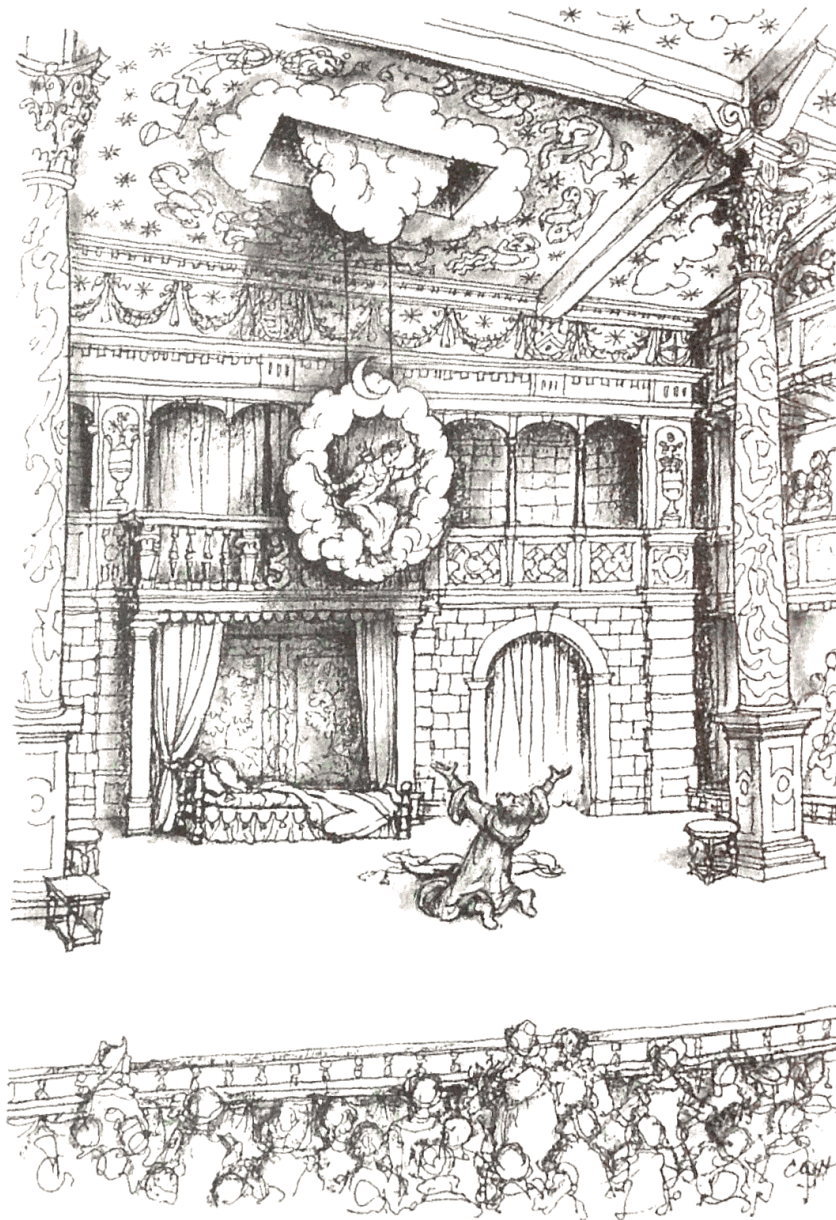


Fig. 2. The theophany of Diana, from C. Walter Hodges, *Enter the Whole Army*, p. 130.

Hodges builds this picture from two considerations. Firstly, he states that 'we may [...] suppose that the Diana business would have been done very much as the Hecate business in *Macbeth* had been, only a few months before'.<sup>24</sup> However, as discussed above, the theophany of Hecate, being almost certainly a Middletonian revision, was probably not part of the first performance of *Macbeth*, but added some time later (be-

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24. C. Walter Hodges, *Enter the Whole Army: A Pictorial Study of Shakespearean Staging 1576–1616* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 129.

fore 1623); therefore, the theophany of Hecate was probably performed many more months from 'the Diana business' than Hodges supposes. That we do not have a date for Middleton's *The Witch*, which survived not in print but in manuscript (Malone MS 12, in the hand of Ralph Crane), is not helpful here.<sup>25</sup> Since Diana's theophany is in the text by the time it is printed in 1609, it was probably performed in that manner around that time, assuming that it was first acted around the time of its entry into the Stationers' Register on 20 May 1608. The second consideration on which Hodges bases his sketch is from the theophany of Jupiter in *Cymbeline*, and the sketch of the deity by Inigo Jones for Aurelian Townshend's *Tempe Restored* (1632).<sup>26</sup> *Cymbeline*'s Jupiter 'descends in Thunder and Lightning' (TLN 3126, 5.4.92SD), and further evidence for the use of descent comes from certain non-Shakespearean sources, too, as discussed in the introduction to this thesis. But *Pericles* is not a usual, stock romance, and its most sophisticated and, by the same token, most surprising scene is the recognition between Marina and Pericles. Likewise, Diana is a somewhat more conceptually various god than those which we know to descend to the stage in this period, such as Jupiter in *Cymbeline*, Providence in *Clyomon and Clamydes*, or (in an earlier time) the Digby *Mary Magdalene*'s two angels. This allows somewhat more liberty in the possible executions of her theophany upon the stage.

Roger Warren suggests an alternative to the staging of Diana by descent in speaking of David Thacker's 1989 production for the Royal Shakespeare Company at Stratford-Upon-Avon. His account is worth quoting, and considering, at length:

Rob Edwards, playing Lysimachus, proposed that it would be effective if Diana appeared earlier in the scene and walked among them, unseen by himself or the other characters. It at once became apparent that the obvious place for this to happen was at Pericles' 'I am wild in my beholding', as he makes contact with the divine: it then becomes evident that her appearance provides the cue for him to hear the music of the spheres, and neatly side-steps the question of whether music should actually be heard or not. If it is not audible, Diana's presence is sufficient to explain his reaction; if it is audible, it is her divine presence that accounts for it.<sup>27</sup>

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25. See Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino, eds, *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture: A Companion to the Collected Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 383–97, 690–2, and 995–7.

26. See this thesis' chapter on *Cymbeline*.

27. Roger Warren, *Staging Shakespeare's Late Plays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p.



This is a thoughtful approach to staging the theophany of Diana, and a mythologically sound one, too. The criticism to which such a choice opens itself is that this is a missed opportunity for theatrical spectacle. This is true, but whether it is an issue depends upon personal belief in what is right for the play. Certainly the (figuratively) planetary and distant aspect of Diana is played up in the text in such a way as would make a descent from the heavens a fitting emphasis on her inhumanity. And, as suggested above, although the effects of Diana's will are ultimately beneficent, her speech in V. i and action through the first four acts do not immediately bespeak or argue a goddess of pity or mercy. Another consideration in staging this theophany, which is mentioned and apparently resolved (although this is disputable) in Warren's account, is whether or not the audience hears the music of the spheres. For Hodges, if a god is to descend on a winch, music is necessary in order to cover the sound of the machine, and the fuller evidence which *Cymbeline* provides would certainly seem to agree with this.<sup>28</sup> Finally, one tends to think that, in a play characterised by, to quote John Wain, a 'symbolic action', in which we witness the continual 'blending [of] romance with a drama of pageantry, masques, and stage-illusions',<sup>29</sup> to refuse the use of music here at the culmination of the drama does seem to go wilfully against its spirit.

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In order to understand the theophany of Diana and its significance for the rest of the play, it is necessary to see the goddess within the dramatic context to which she is necessarily attached. Therefore, this chapter now turns to the start of Act V, offering a close reading of V. i (the reunion of Pericles and Marina and the subsequent theophany of Diana) and brief examinations of V. iii and Gower's Prologue and Epilogue to the act. After this, there follows a discussion of Wilkins' half of the play (Acts I–II); and, separately and by way of closing, Shakespeare's development of Wilkins' work in Acts III–IV, which this chapter also reads as a sort of effective introduction to the great set pieces of Act V.

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234.

28. Hodges, p. 129.

29. John Wain, *The Living World of Shakespeare: A Playgoer's Guide* (London: Macmillan, 1965), p. 207.



Act V is, like the other acts, introduced by Gower, whose speech-style—pentameters in interlacing ABAB rhyme, rather than Wilkinsian tetrameter couplets—have flowered considerably from what he used heretofore. He narrates in a more discursive, descriptive, free, and speech-like manner. Of Marina he says that 'Shee sings like one immortall, and shee daunces | As Goddess-like to her admired layes' (H2r, 5.Ch.3–4), and the verse-music of the line seems to mimic the dancing which it describes. This 'Goddess-like' (H2r, 5.Ch.4) and 'siluer voyst' (H4r, 5.1.110) Marina is something like a foreshadow—or rather, foregleam—of Diana. Richard Finkelstein offers an eloquent (if overly scriptural) reading of Pericles' daughter as an agent of grace, who speaks 'a sacred language':

Marina's speech marks her as a saintly figure of *eloquentia* derived not just from Senecan *Controversiae* but also from Christian hagiography [...] the play presents Marina as a miraculously fixed natural object, with her meaning equal to her appearance. Her action is like that of the Word of God, which alone can release us from Satan's grip on our will.<sup>30</sup>

Marina, as a fixed sign in a world of false signs (Cleon and Dionyza, Antiochus and his daughter, the would-be murderers Thaliard and Leonine), is a core feature of the drama, and this conception of her is played out, as will shortly be seen, in the recognition scene to great effect. Faith Elizabeth Hart perhaps offers a more grounded perspective than Finkelstein when she speaks of Marina as representing a 'divine law' which supplies the deficiencies of the law in Mytilene and Tarsus.<sup>31</sup> This is vital to note because, if Marina is a manifestation of divine law—which, Hart says, is 'Diana's law'<sup>32</sup>—and is 'Goddess-like', then it is fitting to describe her appearance as in some sense proto-theophanic. The text here suggests, but never confirms whether she represents, in her divinely inclined nature, a prolepsis of Diana's appearance, or if her qualities are themselves theophanic, or even how justifiable it is to make these divisions, when the play seems to take pains to knit Marina and Diana together in this way. At any rate, we will see the implicit relationship between the goddess and the daughter of Pericles operate in the next scene, the long V. i.

An important matter throughout *Pericles* but especially in this scene (as well as Act V in general) is the significance of place, both in large, geographical terms and

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30. Finkelstein, pp. 101, 118–19.

31. Hart, 'Great is Diana', p. 365, and, more importantly, 'Cerimon's "Rough" Music', p. 331.

32. 'Great is Diana', p. 365.

in smaller, local terms. Concerning the latter, Eugene Waith proposes a suitable initial staging for V. i: 'on board ship, Pericles is apparently concealed by a curtain until, at Lysimachus's request, it is drawn back to reveal the king sunk in his speechless torpor'.<sup>33</sup> As Waith goes on to say, we are taken through a (literally) particular progression of small revelations across roughly 150 lines. The religious world picture of the play, by this stage already long established, is reinforced by the preamble of Helicanus and Lysimachus:

*Lys.* Hayle reuerent Syr, the Gods preserue you.

*Hell.* And you to out-lieue the age I am, and die as I would doe.

*Li.* You wish mee well[. B]eeing on shore, honoring of *Neptunes* triumphs, seeing this goodly vessell ride before vs, I made to it, to knowe of whence you are. (H2v, 5.1.14–19)

The design is set: Pericles, Helicanus, and their crew have sailed, without explicit purpose—perhaps having drifted almost in complete passivity, as Gower's prologue to Act V would seem to suggest—to the dwelling of Marina at the time of the festival of Neptune, the suggestion being that this event seems to prompt a new clemency from the sea (although, as stated in this thesis' introduction, the sea shows a certain benevolence as early as the beginning of the second act at Pentapolis). Finkelstein writes of *Pericles*' Ephesus: 'Perhaps because of its connection to Paul, Ephesus itself is coupled with predestination in Shakespeare's mind'.<sup>34</sup> Bullough writes of Ephesus' long association with wonder and magic in speaking of *The Comedy of Errors* (Bullough, I. 9–10). These remarks also bear implications for *Pericles*' conception of the importance of place in general. Finkelstein's claim for St. Paul does not seem so strong as simply to acknowledge that, by the final scene, which is to be a reunion, one needs the reuniting characters to be in the same place. Yet the idea of a sacred space as a site of predestination or providence is a powerful one and Mytilene, now somewhat cleansed by Marina's oratory—this is encapsulated in the reformed Lysimachus—is something of a demi-Ephesus, Marina's prefiguration of Diana's, and Thaisa's, sacred state.

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33. Eugene M. Waith, *Patterns and Perspectives in English Renaissance Drama* (Cranberry, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1988), p. 149.

34. Finkelstein, p. 109.

Some expository dialogue is expended in order to get Marina on stage, whereon Lysimachus sets up the play's conclusion, and reinforces Marina's semi-divinity by reference to her goodness and beauty:

Shee's such a one, that were I well assurde  
Came of a gentle kinde, and noble stocke, I do wish  
No better choise, and thinke me rarely to wed[.]  
Faire on[e,] all goodnesse that consists in beautie,  
Expect euen here, where is a kingly patient,  
If that thy prosperous and artificiall fate,  
Can draw him but to answere thee in ought,  
Thy sacred Physicke shall receiue such pay,  
As thy desires can wish. (H3r–H3v, 5.1.67–75)

The text of the fourth and possibly fifth lines seems to be corrupted, but Gossett's emendation—that from the treatment of Pericles Marina should 'Expect [...] all goodness that consists in bounty' (5.1.63–4)—deprives both the line of its euphony, and Lysimachus and Marina of the spirit of charity that has characterised the scene up to this point and which will continue to characterise the remainder. The verb 'expect' here probably means 'await' or 'wait for', like the Italian *aspettare*, and is not meant to suggest that Marina acts purely—or even necessarily at all—in mercenary interests. This contradicts what we know of her character. Lysimachus next refers to Marina's 'prosperous and artificiall fate' (H3v, 5.1.72), which the modern editors Gossett, Warren, and DelVecchio and Hammond all change to 'feat'. But this chapter, concerned with destiny and providence, cannot ignore the occurrence of 'fate'. It is possible that this 'prosperous and artificiall fate' is an allusion to Marina's telling of her fate in the artifice of song. Marina's song for Pericles is 'blank' (i.e., one for which the Quarto provides no lyrics). But perhaps this would have been less of the lyric, more of the narrative genre, as when Odysseus is moved to tears by the bard's tales in *Odyssey* VIII, and so fitting with the seafaring world which *Pericles* imagines. Indeed, the sources seem to suggest this. The *Historia Apollonii* gives a song in which Tarsia (the Marina equivalent) describes her fate in Mytilene (41. 1–13). Gower gives no lyrics for the 'many a laie' which his Thaise sings (Bullough, VI. 413), but Twine translates the song of the *Historia Apollonii* into beautiful fourteenner couplets (Bullough, VI. 464), which Wilkins uses almost verbatim in *Painfull Adventures* (Bullough, VI. 542–3). If we entertain this suggestion, a rich description unfolds of Marina's 'fate' as 'prosperous'—a word naturally recalling, or rather prefiguring, *The Tempest*—and 'artificiall'—as wrought by art, perhaps like 'The Fingers of the Powres aboue' which

'do tune | The harmony of this Peace' at the end of *Cymbeline* (TLN 3798–9, 5.5.467–8), or which again recalls *The Tempest*, where 'art' and 'artifice' are keywords and concepts, particularly for understanding Prospero. Although this is (as said) conjectural, it is at least in the text and does not add interpolations into it; furthermore, it produces a rich, albeit elusive, meaning, whereas 'artificiall feat' means little, and has none of Shakespeare's surprising invention and economy of word usage. Lysimachus leaves Marina and her 'companion maid' (H3v, 5.1.76) wishing that 'the Gods make her prosperous' (H3v, 5.1.79–80).

It is curious that what follows is the failure of Marina's music to affect Pericles. This Pericles, deep in despair and unresponsive, may be the only pointed example in Shakespeare, of, as Lorenzo puts it,

The man that hath no musicke in himselfe,  
Nor is not moued with concord of sweet sounds, [...]  
The motions of [whose] spirit are dull as night,  
And his affections dark as *Erebus*. (*The Merchant of Venice*, TLN 2496–500,  
5.1.83–7)

In emphasising Pericles' despair, his eventual recovery will seem more miraculous: it will be, as Jupiter says, 'The more delay'd, delighted' (*Cymbeline*, TLN 2138, 5.4.102). Whilst it is surprising that Shakespeare should disallow a celebration of the power of music as he does here, the implication is that, where music fails, Marina's speech, her poetry and oration, will prevail:

*Lys.* Marke he your Musicke?  
*Mar.* No nor lookt on vs.  
*Lys.* See she will speake to him.  
*Ma.* Haile sir, my Lord lend eare.  
*Per.* Hum, ha. (H3v, 5.1.81–4)

Whether it is by her persistence, her implicit pity, her lyrical connection of consonantal sounds ('Haile sir, my Lord lend eare'), or some mixture of these that Pericles is brought to his inarticulate acknowledgement of 'Hum, ha', speech here effects what music could not.

Pericles' recovery between his speeches is swift: though still inarticulate, he forms words, albeit that they are hers, repeated in fragments:

My fortunes, parentage, good parentage, to equall mine, was it not thus, what say you? (H3v, 5.1.98–9)

Marina's words are broken up and reconstituted in Pericles' response in order to prefigure the conclusion far more rapidly ('parentage, to equall mine') than Marina's speech. The conclusion of the encounter can here almost be seen and predicted. Pericles here for the first time shows an active desire:

pray you turne your eyes vpon me, your like something that, what Countrey[,] wom[an][,] heare of these [shores]? (H3v, 5.1.102–3)

Marina responds with rich double meanings:

No, nor of any [shores], yet I was mortally brought forth, and am no other then I appeare. (H3v, 5.1.104–5)

She was indeed mortally brought forth: in the sense, firstly, of being brought as a mortal into the world of mortals by a mortal, but also (she believes) *deathly* brought forth, being mortal to her mother. The first sense of 'I am no other than I appear' is that I am ordinary; but Marina appears extraordinary, 'Goddesse-like'. The seeds of the final recognition have taken root in Pericles, and his language takes on new sophistication and life along with it, sustaining a metaphor, then offering at once a blazon both of Marina and Thaisa:

I am great with woe, and shall deliuer weeping: my dearest wife was like this maid, and [such a] one my daughter might haue beene: My Queenes square browes, her stature to an inch, as wandlike-straight, as siluer voyst, her eyes as Iewell-like, and caste as richly, in pace an other *Iuno*[,] w]ho starues the eares shee feedes, and makes them hungrie, the more she giues them speech. (H3v–H4r, 5.1.106–13)

Two *topoi* in this speech are particularly relevant: the first is Marina's (and Thaisa's) 'silver voice', signifying in two words two of the cardinal ideas—Diana, music—of the play; the second is the oddity, the surprise of identifying them with the haughty Juno. Gossett points us to *Aeneid*, I. 405: 'vera incessu patuit dea' (by her bearing she revealed herself as a true goddess),<sup>35</sup> which describes Venus' appearance to her son—perhaps in itself a not insignificant detail—Aeneas in Diana-like disguise. But Juno is not Venus; nor is she Diana. Rather, the association of Juno with 'pace' seems to be Shakespeare's, since he uses the idea again in *The Tempest*: 'Great *Iuno* comes, I know her by her gate' (TLN 1763, 4.1.102). Possibly there is a mythographic connection between Juno and the feeding of 'ears' of corn, although this would seem to accord more with Ceres than Juno, which latter is usually associated with air via her

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35. Gossett, ed., *Pericles*, n. to 5.1.102.

Greek name, Hera, an anagram for air (ἠρα/ἀήρ).<sup>36</sup> This perhaps prefigures the alignment of Juno and Ceres in *The Tempest*, IV. i.

The scene passes from stichomythia-like interrogations and answers to rhapsodic long passages. Pericles:

Prethee speake, falsnesse cannot come from thee, for thou lookest modest as iustice, & thou seemest a *Pallas* for the crownd truth to dwell in; I wil beleue thee & make senses credit thy relation, to points that seeme impossible, for thou lookest like one I loued indeede. (H4r, 120–5)

'*Pallas*' is universally emended to its homophone 'palace'. This makes an easier but also a more prosaic sense. Possibly Shakespeare, as so often, uses the pun in order to intend both meanings. Truth may, so to speak, literally dwell in a palace, but may dwell figuratively in Pallas. This continues the consistent connections of Marina to various goddesses, particularly that set up by the recent comparison to Juno, and builds as it were towards the theophany. The mentions of Pallas and Juno perhaps help to separate Marina from Diana. Though a representative of this goddess, it is important that Diana and Marina do not blend into one idea, but remain distinct persons. Earlier this chapter argued, despite textual obscurity and against editorial consensus, that Lysimachus describes Marina as (something like) one in whom 'all goodness that consists in beauty' dwells. Now, through Pericles, we see her as 'modest as justice', and a palace (or Pallas) for the crowned truth to dwell in. Marina is, then, if we connect these points, a nexus at which intersect the good, the beautiful, and the true. If she states something (literally) incredible, being the objective, divine, and transcendental truth, Pericles will rather bend belief to—and 'credit'—her 'relation'. Pericles continues his own relation of Marina to established iconographical symbols of the virtues, next delivering one of the play's most celebrated and famous lines:

yet thou doest looke like patience, gazing on Kings graues, and smiling extremitie out of act. (H4r, 5.1.138–40)

The plainest sense is that Marina's great, saintly patience is so great that it seems to represent the very figure or ideal of patience itself, and that her native mastery of this virtue raises her to a level of transcendent capacity whereat she can bear extremity until, extremity being confined to the temporal (the realm of kings, who are, we

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36. See Macrobius, p. 158. This tradition is well-attested by the mythographers. In English see Batman, A1v–A2r.

recall from I. i, 'earth's Gods' (A4r, 1.1.103)), it has left the sphere of 'act', or activity; so a- or super-temporal and even superhuman appears her attainment that it will outperform and outlast the greatest of temporal powers ('Kings graues') and the power of tyranny which, through Antiochus, inaugurated all of Pericles' sufferings. Finally, Marina comes to a plain declaration:

*Mar.* My name is *Marina*.

*Per.* Oh I am mockt, and thou by some incensed God sent hither to make the world to laugh at me. (H4r, 5.1.142–4)

Marina has been much milder than Pericles, and at this stage the scene asks her (even perhaps to the point of the audience's incredulity) to be slightly obtuse and to rebuke him:

Patience good sir: or here Ile cease. (H4v, 5.1.145)

And again:

*Per.* How, a Kings daughter, and cald *Marina*?

*Mar.* You sed you would beleue me, but not to bee a troubler of your peace, I will end here. (H4v, 5.1.151–3)

To which Pericles, ignoring her apparent discomfort, continues to wonder at her material reality:

But are you flesh and bloud?

Haue you a working pulse, and are no Fairie?

Motion well, speake on, where were you borne?

And wherefore calld *Marina*? (H4v, 5.1.154–7)

Whereas before Pericles was determined to credit anything she said, now he disbelieves even that she is a lively, ordinary, mortal being. In the breaking down of this psychological division between the everyday matter and the manifestation of spirit there consists a large part of the step towards Pericles' ensuing contact with the divine. We are taken through a few more tiny revelations to prove truth:

*Mar.* My mother was the daughter of a King, who died the minute I was borne, as my good Nurse *Licherida* hath oft deliuered weeping.

*Per.* O stop there a little, this is the rarest dreame

That ere duld sleepe did mocke sad fooles withall,

This cannot be my daughter, buried; well, where were you bred? Ile heare you more too'th bottome of your storie, and neuer interrupt you. (H4v, 5.1.160–6)

Despite fairly concrete proof—certainly proof that outweighs the testimony of Cleon and Dionyza, on whom his false knowledge of Marina's death rests—the discredit is

extended slightly more, indeed, almost to the breaking point of our own discredit, in order to heighten the drama. As in his last speech Pericles began to break the divide between the material and immaterial, here he breaks the division between waking and sleep, and the perceptions which belong to each. Marina then gives, in the greatest detail yet, a summary of the episodes with Cleon and Dionyza at Tarsus and her transportation by pirates to Mytilene, concluding:

But good sir whither wil you haue me? why doe you weep? It may be you thinke mee an imposture, no good fayth: I am the d[a]ughter to king *Pericles*, if good king *Pericles* be. (H4v, 5.1.178–80)

Still in disbelief, Pericles calls in Helicanus. Shortly, however, he has arrived at full belief:

Oh *Hellicanus*, strike me honored sir, giue mee a gash, put me to present paine, least this great sea of ioyes rushing vpon me, ore-bear the shores of my mortalitie, and drowne me with their sweetnesse: Oh come hither, thou that begetst him that did thee beget,  
Thou that wast borne at sea, buried at *Tharsus*,  
And found at sea agen, O *Hellicanus*,  
Downe on thy knees, thanke the holie Gods as loud  
As thunder threatens vs; this is *Marina*.  
What was thy mothers name? tell me, but that  
for truth can neuer be confirm'd inough,  
Though doubts did euer sleepe. (I1r, 5.1.191–204)

There are three crucial ideas at play in this remarkable speech. The elemental first: the sea, the central relational complex of the entire preceding action of the play, takes on a new aspect, and so a renewed complexity, in this revelation: it is now possible to conceive of a 'sea of joys', which, even in this positive aspect, remains lethal and ferocious. This echoes again in the reminder of the loudness with which 'thunder threatens vs'. The second idea is crucial in two senses: in pertinence, and in that its idea actually concerns Marina herself as crux or crucible of Pericles' rebirth. These are expressed in the involuted phrases:

thou that begetst him that did thee beget,  
Thou that wast borne at sea, buried at *Tharsus*,  
And found at sea agen,

and are punctuated or framed by the anaphoric 'Thou that', as well as the repetitions 'at sea' and 'beget/begetst'. I wonder, furthermore, whether these ideas of 'begetting' and (re)birth constitute a subtle recollection of Diana (as Lucina) in order to prepare



us for her appearance. The third crucial idea is Pericles' acknowledgement of the gods' responsibility in bringing this revelation about. The gods have retired for most of this scene whilst Pericles' and Marina's attentions were pointed undividedly towards each other. As Pericles has returned to the world, so his perspective moves outwards, first to Helicanus, then to the gods, and finally to Lysimachus and his 'robes' (presumably of state):

[*Per. W*]ho is this?

*Hel.* Sir, tis the gouernor of *Metaline*, who hearing of your melancholie state, did come to see you.

*Per.* I embrace you, giue me my robes. (I1r–I1v, 5.1.220–223)

Yet, finally, as Pericles rejoins the quotidian world, he is almost instantly removed from it once again, as his hearing of the music of the spheres divides him from the other characters on stage, still nested in phenomenal reality. (It seems that this is the main reason they are brought on, as they add relatively little to the reunion of Pericles and Marina; perhaps the intensity of that encounter could only conclude by a release of dramatic pressure brought about by the introduction of other more neutral and dispassionate characters.) The music of the spheres:

I am wilde in my beholding, O heauens blesse my girle,  
But harke what Musicke tell, *Hellicanus*, my *Marina*,  
Tell him ore point by point, for yet he seemes to doat.  
How, sure you are my daughter; but what musicke?

*Hel* My Lord I heare none.

*Per.* None, the Musicke of the *Spheres*, list my *Marina*.

*Lys.* It is not good to crosse him, giue him way.

*Per.* Rarest sounds, do ye not heare?

*Lys.* Musicke my Lord? I heare.

*Per.* Most heauenly Musicke.

It nips me vnto listning, and thicke slumber

Hangs vpon mine eyes, let me rest. (I1v, 5.1.225–36)

So the reunion scene, bracketed by two instances of music, the first falling short in its capacity to affect, the second forceful enough to 'nip' Pericles unto listening, and then to sleep. Quite how to explain the later ideational processions from the joy of the recognition and reunion, to the hearing of the music of the spheres, to the theophany, takes one to the limits of criticism by rational division and analysis. Pericles' realm of experience here departs from the rational and the quotidian.

Here, after 240 lines, and likely set to the background of the music of the spheres—perhaps to silence—Diana appears:

*Diana.*

*Dia.* My Temple stands in *Ephesus*;

Hie thee thither, and doe vppon mine Altar sacrifice;

There when my maiden priests are met together, before the people all reueale  
how thou at sea didst loose thy wife; to mourne thy crosses with thy daugh-  
ters; call, & giue them repetition to the like; or performe my bidding, or thou  
liuest in woe: doo't, and happie, by my siluer bow; awake and tell thy  
dreame. (I1v, 5.1.240–50)

Diana's speech, or song, follows a structure of self-declaration, followed by a sequence of imperatives, a condition ('or performe my bidding, or thou liuest in woe'), and a final imperative. Her speech is sadly marred: attempts at editorial emendation show clearly that she misses at least a half-line, possibly more; moreover, one of the rhymes—wife/life—suffers the misprint 'like'. Nevertheless, despite its considerable textual corruption, much of the sense of Diana's character which this chapter discusses above is in evidence: like the theophany of Jupiter and most entries of divinity into the world of a Shakespeare play, the moment is rapid; the god descends, says a few potent words, and departs. In this brief space, however, one meets an immensely formal language: the original, uncorrupted text seems to have consisted of two ABAB quatrains with a concluding couplet, followed by the unrhymed half-line 'awake and tell thy dreame'. It is also laden with ceremonious language: in the first few lines are gathered a number of sacred objects ('Temple', '*Ephesus*', 'Altar', 'Sacrifice', 'maiden priests') which lead to the potent verb, 'reueale', tying this moment not only to the subsequent action in *Ephesus* which Diana's speech orders and describes, but also tying it back to V. i's sequence of revelations, as well as those which animate the earlier parts of the play, such as the discovery of Antiochus' crime, his death, or the revival of Thaisa. The speech here offers a beautiful sonority, but is not necessarily or simply lyrical. The verse sound, rather, is robust. Like Jupiter in *Cymbeline*, Diana uses a plain vocabulary—there are no figures as ornate as 'multitudinous seas incarnadine' here, for example. This brief but potent moment stages a Diana not only congruent with the picture of her established above—as fierce in her purity, as absolute—but exemplary in painting in a few strokes this character's 'pale fire' (*Timon of Athens*, TLN 2088, 4.3.433).

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Flying 'In fetherd briefenes' (I2r, 5.2.15) past Gower's prologue and its apologies for eliding expensive digressions—'What pageantry, what feats, what shows[...]' The Regent made in *Metalin'* (I2r, 5.2.6, 8)—the chapter can turn to Ephesus, and Pericles' inaugural prayer to Diana, which either prefaces or accompanies the sacrifice which the goddess directed in the vision:

Haile *Dian*, to performe thy iust commaund,  
I here confesse my selfe the King of *Tyre*;  
Who frighted from my countrey did wed at *Pentapolis*, the faire *Thaisa*; at Sea  
in childbed died she, but brought forth a Mayd child calld *Marina*, whom [sic]  
O Goddesse wears yet thy siluer liuerey; shee at *Tharsus* was nurst with *Cleon*;  
who at fourteene yeares he sought to murder, but her better stars brought her  
to *Meteline*; gainst whose shore ryding, her Fortunes brought the mayde  
aboord vs, where by her owne most cleere remembrance, shee made knowne  
her selfe my daughter. (I2r–I2v, 5.3.1–13)

This is mostly a rounding up of the plot and a reinforcement of prevailing themes and images, particularly those surrounding destiny ('her better stars', 'her Fortunes'). Marina is a wearer of Diana's silver livery, but, if literal, this would be for the sacrifice and ceremony, with the chief figurative sense denoting her chastity, underlining the fact that she is yet to marry Lysimachus. Thaisa faints, prompting Pericles to react: 'shee die's, helpe Gentlemen' (I2v, 5.3.15). Cerimon explains: 'Noble Sir, if you haue tolde *Dianaes* Altar true, this is your wife[...]' Looke to the Ladie, O shee's but ouer-joyde' (I2v, 5.3.16–18, 21). His wording is curious in specifying that Pericles spoke to Diana's *altar* rather than the goddess herself, or indeed the crowd whom Diana specifically commanded Pericles to address. This may be a nicety without a real difference; but it is noticeable that in this scene, set at Diana's temple, the goddess seems to recede. Pericles addresses the gods in general, rather than Diana:

This, this, no more, you gods, your present kindenes makes my past miseries  
sports; you shall doe well that on the touching of her lips I may melt, and no  
more be seene; [*to Thaisa*] O come, be buried a second time within these  
armes. (I2v–I3r, 5.3.40–3)

The implication would seem to be that, although Diana has been the messenger and chief intervener in the drama, the harmonious resolution has depended on the gods in general, who apparently, in accordance with Classical precedents, finally all assent to what is fated to occur. On this view, at Ephesus, Diana's work apparently

concludes, and the attention is on the gods in general. In the second part of Pericles' speech, there is also something of a consummation devoutly to be wished: 'no more', he prays, declaring that the gods would 'doe well' to allow him to 'melt' from sight and by extension from the corporeal world: the grandeur of his 'great sea of ioyes' (I1r, 5.1.193) is comparable to an apotheosis—an idea familiar to Shakespeare from Ovid's great set piece descriptions in *Metamorphoses*, IX of the apotheosis of Hercules and in *Metamorphoses*, XV of the apotheosis of Julius Caesar. The closeness of this culminating joy to death is amplified in the description of their embrace as Thaisa's second burial.

Thaisa then reunites in a compressed ten-or-so lines (according to the Quarto) with Marina, and meets Helicanus. The conversation moves back to the gods, along, this time, with Cerimon:

*Per.* [...N]ow doe I long to heare how you were found? how possiblie preserued? and who to thanke (besides the gods) for this great miracle?

*Th.* Lord *Cerimon*, my Lord; this man through whom the Gods haue showne their power, that can from first to last resolute you.

*Per.* Reuerent Syr, the gods can haue no mortall officer more like a god then you. (I3r, 5.3.55–62)

Three times in succession 'the gods'—not Diana, nor human agency alone, nor even Fortune, Providence, or Fate abstracted from the general divine will—are said to have manufactured this happy ending. Cerimon is the explicitly godlike 'mortall officer' 'through whom the Gods have showne their power'. Although it would be erroneous to make too much of the common participle 'shown', its relation to part of this thesis' keyword (φάνια) implies that Cerimon, like Marina, offers not a theophany as such, but a glimpse of the divine 'power' which causes 'this great miracle'. The final part of this final scene, the most festive, is replete with praise and prayer. Its principles are joy and gratitude. Finally Pericles returns his focus to Diana and, accordingly, turns to a sequence of prayer and promise. The first prayer:

Pure *Dian* blesse thee for thy vision, and will offer night oblations to thee.  
(I3r, 5.3.69–70)

The promise:

and now this ornament [i.e., his beard] makes mee looke dismall, will I clip to forme, and what this fourteene yeeres no razer touch't, to grace thy [i.e., Marina's] marriage-day, Ile beautifie. (I3r, 5.3.71–6)

And the final prayer, hearing of the death of Simonides:

Heuens make a Starre of him. (I3v, 5.3.79)

And the final promise:

yet there [i.e., at Pentapolis] my Queene, wee'le celebrate their Nuptialls, and  
our selues will in that kingdome spend our following daies, our sonne and  
daughter shall in *Tyrus* raigne. (I3v, 5.3.79–82)

Pericles praises Diana's vision—both her own foresight or foreknowledge, and Pericles' vision of her in the theophany. Pericles promises to cut his beard and hair 'to form', which is also, he implies, to 'beautify'. Just as the gods have brought Pericles' fortunes to form, so he will bring his appearance to reflect the cosmic order of which the gods are a part. The apotheosis theme is reinforced in Pericles' wish that Simonides be made a star, as happens to Arcas and Callisto in *Metamorphoses*, II. 507. (Perhaps even the play's focus on Diana caused the author to recall this moment in the Callisto-Diana-Arcas story.) The final promise is of a peaceful retirement in Pentapolis for Pericles and Thaisa, and peaceful government in Tyre by Lysimachus and Marina. The ending of *Pericles*, then, provides a picture not only of personal, but also political harmony. The five city-states and their common ocean move from a corrupt governance under Antiochus and, though evidently less influential, Cleon, to a good government under Pericles' Pentapolis and Lysimachus and Marina in Tyre. (Simonides' long and just government of Pentapolis is anomalous, but he anyway vanishes from the narrative after his perfunctory role in Act II.) This picture of personal and political salvation does not *quite* seem emblematic in its presentation, however, until Gower moralises the action and characters in his epilogue:

In *Antiochus* and his daughter you haue heard,  
Of monstrous lust, the due and iust reward:  
In *Pericles* his Queene and Daughter seene,  
Although assayl'de with *Fortune* fierce and keene[,]  
Vertue preferd from fell destructions blast,  
Lead on by heauen, and crown'd with ioy at last. (I3v, Ep. 1–6)

The likeness to the sorts of emblem poems seen in Whitney here is striking, even appearing visually in the verse form. However, although the *Pericles* Quarto sets this out as a sestet, it simply strikes the ear as rhyming couplets, even if the unfolding and closing of sense within the six lines does somewhat support the sestet layout chosen by the compositor(s). Like Whitney, furthermore, the first stanza summarises the pictured material. The two key families—of Pericles and Antiochus—are cast as types of virtue and vice, and moralised accordingly. The next begins to moralise on the play's secondary elements:

In *Helycanus* may you well descrie,  
A figure of trueth, of faith, of loyaltie:  
In reuerend *Cerimon* there well appeares,  
The worth that learned charitie aye weares. (I3v, Ep. 7–10)

Gower then returns to narration:

For wicked *Cleon* and his wife, when Fame  
Had spred his cursed deede, the honor'd name  
Of *Pericles*, to rage the Cittie turne,  
That him and his they in his Pallace burne. (I3v, Ep. 11–14)

Cleon, a lesser Antiochus, is likewise punished for a deed which is explicitly 'cursed', the suggestion being that, since it is objectively cursed in the eyes of the divine law of the gods, the revenging people seem to be the instrument of the gods' revenge. Then, as if to ratify this suggestion, the punishment is ascribed to the will of the gods:

The gods for murder seemde so content,<sup>37</sup>  
To punish, although not done, but meant. (I3v, Ep. 15–16)

The expression here is crabbed, and probably slightly distorted, given the slant rhyme and uneven metre, but in essence means 'although Cleon and Dionyza did not commit murder, they meant to, and the gods punish the evil intention'—showing none of Isabella's final mercy, who says:

For *Angelo*, his Act did not ore-take his bad intent  
And must be buried but as an intent  
That perish'd by the way. (*Measure for Measure*, TLN 2842–4, 5.1.447–50)

This argument rests on the truth that 'thoughts are no subiects' (TLN 2845, 5.1.450). But whereas *Measure for Measure* concerns earthly law, where it should draw its limits, and the pursuit of a justice tempered with mercy, *Pericles* seeks justice in the divine sphere, so that the lawless kings who work within and outside of the earthly law (Cleon, Antiochus) are in the final consideration answerable for their crimes.

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37. The two Quartos here offer significantly different senses. Q2 reads:

The gods for murder seem'd to contend,  
To punish, although not done, but meant.

Let us move on to the religious world picture implied by Wilkins' half of the play, Acts I–II. The play offers in its first moments not a theophany, but something answerable to and prefigurative of it in the playful use of the idea of resurrection in Gower's first lines:

To sing a Song that old was sung,  
From ashes, aught Gower is come,  
Assuming mans infirmities,  
To glad your eare, and please your eyes. (A2r, 1.Ch.1–4)

He is imaginatively risen from the dead. John Trewin aptly describes him as a 'phoenix-figure',<sup>38</sup> and Eric Mallin goes further—slightly too far, in my view—arguing that the entire play's moral and religious significance remains at the charge of Gower as storyteller, rather than of the gods: 'His first appearance tells us something consequential about his function as a religious icon, one that merges magnificently with the literary figure'.<sup>39</sup> Gower's (for want of a better word) resurrection brings a certain playful supernaturalism into the first moments of the play, setting the stage for its amplification and deepened seriousness later on. If one accepts Mallin's point that Gower is a moral authority, we may ask whether the suggestion here is that the great and worthy poet (in general, with Gower standing for the particular) is a figure approaching a likeness to a god. Gower is, then, a key part in building the artifice of virtuous antiquity which the tenth line conveys in the motto '*Et bonum quo Antiquius eo melius*' (A2r, 1.Ch.10), 'and a good thing, being older, is better'.

The first scene (after Gower's prologue) sets up much in the play's initial cosmology and theology. MacDonald P. Jackson suggests that, in the entirety of the play's first scene, '[t]he interplay of images and ideas is rich enough to suggest Shakespeare's involvement', although 'the stilted verse and didactic tone are Wilkinsian'.<sup>40</sup> Certainly this scene discusses ideas which are of interest to Shakespeare throughout his works, such as music, nature, and sense. Even the style seems higher than the drab Wilkinsian verse which makes the second act in particular so hard to endure. Although the scene is, I think, finally and thoroughly Wilkinsian in style and thought, there do seem to be flickers of a sophistication here which is generally ab-

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38. J. C. Trewin, *The Pocket Companion to Shakespeare's Plays*, revised by Stanley Wells (London: Octopus, 2005), p. 153.

39. Eric S. Mallin, *Godless Shakespeare* (London: Continuum, 2007), p. 21.

40. Jackson, p. 158.

sent in the second act; this does seem to suggest some level of Shakespearean involvement. Fifty lines into the play, and before the first ten of the first scene, the gods (as well as music) are already present:

*Ant.* [*Musicke.*]<sup>41</sup> [B]ring in our daughter, clothed like a bride,  
For embracements euen of *Ioue* himselfe;  
At whose conception, till *Lucina* rained,  
Nature this dowry gaue; to glad her presence,  
The Seanate house of Planets all did sit,  
To knit in her, their best perfections. (A2v, 1.1.6–11)

Instantly is set up one of the play's key contraries: the virtue of married chastity, as signalled by Juno/Diana-Lucina,<sup>42</sup> and the vice of lust, as figured by Antiochus (in person) and Jove (in speech), with whom the King aligns himself. There also occurs here a telling difference between Wilkins' divine picture and that of Shakespeare. According to Antiochus, between 'conception' and birth ('till *Lucina* rained'), the planets sat in a 'Seanate house'. This is an allusion to the traditional council of the gods, well-known from the first book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, if not equally from Ovid's source, Homer, and alluded to also in *Cymbeline* ('th'shining Synod' of the gods (TLN 3123, 5.4.89–90)). But whereas in *Cymbeline* (and Ovid) the gods are ostensibly personal, in Wilkins' apparent conception, they are planetary.<sup>43</sup> The planets are in this formulation the subjects of Nature (the giver of the dowry and therefore, implicitly, the sovereign), yet equally governors of human life, and so placed in an intermediary, viceroy role between man and nature, to 'knit' in the princess 'their best perfections'.<sup>44</sup>

Pericles is (for now) deceived, and, in his innocence, picks up and elaborates on the themes of heavenliness, sovereignty, moral purity, and physical beauty, seeing them all as interwoven in Antiochus' daughter:

See where she comes, appareled like the Spring,

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41. Q reads 'Musicke bring in our daughter', &c. Since a perfect pentameter is formed by making 'Musicke' an unspoken stage direction, I accept this emendation.

42. It is noted by Cartari (108) that both Juno and Diana are associated with Lucina.

43. See this thesis' introduction for a summary of Seznec's outlining of the three allegorical traditions via which the gods 'survive' the classical period: the physical (planetary), the historical, and the moral.

44. For Nature as ontologically prior and hierarchically superior to the gods (planetary or not), see this thesis' chapter on *The Winter's Tale*.



Graces her subjects, and her thoughts the King,  
Of euery Vertue giues renowne to men. (A2v, 1.1.12–14)

There follows on this an important philosophical statement:

You Gods that made me man, and sway in loue;  
That haue enflamde desire in my breast,  
To taste the fruite of yon celestiall tree,  
(Or die in th'aduenture) be my helpes,  
As I am sonne and seruant to your will,  
To compasse such a bondlesse happinesse. (A3r, 1.1.19–24)

This speech—the first of the play's many prayers—lays out, efficiently, much of the groundwork of the drama, establishing both the nature (patient, pious, and observant of natural law) of Pericles, and the potential contrary, the antinomy, of his own active desire ('To taste the fruite of yon celestiall tree', 'To compasse such a bondlesse<sup>45</sup> happinesse'), though even this he frames passively. Pericles here repeatedly makes himself (or, synecdochically, some part of himself) the object acted upon ('made me man', 'enflamde desire in my breast'), rather than the acting, active subject. Pericles' patience and passivity are routinely noted by readers and critics.<sup>46</sup> But the active side of his character is hardly ever noted (albeit that more sensitive critics note that patience is itself an active virtue—a struggle requiring strength rather than mere passivity).<sup>47</sup> Wilkins shows, then, a robust sense of a dynamic relationship between creator, cause, and creature.

In his chastisement of Antiochus' daughter, Pericles invokes music for the first time, with reference to natural and divine (these two seem to be undivided) law:

You are a faire Violl, and your sense, the stringes;  
Who finger'd to make man his lawfull musicke,  
Would draw Heauen downe, and all the Gods to harken:  
But being playd vpon before your time,  
Hell onely daunceth at so harsh a chime. (A3v, 1.1.81–5)

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45. This is often emended to 'boundless', but a slight nuance of meaning is lost in this edit.

46. Kwang Soon Cho, 'Shakespeare's *Pericles* and Emblem Tradition', *Journal of English Language and Literature (Seoul)*, 39 (1993), 799–817; Harold Bloom, *Shakespeare: The Invention of the Human* (London: Fourth Estate, 1999), pp. 604–7; C. L. Barber, "'Thou Beget'st Him That Did Thee Beget': Transformation in *Pericles* and *The Winter's Tale*", *Shakespeare Survey*, 22 (1969), 59–67 (p. 63).

47. Kwang Soon Cho, pp. 801, 804.

The language of musical consonance and discord is woven into the moral language of sin. Music—being a natural phenomenon itself subject to naturally occurring laws—becomes a figure for the natural moral law. This also sets up the theme to be consummated by Thaisa's revival to music (III. ii), Marina's expertise in music (as we see in Gower's prologue to Act V), and of course the crowning and consummation of the theme, the hearing of the music of the spheres. Pericles then picks up and develops Antiochus' own comparison of himself with Jove:

Kinges are earths Gods; in vice, their law's their will:

And if *Ioue* stray, who dares say, *Ioue* doth ill. (A4r, 1.1.103–4)

Again, secular human and divine law are implicitly made sharply distinct, the former subject to corruptions and abuses whilst the latter remains inviolable and absolute. Antiochus emphasises this distinction:

Prince *Pericles*, touch not, vpon thy life;

For that's an Article within our Law,

As dangerous as the rest. (A3v, 1.1.87–9)

'Our Law' is Antiochus', and not the gods', natural law. Antiochus' masking of his language with the sorts of divine and musical ideas and graceful phrasing which are seen from *Pericles*' (and Shakespeare's) more pious and benevolent characters is everywhere evident:

Yet hope, succeeding from so faire a tree,

As your faire selfe, doth tune vs otherwise [i.e., dissuades us from killing you]. (A4r, 1.1.114–5)

In these two lines Antiochus appeals to the ideas of hope, fairness, music, and mercy—all to enact his deceit and cruelty. This attractive surface language Pericles sees through:

How courtesie would seeme to couer sinne,

When what is done, is like an hipocrite,

The which is good in nothing but in sight. (A4r, 1.1.121–3)

In its first scene *Pericles* builds an assured and structured religious world which remains consistent—despite fragmentations and complexities—up to at least the change in authorship at the beginning of Act III, and perhaps even beyond, though this is hard to tell.

The opening of the second act—set, apart from one short scene (II. iv), entirely in Pentapolis—gives us one of Wilkins' (and the play's) cardinal philosophical statements regarding the relation of man to nature:

*Enter Pericles wette.*

*Peri.* Yet cease your ire you angry Starres of heauen,  
Wind, Raine, and Thunder, remember earthly man  
Is but a substaunce that must yeeld to you:  
And I (as fits my nature) do obey you. (C1v, 2.1.1SD–4)

The speech thereafter retires to stock Wilkinsian declaratives and couplets, but one wonders whether a little Shakespearean interpolation survives here, seeming as it does to fulfil the implicit criterion set by MacDonald Jackson's remark that in Shakespeare's verse 'words simply *do* more than in the verse of other playwrights'.<sup>48</sup> However, as Brian Vickers observes, the fishermen scene immediately following this soliloquy is indisputably Wilkins', given its repetition in others of his works.<sup>49</sup> Whoever wrote the soliloquy, its philosophical position basically agrees with that of the rest of the play; pressed for an answer, however, I would hazard that it reflects Wilkins' rather than Shakespeare's cast of mind, and that the vocabulary is not greatly Shakespearean. Certainly, the address to the 'Starres' rather than the 'gods' of heaven seems to confirm the astrological conception of the gods suggested in I. i. The change of address in the second line to the elements, however, links this moment to Pericles' soliloquy at the start of Act III (see below). Again, Pericles shows an alertness to the cosmic order and its philosophical and moral implications. Although the first two of these four lines implore the stars and elements to 'cease' and to 'remember', the conclusion of the short prayer affirms Pericles' obedience and submission.

Next comes the tilt (II. ii), which this chapter passes over, as well as the succeeding scene at dinner in Pentapolis (II. iii); these two scenes contain some of the play's most difficult lines to endure. The scene then returns to Tyre, where Helicanus narrates to Escanes, and the audience, the death of Antiochus and his daughter, which introduces another sort of proto-theophany. The passage, which is a sentence or two in all of the sources save for Wilkins' novel—which offers an even longer and more detailed treatment in which the divine revenge is carried out by Nemesis—is worth quoting at length:

*Hell.* No *Escanes*, know this of mee,  
*Antiochus* from incest liued not free:  
For which the most high Gods not minding,  
Longer to with-hold the vengeance that

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48. Jackson, p. 150.

49. Vickers, *Shakespeare, Co-Author*, p. 299.

They had in store, due to this heynous  
 Capitall offence, euen in the height and pride  
 Of all his glory, when he was seated in  
 A Chariot of an inestimable value, and his daughter  
 With him; a fire from heauen came and shriued  
 Vp those bodyes euen to lothing, for they so stounke,  
 That all those eyes ador'd them, ere their fall,  
 Scorne now their hand should giue them buriall.

*Escanes.* T'was very strange.

*Hell.* And yet but iustice; for though this King were great,  
 His greatnesse was no gard to barre heauens shaft. (D2v, 2.4.1–15)

Despite the speech's unimpressive introductory, Wilkinsian, couplet and doggerel rhythm, its vivid description, along with certain word choices (a character's simple but suggestive description of an event as 'strange' is a Shakespearean tragic favourite), and dramaturgical structuring (two characters 'in priuate conference' (D2v, 2.4.18), one reporting action to another, followed by the entry of 'two or three Lords' (D2v, 2.4.18SD) in order to advance the onstage action) all would seem to argue a Shakespearean passage, plan, or emendation. It is a shame that the metre in this impressive passage is so marred that it reads like accentual verse: most lines contain four stresses with a variable number of unstressed syllables, an iambic pentameter couplet closing the first speech. This passage, though important, shows ample sign of a speech—half-given and half-misremembered—by report. Yet it is valuable in registering and reiterating the play's focus on divine intervention and judgement; its drawing of a world of moral objectivism, or natural law (Antiochus' crime is a 'heynous | Capitall offence', the gods' punishment of which is 'but iustice'); the vanity of wealth and power ('the height and pride | Of all his glory'); and for its almost Websterian interest in the horrific ('shriued | Vp those bodyes euen to lothing', 'they so stounke').

It is useful to consider authorship here since in the next scene—the marriage of Pericles and Thaisa—comes the first mention of Diana. Simonides gets rid of Thaisa's suitors, and constructs a lie in order to achieve his end:

One twelue Moones more shee'le weare *Dianas* liuerie:

This by the eye of *Cinthya* hath she vowed,

And on her Virgin honour, will not breake it. (D3v, 2.5.10–12)

This is a certain change of authorial concerns. Those words so resonant to the remainder of the drama—moon, Diana, Cynthia—are all invoked in two lines. But the

scene retains Wilkins' 'stilted verse and [...] didactic tone'; this would seem to show an apparent overlap between the two authors' concerns,<sup>50</sup> or perhaps it shows a trace of Shakespearean intervention. Whatever the case precisely is, here Diana is introduced at the very moment at which the authorship seems decisively to change. There is a final implication in this which we should unfold. It has already been noted how vital the idea of truth is both to the symbolic richness of Marina—Pericles says to her that 'falsnesse cannot come from thee' (H4r, 5.1.120)—and as a theme of at least the larger, Shakespearean, part of the play. This raises the questions of what a reader or an audience is to make of Simonides' fabrication of Thaisa's vow to Diana, which then becomes truth as it is played out in the rest of the drama, and whether Diana is called into the divine imagination of the play by a lie. Given the picture previously established of Diana as 'holy cruell', and given the vision of divine punishment in the previous scene, it requires only a small leap to envisage the subsequent trials of the characters as a punishment from the goddess for the abuse of her name. This is not made explicit enough in the text to argue wholeheartedly; but one wonders whether the educated playgoer of circa 1608 might supply such an explanation themselves.

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The question now remains of how the play moves from Wilkins' picture of its divine world, through this shift in focus towards Diana, to form the Diana-based final half which is crowned by her theophany and the closing scene in her temple at Ephesus. The third act—and Shakespeare's half of the play—open on the much admired, *Lear*-like address to the gods and elements, which are to a certain degree collapsed into one another, allegorically or by synecdoche:

*Enter Pericles a Shipboard.*

*Peri.* The God of this great Vast, rebuke these surges,  
Which wash both heauen and hell, and thou that hast  
Vpon the Windes commaund, bind them in Brasse;  
Hauing call'd them from the deepe, ô still  
Thy deafning dreadfull thunders, gently quench  
Thy nimble sulphurous flashes. (E1v, 3.1.1SD–6)

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50. Jackson, p. 158.

This is an apostrophe in turn to Neptune, Aeolus, and (perhaps) Jove. The setting and dramatic situation, as well as this short catalogue of gods, recalls the opening episode of the *Aeneid*, in which Aeolus (god of the winds) and Neptune are at odds, the former—at Juno's request—creating the storm which causes Aeneas to land at Carthage, and the latter quelling it. Picking up the suggestion made above that this downward turn in the protagonists' fortunes is owing to the *hamartia* of offending Diana, the cause of the storm could, on this view, be taken to be this goddess, in place of the *Aeneid*'s Juno. The next prayer is to Lucina (an aspect of Diana) for easy and safe childbirth:

*Lucina, oh!*

Diuineſt patroneſſe, and my wife gentle  
To thoſe that crie by night, conuey thy deitie  
Aboard our dauncing Boat, make ſwift the pangues  
Of my Queenes trauayles? (E1v, 3.1.10–14)

The gods are instantly more immediate, felt, and intimate in the Shakespearean speeches than in those of Wilkins. They are personal, and not abstract, planetary forces. Rather—to borrow Kwang Soon Cho's description—than the first two acts' 'pictorial, static, and allegorical' images, the gods, though unresponsive, are imagined with the capability of real motion, and so real efficacy, as indicated by the increased variety of verbs by which their actions are described: 'rebuke theſe ſurges', 'bind them in Brasse', 'conuey thy deitie | Aboard our dauncing Boat', 'make ſwift the pangues | Of my Queenes trauayles'.<sup>51</sup> The gods and, by the ſame token, Pericles' piety ſeem animated within the play's freshly animate world.

The relationship between god and man is accordingly more dynamic, too, as we ſee in the beginning of Pericles' deſpair:

O you Gods!

Why do you make vs loue your goodly gyfts,  
And ſnatch them ſtraight away? we heere below,  
Recall not what we giue, and therein may  
Vſe honour with you. (E2r, 3.1.23–7)

Pericles frames his reſponse as a reſtatement of 'the problem of evil and ſuffering'. But the point is leſs the truth of his ſpeech than its falſhood, for Pericles' information is made in ignorance of the truth—that Thaiſa is alive—and is predicated on Ly-

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51. Cho, p. 801.

chorida's erroneous report. As Christ says to the Apostles upon calming the storm, 'Why are ye so feareful? how is it that ye haue no faith?' (Mark, 4. 40). The despair of Pericles, rather, is deep:

A terrible Child-bed hast thou had (my deare, [sic]  
No light, no fire, th'vnfriendly elements,  
Forgot thee vtterly. (E2v, 3.1.57–9)

As earlier in the scene, as also in II. i, the elements and the gods are aligned, though not quite synonymous, which allows Pericles to call the elements 'vnfriendly' without necessarily offending the gods. At numerous points in the text, 'nature' and 'supernature' seem to be collapsed into one another, so that divinity is in—or is—nature itself, rather than apart from it. But this phrasing is careful, taking pains *not* to say that 'the unfriendly gods forgot thee utterly'. Whatever the precise relation between 'elements' and the gods, it is woven into Pericles' assumptions—or perhaps a better word is preconceptions—more than it is laid out openly by the text. Such is his 'priestly farewell' (E2v, 3.1.70).

The next scene brings us to Ephesus for the first time, and introduces Cerimon. The scene's importance—beyond its action—resides in its symbolic value, since it is here where the relationship between music and divinity is first explicitly elaborated (with the exception of the perversion of this relationship in I. i). Before the coffin/chest appears, the language is already concerned with marvels and strangeness. The storm has caused the characters to wake and go out unusually early:

*I. Gent.* But I much maruaile that your Lordship,  
Hauing rich tire about you, should at these early howers,  
Shake off the golden slumber of repose; tis most strange  
Nature should be so conuersant with Paine,  
Being thereto not compelled.

*Cery.* I hold it euer Vertue and Cunning,  
Were endowments greater, then Noblenesse & Riches;  
Carelesse Heyres, may the two latter darken and expend;  
But Immortalitie attendes the former,  
Making a man a god. (E3r, 3.2.21–31)

The change here of subjects—from the storm and nature's 'conversation' (so to speak) with pain to 'Vertue and Cunning'—is abrupt, and suggests some lacuna in the text. Cerimon's description focuses on the virtues of 'Vertue and Cunning'; but the last two lines are as crucial: immortality attends virtue and cunning, making a man a god. The active verbs—to attend and to make—lend an implicit agency to im-

mortality; it is conceived in terms of personification allegory. It is a shame that this short prologue to the revival does not elaborate on how apotheosis—that is, the achievement of immortality, the making of a man a god—happens, and indeed what sort of apotheosis Cerimon is imagining; but in the compressed image—'Immortalitie attendes'—is another suggestion of active divine intervention. As often in the late plays, Shakespeare envisages an earthy divinity, as evidenced here:

the blest infusions that dwels

In Vegetiues, in Mettals, Stones. (E3v, 3.2.35–6)

Just as the larger elements of sea and wind are animistically infused and conflated with the gods in Pericles' speeches in the previous scene, so the small 'Vegetiues', 'Mettals', and 'Stones' are the dwelling-place of 'blest infusions'. Although the passive participle 'blest' does not state by whom these objects are blessed, it is implicitly by the play's divine powers.

In Thaisa's revival, the suggestion of the sea's providence is underlined more strongly as Cerimon's use of the word 'Gold' points both to its literal signification—the casket of jewels—and the figurative, Thaisa being dear, precious, golden, of high price:

If the Seas stomacke be orecharg'd with Gold,

T'is a good constraint of Fortune it belches vpon vs. (E3v, 3.2.54–5)

This is a chest filled with treasure of another kind: as Pericles' poem states, Thaisa is a '*Queene, worth all our mundaine cost*' (E4r, 3.2.71). Just as 'Fortune' returned to Pericles his father's rusty armour after the shipwreck at Pentapolis, so now these Ephesians are 'well-constrained' in the sea's same action of 'belching upon' them an inestimable treasure. Both moments ascribe or attribute to *Fortune* a *providential* action.

The coffin is opened to reveal Thaisa laid 'Shrowded in Cloth of state, balmed and entreaured with full bagges of Spices, [with] a Passport to *Apollo*' (E3v, 3.2.65–6). The 'entreauring' of Thaisa amplifies and reflects her great worth. The last of the above phrases—'a Passport to *Apollo*'—is puzzling. It is often emended. Gossett gives:

A passport too! Apollo, pérfect me

In the characters.<sup>52</sup>

It makes a certain sense for Cerimon to ask that Apollo, the laurel-wreathed god, might perfect him in the letters; but in my view this is all that can be said in favour

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52. Gosset, ed., *Pericles*, 3.2.65–6



of this quite bland emendation. Let us briefly entertain the Quarto's reading, and see what it yields. Precisely why Thaisa should have a passport to Apollo, rather than the more common psychopomps Mercury or Charon, is at first puzzling. Can Apollo be a psychopomp? The *OED* entry for 'psychopomp, *n.*' gives a direction here. In the entry for the word's etymology is written: 'ancient Greek *ψυχοπομπός* conductor or guide of souls [is used] especially as a title applied to Charon and also more commonly to Hermes, the Anubis of Egypt, and to Apollo (Plutarch 2. 758 B)'. This reference directs us to the essay known as the 'Amatorius' in Plutarch's *Moralia*. Intriguingly, the Plutarch Loeb editor-translators write of the relevant passage: 'The god is Hermes',<sup>53</sup> in direct contradiction to the *OED* entry-writer(s). This suggests that the meaning of the passage is uncertain. Let us look at it in Philemon Holland's 1603 translation:

As for example, even our very birth at first, is nothing sightly at all nor pleasant, in regard of the bloud and bitter pangs that do accompany it, yet hath the same a goddesse to be the president & overseer thereof, to wit *Lucina*, called thereupon *Lochia* and *Ilithyta*. [...] Moreover the deitie and devine power, leaveth not man destitute when he is sicke, no nor when he is dead: but some God there is or other, that hath an office and function even then, and is powerfull in those occasions: there is one, I say, that helpeth to convey the soules of such as have ended their life, from hence into another world, and to lay them in quiet repose, who for bestowing and transporting of them in that sort is called *Catunastes* and *Psychopompos* according as he saith.

*The shady night never bare  
(The harps to sound) a fine musician:  
Nor prophet secrets to declare:  
Ne yet in cures a good phisitian:  
But for the soules of dead, below,  
In their due place, them to bestow.*<sup>54</sup>

The discussions of *Lucina* and (implicitly) *Asclepius* do seem to put us more or less in the world of *Pericles*, Act III. In the verse couplets the grammar and sense are diffi-

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53. *Plutarch's Moralia in Fifteen Volumes*, trans. by Edwin L. Minar, Jr., F. H. Sandbach, and W. C. Helmbold (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961), vol IX, p. 359 (footnote d).

54. Plutarch, *The Philosophie, commonlie called, the Morals written by the learned Philosopher Plutarch of Chæroneæ*, trans. by Philemon Holland (London, 1603) [University of Leeds, Brotherton Library Special Collections, Lt q PLU], pp. 1141–2.

cult, but at least it is certain that Apollo is referred to ('fine musician', 'prophet', 'physician'), regardless of whether he is intended to be taken as the *psychopompos* himself. It does not help the matter that the Greek quotation is from an anonymous tragic fragment, so that we cannot use context to make any reliable inference. The Loeb translation is somewhat plainer:

Night did not bear me lord of the lyre  
Nor yet seer or physician, but to be a guide  
Of souls.<sup>55</sup>

The meaning depends on who 'me' is: is Apollo speaking, saying something like 'my essential nature or purpose is not as god of music, of foresight, or of medicine, but as psychopomp'? Or is this Mercury, saying 'I do not play Apollo's roles, but rather the role of psychopomp'? This is an intricate problem, and needs more space than available here. (It would also benefit from a closer engagement with the original Greek text, both of Plutarch and of the anonymous tragic fragment which he quotes, than I can manage here.) But it is necessary to address this problem, I think, in order to understand how this crux in *Pericles* ought to be emended—if at all—in future editions of the play.

My own impression is that the implication of the poetic quotation does seem to point towards Apollo as much as—or more than—Hermes, and helps to make sense of Cerimon's otherwise puzzling naming of this god. Besides, the true interpretation here—that is, Plutarch's—is not as important (for this chapter's purposes) as Shakespeare's interpretation. The context of this source—its discussion of divine benevolence in Lucina, Asclepius, and (we take it) Apollo—might even suggest an item of Shakespeare's reading which is to some degree traceable in this scene. The interests common to *Pericles*, III. ii, and this passage of the 'Amatorius' are in any case difficult to overlook, especially when no other resolution of the 'passport to *Apollo*' problem would seem to offer itself, besides the inelegant, merely convenient emendations of previous editions. We might also note the possibility that Shakespeare seized on a potential duality in Apollo's mythological tradition in order to make the 'passport' both a passport to the afterlife (as intended by *Pericles*) and a passport to healing via Cerimon (as intended by Providence). It is also worth noting, before leaving this point, that the first word of this scene is '*Phylemon*' (E3r, 3.2.1). Perhaps this is Shakespeare's nod to his use of Philemon Holland's translation, though I ad-

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55. Loeb *Moralia*, p. 359.

mit that Shakespeare could have taken this name from one of a number of places, perhaps most easily Saint Paul's Letter to Philemon. But when Shakespeare does name a character, it is usually for a purpose. This purpose is often symbolic or thematic in nature, rather than the more superficial alternative, which is merely to offer a bit of Hellenic colour to the scene. '*Phylemon*' could easily have been '*1 Gentleman*'.

The revival begins by employing music. Again, there may be an implicit suggestion of the presence of Apollo here, given the combination of music and 'physic'. However, we have seen this same role fulfilled by Mercury in *Rare Triumphs*, too (see this thesis' introduction):

the rough and

Wofull Musick that we haue, cause it to sound beseech you:

The Violl once more; how thou stirr'st thou blocke?

The Musicke there: I pray you giue her ayre. (E4r, 3.2.88–91)

There is a pun here in the use of 'ayre', meaning both the life-giving element, and *aria*, melody: to 'giue her ayre' is to give her music. *The Tempest* goes far further in conflating these two in elaborate, structural ways, but this is a notable prefiguration. F. Elizabeth Hart and Suzanne Gossett are right to accept 'rough' over flatter emendations such as 'soft': the viol, after all, gives a much rougher tone than, say, voice, the lute, or wind instruments, owing to the use of friction (i.e., the rosined bow drawn across gut strings) to produce sonic vibrations (rather than air, as in wind instruments, or plucking, as with lute or the harpsichord family), and indeed tends towards a woeful character. Whatever other methods are used besides the rough and woeful viol, Thaisa revives:

Gentlemen, this Queene will liue,

Nature awakes a warm[...] breath out of her;

She hath not been entranc'st aboute fiue howers:

See how she ginnes to blow into lifes flower againe. (E4r, 3.2.92–5)

In 'entranc'st' we encounter a complex word, which stems, via the French *transir*, from the Latin *transeo*, 'I go (-eo) across (*trans-*)'. The French word, by referring to death, has also denoted 'apprehension or dread of coming evil', as well as 'to be numb or be numbed by fear or cold' (*OED*). So in this past tense usage, Thaisa has been something like 'not gone across to death above five hours'—a more macabre sense than that in which the word 'entranced' is used today. Like Lear or Imogen waking from their false deaths, Thaisa regains speech and recollects her immediate past before she makes a complete collection of her surroundings:

*Shee moues.*

*Thai.* O deare *Diana*, where am I? where's my Lord? What world is this? (E4r–E4v, 3.2.105SD–6)

Much like *Pericles* himself at the end of the fourth act and beginning of the fifth, *Thaisa* is somewhat removed from the worldly into the otherworldly. It is an intriguing matter that Shakespeare's characters who awake from apparent death seem to come back from an oblivion: their words recollect elements of the plot, and perhaps indicate that they believe themselves to be in an afterlife, just as they—ironically—return to the life they believe they have left. The effect is often to confuse the division between a clear and objective waking reality and the subjective realm of dream. Often in his late plays, Shakespeare seems to enjoy exploring the liminal point between these.

We can see from just this brief, but powerful, third act how profoundly the drama, its themes, and its interests transform between its first and second half. Although there is more stability and consistency between the third and fourth acts than between the second and third, Act IV does also introduce another transformative element, namely *Marina*. Act IV can effectively be called the 'Marina Act': it is chiefly concerned with the adventures of this radiant and symbolic character, much as the third act—or, as it is nicknamed, 'Helena Act'—of Goethe's *Faust, der Tragödie Zweiter Teil* is given to Helen of Troy. We have seen how the important and extensive role played by *Marina* in V. i in a way sets up and introduces the theophany of *Diana*; but this is really a continuation of a process which begins here in Act IV. Gower's prologic Chorus here introduces an entirely new character into the drama, who entirely transforms it. '[O]ur fast growing scene' (F1v, 4.Ch.6) finds her:

At *Tharsus*, and by *Cleon* traind  
In Musicks letters, who hath gaind  
Of education all the grace,  
Which makes hie both the art and place  
Of generall wonder. (F1v, 4.Ch.7–11)<sup>56</sup>

*Marina* is a triumph of humanist education. Her mastery of the arts of lute and 'pen' are likewise assured:

or when too'th Lute  
She sung, and made the night [bird] mute,  
That still records with mone, or when

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56. 'hie' is perhaps meant to read 'her'.

She would with rich and constant pen,  
Vaile to her Mistresse *Dian* still,  
This *Phyloten* contends in skill  
With absolute *Marina*. (F1v, 4.Ch.25–31)

As seen, *Pericles* demonstrates and perhaps argues for the miraculous and healing effects of music in the central scene of the previous act. Likewise, Gower's remark that Marina possesses '[o]f education all the grace' seems to intend a religious rather than mundane meaning of 'grace', although I am sure that the latter meaning resides in this usage too, albeit to a lesser extent. The case is the same with her being the object of 'generall wonder': music, grace, and wonder are all bound together in the figure of Marina. Moreover, she, like her mother during the revival in III. ii, while not presenting a theophany as such, does participate in a revelation—of life in the case of Thaisa, of grace and wonder in that of Marina—accompanied by religious language; the mother and the daughter stage proto-theophanic revelations which look forward to that of Diana at the culmination of the drama. Given Marina's symbolisation of grace and wonder, Shakespeare marshals all of the musical potential of his verse in Marina's first speech, painting her devotion to Lychorida:

*Enter Marina with a Basket of flowers.*

*Mari*. No: I will rob *Tellus* of her weede to strowe thy greene with Flowers, the yellowes, blewes, the purple Violets, and Marigolds, shall as a Carpet hang vpon thy graue, while Sommer dayes doth last. (F2r, 4.1.14SD–17)

The opening 'No' shows Marina enter mid-speech. So much of the Marina material in the play is highly symbolic; but this is a nice, lightly realist touch. That Marina's first word, moreover, is 'No' shows something of her defiantly principled character. It is the opposite of Molly Bloom's 'Yes'.

This 'Marina Act' is, in a certain sense, a subplot; but it is almost a chamber play in itself (like the long IV. iv in *The Winter's Tale*, which is largely devoted to the comparable figure of Perdita). The decline in Marina's fortune comes as abruptly as *Pericles*' in I. i: escaping murder, she is abducted by pirates and brought to the brothel at Mytilene. But this Mytilene brothel is a rather cleanly one: in general, Shakespeare's brothels tend to be comic spaces into which enters no real danger. Danger is not the point of them: Shakespeare's brothels are comic but also intellectual spaces, one might even say dialectical spaces in which the principles attached respectively to Venus and Diana can work themselves out. The brothel in *Pericles* already shows an inclination towards conversion and repentance even before the appearance of Marina. In IV. ii's introductory dialogue, the 'Pander' twice mentions conscience (F3v,

F4r, 4.2.11, 4.2.22), and imagines a future in which, having earned '[t]hree or foure thousande Checkins', he would have enough to 'giue ouer' the business (F4r, 4.2.29–30). Challenged by the 'Bawd' as to why he should want this, he says:

the sore tearmes we stand vpon with the gods, wilbe strong with vs for giuing ore (F4r, 4.2.37–8)

to which the Bawd replies:

Come, other sorts offend as well as wee. (F4r, 4.2.40)

This is not the most unapologetic or godless of all conceivable brothels. It would seem that poverty alone drives the sins of Mytilene. This is in great contrast to Tharsus, for example, where cannibalism threatens to break out in the famine, but where Dionyza and Leonine (and possibly Cleon) also tend towards sin (and ingratitude, Shakespeare's dislike of which can hardly be doubted) in times of peace and stability. (This contrast is emphasised by the next scene at Tharsus (IV. iii), which depicts Cleon and Dionyza's complicity in covering up Marina's supposed murder.) Thus the groundwork is laid for Marina's comical (in both the mundane and the divine, Christian-Dantean senses of that word) conversion of Mytilene's brothel. The relatively unrepentant Bawd gives the tension and resistance to this conversion:

*Mar.* The Gods defend me.

*Bawd.* If it please the Gods to defend you by men, then men must comfort you, men must feed you, men stir you vp. (F4v–G1r, 4.2.95–98)

Marina speaks to—and represents—the heavenly and morally pure interest, the Bawd the earthly and sinful. This is reinforced comically at the scene's conclusion by a vow neatly arranged in a couplet, followed by a short prayer to Diana, and a comically incredulous riposte from the Bawd, undercutting, but not destroying, the earnest religious sense intended by Marina:

*Mari.* If fires be hote, kniues sharpe, or waters deepe,

Vntide I still my virgin knot will keepe.

*Diana* ayde my purpose.

*Bawd.* What haue we to doe with *Diana*, pray you will you goe with vs? (G1v, 4.2.159–63)

Marina's phrase, 'my virgin knot' may be lifted directly from the *Historia Apollonii's* phrase '*nodus virginitatis*'; this reappears in Act IV of *The Tempest* (see this thesis' chapter on that play) and so seems likely, standing at the forefront of *Historia Apollonii's* first chapter, to have resonated with Shakespeare.<sup>57</sup>

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57. See Stelios Panayotakis, 'The Knot and the Hymen: A Reconsideration of *Nodus*

The next Gower chorus shows Pericles' catastrophe and a refocusing of the narrative back towards its main character. He had already vowed on leaving Marina at Tharsus 'by bright *Diana*' to keep his hair 'unscissored', 'Though [he] shew [ill] in't' (E4v, 3.3.28–30).<sup>58</sup> Already in the third act he had begun via ritualistic devotions and vows to remove himself from the purely worldly sphere. Now moreover:

hee swears

Neuer to wash his face, nor cut his hayres:

Hee put[s] on sack-cloth, and to Sea he beares. (G3r, 4.4.27–30)

At this false disaster, Pericles renounces the social world utterly, preparing the way for the heightened joy of the eventual reunion, and his religious experience. We return to Mytilene, where in nine lines or so we learn that Marina has taken to preaching 'diuinitie' from the brothel (G3v, 4.5.4) and that consequently the gentlemen of the place are 'out of the road of rutting for euer' (G3v, 4.5.9–10). Marina can, in the Bawd's words, both 'freze the god *Priapus*' and 'make a *Puritaine* of the diuell' (G3v, 4.6.3–4, 9–10). The images on their own are humorous and joyful enough, but perhaps they also point out something of the conception of religious syncretism in this and the other late plays: a brothel can become a church (or churchlike) simply by the end to which it is put; Priapism and Puritanism can coexist within one speech. Rather than see either of these surprises as a travesty, the play's warm approval of Marina as an exemplary figure, representative of divine grace, seems to suggest the opposite. Whatever the religious epoch, and whatever the place, the play may be seen to argue, grace is the same. After a brief conversion of Lysimachus and a conference with Boult by which she 'the Brothell scapes' (H2r, 5.Ch.1), we are brought full circle to the start of the fifth act, which this chapter discusses above.

In the preceding I hope to have shown an intelligible picture of the religious world and language of *Pericles*. Departing from the theophany of Diana and its context in the remarkable V. i, exploring the godlikeness central to Shakespeare's symbolically richer characters, their prayers and moral statements, as well as the qualities and speeches of certain lower characters, and navigating so far as is practicable around the hazardous sites of confused authorship and textual corruption, I hope that this chapter has arrived at a just and measured reading of this complex, rich, and mysterious play, and perhaps to have answered, as well as raised, major ques-

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*Virginitatis* (*Hist. Apoll. I*), *Mnemosyne*, 53 (2000), 599–608.

58. The Quartos give 'vnsisterd' for 'unscissored' and 'will' for 'ill'.

tions along the way about its religious thinking. I hope also to have elucidated the differences between Shakespeare's and Wilkins' religious imaginations in their halves of the play: Wilkins' gods remain largely distant, planetary forces; they can be prayed to, but are distant and mysterious. Shakespeare's divine world picture, painted most distinctly in Diana and the concerns related to her, but evident in glimpses and remarks made by-the-way elsewhere, is one of personal interest, if not exactly warmth; the gods of Shakespeare's half of *Pericles* are 'real presences'. Additionally, *Pericles'* imaginative universe in Shakespeare's half—though this is also true of Wilkins'—is one of animism and element: the towering forces to which its protagonists remain subject are the seas, winds, and moon themselves, each tied to a representative divine will. Finally, although Shakespeare's half of the play everywhere celebrates Diana, one senses, here and there, that this goddess may ultimately be a proxy for the ultimately greater concept of Nature. The importance of this concept and or goddess is explored more fully in this thesis' chapter on *The Winter's Tale*.



## *Cymbeline*

*quid? ammirati estis? quasi uero nouom  
nunc proferatur Iouem facere histrionam.*<sup>1</sup>

Plautus, *Amphitruo*, 89–90

*Cymbeline* is a vast play—approaching 4,000 lines—and greatly heterogeneous. John Wain says, in an appreciation of the play which has been undervalued, that the play is extravagantly experimental, showing Shakespeare at his most 'modern'. It [offers] a staggering juxtaposition of disparate and contrasting elements, flung together with no regard for conventional notions of unity.<sup>2</sup>

Though Wain reads the play well, there is some exaggeration here. In fact, the play's disparate elements unify and integrate much more easily than some critics—whose focus on *Cymbeline*'s diverse sources tends towards dissection—admit. A distinguished essay on the play by J. P. Brockbank wryly and rightly remarks that 'Holinshed does not often chime well with Boccaccio',<sup>3</sup> and Wain himself exclaims, 'Holinshed and Boccaccio!'.<sup>4</sup> There resides an explicit or implicit question which seems to trouble almost all of the literature on *Cymbeline*, namely, what sort of play is it? This chapter first addresses the manifold problems concerning *Cymbeline*'s Jupiter, then, in the light of this, some of the problems surrounding *Cymbeline* itself and its critical, editorial, and theatrical reception. The problem of how a reader or audience member takes the play's presiding deity is connected to the problem of how he or she thinks of the play itself. Generations of editors, critics, productions, and readers have cast the Jupiter theophany aside; this chapter contends that Jupiter, with and by virtue of the themes and symbols to which he is tied, is the unifying feature of the play. Emrys Jones writes in a noted essay that 'present-day scholarship is far from having got *Cymbeline* in focus'.<sup>5</sup> This was in 1961; I am not sure the situation is vastly better to-

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1. 'What? You're amazed? It's hardly something new | That Jupiter now walks the stage an actor.'

2. John Wain, *The Living World of Shakespeare: A Playgoer's Guide* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1964), p. 208.

3. J. P. Brockbank, 'History and Histrionics in *Cymbeline*', *Shakespeare Survey*, 11 (1958), 42–9 (p. 45).

4. Wain, p. 209.

5. Emrys Jones, 'Stuart *Cymbeline*', *Essays in Criticism*, 11 (1961), 84–99 (p. 84).

day. There is an impenetrable depth, a mystery to *Cymbeline*. It raises perhaps limitless questions concerning genre; authorial intention, motivation, and success; philosophical, religious, and political outlook; its singular use of diverse sources; the relationship between its numerous plots; the importance of the Nativity to the play; moral questions concerning some of the incidents presented; and so on. *Cymbeline* is singular in its multiplicity.

The theophany of Jupiter in *Cymbeline* is a moment unique in Shakespearean drama. It is also marked out by the ire to which it has been subjected by certain critics, and by the short shrift it has enjoyed in the theatre and in its editorial history. It was entirely cut from productions until the mid-twentieth century and, as Roger Warren reports, modern productions still have trouble with it.<sup>6</sup> The Globe Theatre's 'Imogen', which played in late 2016, cut Jupiter completely, as does Michael Almereyda's *Cymbeline* film (Koch Media, 2014),<sup>7</sup> while Elijah Mojisny's film (BBC, 1983) cast Michael Hordern as a through-and-through human Jupiter, carefully removing *theos* from the theophany. A Sam Wanamaker Theatre production in December 2015 elicited laughter—at least on one occasion—when its Jupiter descended.<sup>8</sup> Scott Maisano sums up Jupiter's reception as 'a theatrical "tradition of omission" as well as an archive of editorial dismay and disavowal'.<sup>9</sup> This editorial tradition (up to the early twentieth century) is illustrated in Furness' Variorum.<sup>10</sup> For a long time, the poetry was thought too bad to be by Shakespeare, though George Wilson Knight's defence of Shakespearean authorship—still one of the most important contributions to the *Cymbeline* literature—dispatches such positions quite decidedly.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, as Roger Warren observes in his edition—without making any explicit point about Shakespearean authorship—the petition of the ghosts to Jupiter in V. iii

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6. Roger Warren, *Staging Shakespeare's Late Plays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 77–80.

7. This is its American title; in the United Kingdom it was released as *Anarchy: Ride or Die*. 'Howso'er 'tis strange, [...] Yet it is true'.

8. Thanks to Professor Paul Hammond for relating this to me.

9. Scott Maisano, 'Shakespeare's Last Act: The Starry Messenger and the Galilean Book in *Cymbeline*', *Configurations*, 12 (2004), 401–34 (p. 404).

10. *The Tragedie of Cymbeline*, ed. by Horace Howard Furness (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1913), pp. 374–9; pp. vii–viii are also informative.

11. George Wilson Knight, *The Crown of Life* (New York: Methuen, 1948), pp. 168–202.

uses the Midlands dialect word 'geck' (a 'fool' or a 'simpleton'; see 'geck, *n.1*' in *OED*):<sup>12</sup>

Why did you suffer Iachimo, slight thing of Italy,  
To taint his Nobler hart & braine, with needlesse ielousy,  
And to become the geeke and scorne o'th' others vilany? (TLN 3104–6,  
5.3.142–4)

The word is also used in *Twelfth Night* by Malvolio, who complains to Olivia that he has been 'made the most notorious gecke and gull, | That ere inuention plaid on' (TLN 2513–4, 5.1.336–7).<sup>13</sup> If we take this point—which requires that we accept Capell's emendation of F's 'geeke' to 'geck' (some might say that the two concepts are close anyway)—this does away with theses concerning what Wilson Knight called 'the work of that convenient incompetent coadjutor'.<sup>14</sup>

Such cogency and extensiveness of argument as can be seen in G. Wilson Knight's writing on *Jupiter*, still, however, does not prevent occasional modern attacks against Shakespeare's authorship, such as that of Kristian Smidt, who writes in an otherwise good article that the *Jupiter* theophany is an 'obvious interpolation' principally on the basis 1) of its detachability from the rest of the play, 2) of certain (weak) textual claims, and 3) the poetry's being too bad to be Shakespeare's.<sup>15</sup> He does this, moreover, without any reference to Wilson Knight's extensive defence against 1) and 3). The worst contribution, however, may be H. W. Fawkner's claim, writing of *Posthumus' dream*, that 'this entire section is worthless—linguistically, poetically, theatrically, intellectually, emotionally, spiritually'.<sup>16</sup> Although such attitudes are now old-fashioned, even the most recent edition of *Cymbeline* regrettably describes *Jupiter's prophecy* as 'corny'.<sup>17</sup> Likewise, John Pitcher's edition is not shy

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12. *Cymbeline*, ed. by Roger Warren (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), n. to 5.3.161. His note directs us to Joseph Wright, *The English Dialect Dictionary*, 6 vols (London: Henry Frowde, 1898–1905), vol 2, pp. 589–90.

13. This comparison is made in Nosworthy's edition; Wilson Knight makes the same point, p. 195.

14. Knight, p. 9.

15. Kristian Smidt, 'Spirits, Ghosts, and Gods in Shakespeare', *English Studies*, 77 (1996), 422–38 (p. 437).

16. H. W. Fawkner, *Shakespeare's Miracle Plays: Pericles, Cymbeline, and The Winter's Tale* (London: Associated University Presses, 1992). p. 123. As far as I can tell, Fawkner ignores Knight on *Cymbeline*, but uses him for *Pericles* and *The Winter's Tale*.

17. *Cymbeline*, ed. by Valerie Wayne (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), p. xxi.

about the editor's dislike for Jupiter.<sup>18</sup> Amongst the most distinguished treatments in the older criticism, there is ambivalence: J. C. Maxwell, in his edition, whilst defending Shakespeare's authorship, insists that '[c]ertainly the central part of this [i.e., the so-called 'Vision'] is a passage which few would be sorry to attribute to another hand'.<sup>19</sup> J. M. Nosworthy, one of the play's defenders, assumes without question that Jupiter is used 'flagrantly, as a *deus ex machina*'<sup>20</sup> but later defends the plot intervention as necessary, 'for the situation is so fantastically chaotic that no mere human being could be expected to control it'; the theophany scene he defends as 'fundamentally an artistic and noble conception'.<sup>21</sup> Finally, even a very recent and valuable contribution by Douglas Arrell—who, as said in this thesis' Introduction, has contributed a number of good articles on the relationship between certain plays of Heywood and of Shakespeare—bases its argument partly on value judgements. While conceding that 'few critics today would question the authenticity of the Jupiter scene'<sup>22</sup> and that 'the question of the artistic validity of the scene in the context of the rest of the play remains open',<sup>23</sup> he nevertheless criticises the theophany as 'distinctly odd' and claims that the scene 'jars' with the Soothsayer material concerning the Roman eagle.<sup>24</sup>

Thankfully though, such views of *Cymbeline*'s Jupiter seem to be growing increasingly out of fashion. Something of the changing Zeitgeist can be seen in John Dover Wilson's 'Prefatory Note' to J. C. Maxwell's 1960 edition. Since it is broadly instructive, I shall quote at some length:

Unlike most previous editors, Mr Maxwell can find, he tells us, no grounds for believing that Shakespeare was not the sole author of *Cymbeline*. He is even ready to accept the Vision at 5. 4. 30ff. which critics as eminent and as diverse as Pope and Johnson, Edmund Chambers and Granville-Barker dis-

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18. *Cymbeline*, ed. by John Pitcher (London: Penguin, 2005), pp. lxxviii–lxxvii.

19. Maxwell, ed., p. xiii.

20. *Cymbeline*, ed. by J. M. Nosworthy (London: Methuen, 1955) [rprt. Routledge, 1991], p. xxvi.

21. Nosworthy, ed., *Cymbeline*, p. xxxvii.

22. Douglas Arrell, 'Jupiter's Descent in *Cymbeline*: A Suggestion', *Notes and Queries*, 65 (2018), 543–6 (p. 544).

23. Arrell, 'Jupiter's Descent', p. 546.

24. Arrell, 'Jupiter's Descent', p. 544.

miss as 'a spectacular theatrical interpolation'. I quote Chambers's words, and must confess that I find myself subscribing to them.<sup>25</sup>

Dover-Wilson acknowledges the strength of select internal evidence and the defence offered by George Wilson Knight, but then—conferring the 'Mortall Flies' (TLN 3072, 5.3.124) image of *Cymbeline* with Gloucester's statement, 'As Flies to wanton Boyes, are we to th'Gods, | They kill vs for their sport' (TLN 2221–2, 4.1.38–9) in *King Lear*—he maintains his stance, saying:

But though Shakespeare often repeats himself, does he ever do so after this crude fashion elsewhere? To my mind the passage is not repetition but imitation, and a bad one at that.<sup>26</sup>

However, not all assessments of Jupiter have been so uncharitable. Apart from the famous defence given by Wilson Knight, Richard P. Knowles writes that

[i]n *Cymbeline* the use of theophany is similar to, but more controlled than it is in *Pericles*; the vision of Jupiter is, in fact, the central scene in the play, and the highest development of the device in Shakespeare.<sup>27</sup>

While one might quarrel with his assessment of *Pericles*' theophany in relation to that of *Cymbeline*, it is refreshing to see such an appreciative remark. Knowles later adds to these praises that the theophany is 'not only logical and startling' but 'also tremendously satisfying'.<sup>28</sup> Martin Butler's edition describes the descent as '[t]he play's spectacular high point', implying an appreciation for its theatrical effect; likewise, Roger Warren, after criticising modern productions' tendency to give 'no hint either of a dream or of the supernatural', shows dramatic appreciation when he says that '[u]nless Jupiter makes a big, even sensational, impact, the sequence is robbed of its natural climax'.<sup>29</sup> John Wain offers another defence:

The verse of this scene [V. iii] is highly stylized, and many critics, including Johnson, have thought it an interpolation by some other hand. Personally I believe that Shakespeare knew what he was doing. On the page, the verse reads flatly; but set it against a background of solemn music and pageantry,

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25. Maxwell, ed., pp. vii–viii.

26. Maxwell, ed., p. viii.

27. Richard Paul Knowles, "'The More Delay'd, Delighted": Theophanies in the Last Plays', *Shakespeare Studies*, 15 (1982), 269–80 (p. 270).

28. R. P. Knowles, p. 271.

29. Warren, *Staging Shakespeare's Late Plays*, p. 80.

and it has exactly the right stiff, brocaded dignity. Furthermore, it is thematically in harmony with the rest of the play.<sup>30</sup>

Even here and even in Wilson Knight, however, there are moments at which the two make slight concessions to the claims of harsher critics. Wain concedes that 'the verse reads flatly' on the page; Wilson Knight supposes even at the climax of his defence of Jupiter that

[t]here is a possibility that Shakespeare was not himself wholly satisfied: in *The Tempest* Ariel's similar appearance is given normal blank-verse, while the goddesses are mere etceteras [...] and in *Henry VIII* the emphasis is, except for the soft music, wholly on silent, though elaborately directed dumb-show and ritual.<sup>31</sup>

But just because Shakespeare develops and tries new ways of presenting divine moments, it does not follow that he himself may not have been wholly satisfied. There is, then, a curious quality in the theophany of Jupiter—which is not apparently shared by *Pericles'* Diana—which calls forth from almost all critics a range of value judgements. Perhaps nothing else in the Shakespearean corpus does this so consistently.

Jupiter has been misunderstood. Part of this chapter's contention is that our understanding of him can be advanced by looking at some possible sources and analogues for the god's appearance in *Cymbeline*. First, Heywood. Douglas Arrell's contribution on *Cymbeline* speculates that the eagle-riding Jupiter of Shakespeare's play is indebted to the same figure in Heywood's play, rather than the other way round. Although—as I have said in outlining some of the negative value judgements to which *Cymbeline* has been subject—Arrell bases his argument partly on his sense that the Jupiter theophany is 'odd' and that it 'jars' with the play,<sup>32</sup> he also makes more secure arguments from the surviving evidence. The details are somewhat intricate; I shall not rehearse them all here. The important point is that Heywood's *The Silver Age* seems, according to the Revels Accounts, to have been acted by both the Queen's and the King's Men on 12–13 January 1612 at Greenwich, along with Heywood's *The Rape of Lucrece*, though Arrell is skeptical about the latter.<sup>33</sup> Speculating that the other

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30. Wain, p. 210.

31. Wilson Knight, p. 196.

32. Arrell, 'Jupiter's Descent', p. 544.

33. Arrell, 'Jupiter's Descent', pp. 544–5; W. R. Streitberger, ed., *Jacobean and Caroline Revels Accounts, 1603–1642*, Malone Society Collections XIII (Oxford: Oxford University Press,

Age plays may have been co-acted in this way, Arrell proposes that the Jupiter scene in *Cymbeline* may have been written in order to make use of the spectacular eagle which, he suggests, was first used in *The Golden Age*. Arrell accepts that *Cymbeline* was likely written in 1610,<sup>34</sup> and thinks that the Jupiter scene may have been added at a later date. But he grounds this on his belief that 'Shakespeare's eagle is much less essential to *Cymbeline*' than Heywood's is to *The Golden Age*. I think that Wilson Knight's examination of the eagle's integration with the language of *Cymbeline* disproves this<sup>35</sup> and, on the contrary, Heywood's eagle is the less integrated of the two, being purely decorative and spectacular and not tied by any necessity to his plot. It appears in a series of dumb shows which stage the apotheoses of Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto. Jupiter's:

*Sounde a dumbe shew. Enter the three fatall sisters, with a rocke, a threed, and a paire of sheeres; bringing in a Gloabe, in which they put three lots. Iupiter drawes heauen: at which Iris descends and presents him with his Eagle, Crowne and Scepter, and his thunder-bolt. Iupiter first ascends vpon the Eagle, and after him Ganimed.*  
(Heywood, III, p. 78)

This is the first and only appearance of the eagle in the Age plays. Going to war with Argos earlier in *The Golden Age*, Jupiter mentions that the eagle is his military emblem: 'The Eagle in our ensigne wee'l display, | Ioue and his fortunes guide vs on our way' (Heywood, III, p. 73), but this is the sole mention of the bird. In *The Silver Age*, spectacular descents, ascents, and appearances are generally done 'in a cloud' (Heywood, III, pp. 98, 130, 152, 155) and when Jupiter descends at the culminating point in the Amphytruo story which is part of *The Silver Age*, no eagle is mentioned:

*Thunder and lightning. All the seruants run out of the house affrighted, the two Captains and Blepharo, Amphytrio and Socia amazedly awake: Iupiter appeares in his glory vnder a Raine-bow, to whom they all kneele.* (Heywood, III, p. 122)

And later, when he appears to Semele: 'Thunders, lightnings, Iupiter descends in his maiesty, his Thunderbolt burning' (Heywood, III, p. 154). After rescuing the newborn Bacchus from Semele's fiery bed, Jupiter 'ascends in his cloud' (Heywood, III, p. 155).

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1986), 49.

34. Valerie Wayne suggests a composition date of March-November 1610 (p. 30); Martin Butler thinks that it was 'May/June 1610 or slightly after' (p. 6); Roger Warren supposes the play 'written and performed by autumn 1610 at latest' (p. 67).

35. Wilson Knight, pp. 187-8; also noted by David M. Bergeron, 'Cymbeline: Shakespeare's Last Roman Play', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 31 (1980), 31-41 (p. 35).

To Heywood, Jupiter's association with Iris and the rainbow appears to be more important than his connection with the eagle, which is only introduced briefly at the end of *The Golden Age* in order to end with a series of spectacular dumb shows. Although Arrell makes an interesting and detailed case for Heywood's influence on Shakespeare, it relies too heavily on circumstantial evidence and conjecture, and on the false claim that Heywood's eagle is the more integrated and therefore the original.<sup>36</sup> At any rate, Arrell opens up a rich set of questions by looking at these similarities. He asks, 'What are we to make of the fact that here we have two plays written and performed at about the same time in which Jupiter flies on an eagle?'<sup>37</sup> Indeed, why so much eagle c. 1610–12 and so little before and after? As Arrell notes, such a prop is expensive and challenging to stage, even today.<sup>38</sup> Once the eagle is bought and paid for, why abandon it? Perhaps it did prove unpopular or too difficult to stage in other plays; or perhaps it seemed too singular, too special to be used in later plays. Perhaps it is a combination of these.

Heywood's *Age* plays—along with *Rare Triumphs* and *Clyomon and Clamydes*<sup>39</sup>—are frequently invoked with reference to *Cymbeline*'s Jupiter; but what about the Jupiter of Marlowe's (and possibly Nashe's) *Dido, Queen of Carthage*? This play begins, like *Rare Triumphs*, with a divine prologue, then focuses on the human action. However, whereas *Rare Triumphs* presents a grave and sober version of the divine synod, over which Jupiter shows himself to be a sure and fair governor, Marlowe's Jupiter is instantly presented—through what Leslie Thomson describes as a striking 'emblematic tableau'<sup>40</sup>—with irreverence:

*Here the curtains draw. There is discovered Jupiter dandling Ganymede upon his knee, and Mercury lying asleep. (1.1.0SD)*

As Leslie Thomson notes, the staging likely involved the drawing aside of curtains or the opening of a door which would have covered a central stage space. This space

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36. The editions of Valerie Wayne (pp. 46–8) and Roger Warren (pp. 65–7) agree that Shakespeare is the influencer and Heywood the influenced. These predate Arrell's 'Suggestion'.

37. Arrell, 'Jupiter's Descent', p. 544.

38. Arrell, 'Jupiter's Descent', p. 544.

39. I comment on the relationship between these late sixteenth-century romances and those of Shakespeare's later period—including *Cymbeline*—in the Introduction to this thesis.

40. Leslie Thomson, *Discoveries on the Early Modern Stage: Contexts and Conventions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 174.



and the opportunities it would afford for covering and revealing are reused in the cave scenes which end Act III and begin Act IV, and likely also for the immolation of Dido and Anna at the end of the play.<sup>41</sup> All uses tie thematically together 'the play's central motif of secret, obsessive, misdirected love and consequent neglect of responsibility'.<sup>42</sup> This Jupiter is reminiscent of Marlowe's lascivious Neptune in *Hero and Leander*, too, who mistakes Leander for Ganymede:

The lustie god imbrastd him, cald him love,  
And swore he never should returne to *Jove*. (II. 167–8)

Marlowe's irreverent treatment of the pagan gods is apparently founded in Ovid, as well as in his own imagination and sense of humour. Shakespeare's Jupiter is not as bathetic as Marlowe's: he is intended to strike awe. This is signalled by the ghosts' reaction and by the enormity of sound and visual spectacle which the stage directions imply. But, prior to this, the ghosts refer quite unflatteringly in their petition to some of the most ignoble parts of Jove's mythological backstory:

With Mars fall out with Iuno chide, that thy Adulteries  
Rates, and revenges. (TLN 3074–5, 5.3.125–6)

Thus Shakespeare's Jupiter borrows some tragic gravity at the same time as being comical and Marlovian-Ovidian. This is a tragicomic Jupiter.

Shakespeare is not the first to stage such a tragicomic version of Jupiter; nor is Marlowe the first to stage a comical one. Only a few critics have noted the affinities between *Cymbeline* and Plautus' *Amphitruo*. Richard F. Hardin sees 'traces of the Roman comedy in the late play' and argues that '[t]he associations [of *Amphitruo*] with Shakespeare's late romances are inescapable'.<sup>43</sup> Ros King, assuming Shakespeare's knowledge of tragicomic theory to be great, takes the use of Jupiter to be something like a direct reply to Plautus' prologue concerning the use of deities in certain genres (more on which below).<sup>44</sup> The connection between the two plays has also been suggested by Leo Salinger.<sup>45</sup> However, it ought to be noted that certain au-

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41. Thomson, pp. 174–5.

42. Thomson, p. 174.

43. Richard F. Hardin, 'England's *Amphitruo* before Dryden: The Varied Pleasures of Plautus's Template', *Studies in Philology*, 109 (2012), 45–62 (p. 52, 48).

44. Ros King, *Cymbeline: Constructions of Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 33–7.

45. *Shakespeare and the Traditions of Comedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), p. 59.

thorities on Shakespeare's classicism say nothing about the possibility of *Amphitruo* in *Cymbeline*. Robert Miola does not treat the two plays together at any point in his *Shakespeare and Classical Comedy*, nor in any other of his studies, implying that he sees no connection. A passage in *Shakespeare's Rome* betrays his dislike for *Cymbeline*'s Jupiter, which may explain his not wishing to see Plautus behind it.<sup>46</sup> Wolfgang Riehle writes briefly but well on *Cymbeline*'s use of Plautus, but does not remark upon the similarities between the Jupiters of *Amphitruo* and *Cymbeline*.<sup>47</sup> T. W. Baldwin makes one weak remark on *Cymbeline* V. iii, namely that there is an echo of Chapman's *Iliad* V (not published till 1610) in the half-line: 'With Mars fall out with *Iuno* chide' (TLN 3074, 5.3.125), but offers nothing on Plautus.<sup>48</sup>

Certainly there are affinities: the cuckolded *Amphitruo* and the agonies which he endures before the play's happy resolution might remind a reader of Leontes and Posthumus, though of course the situation is different for the later characters. The *Amphitruo*'s characters' repeated and continuous allusions to, prayers to, and swearings by Jupiter sound like those of *Cymbeline*'s characters, although the former have a dramatic, comic irony which the latter do not. The slightly hapless Pisanio, particularly when suffering the abuse of Cloten and *Cymbeline* during the third act, might remind us of Plautus' long-suffering slaves—Sosia and even Bromia in *Amphitruo*. These are superficial similarities. The deeper and more significant come when we consider the plays' use of genre. In the Prologue to *Amphitruo*, which is spoken by an irreverent Mercury—who might remind one of the humorous use of Time in *The Winter's Tale*—the god responds to the audience's frowning at the mention of tragedy (translations mine unless noted otherwise):

nunc quam rem oratum huc ueni primum proloquar;  
 post argumentum huius eloquar tragoediae.  
 quid? contraxistis frontem quia tragoediam  
 dixi futuram hanc? deus sum, commutauero. (50–3)  
 [Now first I'll tell the reason I have come;  
 Then give the argument o'th'tragedy.  
 What's this? You frown because it's tragedy?  
 I am a god, and therefore I may change it.]

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46. *Shakespeare's Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 230.

47. *Shakespeare, Plautus, and the Humanist Tradition* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1990), pp. 251–3

48. T. W. Baldwin, *Shakespeare's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke*, 2 vols (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1944), vol II, p. 659.

Firstly Mercury offers to turn the play into a comedy—without changing a verse:

eandem hanc, si uoltis, faciam <iam> ex tragoedia  
comoedia ut sit omnibus isdem uorsibus. (54–5)

[This, if you like, from tragedy I'll turn  
Into a comedy, each verse the same.]

But then, acknowledging what the people want—which, being a god, he knows already—he makes it a tragicomedy: 'faciam ut commixta sit; <sit> tragico[co]moedia' (59) [I'll mix it, make it tragicomedy]. The reason that it has to be 'commixta' and tragicomic is because of the types of characters which it contains:

nam me perpetuo facere ut sit comoedia,  
reges quo ueniant et di, non par arbitror. (60–1)

[I think it inappropriate to turn  
Completely into comedy a play  
Which stages kings and gods together.]

But, because the play is 'commixta', i.e., because it also stages slaves (low comic characters), it is made tragicomedy:

quid igitur? quoniam hic seruos quoque partis habet,  
faciam sit, proinde ut dixi, tragico[co]moedia. (62–3)

[What then? Since slaves in this do also take  
A part, as said, it's tragicomedy.]

Perhaps, then, Shakespeare's reading of *Amphitruo* and its philosophy of genre affected his own thinking about *Cymbeline*'s commixture of persons and genres.

There would be no particular warrant for positing this, however, if not for the main similarity, namely Jupiter. In Plautus, after two acts (as editors divide it) in which characters ironically swear by Jupiter and ask for his protections, the god, who has been the first and efficient cause of the plot so far, makes his first appearance on the stage and gives a soliloquy. He gives the classical self-declaration made by gods on the stage, though, ironically, by calling himself 'that Amphitruo':

ego sum ille Amphitruo, quoi est seruos Sosia,  
idem Mercurius qui fit quando commodum est,  
in superiore qui habito cenaculo,  
qui interdum fio Iuppiter quando lubet. (861–4)

[I'm that Amphitruo whose servant's Sosia  
(Who's also Mercury when it is fit);  
I live in the *cenaculum* {viz. room} above,  
And sometimes, when I like, am Jupiter.]

Plautus has his Jupiter introduce the apparently minor, but subtly important idea that his conduct may be blameworthy: 'nam mea sit culpa, quod egomet contraxerim, | si id Alcumenae in innocentiam expetat' (871–2). He effectively says: 'The fault be mine—since I myself began it— | If Alcumena innocently suffers'. The idea of divine blame is not exclusive to this text; but the deity's self-attribution—if conditional—of blame makes it stand out. When do Ovid's or Virgil's gods, for example, show such conscience and such sense of accountability? One wonders if this picture of a blameworthy Jupiter persists in the petition made by the Leonati ghosts in *Cymbeline* V. iii, and, in particular, in their appeal to Posthumus' innocence.

The most significant information concerning Jupiter is concentrated, in both plays, in the fifth act. Here is, accordingly, where the two Jupiters' similarities are most evident. At the end of *Amphitruo*'s fourth act—of which only fragments survive—Amphitruo, enraged and confused, tries to enter his house but is debarred by a great peal of thunder. Bromia, the *ancilla Alcumena*, begins what editors mark as the fifth act in a state of utter confusion. She narrates the start of Alcumena's labour:

ita erae meae hodie contigit. nam ubi parturit, deos [sibi] inuocat,  
strepitus, crepitus, sonitus, tonitrus: ut subito ut prope, ut ualide tonuit!  
(1061–2)

[What an ordeal my mistress had today!  
Her labour starting, prayed she to the gods:  
Then crashing, rattling, rumbling, thund'ring, O!  
How sudden, close, how pow'rfully it thundered!]

Here for the first time Jupiter's comically bad behaviour gives way to his other aspect: the Ovidian adulterer becomes the terrifying, powerful thunderer. Then, Bromia says, a great voice was heard telling Alcumena not to fear, giving comfort and prophecy:

ibi nescioquis maxuma  
uoce exclamat: 'Alcumena, adest auxilium, ne time:  
et tibi et tuis propitius caeli cultor aduenit'. (963–5)  
[I heard a voice,  
Unknown but loud, say: 'Alcumena, fear not,  
Help's here: to you and yours, the heaven-dwelling {i.e., Jupiter}  
Favourably comes'.]

This is the more serious—even tragic—moment of the tragicomedy: the cuckolding and slave-beating give way to the preparations for the birth of Hercules. This moment in which the god's voice and prophecy are heard, though narrated rather than

staged, is meant to have the radiance of theophany about it. As Bromia says, the house so shone, she thought it was on fire: 'ardere censui aedis, ita tum confulgēbant' (1067). Indeed, so important is Bromia's report (made in soliloquy) that she repeats it to Amphitruo only thirty lines later (1091–6); Plautus emphasises this new side of Jupiter.

Plautus, however, does not only twice report this; he stages it. Since the relevant passage contains a few useful points, it is best to offer a longer quotation which, for expediency, will be in English, using Wolfgang de Melo's Loeb translation, with important parts of the Latin given. Line numbers are keyed to Plautus' original; stage directions are editorial:

*Amph.* Well, I'm not upset if I can share half of the good with Jupiter. Go home and have vessels prepared for me immediately so that I can seek great Jupiter's favour with many victims [ut Iouis supremi multis hostiis pacem expetam].

*Exit BROMIA into the house.*

*Amph.* I'll call the soothsayer [coniectorem] Tiresias here and consult what he thinks should be done. At the same time I'll tell him how this came about. But what's this? (*it thunders*) How strong that thunder was [quam ualide tonuit]. O gods, I implore your mercy.

*JUPITER appears on the roof-top.*

*Jup.* Take heart, I'm here with help [assum auxilio] for you and your family, Amphitruo: there's no reason to be afraid. Forget about all seers and soothsayers [hariolos, haruspices | mitte omnis]. I'll tell you what's going to happen and what has happened [quae futura et quae facta] much more reliably than they; after all I'm Jupiter. [Jupiter gives a brief narration of what has occurred.] The one of [the two newborn children] who was conceived of my seed [i.e., Hercules] will give you immortal fame through his deeds. You should make up with your wife Alcumena: she hasn't deserved that you should consider her at fault. She was forced to do it by my might [mea ui subacta est facere]. I'm departing to heaven [ego in caelum migro]. (1124–44)

There are a number of parallels between the two texts; the connections may be only coincidental, or they may be causal. Both *Cymbeline* and *Amphitruo* seek to make a sacrifice to the gods and Jupiter respectively; both plays make use of the idea of the soothsayer, albeit in different ways; both plays stage a theophany of Jupiter which is preceded by thunder and which, moreover, marks a turning point in the action and a marked departure in tone from the preceding part of the play; finally both Jupiters

appear to characters in order to reveal the truth of the play's situation and to prophesy a happy, comic conclusion to the action.

Reacting to the news that he has been cuckolded but by Jupiter, Amphitruo, who has spent most of the play in great anger and confusion, is amusingly, surprisingly blithe: he is cuckolded, but piety demands that he accepts it with complaisance. One thinks, perhaps, of the way in which Cymbeline resolves to pay tribute to Rome, undoing all the weight of the action leading up to that moment. Criticism has often remarked on this aspect of Shakespeare's play with dissatisfaction. More importantly, Amphitruo gives the sort of detailed description of pagan sacrifice and ritual in which Shakespeare shows great interest in the late plays, notably in *Cymbeline's* (and Cymbeline's) final lines:

Laud we the Gods,  
And let our crooked Smoakes climbe to their Nostrils  
From our blest Altars. (TLN 3809–11, 5.4.474–6)

*Cymbeline* makes great use of Philharmonus the Soothsayer in its final movements. But Philharmonus' prophecy of victory for the Romans, made in IV. ii, turns out to be—except in the most generous reading—wrong. One can almost hear the Jupiter of *Amphitruo* saying:

hariolos, haruspices  
mitte omnis; quae futura et quae facta eloquar,  
multo adeo melius quam illi, quom sum Iuppiter. (1132–4)  
[Soothsayers and fortune-tellers  
Now disregard; what's done and what's to come  
I can tell better, who am Jupiter.]

The last stages of *Cymbeline* seem nearly to dramatise these lines: Don't pay heed to Philharmonus, the play seems to say, but listen to Jupiter himself. Of course, the Soothsayer's interpretation of Jupiter's oracular and gnomic tablet in V. iv is, it is implied, secure. Finally, both Jupiters, after offering their comforts, their account of themselves, and their prophecies, return to heaven abruptly: 'ego in caelum migro' ('I go to heaven'); or, in *Cymbeline*: 'Mount Eagle, to my Palace Christalline. *Ascends*' (TLN 3149, 5.3.177).

In summary, there is a case to be made for Shakespeare's use or recollection of *Amphitruo* in constructing or at least in conceiving *Cymbeline's* Jupiter. That it could not have been a sole source is proven by the missing elements (the eagle, the prophetic tablet). But certainly in the common elements there is ample similarity. Moreover, perhaps the theophany of Jupiter in *Cymbeline* can come, through Plautus'

presentation of the god—playful, irreverent, but fearsome and powerful—at last to a proper critical appreciation, one which stops short of G. Wilson Knight's appreciative but perhaps too solemn reading, but which goes much further than the criticism which dismisses Jupiter for his supposedly bad poetry, or which insists that he is inauthentic Shakespeare.

*Cymbeline* is not just tragicomic, of course. It is pastoral, a romance; it is manifestly a history play, albeit of an unusual sort. Several critics have given notable readings of it from this perspective;<sup>49</sup> David Bergeron claims that 'the heart of the play is its historical basis'.<sup>50</sup> Some differ: William Barry Thorne maintains that what Shakespeare reaps from Holinshed in *Cymbeline* is 'pseudo-history' rather than the precise Tudor chronicles which furnish the formal histories with their material.<sup>51</sup> At any rate, this historical perspective—in addition to the tragicomic—is important to understanding Jupiter. Looking at the play purely as a romance, some critics remark on the awkwardness, or at least surprise, of Rome's god appearing to and apparently favouring the British hero Posthumus.<sup>52</sup> Arrell writes:

While it is quite appropriate in a romance that a god appear to the hero at the moment of his lowest fortunes to offer consolation and signal the eventual happy ending, usually it would be a lesser god, such as Diana in *Pericles*, or a messenger from Jupiter, such as Mercury in *The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune*. [...] Having the King of the gods himself appear riding his imperial eagle just to console Posthumus and leave him a cryptic tablet seems surprising.<sup>53</sup>

Arrell's remarks on this romance convention are true, but he fails to consider the subgenre, which Irving Ribner classifies as 'historical romance',<sup>54</sup> which is to say that the play is not only a romance, nor solely history. Here, one wonders if Shakespeare recalled the precedent in *Lochrine*—in which he may have had a hand: the title page

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49. Wilson Knight, p. 129; Jones, 'Stuart *Cymbeline*'; Brockbank, 'History and Histrionics'; Irving Ribner, 'Shakespeare and Legendary History: *Lear* and *Cymbeline*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 7 (1956), 47–52.

50. Bergeron, p. 32.

51. William Barry Thorne, 'Cymbeline: "Lopp'd Branches" and the Concept of Regeneration', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 20 (1969), 143–59 (p. 144).

52. Arrell, 'Jupiter's Descent', p. 544; R. P. Knowles, p. 270.

53. Arrell, 'Jupiter's Descent', p. 544.

54. Ribner, p. 52.

declares that the text is '[n]ewly set fourth, ouerseene and corrected, | By W. S.<sup>55</sup>—in connecting the fortunes of ancient Britain with the providence of Jupiter. After the victory against Humber, Loocrine says:

For mightie *Ioue* the supream king of heauen,  
That guides the concourse of the *Metiors*,  
And rules the motion of the azure skie,  
Fights alwaies for the Brittaines safetie.<sup>56</sup>

In Loocrine's victory, as in *Cymbeline*, there is a union of history and romance, which dovetail together into a comic, explicitly providential ending, resulting in what Brockbank nicely describes as 'a golden age delivered from a brazen by the agency of a miraculous providence'.<sup>57</sup> At the same time, it is easy to stress Jupiter's political importance too far. I remain sympathetic towards Irving Ribner's argument concerning *Cymbeline*'s use of history and politics, even if it goes too far the other way:

There is in [*Cymbeline*'s] mosaic of romance motifs little political purpose, although there are political overtones afforded by the historical setting. Few writers of historical romance neglected the opportunity for political preaching which their historical settings afforded them, but the political doctrine in *Cymbeline*, as in other such plays, is of secondary importance, and it bears little relation to the basic problems of the play.<sup>58</sup>

It is impossible to place *Cymbeline*'s political ideas, which are expressed (*inter alia*) by the use of Jupiter, completely aside; but it is also easy to make too much of them.

Happily, when it comes to reconstructing the look of *Cymbeline*'s Jupiter, there are striking presentations in the visual culture of the period. Perhaps the most famous of these—usually given in modern editions of *Cymbeline*—is Inigo Jones' sketch for Aurelian Townshend's masque *Tempe Restored* (1632):

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55. *The Lamentable Tragedie of Loocrine* (London: Thomas Creede, 1595), A2r.

56. *Loocrine*, G2v.

57. Brockbank, p. 42.

58. Ribner, p. 52.





Fig. 3. Inigo Jones' sketch of Jupiter for Aurelian Townshend's *Tempe Restored* (1632). ©Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth. Reproduced by permission of Chatsworth Settlement Trustees.

Jones' sketch proves valuable for its clear visual affinities with the Jupiter presented by the stage directions in the Folio text. Its italianate style might have appealed to

Shakespeare's own italophilia. But the sketch is from after Shakespeare's lifetime; as such it shows a contemporary vogue for how Jupiter might look, but likely gives us little or none of the idiosyncrasy which the King's Men's Jupiter may have had in its first performances. Furthermore, although some critics have, usually in earlier generations, assumed that Shakespeare's theophanies *are* masques, or are influenced by them, it ought to be noted that, without the Stuart funding, the exciting, atmospheric paraphernalia in the Jones sketch would likely not have appeared on the relatively bare Globe stage, and probably not at the Blackfriars—though perhaps some masque scenery might have been made available for the play's very few court performances. This is not owing solely to pecuniary reasons. Jupiter appears in a bare prison: an environing cloud might be a possibility, but Jones' nature imagery would not be called for.

Jones' sketch communicates something of the theatrical spectacle of Jupiter's descent. However, a perhaps more innately dramatic image is to be found in Whitney's *A Choice of Emblemes*:



**T**HE wicked wretche, that mischief late hath wroughte,  
 By murder, thefte, or other heynous crimes,  
 With troubled minde, hee dowtes hee shalbe caughte,  
 And leaues the waie, and ouer hedges climes:  
 And standes in feare, of euerie buffhe, and brake,  
 Yea oftentimes, his shaddowe makes him quake.

A conscience cleare, is like a wall of brasse,  
 That dothe not shake, with euerie shotte that hittes:  
 Eauen soe there by, our liues wee quiet passe,  
 When guiltie mindes, are rack'de with fearfull fittes:  
 Then keepe thee pure, and soile thee not with sinne,  
 For after guilte, thine inwarde greifes beginne.

*Consciũs ipse sibi de se putat omnia dici.*

*Conscia mens vt cuique sua est, ita concipit intra  
 Pœnara, pro facto spemq̃, metumq̃, suo.*

*Ei, qui*

Fig. 4. *In pœnam sectatur & umbra*, from Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes* (1586), p. 32.

This image figures a Jupiter slightly different from that of Jones: although both Jupiters appear impressively upon the eagle's back, environed with clouds, the Jupiter in Whitney's emblem (which apparently originates with the second edition of

Sambucus' *Emblemata*),<sup>59</sup> appears in the aspect of Jupiter *tonans*, or Jupiter the Thunderer, as seen at the end of Plautus' *Amphitruo*, discussed above. This Sambucus-Whitney Jupiter appears as a sort of divine revenger, aligned in Whitney's *subscriptio* with Conscience. The theme of conscience is of great importance to *Cymbeline*, but I would not argue an intimate or causal relationship between the Jupiters of Whitney/Sambucus and Shakespeare merely on this basis. However, although the role played by the Whitney-Sambucus Jupiter is rather far from that of *Cymbeline*'s providential Jupiter, the emblem shares something of Shakespeare's dramatic, theophanic sensitivity. There is *enargeia* here; some might say that there is more of it in this emblem than in Shakespeare's Jupiter. Moreover, the inherently dramatic quality in this emblem seems to have been recognised by the author of *Lochrine*, who appropriated its Latin motto to inaugurate the first dumb show in that play.<sup>60</sup>

This is the most striking and memorable of Jupiter's incarnations in emblem form. However, we may benefit from looking briefly at another which appears in Whitney and which originates in Sambucus:

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59. Ioannes Sambucus, *Emblemata, et Aliquot Nummi Antiqui Operis Ioan. Sambuci Tirnaviensis Pannonii. Altera Editio. Cum Emendatione & auctorio copioso ipsius auctoris.* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1566), p. 246.

60. *Lochrine*, A3r.



To MILES HOBART Esquier.



**B**OTHE freshe, and greene, the Laurell standeth sounde,  
 Though lightnings flasse, and thunderboltes do flie:  
 Where, other trees are blasted to the ground,  
 Yet, not one leafe of it, is withered drie:  
 Euen so, the man that hathe a conscience cleare,  
 When wicked men, doe quake at euerie blaste,  
 Doth constant stande, and dothe no perilles feare,  
 When tempestes rage, doe make the worlde agaste:  
 Suche men are like vnto the Laurell tree,  
 The others, like the blasted boughes that die.

*Nic. Reusnerus.  
 Adiffa triumphalem nō  
 tangunt fulmina laurū,  
 Congunt has vates  
 tempora lata sacre.*

*Integer vita, scelerisq; pius  
 Non eget Marti iaculis nec arcu,  
 Nec venenatis gravida sagittis,  
 Fugit phœbea.*

*Sive per Syries iter astuosus  
 Sive facturus per inhospitalem  
 Caucasum, vel qua loca fabulosus  
 Lambit Hydaspes.*

*Hor. 1. Carm. 22.*

I 2

*Sic*

Fig. 5. *Murus æneus, sana conscientia*, from Whitney, *Emblemes*, p. 67.

In this—as Michael Bath says—curiously composite emblem<sup>61</sup> we see Jupiter descended to earth (implying that the dramatic situation pictured takes place *after* a spectacular descent). He is at once more static, and yet more imposing and close. He is again—owing to the cluster of thunderbolts in his left hand and the picture's *motto* and *subscriptio*—a Conscience-figure.

61. Michael Bath, *Speaking Pictures: English Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture* (New York: Longman, 1994), p. 75–7.

Jupiter's effectiveness in emblem culture is telling. Although there turned to a different purpose—conscientious rather than providential—the effectiveness of Jupiter as a visual symbol is common to both versions of the god (the emblematic and the dramatic). *Cymbeline*, V. iii, is a highly ritualistic scene, and its Jupiter is profoundly symbolic. The significance of Jupiter's eagle, for instance, is well described by Stephen Batman:

by the Eagle is understoode the Soule: for as the Eagle surmounteth all other Birdes, and is swiftest, so much doth the minde surpasse the Bodye: [...] and as the Eagle soareth aloft, so if the Soule of Man, shalbe occupied with heauenly cogitations, that then shalbee enioyed, the Cup of golde, whereby is signified the rewarde of Vertue, in the presence of *Iupiter*. (Batman, A1v)

The commonplace on which this is based says that the eagle's ability to look directly at the sun, as it soars towards it, is a symbol of the soul's ascent towards heaven—or at least heavenly things, in the manner of a Platonic *scala amoris*, perhaps. As said in this thesis' Introduction, it is unlikely that Shakespeare read Batman. They frequently differ, and do so here: *Cymbeline*'s eagle finally signifies union between Rome and Britain (TLN 3799f, 5.4.465f) as well as Caesar (TLN 3806, 5.3.472). But Shakespeare indicates some awareness of this commonplace in *Love's Labours Lost*, when Berowne says of Rosaline:

What peremptory Eagle-sighted eye  
Dares looke vpon the heauen of her brow,  
That is not blinded by her maiestie? (TLN 1575–7, 4.3.222–4)

Batman's eagle symbolises one thing, but the play's eagle is a complex symbol: in IV. ii, Philharmonus says that his vision

portends  
(Vnlesse my sinnes abuse my Diuination)  
Successe to th' Roman hoast. (TLN 2676–8, 4.2.349–51)

But the Romans lose the battle. On a first reading or viewing, this is not known until later; therefore, the eagle *does* ostensibly stand for Roman victory up until the point at which this interpretation becomes untenable. The audience or reader is called to readdress the symbol's import, much in the way he or she is called frequently to readdress his or her understanding of the play's genre. Much earlier in the play, Imogen compares Posthumus to the eagle: 'I chose an Eagle, | And did auoyd a Puttocke [i.e., Cloten]' (TLN 169–70, 1.1.139–40)—though only implicitly Jove's. Indeed, like many such references in the play, this is better understood in retrospect, informed by the rest of the play's copious information. If the eagle is a symbol of the

soul, then Imogen's alignment of Posthumus with these connects neatly, and beautifully, with Posthumus' lines on reconciling with Imogen: 'Hang there like fruite, my soule, | Till the Tree dye' (TLN 3555–6, 5.4.263–4). This is a good example of how *Cymbeline* achieves unity and symmetry largely through its rich treasury of symbols. Sicilius calls Jupiter's bird 'the holy Eagle' (TLN 3151, 5.3.179) and remarks on how—using one of the play's several expressive nominal verbs—it 'Stoop'd, as to foote vs' (TLN 3152, 5.3.180); next it is 'his Royall Bird' (TLN 3153, 5.3.181) and it 'Prunes the immortall wing, and cloyes his Beake, | As when his God is pleas'd' (TLN 3154–5, 5.3.182–3). The bird is royal and holy: it ties together the earthly court and the heavenly much in the way the first lines of the play do:

You do not meet a man but Frownes.  
Our bloods no more obey the Heauens  
Then our Courtiers:  
Still seeme, as do's the Kings. (TLN 4–7, 1.1.1–3)

Thus the eagle offers another basis for one of the play's major structural symmetries. Moreover, this demonstrates, *pace* Arrell,<sup>62</sup> that the eagle in Heywood's *The Golden Age* is less integrated than Shakespeare's in *Cymbeline*.

So much for Jupiter's symbols. Whilst critics have ignored these, they have certainly attended to his poetry and to the dramaturgy of the sequence in which he appears, usually writing both off as bad. However, they often do so with little or no analysis. As said above, even notable defences admit that the poetry is bad, or that it is bad on the page; but it is better to suppose that we have not yet learned how to read this moment properly. It will therefore be useful to look at it—and the dramaturgy and spectacle surrounding it—closely.

First, the staging and use of music and verse in the ghosts' petition: at a first performance, one does not know who the 'old man' and 'ancient Matron' (TLN 3066–7, 5.3.124SD) are. Their entry is mysterious, in both senses of the word: their identity is at first undisclosed, and the solemnity and sacred import of the scene are given explicitly in the stage direction's call for 'Solemne Musicke' (TLN 3065, 5.3.124SD), likely of recorders.<sup>63</sup> The musicians walk on the stage in front of Sicilius and his wife, as indicated by the direction '*with Musicke before them*' (TLN 2068, 5.3.124SD). Presumably these musicians did not circle around Posthumus and continued processing until

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62. Arrell, 'Jupiter's Descent', p. 544.

63. See thesis Introduction.

leaving the stage. Either after or during this first procession, another begins: '*Then after other Musicke*'—i.e., presumably another recorder consort—'*followes the two young Leonati (Brothers to Posthumus) with wounds as they died in the warrs*' (TLN 3068–70, 5.3.124SD). There is some small ambiguity in the next direction as to who precisely is meant by 'they': '*They circle Posthumus round as he lies sleeping*' (TLN 3071, 5.3.124SD); it is strongly implied that only the ghosts remain to circle Posthumus, with the musicians processing off the stage or perhaps retiring to the background. Either way, the action seems to imply that the music continues throughout the ghosts' incantatory petition to Jupiter. The god's thunderous entrance would be a convenient moment for the music to cease. It may have started again—perhaps with notable difference by which to reflect the differing style of speech and metre used by the god from those of the ghosts—as Jupiter replies. The ghosts amplify Posthumus and diminish Iachimo (TLN 3089–106, 5.3.134–44); their plea builds momentum as it concludes; and the speaker changes every one or two lines rather than every four or six (as earlier in the passage). The brothers speak their lines together (TLN 3116–25, 5.3.151–6), as do Guiderius and Arviragus at the end of their dirge for Imogen. This forward propulsion is met by the great sonic and visual effect of Jupiter's descent.

A small but significant pattern in the scene which seems unnoticed by critics is the use of common words and phrases between the speeches of the ghosts and of Jupiter. Both Sicilius and Jupiter begin their speeches with the words 'No more' (TLN 3072, 5.3.124; TLN 3129, 5.3.157). This formulation—of 'no more' and an imperative verb—appears in the dirge spoken for Imogen ('*Feare no more the heate o'th' Sun*' (TLN 2576, 4.2.257)) and, as J. P. Brockbank points out, in the Gaoler's speech: 'you shall be called to no more payments, fear no more Tauerne Bils' (TLN 3197–8, 5.3.220–1).<sup>64</sup> Both petition and answer begin with imperatives. Sicilius:

No more thou Thunder-Master  
 shew thy spight, on Mortall Flies. (TLN 3072–3, 5.3.124)

Jupiter:

No more you petty Spirits of Region low  
 Offend our hearing: hush. (TLN 3129–3, 5.3.157–8)

Each also begins with a description of the addressed. Sicilius calls Jupiter 'Thunder-Master'; and Jupiter describes the ghosts as 'petty Spirits of Region low'. Though subtle, the ear perceives something like a sympathetic key in some of the common,

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64. J. P. Brockbank, p. 47.



rhyming sounds between these two openings: 'shew', 'low', 'know'. This is to say that the speeches and the scene occur all within roughly the same soundworld and are a far cry from, say, the highly Latinate, Roman military and political language used in the short III. vii, where the language is for example as follows:

He creates

*Lucius* Pro-Consull: and to you the Tribunes

For this immediate Leuy, he commands

His absolute Commission. Long liue *Caesar*. (TLN 2204–7, 3.7.7–10)

Next, both refer to some aspect of Jupiter's background mythology. Sicilius says to Jupiter:

With Mars fall out with *Iuno* chide, that thy Adulteries

Rates, and Reuenges. (TLN 3074–5, 5.3.125–6)

And Jupiter describes himself as:

the Thunderer, whose Bolt (you know)

Sky-planted, batters all rebelling Coasts. (TLN 3131–2, 5.3.159–60)

Both are digressions, perhaps excesses. This recalls such moments in Jonsonian masque, which stage similar contentions, as, for example, in the first exchange between Boreas and Ianuarius in *The Masque of Beautie*:

*Boreas*. What power art thou, that thus informest me?

*Ianuarius*. Dost thou not know me? I, too well, know thee

By thy rude voice, that doth so hoarsely blow,

Thy hair, thy beard, thy wings, o'er-hilled with snow,

Thy serpent feet, to be that rough north-wind

Boreas, that to my reign art still unkind. (Jonson, *Beautie*, ll. 26–31)

Other moments could be furnished, such as the contention between Truth and Opinion in *Hymenaei*, which would illustrate the point just as well. Such moments seem to derive from a convention in ancient theatre in which a presented god declares him or herself. We see many examples of it in *Amphitruo*, for example, as well as in the theophanies of the Greek playwrights. These moments of digression serve a practical purpose: a description can confirm a god's identity where a costume or symbol might be ambiguous, or not as well-known. But they are also poetic, offering flourishes of mythological detail.

I suspect that the dislike of Jupiter is driven not so much by his poetry, much of which is fine, as by the appearance of the word 'Hush' early in the speech (TLN 3130, 5.3.158). It does not help that modern editors change its terminal punctuation from its original colon to an exclamation mark, which can make Jupiter read almost

like a Romantic poet. The effect can be to make the god sound like a father scolding children, but this is I think to misread the moment. Rather, Jupiter's 'Hush' is probably like Lear's 'Howle, howle, howle' (TLN 3217, 5.3.255), or Lucullus' 'La, la, la, la' (*Timon of Athens*, TLN 938, 3.1.22), i.e., not to be read literally, but more like a direction to the actor for an appropriate emotive sound or interjection. Apart from the 'Hush', Jupiter's speech is rich in its poetic, classical imagery:

Poore shadowes of Elizium, hence, and rest

Vpon your neuer-withering bankes of Flowres. (TLN 3133–4, 5.3.161–2)

The speech also features, as Wilson Knight says,<sup>65</sup> typically Shakespearean compression:

Whom best I loue, I crosse; to make my guift

The more delay'd, delighted. (TLN 3137–8, 5.3.165–6)

Besides this, the quoted speech also divulges Posthumus' chosenness or election (as Martin Butler notes, a word with 'strong theological charge' (n. to 1.1.53))<sup>66</sup> that is, the special favour which he receives from Jupiter. The god then elaborates:

Our Iouiall Starre reign'd at his Birth, and in

Our Temple was he married. (TLN 3141–2, 5.3.169–70)

This makes wonderful sense of the election theme set out at the start of the play. The play's first lines, a prologue in dialogue, speak of Imogen's marrying Posthumus in these terms: 'his Vertue | By her electiō may be truly read' (TLN 61–2, 1.1.53–4). The word is deployed here, used once again (in the same sense) in the next scene: 'If it be a sin to make a true election, she is damn'd' (TLN 248, 1.2.19), is used by Iachimo in praising Imogen for her 'great Iudgement, | In the election of a Sir, so rare' (TLN 793–4, 1.6.174–5), and is reversed in the pivotal III. iv, where it is collapsed with the imagery of the sacrificial deer which has been attendant upon Imogen throughout. Thinking she is to be killed by Pisanio, she refers to herself as 'Th' elected Deere before thee' (TLN 1786, 3.4.108). The election theme, then, is completed at this moment in Jupiter's speech, above; the previous remarks made by other characters earlier in the play suggest theological insights which are ratified in and by Jupiter's confirmation.

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65. Wilson Knight, p. 194.

66. Cf. Lila Geller, 'Cymbeline and the Imagery of Covenant Theology', *Studies in English Literature*, 20 (1980), 241–55 (p. 251).

When Jupiter departs to his crystal palace, the ghosts' change to blank verse indicates that the ritual of the scene has concluded. There is likely no music at this point. This shows that the ritual motion, music, metre, and speech of the ghosts was not because they are ghosts; like all of Shakespeare's ghosts, they talk like ordinary Shakespearean characters. This ritualistic presentation seems to have been a gigantic set piece designed precisely to call the 'Thunder-Master' down from heaven.

Finally, there is in this scene and throughout the entire play a sort of *Todestrieb*. It is perhaps most evident in the famous dirge sung over the bodies of Imogen and Cloten, which is more than merely stoic, but seems positively to welcome death. But it is evident much earlier in Imogen's resonant advice to her father:

Harme not your selfe with your vexation,  
I am senselesse of your Wrath; a Touch more rare  
Subdues all pangs, all feares. (TLN 162–3, 1.1.134–6)

So in V. iii, the ghosts have come, at the perceived injustice suffered by Posthumus, 'from stiller Seats' (TLN 3107, 5.3.145), which Jupiter rephrases as 'your neuer-withering bankes of Flowres' (TLN 3133–4, 5.3.162), recalling the pastoral of IV. ii, the flowers strewn over Imogen and Cloten (TLN 2604f, 4.2.282f), and Arviragus' long eulogy for 'Fidele'—an echo of Marina's first lines on the dead Lychorida (*Pericles*, V. i)—which is so rich in explicit flower symbolism (TLN 2528f, 4.2.217f). Thus Imogen's pastoral is retrospectively made into a picture of Elysium, though not, finally, a *locus amoenus* but *terribilis*. As she says:

Oh Gods, and Goddesses!  
These Flowres are like the pleasures of the World;  
This bloody man the care on't. I hope I dreame. (TLN 2617–19, 4.2.294–6)

A true Elysium would feature only the world's pleasures, not the care. But, apart from this, death is throughout conceived of as *peace*. As Jupiter says in consoling the ghosts, 'Rise, and fade' (TLN 3142, 5.3.170), implying that to fade into oblivion is to find refuge from care, and therefore to find peace. This passage in V. iii of *Cymbeline* is not, then, intrinsically bad poetry, but full of purpose, pattern, and musicality. As G. Wilson Knight showed, it is thematically tied to the play's overall design; I hope that I have added a few further points which make this more convincing. The whole is deliberately interlaced with rich patterns which seem to have been largely missed.

There are two more subjects to note before moving on to the remainder of the play, the first of which is the Nativity. Some critics make much of the coincidence of

this event with Cymbeline's reign.<sup>67</sup> I agree with Bullough, however: Shakespeare 'could easily have given a firm hint of [the Nativity] had he wished, but [...] he is careful to preserve a pre-Christian tone at the end, with a summons to a Roman service of thanksgiving'. He adds that '[t]he last lines of the play place us firmly in the world of pagan Rome and ancient Britain' (Bullough, VIII. 37). Not only is the end of the play firmly pagan, but so is the entirety. Even Felperin, who bases an entire chapter on *Cymbeline's* relationship to the Nativity, is forced to admit that the latter 'takes place offstage and is only hinted at within the action'.<sup>68</sup> *Where* it is hinted at remains mysterious, but Felperin feels justified in saying that Jupiter (who to him represents tragic stoicism) 'is a divine lame-duck whose term in office is about to expire'.<sup>69</sup> Even more farfetched than the Nativity connection is a new reading, as innovative as it is strange. John Pitcher's edition is the first to posit that Galileo's *Siderius Nuncius*, which published his discovery of Jupiter's four moons and the heliocentric structure of the solar system in 1610, bore some influence on the writing of *Cymbeline* and specifically the theophany of Jupiter.<sup>70</sup> On this view, to which Scott Maisano has also contributed an article (cited above), *Cymbeline's* deity represents the planet, and the four ghosts rotating around Posthumus stand for the planet's moons. This reading, which seems both an extrapolation and an extravagance, probably arises from Pitcher's manifest dislike for the Jupiter theophany, noted above.

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I hope that the above makes a fit apology for the Jupiter scene as a standalone piece of theatre and poetry. In order for Jupiter to make sense, however, he must become a coherent part of the play as a whole. Perhaps the most comprehensive means by which the text accomplishes this is that of what Tom McAlindon calls—in speaking of *The Tempest*—a discourse of prayer.<sup>71</sup> In *The Tempest* McAlindon sees a variety of

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67. Robin Moffet, 'Cymbeline and the Nativity', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 13 (1962), 207–18; Howard Felperin, *Shakespearean Romance* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970), pp. 180f; Lila Geller, p. 246.

68. Felperin, p. 181.

69. Felperin, pp. 183–4.

70. Pitcher, ed., pp. lxxii–lxxvii.

71. Tom McAlindon, 'The Discourse of Prayer in *The Tempest*', *Studies in English Literature*,

prayerful speech, the two most important modes being the blessing and the curse.<sup>72</sup> Though *Cymbeline* has its curses, blessing, as well as other forms of prayer, predominate. The ritual scene in which the Leonati ghosts call Jupiter into Posthumus' prison cell is accompanied by their petitionary prayer. McAlindon points out that *Cymbeline* contains several of the parental blessings which are so important in Shakespeare, along with parental curses.<sup>73</sup> Guiderius and Arviragus ask Belarius for a blessing before going to battle (TLN 2843f, 4.4.43f); and he gives them a blessing when returning them to Cymbeline (TLN 3662–4, 5.4.350–2). The most important of these is perhaps the reconciliation between Imogen and her father (TLN 3560, 5.4.266). These occur late in the play, in moments of high emotion. But the play's prayerful imagination is at work throughout. Posthumus' parting words to Cymbeline in the first scene take the form of a benediction:

The Gods protect you,  
And blesse the good Remainders of the Court:  
I am gone.     *Exit.* (TLN 153–5, 1.1.128–30)

This is a blessing made despite Cymbeline's curse:

Thou basest thing, auoyd hence, from my sight:  
If after this command thou fraught the Court  
With thy unworthinesse, thou dyest. Away,  
Thou'rt poyson to my blood. (TLN 149–52, 1.1.125–8)

And at the conclusion of I. iii, for example, Imogen's allusion to the canonical hours of prayer introduces the idea of prayer, and brings in for the first time those flecks of Catholicism which seem to reach their climax in II. ii (which is discussed later in this chapter), along with the prayer uttered before II. ii, for Imogen's safety by a minor character, an unnamed 'Second Lord' in the British court, and Imogen's own prayer for protection 'From Fayries, and the Tempters of the night' (TLN 915, 2.2.9) at the start of the scene. In this moment in I. iii, she complains that, being interrupted in her farewell by Cymbeline's entry, she could not

haue charg'd him  
At the sixt houre of morne, at Noone, at Midnight,  
T' encounter me with Orisons, for then

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1500–1900, 41 (2001), 335–55.

72. McAlindon, p. 337.

73. McAlindon, p. 338.

I am in Heauen for him. (TLN 299–302, 1.3.30–33)

Indeed, Imogen may utter the most prayers, and be the most prayed about. Pisanio concludes the brief interlude at the court, III. v, with another prayer for her safety against Cloten (thus aligning Cloten and Iachimo, and II. ii with IV. ii):

Flow, flow

You Heauenly blessings on her: This Fooles speede [i.e., Cloten's]

Be crost with slownesse; Labour be his meede. (TLN 2077–9, 3.5.152–4)

Similarly, Cymbeline's address to the gods earlier in the same scene expresses his fear that Imogen has fled, and his hope that he is wrong: 'Grant Heauens, that which I|Feare, proue false' (TLN 1954–5, 3.5.52–3).

Throughout *Cymbeline*, then, the immense estimation in which Imogen is held by, I think, all of the play's characters (save for the Queen) leads to a prevailing pattern of optative prayer. This is not quite petition, which is more forceful in character; this label ought to be reserved for the dramatically climactic prayer that is the Leonati ghosts' near-theomachy. Indeed, in Act V, prayer in general changes. Posthumus, having been silent in Acts III–IV, receives four soliloquies during this act. Since he thinks Imogen is dead owing to his (as he believes it) employment of Pisanio as her assassin, he obviously cannot avail himself of any sort of optative prayer for her safety; rather his prayer-style is through-and-through penitential:

you good Gods giue me

The penitent Instrument to picke that Bolt,

Then free for euer. Is't enough I am sorry?

So Children temporall Fathers do appease;

Gods are more full of mercy. Must I repent,

I cannot do it better then in Gyues. (TLN 3044–9, 5.3.103–8)

The penitential and the optative styles of prayer are, however, necessarily close to one another, since the penitent asks something of the god to whom he or she prays. Penitence retains hope and faith, or it would be despair—a state which sees no hope, even in prayer. Here, in Posthumus' case, the plea—we might even say petition, as though this prayer were a preface to that of his family later in this scene—is for 'The penitent Instrument to picke that Bolt', death.

*Cymbeline*'s discourse of prayer occurs in a world complex in its religious beliefs. It will be useful, therefore, to establish and describe the religious worldviews of the play's various groupings of characters. In *Cymbeline*'s wealth of religious language, explicit prayer, and implicit statements and descriptions of characters' faiths, there seem to be some three to five differing religious worldviews. The British court

tends to refer to the gods collectively either as 'gods' or as the 'heavens', and the persons of this court generally adhere to Roman paganism, though as will be seen, there are differences between the beliefs of the British and the Romans. The most distinct of the play's different religious views, however, is the natural religion of Belarius, Guiderius, and Arviragus. III. iii, the point at which they are introduced into the play, marks a distinct change in tone and religious perspective. The devotion is more explicitly to manifest, natural objects, rather than ideas as in the preceding action. This is to make an important distinction: all of the play's characters possess a pagan outlook; but whereas those belonging to the court pray to Jupiter, or the gods, Belarius, Guiderius, and Arviragus adopt a different religious worldview. Lila Geller puts it well:

There is more than a bit of suggestion that the princes are like the sylvan precursors of the true religion in Britain, the Druids, in the wooded setting of their religious observance and their pre-Christian burial rites for Fidele.<sup>74</sup>

They are somewhat like what Helena says of the 'Indian' in *All's Well That Ends Well*:

thus *Indianlike* [sic]

Religious in mine error, I adore  
The Sunne that lookes vpon his worshipper,  
But knowes of him no more. (TLN 535–8, 1.3.201–4)

As Geller goes on to say, the druids were thought to have an 'unusual instinctive religious insight' in that they were monotheists.<sup>75</sup> Not wanting to atomise their religious belief more minutely than the text asks, it can summarily be described as nature worship. Beginning with something like a homily spoken by Belarius—derived from *Aeneid*, VIII. 362–3—the trio exit their cave:

A goodly day, not to keep house with such,  
Whose Roofe's as lowe as ours: [stoop<sup>76</sup>] Boys, this gate  
Instructs you how t'adore the Heauens; and bowes you  
To a mornings holy office. (TLN 1555–8, 3.3.1–4)

They conclude with a chorus of 'hail's to heaven:

[*Bel.*] Haile thou faire Heauen,  
We house i'th'Rocke, yet vse thee not so hardly  
As prouder liuers do.

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74. Geller, p. 252.

75. Geller, p. 253. She cites Origen and William Camden (without references).

76. The Folio gives 'Sleepe'.

*Guid.* Haile Heauen.

*Arvir.* Haile Heauen. (TLN 1561–5, 3.3.7–9)

This 'heauen' is, implicitly, the sky, rather than a metaphysical, invisible realm. Their religious worldview is pragmatic. This implies a certain fatalism, too (which appears again in Palamon and Arcite in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*). For example, after the beheading of Cloten, Guiderius' pragmatism coexists—with no apparent discord—with his piety. He makes (quite good) jokes: 'Not *Hercules* | Could haue knock'd out his Braines, for he had none' (TLN 2396–8, 4.2.112–4), though he shows a want of the mercy which distinguishes Shakespeare's more typical heroic characters. As Arviragus, who is much of the same mind, says:

Let Ord'nance

Come as the Gods fore-say it: howsoere,

My Brother hath done well. (TLN 2433–4, 4.2.144–6)

The play's attitude towards Guiderius' brutal treatment of Cloten seems—like Posthumus' treatment of Imogen—to be closer to celebration than censure. Nevertheless, despite the play's pains to make Cloten as loathsome as possible in order to make his beheading as far from regrettable as possible, the brutality, the glibness, and the unceremoniousness of it makes certain that it remains a difficult moment. To the brothers, though, the beheading fits perfectly well and easily into the providential scheme. As things turn out, it does objectively, too. Moreover, as Pitcher points out, the beheading even acts out, 'as no one inside the play knows, [...] a hidden revenge story: Guiderius kills a man dressed as his brother-in-law for wanting to violate the sister he, Guiderius, didn't know he had'.<sup>77</sup> It has, therefore, a certain justice to it, even if it were what Bacon would have described as 'a kind of wild justice' or, as Lila Geller calls it, 'a rough, unsentimental justice'.<sup>78</sup>

It is at this point that we hear the '*Solemn Musick*.' (TLN 2482, 4.2.185SD) which issues from Belarius' 'ingen[i]ous Instrument' (TLN 2483, 4.2.185), signalling 'the death of Fidele' and a moment of great, solemn import in the text. Imogen receives a cornucopia of beauteous imagery taken from the nature which is an object of worship and veneration for the boys:

1) The Bird is dead

That we haue made so much on. (TLN 2500–1, 4.2.196–7)

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77. Pitcher, ed., p. 258.

78. Francis Bacon, 'Of Revenge', in *Essays*, ed. by Michael J. Hawkins (London: Dent, 1994), p. 11; Geller, p. 253.



2) Oh sweetest, fayrest Lilly:

My Brother weares thee not the one halfe so well,

As when thou grew'st thy selfe. (TLN 2505–7, 4.2.200–2)

Saying that (s)he died 'of Melancholly' (TLN 2513, 4.2.207), Belarius calls her blessed and invokes the god who will later appear: 'Thou blessed thing, | Ioue knowes what man thou might'st haue made' (TLN 2511–2, 4.2.205–6). Although Imogen had prayed for protection from maleficent fairies in her prayer in II. ii prior to the bedroom scene, here Guiderius associates Fidele with another sort of beneficent fairy: 'With female Fayries will his Tombe be haunted, | And Wormes will not come to thee' (TLN 2524–7, 4.2.214–17). Roger Warren thinks the adjective 'female' important here since female fairies were 'presumably less dangerous than male ones, who in folklore were thought malevolent beings'.<sup>79</sup> Arviragus then recalls both his and Guiderius' nature imagery from a few lines earlier—whilst Shakespeare apparently recalls Marina's opening words in *Pericles* to the memory of Lychorida (V. i)—and gives one of the richest speeches in the play: 'Whil'st Sommer lasts, and I liue heere, *Fidele*,' &c. (TLN 2529f, 4.2.318f).

Perhaps the opposite of the pragmatic, rough, but noble religion of the cave-dwellers is the sophisticated, Ovidian frame of reference used by Iachimo. One hesitates even to call his worldview religious, and perhaps Ovidian is a better word; however, his view becomes more solemn in Act V, where he is seen truly penitent. His earlier view is best shown in the second act, which could be nicknamed the 'Iachimo' act; but it is significant that he retains this perspective on things even after his Act V repentance and confession. Although penitent, Iachimo retains his characteristic Ovidian-mythological frame of reference in describing Imogen's beauty—

for Feature, laming

The Shrine of *Venus*, or straight-pight *Minerua*,

Postures, beyond breefe Nature (TLN 3442–4, 5.4.163–5)

—and, reporting the conditions of the wager: 'He spake of her, as *Dian* had hot dreames, | And she [i.e., Imogen] alone, were cold' (TLN 3466–7, 5.4.180–1); and describing the stake of the ring:

[He] stakes this Ring,

And would so, had it beene a Carbuncle

Of Phoebus Wheele; and might so safely, had it

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79. Warren, ed., n. to 4.2.218.

Bin all the worth of's Carre. (TLN 2469–72, 5.4.188–91)

It can be said that these show an Ovidian frame of reference rather than a religion. But the important point here is that Iachimo prefers an Ovidian frame of reference to a religion: where each of the play's more pious characters fills their speeches with various sorts of prayer, Iachimo makes his glisten with Ovidiana. He claims, early in the play: 'I am the Master of my speeches' (TLN 456, 1.4.114); if he is, he elects a showy and superficially graceful style.

Iachimo's Ovidian version of Roman paganism diverges from all religious views discussed heretofore, but also from the Roman version itself. This latter view is voiced by Caius Lucius, who is the only character in the play to speak of destiny in terms of chance and accident. He says to Cymbeline (who has just threatened to sacrifice the Roman captives (TLN 3333–8, 5.4.69–74)): 'Consider Sir, the chance of Warre, the day | Was yours by accident' (TLN 3339–40, 5.4.75–6). Since Lucius is not, at this stage—to his knowledge—a beneficiary of Jupiter's providence, he cannot discern its workings or presence. To this is joined a typically Roman stoicism and courage:

But since the Gods  
Will haue it thus, that nothing but our liues  
May be call'd ransome, let it come: Sufficeth,  
A Roman, with a Romans heart can suffer:  
*Augustus* liues to thinke on't: and so much  
For my peculiar care. (TLN 3342–7, 5.4.78–83)

He sounds here rather like Palamon and Arcite at decisive points in the plot of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. This stoical sense of the inevitable seems to be a trait which Shakespeare gives to Classical military figures.

By now a picture emerges of a vast play with a great hinterland of religious thinking and imagination. But the question of how such disparate religious views and discourses of prayer can be made to fit together with the role of Jupiter in V. iii (and, indeed, elsewhere) remains. *Cymbeline* requires a unifying principle—or at least an attempt at one. D. E. Landry has spoken of 'the strange unity of *Cymbeline*' as founded in the play's three great dream set pieces. The last of these is that discussed above, V. iii; the others are II. ii and IV. ii. I might add that Philharmonus' dream, though briefly reported and not a large-scale set piece, forms a dream-conclusion to this sequence of three. V. iii presents Posthumus' dream, which enters the waking, material world by way of the physical, concrete manifestation of Jupiter's tablet. The other two great dream scenes, II. ii and IV. ii, belong to Imogen and are frankly

nightmarish. Whereas V. iii presents dream becoming world, i.e., Jupiter manifesting in the world via the tablet, II. ii presents the world becoming dream, as the material Iachimo creates a material nightmare on the stage. But, strangely, the scene is replete with suggestions of religious ceremony. This is set up in the scenes foregoing. I. vi presents Iachimo's meeting with Imogen, where he appears in the guise of a comforter:

Change you, Madam:

The Worthy *Leonatus* is in safety,

And greetes your Highnesse deerely. (TLN 605–7, 1.6.10–12)

In reply to this, Imogen tells Iachimo that he is 'kindly welcome' (TLN 609, 1.6.14). There follows Iachimo's strange 'admiration' (TLN 635, 1.6.38) in which, through something like pretended or overheard soliloquy and with a compressed language akin to that of Leontes in *The Winter's Tale*, I. ii, he attempts to dupe Imogen into believing that Posthumus 'Has forgot Brittain' (TLN 726, 1.6.113). Again, Iachimo takes on a religious language, assuming a pretended piety which he lacked in I. iv:

[*Iach.*] But Heauen's know some men are much too blame.

*Imo.* Not he I hope.

*Iach.* Not he:

But yet Heauen's bounty towards him, might

Be vs'd more thankfully. (TLN 681–5, 1.6.76–9)

Indeed, he seems here deliberately to ape Posthumus' expressions of gratitude towards the gods, as it were making Iachimo Posthumus, and Posthumus Iachimo. He does so again:

[*Imo.*] Why do you pittie me?

*Iach.* That others do,

(I was about to say) enioy your— but

It is an office of the Gods to venge it,

Not mine to speake on't. (TLN 699–703, 1.6.89–93)

And he speaks again—this time, concerning conscience:

tis your Graces'

That from my mutest Conscience, to my tongue,

Charmes this report out (TLN 729–31, 1.6.115–7)

applying, imaginatively, a semi-magical quality ('Charmes') to Imogen and her 'Graces'. This he does again with reference to Posthumus somewhat later when he refers to him as 'a holy Witch' (TLN 784, 1.6.166). Before this, however, Iachimo



That Temple thy fair mind, that thou maist stand  
T' enjoy thy banish'd Lord: and this great Land. *Exeunt.* (TLN 892–3, 2.1.50–1;  
TLN 898–901, 2.1.56–9)

This speech begins as an apostrophe to the absent 'divine Imogen', summarising her situation much as Imogen herself had summarised it at the start of I. vi. The speech then moves into an optative mood, adopting the form of a prayer. As Martin Butler says, the whole final sentence of the speech compares Imogen to a 'pure citadel': 'her honour is the outer wall and her mind the temple within, while the whole image emblematises the integrity of the nation' (n. to 2.1.57). This union of divine and political ideas exists elsewhere, such as in Sidney's painting of Stella:

Queene *Vertue's* court, which some call *Stella's* face,  
Prepar'd by Nature's chiefest furniture,  
Hath his front built of Alabaster pure;  
Gold is the covering of that stately place. (*Astrophil & Stella*, IX, 1–4)

Moreover, the temple is that place in which divinity is allowed to reside.<sup>81</sup> This implies that Imogen's mind is a dwelling place of the utmost sanctity and purity. This is not to say that Imogen is meant to be taken *per se* as perfect, however—certain frantic moments, particularly in Act III, argue against this—but it describes the *attitude* which she arouses in the play's characters. However, there is, at the same time, a genuinely divine connection to be made, too, since Jupiter himself notes the importance of Posthumus' having married Imogen in his temple (TLN 3142, 5.3.170). There is suggested, then, some link between temple-marriage and Imogen's temple-likeness.

When we see Imogen immediately after the above speech—which serves as a sort of sanctification of the heroine prior to this scene, where a severe corporal violation seems so close, but is not realised—she has 'read three houres' (TLN 908, 2.2.3). We later learn this reading has been in Ovid—"The Tale of *Tereus*" (TLN 952, 2.2.45)—but, at this moment, the peace of the scene (which we see in Imogen's short, sleepy clauses and the quietness with which they would appropriately be spoken) might suggest that she had been in some *lectio divina*; indeed, for those in the age of the *Ovide moralisé*, this may not be a completely inapposite term. But this scene 'moralis-

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81. See for example John Walton, *The Lost World of Genesis One: Ancient Cosmology and the Origins Debate* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2009), which sees Genesis 1's account of creation as the inauguration of a 'cosmic temple' (p. 163) for Yahweh to dwell (*ShKhN*, יְהוָה) within.

es' Ovid in another direction. When 'The Tale of *Tereus*' is recalled, so is, for those who know the play, the moment in *Titus Andronicus* at which Lavinia explicitly likens her sufferings to those of Philomela in Ovid's tale (TLN 1592–3, 4.1.47–8). Marcus Andronicus also makes this comparison (TLN 1099f, 2.3.26f). The scene in *Cymbeline* is apparently tragicomic, incessantly threatening and recalling tragic action and consequences which are not realised. As if in accordance with the Second Lord's preceding soliloquy (II. i), Imogen utters a short prayer:

To your protection I commend me, Gods,  
From Fayries, and the Tempters of the night,  
Guard me beseech yee.        *Sleepes.* (TLN 914–6, 2.2.8–10)

She seems to recall the 'Te lucis ante terminum', which asks protection from 'noctium phantasmata' (the phantasms of the night); additionally, Naseeb Shaheen notes that this recalls the last collect of Evening Prayer.<sup>82</sup> Given what follows, we might call this an unanswered prayer, although, given Iachimo's reference to Tarquin—to whom Macbeth also alludes when considering the assassination of Duncan (*Macbeth*, TLN 635, 2.1.55)—perhaps the gods' protection is more implicitly involved than one might first think. The fairy tradition is invoked in its malign aspect, as in Pericles' reunion with Marina:

But are you flesh and blood?  
Haue you a working pulse, and are no Fairie? (H4v, 5.1.154–5)

and the mention of 'the tempters of the night' adds a faint Christian sensibility by focusing on the evils of temptation. It is also possible that these 'tempters' are 'tempters' upon Imogen's safety. This would fit both Iachimo and, incidentally, Cloten. The phrase 'tempters of the night', finally, parallels Iachimo's mention of the 'Dragons of the night' (TLN 955, 2.2.48), separating the Iachimo-Imogen passage off from the rest of the action as a set piece.

The scene following this moment—a forty-line soliloquy ('gorgeous but prurient', Bate says<sup>83</sup>) spoken by Iachimo as he explores Imogen's bedchamber—is near to Spenser's triumph of Cupid (*Faerie Queene*, III) or Dante's *processione simbolica* in the Earthly Paradise (*Purgatorio*, XXIX) in its rapid flow of meaningful images and ideas, here drawn from Ovidian mythology and popular folklore. Iachimo, though a villai-

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82. Naseeb Shaheen, *Biblical References in Shakespeare's Plays* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999), p. 702. Thanks to Paul Hammond for observing and relating this connection between Imogen's prayer and the Latin hymn.

83. Jonathan Bate, *Shakespeare and Ovid* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 217.

nous character, is allowed—like the Queen, Cloten, and, preeminently, Caliban—some fine poetry; his soliloquy begins by echoing Imogen's words before sleep: 'The Crickets sing, and mans ore-labor'd sense | Repaires it selfe by rest' (TLN 918–9, 2.2.11–12). What follows is a catalogue of comparisons: first, Iachimo is self-consciously Tarquin-like:

Our *Tarquine* thus  
 Did softly presse the Rushes, ere he waken'd  
 The Chastitie he wounded. (TLN 919–21, 2.2.12–14)

The comparison emphasises the potential magnitude and danger of the situation. The word 'chastity' explicitly aligns this concept with Lucretia, and Imogen implicitly with both the concept and the figure; but if Imogen is like Lucretia and, moreover, chastity itself, the next comparison is an odd one. Iachimo addresses the sleeping princess, saying: '*Cytherea*, | How brauely thou becom'st thy Bed' (TLN 921–2, 2.2.14–15). This now aligns Imogen with Venus, of whom Shakespeare seems to retain a low opinion throughout his career.<sup>84</sup> Next, he calls her a 'fresh Lilly, | And whiter then the Sheetes' (TLN 922–3, 2.2.15–16). As Martin Butler notes, this is a flower associated with Juno (n. to 2.2.15), but it is also associated with the Blessed Virgin Mary. Shakespeare and Iachimo leave this connection implicit but, given the context, namely the mythological comparisons, the associations would likely have been available to informed, alert playgoers. After a brief expression of his desire to kiss the 'Rubies vnparagon'd' (TLN 924, 2.2.17) which are Imogen's lips, a curious description follows in which Imogen's chamber seems almost transformed into a place of worship:

'Tis her breathing that  
 Perfumes the Chamber thus: the Flame o'th' Taper  
 Bowes toward her, and would vnder-peepe her lids [...]  
 To see th' inclosed Lights, now Canopied  
 Vnder these windowes, White and Azure lac'd  
 With Blew of Heauens owne tinct. (TLN 925–30, 2.2.18–23)

The scent of incense is perhaps suggested by the description of Imogen's breath as perfume to the chamber. Martin Butler would seem to corroborate this: 'at the Blackfriars Innogen's chamber might literally have been perfumed, for synaesthetic effects with vapours were sometimes used in court masques' (n. to 2.2.19). Butler then points us to *Hymenæi*'s use of 'a mist made of delicate perfumes' (Jonson, *Hymenæi*, ll.

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84. For Venus in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, *The Tempest*, and *Venus and Adonis*, see this dissertation's chapter on *The Two Noble Kinsmen*.

597–8). 'The flame o'th' Taper' might recall candle-lit ceremonies, although I hesitate to make too much of an item so common in the period; these would have been used at the Blackfriars, and for the Globe it remains an open question.<sup>85</sup> The taper-flame's ascribed desire to 'under-peep' Imogen's eyelids might also remind us of the hiding and revelation of altars in medieval Catholic worship.<sup>86</sup> Imogen's eyes here, as a glory withheld from sight, take on something—most definitely playfully, I think—of the Holy of Holies. When Iachimo calls her eyelids 'windows' he is not referring to the transparent glass object; rather, this window seems to be a covering—a curtain, or some opaque window such as stained glass. Editors invariably suggest 'shutters'. Either of these images (curtain or opaque, stained glass window) would be sustained by the evocations of colour: 'White and Azure lac'd | With Blew of Heauens own tinct'. There is a human 'white and azure', and a heavenly 'blue'. The word 'tinct' itself, coming from the Latin past participle *tinctus*, a dyeing or staining, might conjure ideas of stained glass or of a dyed curtain. The above suggestions would also seem to be corroborated by the detailing of comparable rituals by report in *The Winter's Tale*, III. i, and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, V. i, and may look forward to Cymbeline's final speech and its mention of 'crooked Smoakes' which 'climbe to [the gods'] Nostrils | From our blest Altars' (TLN 3810–11, 5.4.475–6).

Iachimo's speech pivots around a number of changes of purpose, each of which is signalled with the important word 'but'.<sup>87</sup> The first of these cues his changing from one subject (the appreciation of Imogen's beauty) to the next:

But my designe.

To note the Chamber, I will write all downe,

Such, and such pictures: There the window, such

Th' adornement of her Bed; the Arras, Figures,

Why such, and such: and the Contents o'th' Story. (TLN 931–4, 2.2.23–7)

If the word 'but' works hard in this scene, then 'such' works harder in the speech quoted here. His purpose is quickly to dispatch with the details of the room—which Iachimo will deliver at length to Posthumus in II. iv—and to focus once again on

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85. See Leslie Thomson, pp. 127–8, for a discussion of whether onstage torches might literally have been lit in the outdoor playhouses' daytime performances.

86. See Thomson, pp. 81–118.

87. For Shakespeare's use of the word 'but' in the *Sonnets* 'as a hinge between poems, between parts of a poem, or between ideas or moods', see *Shakespeare's Sonnets: An Original-Spelling Text*, ed. by Paul Hammond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 450–2.



Imogen's physical presence. This purpose is noted explicitly in the next part of Iachimo's speech, in which he moves from the furnishings to the details surrounding Imogen's body itself. This change is signalled by another 'but':

Ah, but some naturall notes about her Body,  
Aboue ten thousand meaner Moueables  
Would testifie, t' enrich mine Inuentorie. (TLN 935–7, 2.2.28–30)

Then, just as Imogen introduced the scene with her three-line prayer to the gods, so Iachimo introduces the scene's penultimate and perhaps most insidious stage with an apostrophe and plea to sleep of the same length:

O sleepe, thou Ape of death, lye dull vpon her,  
And be her Sense but as a Monument,  
Thus in a Chappell lying. (TLN 938–40, 2.2.31–3)

This idea of the heroine as a monument in a chapel will be made (almost) literal in the final scene of *The Winter's Tale*; here the purpose is to sum up the religious aura which Iachimo spins around Imogen earlier in the speech. Iachimo then removes her bracelet. Of this he strangely says:

'Tis mine, and this will witness outwardly,  
As strongly as the Conscience do's within  
To'th' madding of her Lord. (TLN 942–4, 2.2.35–7)

This looks forward to Iachimo's own pangs of conscience in V. ii and iv. As he goes on to say, 'Why should I write this downe, that's riueted, | Screw'd to my memorie' (TLN 950–1, 2.2.43–4). Although a strident, confident phrase, it has an irony when considered in tandem with the later scenes, in which Iachimo is, as noted above, afflicted by conscience (V. i, iv).

As Iachimo's invasion of Imogen's bedchamber began with his reference to Tarquin and Lucrece—a mythical-historical tale—so the scene concludes with Iachimo's recognition of Imogen's reading of the mythical tale of Tereus and Philomela. The scene is bracketed, then, by two tales of brutality, both of Roman origin. Shakespeare leaves open, however, the question of what the point may be of these bracketings by deliberately refusing the opportunity to explicate them. A fairly clear consequence of their inclusion is to heighten a lingering sense of transgression, or even dread, in our witnessing of Iachimo's trespass upon the private space. Whilst Iachimo's harm is not so great as, say, Macbeth's murdering of sleep, there remains a sense of his having invaded a private, even sacred sanctuary—an effect which, we have seen, he himself helps to create. With this in mind, it is curious that as he returns to his trunk—a spectacle which might have reminded playgoers of the 'Hell

mought' (Henslowe, p. 319) perhaps seen at the end of *Dr Faustus*—Iachimo reiterates and ratifies the heavenly quality of the scene and, at the same time, likens it to Hell:

I haue enough,  
To'th' Truncke againe, and shut the spring of it.  
Swift, swift, you Dragons of the night, that dawning  
May beare the Rauens eye: I lodge in feare,  
Though this a heauenly Angell: hell is heere

*Clocke strikes*

One, two, three: time, time. *Exit.* (TLN 953–9, 2.2.46–51)

Concerning the 'Dragons of the night', Martin Butler offers suggestions from Ovid (Medea in *Metamorphoses*, VII) and Marlowe (*Hero & Leander*, I. 108–9; *Dr Faustus*' dragon chariot) (n. to 2.2.48). We know, again from Henslowe, of 'j dragon in fostes' which was in the inventory of the Lord Admiral's Men for 10 March 1598, and which possibly appeared at *Faustus*' first performance in Autumn 1594. Perhaps this speech intends to recall this likely well-known and memorable spectacle. Possibly, the meaning of 'dragon' can extend to signify 'devil', too, since the Latin origin, *draco*, may mean either. The 'rauens eye', Dowden points out, is in popular mythology a bird of ill omen and one which rises early (referred to by Butler, n. to 2.2.49). The final couplet sums up the moral separation between Imogen and Iachimo. Iachimo has been occupied with describing the heavenly, in a role which places him—this is almost literally emblematised in his coming from and returning to the trunk—in the position of the hellish, from which perspective he looks on Imogen, creating an image reminiscent of Dives looking up at Lazarus and Abraham from Hell (Luke, 16. 23). In his entrance from and exit back into the trunk, that is, from Hell, Iachimo performs something like the inverse or opposite of a theophany. The striking clock reminds us again of the final moments of *Faustus*, and the counting returns our focus to sequential time, which has seemed almost to reach standstill in this brief, incantatory, and dreamlike scene.

Though this dream *is* brief, it returns in the waking world in II. iv. The first of Iachimo's speeches recalls the first meeting between Antony and Cleopatra on the River Cydnus, which Shakespeare also reported in II. ii of *Antony and Cleopatra* in a passage which adapts North's Plutarch. Shakespeare's Cleopatra is described by Enobarbus as 'O'repicturing that Ven[u]s, where we see | The fancie out-worke Nature' (TLN 911–2, 2.4.210–11). Thus ensues a web of intertextualities in which Shakespeare dialogues with his own work and that of Plutarch (and North) and in which a

connection is established between Venus, Cleopatra, and Imogen. This is similar to II. ii's recollections of *Titus* and *Lucrece* (and therefore Ovid). Shakespeare then goes to the opposing goddess: the next detail belongs to the chimney-piece, which shows 'Chaste *Dian*, bathing' (TLN 1246, 2.4.82). These two extremes represented by the two opposing goddesses<sup>88</sup> (and Cleopatra) form a complex and open symbol. This is reinforced by the opposition of the 'golden Cherubins' (TLN 1254, 2.4.88) and the two winking Cupids

Of Siluer, each on one foote standing, nicely  
Depending on their brands. (TLN 1255–7, 2.4.89–91)

Venus and Diana, then cherubs and cupids, are conferred. Altogether they represent the variousness of Imogen's role—first, finally, and foremost as chaste heroine, secondly as the object of a series of (morally) misplaced desires.

The central dream set piece comes in the long IV. ii. Here it is a waking nightmare, and Imogen thinks her time in the cave with Belarius and her brothers a dream:

For so I thought I was a Caue-keeper,  
And Cooke to honest Creatures. But 'tis not so:  
'Twas but a bolt of nothing, shot at nothing,  
Which the Braine makes of Fumes. (TLN 2620–3, 4.2.297–300)

Michael Taylor writes of this part that '[i]n structural and emotional terms Imogen's degradation in act 4, scene 2 marks a watershed in the play's action; after it, with almost every wink of the eye some new grace will be born'.<sup>89</sup> Although Shakespeare does not signal the division as starkly as he does in *The Winter's Tale* by using Time, the division is undoubtedly there. Acts I–III are given over to malevolence. The fourth begins to work a change; Act V stages repentance, revelation, and reunion. Before moving to these new graces, an aspect of Imogen's 'degradation' (as Michael Taylor has it) should be addressed, namely when she mistakes Cloten for Posthumus. She says:

A headlesse man? The Garments of *Posthumus*?  
I know the shape of's Legge: this is his Hand:  
His Foote Mercuriall: his martiall Thigh  
The brawnes of *Hercules*: but his Iouiall face—

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88. For more on their opposition, see the excursus on *Faerie Queene*, III. vi, in this dissertation's chapter on *The Two Noble Kinsmen*.

89. Michael Taylor, p. 98.

Murther in heauen? How? 'tis gone. (TLN 2630–4, 4.2.307–11)

Ann Thompson is right to see a slight echo of *Titus Andronicus* in the Cloten and Imogen episode and, moreover, of Marcus' speech on seeing Lavinia's mutilation (TLN 1086f, 2.3.13f) in Imogen's speech here.<sup>90</sup> Both Marcus and Imogen believe at first that they are dreaming. Imogen says: 'The Dreame's heere still: euen when I wake it is | Without me, as within me: not imagin'd, felt' (TLN 2628–9, 4.2.305–6). Thompson focuses on the use of 'dramatic time' in both moments to effect 'a strange slowing down of event and response so that we are forced to concentrate on the horror'.<sup>91</sup> The moment is also (as Thompson notes<sup>92</sup>) the key moment of misrecognition or misperception in the play. Posthumus' misunderstanding of his wife as false perhaps has a greater effect on the plot, but it does not form a central set piece as this does, which occupies the very centre of the play. This central part, moreover, represents the lowest fortunes of both characters, and these flow from their respective crucial misrecognitions. The piece is also a blazon, albeit with the usual order (head to foot) reversed; thus it parodies a Petrarchan convention just as Iachimo's speech in II. ii had ('Rubies vnparagon'd' (TLN 924, 2.2.17)). Finally, although Posthumus and Imogen have both been several times made godlike in the speeches of other characters, this is the only occasion on which Cloten receives such praise. There is a joke here, but also a pity that it is the, as Guiderius says, 'empty purse' (TLN 2396, 4.2.112) of Cloten's brainless head that marks the difference between him and Posthumus. Meanwhile Posthumus is, once again, linked to the god who will appear to him in the next act and, in so doing, complement and complete the play's dream structure.

*Cymbeline*, in conclusion, is often described as a history play, a romance, a tragicomedy, or some blend of these and others. These are good, useful labels which have been useful in thinking through the play in this chapter. But the play has hardly been recognised, to the best of my present knowledge, as a religious play. I hope that this chapter, though not an exhaustive reading of the religious mind of *Cymbeline*, can win for the play some of the deserved recognition as a work through-and-through religious in its interests.

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90. 'Philomel in *Titus Andronicus* and *Cymbeline*', *Shakespeare Survey*, 31 (1978), 23–32 (pp. 23, 30).

91. Thompson, p. 30.

92. Thompson, p. 31.

## *The Winter's Tale*

*From you haue I beene absent in the spring,  
When proud pide Aprill (drest in all his trim)  
Hath put a spirit of youth in euery thing:  
That heauie Saturne laught and leapt with him.*  
Shakespeare, Sonnet 98, 1–4

Whereas *Pericles* and *Cymbeline* are monotheistic plays—inasmuch as each presents one overt theophany and one deity—*The Winter's Tale* is the first polytheistic play of the set, presenting an assortment of gods, or at least an assortment of possible gods. The play may seem not to give predominance to any one when compared with the clear centrality of Diana to *Pericles* and of Jupiter to *Cymbeline*. However, there does seem to be an implicit divine hierarchy, which this chapter aims to describe. The meaning and significance of *The Winter's Tale* are ineluctably tied to its central division, which is occupied by the figure Time, and which lends the play its bipartite form.<sup>1</sup> (Some critics see the play as tripartite; to my mind their schema ignore the more obvious structure, which is well signalled in the text.<sup>2</sup>) This long division, a sixteen-year lacuna between Acts III and IV summarised by the play itself as 'this wide gap of Time' (TLN 3368, 5.3.154), allows for the themes of seasonal change, of growth and ripeness, and transformation. Time is both a central theme and literally the central figure. But there is a debate to be had concerning Time's divinity: the figure's presentation is an irreverent, not a solemn, one; arguably there are other objects and moments in the text which appear more obviously divine. However, this irreverence could equally be said to apply to *Cymbeline*'s Jupiter, whose divinity is not in doubt; nor is his irreverent presentation in any logical conflict with his divinity. The comic tone of Time's formal apology nicely welcomes the golden pastoral comedy of Act IV. This chapter's argument assumes Time's relation to contemporary ideas of pagan temporal gods, but does not argue that Shakespeare presents the figure

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1. This division is often observed; to my mind the best treatment of it is by Ernest Schanzer, 'The Structural Pattern of *The Winter's Tale*', in *Shakespeare: The Winter's Tale: A Casebook*, ed. by Kenneth Muir (London: Macmillan, 1968), pp. 87–97.

2. David Beauregard, *Catholic Theology in Shakespeare's Plays* (Delaware: Newark University of Delaware Press, 2008), pp. 109–23; Louis Martz, 'Shakespeare's Humanist Enterprise: *The Winter's Tale*', in *English Renaissance Studies Presented to Dame Helen Gardner in Honour of her Seventieth Birthday* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), pp. 114–31 (123–4).

simply as a god. As with Caliban, or the Weird Sisters, the fascination Time holds consists partly in its (even the gender is uncertain) difficulty in categorisation.

Time is not, however, the only figure of such importance. *The Winter's Tale* is, as said above, intimately concerned with the principle and idea of transformation; the play seems to imply that its numerous transformations are ultimately (and therefore primarily) wrought, in Paulina's words, by the 'good Goddess *Nature*' (TLN 1026, 2.3.104). Since, inasmuch as it is a natural phenomenon, Time is part of Nature, it may be more correct to say that Nature is the predominant superhuman force in the drama.<sup>3</sup> Nature works its effects through the dimension of Time but, depending on how we identify, describe, and conceive of Nature, it may not need necessarily to be tied to Time; Time by contrast seems more a tool of Nature. Aquinas defines Time as 'the measure of before and after in change'.<sup>4</sup> The implication of this seems to be that Nature in Shakespeare (God in Aquinas) effects change; Time is the means for Nature's work, which functions as something like the Prime Mover in Shakespeare's thinking. However, the most predominant power need not therefore most govern the thematic and causal worlds of the play. Although Nature, conceived as a goddess, is alluded to and addressed, Time may prove the more immediately important aspect of Nature. Alternatively, the two might be coequal in importance, each dependent on the other for the significance with which the play invests it. Time acts upon the plot directly; Nature hovers as it were above it all, more like a precondition than a personal, interested deity; however, even this might be disagreed with by Paulina, who seems to see Nature in exactly this way. There is then a preliminary question regarding what theophany—if any—might be our concern: *The Winter's Tale* presents us with natural or synthetic objects: bears, boats, babies, and so on. Natural objects can only be considered theophanic in a pagan worldview, where the gods are within, i.e., a part of, Nature (making Nature therefore the ultimate totality) and where they do not stand outside of it, as does the God of the Abrahamic faiths.

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3. Here, and for the chapter in general, I am indebted to C. S. Lewis, *Miracles: A Preliminary Study* (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1947); his chapter on 'Nature' in *Studies in Words*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp. 24–74; and his few remarks on Nature in *The Discarded Image* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964). Of course, John F. Danby, *Shakespeare's Doctrine of Nature: A Study of King Lear* (London: Faber, 1948) is also indispensable, especially pp. 15–43.

4. Saint Thomas Aquinas, *Selected Philosophical Writings*, ed. and trans. by Timothy McDermott (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 210 [passage excerpted from *Summae Theologiae*, 1a.10.1, 4].

One can object here, saying that, for example, the burning bush seen by Moses in Exodus 3 is a 'natural' theophany (this would be a natural object appearing in a theophanic aspect); it is fairly clear that this is supernatural, since it shows the Supernature—which exists outside of Nature—entering into and acting within it.

Perhaps this chapter, then, less concerns *phania* than *theos*. We may prefer another word here altogether than theophany, such as Mircea Eliade's concept of *hiérophanie*.<sup>5</sup> There are several moments in the play which answer to the implications of this word, such as the sense of the superhuman in Leontes' *Affection* (I. ii); the description of the oracle of Apollo at Delphos by Cleomenes and Dion (III. i); the suggestions of divine justice or vengeance at the close of the third act (III. ii, III. iii); the appearance of Time itself (IV. i); the appearance of Perdita in the Bohemian pastoral, which is cast in hieratic language (IV. iv); and the final reunion with Hermione (V. iii). Perhaps even the mercurial Autolycus (who first appears in IV. iii) partakes of the divine imagination; there are suggestions to this effect, though he is not a solemn or grave character. Critics differ greatly in ascribing primacy to the sacred significance of this or that moment, this or that god, or this or that character. Joanne Field Holland, speaking explicitly of 'The Gods of *The Winter's Tale*', gives the first half to Apollo, and the second to Autolycus, reading him as an earthly Mercury.<sup>6</sup> Tillyard expresses the usual view when he names Apollo the 'dominant god' of *The Winter's Tale*, but in doing so shows little interest in the role of the gods, leaving his point undeveloped as he changes subject to Perdita.<sup>7</sup> The fullest treatment of Apollo's role in the play is given by David Bergeron.<sup>8</sup> I do not share his conclusions, good essay though his is. Bergeron maintains that Time is in fact subordinate to Apollo.<sup>9</sup> While it is possible that Shakespeare may have imagined the play in this way, I cannot imagine Shakespeare's philosophical cast of mind accepting this, which is philosoph-

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5. Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, trans. by Willard R. Trask (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1957), p. 11: 'To designate the *act of manifestation* of the sacred, we have proposed the term *hierophany*.'

6. Joanne Field Holland, 'The Gods of *The Winter's Tale*', *Pacific Coast Philology*, 5 (1970), 34–8.

7. E. M. W. Tillyard, *Shakespeare's Last Plays* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1938), p. 46.

8. David Bergeron, 'The Apollo Mission in *The Winter's Tale*', in *The Winter's Tale: Critical Essays*, ed. by Maurice Hunt (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 361–79.

9. Bergeron, p. 369.

ically and theologically preposterous (in the literal sense of the word), since Shakespeare's Time brags of its great, indeed unsurpassable, age:

Let me passe  
The same I am, ere ancient'st Order was,  
Or what is now receiu'd. I witsse to  
The times that brought them in. (TLN 1588–91, 4.1.9–12)

As will be seen, Apollo and the pagan gods are not and cannot be prior to the dimension Time within which they themselves exist.

Some critics rightly see deity in characters within the play; but in my view they go too far. Marjorie Garber insists that Autolycus alone is the centre—though not as god, but 'poet and onlooker'—of the play; to my mind this seems a bit much for an ancillary character who does not even appear until IV. iii.<sup>10</sup> Speaking of theophany, Kenneth Muir argues that: '[i]t is hardly too fanciful to suggest that the theophany in *The Winter's Tale* is the appearance of Perdita'.<sup>11</sup> This is in fact rather fanciful, but it does point towards that suffusion of the numinous which the play enjoys when Perdita is centrestage. And indeed, there is some truth in Muir's remark inasmuch as theophany in *Pericles* and *Cymbeline* marks a distinct apex in the play, as does Perdita's appearance in IV. iv in this, although by different means—which is as much as to say that this does not make her a goddess, but goddess-like. Only two critics, as far as I know, have given first importance to the goddess Nature in reading *The Winter's Tale*. The first is Wilson Knight,<sup>12</sup> the second Martin Butler.<sup>13</sup> However, both these also make a claim for Apollo, too: Wilson Knight calls Apollo the 'controlling god' of the play,<sup>14</sup> and later conflates the two.<sup>15</sup> Butler speaks of Apollo's guiding hand in *The Winter's Tale* in the introduction to his edition of *The Tempest*.<sup>16</sup> The di-

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10. Marjorie Garber, *Dream in Shakespeare: From Metaphor to Metamorphosis*, new edn (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), pp. 180–1. See also Wolfgang Riehle, *Shakespeare, Plautus, and the Humanist Tradition* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1990), pp. 254ff.

11. Kenneth Muir, 'Theophanies in the Last Plays', in *Shakespeare's Late Plays: Essays in Honour of Charles Crow*, ed. by Richard C. Tobias and Paul G. Zolbrod (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1974), pp. 32–43 (p. 38).

12. G. Wilson Knight, *The Crown of Life* (London: Methuen, 1948), p. 90.

13. In his edition of *Cymbeline*, n. to 4.2.168–80.

14. Wilson Knight, p. 91.

15. Wilson Knight, p. 94.

16. *The Tempest*, ed. by Martin Butler (London: Penguin, 2007), p. xxxii.



iversity of views reflects the difficulty, the rich complexity of this heterogenous play. Since, as said, there is much to be said in favouring Time and Nature as the chief divinities in the play's imagination, figures such as Apollo, or Autolycus with his Mercury associations, Perdita with her associations with Flora, or Hermione as saintly figure must, it follows, recede and be considered ancillary. This chapter, then, privileges Nature and Time in the hope that this offers not a reading in which important parts of the play's heterogeneity are overlooked, but rather a system in which the parts move into harmony with each other and make a total, coherent sense. In the light of a clear groundwork for understanding each deity in the play, I hope to offer an account of it which seeks to understand and to take seriously the proposition that it is one of philosophical depth and intellectual sophistication.

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'Nature' is a complex word not only in Shakespeare, but everywhere else, too.<sup>17</sup> There seem to be two particular uses in Shakespeare which are especially notable, one of which is our concern here. The sense which is not a great concern refers to something like 'life', 'lifeforce', or 'lifespan'. This meaning can be seen when Leontes says 'So long as Nature | Will beare vp with this exercise' (TLN 1432–3, 3.2.240–1), which means something like 'as long as I live', &c., or when Regan says:

O Sir, you are old,  
Nature in you stands on the very Verge  
Of [her]<sup>18</sup> confine. (*Lear*, TLN 1426–8, 2.2.338–9)

But Shakespeare's most potent use of the word comes when the concept is personified and imagined as a goddess, as in Edmond's soliloquy in Act I of *Lear*. She is the bringer of bounty, as in *Timon of Athens* when the protagonist says: 'The bounteous Huswife Nature, on each bush, | Lays her full Messe before you. Want? why Want?' (TLN 2070–1, 4.3.415–6). The conception of Nature as goddess enriches all Shakespeare's other uses of the word, as for instance when Cerimon says over the waking Thaisa, 'Nature awakes a warm[...] breath out of her' (E4r, 3.2.93).<sup>19</sup> If a goddess, then Nature here is that power which (a)wakes the breath and brings (back to) *life*, which

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17. See C. S. Lewis, *Studies in Words*, pp. 24–74.

18. The Folio reads 'his', the Quarto 'her'. The latter agrees with the gender of the Latin *Natura*, and the figure is explicitly imagined as a goddess in Shakespeare and elsewhere.

19. The Quarto gives 'warmth' rather than 'warm'; 'Nature awakes' could be changed to, say,

word, as said above, is sometimes (but not necessarily always) synonymous in Shakespeare with 'nature'. This is illustrated by Cerimon a few lines earlier, when he says: 'Death may vsurpe on Nature many howers, and yet | The fire of life kindle againe the ore-prest spirits' (E4r, 3.2.81–2).

The question is raised of the nature of this Nature. That Nature is conceptualised in the period as ontologically prior to the pagan gods is well-illustrated in the exquisite first act of Lyly's *The Woman in the Moon*, in which Nature creates Pandora as a paramour for the inhabitants of Utopia, awakening, in so doing, the jealousy and ire of the pagan gods, whom Lyly imagines in their planetary aspect.<sup>20</sup> Nature opens the play with a soliloquy which suggests her sovereignty over creation:

*Nature* descends from farre aboue the spheeres,  
To frolicke heere in fayre Vtopia,  
Where my chiefe workes do flourish in their prime,  
And wanton in their first simplicitie. (1.1.1–4)

She looks upon firmament, moon, sky, the seas and their creatures, and 'the rundle of this Massiue earth' (1.1.11) and reflects on them: 'All these, and all their endlessse circumstance, | Here I suruey, and glory in my selfe' (1.1.13–14). Nature casts herself in the terms of the creator of all *physical* life, seemingly recalling Psalm 19: 'The heauens declare the glorie of God, and the firmament sheweth ye worke of his hands' (19. 1). Stesias and the Utopians enter and pray to Nature for a paramour (Pandora), making her status, in so doing, yet surer. Stesias calls her 'Thou Soueraigne Queene and Author of the world, | Of all that was, or is, or shall be framde' (1.1.31–2). The passage on the creation of Pandora is rich and wonderful, but cannot be discussed here, save for a few more hints at Nature's identity. Upon making Pandora, Nature says:

When I arayde this lifelesse Image thus,  
It was decreed in my deepe prouidence,  
To make it such as our Vtopians craue. (1.1.57–9)

Once brought into being, Pandora 'hails' her maker:

*Pandora kneeling.* Haile heauenly Queene, the author of all good,  
Whose wil hath wrought in me the fruits of life,

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'Nature now / thus wakes'.

20. See Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods*, trans. by Barbara F. Sessions (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), pp. 37–83 for the 'physical tradition' which imagines the gods as personifications or representations of the astral bodies.

And fild me with an vnderstanding soule,  
To know the difference twixt good and bad. (1.1.87–90)

And as the theomachy or planetomachy which is the engine of the plot begins, Nature chides Jupiter and the other planets, saying:

What foule contempt is this you Planets vse,  
Against the glory of my words and worke?  
It was my will, and that shall stand for lawe. (1.1.118–20)

Thus Lyly's Nature (in her authorship of the universe and 'of all that was, or is, or shall be'; in the glory she enjoys in her words and creation; in her 'deep providence'; in her provision of the 'understanding soul'; and in the equation of her will with—implicitly natural—law) seems to be the creator of this play's universe.

Perhaps the most luminous picture of Nature in the period, however, is that found in Spenser's last *Mutabilitie Canto* (*Faerie Queene*, VII. vii). The praise reserved for Spenser's Nature is nearly as high as that of Lyly's Utopians' for Lyly's Nature. The sovereignty, majesty, and high status of Spenser's version of the goddess are certain:

Then forth issew'd (great goddesse) great dame *Nature*,  
With goodly port and gracious Majesty;  
Being far greater and more tall of stature  
Than any of the gods or Powers on hie. (VII. vii. 5)

When we read of the earth's blooming with flowers beneath the goddess' feet (VII. vii. 8–10), it is hard not to think of the golden pastoral of *The Winter's Tale* IV. iv, in which Perdita is surrounded with signs of Nature's beauty, bounty, and vitality. Spenser's Nature is perpetually veiled either for her beauty or her terror, or both (VII. vii. 6), and her appearance recalls the Transfiguration of Christ (VII. vii. 7—a numerological significance; Matthew, 17. 2). But she bears an uncertain relationship with God. Jack Oruch writes, 'Proposals for Nature's identity have included God, Christ, Divine Love, Providence (Wisdom, Sapience), a veiled Mutabilitie, and God's vicar or vicegerent'.<sup>21</sup> It is uncertain whether she stands for God Himself, or, like Chaucer's Nature in *The Parliament of Fowls*—which Spenser cites as a source for his Nature, along with Alanus de Insulis' *De Planctu Naturae* (*Faerie Queene*, VII. vii. 9)—she is 'the vicaire of the almyghty Lord' (379). However uncertain this remains, the important point for this chapter (and thesis) is that Nature has sovereignty over the

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21. *The Spenser Encyclopaedia*, ed. by A. C. Hamilton (Abingdon: Routledge, 1996), p. 503.

pagan gods, which latter are, as Lewis says, ultimately 'created spirits'—Spenser's Mutabilitie says to his pagan gods: 'Then are ye mortall borne' (VII. vii. 54)—and therefore 'incarnate' and bound within 'some sort of material "vehicle"'.<sup>22</sup>

Nature is an important figure in Ovid's account of creation, too. The account is marvellously agnostic; he speaks of the creator (or, more precisely, the organiser of the initial chaos) as 'quisquis fuit ille deorum' (*Metamorphoses*, I. 32), 'whoever of the gods it was'. Speaking of the initial chaos, the originator is said to be 'deus et melior [...] natura' (*Metamorphoses*, I. 21). Golding translates this as 'God and nature',<sup>23</sup> perhaps implying the sort of God-and-vicar relationship described above, whereas Frank Justus Miller's modern translation allows more interpretation into its version, crucially taking Ovid's 'et' to mean 'or' instead of Golding's 'and'. He gives: 'God—or kindlier Nature' (p. 3). A. D. Melville also adds interpretation, making a significant departure from Golding's meaning by including a definite article, introducing the concept of blessing, and making nature's function more adjectival: 'a god, with nature's blessing'.<sup>24</sup> The older translator, then, likens Ovid's 'deus et melior [...] natura' to the Christian conception of God, who apparently works in tandem with or is even to some extent synonymous with Nature; modern translators admit more polytheism into their rendering of Ovid.

In Shakespeare, the matter is left, as so often, uncertain. It is hard to say with certainty where Shakespeare's Nature is placed exactly upon this hierarchy of heavenly or creative powers. This is owing partly to the passing way in which characters speak of the complex figure and equally to the possibility that Shakespearean Nature may change between and even within texts. However, it does seem implicit in *The Winter's Tale* that Nature sits in the highest position of those powers mentioned, namely Nature, Time, Apollo, Mercury, and Flora and the 'petty gods'. I ought to add, however, that there is a hint in Time's speech that Shakespeare may think of this idea as of greater antiquity and authority than Nature; I explore this later in this chapter.

In *The Winter's Tale*, references to nature as an active, interested, and divine agent are relatively rare, but these few uses resonate powerfully across the play. It is

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22. *Discarded Image*, p. 41.

23. *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, trans. by Arthur Golding, ed. by Madeleine Forey (London: Penguin, 2002), I. 20.

24. *Metamorphoses*, trans. by A. D. Melville (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 1.

significant, moreover, that the references to Nature as goddess which resonate in this way are made by Perdita and Paulina—two characters who, the play seems to suggest, possess a certain connection to the divine, if only owing to their piety. The first important use is spoken by the one regarding the birth of the other:

This Childe was prisoner to the wombe, and is  
By Law and processe of great Nature, thence  
Free'd, and enfranchis'd. (TLN 889, 2.2.57–9)

Here Nature is imagined as a liberator, but one who liberates merely by following her own processes, or rather, the Laws of Nature, implying that freedom is a natural state. It is as much as to say that Nature has done what she does—by 'Law' and 'processe', by habit, *Natura naturans*. This mention does afford Nature the epithet 'great', but Paulina refers to Nature's divinity in more overtly religious terms in the next scene:

And thou good Goddess Nature, which has made it [i.e., Perdita]  
So like to him that got it, if thou hast  
The ordering of the Mind too, 'mongst all the Colours  
No Yellow in't, lest she suspect, as he do's,  
Her Children, not her Husbands. (TLN 1026–30, 2.3.104–8)

The third notable use relates to the art-nature debate. Perdita says:

For I haue heard it said,  
There is an Art, which in their pidenesse shares  
With great creating-Nature. (TLN 11896–8, 4.4.86–8)

Another notable use comes from Florizel, who says:

Let Nature crush the sides o'th earth together,  
And marre the seeds within. (TLN 2330, 4.4.478–9)

In these uses—particularly that spoken by Perdita—Shakespeare seems to sketch a Nature similar to those of Lyly, Spenser, Ovid, and other relevant writers, but one which is perhaps also idiosyncratic—suited to the peculiar religious world and imagination of *The Winter's Tale*. The play does not reveal whether its Nature stands for, is, or works as vicar to the Creator; the goddess is—implicitly but apparently—sovereign over the gods mentioned, as well of course as the play's mortal persons.

When Leontes prays that his wife's revival (as he understands it) be, if a magic, then 'an Art | Lawfull as Eating' (TLN 3320, 5.3.111), he is appealing to what Danby would describe as a benignant, Hookerian vision of nature and of natural law, i.e., the realm of our experience which is stable, predictable, and so ostensibly law-

ful.<sup>25</sup> But we have seen a man devoured by a bear in this play; we have seen the heavens look fearfully dim (TLN 1497–8, 3.3.55–6) prior to storm and shipwreck; we have heard an account of 'the eare-deaff'ning Voyce o'th'Oracle' (TLN 1156, 3.1.9). Moreover, we have seen the staging of Time—that deity who in one strain of myth, as Saturn, eats his children, thus tying him to the devouring bear. And not to mention that Shakespeare himself also staged lawless eating in *Titus Andronicus*. Eating, like Time, though natural, may be brutal. Indeed, for the Christian—the Christian allusions in the ostensibly pagan world of *The Winter's Tale* are not to be ignored—to be in the natural state is to be bound for damnation. Tyndale puts the matter succinctly and with great vividness:

By nature, through the fall of Adam, are we the children of wrath, heirs of the vengeance of God by birth, yea, and from our conception. And we have our fellowship with the damned devils, under the power of darkness and the rule of Satan, while we are yet in our mothers' wombs.<sup>26</sup>

Needless to say, Tyndale possesses the linguistic knowledge to realise that the phrases 'by nature' and 'by birth' are effectively synonymous, 'nature' arising from the future participle *natura* ('about to be born'), which in turn arises from the verb *nascor*, I am born. For Tyndale, as for any believing Christian in the period (and beyond), to be born is to be born into sin, from which one is to be saved only by faith.

This is in marked contradistinction to *The Winter's Tale*, which is nowhere more pagan and less Christian than in its assertion of the innocence of early youth. Indeed, in this, the text is nearly proto-Rousseauan. There is of course the major speech of Polixenes in I. ii on the innocent boyhood of the two Kings. But more important are the numerous insistences on the innocence of the newborn Perdita, which I shall list here:<sup>27</sup>

- i) *Emil*. A daughter, and a goodly babe,  
Lusty, and like to liue: the Queene receiues  
Much comfort in't: Sayes, my poore prisoner,  
I am as innocent as you. (TLN 851–4, 2.2.24–7)

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25. Danby, pp. 20–31.

26. *The Work of William Tindale*, ed. by the Revd. S. L. Greenslade (London: Blackie, 1938), p. 162.

27. This point is also made by Thomas Kullmann, 'Pagan Mysteries and Metaphysical Ironies: Gods and Goddesses on Shakespeare's Stage', *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, 149 (2013), 33–51 (p. 48).

- ii) *Pau.* We do not know  
How he may soften at the sight o'th'Childe:  
The silence often of pure innocence  
Perswades, when speaking failes. (TLN 865–8, 2.2.37–40)
- iii) *Antig.* Ile pawne the little blood I haue left,  
To saue the Innocent: any thing possible. (TLN 1097–8, 2.3.166–7)
- iv) *Her.* My third comfort  
(Star'd most vnluckily) is from my breast  
(The innocent milke in it most innocent mouth)  
Hal'd out to murther. (TLN 1278–80, 3.2.98–101)

And most important—for its divine authority—is the testimony of the Oracle:

*Hermione is chast, Polixenes blameless, Camillo a true Subiect, Leontes a iealous Tyrant, his innocent Babe truly begotten.* (TLN 1313–15, 3.2.132–3)

Vitally, in order for our pity for this innocent babe and her mother to be awakened successfully, we have, at least for the duration of the play, to awaken our faith in the innocence of the newly born.

Another important aspect of Nature to consider is intimately related with Time: the seasons. Leontes is, as Philip Edwards says, 'the real-life man of winter',<sup>28</sup> time the destroyer, nature the brutal and killing. Perdita is Spring, Flora, the gentle and regenerative side of time and nature. The calendar, or rather the procession of the seasons, is a key part of the symbolism of *The Winter's Tale*. The play sees in its calendar a significance which was not only already (as it were) inbuilt but which also, for that very reason, could be built upon in order to create a density of meaning. As such, the seasonal is a recurring, if occasionally minor, subject, from the very beginning of the play, when Camillo mentions 'this comming Summer' (TLN 8, 1.1.5), to the very end, where Paulina refers to the present winter of her life:

I (an old Turtle)

Will wing me to some wither'd bough, and there  
My Mate (that's neuer to be found againe)

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28. Philip Edwards, "'Seeing is Believing': Action and Narration in *The Old Wives Tale* and *The Winter's Tale*", in *Shakespeare and his Contemporaries: Essays in Comparison*, ed. by E. A. J. Honigmann (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), pp. 79–93 (p. 79); quoted by Marion Wells, 'Mistress Taleporter and the Triumph of Time: Slander and Old Wives' Tales in *The Winter's Tale*', *Shakespeare Survey*, 58 (2005), 247–59 (p. 253).

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Time, then, is perhaps the second most important 'deity' in the play. Perhaps this is owing partly, as the above suggests, to its close relationship with Nature: Nature's changes are perceived through the dimension of Time, the measure of change. The figure of Time resides in the centre of the play—thematically, and structurally (which is to say, temporally). Ernest Schanzer identifies a number of symbolic patterns which undergird the structure of *The Winter's Tale*. He offers a reading of the play in which its two halves (Acts I–III and Acts IV–V) mirror one another at important moments. In so doing, Schanzer reveals a non-linear dramatic architecture, rotating around the cardinal point of Time's speech. He writes:

By his gesture of turning the hour-glass Time marks the great break between the two halves of the play, but also creates in us a feeling of repetition. Both parts of the hour-glass look alike, and it may not be fanciful to think that this fact enhances our sense of the similarity of the shape and structure of the two halves of *The Winter's Tale*.<sup>29</sup>

There is in the turning of the hourglass a symbolic reversal, and inversion, of the play's first half. Crudely, the tragic progression will be inverted into a comic, and the waste and desecration of the first half will be redeemed in the intermingled restoration and fruition of the second, so that the resolution and reunion of V. iii offers, after the play's years of wasted time, the sense of *temps retrouvé*.

Time is, in the period, imagined in godlike terms and via images which are pagan in origin. The figure of Time is—in the early modern period as well as in the ancient imagination—a Janus-faced one. Indeed, Janus himself is a temporal god.<sup>30</sup> There are two principal ways in which to conceive of Time in the period, both of which are summarised by nearly ubiquitous Latin mottos, *veritas filia temporis* (Truth is the daughter of Time) and *tempus edax rerum* (Time is the eater of [all] things). The latter comes from the last book of the *Metamorphoses* (XV. 234); the former, as is well

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29. Schanzer, 'Structural Pattern', p. 94 in Muir's *Casebook*.

30. Sadly, this chapter has not the space to remark on the relationship of Janus to Time (and of these to Chaos in Ovid's *Fasti*, I); this is briefly touched on, however, by Hardin Aasand, 'Singularity in *The Winter's Tale*', in *Embodied Cognition and Shakespeare's Theatre: The Early Modern Body-Mind*, ed. by Laurie Johnson, John Sutton, and Evelyn Tribble (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), pp. 133–47 (p. 135).



known, furnishes Greene with the subtitle of *Pandosto*. Its antiquity is apparently greater than that of the Greek playwrights, who use versions of this phrase.<sup>31</sup> Inga-Stina Ewbank's classic essay on Time in *The Winter's Tale* calls the two different versions of Time implied by the two mottos 'Time the Revealer' and 'Time the Destroyer' respectively.<sup>32</sup> But in the period they are probably more readily referred to by and imagined through the pagan gods Saturn (the Destroyer, and sometimes the Revealer) and, to a lesser extent and with a slightly more complex mythological history, Occasion. William E. Engel refers to both of these by their Greek names, Kronos (Saturn) and Kairos (Occasion); but their Latin names were more present in current usage.<sup>33</sup> B. J. Sokol goes for Kairos, with hardly a mention of Kronos, Chronos, or Saturn, though he makes much of 'Tempestivitas'.<sup>34</sup> It is clear already from this confusion of names and concepts that we are faced with a number of questions concerning who Shakespeare's Time is; of what mythological, mythographical, or iconographical traditions Shakespeare may have thought in imagining his Time; what an early seventeenth-century London audience may have understood (or even misunderstood) in the figure; and how it might have appeared upon the stage in its earliest productions.

Saturn is the most popular way of picturing Time in the period. Indeed, he and his iconography are nearly ubiquitous in the visual culture and the literary imagination of the time.<sup>35</sup> He appears as a character in the *Sonnets*, as this chapter's epigraph illustrates. (This quatrain, in its opposition of Saturn as an emblem of aged winter and April as 'a spirit of youth', could almost be an epigraph to *The Winter's Tale*, which emphasises this opposition via and within its two parts.) Indeed, he appears repeatedly in this poem cycle. Sonnet 19 is addressed to him explicitly in his

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31. Fritz Saxl, 'Veritas Filia Temporis', in *Philosophy and History: Essays Presented to Ernst Cassirer*, ed. by Raymond Klibansky and H. J. Paton (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936), pp. 197–222 (p. 200).

32. Inga-Stina Ewbank, 'The Triumph of Time (1964)', in Muir's *Winter's Tale Casebook*, pp. 98–115.

33. William Engel, 'Kinetic Emblems and Memory Images in *The Winter's Tale*', in *Late Shakespeare 1608–1613*, ed. by Andrew J. Power and Rory Loughane (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 71–88.

34. B. J. Sokol, *Art and Illusion in The Winter's Tale* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), pp. 36–8.

35. For an idea of the ubiquity, see Leslie Thomson, *Discoveries on the Early Modern Stage: Contexts and Conventions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 38–80.

role as devourer: 'Deuouring Time blunt thou the Lyons pawes' (Sonnet 19, 1); and he appears again in Sonnets 60, 116, 126, and elsewhere. Saturn is consistently associated in the period with age and winter owing to his being the oldest of the gods, save for Ouranos, his father, and his mother Ge, who gives Saturn his famous scythe in order to get revenge on Ouranos for locking his and Ge's first children, the hundred-handed giants Briareus, Cottos, and Gyes, in Tartarus (Apollodorus, I. 1). These are apparently not mentioned as frequently in the relevant literature. Thus when, as mentioned above, Philip Edwards remarks that Leontes is 'the real-life man of winter',<sup>36</sup> the appearance of Time in *The Winter's Tale* appears less like an arbitrary apologist added in order to defend—and in so doing draw attention to—the play's sixteen-year gap between Acts III and IV. Rather Leontes, winter, Saturn, and Time all move into thematic and motivic alignment.

In the theogonic myths, Saturn is the devourer of his children, the Olympians. This Saturn is Kronos (Κρόνος). Chronos (Χρόνος), the god or idea of measurable time, seems originally to have been another character, but the two become conflated early in mythic prehistory and the history of Greek myth. One can see how the devourer Kronos with his scythe came to be tied to the Chronos who, as a representative of linear time, might be thought of as the devourer of mortal life. As the most recent editor-translator of the Orphic hymns says with regard to Hymn XIII to Kronos,

Orphism quite early on identified Kronos with Chronos (Time). As Chronos, he is indeed the father of gods and men [as the Orphic hymn declares], since he sired the primeval elements, Chaos, Erebus, and Ether. Within Ether he placed the primeval egg out of which Phanes, the Creator, came. It is according to the Hesiodic *Theogony* that Kronos is a son of Ouranos (Sky) and Gaia (Earth).<sup>37</sup>

Thus the hymn addresses him (in Athanassakis' translation):

Everlasting father of blessed gods and men,  
resourceful, pure, mighty and powerful Titan,  
you consume all things and replenish them, too.<sup>38</sup>

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36. Edwards, 'Seeing is Believing', p. 79.

37. *The Orphic Hymns: Text, Translation, and Notes*, ed. and trans. by Apostolos N. Athanassakis (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press for the Society of Biblical Literature, 1977), p. 117 (n. to '13 – To Kronos').

38. '13 – To Kronos', in *Orphic Hymns*, ll. 1–3.

It is surprising to see a similar image in Wilkins' part of *Pericles*. Pericles, the speaker, observes King Simonides of Pentapolis, who reminds him of his own father. On an almost unrelated, moralistic note, he concludes:

Whereby I see that Time's the King of Men:

He is both their parent, and he is their grave. (D1v, 2.3.45–6)

The likelihood of Wilkins' knowing the hymns seems to be nil: although Edgar Wind tells us of their familiarity to such as Pico della Mirandola,<sup>39</sup> their first published English translation was by the neoplatonist Thomas Taylor in 1787. But it is precisely by recessions into traditions (such as that of the emblem) that the migration of symbols takes place—without the need for what we would consider an original, definitive source text. Tradition allows and offers commonplace, and commonplace in turn helps to sustain tradition. (Thus even original sources in Greek letters are little more than the first preserved writing of something older; this point is made in the beginning of Plato's *Timaeus*, wherein the nameless, superannuated Egyptian Priest tells Solon (during his visit to the district of Sais) that the Athenians possess only young knowledge, since they lack a long-preserved written tradition (*Timaeus*, 21a–25d).)

It seems, at first glance, to be this conflated Kronos-Chronos, this Saturn, whom Shakespeare brings on stage, for the figure refers to his wings (TLN 1583, 4.1.3) and his hourglass (TLN 1595, 4.1.16). (Time's speech makes no mention of Saturn's scythe, though I imagine that this prop might have been used in the first performances in order to make the figure clearly recognisable, especially since the speech does not begin with a self-declaration such as 'I am Time'; rather, the figure speaks in such a way as assumes our knowledge of his identity. Therefore the figure must have been readily recognisable to the play's early audiences.) It is this conflated (Kronos–Chronos–Saturn) Time, furthermore, who stands in Spenser's Garden of Adonis:

Great enemy to it [i.e., beauty], and to all the rest,  
That in the *Gardin of Adonis* springs,  
Is wicked Time: who, with his Scithe addrest,  
Does mow the flowring Herbs and goodly things,  
And all their Glory to the Ground down flings,  
Where they do wither, and are foully marr'd. (*Faerie Queene*, III. vi. 39)

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39. Edgar Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*, revised edn (New York: Norton, 1968), pp. 17f.

Since Saturn is the most popular figure for Time's visual representation in the period, the motto *veritas filia temporis*—more optimistic in outlook than *tempus edax rerum*—is often illustrated by Saturn, though it somewhat clashes with his personality. This fearsome god—see Goya's *Saturno devorando a su hijo* and Rubens' *Saturn devouring one of his children* for vivid illustration of this—comes to be associated in the early modern period with what began life as 'a secular, pagan concept' and which became an eloquent illustration of Christ's assurance that all that is hidden shall be revealed (Luke, 8. 17, 12. 2; Matthew, 10. 26; Mark 4. 22).<sup>40</sup>

But this is not to say that Shakespeare's Time is *only* Saturn. Indeed, Shakespeare's playful, comic Time seems far removed from, say, that of Spenser. This discussion needs, therefore, to visit other ways of imagining Time in the period. Before exploring these other aspects of Time, however, there is another aspect of Saturn relevant to *The Winter's Tale* which needs to be covered. Saturn may play an *implicit* role in the mysterious and ostensibly sudden onset of Leontes' jealousy, and the rage in which he persists from I. ii to III. ii. There are any number of ways in which to read the enigma of Leontes' anger. But if Saturn is a working idea in the play, then he can offer one possible explanation of it. The god does not stand *only* for age, winter, and the view of time as a devourer. He is also associated with melancholy. We see this in an *aition* in Heywood's *The Golden Age*, where the god-king (ontological status seems unstable and uncertain in Heywood's play), determined to sacrifice the infant Jupiter in an act reminiscent of Leontes' treatment of the newborn Perdita, says in soliloquy:

Perpetuall care shall cabin in my heart,  
 My tyranny I'll punish in my selfe,  
 And saue the Gods that labour—  
 Saturns disturbance to the world shall be,  
 That planet that infuseth melancholy. (Heywood, III, pp. 15–16)

Here Heywood is working in what, as mentioned above, Seznec calls the 'physical tradition'.<sup>41</sup> The brevity of the couplet, lacking a long explanation, suggests that this association between the planet Saturn and melancholy is relatively commonplace. It appears earlier in a more thoroughly explained version in Lyly's *Woman in the Moon*.

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40. Leslie Thomson, p. 41.

41. Seznec, *Pagan Gods*, pp. 37–83.

Saturn pledges to plague Pandora with melancholy 'in revenge of *Nature* and her worke' (1.1.132):

I shall instill such melancholy moode,  
As by corrupting of her purest blood,  
Shall first with sullen sorrowes clowde her heart with froward care:  
She shalbe sick with passions of the hart,  
Selfwild, and tounge-tide, but full fraught with teares. (1.1.144–9)

There is significant suggestion in *The Winter's Tale* that the 'Affection' from which Leontes suffers between I. ii and III. ii is owing to some planetary influence. Led to prison, Hermione says that 'There's some ill Planet raignes' (TLN 712, 2.1.5); and Paulina describes the phenomenon of Leontes' anger as 'These dangerous, vn-safe Lunes i'th'King' (TLN 856, 2.2.28). Leontes in his delirium himself says, perhaps thinking of Venus: 'It is a bawdy Planet, that will strike | Where 'tis predominant' (TLN 283–4, 1.2.201–2). Even his choice of word in the famously uncertain speech to 'Affection' (TLN 214, 1.2.138) could refer to the idea of planetary affection, or influence, to use the more typical word. 'Affection' as 'planetary influence' is not really attested elsewhere (*OED* 9 is perhaps the closest meaning), so this point could seem insecure; but it may be that Shakespeare intentionally instils in this famously uncertain speech this notion among the many available. One recalls that the lunacy of Ferdinand in *The Duchess of Malfi* is '*Licanthropia*' (5.2.6), of whose sufferers the Doctor says:

In those that are possess'd with't there ore-flowes  
Such mellencholy humour, they imagine  
Themselves to be transformèd into Woolves. (5.2.8–10)

Though in his excess of melancholy Leontes is not deluded into thinking himself a wolf, he does imagine himself to be a cuckold. In their shared delusion, rage, and cruelty, Leontes and *Malfi's* Ferdinand do not seem so far apart. There are many ways in which to read Leontes' affection, but to see it as planetary affection, as malevolent and Saturnine influence, helps to make this part of the play, with which criticism has had some trouble, cohere thematically with the rest.<sup>42</sup>

It will be useful, finally, to spend a few more words on Heywood's Saturn—the most detailed portrayal of the figure, to my knowledge, in the corpus of early modern drama—before moving on. The figure Saturn in *The Golden Age* is not as

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42. The Turner and Haas *Variorum* understates the matter when they write of Leontes' 'Affection' speech that 'critics find little to agree on' (n. to TLN 214, 1.2.138).

simply tyrannical and evil as commonplace depictions of the god in the period. This is partly owing to Heywood's use of what Seznec calls 'the historical tradition', which imagines the gods as mortals who are eventually deified, as happens at the conclusion of *The Golden Age*. At the start of this play, Saturn, forced either to kill the newborn Jupiter or to be killed, vacillates. Resolved at one point to kill, the exchange reminds one of the second act of *The Winter's Tale*:

*Saturn*. Must I then giue an Infant traitor life,  
To sting me to the heart? the brat shall bleed.

*Vesta*. Sweet sonne.

*I. Lord*. Deere soueraigne.

*Saturn*. He that next replyes,  
Mother or friend, by *Saturnes* fury dyes.

Away fetch me his heart, brimme me a bowle  
With his warme bloud. [...]

*Vest*. Worse then a bruit, for bruits preserue their own.  
Worse then the worst of things is *Saturn* growne.

*Saturn*. Command the childe to death.

*Vest*. Tyrant, I will.

Tygers would saue whom *Saturn* means to kill. (Heywood, III, pp. 14–15)

There is, however, nothing in Shakespeare's play—before Leontes' sudden transformation from rage to repentance—like Saturn's sudden self-contradiction a few lines later: 'Call *Vesta* backe, and bid her saue the Babe' (Heywood, III, p. 15). Though minor, the reflections on the newborn Jupiter and Perdita bear similarities, too; likewise the impulse to hide the baby Jupiter reminds one of *The Winter's Tale*, III. iii. This lost child trope is in Greene, however, and can be found everywhere, including ancient myths such as that of Oedipus; it even appears in Ferdowsi's Persian epic the *Shah-nameh*. It is indeed a very old tale.

Additionally, Heywood's Saturn sounds like the penitent Leontes at the start of *The Golden Age's* third act (III, p. 38) and echoes Leontes' understanding of divine vengeance when he says:

The heauens haue for our barbarous cruelty  
Done in the murther of our first borne *Ops*,  
Powr'd on our head this vengeance. (Heywood, III, p. 41)

*Pericles* is recalled again at the end of this scene in Saturn's expression of contrition:

Henceforth my vnkem'd lockes shall knot in curles,  
Razor nor any edge shall kisse my cheeke,  
Vntil my chin appeare a wilderness,

And make me wild in knowledge to the world. (Heywood, III, p. 15)

However, the vow in *Pericles* harks back to the much earlier source *Historia Apollonii*. This may again suggest Shakespeare's influence on Heywood (and, at a remove, the influence of the *Historia Apollonii* on Heywood), especially since in *Pericles* and the *Historia*, the vow is not to cut the hair or beard until Marina/Tarsia is married (*Historia Apollonii*, 28; *Pericles*, E4v, 3.3.26–9).

So much for Saturn. What bearing do other temporal gods have on the Time of *The Winter's Tale*? The more positive image of Time (apart from *veritas filia temporis*) belongs historically to Kairos, which word, according to William Engel, describes the rich sense of a season, a moment, or an opportunity,<sup>43</sup> as in Ecclesiastes, 3.1:

To all things *there is* an appointed time, and a time to euerie purpose vnder the heauen (Ecclesiastes, 3.1)

which in the Greek of the Septuagint reads:

Τοῖς πᾶσιν χρόνος, καὶ καιρὸς τῷ παντὶ πράγματι ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν.  
(Ecclesiastes, 3.1)

Here the term 'chronos' aligns with the Geneva translation's 'appointed time'. The term 'kairos', by contrast, cleaves to the notion of '*pragmati*': it is *useful*, or useable time. It is nearly sensible, graspable. But it is most likely that the Biblical route is not the best way to understand the element of Kairos in *The Winter's Tale*. The Classical, not the Semitic tradition, seems more helpful here. Erasmus in one of his *Chilia Adagiorum*—'Nosce Tempus'—offers a number of classical resources for thinking about Kairos.<sup>44</sup> An important occurrence of the word for this chapter appears in Posidippus. The speaker addresses a statue which depicts Kairos:

Τίς πόθεν ὁ πλάστης; –Σικυώνιος. –Οὔνομα δὴ τίς;  
–Λύσιππος. –Σὺ δὲ τίς; –Καιρὸς ὁ πανδαμάτωρ.<sup>45</sup>

['Whence did your sculptor come?' 'Sicyonis.' 'His name?'

'Lysippus.' 'Yours?' 'The all-subduing Kairos.']

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43. Engel, p. 75.

44. *Opera Omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami: Ordinis Secundi: Tomus Secundus: Adagiorum Chilias Prima*, ed. by M. L. van Poll-van de Lisdonk and M. Cytowska (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1998), '670 – Nosce Tempus' (pp. 195–8).

45. 'XIX: Εἰς ἄγαλμα τοῦ Καιροῦ Ποσειδίππου', in *Posidippo de Pela*, ed. by Emilio Fernández-Galiano (Madrid: Instituto de Filología, 1987), p. 121.

Although Engel and Sokol<sup>46</sup> both show a fondness for Kairos, the word would have meant far less to the imagination of the early seventeenth century—minus perhaps the Biblical scholars—than the Latin *Occasio*. However, this goddess, *illa Occasio*, is thought of more negatively than the Greek god, ὁ Καῖρός. As with Saturn, the Latin goddess appears in Spenser, albeit in an exceptionally haggish form arising from her almost total elision—in this context—with Fortune:<sup>47</sup>

And that same Hag, his [i.e., Furor's] aged Mother, hight  
Occasion, the Root of all Wrath and Despight. (*Faerie Queene*, II. iv. 10)

Shakespeare's use of the word—though not the god—'occasion' is likewise negative, placing us in Antonio and Sebastian's discussion of regicide in *The Tempest*:

th'occasion speaks thee, and  
My strong imagination see's a Crowne  
Dropping vpon thy head. (TLN 888, 2.1.203)

Thus 'Occasion' seems to be associated with an unscrupulous political opportunism. *Lucrece*, a poem largely about opportunism political and general, offers a fine repudiation of the related concept of Opportunity, spoken by the heroine:

We haue no good that we can say is ours,  
But ill annexèd opportunity  
Or kils his life, or else his quality. (G1r, 873–5)

Her apostrophe is long, and Opportunity receives a litany of charges. It makes the present point more secure that, when this long speech against Opportunity closes (G2r, 873–924), Lucrece then addresses Time itself in another long speech which cannot be discussed here (G2rf, 925f) but which implicitly connects these two ideas.

Occasion appears in Spenserian guise in Geoffrey Whitney, too. She is severe, though not as much as Spenser's wholly negative 'Root of all Wrath and Despight'. Whitney's Occasion stretches emphatically back toward the Greek conception, *Kairos*, as can be proven by conferring his verses (the *subscriptio* or moral to the *pictura*) with Posidippus' epigram on *Kairos*, partially quoted above. First, the emblem itself:

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46. Sokol, *Art and Illusion*, pp. 36–9.

47. On the elision of these two goddesses generally, see Rudolf Wittkower's essay on 'Time, Chance, and Virtue', in his *Allegory and the Migration of Symbols* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), pp. 97–106, and the entry 'Occasion' in *The Spenser Encyclopaedia*, pp. 515–16.



To my Kinsman M. GEFREY WHITNEY.



WHAT creature thou? *Occasion* I doe showe.  
 On whirling wheele declare why doste thou stande?  
 Because, I still am tossed too, and froe.  
 Why doste thou houlde a rafor in thy hande?  
 That men maie knowe I cut on euerie side,  
 And when I come, I armies can deuide.

Horac. lib. 1. Ep. 11.  
 ad Bullatium.  
 Tu quaecumque Deus  
 tibi fortunauerit herã,  
 Gratia sume manu: nec  
 dulcia differ in annum.

But wherefore hast thou winges vppon thy feete?  
 To showe, how lighte I flie with little winde.  
 What meanes longe lockes before? that suche as meete,  
 Maye houlde at firste, when they occasion finde.  
 Thy head behinde all balde, what telles it more?  
 That none shoulde houlde, that let me slippe before.

Why doste thou stande within an open place?  
 That I maye warne all people not to stae,  
 But at the firste, occasion to imbrace,  
 And when shee comes, to meete her by the waye.  
 Lysippus so did thinke it best to bee,  
 Who did deuise mine image, as you see.

Fig. 6. In Occasionem, from Whitney, *Emblemes*, p. 181.

It is odd that here the marginal annotation should direct the reader to Horace's eleventh Epistle to Bullatius, since Whitney's poem is a close adaptation of the Greek of Posidippus, quoted above. It appears that Whitney derived this image from Alciati's *Emblematum Liber*, and translated Alciati's Latin *subscriptio* (Alciati, pp. 144–5).

He, ὁ Καῖρος, is transformed into her, *illa Occasio*, in Ausonius' Latin adaptation of Posidippus' epigram. Whitney's reference to 'Lysippus'—Λύσιππος in Posidippus' epigram—makes it almost certain that Posidippus was Whitney's ultimate, if not immediate source, rather than the adaptation by Ausonius, where Phidias, not

Lysippus, is the sculptor of *Occasio*.<sup>48</sup> It is likely, I think, that Whitney found both Posidippus' Greek epigram on Kairos and Ausonius' Latin on Occasio in Erasmus' 'Nosce Tempus', cited above. This is, to my knowledge, the only resource which collects the two together in the period; Erasmus explicitly mentions that Poliziano misses this: 'Sed libet et Posidippi super hac re carmen adscribere, quod quamobrem Politianus omittendum existimarit, admiror' ('Posidippus has also written a poem on this; why Poliziano neglects to mention it, I do not know').<sup>49</sup> Ausonius is important here since he introduces a new god into the sculpture not present in Posidippus, namely Metanoia (Repentance).<sup>50</sup> Ausonius' speaker asks Occasio who her companion is; Occasio responds, then Metanoia. I add quotation marks in order to clarify this:

'Quae tibi iuncta comes?' 'Dicat tibi. Dic, rogo, quae sis.'

'Sum dea, cui nomen nec Cicero ipse dedit.

Sum dea, quae facti non factique exigo poenas,

Nempe ut poenitat, sic Metanoea vocor.<sup>51</sup>

['Who is this friend with you?' 'She'll say. Say who you are.'

'I am the goddess whom e'en Cicero gave no name.

I am the goddess who gives pains for what's done, what's not,

So men repent: thus Metanoia I am called.' (My translation)]

Although, according to Gibbon, 'a professed pagan'—I cannot refrain from adding by the way Gibbon's greatest remark on this poet: 'The poetical fame of Ausonius condemns the taste of his age'<sup>52</sup>—Ausonius, living in the post-classical era, elects to use the concept Metanoia, which has reached a hugely profound significance in the period as a keyword both in the New Testament, and in the Septuagint, where it translates the Hebrew word *nacham*. (For instance, when Yahweh chooses not to destroy Nineveh in Jonah, it is this verb that the Geneva translates as 'repented': 'And

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48. Ausonius, 'XXXIII.—In Simulacrum Occasionis et Paenitentiae', in *Ausonius*, 2 vols, ed. and trans. by Hugh Evelyn G. Whyte, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919), vol II, pp. 174–77.

49. Erasmus, p. 196.

50. In what follows, I am indebted to Kelly A. Myers, 'Metanoia and the Transformation of Opportunity', *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*, 41 (2011), 1–18.

51. Ausonius, 'In Simulacrum', ll. 9–12; also in Erasmus, p. 198.

52. Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 7 vols (London: Bell and Daldy, 1872–4), vol III, p. 210.

God sawe their workes, that thei turned from their euil wayes; & God repented of the euil, that he had said that he wolde do vnto them, and he did it not' (Jonah 3. 10).)

Considering how intensely concerned with penitence *The Winter's Tale* is, this rich conjunction of Time (in its *Occasio* aspect) and *Metanoia-Poenitentia* cannot be ignored. When Ausonius uses the word 'Metanoea', he is transliterating the Greek word. Had he instead translated—as he seemed to do in transforming 'Kairos' into 'Occasio'—then the word to choose might well have been 'Paenitentia'. But the two words are constructed differently: *Metanoia* literally means 'after-mind', or even 'after-thought'. Strong's Greek translates it as 'a change of mind' or 'change of the inner man'. It places the mind at the centre of the temporal, changeable world, and implies a ductility, a potential for transformation. It is in this sense that it seems to be used in its some fifty appearances in the Greek of the New Testament, after which Ausonius was writing. *Paenitentia*, on the other hand, from *paeniteo* (I repent, grieve) describes an altogether different concept. Pain, not mind, is at its heart: we see this perhaps in the related word *patior* (I suffer), which is closer to the Greek *to pēma* (suffering). Yet strangely—and surely significantly—both describe Leontes fitly. He is, by the end of the play, a mind transformed. Yet it is a mind transformed by means of grieving and repenting—by pain. (Some have doubted the sincerity of Leontes' penitence;<sup>53</sup> this seems to me wilfully to read against the spirit of the text, and to ignore the obvious and copious evidence to the contrary.)

Time, then, seems to be thought of in terms, symbols, and concepts which are fluid enough to bleed into one another. Shakespeare's Time is accordingly an ambiguous, open figure, one in whom meanings are not closed but always rediscoverable, endlessly subject to the reinventions of different readers, auditors, playgoers, critics, and scholars. Although iconographically Shakespeare's Time seems most closely to resemble Saturn, and although in function he most closely reflects the motto *veritas filia temporis*, there persist other senses (*Kairos*, *Occasion*, *Opportunity*, *Metanoia*, *Janus*) which pertain to the play and which, seen as related to the controlling time-theme, make the play cohere and resonate with a total, overarching

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53. For a summary of and a rebuttal against such views, see *The Winter's Tale*, ed. by Susan Snyder & Deborah T. Curren-Aquino (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 40–7; and Alison Shell, *Shakespeare and Religion* (London: Bloomsbury, 2010), pp. 203–15.

meaning. This chapter will return to Time's speech in due course, but needs first to turn its eye towards an earlier part of the play.

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I hope that the above establishes a sound justification for treating Time and Nature as the two principal deities operating in *The Winter's Tale*, without necessarily preferring either one, since they apparently work in tandem. We need to see how this applies to a reading of the play, however. Although the idea of a divine will—as well as the play's preoccupation with measurements of and statements about Time—is detectable from at least as early as Polixenes' great inaugural speech on the 'Nine Changes of the Watry-Starre' (TLN 50, 1.2.1), it enters more certainly towards the end of II. i, when Leontes says:

I haue dispatch'd in post,  
To sacred *Delphos*, to *Appollo's* Temple,  
*Cleomines* and *Dion* [...] Now, from the Oracle  
They will bring all, whose spirituall counsaile had  
Shall stop, or spurre me. (TLN 800–5, 2.1.182–7)

The sense becomes more distinct with Cleomenes and Dion's timely return two scenes later. Learning that they are 'Hasting to th'Court' (TLN 1131, 2.3.197), Leontes says:

Twentie three dayes  
They haue been absent: 'tis good speed: fore-tells  
The great *Apollo* suddenly will haue  
The truth of this appeare. (TLN 1134–7, 2.3.198–201)

The speech centres around Apollo, but is surrounded by Time references. The 'good speed' of the pair 'fore-tells' the 'will' of 'The great *Apollo*'; but contemporary audiences and readers could well have supplied the motto *veritas filia temporis*, concluding that, whatever Apollo's role, Time will be a—if not the—key agent in making 'The truth of this appeare'. (Precisely why this timeframe of 'twentie three dayes' is chosen is unclear, but it is apparently significant, since earlier Leontes 'did requoyle | Twentie three yeeres' (TLN 233–4, 1.2.154–5), and the Shepherd wishes that 'there were no age betweene ten and three and twenty' (TLN 1501–2, 3.3.59–60).)

It is, however, in Act III that the *numen*—at least of Apollo; perhaps others—is most felt. Act III as a whole is really the hinge on which the play turns. It first stages the hierophany by report of Dion and Cleomenes, and then plays out the great dra-

matic reversal and recognition (that is, of the oracle's truth) in the long III. ii. The act then comes to a close in its new location, Bohemia, where stages in the divine plan are carried out in order to make all the necessary preparations for the remaining two acts.

In III. i, perhaps for the first time since the opening of II. i, the play stages a more tranquil spectacle. The lacuna's brevity is inversely proportionate to its richness. Although often singled out by critics for its sense of the numinous, it is perhaps best to start with a critic who finds it deficient. Empson reports an episode from the biography of Hugh Kingsmill in which III. i has the latter howling with laughter:

[Kingsmill] was once walking through Blackwell Tunnel under the Thames, and became overtaken by laughter. This rather old piece of engineering, narrow, straight, and white-tiled, has an echo, so that he was making a titanic noise[...T]he following passage from *The Winter's Tale* had crossed his mind.<sup>54</sup>

Empson then quotes the first dozen lines of III. i. What constitutes a sacred and an absurd scene may not be obvious. Empson spends the rest of the short essay attacking the symbolist and spiritual readings of S. L. Bethell and Derek Traversi. But, whilst this scene is perhaps not *de profundis*, it does present itself too earnestly to be mere absurdity. There are a number of reasons for this. Firstly, Shakespeare spends, as always in important, earnest scenes, some of his most lyrical poetry on the descriptions. But, at the same time, this poetry has a simplicity, such as in the Jupiter scene of *Cymbeline*. It at first appears (for the first line and a half, or, the first three ideas out of four) but a list of objects with adjectives:

Cleo. The Clymat's delicate, the Ayre most sweet,  
Fertile the Isle, the Temple much surpassing  
The common prayse it beares. (TLN 1146–8, 3.1.1–3)

The simplicity seems intentional, since by the end of the scene the two are back to speaking in the brocade-like complexity typical of Shakespearean conversation. Perhaps simplicity is here a device to show off the resonating sense of wonder which the characters had felt while faced with what they describe. They are also mid-conversation when the scene begins—productions ought to convey the sense of the pair's ongoing travel ('Goe: fresh Horses' (TLN 1171, 3.1.21))—showing that this is a conversation they have upon the way and that therefore the experience has persisted in the memory. Cleomenes' opening remarks are a reply to an implicit question (say,

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54. William Empson, *Essays on Shakespeare*, ed. by David B. Pirie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 231.

'What think you good *Cleomenes* o'th'place?'), or a turn in the conversation which concerns the civic and natural order of Delphos—a function which a similar passage possesses in *Macbeth*:

*King*. This Castle hath a pleasant seat,  
The ayre sweetly and nimbly recommends itselfe  
Vnto our gentle senses (TLN 434–6, 1.6.1–3)

although here its sophistication is ironic, since Duncan speaks these fine words of the place in which he is soon to be murdered.

Dion moves the conversation rapidly on to the details of the ceremony itself, which is explicitly pagan in its inclusion of a sacrifice:

I shall report,  
For most it caught me, the Celestiall Habits,  
(Me thinkes I so should terme them) and the reuerence  
Of the graue Wearers. O, the Sacrifice,  
How ceremonious, solemne, and vn-earthly  
It was i'th'Offring? (TLN 1149–54, 3.1.4–9)

The truth of the religious experience which the two have had is communicated in their knowing inability adequately to describe it. It would be too far to call this apophasis, but there is something of the ineffability of mystical experience in Dion's describing solely the phenomena of the ceremony, and Cleomenes' account of the isle of Delphos and the material building of the temple. Dion's report above is two separate sentences: in the first he states what he will report to the Sicilians; but the second is exclamation:

O, the sacrifice,  
How ceremonious, solemne, and vn-earthly  
It was i'th'Offring?

It is therefore to be taken as a statement of true zeal. In this it greatly contrasts with the reserve of his previous sentence, with its tentative qualification: 'the Celestiall Habits, | (Me thinkes I so should terme them)'. There is also something of rational process implied in his mystical experience: 'How ceremonious, solemne, and vn-earthly'; the ceremony prompts in him a solemnity, and this in turn directs his mind

to the 'vn-earthly'.<sup>55</sup> There is in Cleomenes and Dion something of Archidamus' inarticulation:

Verely I speake it in the freedome of my knowledge: we cannot with such magnificence—in so rare—I know not what to say. (TLN 14–16, 1.1.11–13)

Likewise Cleomenes and Dion speak with a certainty and conviction of feeling—they too speak in the freedom of their knowledge—but are uncertain in the manner of their articulation.<sup>56</sup> The most 'theophanic' moment is spoken by Cleomenes:

But of all, the burst  
And the eare-deaff'ning Voyce o'th'Oracle,  
Kin to Ioues Thunder, so surpriz'd my Sence,  
That I was nothing. (TLN 1155–8, 3.1.8–11)

There may be a recollection here of *Aeneid* VI, which spends many lines on the Sibyl's prophetic trance in which she is possessed by Apollo (VI. 42–155). It is a moment of sublimity as much as it is of sanctity, some of which Shakespeare loses in recasting the highlights of Virgil's description in three or four lines, although the former gains in dramatically appropriate swiftness what he loses in poetic detail, reinforcing again the notion of 'suddenness' which Leontes introduces at the end of Act II. Cleomenes' account culminates not with thunder, but his response: his sense was so 'surpriz'd' that he was nothing. As with Dion's implied inability adequately to articulate the experience, so Cleomenes' account agrees with later theories of the phenomenology of religious experience. Eliade, for example, says that

The numinous presents itself as something "wholly other" (*ganz andere*), something basically and totally different. It is like nothing human or cosmic; confronted with it, man senses his profound nothingness, feels that he is only a creature, or, in the words in which Abraham addressed the Lord, is "but dust and ashes" (Genesis, 18. 27).<sup>57</sup>

The agreement between the testimony of Cleomenes and the description of Eliade does, I think, verify the sincerity of the scene as a description of extraordinary experience.

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55. Here I am indebted to William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1902). For solemnity, pp. 37–8, 48, and 75–6 are perhaps the most useful.

56. For the importance of the mystical as wordless versus the rational as articulate but superficial, see James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, pp. 72–4.

57. Eliade, *Sacred and Profane*, pp. 9–10.

The temporal is quickly reintroduced in Dion's reply; indeed it is rather a hasty change of subject:

If th'euent o'th'Journey  
Proue as successefull to the Queene (O be't so)  
As it hath beene to vs, rare, pleasant, speedie,  
The time is worth the vse on't. (3.1.11–14, TLN 1159–62)

Although the use of the word 'euent' cleaves more to its now less well-known meaning of 'result', still, in the word choice resides something of the sense of *Occasio*, an opportune and singular moment, upon which great consequences will hang; this is proven to be so. The temporal suggestions are revealed increasingly in the words 'successful' and 'speedie'. The final line, mentioning time explicitly, although platitudinous—it is effectively the same as to say 'then it is time well-spent'—realises the suggestions in 'euent' and 'succesful', and 'speedie' by the explicit mention of Time. Dion closes III. i in a similar manner to that in which Leontes closed II. iii, saying that 'something rare | Euen then will rush to knowledge' (TLN 1170–71, 3.1.20–21). Here the intensifying phrase 'Euen then' acts something like Leontes' 'suddenly', but the key word here is the verb 'to rush': the time is precipitous, opportune, calamitous. It is a fulness or copiousness of time's potential which will 'rush to knowledge'.

III. ii is one of the great pivots in the plot, but all that needs detain the chapter here is to note the role of piety and impiety in the plot's crucial reversal. Upon the reading out of the plain and clear response of the Oracle by the Officer, a little volley of prayers and praises issue from the immediate audience and those involved:

*Lords.* Now blessed be the great *Apollo*.  
*Her.* Praysed. (TLN 1317–18, 3.2.137–8)

All of these signals of the general Sicilian piety lead the way to Leontes' catastrophic refusal: 'There is no truth at all i'th'Oracle: | The Sessions shall proceed: this is meere falsehood' (TLN 1321–2, 3.2.140–1). This is met immediately by the news of Mamillius' death, and this in turn is met by Leontes' volte-face: '*Apollo's* angry, and the Heauens themselues | Doe strike at my Iniustice' (TLN 1330–1, 3.2.146–7). But this volte-face—perhaps a better description is 'sudden conversion'—presents just the first moments of Leontes' repentance, with which the remaining ninety lines or so of the scene are chiefly concerned, and which will be one of the principal subjects of the rest of the play. The King repents instantly of all of his accusations:

I haue too much beleeu'd mine owne suspition:  
[...] *Apollo* pardon  
My great prophanenesse 'gainst thine Oracle.



Ile reconcile me to *Polixenes*,  
New woe [i.e., woo] my Queene, recall the good *Camillo*  
(Whom I proclaime a man of Truth, of Mercy:). (TLN 1336–42, 3.3.150–57)

Leontes has begun to repent; we might then ask for what purpose it is that Paulina comes onstage in order to deepen and make more bitter that repentance in the manner of (in Anna Jameson's words) 'a very termagant, [...] yet a poetical termagant in her way'.<sup>58</sup> Whatever we make of it, it ought to be noted that the first words of her tirade are focused on the time: 'Woe the while' (3.2.172, TLN 1258)—which is as much as to bemoan the present moment. This occasion, which proves to be the propitious moment in which truth is brought to light and Leontes' tyranny is ended, seems at this point to be the nadir of each character's fortunes. The formulation *veritas filia temporis* has not worked itself fully out at this point. A curious statement is made, by Paulina, concerning the divine justice which most viewers would consider already to be acted out. She says that 'vengeance for't' is 'Not drop'd down yet' (TLN 1388–9, 3.2.201–2). If she is right, this punishment is (presumably) the next sixteen years' penitence and apparently total bereavement. This is a punishment in which Paulina plays, again in accordance with her implied role as a heavenly actor, or mediator, an important role.

III. iii is the scene in which the remainder of the divine vengeance—or justice—is carried out. It is done largely by *natural* means—although there is some departure from the usual appearances of Nature revealed in what are nearly Antigonus' final words: 'I neuer saw | The heauens so dim, by day' (TLN 1497–8, 3.3.55–6). The aspect of time related to destruction—*Kronos*- or *Saturnus*-time—appears within the very earliest lines for, as says the Mariner, 'I (my Lord) and feare | We haue landed in ill time' (TLN 1441–2, 3.2.2–3). The word 'aspect' is no accident, since the natural world almost seems to show a face—with all the intentionality which this implies—to the men: 'the skies look grimly, | And threaten present blusters' (TLN 1442–3, 3.2.3–4); 'The day frownes more and more' (TLN 1496, 3.3.54). This prompts the subject of conscience, which becomes important in deducing from the mysteries of Antigonus' dream the right conclusions. The Mariner says:

In my conscience  
The heauens with what we haue in hand, are angry,  
And frowne vpon's. (TLN 1443–5, 3.2.4–6)

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58. p. 33 in Muir's *WT Casebook* (originally from *Shakespeare's Heroines*, 1833).

In the face of such terror, Antigonus is resolutely pious, even if the cost is his demise: 'Their sacred wil's be done' (TLN 1446, 3.2.7); with such words, indeed, and especially considering the suggestions in his dream, which he is about to relate, he seems nearly to welcome and even to urge on his death, as though in tacit knowledge of the instrumental role to be played by his living actions and death.

On to Antigonus' dream: since Hermione is alive (although at this point an audience new to the play would not be aware of this; thus the understanding of this passage changes depending on one's perspective), we can reasonably conclude that Antigonus' vision of the Queen is a 'prick of conscience', much as with Clarence's dream in *Richard III*. Indeed, the two plays here share some common imagery. Firstly Clarence's dream of conscience occurs in the context of nautical disaster:

Me thought that Gloucester stumbled, and in falling  
Strooke me (that thought to stay him) ouer-boord,  
Into the tumbling billowes of the maine [...]  
Me thoughts, I saw a thousand fearfull wrackes:  
A thousand men that Fishes gnaw'd vpon:  
Wedges of Gold, great Anchors, heapes of Pearle. (TLN 854–6, 1.4.18–20; TLN  
860–2, 1.4.24–6)

Moreover, Edward, the Prince of Wales, killed at Tewkesbury, one of Clarence's dreamt accusers, resembles Antigonus' dream-Hermione closely:

Then came wand'ring by  
A Shadow like an Angell, with bright hayre  
Dabbel'd in blood, and he shriek'd alowd  
Clarence is come, false, fleeting, periur'd Clarence,  
That stabb'd me in the field by Tewkesbury. (TLN 888–92, 1.4.52–6)

Likewise Hermione at first appears angelic:

in pure white Robes  
Like very sanctity she did approach  
My Cabine where I lay (3.3.22–4, TLN 1464–6)

but possesses a terrifying aspect, too: 'and so, with shriekes | She melted into Ayre' (TLN 1478–9, 3.3.46–7). Like Edward, Prince of Wales, she curses the dreamer.

The dream-Hermione is not Hermione herself, but the invention of Antigonus' conscience. Whence Antigonus' conscience and its inventions come is another matter. Do Antigonus' dream, conscience, and their invention come from a divine agent? The suggestion in the text certainly seems to be that it is Apollo. The classical or pagan nature of the dream is suggested by implicitly associating

Hermione with a 'furie' (TLN 1468, 3.3.26). This disparity between the two Hermiones, even within this vision, argues for dream-Hermione as an image appropriated by the conscience, the divine powers, for this microcosmic revenge tragedy (hence 'furie', a word used tellingly in *The Tempest*, as will be seen). The other telling 'pagan' reference is to 'Fate' (TLN 1470, 3.3.28)—a hopeless, un-Christian alternative to the more propitious providence. This is again another revealing word, which tells us that this is not the Hermione who says: 'this Action I now goe on, | Is for my better grace' (TLN 729–30, 2.1.121–2), but something rather more like a puppet, a cipher, or a mask. If the dream does come from a divine source, this makes of the command to name the baby 'Perdita' (TLN 1475, 3.3.33) a logical part of the providential plan, and ties it to Apollo's Oracle. The effect of the dream is such as to reverse Antigonus' entire habit of belief regarding the meaning of dreams:

Dreames, are toyes,  
Yet for this once, yea superstitiously,  
I will be squar'd by this. (TLN 1481–3, 3.3.39–41)

By this scene, his will is constrained—cursed—not just by his oath to Leontes ('most accurst am I | To be by oath enioyn'd to this' (TLN 1494–5, 3.3.52–3)), but is influenced by the divine powers working forcefully and clearly in this part of the play.

Just as Apollo enacted vengeance upon Leontes by way of the death of Mamillius, so the bear—as it were, a minister of the heavenly powers—works as something like a revenger for its brief few seconds on stage. As Nevill Coghill writes, the bear 'symbolizes the revenge of Nature on the servant of a corrupted court'.<sup>59</sup> If this is correct, it follows that the shipwreck is a similar carrying out of the divine will. However, even if this divine agency is Apollo's, still, as we said in the introduction to this chapter, Nature remains something like the sur-, or master category under which all other phenomena—even the divine workings of Apollo, since he is, again, within Nature—are necessarily gathered. In its act of devouring, on the one hand, the bear clearly relates to what we have been saying on the themes of *Kronos-Saturnus*, or the *tempus edax* theme. On the other hand, the bear can be seen as an agent of Apollo's will; or it can be read as a natural phenomenon in which can be seen the working out of the divine will through *providentia ordinaria*—a providence that works itself out without contravening the 'laws' of nature.

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59. Nevill Coghill, 'Six Points of Stage-craft (1958)', in Muir's *WT Casebook*, p. 204.

Are we also to read the bear's eating of Antigonus as a morbid variation on the commonplace which says that a bear licks its cub into shape? Perdita is not, of course, the bear's cub, but inasmuch as she is a child of nature who seems to be protected by it (via, again, the divine will), perhaps we can read this as the answering of Antigonus' own prayer at the end of Act II:

Come on (poore Babe)  
Some powerfull Spirit instruct the Kytes and Rauens  
To be thy Nurses. Wolues and Beares, they say,  
(Casting their sauagenesse aside) haue done  
Like offices of Pitty. (TLN 1117–21, 2.3.185–9)

Perhaps we can even read the juxtaposition of Hermione as a revenging spirit with the appearance of the bear as somehow linked—not causally, but joined by a common *telos*: the revenge, or justice to be carried out on Antigonus and (in doing this) the satisfaction of the plot's requirements (both for playwright, and for the divine powers).

As mentioned, Coghill writes that the bear is the first signal of the comic world into which we are moving; its ludicrousness and its severity serve, in one swift action, to meld the comic and the tragic: Antigonus' tragic, and gruesome, end is the beginning of the comedy. As said under this chapter's heading on Time, this is a moment of temporal and generic blending: it is a moment truly in the spirit of Janus—two-faced, and at once chaotic and ordered.<sup>60</sup> If the bear is the first hint of the comic, then the note is sounded with the highest clarity as this action gives way to the wonderful grouchiness of the Shepherd. Naturally, his first implicit concern is to do with Time; his focus is on its aspect in the form of age, and the seasons of life:

I would there were no age betweene ten and three and twenty, or that youth would sleep out the rest: for there is nothing (in betweene) but getting wenches with childe, wronging the Auncientry, stealing, fighting, hearke you now: would any but these boylde-braines of nineteene, and two and twenty hunt this weather? They haue scarr'd away two of my best Sheepe, which I feare the Wolfe will sooner finde then the Maister. (TLN 1501–9, 3.3.59–67)

But what the Shepherd does not realise in his complaints is that in his attention to this form of time—the typical, indeed, the disappointingly predictable—he overlooks the possibility of *Kairos-Occasio*, of the opportune moment into which, unbeknownst to him for the next few lines, he has just wandered. However, his utter-

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60. Nevill Coghill 'Six Points of Stagecraft (1958)', p. 203 in Muir's *Winter's Tale Casebook*.

ances—half to himself, half to an unspecified deity—also quite without knowing it, are most appropriate: 'Good-lucke (and't be thy will) what haue we heere? Mercy on's, a Barne?' (TLN 1510–11, 3.3.69–70). Again, without knowing it himself, the Shepherd signals the new genre, this time with a focus on the tale, rather than comedy *per se*: 'If thou'lt see a thing to talke on, when thou art dead and rotten, come hither' (TLN 1522–3, 3.3.81–2). Appropriately, the three distinct senses of genre are all confused—in every sense of the word—in the Clown's reports (TLN 1525–47, 3.3.84–123).

Next follows the much-quoted remark, 'Now blesse thy selfe: thou met'st with things dying, I with things new borne' (TLN 1553–4, 3.3.114–5), which signals the crux, the turning point at which the play now arrives.<sup>61</sup> Crux may be the most apt word since, if the Clown is to bless himself (with the sign of the cross), then on stage one sees the crux visually drawn. This would underscore the profound change in dramatic mood (for the cross is that centre around which creation changes and is made wholly new), and perhaps even of world (from pagan and tragic to Christian and comic). The two characters continue with immediate inferences to the super-human in their discovery of the baby and the gold:

[*Shep.*] it was told me I should be rich by the Fairies. This is some Changeling:  
open't: what's within, boy?

*Clo.* You're a mad[e]<sup>62</sup> old man: If the sinnes of your youth are forgiuen you,  
you're well to liue. Golde, all Gold.

*Shep.* This is Faiery Gold boy, and 'twill proue so: vp with't, keepe it close:  
home, home, the next way. We are luckie (boy) and to bee so still requires  
nothing but secrecie. Let my sheepe go: Come (good boy) the next way home.  
(TLN 1556–66, 3.3.116–27)

The change is one of genre: the tragic world of Apollo subsides (since it of course operates in Bohemia too, as we have just seen, the change is not based on place, but Time) and there arises a fabulous world of fairies and changelings. Just as the Shepherd opened this part of the scene with a catalogue of the sins of youth, so we are reminded via the Psalms—'Remember not the sinnes of my youth' (Psalms, 25.7)<sup>63</sup>—of

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61. Andrew Gurr, 'The Bear, the Statue, and Hysteria in *The Winter's Tale*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 34 (1983), 420–5.

62. The emendation of the Folio's *mad* to *made* seems to be a secure one, although an unconnected jibe at the Shepherd's 'madness' would not be inappropriate for the tone of the scene, or out of character for the Clown.

63. Naseeb Shaheen, *Biblical References in Shakespeare's Plays* (Newark: University of

the possibility of his being a participant in them, at an earlier stage of life. We are brought back into the contemplation, briefly, of the 'ages of man', and so the seasonal aspect of time inherent in human life, once again. The scene concludes with a view of the particularly pragmatic piety of the Shepherd:

*Shep.* That's a good deed: if thou mayest discern by that which is left of him [i.e., Antigonus], what he is, fetch me to th'sight of him.

*Clowne.* 'Marry will I: and you shall helpe to put him i'th'ground.

*Shep.* 'Tis a lucky day, boy, and wee'l do good deeds on't. (TLN 1571–7, 3.3.33–9)

The Shepherd seems to want to do good deeds from a spirit of gratitude and genuine piety (without gravity, I hasten to add), and not as insurance. It is tempting to connect this moment—and others—to the Reformation controversy concerning salvation by grace or works; but, since the Shepherd is not here concerned with the salvation of his soul, but of his gold, the matter is best left alone.

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It is into this faery world, conjured by the Shepherd and Clown, that Time himself steps. Accordingly, his character is, like that of a fairy, variously mal- or benevolent: 'I that please some, try all: both ioy and terror | Of good and bad: that makes and vn-folds error' (TLN 1580–1, 4.1.1–2). He tells reader and audience that the tale will fly forward, but casts this as an invitation: 'Now take vpon me (in the name of Time) | To vse my wings' (TLN 1582–3, 4.1.3–4). This Time is avuncular, friendly. The speech veers into the metatheatrical or metafictional, offering a defence of the play's disunity of time:

Impute it not a crime  
To me, or my swift passage, that I slide  
Ore sixteen yeeres, and leaue the growth vntride  
Of that wide gap. (TLN 1583–6, 4.1.3–6)

This is playful; but it connects, in its consideration of crime, guilt, and innocence, to the subject, and great seriousness, of the previous three acts. Specifically, it seems almost to mock with jocularly the high seriousness of Polixenes' claims concerning guilt earlier in the play (TLN 130f, 1.2.67f). But this jocoseness slides back into a re-

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Delaware Press, 1999), p. 727.

minder of Time's power, authority, and antiquity. We ought not to 'impute it a crime' to Time or his 'swift passage' (here Time represents, I think, both himself and the playwright)

since it is in my powre  
To orethrow Law, and in one selfe-borne howre  
To plant, and ore-whelme Custom. Let me passe  
The same I am, ere ancient'st Order was,  
Or what is now receiu'd. (TLN 1586–90, 4.1.7–11)

When Time speaks of overthrowing 'Law', he speaks of Nature's laws; this is made clear by the mention of its traditional opposite, 'Custom', which tends to signify society's or man's absolute, written laws, or its softer laws of convention. Shakespeare here says that the unity of time is such a convention, and that it cannot be a crime 'to orethrow Law' or 'ore-whelme Custom'—especially if one is Time and therefore 1) it lies within one's power to do these things and 2) one's antiquity and therefore authority is greater than those of either of these ('Law', which  $\approx$  'ancient'st Order'; 'Custom', which  $\approx$  'what is now receiu'd'). It seems, moreover, to be implied that Time is of greater antiquity and sovereignty, to Shakespeare, than Nature. However, it would perhaps be unwise to draw too-grave philosophical conclusions from this playful moment.

The sense of Nature's nearness is most pronounced in IV. iv (and to a lesser extent, IV. iii). It is a majestic scene—almost a short pastoral play in itself. Its star is Perdita. Her appearance as (akin to) Flora seems so near-divine—as she herself puts it, she is 'Goddesse-like prank'd vp' (4.4.13, TLN 1808)—that she can be read as an agent or human representative of Nature in this scene. Let us look then at the moment at which the comparison of Perdita to Flora is evoked. Florizel begins:

These your vnvsuall weeds, to each part of you  
Do's giue a life: no Shepherdesse, but *Flora*  
Peering in Aprils front. This your sheepe-shearing,  
Is as a meeting of the petty Gods,  
And you the Queene on't. (4.4.1–5, TLN 1798–1803)

Florizel's is almost a religious adoration for Perdita—even an idolatry. He is like a devotee of the goddess, and as much is said in his name: Florizel is he who has *zeal* for *Flora*. It is not an exaggeration to suggest that he approaches idolatry, since Perdita herself suggests it: 'Sir: my gracious Lord, | To chide at your extreames, it not becomes me' (TLN 1803–4, 4.4.5–6). (This looks forward to the final scene, and Perdita's near-idolatry of Hermione's 'statue': 'doe not say 'tis Superstition, that | I kneele, and

then implore her Blessing' (TLN 3235–6, 5.3.43–4.) Although Florizel describes Perdita as the Queen of his fancied 'meeting of the petty Gods', Flora is herself a petty god—a minor fertility deity, rather than one of the grand Olympians with which the romances tend to be interested. But Florizel's sense of the diminutive is most apposite: After a set of divine vengeance (the bear, the shipwreck, the death of Mamillius and, to a first-time viewer, that of Hermione) prompted by Apollo—who remains, in this play, save for Florizel's present mention of him as 'a poore humble Swaine' (4.4.30, TLN 1831), a cold, planetary, and severe power—we are now greeted with localised, and thus anthropomorphised and intimately personal 'petty Gods', who seem almost to reach the status of familiars, fairies, or something like the companion spirit of Ariel. But they are also much less powerful than all these. As said above, this is a faery world, whose figures, whatever non-human suggestion they are lent, can only shape reality in the same way in which any other mortal can. We see this most distinctly in Autolycus, whom Simon Foreman describes in his 15 May 1611 review as 'the Rogue that came in all tattered like a coll pixci [i.e. colt pixie]'.<sup>64</sup> Besides this, there is even a sense of the diminution of the fearsome Olympians (whose power we saw in Act III) in Florizel's speech on the gods' 'Humbling their Deities to loue' (4.4.26, TLN 1827).

A few more words on Flora are required. It is with the humanists that Flora seems to gain popularity—and then, via Poliziano, with Botticelli and the visual arts. The comparison of Perdita with Flora derives immediately from Greene, who describes Fawnia going to tend her sheep,

defending her face from the heat of the sunne with no other vale, but a garland made of bowes and flowers; which attire became her so gallantly, as shee seemed to bee the Goddess Flora her selfe for beauty. (Bullough, VIII. 176)

This potent linking of Perdita to the principles of growth and deity makes her a symbol which begins to tie together the concerns of this ostensibly diffuse play. As Inga-Stina Ewbank says, Perdita 'is herself almost an image of time seen as natural growth'.<sup>65</sup> Molly Mahood makes a similar point, saying that 'Perdita is a nature spirit, the symbol of the renewing seasons, welcome to her father even before her recog-

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64. Snyder and Curren-Aquino, ed., p. 262.

65. Ewbank, p. 108 (in the Muir *WT Casebook*).



dition "As is the Spring to th'Earth".<sup>66</sup> Whilst Mahood's latter two claims are fine and agreeable, we must take care to distinguish her from Ariel—a true 'spirit'—just as we would to distinguish her from the gods Jupiter and Diana. Thus, in her, two of the play's (and this chapter's) great themes and deities—Nature and Time—are brought together harmoniously in one mortal representative. These conclusions follow from her context, from which she—as meaningful symbol—is inextricable: her first and chief appearance to us is set 'in a world where time equals the life of nature and the cycle of the seasons'.<sup>67</sup> Not only is Perdita linked explicitly by Florizel with Flora, and associated with 'the petty Gods', but, thanks to the insights of Ewbank and Mahood, we can link her to the figure of Time who appeared some two-hundred lines before and, moreover, see her as a manifestation of Nature—even if she is not quite 'the numinous and veiled Nature of Spenser'.<sup>68</sup> It is perhaps on this basis that we can allow something of the remark of Muir given above: 'that the theophany in *The Winter's Tale* is the appearance of Perdita'.<sup>69</sup>

Flora is the logical crux for a symbolic character in whom Nature and Time are united: Flora is obviously a nature-goddess, but she is tied to a specific time and season, too. Philip Edwards, exploring echoes of Peele in later Shakespeare, remarks on the richness of the Flora who helps to make so radiant the first act of *The Arraignment of Paris*.<sup>70</sup> Although Flora is important to the masque genre—*vide*, e.g., Campion's *Lord Hay's Masque* (1607), Beaumont's *Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn* (1613)—this appearance in an early play (published 1584, performed prior to this at court at an uncertain date) gives, to my knowledge, the only relatively full picture of this goddess in a pastoral scene comparable to *The Winter's Tale*, IV. iv. Its original performance at court before Elizabeth I before 1584 could not have been seen by Shakespeare, but the text alone is evocative enough for it to be a useful resource; perhaps Floras in contemporary masques lent imaginative, or even material, resources on top of this. The third scene of Peele's *Arraignment* begins with the direction 'Flora entreth to the countrie gods' (I. iii, TLN 68SD). She is called (as in masque)

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66. M. M. Mahood, *Shakespeare's Wordplay* (London: Methuen, 1957), p. 187.

67. Ewbank, p. 108.

68. Lewis, *Discarded Image*, p. 35.

69. Muir, 'Theophanies', p. 38.

70. Edwards, 'Seeing is Believing', p. 80.

'The queene of flowers' (I. iii, TLN 99); her speeches are long, lyrical, and rich in references to gods and flowers; her 'workemanship' (I. iii, TLN 103, 129) in decking the landscape with flowers appropriate to the coming of Juno, Pallas, and Venus, is the consistent point of focus. The appearance of Peele's Flora is brief—she disappears from the play either after this scene or the short I. iv—but the rich picture of Nature's fecundity and beauty leaves a lasting impression, and—I agree with Edwards—may well leave an impression on *The Winter's Tale*, IV. iv, too.

As this chapter comes to a close, a few words on Act V are required. Although this part of the play is replete with sacred material, it is of a different kind from that considered above. Not just the plot, but the play itself changes here in important ways. Indeed, the difference is so stark, it rivals the division between Acts II and III of *Pericles*—in intellectual interests if not (thankfully) in style. Nevertheless, it is possible to stitch this great, 'rambling', and 'untidy' play together.<sup>71</sup> This the close of this chapter will attempt to do. The act opens on the subject of Leontes' repentance. Cleomenes says: 'Sir, you haue done enough, and haue perform'd | A Saint-like Sorrow' (TLN 2727–8, 5.1.1–2). This and the rest of the language of Cleomenes' speech offer a more intensely Christian range of reference than anywhere prior in the play—its penitential slant showing the influence of the Book of Common Prayer<sup>72</sup>—notwithstanding earlier, occasional references, such as that to Judas' betrayal of Christ (TLN 532–3, 1.2.418–9), and other fleetingly Christianising moments.<sup>73</sup> Perhaps it is for this reason that the senses of Time and Nature here seem to subside in order to present an action which culminates in the scene of Hermione's 'reanimation', which is rich in Christian allusiveness, rather than something more emphatically pagan. This scene (V. iii), while, as Hardin Aasand says, not 'a numinous theophany',<sup>74</sup> does have something of the Eliadean hierophany mentioned above with respect to III. i. The Oracle is fulfilled after V. i but before V. ii, when the recognition of Perdita is reported; V. iii then adds nothing to the plot which is *necessary*: it is superfluous, in the best and most positive sense. At first, the scene looks like it may be a melancholy epilogue to the action: the company have come to Paulina's chapel

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71. Wilson Knight, p. 128.

72. *Vide* Shaheen, pp. 731–2.

73. For a relatively comprehensive list of these, see Shaheen, pp. 721–33.

74. Aasand, p. 143.

only (to all except the knowing Paulina) so that Perdita can look at the statue of the mother she never saw (TLN 3199–21, 5.3.12–14). What follows, then, is a joyous, copious excess. In its going beyond Leontes' just expectation, it seems almost to dramatise, allegorise, or figure grace itself.

I find myself in agreement with Stephen Orgel that the scene, deeply moving though it is, savours more of *coup de théâtre* than theophanic communion, more of reunion than resurrection or reanimation, that its atmosphere is more human and humane than it is divine, and that Paulina's presentation of this theatrical show 'sound[s] much more like Renaissance apologias for the theatre than like any Renaissance version of religious experience'.<sup>75</sup> However, I would not go as far as Orgel and deny the scene its self-evident—even obvious—sense of sanctity altogether. Although the play's religious mind shifts here, as said, from a pagan to a more Christian perspective, and so seems somewhat to leave behind the religious framework which this chapter has worked to establish and identify particularly in the play's middle section (Acts II–IV), the scene is nevertheless a fitting end to the play, in a way *because* of its very audacity. If one word could summarise *The Winter's Tale*, 'audacious' might not be a bad choice—not least because of V. iii. The tonal, religious, intellectual, and theatrical complexity of this scene and its 'statue' of Hermione is evident in the diversity of the criticism on it. There are notable and praiseworthy readings which attend chiefly to the catholicity of the scene,<sup>76</sup> and there are those, equally praiseworthy, which do not detect a vestige of the Blessed Virgin or Catholic statuary in the scene so much as they do Ovid's tale of Pygmalion (*Metamorphoses*, X).<sup>77</sup> In addition to these, there have been a few readings which see Euripides' *Alcestis* as the most important of the statue's—and the statue scene's—tributaries.<sup>78</sup> Julia Reinhard

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75. *The Winter's Tale*, ed. by Stephen Orgel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 62.

76. Phebe Jensen, 'Singing Psalms to Horn-Pipes: Festivity, Iconoclasm, and Catholicism in *The Winter's Tale*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 55 (2004), 279–306; Walter S. H. Lim, 'Knowledge and Belief in *The Winter's Tale*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 41 (2001), 317–34; Ruth Vanita, 'Mariological Memory in *The Winter's Tale* and *Henry VIII*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 40 (2000), 311–37; Darryll Grantley, '*The Winter's Tale* and Early Modern Religious Drama', *Comparative Drama*, 20 (1986), 17–37.

77. Leonard Barkan, "'Living Sculptures': Ovid, Michelangelo, and *The Winter's Tale*", *English Literary History*, 48 (1981), 639–67; Mary Ellen Lamb, 'Ovid and *The Winter's Tale*: Conflicting Views Towards Art', in *Shakespeare and Dramatic Tradition*, ed. by W. R. Elton and William Long (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1989), pp. 69–87; and of course Jonathan Bate, *Shakespeare and Ovid* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 220–40.

78. The chief contributions here are Sarah Dewar-Watson, 'The *Alcestis* and the Statue Scene in *The Winter's Tale*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 60 (2009), 73–80; Douglas B. Wilson, 'Euripides'

Lupton, in a distinguished reading, sees much of the point of the scene—and indeed the play—in its intersection of 'Jewish, Greco-Roman, Catholic, and Protestant' discussions of idolatry.<sup>79</sup>

The first thing to consider is the setting. Paulina's 'poore' (TLN 3192, 5.3.6) and 'remoued House' (TLN 5114, 5.2.106) or 'Chappell' (TLN 3290, 5.3.86)—which yet is graced with a 'Gallerie' (TLN 3197, 5.3.10)—is, as Bergeron says, an echo of Delphos and Apollo's temple.<sup>80</sup> This is not to say that they are at all the same, or even similar in their particulars—indeed the differences in particulars exemplifies the shift described above from an Apollonian religious world to one vaguely redolent of Christianity—but that the former merely echoes the latter. In the last scene, Nature, Time, and Apollo all seemingly retire, as though their work upon the play's action is complete with the fulfilment of the Oracle in (or before) V. ii. Thus the last actions are left to Paulina, the stage-manager, and Hermione, her willing puppet. Nature retires and Art is, almost literally (if things were that uncomplicated), centrestage; Apollo's temple at Delphos is nearly forgotten in Paulina's catholicising 'Chappell'. But although Nature has retired, she is never totally absent, since, as generator of all things, she is a precondition of them, too. Shakespeare's understanding of this idea and principle is shown in IV. iv, when Polixenes says to Perdita:

Yet Nature is made better by no meane,  
But Nature makes that Meane: so ouer that Art,  
(Which you say addes to Nature) is an Art  
That Nature makes [...] This is an Art  
Which do's mend Nature: change it rather, but  
The Art it selfe, is Nature. (TLN 1900–3, 4.4.89–91; TLN 1906–8, 4.4.95–7)

In V. iii, Paulina's 'Art' may be centrestage, but it is 'an Art|That Nature makes'. Thus the entirely ordinary and yet wonderful, marvellous, miraculous reunion of

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*Alcestis* and the Ending of Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*, *Iowa State Journal of Research*, 58 (1984), 345–55. Carla Suthren has recently completed a doctoral thesis on Shakespeare and Euripides, which allows considerable space for a consideration of *Alcestis* and *The Winter's Tale*: 'Shakespeare and the Renaissance Reception of Euripides', Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of York, 2018, pp. 162–224. The earliest critical connection of the two plays, to my knowledge, is that of William Lloyd in *The Dramatic Works of William Shakespeare*, ed. by Samuel Singer, 10 vols (London: Bell and Daldy, 1856), vol iv, pp. 131–3 (cited in Turner & Haas' *Variorum*, p. 688).

79. Julia Reinhard Lupton, *Afterlives of the Saints: Hagiography, Typology, and Renaissance Literature* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), pp. 175–220; I quote from p. 177.

80. David Bergeron, p. 377.

Leontes and Hermione is, as Wilson Knight says, 'merely another miracle from the great power, the master-artist of creation, call it what you will, nature or eternity, Apollo or the New Testament's great God of Life (Acts, 17. 23–8)'.<sup>81</sup>

The scene is intensely visual, with its (presumably) centrestage 'sculpture' of Hermione and the pseudo-ekphrastic comments on her (and the work of Giulio Romano: 'Masterly done: | The very Life seemes warme vpon her Lippe' (TLN 3263–4, 5.3.65–6)). Some of the sense of sanctity of the scene is communicated through visual means, too, such as when modern productions use candles and low, soft lighting in order to create that sense of (literal) obscurity which is conducive to a sense of religious awe. But before such stage additions and before the statue is revealed (or even known about), there is, as several critics note, an important quiet in the scene.<sup>82</sup> Bethell notes that the verse of the scene is 'quiet and serene in rhythm' and that the whole stage is covered with 'a holy quiet'.<sup>83</sup> Charles Frey writes that we are brought in this scene into 'a theater of silent figures' whence 'arises the suggestion that we are in a realm of sleep'.<sup>84</sup> Fitzroy Pyle remarks that '[t]here is talk on the stage, but there is also silence'.<sup>85</sup> This silence, indeed, follows on the quiet. It comes when Paulina reveals Hermione by removing a curtain (TLN 3255, 5.3.60). She says:

I like your silence, it the more shewes-off  
Your wonder: but yet speake, first you (my Liege)  
Comes it not something neere? (TLN 3209–11, 5.3.21–3)

The sight has apparently (literally) petrified Perdita, of whom Leontes says, while addressing the inanimate Hermione:

Oh Royall Peece:  
There's Magick in thy Maiestie, which ha's  
My Euils coniu'r'd to remembrance; and  
From thy admiring Daughter tooke the Spirits,  
Standing like Stone with thee. (TLN 3229–33, 5.3.39–43)

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81. Wilson Knight, p. 125.

82. My thinking about holy quiet and silence here is indebted to Diarmaid McCulloch, *Silence: A Christian History* (London: Penguin, 2013).

83. S. L. Bethell, *The Winter's Tale: A Study* (London: Staples Press, 1947), p. 103.

84. Frey, p. 159.

85. Fitzroy Pyle, *The Winter's Tale: A Commentary on the Structure* (London: Routledge, 1969), p. 119.

Speaking of quiet, I wonder whether 'Royall Peece' might be a double entendre: Hermione is at once both a royal piece and represents a royal, i.e., a splendid peace. The statue scene (that we call it this is itself telling) forms with Hermione a visual focal point. Against this nearly gravitational focus on this one point—and the surrounding figures and their dialogue—the scene's call to attend to its sound is sometimes not heard. The scene's vital quietness risks being lost in its visual loudness, but it is crucial in creating the scene's singular dramatic effect.

Part of this effect is in how it concludes. The quietness gradually subsides as the scene reaches the moment of Hermione's 'animation' through a long and steady crescendo. At the moment of the reanimation, rather than quiet, there is music. This is evidently lively, since Paulina commands 'the music', i.e., the musicians, to 'Strike' (TLN 3306, 5.3.98). One thinks of Purcell's 'Strike the Viol': the music here may be like, or may indeed be, the rough viol heard in *Pericles*, III. ii; wind, voice, and lute instruments do not really respond well to being struck, whereas this can make sense for a bowed instrument. The sense of the ripe, kairotic time is here: 'Tis time' (TLN 3307, 5.3.99), and perhaps Shakespeare's theophanies are brought subtly into mind (particularly for audiences who may have seen them performed in the previous couple of years) in the next of Paulina's series of imperatives: 'descend' (TLN 3307, 5.3.99). The memory of theophany may be suggested in her reply to the demands of Polixenes and Camillo:

*Cam.* She hangs about his neck,

If she pertaine to life, let her speake too.

*Pol.* I, and make it manifest where she ha's liu'd,

Or how stolne from the dead?

*Paul.* That she is liuing,

Were it but told you, should be hooted at

Like an old Tale: but it appeares she liues. (TLN 3326–8, 5.3.115–17)

'It *appeares* she liues.' Showing is better than telling: If you were only *told* it, you'd hoot, she says; but if you *witness* it, with faith awakened (this I think she says just to Leontes, intending the word to refer to faith in love), then that should be satisfactory. But her response, that 'it *appeares* she liues', does not answer the demands of Polixenes and Camillo. There is a putting off of resolution here, both for Polixenes and Camillo, and for the audience and reader. Lauren Robertson writes of the importance of the notion of *ataraxia*, of resting in doubt, in reading *The Winter's Tale*; this

moment is the chief example.<sup>86</sup> It is often said, on the basis of Hermione's statement that she 'ha[s] preseru'd | [Her] selfe, to see the yssue [i.e., Perdita]' (TLN 3339–40, 5.3.127–8), that she has preserved herself in life, waiting around for sixteen years. This is an old tale to be hooted at. Robertson courageously encourages critics to refuse the complacent acceptance of the naturalistic explanation;<sup>87</sup> art need not be limited in this way, and to insist otherwise is to place a great weight of certainty on the verb 'to preserve (oneself)', which, especially in this uncertain context, it cannot sustain.

Whereas *Cymbeline* and even *Pericles* leave us to some extent certain of the implied, intended level of reality or credibility with which to read its theophanies and other moments of great wonder, *The Winter's Tale* fosters, I think, the profound intellectual challenge of numerous viable readings and of considering the problems attendant on each. The best treatment of the difficult uncertainties in this scene is found, I think, in Boitani's *The Gospel According to Shakespeare*. He writes that there are four legitimate interpretations of the play's final action, one concerning *life*, another *magic*, one *art*, and one concerning *resurrection*. It is worth reflecting on this original and thoughtful response at some length. He writes:

Four interpretations are possible: (1) The whole thing is a lie, mere fiction. Hermione has always been alive, and here does little else than resume her life at court, joining Leontes and Perdita again after sixteen years. After all, she says that she has "preserved" herself. (2) What Paulina performs is magic. Indeed, she worries that those who are present might take it as such. (3) We are dealing here with the mystery of art, of the *perfect* imitation of reality. In fact, all of *The Winter's Tale* addresses this question; and in the last scene the miracle and trick of artistic mimesis are constantly emphasized. (4) The fundamental aspect of the final scene of the play is resurrection (of the flesh). Indeed, Paulina specifically says, "I'll fill your grave up".<sup>88</sup>

Boitani's resolution to the complexity of our being presented with four viable options is to take a fifth, namely not to resolve:

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86. Lauren Robertson, "'Ne'er Was Dream So Like a Waking": The Temporality of Dreaming and the Depiction of Doubt in *The Winter's Tale*', *Shakespeare Studies*, 44 (2016), 291–315 (p. 293).

87. Robertson, p. 308.

88. Piero Boitani, *The Gospel According to Shakespeare*, trans. by Vittorio Montemaggi and Rachel Jacoff (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2013), p. 87.

Each of the four interpretations could be easily and rationally dismantled by its respective objections. And yet, Shakespeare's text is able to keep all four in place because to each one it responds with the other three. In other words, the four positions are *inextricable* one from the other. And that is because the mysteries of life, magic, art, and resurrection are *equal*. The important thing—so the text seems to suggest—that we keep awake our "faith", that we suspend our disbelief in all senses, that we remain open *to all four* of the mysteries.<sup>89</sup>

The above statement of the problem and the resolution to it are, I think, the best approach to take in the face of such difficulty and mystery as the final scene of *The Winter's Tale* presents. Firstly, this entertaining of numerous possibilities perhaps best reflects the reality of theatrical experience, in which there is not time to scrutinise isolated phrases and to make balanced, reasoned conclusions: there is time only to behold and to react to the spectacle in its tonal, artistic, and intellectual complexity. Secondly, this approach, which balances and brings into harmony the competing readings, is the only one which can make sense of such riddling phrases as Hermione's reference to her preserving herself, Paulina's to filling up Hermione's grave, to magic, and the remark in V. ii that Paulina has repaired to her house 'privately, twice or thrice a day, euer since the death of *Hermione*' (TLN 3113–4, 5.2.105–6). As such, this reading heightens our sense of the *richness* of the conclusion to *The Winter's Tale*, allowing us to keep each option and its considerable problems open. Furthermore, this reading allows us, like the scene's characters, almost to be dumbstruck with admiration for this presentation of such a polyvalent, contrapuntal fiction.

*The Winter's Tale* is a difficulty and a marvel, from its first mystery—what and whence Leontes' 'Affection'—to its last, the reunion of Hermione with Leontes, her daughter, and the play's other characters. This is an enormously complex and heterogeneous play. Inevitably, this chapter has had to elide some matters. A proper exploration of Leontes' 'Affection'; the role of Mercury in shaping characters such as Autolycus, Hermione,<sup>90</sup> and Camillo;<sup>91</sup> an exhaustive examination of IV. iv, which is

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89. Boitani, p. 88.

90. Engel, p. 82: 'There is an unmistakable trace of Hermes the *psychopompos* [...] in Hermione'.

91. Though a more obscure tradition, it seems that some scholars of the period were aware that another name for Mercury was 'Camillus'; see Anna-Maria Hartmann, *English Mythography in Its European Context, 1500–1650* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 36.



nearly a chamber play by itself—each could form a chapter on its own. Indeed, *The Winter's Tale*—what Charles Frey rightly describes as 'Shakespeare's vast romance'—really asks, I think, for a book- or thesis-length treatment in itself in order really to begin to unfold the complexities of its world, divine and earthly. Nevertheless, I hope that in this chapter I have offered a useful if incomplete picture of the divine world of *The Winter's Tale*.

## *The Tempest*

*e il naufragar m'è dolce in questo mare.*<sup>1</sup>

Leopardi, 'L'infinito'

Although *The Tempest* is grouped by time and type with *Pericles*, *Cymbeline*, and *The Winter's Tale* (and sometimes with *The Two Noble Kinsmen* and *Henry VIII*), it continues to be held apart from these as exceptional. Indeed, it is: it largely observes the neoclassical unities (though so does *The Comedy of Errors*), though here it is more remarkable since the content of the plot would seem to belong substantially to the sprawling romance, whereas *Errors* adapts an already unified Plautine source; it begins the Folio and does so with a good text; it contains, as editor David Lindley says, 'Shakespeare's only close allusion' (p. 13) to the Jonsonian-Jonesian masque, although Shakespeare had used non-Jonsonian masque before; similarly, although Shakespeare celebrates the phenomenon of music repeatedly in several works, *The Tempest* is distinguished by its presentation of a music which itself *causes*, as opposed to one which apparently *accompanies causes*, as is the case in the other romances and in other plays (although *Pericles* does claim that the music of the spheres 'nips [him] vnto listning' (I1v, 5.1.221)). In *The Tempest* music compels: it lulls, draws, renders asleep, and persuades. Although wielded by Ariel or Prospero, the power resides as much in music itself as it does in them and, whereas Ariel's power is limited by Prospero, and Prospero's by mortality, music is illimitable; it stretches out to the horizon of perception like the play's background seascape; it is a vast and mysterious power. This exceptional music, then, is part of a larger set of exceptions. Martin Butler writes that the play is set apart not only from Shakespeare's other late plays, but every play belonging to the period:

Of the many strange worlds in Renaissance drama, *The Tempest* has much the strangest. No other play creates a space which runs so entirely according to its own laws. The island setting [...] makes its world seem isolated and self-sufficient, an autonomous theatrical laboratory with its own internal logic. It is populated by unique creatures who are difficult to account for within the

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1. 'And the shipwreck is sweet to me in this sea.'

usual rules of biology. No other play so profoundly unsettles the borders between human and non-human.<sup>2</sup>

The play also insists on human and non-human categories—monster, spirit, fairy, moon-calf, fish—perhaps more than any other Shakespearean play. When it comes to divinity itself, however, the play chooses to stage only explicitly ersatz gods in its Act IV masque. This is a great contrast with, say, *Cymbeline*, where Jupiter enters from the heavenly and intervenes in the earthly realm. A final difference which is important and not—to my knowledge—discussed in criticism is that this is the only one of this thesis' five plays in which two principal protagonists are not notably pious. Leontes is first impious before his repentance; all other protagonists in these plays continually address or refer to the gods with reverence. Ferdinand and Miranda follow this tendency, but Prospero and Ariel make no such gestures to the divine.

The play is set apart in its critical reception from the other late plays, too. Some classic critical treatments of the play see it as a culmination of Shakespeare's art.<sup>3</sup> Coleridge praised it in superlative terms as 'almost miraculous'.<sup>4</sup> Kermode called it 'unquestionably the most sophisticated comedy of a poet whose work in comedy is misunderstood to quite an astonishing degree', adding that 'the elements of [the play's] pattern of ideas [...] derive from each other meanings which are beyond the last analysis of criticism'.<sup>5</sup> George Wilson Knight describes it as 'at the same time the most perfect work of art and the most crystal act of mystic vision in our literature'.<sup>6</sup> Even more memorable are the delightful criticisms. Lytton Strachey, also seeing the play as a culmination, writes: 'In *The Tempest*, unreality has reached its apotheosis.'<sup>7</sup> That this is not meant entirely as praise is made certain by his descriptions of Prospero as one who '[t]o an irreverent eye [...] would perhaps appear as an unpleasantly crusty personage, in whom a twelve years' monopoly of the conversa-

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2. *The Tempest*, ed. by Martin Butler (London: Penguin, 2007), pp. xxiii–xxiv.

3. G. Wilson Knight, *The Crown of Life*, corrected edn (London: Methuen, 1965), pp. 203f; Derek Traversi, *Shakespeare: The Last Phase* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1965), pp. 193–4, p. 272.

4. Coleridge, 'An Analysis of Act I', in *Shakespeare: The Tempest: A Casebook*, ed. by D. J. Palmer, revised edn (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991), pp. 42–57 (p. 50).

5. Kermode, ed., pp. lxxxvii–lxxxviii.

6. G. Wilson Knight, p. 28.

7. Lytton Strachey, *Books and Characters, French and English* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1922), p. 53.

tion had developed an inordinate propensity for talking<sup>8</sup> and of the Milanese gentlemen as 'simply dull' and preoccupied with 'dreary puns and interminable conspiracies'.<sup>9</sup>

There has been no dearth of criticism connecting the play with religious ideas. Jonathan Gil Harris likens the characters' attitudes to a 'waking dream of Paradise',<sup>10</sup> and Michele Stanco sees the play as in large part concerned with 'purgatorial expiation'.<sup>11</sup> Bullough, whilst criticising reductive allegorical readings as 'touch[ing] the nonsensical', nevertheless concedes that 'in *The Tempest*, more than in the other 'romances' Shakespeare was thinking of human life in a cosmic way'.<sup>12</sup> Robert Reid offers a particularly distinguished religious reading in his essay 'Sacerdotal Vestiges in *The Tempest*'.<sup>13</sup> Some have resisted these sorts of reading, however. Northrop Frye remarks that *The Tempest* is 'not an allegory, or a religious drama: if it were, Prospero's great "revels" speech would say, not merely that all earthly things will vanish, but that an eternal world will take their place'.<sup>14</sup> However, Canto 11 of Dante's *Purgatorio* and Ecclesiastes' statement of 'vanitas vanitatem omnia vanitas' (Ecclesiastes, 1. 1) do not mention this subsequent coming of the Kingdom of God; a religious text need not mention such things in order to remain religious. David Lindley remarks that 'the language of religion [is] necessarily implicated in the representation of magic' [as he demonstrates at length, pp. 40–48], and therefore 'cannot be neglected in any comprehensive account of the play' (p. 48). Critics see Biblical echoes all over. Piero Boitani lists a great number in the portion of *The Gospel According to Shakespeare (Il Vangelo secondo Shakespeare)* dedicated to *The Tempest*. David Lindley sees an echo of 2 Peter 3. 12 in Prospero's *vanitas* speech.<sup>15</sup> Perhaps the most illuminating short work,

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8. Strachey, pp. 54–5.

9. Strachey, p. 55.

10. Jonathan Gil Harris, *Marvellous Repossessions: The Tempest, Globalization, and the Waking Dream of Paradise* (Vancouver: Ronsdale, 2012).

11. Michele Stanco, 'Prospero e il teatro degli spiriti. Riforma ermetica ed espiazione purgatoriale in *The Tempest*', in *Le ultime opere di Shakespeare: da Pericles al caso Cardenio*, ed. by Clara Mucci, Chiara Magni, and Laura Tommaso (Naples: Ligouri, 2009), pp. 225–45.

12. Bullough, p. 273.

13. *Comparative Drama*, 2007 (41), 493–513.

14. *The Tempest*, ed. by Northrop Frye, revised edn (New York: Penguin, 1970), p. 17.

15. David Lindley, *Shakespeare and Music* (London: Bloomsbury, 2006), p. 230.

after Reid's, on the play's religious mind is to be found in Tom McAlindon's 'The Discourse of Prayer in *The Tempest*', to which this chapter is indebted.<sup>16</sup>

In what David Lindley calls the play's 'pattern of disappointment' (p. 28), the mood seems caught between the radiant joy of, say, *Pericles*, Act V, and the lingering sense of bitterness to be found in the conclusion of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. Like Lindley, Auden sees bitterness in the play's final scene.<sup>17</sup> Speaking of Prospero's final speech, Auden insists that the tone is that 'of one who longs for a place where silence shall be all'.<sup>18</sup> It is easy, however, to overstate the sourness of the play and its conclusion, just as it is to overstate its status as a joyous comedy. The truth is that the play strikes an impressively delicate balance in its mood throughout, and especially in V. i. *The Tempest* has also of course been subjected to all sorts of political and moral interpretations. The contentions are well-known and (thankfully) there is no need to repeat them here. Something of the spirit of that time is captured in what now seems a naïve, post-Foucauldian sentence at the start of David Hirst's *The Tempest: Text and Performance*: '*The Tempest* is a play about power'.<sup>19</sup>

Deciding on the whereabouts of divinity in *The Tempest* poses a different challenge from that of any of this dissertation's other plays because the play never insists on any direct attribution of action to an explicit and specific pagan deity. Nor is there a concrete, bodily theophany as in *Cymbeline* and *Pericles*. *The Tempest* is abstract and schematic: likewise its sense of divinity is like Ariel, not bodily and dense, but refined and rare. The play's staged gods, Ceres, Juno, and Iris, are played by Ariel and his 'meaner fellowes' (TLN 1689, 4.1.35) and the falsehood of the divinity which Caliban attributes to Stephano is obvious. Prospero himself is a magus, but not a deity, although critics remark on his approach to a godlike status.<sup>20</sup> Yet as many hold that, although Prospero is powerful, he is emphatically mortal. He is preoccupied for at

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16. Tom McAlindon, 'The Discourse of Prayer in *The Tempest*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 41 (2001), 335–55.

17. Auden, *The Dyer's Hand and Other Essays* (London: Faber, 1963), p. 526. Others have taken this view, too. See, for example, J. Gil Harris, p. 39 and Roger Holdsworth, 'The Jonsonian *Tempest*', in *Revisiting The Tempest: The Capacity to Signify*, ed. by Silvia Bigliuzzi and Lisanna Calvi (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 77–92 (pp. 89–91).

18. Auden, *Dyer's Hand*, p. 527.

19. David L. Hirst, *The Tempest: Text and Performance* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1984), p. 9.

20. Knight, p. 208; Piero Boitani, *The Gospel According to Shakespeare*, trans. by Rachel Jacoff and Vittorio Montemaggi (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2013), p. 141.

least the last two acts of the play with the 'vanity of [his] art' (4.1.41) and his mortality ('Euery third thought shall be my graue' (TLN 2309, 5.1.309)), and via these reminders Shakespeare effectively warns us against the temptation of elevating Prospero to a divine status. As Northrop Frye says in his edition of the play, 'we distort the play if we think of Prospero as supernatural, just as we do if we think of Caliban as a devil'—though Frye also qualifies this statement by claiming that Prospero is 'an agent of fate' by virtue of his magician's status.<sup>21</sup> Similarly David Lindley insists that '[n]o divinity hedges this duke, even if he is to acquire the magic power which might be read as a metaphor for royalty's godlike command' (p. 50). Nuttall writes that Prospero (and Miranda) 'are half-dipped in another world', remarking nevertheless that the former's 'discontents and ambitions are extremely worldly'.<sup>22</sup>

The implication of all this seems to be to say that the play places the genuinely divine somewhere other than on the stage. This raises the question for this study of where the play's sense of theophany or hierophany might reside. A prerequisite to theophany is *theos*. *The Tempest*, in drawing attention to the artificial nature of its pagan deities, would seem in their place to approach something more like monotheism—a divine unity which is felt and expressed through certain signals in the quotidian world, but which resides ultimately apart from and outside of it. In this respect—without a great excursus on *King Lear*—this renders *The Tempest* rather closer to *Lear's* imagination of the divine in the *deus absconditus* thesis offered by Elton than it is to the miraculous, interventionist approaches of the other romances. At the same time, it remains far from deism or Epicureanism in its presentation of the sacred. One senses that *The Tempest's* sense of the divine is one of a mysterious, distant, and inscrutable force, but one which is closely felt. It may, like Allah, be closer to man than his jugular vein (Qur'an, 50. 16).

But this raises the question of how the distinct sense of divinity is conjured in *The Tempest* if it is not done by theophany, as in *Pericles* and *Cymbeline*, or religious ritual, as in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. It is closer to the sense of the hierophanic which permeates *The Winter's Tale*, particularly in V. iii and the opening lines of IV. iv. (For how seriously we ought to take III. i, see this dissertation's chapter on the play.) A number of distinguished critical essays have focused on the implications and impor-

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21. Frye, ed., p. 18.

22. Nuttall, *Two Concepts of Allegory* (London: Routledge, 1967), p. 142.

tance of the idea of *spirit* in *The Tempest*.<sup>23</sup> Although Elizabeth Harvey's medical focus is weakened by the fact that *The Tempest* does not in any obvious way avail itself of contemporary or classical-Galenic physiological thinking about the natural, vital, and animal spirits, her opening remarks offer us a point of departure, in which she reminds us that *spiritus* derives from the Latin verb *spiro* ('I breathe'). When Ariel is called, in the Folio's list of *dramatis personae*, 'an ayrie spirit', the connections are richly suggestive and fairly clear: if the word spirit (*spiritus*) is concerned with breath or breathing (*spirare*), then it is necessarily tied to air (*aria*) and, as the name for the musical genre suggests, it is not a stretch to associate the figure with the making of music, and specifically song, via the voice, i.e., the musical instrument most intimately tied to breathing. In some sense, then, the Folio's appellation 'ayrie spirit' is tautologous, since *spiritus* signifies something breathed, which of course involves air by necessity. But the purpose of the tautology is to make a literary, and even a philosophical point. Auden observes and meditates on the point of Ariel's intrinsically musical nature in *The Dyer's Hand*, stating that

Ariel is neither a singer, that is to say, a human being whose vocal gifts provide him with a social function, nor a nonmusical person who in certain moods feels like singing. Ariel *is* song; when he is truly himself, he sings.<sup>24</sup>

This equation of Ariel with song can almost be seen in a slight alteration of the spelling of his name—*Arial*. Thus the breathed and breathable air and the art of music are tied together in the play: they are two separate themes which come together to form a third.

As for Ariel's possible pagan connections, although Juno never actually appears, Ariel's nature as 'but aire' (TLN 1971, 5.1.21) ties him intimately to this goddess. It is a favourite commonplace of early modern mythographers to observe that the goddess' Greek name, Hera (*Ἥρα*), is an anagram of the Greek word for air (*ἀήρ*). We sometimes see the Greek spelling reflected in an older spelling of the English word, namely *aër*. Jonson refers to this anagrammatic etymology in his notes to *Hymenæi*, charting the precedent back to Macrobius' *In Somnium Scipionis*, I. xvii (*Hymenæi*, n. 25). An earlier precedent for this, however, is in Plato's *Cratylus*, 404b:

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23. Stanco, 'Prospero e il teatro degli spiriti'; Elizabeth D. Harvey, 'Passionate Spirits: Animism and Embodiment in *Cymbeline* and *The Tempest*', in *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare and Embodiment*, ed. by Valerie Traub (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 369–84.

24. Auden, *Dyer's Hand*, p. 524.

Hera is the lovely one (*ἑρατή*), for Zeus, according to tradition, loved and married her; possibly also the name may have been given when the legislator was thinking of the heavens, and may be only a disguise of the air (*ἀήρ*), putting the end in the place of the beginning. You will recognise the truth of this if you repeat the letters of Hera several times over.

This is made into commonplace through mythographical tradition, and so was likely available as a possible meaning among certain strata of the educated.

I have already touched on Prospero's non-divinity and mortality. If Ariel connects music and the element of air, his nature as spirit links these qualities with Prospero's communication with the superhuman. Robert Reid intelligently draws our attention to how little focus the play puts on the word 'magic', which Prospero uses only twice, firstly after the initial tempest (TLN 110, 1.2.24), and lastly when he abjures his 'rough magic' (TLN 2001, 5.1.50). The word 'conjuring', so potent in *Faustus*, and indeed used once comically in *Pericles* (the Bawd says of Marina: 'she conjures, away with her' (H1v, 4.6.156)), is not used at all in *The Tempest*. As Reid says, 'Prospero never enacts the elaborate conjuration rites of Faustus, Agrippa, Dee, and the *grimoires*; he simply asks Ariel to "come" or "Come with a thought"'.<sup>25</sup> Much more important to the play, Reid continues, is the word capitalised (probably by Ralph Crane, though Reid insists that it is Shakespeare's capitalisation) in the Folio as 'Art', which is used eleven times. Reid writes:

[Art's] main [verbal] synonyms in the play—"enchant" (*encantare*), "spell" (*spel, spiel*), and especially "charm" (*carmen*), used twelve times—all emphasise the power of song or poetry, and thus underscore Shakespeare's broad view of "Art" as the power of spoken, enacted language.<sup>26</sup>

Reid then goes on to introduce Ariel's manifest importance to this point (as I have done above) and complains of editors' tendency to remove the capitalisation, which he takes as a secularisation even 'before the interpretation begins'.<sup>27</sup> It is probably wiser to focus on wonder, as on Art, than on potentially distracting researches into the niceties of magic—though this has produced interesting essays.<sup>28</sup> Orgel, finally

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25. Reid, pp. 502–3.

26. Reid, p. 502.

27. Reid, p. 503.

28. The most distinguished is Barbara Mowat, 'Prospero, Agrippa, and Hocus Pocus', in *Critical Essays on Shakespeare's The Tempest*, ed. by Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan (New York: G. K. Hall, 1998), 193–213.



(accurately, to my mind) describes Prospero as a 'thaumaturge' (or wonder-worker), linking him (and Miranda, whose name implies this connection) via this description into the play's divine and mythological hinterland, since Thaumias ('wonder') is the father both of Iris and the harpies.<sup>29</sup>

Then there is the problem of how the highly symbolic character of Caliban fits into the play's scheme. Caliban seems a character caught between seriousness and comic levity, belonging both to the main and third (Stephano-Trinculo) plots. He hovers also between human and non-human categories and, despite numerous attempts to categorise him, his ontological status remains uncertain. Martin Butler writes that Caliban's 'distinctive characteristic is his lack of distinctive characteristics' and that, as a 'theatrical black hole, he is defined not by his own identity but what others see in him or make of him'.<sup>30</sup> He is, according to Prospero,

A Deuill, a borne-Deuill, on whose nature

Nurture can neuer sticke. (TLN 1862–3, 4.1.188–9)

Yet, according to Northrop Frye, he is a 'natural man'.<sup>31</sup> Let us pause, however, and examine the above line-and-a-half. Prospero, apparently speaking from emotion rather than in the spirit of strict definition, describes Caliban as 'a devil', then qualifies the description, repeating it with the past participle 'born'. This in turn connects with its Latin equivalent, *natus*, implying that Caliban is indeed *natural* rather than supernatural. He is similar to Prospero in this respect, then, since both partake of elements of the superhuman (in Prospero's case) and the non-human (Caliban) whilst both are ultimately bound within the limits of mortality and nature. What does it mean, then, if Caliban is 'natural'? According to Vaughan and Vaughan, the play's sense of chaos—if present—is perhaps best typified by Caliban'.<sup>32</sup> In classical cosmogony, chaos is nature's initial stage of existence prior to the separation of the elements; Shakespeare's knowledge of this is assured from his reading of Ovid's account early in the *Metamorphoses*:

Ante mare et terras et quod tegit omnia caelum

unus erat toto naturae vultus in orbe,

quem dixere chaos. (*Met.*, I. 5–7)

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29. Orgel, ed., pp. 47–8.

30. Butler, ed., pp. xlvi–xlvii

31. Frye, ed., p. 15.

32. Vaughan and Vaughan, ed., p. 22.

[Before earth was, or sea, or covering heaven,  
All Nature's visage, all the world was one,  
Called 'Chaos'.]

Vaughan and Vaughan do not necessarily mean cosmic chaos in the usage cited above, but perhaps there is weight to the idea that, in the play's slightly thinner, more schematic and allegorical characterisation, Caliban figures not just earth (and perhaps water), but also the chaos which mingles all elements together in earliest prehistory. This would of course connect him symbolically with Ariel in the latter's representation of the element of air. George Wilson Knight, too, briefly refers to Prospero's 'danger' as 'creation itself, or Caliban'.<sup>33</sup>

There is one more matter of importance to discuss here before moving on to the play itself. In this text, composed of a rich complex of binaries and antitheses, characters are apparently grouped by their attraction to the material—those things which would, to use the language of the time, have been considered 'base'—and their attraction to the immaterial or metaphysical, which might be termed 'noble'. The two extremities are represented by Caliban and Ariel respectively. When we first meet Caliban, he is introduced as 'Earth', and he is principally concerned with pinches and his dinner. At the beginning of the second act, Sebastian and Antonio focus on the physical in mocking Gonzalo's more imaginative—or 'airy' in the sense which we find in this play and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* ('airy nothing')—musings. This is in stark contrast to Ferdinand, for example, who is led by beautiful music at the end of I. ii into (eventually) love, marriage, and finally, kingship. This 'base' quality is of course best encapsulated in the trio Caliban-Stephano-Trinculo, though I would also insist on its presence in the speeches of Antonio and Sebastian. Ariel sums up the trio's attitude towards music—so markedly different from that of Ferdinand—eloquently when he reports to Prospero as follows:

then I beate my Tabor,  
At which like vnback't colts they prickt their eares,  
Aduanc'd their eye-lids, lifted vp their noses  
As they smelt musicke, so I charm'd their eares  
That Calfe-like, they my lowing follow'd. (TLN 1848–52, 4.1.175–9)

Perhaps no phrase sums up the absurdity of this trio quite as well as the detail that it was as though they 'smelt musicke'. Music, to which Shakespeare consistently gives

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33. Wilson Knight, p. 222.

a high value as spiritual artefact, is taken by these three *sensually*. The reader may recall here Whitney's emblem *Voluptas ærumnosa*, which depicts the Diana and Actæon story, and which this thesis' *Pericles* chapter discussed. In his moralising *subscriptio*, Whitney concludes

That those whoe do pursue  
Theire fancies fonde, and thinges vnlawfull craue,  
Like brutishe beastes appeare vnto the viewe,  
And shall at lenghte, Actæons guerdon haue:  
And as his houndes, soe their affections base  
Shall them deuowre, and all their deedes deface.<sup>34</sup>

Accordingly, the trio become almost a recognisable Actæon emblem in the final stage direction: '*A noyse of Hunters heard. Enter diuers Spirits in shape of Dogs and Hounds, hunting them about: Prospero and Ariel setting them on*' (TLN 1929–31, 4.1.249SD). Prospero and Ariel are implicitly linked here with Diana. Perhaps a contemporary audience would even have seen this moment as an echo, deliberate or otherwise, of the Actæon myth. Its moral significance would likely not have been lost on any in the audience who may have been familiar with Whitney, as playwrights (and perhaps playgoers) seem to be: Globe audiences would recently have seen two of Whitney's emblems staged in *Pericles*; and even in the 1590s, Whitney's mottos could have been seen on the stage in the dumb shows of *Lochrine*. (*Pericles*' Quarto title-page declares that it was acted at the Globe; there is no reason especially to think *The Tempest* was not also acted there as well as at the Blackfriars, so the two plays probably shared, to some extent, a common audience.)

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I hope that the above establishes that, while there is an unmistakable suggestion that something special is afoot in *The Tempest*—and that this thing possesses something solemn, cosmic, or divine—the description of this above is not greatly specific. The foregoing remarks have been general and preliminary: divinity is placed somewhere other than in corporal, concrete theophanies on the stage and, while the discussion above suggests the relative importance of certain characters to the play's themes and set of symbols, this does not really tell us much about the play's religious sense in

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34. Whitney, p. 15. See the *Pericles* chapter for the emblem itself.

detail. It falls to the remainder of the present chapter, then, to proceed through select moments in the play, seeing where this sense of divinity can be found—and indeed whether it is there. In the final consideration, I am tempted to say that, while the play does not offer the sort of incontrovertible, materially confirmed manifestation that we see, for example, in *Cymbeline*, in *The Tempest* the divinity is there, but it is qualified. Without this sense, we are left with an impoverished view of the play, I think. Finally, *The Tempest* presents a picture of the divine which, like everything else in the play, is subtle: the 'god' of *The Tempest* is never gazed at, but glimpsed.

At the forefront of the Folio's set of plays, *The Tempest* is—as mentioned briefly above—the beneficiary both of an exceptionally good text and of generous stage directions, though the latter are now generally thought to be Ralph Crane's elaborations. (Lindley, p. 241, offers a good summary on this.) Nevertheless they are useful, even if they are fantastical elaborations on stage directions which were originally implicit. The first words of the playtext ask for a special effect: 'A tempestuous noise of Thunder and Lightning heard: Enter a Ship-master, and a boteswaine' (TLN 2–3, 1.1.0SD). Any reader of the text will be struck by the relationship of the play's first adjective ('tempestuous') to its title, set just above it on the Folio's A1r. The ship carries 'three men of sinne' (TLN 1586, 3.3.54), and, the play seems to say, many more besides. Although the opening lines of I. ii will tell us that this is in fact an artificial storm of Prospero's making, we are allowed, for the first fifty or so lines of the play—at least on a naïve, i.e., a first reading—to read it as natural, i.e., without superhuman intervention. The 'tempestuous noise of thunder' can, moreover, be read as an action instilled with potential theological meaning. The implication is judgement. Witness the contemporary travelogues which were Shakespeare's sources and how attentive they are to God and Providence.<sup>35</sup>

Before discussing I. ii, I shall say a few words additionally about the iconographical significance of this first scene and the implications of this for this reading of the play as a whole. Shakespeare adopts the shipwreck motif used in *Pericles* and *The Winter's Tale* (and also *Twelfth Night* and *The Merchant of Venice*) and reimagines the motif. The emblematic quality of the play's tempest-tossed ship—namely that it constitutes both, literally, a ship of state and that it represents the vagaries of For-

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35. Howard Felperin, *Shakespearean Romance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 246f, writes well on the connections between *The Tempest*, romance, travelogue, and Providence.

tune—are immediately and visually evident. As preeminently with *Pericles'* shipwrecks, however, the progress of the play will entail the transformation—in the mind of the characters—of Fortune into Providence. However, this scene is not only a complex iconographical allusion, but also a generic signal and a Classical, since the *naufragium* commonplace is one of long standing, reaching back at least to Homer, and tied to romance, as well as its purportedly higher manifestation, epic. Let us return for now to the idea of the ship as a ship of state, since Shakespeare paints a microcosm of this in the great contrasts between the Master, Boatswain, and their Mariners, and the King, his son, and the noblemen (who themselves vary markedly in attitude). It is not surprising that the first words of conversation between these 'high and low' sets of characters are imperatives:

*Alon.* Good Boteswaine haue care: where's the Master? Play the men.

*Botes.* I pray now keepe below. (TLN 17–19, 1.1.8–10)

If *The Tempest's* final scene offers a vision of something like a utopian state in which forgiveness replaces (expected) punishment (on which more shall be said later), then I. i shows its opposite: it is a state in which the King himself is resisted by the imperatives of Nature and the unyielding, commanding words of the Boatswain, which are the storm's corollary.

As the disagreement continues, the Boatswain tells the noblemen: 'Keepe your Cabines: you do assist the storme' (TLN 22, 1.1.12–13). This carries a double meaning: the superficial sense is that, by interrupting the Mariners' work and distracting them with asking after the whereabouts of the Master, as they repeatedly do, they 'marre [the sailors'] labour', i.e., their attempt to save the ship (TLN 21, 1.1.12); the deeper sense, however, is that, in marring this labour, the noblemen assist the purpose of Prospero's storm, and help, unknowingly, to propel the plot of the play and its providential arc (which is currently perceived as tragic). At Gonzalo's failed appeal to propriety and attempt at placation, the Boatswain comically compares Gonzalo's power as counsellor to that of a god in commanding the elements: 'You are a Counsellor, if you can command these Elements to silence, and work the peace of the present, wee will not hand a rope more, vse your authoritie' (TLN 28–31, 1.1.18–20). *The Tempest's* various allusions to the *Aeneid* have been frequently recorded (see David Lindley's edition, pp. 4–8, for a useful summary and commentary); one wonders here whether there might in the Boatswain's response be a recollection of Neptune's calming of the storm which begins the *Aeneid* (I. 124–56).

The whole scene, beginning *in medias res*, seems dyed in the *Aeneid*'s colours, even if the material is through-and-through Shakespearean, and not Classical imitation.

The Boatswain, concluding that Gonzalo has no such power, advises him to 'make [himself] readie in [his] Cabine for the mischance of the houre, if it so hap' (TLN 32–4, 1.1.21–2). Returning the Boatswain's irreverent style of address back to him, he says to the audience that, since the Boatswain is born to be hanged (for his irreverence), he is not destined to be drowned, and so the ship is safe, and Gonzalo draws 'great comfort from this fellow' (TLN 36, 1.1.25): 'stand fast good Fate to his hanging, make the rope of his destiny our cable, for our own doth little advantage' (TLN 38–40, 1.1.26–8). Although comic, the remarks, like many of Shakespeare's comic moments, carry a serious and substantial weight behind their lightness, and are not unrelated to the themes which the play will explore. Though an unserious one, Gonzalo's address is to 'good Fate', and is a form or a parody of a prayer. Gonzalo puts trust in Fate, comically, to lead the Boatswain, via 'the rope of his destiny' to hanging; if Gonzalo represents the high-minded concepts of 'Fate' and 'destiny', the Boatswain speaks for the somewhat more uncouth, less literary (and perhaps indeed more littory) ideas of 'mischance' and 'hap'. Just as the broken state-microcosm shown in this first scene will be reversed in the harmonious one of the last, so Gonzalo's prayer in the last scene will be earnest, in contrast to the present irreverence:

looke down you gods  
And on this couple drop a blessed crowne;  
For it is you, that haue chalk'd forth the way  
Which brought us hither. (TLN 2182–5, 5.1.201–4)

It earnestly reads the play's action as providential. Gonzalo treats the idea of 'good Fate' in this last scene more reverently, though evidently he believes in the force in this first scene, too: Gonzalo's change between I. i and V. i is not of belief; rather, his beliefs are lent depth and seriousness by the situations in which the play places him.

The comic tone of the scene, arising from the forthright Boatswain's interactions with the noblemen, declines as the gravity of the situation is made more obvious. The stage direction is one we see in *Pericles* after the loss of the title character's ship and men ('*Enter Pericles wette*' (C1v, 2.1.0SD)):

*Enter Mariners wet.*  
*Mari.* All lost, to prayers, to prayers, all lost.  
*Botes.* What must our mouthes be cold? (TLN 59–61, 1.1.44–5)

The scene returns to the amiable Gonzalo in order to meditate once again on the divine will(s) in terms—and in a situation—which recall Antigonus' final speeches in *The Winter's Tale*, III. iii:

Now would I giue a thousand furlongs of Sea, for an Acre of barren ground:  
Long heath, Browne firs, any thing; the wills aboute be done, but I would  
faine dye a dry death. (TLN 76–9, 1.1.56–8)

Appropriately, the most poignant and serious lines are spoken by the most (perhaps the only) sympathetic character on the ship, and indeed seemingly the only pious one. Throughout the play, 'Holy Gonzalo' (TLN 2018, 5.1.62), as Prospero calls him, is a point of stability: he is a loyal, and consistently pious, counsellor. Indeed, if it were not for Gonzalo, Ferdinand, and Miranda, the gods might be mentioned in the play, but would almost never be addressed, since the other characters allude rather than pray to them. More importantly, however, Prospero himself implicitly connects Gonzalo with 'prouidence diuine' in his narration to Miranda in the next scene (TLN 267f, 1.2.159f).

I. ii is composed of a series of set pieces in which past action is reported; the first of these is Prospero's narration to Miranda of his deposition. As Prospero begins, the first of the play's two uses of the word 'magic' occur: 'plucke my Magicke garment from me' (TLN 110, 1.2.24).<sup>36</sup> (There is a third use in the stage directions: '*Enter Prospero (in his Magicke robes) and Ariel*' (TLN 1946, 5.1.0SD).) As Robert Reid says, I. ii begins with the word 'Art'; that the play is apparently more occupied with this word than the less used 'Magicke' is a telling feature. Prospero, telling us of his art, brings the idea of Providence subtly into play in the word 'provision':

The direful spectacle of the wrack [...]  
I haue with such prouision in mine Art  
So safely ordered, that there is no soule  
No not so much perdition as an hayre  
Betid to any creature in the vessell. (TLN 112–17, 1.2.26–31)

'Provision'—formed from the past participle, *provisus*, of the verb which also gives *providentia*—invites one to see not Prospero as Providence<sup>37</sup> but to see Providence's hand beginning to work within Prospero's Art. There also seems to be an implicit relationship between this keyword and Prospero's own name. The word 'provision'

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36. Reid, pp. 502–3.

37. Bullough, VIII. 273.

echoes with its similar-sounding opposite, 'perdition' two lines below, which recalls Perdita and the providential tale surrounding her. The two words even occupy the same position within the iambic line, inviting us to draw them into association—another of the play's numerous, meaningfully antithetical pairings.

The most pertinent parts of Prospero's account of his deposition (for this chapter) are those which imagine the workings of the superhuman in the actions described. The first of these suggestions invokes Fate:

one mid-night  
 Fated to th'purpose, did *Anthonio* open  
 The gates of *Millaine*. (TLN 229–31, 1.2.128–30)

This usage could be intended to mean something like 'spoken to the purpose', as the Latin word *fatum* means, or, more specifically to this context, 'appointed for the purpose'. We have seen the possibility of this sense in *Pericles*, where it can help to clarify an already obscure passage.<sup>38</sup> A second, under-sense—that it was fated that Antonio should do this—is suggested. Asked by Miranda how they came ashore, Prospero responds: 'By prouidence diuine' (TLN 267, 1.2.159). As stated above, this force is then linked—implicitly but strongly—with 'Holy Gonzalo', as he will be called by Prospero at the end of the play (TLN 2018, 5.1.62):

Some food, we had, and some fresh water, that  
 A noble Neopolitan *Gonzalo*  
 Out of his Charity, (who being then appointed  
 Master of this designe) did giue vs. (TLN 268–71, 1.2.160–3)

One might expect this to lead to more on 'prouidence diuine', but Prospero casts the auspicious moment as the foison of 'bountifull Fortune', who works through 'accident most strange':

By accident most strange, bountifull *Fortune*  
 (Now my deere Lady) hath mine enemies  
 Brought to this shore: And by my prescience  
 I finde my *Zenith* doth depend vpon  
 A most auspitious starre, whose influence  
 If now I court not, but omit; my fortunes  
 Will euer after droope. (TLN 289–95, 1.2.178–84)

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38. 'If that thy prosperous and artificiall fate' (H3v, 5.1.73); and indeed the word 'prosperous' would seem to link it with *The Tempest* all the more strongly.



Prospero speaks a heavenly language concerned with zeniths and auspicious stars so that, while he takes on something of the stock revenger figure, he proves more than this, having the seeds of Act V's high-minded general forgiveness and mercy evident within him (to some extent) even at this early stage. However, the courtly metaphor betrays something of the excess of *ego* in Prospero's present understanding. He veers from 'prouidence divine' to 'bountifull Fortune', and focuses on his dependence upon the 'most auspicious starre', the sense of the ripe kairotic moment—his 'Zenith', Opportunity<sup>39</sup>—rather than relying on a firm faith in the operations of Providence. There is here a subtle suggestion of caprice, of excitement, and perhaps of a firm though vague intent without a firm, specific purpose. Although Prospero speaks of his 'prescience', he also assures the audience or reader that there are powers above the limits of his, and perhaps beyond his clear knowledge. If this is the case, then *The Tempest's* arc presents between Acts I and V a moral and spiritual progress for Prospero—as we have seen, indeed, for Leontes, Posthumus, and, to some extent although in a different way, Pericles.

The second major piece of reported action brings us from 'the dark-backward and Abisme of Time' (TLN 140, 1.2.50) into the immediate past in which the ship was wrecked. Prospero puts Miranda to sleep and bids Ariel to come to him. We know immediately that he is a spirit from Prospero's first words to him: 'Hast thou, Spirit, | Performd to point, the Tempest that I bad thee' (TLN 305–6, 1.2.194–5). The moment is another in the play's series of small but increasingly significant revelations, though often we lose the sheer sense of novelty in this (owing to the fame of Ariel as a figure, even to those with minimal knowledge of Shakespeare) which it likely had for the play's first audience. In a long speech on his activity in the tempest, Ariel repeatedly likens himself to fire, suggesting that this is another element in which he operates:

now on the Beake,  
 Now in the Waste, the Decke, in euery Cabyn,  
 I flam'd amazement, sometime I'ld diuide  
 And burne in many places; on the Top-mast,  
 The Yards and Bore-spritt, would I flame distinctly,  
 Then meete, and ioyne. (TLN 308–13, 1.2.196–201)

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39. See this thesis' chapter on *The Winter's Tale* for this figure and its implications.

This speech also helps us to understand his nature as a spiritual, and not material being. For, inasmuch as he can be said to have a form and to consist of matter, he has the ability to 'diuide [...] then meete, and ioyne', and yet to maintain his integrated self. Although Ariel is neither a god nor one of those characters who expresses any real piety (Shakespeare seems not to have imagined spirits as worshipful or religious beings), he, besides being the only named character to play a god, does perhaps mention the gods more frequently than any other of the play's characters. The following example is a good one, showing how, in his exploitation of the elements, Ariel would seem to equal the powers of the pagan gods:

*Ioues* Lightning, the precursors  
O'th dreadfull Thunder-claps more momentarie  
And sight out-running were not; the fire, and cracks  
Of sulphurous roaring, the most mighty *Neptune*  
Seeme to besiege, and make his bold waues tremble,  
Yea, his dread Trident shake. (TLN 313–18, 1.2.201–6)

From here he slides, in quoting Ferdinand, into a more medieval-Christian tradition, imagining, perhaps with Marlowe in the back of Shakespeare's mind, Hell's devils:

Then all a fire with me the Kings sonne *Ferdinand*  
With haire vp-staring (then like reeds, not haire)  
Was the first man that leapt; cride hell is empty,  
And all the Diuels are heere. (TLN 326–9, 1.2.212–5)

However, this is more Ferdinand than it is Ariel. Nevertheless, it contributes to the play's sense of real, spiritual and personal danger. Concluding this report of recent action, Prospero commands Ariel:

Goe make thy selfe like a Nymph o'th' Sea,  
Be subiect to no sight but thine, and mine: inuisible  
To euery eye-ball else. (TLN 433–5, 1.2.301–4)

The implication, for the fiction, is surely that a 'Nymph o'th'Sea', as a spiritual being, is invisible. However, theatrically considered, this command also asks for a costume change, without which the moment would not make sense. Coming almost immediately after Ariel's distinct allusion to 'the most mighty *Neptune*', the suggestion seems to be that we are to think of Ariel as as much a spirit of the sea as he has already proved to be of air and fire.

His contrast with Caliban, then, is pointed and emphasised when Prospero introduces the latter to the audience as 'Thou Earth, thou' (TLN 450, 1.2.315). The brevity and almost palindromic structure of the phrase fix it, as it were, in the mind,

setting Caliban and Ariel into almost as stark an opposition as the Good and Evil Angels of *Dr Faustus*. The set piece with Caliban is lively, but is not of pressing or immediate concern to this chapter—except for Caliban's few lines at the end of the piece:

I must obey, his Art is of such pow'r,  
It would controll my Dams god *Setebos*,  
And make a vassaile of him. (TLN 515–7, 1.2.372–4)

The play's inclusion of Setebos marks the only occasion, to my recollection, in which Shakespeare mentions a god outside of the Graeco-Roman or Semitic traditions. It is an exceptional moment. It is also unexceptional, however, in that it shows another negative aspect of Caliban, namely his lack of faith in his own god. Indeed, he implicitly *disowns* Setebos by calling him 'my Dams god', i.e., his mother's and not his. The ground is ready for Stephano and his celestial liquor.

The fourth and final set piece of the scene differs from the first three—and in so doing makes a powerful conclusion to scene and act—by staging action directly rather than by report. Here we see the task which Prospero evidently set Ariel on roughly seventy-five lines earlier; it is the play's first example of the great power of music, and also of Ariel *via* music (rather than via his interactivity with the elements, as in the shipwreck narration). Ariel leads Ferdinand in 'inuisible[,] playing & singing' (TLN 519, 1.2.375SD). His song is perhaps played on a lute, the traditional instrument for song accompaniment, though it is equally possible that Ariel himself does not play at all:<sup>40</sup> should a subtle-bodied spirit be presented as playing an instrument? The lyrics imply an injunction to a number of addressees to dance, and need not be addressed to Ferdinand at all. He overhears what he is supposed to overhear, though the song pretends otherwise. This is a beguiling song in its strange range of reference—especially the use of the Chanticleer (lit. 'the clear-singing') story, but it is appropriate inasmuch as it is meant to beguile Ferdinand. If the song offers puzzles to the reader or audience, it does so to Ferdinand, too, although of a different kind:

Where shold this Musick be? I'th aire, or th'earth?  
It sounds no more: and sure it waytes vpon  
Some God 'oth' Iland. (TLN 530–2, 1.2.387–9)

Ferdinand is correct in his supposing here, inasmuch as Ariel's music waits upon the wishes of Prospero, the *de facto* ruler of the island, and so, especially in his super-

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40. See Lindley, *Shakespeare and Music*, pp. 2–3.

human power, similar to a god. He asks whether the music is 'T'th aire, or th'earth': the play seems unambiguously to suggest that it is in the air, of which Ariel is made, and not the earth, given the play's association of this element with Caliban. Ferdinand is right, then, in sensing a spiritual or aerial quality to the music. Ariel's second song is more personally tuned to Ferdinand's situation, even though it is mendacious, and or fantastical:

*Full fadom fiue thy Father lies,  
Of his bones are Corral made:  
Those are pearles that were his eies,  
Nothing of him that doth fade,  
But doth suffer a Sea-change  
Into something rich, & strange:  
Sea-Nymphs hourly ring his knell.*

Burthen: ding dong.

*Harke now I heare them, ding-dong bell.* (TLN 539–7, 1.2.396–403)

From the perspective of Ferdinand, this personal aspect within the song's lyrics implies a personal interest on the part of the island's music, which had heretofore seemed impersonal:

The Ditty do's remember my drown'd father,  
This is no mortall busines, nor no sound  
That the earth owes [i.e., 'owns']. (TLN 548–50, 1.2.404–6)

Inasmuch as the play considers Caliban to be representative of earth, and Ariel of air, Ferdinand is right: the sound is not 'owe[d]' by the earth. This is non-mortal business, and the sound which the air itself 'owe[s]' is encapsulated in the person of Ariel. Meanwhile, Miranda asks her father 'What is't a Spirit?' (TLN 553, 1.2.416), remarking:

I might call him  
A thing diuine, for nothing naturall  
I euer saw so Noble. (TLN 562–4, 1.2.416–18)

She implicitly opposes the 'divine' and the 'natural', associating 'nobility' more with the former, and so implicitly stating that nature, graced by nobility, approaches divinity. This dichotomy drawn by Miranda becomes crucial towards the end of the play, when Prospero, deciding to forgive, says: 'Yet, with my nobler reason, gainst my furie | Do I take part' (TLN 1976–7, 5.1.26–7). But back to I. ii: Ferdinand amplifies the above ideas in his reaction to Miranda. He picks up his thought from a few lines earlier—that the music must wait upon some god of the island—and identifies Mi-

randa with this supposed deity, musing to himself that she is 'Most sure the Goddess | On whom these ayres attend' (TLN 268–9, 1.2.420–1), perhaps, as has been often said, translating Virgil's 'o dea certe' (*Aeneid*, I. 328), although Aeneas says this to Venus, a goddess Shakespeare's apparent dislike for whom is registered later in this play, in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, and to some extent in *Venus and Adonis*, in which she receives an ambivalent treatment.<sup>41</sup> Then again, the Venus of the *Aeneid* is disguised as a devotee of Diana (Aeneas calls her 'Phoebi soror' (*Aeneid* I. 329))—a goddess to whom Shakespeare seems partial in *Pericles*, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, and, implicitly, *All's Well That Ends Well*. Indeed, insofar as Marina is an earthly representative of Diana and insofar as Marina and Miranda are similar heroines, the possible comparison of Miranda with Diana is suitable.

Act II begins, like Act V of *The Winter's Tale*, with a tableau in which Gonzalo as counsellor tries to persuade the King from his despair, just as Cleomenes attempts to steer Leontes from his persistent 'Saint-like Sorrow' (TLN 2728, 5.1.1). Gonzalo's attempt is ineffective (as Sebastian says, Alonso 'receives comfort like cold porridge' (TLN 685, 2.1.10–11)) but the sound and sense of his speech are beautiful, creating a placid beginning to the Act—and it is in this music that it most echoes *The Winter's Tale*, Act V:

Beseech you Sir, be merry; you have cause,  
 (So haue we all) of ioy; for our escape  
 Is much beyond our losse; our hint of woe  
 Is common [...] But for the miracle,  
 (I mean our preseruatiō) few in millions  
 Can speake like vs: then wisely (good Sir) weigh  
 Our sorrow, with our comfort. (TLN 675–8, 2.1.1–4; TLN 870–3, 2.1.6–9)

The idea of miracle is not frequent in Shakespeare, nor is it exceptionally rare, with roughly thirty uses across the entire Works. But on those occasions where he uses the word, it seems to stand if not to burst out as a key- or cardinal word around which all those ideas expressed by other words in a speech or poem circulate, as it were in service to this powerful word. It is like the crucial harmonic moment in a piece of music. Shakespeare seems to use the word with a close attention to its original meaning, which derives from the Latin *miror* (I wonder, I marvel). This is somewhat far from the modern, specific meaning—an entry of the 'supernatural' into the

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41. See this dissertation's *The Two Noble Kinsmen* chapter for a more extensive treatment of Venus and Shakespeare's attitude towards her.

'natural'—though this meaning has apparently also existed as long as has the word. However, the confinement of its meaning to this specific sense seems to occur around the time of the Enlightenment and Hume's argument against miracle in this specific sense,<sup>42</sup> though it is still often used loosely in informal conversation. Shakespeare, by contrast with Hume, has a rather free and broad sense of the word's meaning, so that he can conclude Sonnet 65 as follows:

O fearefull meditation, where alack,  
 Shall times best Iewell from times chest lie hid?  
 Or what strong hand can hold his swift foote back,  
 Or who his spoile o[f] beautie can forbid?  
 O none, unlesse this miracle haue might,  
 That in black inck my loue may still shine bright. (65, 9–14)

This does not involve the intervention of a heavenly power—at least not explicitly. It will be, the sonnet seems to say, a *marvel* if love shines bright in black ink. The marvel lies in the contrary (brightness in black), much as in the use in Act III of *The Merchant of Venice*:

  Looke on beautie,  
 And you shall see 'tis purchast by the weight,  
 Which therein works a miracle in nature,  
 Making them lightest that weare most of it. (TLN 1434–7, 3.2.88–91)

Here the sense is clear: the focus of 'miracle' is on the wonder of the observer-subject, he who judges something to be marvellous-miraculous, rather than the strict definition of the object as contravening the rules of nature: so in this opening speech of *The Tempest's* second act, Gonzalo's use of miracle refers to a thing to be wondered at—the group's general preservation—which tempers the common 'Theame of woe'.

Much of the scene—until the entry of Ariel—is given to illustrating the 'cynical and cruel'<sup>43</sup> wit of Antonio and Sebastian and its opposition to Gonzalo. Just as Gonzalo introduced the important idea of miracle to the play, Antonio, parodying him, later picks this word up in mockery: 'His word is more then the miraculous Harpe' (TLN 759, 2.1.82). Surely it is significant, then, that the second of the play's two uses of the noun 'miracle' is spoken by Sebastian in the transformative final scene: 'A most high miracle' (TLN 2151, 5.1.176). Commentators, as seen in every

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42. In §10 of *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*.

43. G. Wilson Knight, p. 214.

modern edition, have seen this last statement as a problem, supposing that, being spoken by a politically ambitious and murderous character, this must be a sarcastic remark, a troubling of V. i's general harmony. Perhaps the remark is to be taken the other way: the wonder of the dramatic situation cuts through the jadedness even of this most apparently irremediable character. Perhaps it also redeems the ostensibly irredeemable. This coheres more with the scene's themes of transformation and forgiveness, and the very brevity of Sebastian's remark can be taken as showing his genuine sense of wonder, as though he is lost for his usual supply of caustic words at the revelation of '*Ferdinand and Miranda, playing at chesse*' (TLN 2140–1, 5.1.171SD). Ariel's role in this scene is discussed in this thesis' introduction, but another moment relating to the play's divine imagination ought to be addressed. This is the equation of conscience by Antonio with deity. Of the figure of Conscience, Antonio says: 'But I feele not | This Deity in my bosome' (TLN 976–7, 2.1.274–5). It is a brief moment, but a telling one inasmuch as it reveals something of the way in which Shakespeare—or Antonio—conceives of the experienced presence of such deity: it is 'felt', not 'known' or 'apprehended'. Although Antonio does not explicitly repent, it is reasonable to assume that he is included in V. i's final reconciliation, that he has perhaps at last 'felt' the deity of Conscience.<sup>44</sup>

II. ii is inaugurated by thunder: '*Enter Caliban, with a burthen of Wood (a noyse of Thunder heard.)*' (TLN 1038–9, 2.2.0SD). This could be called a scene of judgement, but this would be to imply an exceptionalism which it does not have, since Caliban is apparently always under judgement. The important part of the scene for this chapter comes some one-hundred lines in with the establishment of an idolatry—and the introduction of another one of the play's ersatz gods. Meeting Stephano and Trinculo, Caliban amusingly pre-echoes Miranda's famous exclamation on seeing Alonso's party in V. i: 'These be fine things, and if they be not sprights: that's a braue God, and beares Celestiall liquor: I will kneele to him' (TLN 1159–61, 2.2.98–9). One inference that can be taken from this is that Caliban here shows his education by Miran-

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44. I should add that the word 'deity' can for Shakespeare mean 'godlikeness' as well as 'god'. In *Richard III*, Richard remarks caustically that

Humbly complaining to her Deitie,

Got my Lord Chamberlaine his libertie (TLN 80–1, 1.1.76–7)

which means something like, 'Hastings got his liberty by supplicating himself to the [ersatz] godlikeness of Jane Shore'. It may be important that both this usage and that of Antonio are caustic.

da, since the adjective 'brave' is one of her favourites: she uses it in her first speech on the shipwreck, in her first seeing Ferdinand, and of course in the famous exclamation 'O braue new world | That has such people in't' (TLN 2159–60, 5.1.183–4). Caliban commits a second idolatry which would have been particularly evident to the ardent Protestants in Shakespeare's audience, when he treats the bottle—an idol—as a sacred object: 'I'll sweare vpon that Bottle, to be thy true subiect, for the liquor is not earthly' (TLN 1169–70, 2.2.104–5). As always—until his alteration in V. i—Caliban is guided by the material world, even when concerned with the spiritual:

Cal. Ha'st thou not dropt from heauen?

Ste. Out o'th Moone I doe assure thee. I was the Man ith' Moone, when time was.

Cal. I haue seene thee in her: and I doe adore thee:

My Mistris shew'd me thee, and thy Dog, and thy Bush.

Ste. Come, sweare to that: kisse the Booke: I will furnish it anon with new Contents: Sweare. (TLN 1181–7, 2.2.115–21)<sup>45</sup>

It is partly comical, partly pitiable, but above all quite accurate, when Trinculo remarks: 'By this good light, this is a very shallow Monster: I afeard of him? a very weake Monster: The Man ith' Moone? A most poore creadulous Monster' (TLN 1188–91, 2.2.122–4). Caliban's confusion of the spiritual and material is then nicely summed up in his promises, pleas, and devotions to Stephano:

Ile shew thee euey fertill ynch 'oth Island: and I will kisse thy foote: I prethee be my god [...] thou wondrous man. (TLN 1193–4, 2.2.125–6; TLN 1208–9, 2.2.141)

This is an amusing—though, at the same time, lightly tragic—theological confusion to say the least: does Caliban share the pagan belief in apotheosis, as suggested by the plea to Stephano to 'be [his] god'; is this to be taken as an implicit parody of the doctrine of Christ's two natures? Neither Caliban nor Shakespeare resolves these absurdities; both simply enjoy them, until Caliban is brought, in V. i, to renounce these erroneous beliefs.

Skipping over III. i and III. ii—neither scenes of importance for this chapter—we arrive at III. iii, a crucial scene, which begins with Alonso's expression of despair:

Euen here I will put off my hope, and keepe it

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45. Lindley arranges this as prose, but Caliban's speech here is musical and metrical, if also accentual and doggerel. Since, as Lindley says, the point of this inclusion of 'popular superstition' is to indicate Caliban's 'simple-mindedness' (n. to 2.2.119), the clumsiness of doggerel metre seems appropriate.



No longer for my Flatterer: he is droun'd  
Whom thus we stray to finde, and the Sea mocks  
Our frustrate search on land: well, let him goe. (TLN 1520–26, 3.3.4–10)

It is at this stage of the play that the action and condition of the characters is most tragic. To a viewer informed by Scaliger's neo-Aristotelian ideas of tragedy, such as Jonson, it might have been detectable in this scene that the play seemed more like a tragic fifth act—the catastrophe—than the epitasis of Acts III and IV. Even for neo-classical comedy this is strange; confer the Act V comic catastrophes in *Volpone* and *The Alchemist*, for instance. I think that the suggestion or inference then ought to be that this is a romance structure; its closest structural equivalent is perhaps *Pericles*, III. i. The ensuing, rich stage directions, however, perhaps bring out this sense of the tragic visually in their placing of Prospero 'on the top':

*Solemne and strange Musicke: and Prosper on the top (inuisible:) Enter seuerall strange shapes, bringing in a Banquet; and dance about it with gentle actions of salutations, and inuiting the King, &c. to eate, they depart* (TLN 1535–8, 3.3.17SD, 19SD).

Prospero's viewing the action from 'on the top' (wherever exactly this was; Gurr supposes somewhere 'above the upper playing area, [...] adjacent to the heavens or the huts—possibly even the trumpeter's place, if the Globe had one like De Witt's sketch'<sup>46</sup>) would likely have reminded theatre-goers of *The Spanish Tragedy*, all of which is observed, and sparingly commented on, by the ghost of Andrea and the figure of Revenge. The spectacle of the 'Solemne and strange Musicke' and the 'seuerall strange shapes, bringing in a Banquet' is, for all its wonder, apparently focused around the tragic-seeming figure of Prospero as powerful, magical, malevolent revenger.

The bringing in of the banquet is, as George Wilson Knight observes, part of a consistent Shakespearean interest in the feast as of great symbolic value.<sup>47</sup> (Although Wilson Knight focuses on the 'broken feasts' of *Macbeth* and *Timon of Athens*, to my mind the great example is that which terminates *Titus Andronicus*.) Perhaps playwright or original audience would have thought of this and other broken feasts as the table was brought in and as it disappeared. But the men in Alonso's party are not as immediately grasped by the banquet as they are by the strange shapes and the loveliness of the harmony which they hear:

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46. Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage, 1574–1642*, 4th edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 181. Presumably the Blackfriars could supply such a place, too.

47. G. Wilson Knight, pp. 215–6.

*Al.* What harmony is this? my good friends, harke.

*Gon.* Maruellous sweet Musicke. (TLN 1540–1, 3.3.18–19)

As said above, Alonso and his party are not as drawn by the material as Caliban and his, but are lulled via music and wonder—higher pleasures—to the feast. The pleasure of harmony and their wonder are together parodied and inverted in the next stage direction:

*Thunder and Lightning. Enter Ariell (like a Harpey) claps his wings vpon the Table, and with a quiet deuice the Banquet vanishes.* (TLN 1583–5, 3.3.52SD)

Harmony is replaced by the sound equated throughout the play (as well as the Shakespearean corpus) with judgement. The word 'sinne' in Ariel's speech to Alonso, Antonio, and Sebastian puts audience and reader in mind of *hamartia*, or tragic error.

Although, as we shall see, Act V mixes ideas of Providence and Fortune together in working out the design and mechanics of the story—as did Act I—yet in Ariel's speech, the focus is on Destiny:

You are three men of sinne, whom destiny  
That hath to instrument this lower world,  
And what is in't: the neuer surfeited Sea,  
Hath caus'd to belch vp you. (TLN 1586–9, 3.3.53–6)

One wonders here whether Ariel is voicing his own understanding of the world, or if he is reciting a speech prescribed for him by Prospero—in short, how much Prospero and how much Ariel there is in the speech. Given Prospero's pleasure after the performance, we can assume that he accepts the mythology. The speech also distinctly separates heaven and earth for the first time in the play: Destiny, above (again, '*Prosper [is] on the top*' in this scene—a visual signal by which to align him and Destiny) has the lower world 'to [i.e., as] instrument', which it uses in order to carry out its designs. Until this point, the play has seemed to place much of its super-human power within the natural world itself—Ariel's operations here being the best example—so that the play seemed to imagine more a Romantic or Platonic world-soul than the split between heaven and earth to which Christian cosmology adheres.

Upon, the text implies, the three men's trying to attack Ariel and the other spirits, Ariel responds: 'you fooles, I and my fellowes | Are ministers of Fate' (TLN 1593–4, 3.3.60–1). He offers a long and complex speech on their punishment. He begins with admonition:

But remember  
(For that's my businesse to you) that you three

From *Millaine* did supplant good *Prospero*,  
Expos'd vnto the Sea (which hath requit it)  
Him, and his innocent childe. (TLN 1601–5, 3.3.68–72)

Priority is given to 'remembering', since it is from this that repentance begins. The punishment is then attributed to 'The Powres'—a curious word choice, which would seem to equivocate between ascribing it to 'the gods', 'Destiny/Fate', and 'Prospero'. It is mysteriously described, even vague. Ariel continues:

for which foule deed,  
The Powres, delaying (not forgetting) haue  
Incens'd the Seas, and Shores; yea, all the Creatures  
Against your peace: Thee of thy Sonne, Alonso  
They haue bereft; and doe pronounce by me  
Lingring perdition (worse then any death  
Can be at once) shall step, by step attend  
You, and your wayes, whose wraths to guard you from,  
Which here, in this most desolate Isle, else fals  
Vpon your heads, is nothing but hearts-sorrow,  
And a cleere life ensuing. (TLN 1605–15, 3.3.72–82)

Kermode observes how the phrase 'Lingring perdition' is first the object of 'pronounce', then becomes the subject of 'shall [...] attend'.<sup>48</sup> This makes of 'Lingring perdition' something like a pivot, emphasising the role of pain (*poena*) in *paenitentia*, and referring back implicitly to Prospero's words to Miranda at the start of the play: 'Not so much perdition as an hayre [is] | Betid to any creature in the vessell' (TLN 116–7, 1.2.30–1). Thus, if perdition lingers around Act III's temporary catastrophe, it is far off in Acts I and V. In a dense web of numerous subclauses, Ariel claims that the powers employ the seas, shores, and all creatures of the isle to attack the men's peace. They (the powers) have left Alonso bereft of Ferdinand, and 'doe pronounce', by Ariel-as-harpy, that 'Lingring perdition' shall attend all three men of sin. The men, in order to guard themselves from the wrath of the powers—which otherwise will 'fall upon their heads'—have as their only resources 'hearts-sorrow | And a cleere life ensuing'. It is, finally, an injunction to reform through penitence and repentance. It is a call, as with Leontes, to *metanoia*. The question remains as to whether Ariel truly speaks for 'destiny', or whether this word stands for Prospero. The play, I think, deliberately refuses to offer answers to this question. One suspects,

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48. Kermode, ed., n. to 3.3.77.

however, that the play's implicit point is that, even if these are Prospero's words, there may be more truth in them than Prospero himself knows.

Just as this impressive set piece began with music which turned into thunder, so the thunder becomes 'soft Musicke': '*He vanishes in Thunder: then (to soft Musicke.) Enter the shapes againe, and daunce (with mockes and mowes) and carrying out the Table*' (TLN 1616–18, 3.3.82SD). Prospero, in summarising the process, reiterates the revenger's language heard erstwhile in I. ii:

so with good life,  
And obseruation strange, my meaner ministers  
Their seuerall kindes haue done: my high charmes work,  
And these (mine enemies) are all knit vp  
In their distractions: they now are in my powre. (TLN 1622–6, 3.3.86–90)

Since Alonso's rich response is discussed in this thesis' introduction, it falls only to Gonzalo, not among the 'three men of sinne', comparatively and apparently unaffected, to gloss and moralise the scene, resembling, in so doing, a choric figure—or even to a certain extent an emblem writer:

All three of them are desperate: their great guilt  
(Like poyson giuen to worke a great time after)  
Now gins to bite the spirits. (TLN 1643–5, 3.3.105–7)

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Act IV presents the play's staged, ersatz gods, played by Ariel and his 'meaner fellowes' (TLN 1689, 4.1.35). As said above, the play's true divinity, if present, seems to be placed elsewhere than on the stage; therefore, this act and its masque are of secondary interest. More than any other moment in the late plays—perhaps in all of Shakespeare—the main fiction of the play and its plot focuses emphatically on the (for want of a better word) fictionality of masque. This moment stages, as it were, decoy theophany, decoy divinity. Nevertheless, it will be useful to discuss select parts. The beginning of IV. i is effectively the masque's prologue. It also marks the only major plot development in the act, namely the betrothal of Ferdinand and Miranda. Another recollection follows in Prospero's admonitions to Ferdinand of the importance of preserving Miranda's chastity, though this time it is of Marina's pledge to herself,

If fires be hote, kniues sharpe, or waters deepe,  
Vntide I still my virgin knot will keepe (G1v, 4.1.159–60)

which, as said, may be lifted from the 'nodus virginitatis' of *Historia Apollonii*, 1. 1.<sup>49</sup>

Prospero says:

If thou do'st breake her Virgin-knot, before  
All sanctimonious ceremonies may  
With full and holy right, be ministred,  
No sweet aspersion shall the heauens let fall  
To make this contract grow [...] Therefore take heede,  
As Hymens Lamps shall light you. (TLN 1667–71, 4.1.15–19; TLN 74–5,  
4.1.22–3)

It is curious that Hymen is named, who does not appear in what follows, and that the goddesses, who are to populate the masque, are not. Nevertheless, the line draws the sketch of an image which is realised in Hymen's appearance in the first moments of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. Notwithstanding the celebration of ceremony to be found in III. i of *The Winter's Tale* and the first and final acts of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, this is perhaps Shakespeare's most insistent argument for the *effectiveness* of ceremony, i.e., ceremony almost as performative utterance, a set of ritualised actions and speech which alter reality: *if* all sanctimonious ceremonies are with full and holy rite (or right) ministered, *then* the heavens will let fall the sweet aspersion with which the marriage contract may grow. It is perhaps telling that two of the keywords in this speech—'sanctimonious' and 'aspersion'—have more or less lost their positive meaning in modern English.

'Ceres' is the first word spoken by Iris, presumably alone on the masque's stage (the entries for Ceres and Juno are marked later)—which was presumably a marked off part of the Blackfriars stage—and describes her first and foremost as a 'most bounteous Lady' (TLN 1718, 4.1.60). It is a typical Shakespearean nearly-tautologous superlative: the focus is on the richness, abundance, and plenty (the next phrase compliments her 'rich Leas' (TLN 1718, 4.1.60) which adhere to and stem from the goddess. Iris offers almost a Classical catalogue: 'Of Wheate, Rye, Barley, Fetches, Oates, and Peas' (TLN 1719, 4.1.61)). The language of all of the speeches, but especially this opening speech by Iris, is as rich and bounteous as the things it describes. This masque is a banquet of words. On the language of this passage, A. D. Nutall writes that the piece is a 'nature hymn [...] bristling with grains and grasses, wet with rain and dew'; indeed the speech is sensuous, nearly tactile, in its sense of

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49. See discussion of *Pericles*, Act IV.

texture. On this basis, Nuttall expresses surprise 'that this great nature poem is not better loved';<sup>50</sup> I share this feeling. The vocabulary is pleasingly *recherché* and far-fetched in a way that Jupiter's and Diana's speeches are not—as I say in the Conclusion to this thesis, this complexity is part of what makes this masque different from those moments, and therefore other than sacred in character—and comes as a shock against what Anne Barton correctly identifies as the play's general tendency to use a sparer language than is typical of Shakespeare.<sup>51</sup> Indeed, much of the poetry and effect of this scene comes from its essentially surprising nature; it is, as is the Jonsonian or Jacobean masque—perhaps more so, as though Shakespeare were trying to out-Jonson Jonson—something like a theatrical and linguistic cornucopia, and its contrast is heightened by the neoclassical sparseness of the preceding action.

Iris then calls the nymph-naiads and 'Sun-burn'd Sicklemen' (TLN 1800, 4.1.134) to dance, after which the masque is dissolved. Of more immediate interest to this chapter than the concluding dance, however, is how it concludes, namely with the unusually expressive—yet vague—stage-sound direction which brings this moment about: 'Prospero starts sodainly and speakes, after which to a strange hollow and confused noyse, they heauily vanish' (TLN 1807–8, 4.1.138SD, 4.1.142SD). What, exactly does Prospero 'speak' here? It would not seem to be anything from the *vanitas* speech, all of which clearly comes *after* the masque's ending. Though puzzling, this is not so tantalising as the specified '*strange hollow and confused noyse*'. If produced by musical instruments, one imagines a sense of 'hollowness' might be better conveyed by wind than string instruments, or at least by bowed than plucked strings. If not produced by instruments, we are left at rather a loss as to what this sound might have resembled and thus, of course, how it was produced. Similarly laden with mystery, the directions conclude that '*they heauily vanish*'. This is an exceptionally 'literary' direction—perhaps Crane's flourish—and leaves most staging questions unanswered. Nevertheless, it makes compelling reading.

As Act V begins, Alonso and his party are imprisoned 'In the *line-groue* which weather-fends [Prospero's] Cell' (TLN 198, 5.1.10). Alonso, Sebastian, and Antonio—the three men of sin—'abide all three distracted', with 'the remainder mourning ouer them, | Brim full of sorrow, and dismay' (TLN 1960–2, 5.1.12–14). At this point in his speech, however, Ariel's report veers surprisingly. The pivot-image—by which we

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50. Nuttall, *Two Concepts*, p. 141.

51. Barton, ed., p. 13.

proceed from an expectation of punishment to a revelation and realisation of mercy—is in the sorrow of the sympathetic Gonzalo:

but chiefly

Him that you term'd Sir, the good old Lord *Gonzallo*,  
His teares runs downe his beard like winters drops  
From eaues of reeds. (TLN 1962–5, 5.1.14–17)

This, with its beautiful nature imagery and harmonious sound ('From eaues of reeds'), prepares us for the reversal which makes the conclusion of the play so exceptional. Ariel continues:

your charm so strongly works 'em  
That if you now beheld them, your affections  
Would become tender. (TLN 1965–7, 5.1.17–19)

Then Prospero and Ariel:

*Pro.* Dost thou thinke so, Spirit?  
*Ar.* Mine would, Sir, were I humane.  
*Pro.* And mine shall. (TLN 1968–70, 5.1.19–20)

Anne Barton remarks on how obscure Prospero's original intentions are.<sup>52</sup> Whilst I am inclined to agree with this assessment, I would hazard that this pointed exchange between the magician and his spirit must necessarily be pointless had Prospero always intended to forgive. From this significant exchange, Prospero continues to give one of the play's most significant speeches:

Hast thou (which art but aire) a touch, a feeling  
Of their afflictions, and shall not my selfe,  
One of their kinde, that relish all as sharpely,  
Passion as they, be kindlier mou'd then thou art? (TLN 1971–4, 5.1.21–4)

The part of this which deals with sympathy is notable not only for its memorable description of the thought processes—or motions of the heart—behind that phenomenon, but also for its brief, passing, but crucial definition of Ariel as 'but aire'. This is almost a description *via negativa*. Prospero does not say 'you are air', but 'you are nothing but air', 'you are only air'. Although he does not elaborate on the implications of this, one legitimate inference would be that he is reminded of a natural sympathy, like that which he describes in his first narration to Miranda in I. ii:

There they hoyst vs  
To cry to th' Sea, that roard to vs; to sigh

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52. Barton, ed., pp. 9–12.

To th' windes, whose pittie sighing backe againe  
Did vs but louing wrong. (TLN 253–56, 1.2.148–51)

The noun 'kinde' in the sympathy speech, not infrequently a synonym for Nature in Shakespeare and elsewhere, would seem to lend this suggestion some substance. The point is then reinforced with the comparative adverb 'kindlier' in the next line. The speech moves from a statement of sympathy felt, to the declaration of the major decision to forgive:

Thogh with their high wrongs I am strook to th'quick,  
Yet, with my nobler reason, gainst my furie  
Doe I take part: the rarer Action is  
In vertue, then in vengeance: they, being penitent,  
The sole drift of my purpose doth extend  
Not a frowne further. (TLN 1975–80, 5.1.25–30)

This embrace of forgiveness is (also) a refusal of revenge, and is cast (to that end) in dramatic as well as Christian terms. The Christian ideas are adumbrated in various phrases and words but nowhere more evidently than in 'penitent', which had been such a vital word for the regeneration of Leontes. There is a lightly playful metatheatricality to the speech, as though Prospero (and Shakespeare) were saying to the audience: 'This ending will be better—a "rarer Action"—than that of a run-of-the-mill revenge tragedy'. The refusal of that genre is *almost* personified, indeed, in the phrase 'gainst my furie', which word points us to revenge tragedy and the personified Fury of Seneca's *Thyestes*. And, against this fury, as said above, is the 'nobler reason'. One is reminded of Hamlet's notion of 'godlike reason' (4.4.38; this appears in the second, 1604 Quarto, and not the Folio text.)

The action of the scene pauses here while Prospero, in soliloquy, reworks Ovid's Medea-speech from *Metamorphoses*, VII. As William Maginn observed, the speech begins with a felicitous mistranslation, which originates with Golding, where Ovid's 'dîque' (VII. 198) is rendered 'Elues'. Maginn remarks: 'the deities invoked by Medea were anything but what, in our language, attaches to the idea of elves', yet 'what was unsuitable for Ovid was perfectly suitable for Shakespeare; and accordingly he had no scruple of borrowing a few words of romantic appeal to the tiny deities of fairy superstition'.<sup>53</sup> The shift from Ovid to Shakespeare would appear, then, to be from addressing the gods to addressing the elves and 'demi-puppets'.

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53. William Maginn, 'Dr. Farmer's Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare Considered', *Fraser's Magazine*, 20 (1839), 476–90, 647–66 (p. 487) (quoted in Furness' *Variorum*, n. to 5.1.40f.). Maginn concludes that Shakespeare evidently used the Latin, too: 'Ovid has



But, as Piero Boitani points out, Shakespeare also departs from Golding and Ovid in naming particular deities—in this case, Jove and Neptune.<sup>54</sup> In doing so, he follows not so much Golding and Ovid as Ariel's speech on his activity in the shipwreck narrated in I. ii. Like Ariel's, Prospero's invocation is not a pious one, but one in which the gods take their place as ornaments to a speech on the potency of Prospero's great 'Art'. Gods are not addressed, but elves. Where gods are mentioned, they are restrained to being personifications of the elemental forces with which the play's phenomenology is concerned. Nevertheless, an attentive reading of the play must acknowledge the investment of personal qualities in the elements, particularly the seas. This is seen in many of this chapter's preceding quotations. Perhaps the gods of *The Tempest* are not so distant.

Prospero's speech is stirring, but (perhaps because) not strictly grammatical. He apostrophises 'Ye Elues' (TLN 1984, 5.1.33), describing their activities in a series of dependent clauses, the first beginning 'ye, that on the sounds' (TLN 1985, 5.1.34). The speech veers at the start of the fifth of these dependent clauses ('by whose ayde' (TLN 1991, 5.1.40)) into a digression on those activities which Prospero has undertaken via his 'Art'. The speech begins to close with Prospero's resolution, beginning 'But this rough Magicke | I heere abiure' (TLN 2000–1, 5.3.50–1). His first clause, however, in which he addresses the 'Elues of hils, brooks, stāding lakes & groues' (TLN 1984, 5.1.44), like Herbert's marvellous sonnet 'Prayer', is never completed by a main verb. Be that as it may, the resolution calls for 'Some heauenly Musicke' (TLN 2003, 5.1.52), redescribed two lines later as an 'Ayrie-charme' (TLN 2005, 5.1.54), by which Prospero might 'worke [his] end' on the senses of Alonso and his company.

Alonso is brought in by Ariel '*with a franticke gesture*' (TLN 2009–10, 5.1.57SD), followed by his company. Prospero casts a spell in order to restore their senses:

A solemne Ayre, and the best comforter,  
To an vnsetled fancie, Cure thy braines  
(Now vseless) boile[d] within thy skull. (TLN 2014–16, 5.1.58–60)

Accordingly,

Their vnderstanding  
Begins to swell, and the approaching tide  
Will shortly fill the reasonable shore

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contributed to the invocation of Prospero at least as much as Golding' (p. 487).

54. Boitani, p. 109.

That now ly foule, and muddy. (TLN 2035–8, 5.1.79–82)

This speech obviously plays with the sea-conceit running throughout the play, but also, in its appeals to 'vnderstanding' and 'the reasonable shore', echoes Prospero's forgiveness speech in its emphasis on his 'nobler reason' and on the 'rarer action' being in 'virtue' than in 'vengeance'. The play says in these moments that it does not only stage forgiveness but reason, each exalting the other. Restored, the first words are spoken by 'Holy *Gonzallo*', who immediately addresses the heavens:

All torment, trouble, wonder, and amazement  
Inhabits heere: some heauenly power guide vs  
Out of this fearefull Country. (TLN 2061–3, 5.1.104–6)

Indeed, throughout this scene it is often Gonzalo's role as it were to bracket each realisation and revelation with prayerful utterance. In a moment reminiscent of Pericles' transitory suspicion that Marina is a fairy sent by an incensed god to plague him, Alonso expresses a measure of disbelief. He addresses Prospero:

Where thou bee'st he or no,  
Or some enchanted triffle to abuse me,  
(As late I haue beene) I not know: thy Pulse  
Beats as of flesh, and blood: and since I saw thee,  
Th'affliction of my minde amends, with which  
I feare a madnesse held me: this must craue  
(And if this be at all) a most strange story. (TLN 2070–6, 5.1.111–7)

But it is truer to say that this is not so much disbelief as a deep agnosticism concerning his perceptions. Alonso accordingly holds onto material certainty ('thy Pulse | Beats as of flesh, and blood'; 'madnesse held me'). His response is echoed by Gonzalo: 'Whether this be, | Or be not, I'le not sweare' (TLN 2083–4, 5.1.122–3). In due course, however, the scene moves from these material preoccupations to the ideal. Alonso and Prospero descant almost playfully on Patience personified and, effectively, deified:

*Alo.* Irreparable is the losse, and patience  
Saies, it is past her cure.  
*Pro.* I rather thinke  
You haue not sought her helpe, of whose soft grace  
For the like losse, I haue her soueraigne aid,  
And rest my selfe content. (TLN 2106–2111, 5.1.141–5)

It is Prospero here who playfully—he plays with Alonso's mistaken belief that Ferdinand is drowned—deifies Patience by referring to her 'soft grace' and 'sovereign

aid'. Since it is a playful usage, it would be a mistake to draw any unduly grave conclusions from it. At this point, Prospero performs the revelation, pulling back the curtain to reveal Ferdinand and Miranda in the cell, '*playing at Chesse*' (TLN 2141–2, 5.1.171SD). As Kermode writes, 'For the few lines of the recognition, the language assumes a hieratic quality'.<sup>55</sup> Alonso restates his disbelief in terms which also emphasise his grief, which lies in a state of potential: it will either double or disappear, depending on whether this Ferdinand is or is not 'A vision of the Island':

*Alo.* If this proue

A vision of the Island, one deere Sonne

Shall I twice loose.

*Seb.* A most high miracle.

*Fer.* Though the Seas threaten they are mercifull,

I haue curs'd them without cause.

*Alo.* Now all the blessings

Of a glad father, compasse thee about:

Arise, and say how thou cam'st heere. (TLN 2148–56, 5.1.175–81)

Though the focus is often on Alonso's repentance, there is a brief moment of it here in Ferdinand's regret at cursing the seas—a moment which we never see or hear, but which strangely pre-echoes Palamon's response to the peripeteia at the end of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*: hearing of the death of Arcite and his consequent victory, he says in disbelief, 'Can that be, | When *Venus* I have said is false?' (TLN 3247–8, 5.4.44–5). This reported moment is likewise never shown in the text. Alonso echoes Ferdinand's supposition in I. ii that Miranda is, as she says in her first lines of the play, some 'God of power' (TLN 91, 1.2.10): 'Is she the goddesse that hath seuer'd vs, | And brought vs thus together?' (TLN 2164–5, 5.1.187–8). Ferdinand responds by affirming Miranda's mortality, while also affirming the divine power which brings her and him together: 'Sir, she is mortall; | But by immortall prouidence, she's mine' (TLN 2166–7, 5.1.188–9). Since this betrothal effectively makes Miranda Alonso's daughter-in-law, he, repenting his wrongdoing towards her and Prospero, exclaims, in a moment reminiscent perhaps of *Lear*, IV. vii:

But O, how odly will it sound, that I

Must aske my childe forgiuenesse? (TLN 2176–7, 5.1.197–8)

Prospero intervenes, advising and exhorting a forgetting and (hence) a forgiving:

There Sir stop,

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55. Kermode, ed., n. to 5.1.177.

Let vs not burthen our remembrances, with  
A heauinesse that's gon. (TLN 2176–80, 5.1.197–200)

As David Lindley observes, 'For the first, indeed the only time in the play, Prospero commands a forgetting, freeing both himself and Alonso from the destructive corrosiveness of recollection' (p. 47). This is in stark contrast to the injunctions to recall made throughout I. ii to Miranda, Ariel, and Caliban and, crucially, Ariel's emphasis on 'remembrance' when speaking to the 'three men of sinne' in III. iii. As has already been said, Gonzalo performs almost a choric role for much of this scene, encircling the more exalted moments of revelation and reunion with prayer and blessing. The following is one of his most memorable speeches on this, offering his emotional response, uttering a prayer to the gods asking to bless Ferdinand and Miranda with a crown, and detailing the providential principle which Ferdinand had figured in the *prosopopeia* of 'diuine Prouidence' a few lines earlier:

I haue inly wept,  
Or should haue spoke ere this: looke downe you gods  
And on this couple drop a blessed crowne;  
For it is you, that haue chalk'd forth the way  
Which brought vs hither. (TLN 2181–5, 5.1.200–4)

Gonzalo differs very slightly from Ferdinand and Alonso here (without contradicting him: their beliefs concerning the story's divine machinery are not in conflict but simply cast in different terms) by ascribing the providential scheme to the gods in general, whereas Alonso treated Miranda more as goddess-like herself, while Ferdinand attributes the happy conclusion to 'immortal prouidence' (TLN 2167, 5.1.189). At any rate, the hieratic language continues as Alonso voices his assent to Gonzalo's remarks: 'I say Amen, *Gonzallo*' (TLN 2186, 5.1.204). In this excess of wonder Gonzalo continues and elaborates, casting the original action—that which occurred 'In the dark-backward and Abisme of Time'—as a *felix culpa*:

Was *Millaine* thrust from *Millaine*, that his Issue  
Should become Kings of *Naples*? O reioyce  
Beyond a common ioy, and set it downe  
With gold on lasting Pillers: In one voyage  
Did *Claribell* her husband finde at *Tunis*,  
And *Ferdinand* her brother, found a wife,  
Where he himselfe was lost: *Prospero*, his Dukedome  
In a poore Isle: and all of vs, our selues,  
When no man was his owne. (TLN 2187–95, 5.1.205–13)

Thus a providential scheme—albeit a mysterious one—is drawn by the 'noble' characters.

This is rather amusingly redrawn, then, when Caliban and his company are led in by Ariel, whereon Stephano declares that 'all is | But fortune' (TLN 2250–1, 5.1.257). Providence and Fortune are not the only divinities treated: Caliban seems to have abandoned his worship of Stephano by this point, since he addresses Setebos: 'O *Setebos*, these be braue Spirits indeede' (TLN 2254, 5.1.260). We see that Sebastian and Antonio have not altogether relinquished their 'cynical and cruel'<sup>56</sup> sense of humour. They mock the company:

*Seb.* Ha, ha:

What things are these, my Lord Anthonio?

Will money buy em?

*Ant.* Very like: one of them

Is a plaine Fish, and no doubt marketable. (TLN 2257–61, 5.1.263–4)

However, they prove to be familiar and on reasonably good terms with Stephano and Trinculo. Caliban is, as ever, condemned much more seriously by Prospero but seems, by his final lines, also to have found a way to repentance and transformation:

Ile be wise hereafter,

And seeke for grace: what a thrice double Asse

Was I to take this drunkard for a god?

And worship this dull foole? (TLN 2291–4, 5.1.292–5)

As David Lindley says, 'It is possible to see Caliban's line as theologically loaded, an acknowledgement of the need for divine grace—or it may express no more than a desire to avoid a beating' (p. 97). Indeed, his resolution to be 'wise' can seem more like a calculated effort at self-preservation. It is a word and virtue susceptible to cynicism, as when Volpone advises Celia in his attempted seduction of her to be wise:

*Celia.* If you have conscience—

*Volpone.* 'Tis the beggar's virtue;

If thou hast wisdom, hear me, Celia. (*Volpone*, 3.7.210–11)

It is possible to interpret Caliban as insincere at this moment, just as it is to interpret Sebastian's earlier exclamation ('A most high miracle' (TLN 2151, 5.1.177)) as sarcastic. An important part of the scene, for whatever reason, is its ambiguity. Nevertheless, an undermining of the scene does seem to be contrary to its purposes. Finally,

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56. Wilson Knight, p. 214.

by way of closing, Prospero gives Ariel one more task: to fulfil his promise, made to Alonso's party, of a safe and auspicious journey to Naples:

I'll deliver all,  
And promise you calme Seas, auspicious gales,  
And saile, so expeditious, that shall catch  
Your Royall fleete farre off: My *Ariel*; chicke  
That is thy charge: Then to the Elements  
Be free, and fare thou well: please you draw neere. (TLN 2313–8, 5.1.310–6)

Thus is summarised in this final image the play's symbolic progression from 'tempest', and its various implications socio-political and cosmic, to—to choose just one of many possible words, though one which one hopes works as a general descriptor—harmony.

## *The Two Noble Kinsmen*

*omnia vincit amor: et nos cedamus amori.*<sup>1</sup>

Vergil, *Ecl.*, 10. 69

*The Two Noble Kinsmen*—like *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest* but unlike *Pericles* and *Cymbeline*—does not attach its interests and mechanics to one particular deity, but several, though only one appears materially upon the stage (Hymen, of whom I shall say more later). There are apparently at least three deities at work in the play who are of central importance: Mars, Venus, and Diana. These are the gods to whom Arcite, Palamon, and Emilia (respectively) pray in V. i, and whose chief representative qualities—war, love (or desire), and chastity—are made the predominant concerns of the play. Of these principal deities, Ethelbert Donaldson writes that

Venus is the most powerful malignant influence in the play; but in actual fact she shares her malignancy with Mars, from whose handiwork Shakespeare takes many of the play's most gruesome images.<sup>2</sup>

It is true that the play's three societies—the Athenian, Theban, and Amazonian—are militaristic, and Martial.<sup>3</sup> But this chapter's contention is that Venus wins the day, even though the various demands of all the principal deities are apparently satisfied by the outcome of the drama. In arguing this, I find myself generally in agreement with Philip Edwards' still outstanding essay on the play—which claims that Palamon's prayer to Venus forms the play's thematic centre<sup>4</sup>—and, perhaps, with Ann Thompson, as well as Robert Kean Turner and Patricia Tatspaugh, although these three leave the claim implicit: Thompson states, commenting on I. i, that 'love is greater than war', from which we might extrapolate that, in her reading, Venus proves greater than Mars;<sup>5</sup> Tatspaugh and Turner write that: 'The thematic centres of the play are in the first act and in Palamon's prayer to Venus in Act 5, Scene 1', not-

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1. 'Love conquers all, and let us yield to love.'

2. E. Talbot Donaldson, *The Swan at the Well: Shakespeare Reading Chaucer* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), p. 54.

3. Throughout this chapter, I capitalise this word in order to acknowledge the relationship between the English adjective and the Roman god.

4. Philip Edwards, 'On the Design of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*', *A Review of English Literature*, 5 (1964), 89–105 (p. 94). Edwards' article is reprinted in Clifford Leech's Signet edition (London: New English Library, 1966), pp. 243–61.

5. Ann Thompson, *Shakespeare's Chaucer: A Study in Literary Origins* (Liverpool: Liverpool

ing—perhaps tellingly, given the focus of these two stretches of the play on the gods—that they are 'both of Shakespeare's composition', whereas Acts II–IV belong generally to Fletcher (excluding II. i, which seems to be Shakespeare's).<sup>6</sup> Finally, although Piero Boitani does not pay great attention to the play's deities, he does see the drama as centred around the tension between *eros* and *philia*, which terms he glosses as love and fellowship respectively,<sup>7</sup> and does later add that '[t]he contrast between Mars and Venus is an integral part of the story ever since Boccaccio's *Teseida*'.<sup>8</sup>

This essay therefore focuses on Venus. Before exploring what sort of Venus this play presents—and indeed what sort of Mars and Diana—it will be helpful to outline the world picture which the play seems to draw, since the gods, characters, and themes are so intimately interwoven. The play does not offer, as I have said, a theophany as such beyond the wordless role of Hymen; there is no dream vision or explicitly miraculous intervention as in *Pericles* or *Cymbeline*. Instead, the gods are perceivable in their effects; they are manifested in the speeches, personalities, and destinies of the characters, and, to some extent, the faith which these characters profess in their gods. Donaldson puts the matter well when he writes that

Venus and Mars and Diana are not seen as manipulating mankind from above, but from within, with the result that the play's characters themselves seem to have come down from the Knight's temple walls [i.e., from Chaucer].<sup>9</sup>

Instead of a world into which a god abruptly and suddenly intervenes, this play seems rather to present a world suffused by competing, cooperative divine influences. If the gods are to be known, then, by their fruits—the effects brought forth by the characters, whose hearts, as Donaldson, are possessed with their patron gods<sup>10</sup>—

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University Press, 1978), p. 175.

6. See Turner and Tatzpaugh, ed., pp. 4–5. This chapter accepts the traditional division of authorship, namely that Shakespeare wrote I. i through to II. i, Fletcher authored the remainder of Act II, as well as (probably all of) Acts III and IV, and the Prologue and Epilogue, and that Shakespeare wrote Act V, save for V. ii, which concludes the subplot of the Jailer's Daughter.

7. Piero Boitani, *The Genius to Improve an Invention: Literary Transitions* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002), p. 77.

8. Boitani, p. 85.

9. Donaldson, p. 54.

10. Donaldson, p. 91.



then the effects can be seen in the play's speeches and themes. These themes can be seen as comprised of, or built upon, sets of binaries. The play seems, at first, to be one concerned with the ideas of purity, corruption, and purgation. It would take too much space to number every example of this, but that the theme of purity occurs as early as the Prologue (universally attributed to Fletcher) in describing Chaucer—perhaps surprisingly for the poet whom we think of today as the author of 'The Miller's Tale', etc.<sup>11</sup>—as 'a noble Breeder, and a pure' (TLN 26, 1.0.10) is telling. The theme is sustained in the first two scenes, in which the moral, governmental, and pestilential impurities of Thebes drive the initial action of the play and put all in motion: in the first scene, the impurity and corruption of the corpses neglected on the battlefield provoke the supplication of the Theban women to Theseus and his consequent attack on Creon; in the second scene, the moral impurity and corruption in Thebes move Palamon and Arcite to leave, until pious—one might say pure—considerations of honour and the duty to family persuade them to stay, thus connecting both I. i and I. ii via the common theme of the hero's reluctant acquiescence to a necessary duty.<sup>12</sup> Emilia is, as a devotee of Diana, a living symbol of purity and sustains the theme from her entry in II. ii, throughout the rest of the play. Indeed, the first spectacle, with Hymen, the Athenians, and the Boy's epithalamion, is a celebration of purity, deliberately set up in order to be interrupted by the competing and complementary theme of corruption—as the First Queen says—'[o]f mortall loathsomenes' (TLN 113, 1.1.45).

While this binary offers a basic thematic tension, certain corollaries immediately follow, and the picture soon grows more complex: the competition between purity and corruption carries over almost by necessity—given the two kinsmen's chivalric code—into a sustained interest in the noble versus the base. The clue is in the play's title—which one could say turns out to be ironic—and the theme is scattered throughout the play. Furthermore, as Philip Edwards points out, the play's consequent interest in innocence versus experience (and therefore the growth from the former to the latter) is of central importance for the three main characters.<sup>13</sup> These

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11. For Chaucer's sixteenth- and seventeenth-century reputation and its differences from that of our age, see Ann Thompson, pp. 3f.

12. I follow here a suggestion in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, ed. by N. W. Bawcutt (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977), pp. 10, 19.

13. Edwards, pp. 95–8.

themes seem to grow out of the interest in the fundamental binary between the pure and the impure which is set up emphatically in the first two scenes. But the matter is made more complex once we relate these themes—as I contend the play invites us to do—to the gods. The purity theme set up in the first act is referred to in a key moment of the fifth, namely during Arcite's prayer to Mars:

O Great Corrector of enormous times,  
Shaker of ore-rank States, thou grand decider  
Of dustie, and old tytles, that healst with blood  
The earth when it is sicke, and curst [i.e., curest] the world  
O'th pluresie of people. (TLN 2714–18, 5.1.62–66)

Mars is cast as a healer, moving close to the domain of Apollo and Aesculapius. The likening of Mars (or war) to a purgative effect is not quite a commonplace; nor is it quite a novel comparison. Shakespeare himself uses it in *Coriolanus* (TLN 2879–83, 4.5.228–33) and *2 Henry IV* (TLN 1931–4, 4.1.63–6),<sup>14</sup> which tells us that this was a fairly stable Shakespearean conception for those characters with a martial cast of mind—as do the other uses of this *topos* in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. Perhaps the most important of these is spoken by the First Queen to Theseus:

Oh pittie Duke,  
Thou purger of the earth, draw thy feard Sword  
That does good turnes to'th world (TLN 115–17, 1.1.47–9)

which connects Theseus with Mars and suggests his role as something like his earthly representative. This connection is explored below.

In order to understand the central concern of the drama—the conflict between Palamon and Arcite over Emilia—we must understand the knights' conflicting claims for the right to love her.<sup>15</sup> For Palamon, the issue revolves around the justice (as he sees it, and, as I will later argue, as the gods seem to see it) of his having seen Emilia first (TLN 911, 2.2.160); for Arcite, however, it revolves around the conviction, on his part, that Palamon need not 'love alone' (TLN 951, 2.2.192). Perhaps, in this way, Arcite's spirit is truer to that of friendship than Palamon's, which forgoes friendship for love. Therefore it would make sense that Arcite prays to Mars and Palamon to Venus, and this would not be, as Donaldson says, an 'arbitrary assigne-

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14. With thanks to Turner and Tatspaugh, n. to 1.2.20–26.

15. Donaldson is right to emphasise that theirs is a fight not to possess Emilia—the marriage business is Theseus' intervention in III. iv—but merely to love her (Donaldson, p. 56).

ment' of each knight to a particular deity on the basis of mere convenience.<sup>16</sup> Indeed, this difference of religious allegiance seems to signal a difference in spirit between the two. Palamon's humour is melancholy (TLN 3071, 5.3.49), almost choleric: he inclines towards purity and single-mindedness, whereas Arcite delights more in plurality, is of an easier temperament, and a more sanguine humour. Compared to Arcite, Palamon approaches puritanism; compared to Palamon, Arcite tends almost towards a 'cakes and ale' philosophy (*Twelfth Night*, TLN 811, 2.3.114). The difference is not marked as strongly as that between Malvolio and Sir Toby Belch, of course; this is a subtle distinction, therefore more importantly to be noted. Arcite seems to be much less incensed than Palamon; the latter, on the other hand, feels the wrong he believes his friend has done to him keenly. This reading fits with Arcite's age—he is Mars' 'pupil' and '[y]oungest follower of [his] drum' (TLN 2705–6, 5.1.56–7)—and it would contradict Donaldson's claim that the two main characters are indistinct as personalities, whilst confirming the more nuanced distinction between the two drawn by Eugene Waith, Ann Thompson, and N. W. Bawcutt.<sup>17</sup> More importantly, it would agree with Emilia's own recognition of their distinctness: 'Mellencholly | Becomes him [i.e., Palamon] nobly; So do's *Arcites* mirth' (TLN 3071–2, 5.3.49–50). (However, N. W. Bawcutt and Ann Thompson are also right to point out that their differentiation is also slightly inconsistent; this may be attributable to the divided authorship, which seems responsible for the play's few and overall unimportant inconsistencies.<sup>18</sup>) To push this point concerning youth further, at the point of their falling in love with Emilia, both knights seem childlike in their instantaneous and overblown devotion, but Palamon especially so. Arcite says, once they begin to quarrel: 'You play the child extremely' (TLN 971, 2.2.207). Indeed, the claim for justice on the basis of having seen something first may even remind readers and audience of a childish petulance. This raises two questions, upon whose implications I shall later build: (1) that of whether the characters suffer from an excess of innocence as, say, Leontes and Othello do of jealousy, or Macbeth of ambition; and (2) that of whether in Arcite's demise we are to see a tragedy whose theme is the death or waste of youth, as we do, say, in the deaths of Cordelia or Ophelia. I might also add that the

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16. Donaldson, p. 54; see also p. 69.

17. Donaldson, p. 51, p. 56; Waith, ed., p. 45; Ann Thompson, p. 177; Bawcutt, ed., p. 23.

18. Bawcutt, ed., pp. 31–2; Ann Thompson, p. 180.

theme of childhood and innocence—and its betrayal in the breaking off of long-standing friendship and kinship—ties this play closely to *The Winter's Tale*.

The central contention, then, regarding the justice—or not—of 'first seeing' is vital for our subject, since this concern raises the question of its relation to the gods who are everywhere present in the language of the drama, and, at times, traceable even in the action itself. This is to say that the play prompts us to ask whether its own divine plan supports Palamon's claim of 'first seeing', or whether his claim is, as Arcite says, 'nothing' (TLN 912, 2.2.161). These two questions offer two different ways into an understanding of the play's divine world, and the contention of this chapter is that Palamon's claim is apparently ratified and vindicated by the conclusion of the drama, where his allegiance and devotion to Venus are rewarded by his marriage to Emilia, in what can be described as a triumph of Venus over Mars (and by extension the martial side of life, for which Arcite fundamentally stands) as well as over the virginity overseen by Diana, for which stands Emilia.

Let us look first, then, at Venus. Edwards writes well of the power which the play attributes to her, arguing that it is one

that changes her victims' natures, overturns them rather, that grips them the more the older they get, making them more and more ludicrous and grotesque. As the apparently sincere tribute to the might of Venus continues [i.e., Palamon's prayer in V. i.], the operations of almighty love seem more and more disgusting.<sup>19</sup>

The play and the prayer both seem to realise the motto *amantes amentes*; perhaps (as Donaldson suggests) Shakespeare was even thinking of January and May in 'The Merchant's Tale' as he composed Palamon's prayer and its description of the various indignities to which the lover may submit him or herself.<sup>20</sup> The play certainly seems largely to ignore Chaucer's characterisation of Venus as 'the blisfull Citherea benigne,—|I mene Venus, honourable and digne' ('Knight's Tale', 2215–16), and the prayer to the goddess of Shakespeare's Palamon seems a long way in tone and intent from that of Chaucer's, which begins 'Faireste of faire, O lady myn, Venus' ('Knight's Tale', 2221). Another thing to remember, however—and which no critics do, as far as I have seen—is that Palamon's is a public prayer, given in the public arena, before a warlike society. Shakespeare will probably not produce love poetry for such a set-

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19. Edwards, p. 91.

20. Donaldson, p. 69.

ting. The prayer to Venus, unpleasant though it may be, does keep reasonably well with the distinctly Martial world of the play. Edwards overstates the case in calling this picture of love's operations 'disgusting', as does Donaldson in commenting on the prayer's 'ugliness'.<sup>21</sup>

Nevertheless, the question is presented of who this somewhat surprising Venus is. First of all, it will be useful to establish the consistency of this major deity across Shakespeare's work by showing the similarity between the Venus of the present play to that of 'the first heire of [his] inuention' (A4r; Epistle, 11–12), *Venus and Adonis*. This is not to say that the Venus of the early epyllion is the same as the Venus of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. The Venus of the early poem is a curious one, seeming at some points both more earthly and more earthy (so less divine) than the mortal Adonis. Shakespeare summarises her difficulty well when he writes that 'She's loue; she loues, and yet she is not lou'd' (E1v, 610), or when he addresses her as 'Poore Queene of loue, in thine own law forlorne' (C2r, 251). The poem implies that she is a peculiarly human goddess—youthful (G4r, 1120) and implicitly embodied, since she possesses senses (F3r, 882), a heart (E2v, 659; E3r, 669; F1r, 779; F2r, 829), eyes (G1r, 956), 'lillie fingers' (C1v, 228), trembling joints (E2r, 642), and the rest. Marlowe thought of his gods as embodied, too, for his Venus says to Juno: 'But I will teare thy eyes fro forth thy head, | And feast the birds with their bloud-shotten balles' (*Dido*, 3.2.34–5). From the outset of *Venus and Adonis*, Venus is 'Sick-thoughted' (B1r, 5); she even savours slightly of tyranny when we are told that her 'desire doth lend her force' (B1v, 29). At the same time, her divine nature and mythology interrupt and play with the more earthly descriptions which she generally receives: she has conquered Mars (B3r, 97–114), and she represents the idea of love, 'a spirit all compact of fire' (B4r, 149)—and, tellingly, this description occurs in a passage which aligns neatly with Palamon's 'play[ing] the child extremely'. The poem also makes clear that she is 'Iudge in loue' (C1v, 220) and that she is indeed immortal (C1r, 197). This last quality adds to the final poignancy of the myth and the poem, disallowing the consummation that tragic love finds in the *Liebestod* of mortal tragic lovers, such as Romeo and Juliet, or Tristan and Isolde. Finally, however, it is only really by Venus' concluding prophecy—in which Shakespeare playfully offers an *aition* for the phenomenon of sorrow in love, which is in keeping with the interests of Palamon's prayer—that she seems goddesslike (Gv4, 1135f.).

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21. Edwards, p. 91; Donaldson, p. 69.

Against all this, Adonis, as the chaste hunter, seems—like Hippolytus, Diana's devotee in Euripides' and Seneca's plays—close to the character, and even to the divine nature of Diana, and indeed to bear a godly part much more becomingly than does the Venus of *Venus and Adonis*. Throughout Shakespeare's writing, the appraisal of Diana and Venus—of chastity versus lust—remains stable. The muted appreciation we find of Venus in his first and last work is to be found—without explicit reference to Venus—in Sonnet 129, and, in a softened, comedic light, in the brothel scenes of *Measure for Measure* and *Pericles*. These are not condemnations as such, but it is worth pointing out that such characters are comedic and low, and that desire never seems to Shakespeare to be presentable in any sort of grand, dignified aspect—or even indeed in a redemptive. This is to say that it cannot achieve this on its own, merely as desire qua desire. But it can apparently be shown in a positive light in those plays which celebrate the bond of true love, as seen in *Romeo and Juliet* and *Antony and Cleopatra*. There are many examples of Shakespeare's nobly chaste characters—perhaps foremost in figures such as Isabella and Marina, who imply the value which is set (and the focus which is placed) on chastity. However, it is not necessarily the case that he simply accepts the suppositions of his time here, as a useful comparison with Spenser shows. This is in itself surprising: from the caricatures which are often informally sketched of the two, we might expect Spenser to love the chaste Diana and to rebuke a wanton Venus, and for Shakespeare to do the opposite. However, as Anne Shaver says, the goddess of chastity seems to have been rather an unfavourable one in Spenser's mind—despite her associations with Elizabeth I.<sup>22</sup> Perhaps the best example comes in Book III, Canto vi, before Venus takes Amoretta away to The Garden of Adonis. Prior to that great set piece at the centre of the poem is a lengthy contention between the two goddesses in which Venus plays the reasonable and sympathetic part, Diana the irascible and unreasonable. At III. vi. 18, Venus comes upon Diana naked—in allusion to the Actaeon myth—whereon the latter, Spenser tells us,

woxe halfe wroth against her damzels slacke,  
That had not her thererof before auiz'd,  
But suffred her so carelessly disguiz'd  
Be ouertaken. (*Faerie Queene*, III. vi. 19)

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22. *The Spenser Encyclopaedia*, ed. by A. C. Hamilton (Abingdon: Routledge, 1996), pp. 217–18.

To Venus' 'halfe weeping' report of her search for Cupid (III. vi. 20), Spenser paints a Diana who seems altogether free from compassion:

Thereat *Diana* gan to smile, in scorne  
Of her [Venus'] vaine playnt, and to her scoffing sayd;  
Great pittie sure, that ye be so forlorne  
Of your gay sonne, that giues ye so good ayd  
To your disports: ill mote ye bene apayd. (III. vi. 21)

Venus herself balks at this lack of pity—which borders on the sarcastic and cruel—and contends with Diana:

But she [Venus] was more engrieued, and replide;  
Faire sister, ill beseemes it to vpbrayd  
A dolefull heart with so disdainfull pride;  
The like that mine, may be your paine another tide. (III. vi. 21)

In giving the weighty, sententious alexandrine to Venus, Spenser seems to show his allegiance clearly. The poet then gives over an entire stanza to highlighting their differences, and to throwing Venus' more sanguine temperament into high relief against Diana's coldness (III. vi. 22).

Although divergent, Spenser's and Shakespeare's positions on Venus are not altogether unusual. Spenser seems to follow the lead of Virgil, whose Venus in the *Aeneid* is generally beneficent—excepting her treatment of Dido. Even more, he follows the picture of Venus as a benevolent, richly creative force seen at the beginning of Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura*, which Spenser refashions in *Faerie Queene*, IV. x. 44–7. Marlowe's adaptation of *Aeneid* I–IV departs from Virgil in presenting a Venus so feisty as almost to be belligerent. Where Virgil's Venus goes weeping to Jove in *Aeneid* I to be comforted by his prophecy, Marlowe's Venus goes with accusations and irreverence. It is as though Virgil's Venus speaks to Ovid's Jupiter:

I, this is it, you can sit toying there,  
And playing with that female wanton boy [i.e., Ganymede],  
Whiles my *Aeneas* wanders on the Seas,  
And rests a pray to every billowes pride. (*Dido*, 1.1.50–3)

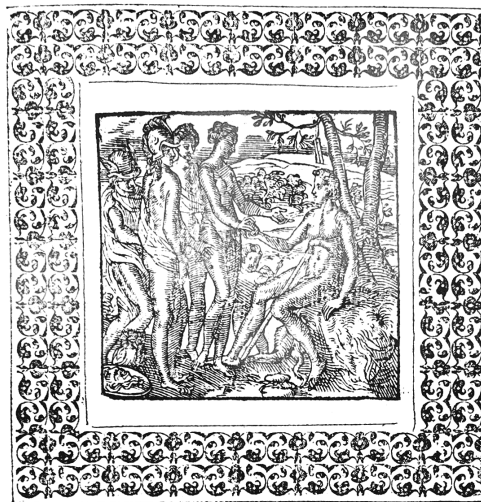
There are then a number of conceptualisations of Venus circulating in the period; the high-minded versions of Venus from Virgil and Lucretius seem not to have entered the imaginations of many. The more popular depictions such as are found in emblem books and prints include the Judgement of Paris; Venus with Mars, Cupid, or Adonis; the goddess riding in triumph upon her dove-drawn chariot; and the Venus of beauty and, therefore, vanity, eternally gazing into the mirror. Even the goddess'

association with the Zodiac's Capricorn star-sign is apparently more popular than the Virgilian model, which seems to be imitated only in literature, and even then, only in a very few places, to the best of my recollection: in Spenser, as we have said, and in Camões' *Os Lusíadas*, which is anyway modelled on the *Aeneid*, especially in respect of Venus' protection.

The Venus of lechery (*Venus vulgaris*),<sup>23</sup> however, is hugely popular in the mythology of the sixteenth century. This version of Venus is common amongst engravers and etchers; thus it was this Venus who seems most often to have reached a popular audience. As always, Geoffrey Whitney offers useful and pertinent examples:

*Iudicium Paridis.*

83



**T**O PARIS, here the Goddesses doe pleade:  
 With kingdomes large, did I VNO make her sute,  
 And PALLAS nexte, with wisdome him assaide,  
 But VENVS faire, did winne the goulden fruite.  
 No prineelie giftes, nor wisdome he did wey,  
 For Bewtie, did comaunde him to obey.

The worldlie man, whose sighte is alwaies dimme,  
 Whose fancie fonde eache pleasure doth entice,  
 The shaddowes, are like substance vnto him,  
 And toyes more deare, them thinges of greatest price:  
 But yet the wise this iudgement rashe deride,  
 And sentence giue on prudent PALLAS side.

*Regna Iouis coniux; virtutem filia iactat.  
 Et postea ibidem.*

*Dulcè Venus risit, Nec te Pari munera tangunt;  
 Vtraque suspensi plena timoris, ait.*

L. 2.

*Ridicula*

*Obid. Epist. 1. 9.  
 De iudicio Pa-  
 ridis.*

Fig. 7. *Iudicium Paridis*, from Whitney, p. 83.

23. Virginia Mason Vaughan, *Shakespeare and the Gods* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), pp. 60–1.



The composition is not the clearest, but one can make out Paris' handing 'the goulden fruite' to Venus, whom we can recognise by her emblematic nudity and the presence of Cupid by her side. Her centrality to the composition, signalling her victory, reminds one strongly of the end of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, just as the retiring positions of Pallas and Juno (as well as Mercury's ancillary presence, though outside of the immediate business of the contest) recall those of Mars and Diana. Whitney's focus is on how Paris' love of physical beauty outstrips his concern or care for 'princelie giftes' (Juno) and 'wisedome' (Pallas); Peele adopts this focus in *The Arraignement of Paris*, Act II, too. Shakespeare, although not averse to Whitney's sort of didacticism, is not as interested in this implication of *Venus vulgaris*, however.

The next image of Venus opposes her once again with Pallas, who this time represents study:

*In studiosum captum amore.*



**A** Reuerend sage, of wisedome most profounde,  
 Beganne to doate, and laye away his bookes:  
 For **CVPID** then, his tender harte did wounde,  
 That onlie nowe, he lik'de his ladies lookes?  
 Oh **VENVVS** staie? since once the price was thine,  
 Thou ought'st not still, at **PALLAS** thus repine.

*Omnes humanos sanat medicina dolores:  
 Solus amor morbi non amat artificem.*

Propert. 1.

*Abstin-*

Fig. 8. *In studiosum captum amore*, from Whitney, p. 135.

Although she is clothed, we know this Venus by the Cupid at her side, and from the King's inclining towards her, which is explained by the verse *subscriptio*. It is uncer-

tain whether the lady to the left of the King is his lady (l. 4) or the neglected Pallas (study). In Whitney's source, Alciati, she is identified as 'Helianira' (Alciati, p. 129). Since she has none of the iconography of Pallas, I would say that it is the lady, although the King's inclining towards Venus instead of her might seem implicitly to align the figure more with Pallas. If so, we might also read the soldier as representative of Mars, who complements Pallas proverbially: Whitney himself offers an emblem inscribed '*Marte et arte*',<sup>24</sup> and Pericles also uses the commonplace when he explains to Simonides and Thaisa that his 'education [hath] beene in Artes and Armes' (D2r, 2.3.83).

A final example from Whitney is worth adding before moving on, since it concentrates on the more positive side of Venus, her generative rather than degenerative qualities; this almost equates her implicitly with generative Nature. The emblem also focuses on her role as the goddess of beauty:

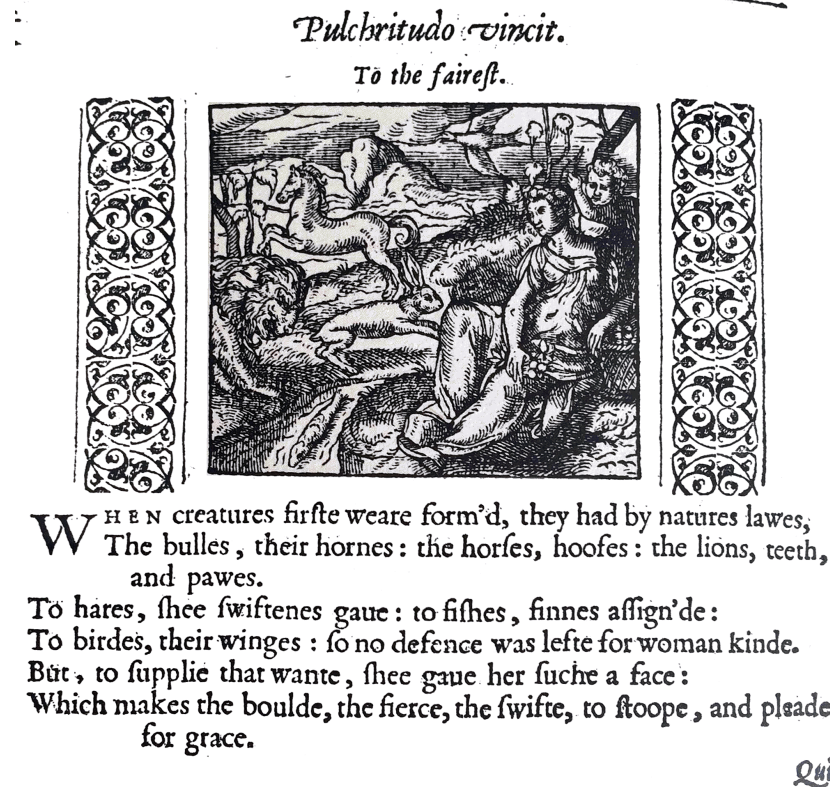


Fig. 9. *Pulchritudo vincit*, from Whitney, p. 182.

Once again, we recognise Venus by Cupid's accompanying her. She is also semi-nude and the foison she holds in her right hand, though too visually unclear to identify precisely (tempting though it is to argue that she holds a rose, given that

24. Whitney, p. 47.

flower's significance in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, on which I shall say more later), suggests a connection with Nature goddesses such as Ceres. This inverse of Venus *vulgaris* is the image of her as a creator, or life force, Venus *genetrix*.<sup>25</sup> This version of Venus seems to become decidedly more in favour than the lecherous Venus during the Restoration; a fitting example of this is offered by Dryden in the prayer which his Palamon makes to Venus in 'Palamon and Arcite'.<sup>26</sup> It should be added, however, that some more negative images are allowed in his description of Venus' temple walls, but these still hardly touch *The Two Noble Kinsmen* for grotesqueness.<sup>27</sup> This genial Venus of Dryden (and so to some extent of the Restoration) becomes aligned with the poetry of nationhood, too; she seems almost to become a civic deity, as she was for Rome thanks to her relationship with Aeneas, and to Portugal in Camões' treatment. Perhaps it is not so great a coincidence, then, that Sir Richard Fanshawe's translation of *Os Lusíadas* is published in 1655, when such a civic Venus was becoming a much more credible idea in England than it could have been at the poem's first publication in 1572. Venus herself illustrated this point in Dryden's (and Purcell's) *King Arthur*:

*Fairest Isle, all Isles Excelling,  
Seat of Pleasures, and of Loves;  
Venus here, will chuse her Dwelling,  
And forsake her Cyprian Groves.*<sup>28</sup>

The song goes on to describe a blissful state in which love is enjoyed without jealousy; in this respect, the vision does not seem terribly far from Spenser's vision of the same in the Garden of Adonis (*Faerie Queene*, III. vi. 41).

Another symbol pertaining partly to Venus—though not so well known as her two doves—is the rose. Champion, for example, writes in one of the songs for *The Lord Hay's Masque*:

And as a Rose new pluckt from *Venus* thorne,

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25. Vaughan, p. 58.

26. 'Palamon and Arcite' in *Dryden: Selected Poems*, ed. by Paul Hammond and David Hopkins (Harlow: Longman, 2007), III. 119–78.

27. II. 471–523.

28. Dryden, 'King Arthur', in *The Works of John Dryden*, ed. by H. T. Swedenberg and Edward Hooker Niles, 20 vols (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1956–), vol XVI, V. ii. 150–3.

So doth a Bride her Bride-groomes bed adorne.<sup>29</sup>

Peele also gives Venus 'a wreath of roses' in *The Arraignment of Paris* (I. iii, TLN 124) and later explicates this with an aition which the editor describes as an example of Peele's 'independent mythologizing' (n. to TLN 1127). The goddess swears:

By this red rose, whose colour first began,

When erst my wanton boy (the more his blame)

Did drawe his bowe awry and hurt his dame. (V. i, TLN 1127–9)

The symbol of the rose tree which *The Two Noble Kinsmen* gives to Diana in V. i belongs, in *Campion* and *Peele*, to Venus, suggesting the complexity and mobility of the symbol. Shakespeare himself perhaps shows his awareness of Venus' connection with the rose early in *Venus and Adonis*, when the goddess boasts of her seduction of Mars:

Thus he that ouer-ruld, I ouer-swayed,

Leading him prisoner in a red rose chaine. (B3r, 109–10)

Perhaps the awareness is also present in the second line of the first Sonnet: 'That thereby beauties *Rose* might neuer die' (I. 2), since Venus is, as Peele puts it in the *Arraignment*, '*Pulcherrim[a]*' (II. i, TLN 364). The rose enjoys three key uses in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*—in Diana's response to Emilia's prayer in V. i; in the scene in which Palamon and Arcite first see and fall in love with Emilia, II. ii; and, tellingly, in its being the very first word of the play: '*Roses their sharpe spines being gon*' (TLN 62, 1.1.1). This first word hints to us the importance that the rose will later assume by virtue of its use in these three pivotal scenes in the play. At each point, the rose is associated with purity, which suggests that Fletcher and Shakespeare seem to have agreed that the rose ought to be connected with Emilia (and so Diana) specifically, and chastity and purity generally. Arcite probably refers to Emilia—the passage is uncertain—suggestively as 'The Queene of Flowers' (TLN 2694, 5.1.45), which is a title which *Campion* gives to Flora, again, in *The Lord Hay's Masque*,<sup>30</sup> and which Peele attributed to the same goddess (*Arraignment of Paris*, TLN 99). Emilia implicitly aligns herself and her virginity with the rose when, marking the flower, she pointedly says that '[i]t is the very emblem of a maid' (TLN 876, 2.2.137). Diana confirms the association, then, when the rose falls from the tree which grows from her altar (TLN 2835, 5.1.168SD). However, a symbol need not refer exclusively to one idea, and it is

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29. *The Works of Thomas Campion*, ed. by Walter R. Davis (London: Faber, 1969), p. 215.

30. *Campion*, p. 214.

possible that the play adds to the richness of the rose symbol—or exploits its mobility—by combining Venus and Diana in the one image, much in the way that Diana and Venus come to operate in tandem in the third book of *The Faerie Queene*.

Although the rose appears on Diana's altar, its falling symbolises the mandatory cessation of Emilia's devotion to her. Emilia understands the significance easily and instantly:

The flowre is falne, the Tree descends: O Mistris

Thou here dischargest me, I shall be gather'd,

I thinke so, but I know not thine owne will. (TLN 2836–8, 5.1.169–71)

The final phrase may mean either (1) but I do not know what your will is, or (2) but I know it is not your will. The second option may seem to give greater coherence between speech and situation, but I will expand on this during this chapter's commentary on V. i. If (2) is the superior reading, however, then this implies that the rose's falling is a symbol invested with meanings which pertain both to Diana (leaving virginity) and Venus (entering into marriage). If this is against Diana's will, it is another illustration of the victory of Venus over the other deities. If we accept this, then by extension we can accept the idea that this potent symbol of the rose is both Dianan and Venerean in II. ii, where the virgin is fallen in love with. To Emilia, the rose may be 'the very emblem of a maid', but the power of Venus is working, at exactly the moment in which she says this, to transform her life and those of Palamon and Arcite.

So much for the various and complex meanings of Venus, then. From here, it will be useful to establish some comparable information on the play's understanding of Mars. As for Diana, I shall discuss her importance to *The Two Noble Kinsmen* specifically at relevant points, such as V. i but shall avoid a comprehensive discussion, which can be found in this thesis' chapter on *Pericles*.

Although difficult to decide during one's first encounters with the play, it seems upon reflection that Mars' importance, although great, is in fact tertiary. Ultimately, Edwards' conclusion—that the play's thematic tensions orbit around the competition between innocence and the moving away from this into experience<sup>31</sup>—seems secure. As said, a similar tension is set up between the different but complementary concepts of purity and corruption. This makes the play, in divine terms, into a contest between Diana and Venus, the former representing purity and inno-

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31. Edwards, pp. 95–8.

cence of all kinds, and Venus representing corruption and experience (without making these concepts synonymous): Diana deals with the ideal, whilst Venus governs the idea of the real. This leaves the question, however, of where and how Mars fits into such a play and such a world. Although he can partake of some of the above concepts (such as when Arcite associates him with purification (TLN 2714–20, 5.1.62–8)), it seems certain that Mars' role is both more fundamental, i.e., basic, and also more widespread or ubiquitous, since it is in emphatically martial societies that the characters operate. Perhaps Shakespeare knew that Mars was connected with Thebes via its founding myth (as shown, for example, in *Metamorphoses*, III. 1–137), and this led him to place something of the spirit of Mars in the play's characters. This idea—that the god is evident in the play not in body, but in spirit—is put forward by Ethelbert Donaldson, as we have seen, but also by Shakespeare's Arcite when he says to his knights:

Knights, Kinsmen, Lovers, yea my Sacrifices  
True worshippers of Mars, whose spirit in you  
Expells the seedes of feare. (TLN 2683–5, 5.1.34–6)

Whatever the reason, the Thebans, Athenians, and Amazons are citizens of warlike societies. Athens seems—to our modern view perhaps slightly surprisingly—the most sure in arms, since Theseus conquers both Amazonia (before the play) and Thebes (in the first act) with apparent ease. The play essentially has only five or six main characters. Six is most convenient, since then the three cities of the play are represented each by two characters: Theseus and Pirithous represent Athens; Hippolyta and Emilia Amazonia; Palamon and Arcite Thebes. Palamon and Arcite both seem to be exceptional in their military prowess, and decry Thebes' late effeminacy in the play's second scene. As for the Amazonians, although Hippolyta is, through and through, a warrior-queen, as we see in her speeches, her sister is apparently the opposite. This contrast between the two sisters is stated succinctly by Hippolyta herself in speaking to Emilia:

O my soft harted Sister, what thinke you?  
Weepe not, till they weepe blood; Wench it must be. (TLN 2518–9, 4.2.147–8)

(But Hippolyta is not insensible to pity, as we shall see later.) Thebes and Amazonia's representatives, then, next to the prowess of Theseus, do not appear hugely mighty. However, Mars resides, at any rate, in the heads and hearts of a number of the play's main characters, preeminently Theseus, Hippolyta, and Arcite. As for Palamon, even though his prayer is to Venus, it is to such a negative vision of the

goddess (as we have seen) that we might consider her a particularly Martial Venus—and indeed the play's Mars a Venerean Mars—and therefore count him (Palamon) as firmly a part of Mars' world too.

Mars, then, is most figured in the play's characters, speeches, and societies. Indeed, it is by means of the many Martial speeches in the play that an idea is instilled into reader or auditor of how militaristic the Athens, Thebes, and Amazonia of the play are. This is set up very early in the play, just after the interruption of the opening ceremony. This ordering is in itself telling: the celebration of love and purity in the opening ritual implies the primacy of these virtues over the militaristic. As much is said by the warlike Theseus himself, when he speaks of the wedding ceremony as 'This grand act of our life, this daring deede | Of Fate in wedlocke' (TLN 246–7, 1.1.164–5), and when he admonishes the Queens,

Why good Ladies,  
This is a service, whereto I am going,  
Greater than any was; it more imports me  
Then all the actions that I have foregone,  
Or futurely can cope. (TLN 255–9, 1.1.170–4)

Some editors follow Theobald's suggestion that the rather bland word 'was' ought to read 'war', which would make the point even more emphatic.<sup>32</sup> The questions remain open of how or in what way fate enters into the proceedings, and in what sense it is 'a daring deede'; I cannot agree with Edwards' suggestion that marriage is made in the play a 'metempsychosis, almost'.<sup>33</sup> But Theseus' remarks anyway clearly align the marriage ceremony not only with the character of his long register of heroic and military deeds—moving marriage, as it were, into the category of heroic deed—but outstrips them also in importance. Thus, as Ann Thompson succinctly writes in response to this moment, it is shown here that, in Theseus' Athens, 'love is greater than war'.<sup>34</sup> However, the fact that love must tarry—must wait for war to conclude its necessary purgations—suggests that the latter has a *basic* importance, whereas love's importance, whilst greater on the one hand, is yet dependent on war's basic necessity.

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32. Turner and Tatzpaugh, ed., n. to 1.1.172.

33. Edwards, p. 96.

34. Thompson, p. 175.

Therefore the warlike atmosphere eventually overtakes the act as it becomes about, among other things, a martial campaign (although this is minimised both in Chaucer and the play). This is perhaps best exemplified in the frequently quoted and oft maligned lines spoken by the Second Queen in her supplication to Hippolyta:

But touch the ground for us no longer time

Then a Doves motion, when the head's pluckt off. (TLN 167–8, 1.1.97–8)

Bawcutt describes this as one of 'several images of violence and repulsion'<sup>35</sup> and Donaldson quotes it with undisguised distaste.<sup>36</sup> These may be justifiable appreciations, but neither critic mentions that this may be an implicit allusion to the doves who draw Venus' chariot and in whom consist one of her principal and most easily and instantly recognisable emblems. The implication is that the marital is to be put aside until the martial, upon which it depends, can be resolved.

Theseus, in his mixture of ostensible harshness and pity, prompts a range of critical opinion. We see from the two scenes of supplication (I. ii and III. vi) that he is both the play's earthly representative of an absolute, objective, divine justice, and its embodiment of the principle of order and regularity in the state. He is unlike many of Shakespeare's other leaders in feeling his sense of duty both keenly and immediately; this again fits his role as classical hero. He is Angelo without corruption or hypocrisy; he is the severe judgment in Act IV of *The Merchant of Venice* without Portia's plea for mercy. He is severe, but he is a perfect, impartial justice, requiring petition (for mercy) from Emilia, Hippolyta, and Pirithous. This is until, however, the end of the fifth Act, whereon Theseus himself says that

The gods my justice

Take from my hand, and they themselves become

The Executioners. (TLN 3331–3, 5.4.119–21)

He assists in manifesting and bringing about divine justice on earth—he is, to borrow from *The Tempest*, III. iii, an instrument to it—but he is not coessential with it; he is a vicegerent, and the gods may (and do) take this duty from him in their interventions into the living world. Donaldson seems to find Theseus, for the most part, detestable; he goes too far in calling him 'a living statue of Mars, untouchable by human feelings',<sup>37</sup> for his emotional life is frequently apparent:

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35. Bawcutt, ed., p. 19.

36. Donaldson, p. 55.

37. Donaldson, p. 66.



Pray you kneele not,  
I was transported with your Speech, and suffer'd  
Your knees to wrong themselves; I have heard the fortunes  
Of your dead Lords, which gives me such lamenting  
As wakes my vengeance, and revenge for 'em. (TLN 123–7, 1.1.54–8)

And immediately after:

O no kn[e]es, none Widow,  
Vnto the Helmeted-Bellona use them,  
And pray for me your Souldier.  
Troubled I am.        *turnes away.* (TLN 144–7, 1.1.74–77)

Rather, we see a Theseus of deep morality, seriousness, and piety; one burdened with duty; one with a rich emotional existence. He is closer to Aeneas than Mars. He asks not to be prayed to, but to be prayed for. He is so troubled that he must turn away—a drastic, surprising moment similar to Coriolanus' great silence in response to his mother towards the end of that play. Ann Thompson seems to imply that Theseus is a vital figure for the order which the play and Athens both stage, and insightfully observes the difficulty of his situation:

Paradoxically within this scene it is the passion of grief (the call of duty) which has disrupted the ordered ritual of the marriage (representing pleasure), but Theseus shows himself able to keep both under control.<sup>38</sup>

Indeed, in this formulation we can see the problem which Theseus faces set out with almost an Hegelian understanding (whose formulation of tragedy expresses the tragic-dramatic principle as the competition between two equal but irreconcilable goods).<sup>39</sup> To Theseus is posed the problem of whether order, ritual, and religious ceremony ought to be put off by the pressure of a more urgent trouble, and whether the duty towards family ought to be put off for one's duty to others, and the 'offices of pity' (*The Winter's Tale*, TLN 1121, 2.3.189). As a serious ruler, his problem is a difficult one, but pity eventually prevails over his reservations regarding order and governance.

There is an understandable reason for Donaldson's interpretative error—if error it be—since Theseus is not an ideal figure for the chivalric. Here, the reader is

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38. Thompson, p. 175.

39. See *Hegel on Tragedy*, ed. by Anne and Henry Paolucci (New York: Anchor, 1962) and A. C. Bradley, 'Hegel's Theory of Tragedy', in *Oxford Lectures on Poetry*, 2nd edn (London, 1909), pp. 69–95.

better served by looking to the two kinsmen themselves (unless one believes, as does Donaldson, that they are essentially free of personality). It is understandable that a reader might yearn for a figure as radiantly described as Chaucer's own knight is, who 'loved chivalrie, | Trouthe and honour, fredom and curteisie' (General Prologue, 45–6), and who 'was a verray, parfit gentil knyght' (General Prologue, 72). Lacking such largesse—such 'fredom' and 'gentillesse'—Theseus may seem too Martial. Chaucer's Theseus is similarly strict at times, but a humanity exudes from him at certain points in the tale, and nowhere more so than in his speech on the prime mover ('The Knight's Tale', 2967–3093), which transforms the entire tragic action into comedy (in the Dantean sense of the word) by way both of Boethian consolation, and by his just, authoritative power in prescribing the marriage which brings the action into the realm of comedy. The Theseus of Shakespeare and Fletcher, whilst concluding the play with another fine speech—on the gods, rather than the first mover—never convincingly overcomes the play's sense of the tragic, nor, I dare say, do he or the playwrights intend to do so. As the play seems unambiguously to establish, Theseus is tragic and solemn, not chivalric and comic.

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Just as *The Tempest* begins with a compression of the 'tragic vision' into just one scene (I. i), so too *The Two Noble Kinsmen* compresses the comedic into the single moment of its initial stage direction and song, its Hymen-led wedding procession and epithalamion.<sup>40</sup> Hymen enters the stage wordlessly as part of the procession for the marriage of Theseus and Hippolyta. This is a departure from 'The Knight's Tale', where the opening triumph is entirely military, belongs entirely to Theseus, and in which Hymen is not to be found. Chaucer's text gives us three or four couplets on the victory and wedding:

What with his wysdom and his chivalrie,  
He conquered al the regne of Femenye,  
That whilom was ycleped Scythia,  
And weddede the queene Ypolita,

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40. Dover Wilson, 'The Meaning of *The Tempest*', the Robert Spence Watson Memorial Lecture for 1936, delivered before the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, on October 5th, 1936 (quoted by Tillyard, *Shakespeare's Last Plays* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1938), p. 49).

And broghte hire hoom with hym in his contree  
With muchel glorie and greet solempnytee,  
And eek hir yonge suster Emelye. (865–71)

In Chaucer this is but preface to the main concern, that is, the supplication of the Theban women. Here he takes his cue from the Statius which serves as the tale's epigraph:

Iamque domos patrias, Scythicae post aspera gentis  
proelia, laurigero, etc.,<sup>41</sup>

but is much more terse than Statius, who spends a generous twenty lines on the triumph.<sup>42</sup> There is, however, considerable subtlety in Chaucer's introductory couplets, particularly in the apparently uninteresting mention of Emelye, who seems placed at the end of the line (just as her place at the start of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* is at the end of the procession) for a convenient rhyme, but who will become a, if not the, principal cause in the tale's action. Since Chaucer does not linger on the wedding ceremony, its emphasis in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* asks for careful attention. Furthermore, as Ann Thompson notes, Shakespeare removes Chaucer's allusion to 'this temple of the goddesse Clemence' ('Knight's Tale', 928), in which the women have been staying prior to Theseus' triumphal return—perhaps because this less well-known goddess had no set, well-known, and generally recognisable iconography, as did Hymen, so that her temple would have been difficult or undesirable to stage. The effect is that the divine focus is fully on the comic marriage god Hymen, and not 'Clemence', at the play's beginning.

The world, this would seem to say, upon which the play opens is one of ceremony, one which makes a spectacle of sanctity. It is replete with a rich, yet clear, array of visual symbol:

*Enter Hymen with a torch burning: a Boy, in a white Robe before singing, and strewing Flowres: After Hymen, a Nymph, encompassst in her Tresses, bearing a wheaten Garland. Then Theseus betweene two other Nymphs with wheaten chaplets on their heades. Then Hipolita the Bride, lead by Theseus,<sup>43</sup> and another holding a*

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41. Statius, *Thebaid*, Books 8–12 | *Achilleid*, ed. and trans. by D. R. Shackleton Bailey, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), XII. 519–20. *The Riverside Chaucer* offers this translation: 'And now (Theseus, drawing nigh his) native land in laurelled car after fierce battling with the Scythian folk, etc.' (p. 37).

42. *Thebaid*, XII. 519–39.

43. 'Theseus' here seems to be an error, and is usually changed to 'Pirithous'.

*Garland over her head (her Tresses likewise hanging.) After her Emilia holding up her Traine.* (TLN 53–60, 1.1.0SD)

Although the boy leads the procession, Hymen is mentioned first, as well as immediately after the Boy's entrance. His importance both to theme and spectacle is central: the procession is in effect a Hymeneal triumph. The blend of mortality and deity is striking. The divine—or at least, the allegorical—is physically present alongside the human characters and, as in *As You Like it*, we are not told whether the characters see and recognise Hymen, or if his appearance is a sign meant for the audience and reader, and thus something neither interacted with nor recognised by the characters. If we take the former possibility, we can even extend this by entertaining the thought that this 'Hymen' may be a mortal personage employed by Theseus in order to enhance the visual spectacle of his wedding procession. To Lois Potter's mind, there is no ambiguity here: this is 'not the god of marriage himself, but (as in *AYLI* 5.4.107) an actor'.<sup>44</sup> (I must say in response to this that I find myself more in agreement with Alan Brissenden that 'the text [of *As You Like It*] does nothing to suggest that he [Hymen] is anything other than a god'.<sup>45</sup>) There is ample precedent for this in contemporary masque, entertainment, and pageant, but there is no strong suggestion of this in the text. The implication seems almost to be that this play's world is one in which the gods may walk the stage almost without remark. If Hymen *is* played in the play's world by a mortal, then this would put this opening rather outside of the realm of theophany, but then would liken it, say, to Perdita's appearance as Flora in *The Winter's Tale*, IV. iv, where the iconography, if not the actual person, of the deity is staged.

Turner and Tatzpaugh tell us that the name Hymen signifies '[t]he Greek marriage song, the word for which became personified (or deified)' (n. to 1.1.0SD). The god then carries song and ceremony in his nature. As a consequence, however, of the direct personification-deification which Turner and Tatzpaugh describe, he seems to possess less character than the more developed Olympian deities; this is to say that he is more transparently symbolic, without the opacity of a textured persona. Indeed, most of his complexity would seem to reside in his costume. On the strength of Bullough's suggestion of Jonson's *Hymenaei* as a 'possible source' for the wedding

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44. *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, ed. by Lois Potter, revised edn (London, 2015), n. 3 to 'List of Roles' (p. 173).

45. *As You Like It*, ed. by Alan Brissenden (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 19.

masque in *The Tempest* (Bullough, VIII. 261–4), Euguene Waith suggests that Jonson's masque perhaps also influenced this wedding procession at the start of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*.<sup>46</sup> Jonson gives a complex procession, and describes Hymen's appearance in detail:

*On the other hand entered Hymen, the God of Marriage, a saffron-coloured robe, his under-vestures white, his socks yellow, a yellow veil of silk on his left arm, his head crowned with roses and marjoram, in his right hand a torch of pine tree. (Hymenæi, ll. 38–45)*

This Hymen is followed by a boy, resulting in a spectacle which is close to that of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. However, where Jonson is specific, detailed (some twenty lines of prose in the *Cambridge Jonson*), and precise in his stage directions, the *The Two Noble Kinsmen* Quarto is brief—as one would expect of a play-text. However, by the standards of play-texts, the directions are generous. Therefore a fairly detailed picture emerges of who Hymen is and what he may have looked like on the stage, even if particulars may have varied owing to a more relaxed, less strictly 'correct' approach to staging the deity than Jonson takes, or perhaps owing to the various practical limitations always incumbent on staging a play.

The Boy takes on an importance more or less equal to that of Hymen as he begins his epithalamion.<sup>47</sup> The seasonal focus in the song is offered beautifully and plentifully in the first strophe, but the second is of more importance to this chapter—excepting 'Roses' in the first line, discussed above—in which the world conjured seems, again, close to that of *The Winter's Tale*, IV. iv:

Prim-rose first borne, child of Ver,  
Merry Spring times Herbinger,  
With her bells [i.e., harebells] dimme.  
Oxlips, in their Cradles growing,  
Mary-golds, on death beds blowing,  
Larkes-heeles trymme. (TLN 63–8, 1.1.7–12)

These are not the only parallels with the earlier play: the song describes a similar view of the incorporeal aspects of nature, too, for the boy next sings of '*All deere natures children*' (TLN 74, 1.1.13), and, at the end of the first strophe, of '*sweet Time [thyme] true*' (TLN 67, 1.1.6). On this line, Lois Potter's comment seems apt: 'Q's

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46. Waith, ed. n. to 1.1.0SD

47. This is also suggested by Bawcutt's edition, p. 19, though I arrive at the conclusion separately.

spelling, *Time*, brings out the pun: time, proverbially, is the test of truth' (n. to 1.1.6). Perhaps the pun is even somewhat extended in the next line's mention of 'Ver' (TLN 68, 1.1.7), whose primary meaning is of course 'Spring', but which may conceal a secondary meaning of 'true' in recalling the Latin *verum*, as if to tie all the song's spring-time associations together with and into the idea of truth. It is not such a fanciful idea when we consider that this playwright duo's other collaboration is subtitled *All is True*. Like the other late plays, *The Two Noble Kinsmen* is—among other things—a play of recollections: *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is recalled in the persons of Theseus and Hippolita; *Troilus and Cressida* is recalled in Shakespeare's use, once again, of Chaucer; *As You Like It* is recalled in the theophany of Hymen; even *Pericles* is recalled in the play's considerable interest in Diana. And here, in recalling something of *The Winter's Tale*, IV. iv, *The Two Noble Kinsmen* weaves a sense—similarly found in the slightly earlier play—of a space offset and made special by ritual: in *The Winter's Tale*, this is that of the sheep-shearing festival which encloses and nourishes the relationship of Perdita and Florizel; in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, it is the wedding ceremony. Similarly, both of these ritualised, sanctified spaces are soon dissolved: by the anger of Polixenes in the earlier play; in the later, by the grief and supplication of the Theban women, the lingering distaste left by the cause of their grief ('The wrath of cruell Creon' (TLN 108, 1.1.40)), and its immediate effect: the 'fowle feilds of Theb[e]s' (TLN 110, 1.1.42), corrupted by its uninterred corpses, the distaste we harbour for which leaves a lingering sense of infection throughout the play:

He will not suffer us to burne their bones,  
 To urne their ashes, nor to take th'offence  
 Of mortall loathsomenes from the blest eye  
 Of holy *Phæbus*, but infects the windes  
 With stench of our slaine Lords. (TLN 111–15, 1.1.43–7)

This corruption and infection on the Theban battlefield seems to reflect, cause, or be caused by the moral corruption in Thebes which Palamon and Arcite extensively decry in the next scene. As argued above, this lingering sense of corruption is linked implicitly throughout the play to Venus *vulgaris*.

Since it is in II. ii that Fletcher largely takes over the writing of the play, here seems a convenient place to introduce a key difference between the ways in which the dramatists imagine the gods and their relation to the play. The contrast is succinctly put by N. W. Bawcutt: 'Certainly Fletcher has plenty of allusions to fortune and the gods, but the manner in which they are made does not suggest a profound

feeling for the numinous'.<sup>48</sup> Ann Thompson seems to agree with this assessment, commenting on the generally un-Boethian cast of mind in Fletcher's writing compared with that of Shakespeare and Chaucer.<sup>49</sup> Although their comments may be slightly uncharitable towards Fletcher, the remarks seem basically to be true on reading the three largely Fletcherian acts currently under discussion. Although Fletcher does make several references to divine figures, the references are frequently passing, pleasingly decorative, but not thematically substantial. There are, however, a few much more notable uses. The first of these (in order, but perhaps also in importance) is on Palamon and Arcite's first seeing Emilia. The moment is inaugurated by the evocation of a sacred space, whilst the speeches of Palamon and Arcite focus on their friendship's sustaining through life, death, and even into their expected afterlife in Elysium:

*Pal.* I do not thinke it possible our friendship  
Should ever leave us.

*Arc.* Till our deathes it cannot

*Enter Emilia and her woman,*

And after death our spirits shall be led  
To those that love eternally. Speake on Sir.

[*Emil.*] This garden has a world of pleasures in't. (TLN 838–44, 2.2.114–18)

Although Shakespeare is throughout his work sensitive to the great potential resonance of place and space, he generally does not show an appreciation for the medieval trope of the garden as a peculiar sort of *locus amoenus*. Fletcher here does, and Emilia states the significance plainly: this is a pleasure garden. Fletcher's Emilia does not prize the pure idea of virginity as highly as Shakespeare,<sup>50</sup> as we can see in the jocular humour she engages in with her woman:

*Wom.* I could lie downe I am sure.

*Emil.* And take one with you? (TLN 885–6, 2.2.152)

But all the same, he is careful to build up a special—perhaps tentatively sacred—space for the pivotal scene of love's powerful entry into the plot. As said above, this scene seems to meld the presences and powers of Diana (in Emilia) and of Venus (in

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48. Bawcutt, ed., p. 28.

49. Ann Thompson, pp. 184–5.

50. Do, however, see Nancy Cotton Pearse, *John Fletcher's Chastity Plays* (Cranberry, NJ: Bucknell University Press, 1973) for a rebuttal against 'the alleged deficiency of Fletcher's morality' (p. 10).

Palamon and Arcite's falling in love with her); thus Palamon compares Emilia to 'a goddess', though Fletcher himself (shrewdly) declines to associate her with a particular deity:

*Pal.* Behold, and wonder.

By heaven shee is a Goddess.

*Arcite.* Ha.

*Pal.* Doe reverence.

She is a goddess *Arcite.*

*Emil.* Of all Flowres,

Methinkes a Rose is best.

*Wom.* Why gentle Madam?

*Emil.* It is the very Embleme of a Maide. (TLN 869–877, 2.2.133–7)

Just as the rose can be the emblem both of a maid and of Venus, so Emilia herself can be a devotee of Diana on the one hand, and, in her beauty, a powerful, if non-voluntary, agent of Venus on the other. The scene offers an atmosphere which is somewhat hierophanic, but the image of the initially dumbstruck Palamon draws this scene somewhat out of the solemn religious ritual and into the comedic. This sense of the tragicomic increases as they begin to bicker over Emilia, dissolving the friendship which they had just a few lines before, ironically, been affirming. These comic elements do not undo the effect of the solemn lines; the latter come off with a far greater sense of importance partly because of the more comic elements.

IV. ii, in which Emilia enjoys a long soliloquy, deliberating over Palamon and Arcite, again illustrates the point that Fletcher's Emilia is rather different from—and is less driven by the ideals of chastity than—Shakespeare's. The scene is therefore informative of how Fletcher conceives of the relationship between the lady and the goddess. After her long deliberation, which seems to recollect Sonnet 20 in its imagining 'wise Nature's' falling in love with her own creation (TLN 2366, 4.2.7), Emilia remarks: 'I am sotted, | Vtterly lost: My Virgins faith has fled me' (TLN 2404–5, 4.2.45–6). This, however, seems ultimately to be an exasperated lament made in the passion of the moment, for only a few lines later—seemingly shaken out of this passion by the entry of the Gentleman—she addresses Diana:

What sinnes have I committed, chast *Diana*,  
That my unspotted youth must now be soyld  
With blood of Princes? and my Chastitie  
Be made the Altar, where the lives of Lovers,  
Two greater, and two better never yet



Made mothers joy, must be the sacrifice  
To my unhappy Beautie? (TLN 2421–7, 4.2.58–64)

The speech could be only slightly rephrased as 'Why am I in a situation more befitting a devotee of Venus than of Diana?' Again the goddess of concupiscence is brought subtly into the speech via the language of corruption: the blood of lovers must 'soil' her erstwhile 'unspotted youth'. The religious significance is amplified in the next clause: her chastity is the 'altar' on which the lovers' lives are offered as a sacrifice to Venus ('my unhappy Beautie'). Palamon and Arcite are, as *Pericles* has it, 'Martyrs slaine in Cupids Warres' (A3r, 1.1.38). It is worth noting, finally, that Emilia here quotes Desdemona almost verbatim: 'Alas, what ignorant sin haue I committed?' (TLN 2766, 4.2.72)—and at virtually the exact same point in the dramatic arc, IV. ii, or roughly 2,500 lines into each play. Perhaps even the name Emilia recalled to Fletcher's mind Iago's wife, who shares the scene.

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Even more than the manifest theophany of Hymen at the play's opening, the play's final act draws the gods into the speeches and (arguably) the action more than any other; and, more than any other, it offers a number of ways of interpreting its outcome. As Boitani points out, for example, the attribution of the ending's causes and effects flits from 'indeterminate divine entities, indicated simply as the "heavenly powers" or the "gods"', to Venus and Mars, to Fortune.<sup>51</sup> He does not add but leaves implicit that Theseus, in his final speech, returns to the general in praying to 'you heavenly Charmers' (TLN 3342, 5.4.130). (In calling the gods 'Charmers', I suspect that we see a remnant of Shakespeare's magical thinking whilst writing *The Tempest*.) N. W. Bawcutt seems to agree with Boitani, writing that, rather than resolving any of the (so to speak) theological problems of Acts I–IV, instead 'the workings of destiny seem if anything more enigmatic'.<sup>52</sup> V. i opens with Theseus' call of the knights to (perhaps public) prayer. Although the location is unspecified, it makes sense to imagine it as largely the same as Chaucer's amphitheatre with three altars, although the limits of physical space at the Blackfriars probably demanded just one, central, shared altar, which one imagines would also have been more visually effective than

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51. Boitani, p. 85.

52. Bawcutt, p. 38.

a stage crowded with three, although this is what was used in Richard Edwards' play in 1566.<sup>53</sup>

Theseus' role as Duke—as civic authority operating in a sacred office—is again in focus; he makes three commands:

Now let 'em enter, and before the gods  
Tender their holy prayers: Let the Temples  
Burne bright with sacred fires, and the Altars  
In hallowed clouds commend their swelling Incense  
To those above us: Let no due be wanting,

*Flourish of Cornets.*

They have a noble work in hand, will honour  
The very powers that love 'em. (TLN 2639–47, 5.1.1–7)

Again, as often in later Shakespeare, the focus is on the spiritual importance of the physical rituals. Sacred fires and bright-burning temples would likely have been hard to stage at the Blackfriars,<sup>54</sup> and so these elements enter into the poetry for amplification. They are important, and not merely decorative, descriptions, since through their poetry the ceremonious, ritualistic atmosphere is built. Additionally, like *The Winter's Tale*, III. i, they seem to summon a certain nostalgia for the physical beauty of now marginalised (Catholic) or defunct (pagan) religious rituals. This is also one of relatively few references to the gods as loving—an idea which hardly occurs frequently—at least not explicitly—in Shakespeare. Perhaps he is picking up here on a brief suggestion in Fletcher's first scene:

*Cosen Arcite,*

Had not the loving gods found this place for us  
We had died as they doe. (TLN 828–30, 2.2.107–9)

This seems to be a Christian inflection in Fletcher's thinking about the gods, whereas typically for Shakespeare the gods are rarely conceived of as 'loving', the benevolent theophanies in *As You Like It*, *Pericles*, and *Cymbeline* notwithstanding. (I concede that *Cymbeline*'s Jupiter says 'Whom best I loue, I crosse', however.) Theseus's introduction to the scene then alludes to the dove, the emblem of Venus:

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53. W. Y. Durand, 'Palæmon and Arcyte, Progne, Marcus Geminus, and the Theatre in which they were acted, as described by John Bereblock (1566)', *PMLA*, 20 (1905), 502–28 (p. 510).

54. Gurr suggests that such spectacular fire-based effects as found in some other plays of the time seem not to have been greatly used at the hall playhouses and the Globe—*Henry VIII* is here an unfortunate exception. See *The Shakespearean Stage, 1574–1642*, 4th edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 228.

Lay by your anger for an houre, and dove-like  
Before the holy Altars of your helpers  
(The all feard gods) bow downe your stubborn bodies. (TLN 2653–5, 5.1.11–13)

The dove is a fairly mobile symbol. Theseus' primary meaning is to entreat the combatants to adopt a peaceful attitude whilst at prayer, but it seems fairly certain that it would at least recall Venus in preparation for the prayer to her which is—to a number of critics, as said—the play's thematic centre. But for now let us look at the first prayer, namely Arcite's to Mars.

Mars' tertiary importance to the play can be seen even on a superficial level in the comparative length of the three prayers. Arcite's prayer lasts approximately twenty lines, Emilia's around thirty-five to forty, and Palamon's about sixty. Arcite's prayer, like the others', follows classical precedents by listing the god's attributes, qualities, and deeds (i.e., their surrounding mythology). Christ himself refers disparagingly to this practice before prescribing the Lord's Prayer: 'Also when ye pray, vse no vaine repetitions as the Heathen: for they thinke to be heard for their much babbling' (Matthew, 6. 7). Although built on repetitions of relative clauses, Arcite's speech is not necessarily vain in its repetitions—at least not in the context of the play's world. He sees Mars as a powerful god, who overpowers other deities (namely Neptune and Ceres) and makes and unmakes cities:

Thou mighty one, that with thy power hath turnd  
Greene Neptune into purple[, whose approach]  
Comets prewarne, whose havocke in the vaste Feild  
Vnearthed skulls proclaime, whose breathe blowes downe,  
The teeming Ceres foyzon, who dost plucke  
With hand armenypotent [i.e., armipotent] from forth blew cloudes,  
The masoned Turrets, that both mak'st, and break'st  
The stony girthes of Citties. (TLN 2698–705, 5.1.49–56)

Arcite sees Mars not just as a destroyer, then, but also as a constructor: he, war, is a basic principle in man's operation on earth. There is also, implicitly, something of a hint of the providential in Mars' influence over history: Arcite's prayer seems to imply a vision of falling and rising cities and so, perhaps, a succession of empires, or at least powers. The speech also neatly recalls the first scene and the issue which precipitated the ensuing drama in the image of the 'Vnearthed skulls'. Arcite's prayer is divided into two clear parts, the division marked by the 'token' of Mars' 'pleasure' (TLN 2710, 5.1.61): *'there is heard clanging of Armor, with a short Thunder as the burst of a*

*Battaile'* (TLN 2711–3, 5.1.61SD). It is in response to this token that Arcite concludes his prayer, introducing as he does so the language of healing, discussed above. This part of his prayer seems almost to tread on the toes of Apollo; Arcite's description of the god (Mars) as

Great Corrector of enormous times,  
Shaker of ore-rank States, [and] grand decider  
Of dustie, and old tytles (TLN 2714–16, 5.1.62–4)

seems almost to attribute a judgemental importance to him which is more appropriate to Jupiter—like Apollo, a conspicuous absence from the play. It is not that Arcite commits any form of blasphemy; the point is rather to observe the huge importance Arcite attributes to 'the god of [his] profession' (TLN 2687, 5.1.38). This part of the prayer also—and perhaps most crucially—connects Mars and Theseus, as observed above.

Palamon's prayer is the longest and the strangest. The length and the strangeness are connected, for it is the middle section—about twenty lines—which gives it greater length than Arcite's and Emilia's prayers; but it seems rather to be a puzzling digression than a focused hymn to the goddess in the way that Arcite's is to Mars. Firstly, let us establish the prayer's three parts. Palamon begins with the typical pagan-Classical list of attributes, qualities, and deeds (TLN 2731–48, 5.1.77–94), followed by a short plea for grace (TLN 2748–51, 5.1.94–7). The second part can be broadly described as a digression on 'secrets' (TLN 2752–80, 5.1.98–126), and is briefly concluded by another plea (TLN 2780–3, 5.1.126–9). Next comes Venus' token of pleasure: '*Musicke is heard, Doves are seene to flutter*' (TLN 2784, 5.1.129SD), after which Palamon's prayer concludes with another brief catalogue of qualities and powers, and Palamon's statement of thanks for the goddess' token (TLN 2786–92, 5.1.130–5). Before the prayer, Palamon addresses his knights. Apart from his opening remark ('Our stars must glister with new fire, or be | To daie extinct' (TLN 2723–4, 5.1.69–70)), this prelude to prayer is important since Palamon predicts the outcome of the play:

our argument is love,  
Which if the goddesse of it grant, she gives  
Victory too. (TLN 2724–6, 5.1.70–72)

Palamon correctly focuses on love *and* victory and implicitly, therefore, victory *in* love. This is in stark contrast to Arcite's focus. As he says to his knights in the corresponding moment:

you know my prize

Must be drag'd out of blood, force and greate feate  
Must put my Garland on. (TLN 2691–3, 5.1.42–3)

Arcite focuses instead on his 'prize' and 'garland'—on military, not amorous, victory. Arguably, by his 'prize' he means Emilia; but the ambiguity in his language betrays him: Mars gives him exactly that for which he asks—a Classical irony well known to us from, for example, the myth of Midas.

To the first part of Palamon's prayer, which begins by hailing Venus as 'Sovereigne Queene of secrets' (TLN 2731, 5.1.76)—secrecy then becoming the governing idea for the second part of the prayer—before praising her for her power over the tyrant, Mars himself, a 'Cripple', the king, the bachelor of seventy, then even Apollo and Diana, making the prayer a curious mixture of Classical allusion, commonplace, and observation of human behaviour. The quotation must be at some length:

Haile Sovereigne Queene of secrets, who hast power  
To call the fiercest Tyrant from his rage;  
And weepe unto a Girle; that ha'st the might  
Even with an ey-glance, to choke *Marsis* Drom  
And turne th'allarme to whispers, that canst make  
A Cripple flourish with his Crutch, and cure him  
Before *Apollo*; that may'st force the King  
To be his subjects vassaile, and induce  
Stale gravitie to daunce, the pould Bachelour  
Whose youth like wanton Boyes through Bonfyres  
Have skipt thy flame, at seaventy, thou canst catch  
And make him to the scorne of his hoarse throate  
Abuse yong laies of love; what godlike power  
Hast thou not power upon? To *Phoebus* thou  
Add'st flames, hotter then his the heavenly fyres  
Did scorch his mortall Son, thine him; the huntresse  
All moyst and cold, some say began to throw  
Her Bow away, and sigh. (TLN 2731–48, 5.1.77–94)

Just as Arcite's prayer emphasised competition and contest between the gods, placing Mars' power above that of Neptune and Ceres (as well, implicitly, as Apollo), so Palamon emphasises Venus' power over Mars (perhaps alluding to the myth of their adultery, as Shakespeare does in *Venus and Adonis*), over Diana, and even twice over Apollo. Venus' power seems to be superseded only by that of Jupiter and destiny. The play does not invoke these two forces explicitly, and therefore leaves Venus in the supreme seat. This is in great contrast to Chaucer, for whom Venus is not terribly

powerful, but who relies on the authority of Saturn (Jove's authority failing to resolve the contention between her and Mars (2438f)) to resolve the action to her and Mars' satisfaction. In minimising Saturn almost entirely—save for the very brief reference to him in V. iv—Shakespeare and Fletcher allow Venus the place of supreme power in the world of the play. As Chaucer's Palamon says in his prayer to Venus

For though so be that Mars is god of armes,  
Youre vertu is so greet in hevne above  
That if yow list, I shal wel have my love. (2248–50)

Shakespeare's Palamon concludes this first section of the prayer with a plea:

take to thy grace  
Me thy vowd Souldier, who doe beare thy yoke  
As t'wer a wreath of Roses, yet is heavier  
Then Lead it selfe, stings more than Nettles. (TLN 2748–51, 5.1.94–7)

Once again, Venus is associated with the rose. The addition of the somewhat unpleasant image of the nettles brings out the duality of the Venus which the play puts forward.

The middle of the prayer is a strange digression. It begins by alluding to the prayer's first line (which gave Venus the title 'Soveraigne Queene of secrets') and moves to the subject of her 'law':

I have never beene foule mouthed against thy law,  
Nev'r reveald secret, for I knew none; would not  
Had I kend all that were. (TLN 2752–4, 5.1.98–100)

And so Palamon goes on for almost thirty lines (TLN 2752–80, 5.1.98–126), cataloguing—rather than the goddess' qualities—his own behaviour, and his reverence for her law of secrecy, a focus which (to the best of my knowledge) is unique to this play and speech. This is notable firstly for its want of any Christian inflection. We have seen how Christian ideas can be quite evident, though veiled, in *Cymbeline* and *Pericles*, and at least residually present in *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest*. But here Palamon is entirely focused on his deeds and works, and pleads reward for his behaviour, reminding Venus of it. He seems to express the pagan motto, *do ut des* ('I give, that you might give'). There is no focus on sin and repentance, as in *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest*. The middle section of the prayer is also strange for its insistent focus on lovers' secrets and for the scorn Palamon generously offers those who tell 'close offices | The fowlest way' (TLN 2776–8, 5.1.122–3). Still, the section concludes with more traditional references to the truth of his love, praise for the

goddess, a second plea for victory (making it, by a numerical measure, the most fervent prayer), and the request for a sign of her pleasure:

such a one I am,  
And vow that lover never yet made sigh  
Truer than I. O then most soft sweet goddesse  
Give me the victory of this question, which  
Is true loves merit, and blesse me with a signe  
Of thy great pleasure. (TLN 2778–83, 5.1.124–9)

Here Venus offers Palamon the signs of music and doves, implying a 'soft sweete goddesse' rather than the unlikeable 'Queene of secrets' which Palamon has just at length depicted.

His reaction to her signs—the third and final part of the prayer—is the briefest, and paints once again a strange image of the goddess, first reaffirming her power over mortals of almost all ages, and then strangely making her a huntress—perhaps encroaching, in so doing, on the imagery and domain of Diana:

O thou that from eleven, to ninetie raign'st  
In mortall bosomes, whose chase is this world  
And we in heards thy game; I give thee thankes  
For this faire Token, which being layd unto  
Mine innocent true heart, armes in assurance  
My body to this businesse: Let us rise  
And bow before the goddesse. (TLN 2787–92, 5.1.130–6)

As Arcite implies of Mars, by referring to his spirit in the hearts of him and his knights (5.1.35, TLN 2684), similarly Palamon emphasises that his Venus is an earthly rather than a celestial goddess: her 'chase is this world | And we in heardes [her] game'.

It is worth noting that Chaucer's order of prayers differs from that of Shakespeare. In 'The Knight's Tale', Palamon goes to prayer at Venus' hour (2217), Emilye at Diana's (2271–2), and Arcite at Mars' (2367). Shakespeare disregards this association of each deity with a particular time in the day and changes the order, bending it to dramatic ends, placing Emilia's prayer last, making it a culmination of the scene. If Palamon's prayer (and perhaps, albeit to a lesser extent, Arcite's) seem somewhat lacking in their expected sanctity, this is made up for by the striking religious atmosphere created even before Emilia's prayer by the ritualised approach to the altar, the imagery of which recalls much of that at the very opening of the play, establishing a

certain symmetry between the two points. If I. i presented an interrupted ritual, V. i promises a fulfilled and spectacular one:

*Still Musicke of Record[er]s.*

*Enter Emilia in white, her haire about her shoulders, [wearing] a wheaten wreath: One in white holding up her traine, her haire stucke with flowers: One before her carrying a silver Hynde, in whic[h] is conveyd Incense and sweet odours, which being set upon the Altar her maides standing a loofe, she sets fire to it, then they curtsey and kneele. (TLN 2793–99, 5.1.136SD)*

This is the second moment of music in the scene. Fewer than ten lines before, we hear the music which accompanies Venus' sign. It is a shame that the stage directions do not detail the manner or duration of the music. One possibility would be that Venus' music lapses into silence, after which the 'still music of recorders' strikes up quietly from this silence. Another would be that Venus' music sustains and segues into that used for Emilia's procession. This would again connect Venus and Diana intimately, if implicitly. Perhaps Venus' music would be inordinately or at least comparatively harsh next to the stillness of Emilia's and Diana's recorders. There is of course no answer to these questions, though the possibilities themselves are rich.

The various emblems of virginity (loose hair, wheaten wreath) and bridal accoutrements (hair decorated with flowers, train held up by an attendant) which the stage directions describe were worn by Hippolyta in the opening ceremony of I. i, at which point Emilia was at the back of the procession, holding up Hippolyta's train. Now she has taken Hippolyta's place both literally and symbolically: although Hymen is not present, the visual symmetry implies that this is almost a *de facto* marriage procession since, at the end of it, Emilia will be discharged (TLN 2837, 5.1.170) as a votary of Diana by the goddess herself, and readied for the wedding ceremony which the play itself does not stage. The artificial hind is an addition not found in Chaucer, although much of the procession is lifted and adapted from 'The Knight's Tale'. However, so much is discarded from Chaucer in the writing of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* that it is surely of great significance when a detail is kept—particularly something as notable as this ceremony.

As the recorders begin their 'Still Musicke' and surround the stage and stage business with a mellifluous soundworld, so Shakespeare uses, for almost the first time in the play, a highly lyrical register, carefully aligning sounds for an exceptionally musical blank verse:

O sacred, shadowie, cold and constant Queene,  
Abandoner of Revells, mute contemplative,



Sweet solitary, white as chaste, and pure  
As windfand Snow, who to thy femall knights  
Alow'st no more blood than will make a blush,  
Which is their orders robe. (TLN 2800–5, 5.1.137–42)

Much more than in the prayers of Arcite and Palamon, Shakespeare has Emilia mix plea and catalogue, so that the speech is not easily divisible. The prayer moves into a section caught between catalogue and request which is perhaps best described as invocation. Emilia pleads with the goddess not to grant her request—yet—but simply to listen to her:

I heere thy Priest  
Am humbled fore thine Altar, O vouchsafe  
With that thy rare greene eye, which never yet  
Beheld thing maculate, looke on thy virgin,  
And sacred silver Mistris, lend thine eare  
(Which nev'r heard scurrill terme, into whose port  
Ne're entred wanton sound,) to my petition  
Seasoned with holy feare. (TLN 2805–12, 5.1.142–9)

If the speech seems less organised than those of Palamon (even with its digression) and Arcite, its loss in clarity gains in a sense of religious rapture, and so adds to the feeling that the scene is here culminating. Emilia's request simply to be heard is prosaic and, for a remarkable effect, requires the ornate structure, the periphrases of remarking on Diana's 'rare green eye' (an attribute which seems to puzzle the play's various commentators, and for which there seems to be no obvious precedent), her ear, the purity of both, and of repeatedly describing her sanctity. Emilia also twice remarks on her experience within the religious ritual: she is humbled before Diana's altar, and her petition is 'seasoned with holy fear'. Moreover, the two remarks, as it were, bracket this part of the speech, suggesting a convenient division, partly explaining why it is more confused in composition than Palamon's and Arcite's (who appropriately, considering their profession, express no fear before the gods' altars). This consideration would make it a psychologically acute and well observed imaginative account of the 'holy fear' felt by a follower and 'Priest' of Diana, as well as an artfully structured speech in itself.

The speech continues with a summary of Emilia's situation, before moving finally on to the plea itself:

This is my last of vestall office, I am bride habited,  
But mayden harted, a husband I have pointed,

But doe not know him[. O]ut of two, I should  
 Choose one, and pray for his successe, but I  
 Am guiltlesse of election[. O]f mine eyes,  
 Were I to loose one, they are equall precious,  
 I could doombe neither, that which perish'd should  
 Goe to't unsentenc'd: Therefore most modest Queene,  
 He of the two Pretenders, that best loves me  
 And has the truest title in't, Let him  
 Take off my wheaten Gerland, or else grant  
 The fyle and qualitie I hold, I may  
 Continue in thy Band. (TLN 2812–25, 5.1.149–62)

The singularity of this moment is reflected in the rarity of its language. As Turner and Tatspaugh observe, the words 'maculate' and 'scurrill' appear only once each in Shakespeare's other work, whilst the compound 'bride-habited' is unique to this play (nn. to 5.1.145, 147, and 150). Emilia pleads that the knight with the truest title to her shall 'Take off [her] wheaten Gerland'. If one entertains the divine machinery of the play—as I think the play asks us to do—then Palamon's claim on the basis of 'first seeing' (as he says in II. ii) is vindicated by the outcome of V. iii and iv. Here, without knowing it, Emilia seems to ask Diana to give the day to Venus. Diana must relinquish her follower and priestess, so that experience, Venus, may have her instead.

Although the signs from Mars and Venus allow somewhat impressive stage effects, these are surely outdone by Diana's, which again show the sense of culmination and divine importance in this scene. As Lois Potter observes, the disappearance of the hind under the altar has a precedent and parallel in the vanishing of the banquet in *The Tempest*, III. iii.<sup>55</sup> However, it is somewhat puzzling that, whereas Chaucer narrates Diana's theophany in 'The Knight's Tale' (2346–60), Shakespeare and Fletcher do not. Many things are altered in the tale's adaptation. But we know from *Pericles* that the King's Men almost certainly had an appropriate costume—likely that of the huntress, given the goddess' reference to her 'siluer bow' (*Pericles*, IIv, 5.1.249), which is also the costume Chaucer describes (2347)—for staging Diana roughly five years before (probably 1608, whereas *The Two Noble Kinsmen* must be 1613 or later, owing to its use of Beaumont's *Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn*, presented in 1613, then published in an undated Quarto, probably in the same year). It would have been easy either to have Diana descend, or for her to enter from

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55. Lois Potter, ed., 5.1.162SD.

beneath the altar in place of the mysterious rose tree through the same trap door which that effect likely uses (Turner and Tatzpaugh, n. to 5.1.162SD). If all the resources were available, and if the hint was as strong as it is in the source, then the reason not to stage a theophany of Diana must be attributed to Shakespeare's (and possibly Fletcher's) disinclination.

In response to the appearance of the rose tree, Emilia, perhaps in her surprise, does not address Diana but her attendants:

See what our Generall of Ebbs and Flowes  
Out from the bowells of her holy Altar  
With sacred act advances: But one Rose,  
If well inspird, this Battaile shal confound  
Both these brave Knights, and I a virgin flowre  
Must grow alone unpluck'd. (TLN 2828–33, 5.1.163–8)

Just as in her first speech in II. ii, Emilia immediately understands the significance of the symbol: the rose signifies 'I a virgin flowre'. But the augury is not complete; Emilia has been hasty in her interpretation: '*Here is heard a sodaine twang of Instruments, and the Rose fals from the Tree*' (TLN 2834–5, 5.1.168SD). In interpreting the sudden twang of the—presumably string—instruments, we must ask whether the 'still music of recorders' which began the episode, is still playing. I imagine that Emilia's speech would have been more effective had the recorders ceased as she approached the altar to begin her speech, and that the sudden twang would too have been more effective after a long instrumental *tacet*. Assuming the twang is made by strings we can surmise that the sound would have been produced by lute and viols together (in order to avoid a thin sound), although possibly the lute would be too quiet to make an effective, surprising, and sudden sound. This would then liken the music in this moment to that 'rough and | Wofull Musick', also played upon the viol, for which Cerimon asks in reviving Thaisa in *Pericles* (E4r, 3.2.88–90).

As before, in these final few lines of the scene, Emilia interprets Diana's sign with apparent ease:

The flowre is falne, the Tree descends: O Mistris  
Thou here dischargest me, I shall be gather'd,  
I thinke so, but I know not thine owne will;  
Vnclaspe thy Misterie: I hope she's pleas'd,  
Her Signes were gracious. (TLN 2836–40, 5.1.169–73)

I have already remarked on the ambiguity of the third line. Whatever the significance, Emilia's final two lines in the scene point to what she perceives as divine inscrutability.

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The final scene offers the philosophical conclusion to and reflection on the action, but is made structurally complex by containing also the crucial reversal, so that roughly the first quarter of the scene (about forty out of one hundred and thirty-five lines) is concerned with the death of Palamon, which, we learn at c. TLN 3240, 5.3.40, is not to happen. The middle of the scene is taken up with the news of Arcite's accident and the impressive, distinctly Classical messenger speech given by Pirithous; the final quarter stages Arcite's death and Theseus' philosophical commentary on and summary of the action. The scene begins with Palamon's consolation to his knights. Despite its power, Palamon humbly admits that the speech is likely to prove 'poore comfort', whereat the knights, responding, make the first two of the scene's three important references to Fortune:

I K. What ending could be  
Of more content? ore us the victors have  
Fortune, whose title is as momentary,  
As to us death is certaine: A graine of honour  
They not ore'-weigh us.  
2. K. Let us bid farewell;  
And with our patience, anger tottering Fortune,  
Who at her certain'st reeles. (TLN 3205–12, 5.4.15–21)

There is an irony in these remarks, particularly when the first knight refers to the certainty of their execution as as certain as Fortune's title is momentary: what he says of Fortune is half true (her title is momentary) and half false (it is not as momentary as their deaths are certain). Palamon then addresses the Jailer, asking about his Daughter. There are two ways of interpreting what happens next, depending on the weight one affords the Jailer's Daughter subplot. The first is to say that this merely concludes the subplot on a happy note, as Palamon and his knights all donate their purses on hearing of her coming marriage—even if there is a slight tragic irony in Palamon's remark,

By my short life  
I am most glad on't; Tis the latest thing

I shall be glad of, pre'thee tell her so (TLN 3222–4, 5.4.28–30) since she thinks, when we last see her, that her wooer is Palamon. If one affords more weight to the Jailer's Daughter's subplot, and credits the idea that the play has a general integrity despite local inconsistencies, then the Jailer's expression of gratitude receives a great weight, too: 'The gods requight you all, | And make her thankful' (TLN 3233–4, 5.4.36). This does seem to be—at least possibly—supported by the ensuing action: two lines later, Palamon '*Lies on the Blocke*' (TLN 3233–4, 5.4.38SD); almost immediately after this follows the reversal: '*A great noise within crying, run, save[,] hold*' (TLN 3239, 5.4.39SD). Is an audience or reader to take the suggestion from this evidence that this act of pitying charity on the part of Palamon and his knights sways the divine will, and saves them? Does, as Hippolyta prays in V. iii, the *best* win, by edict of the gods? Are the kinsmen's fates already fixed, making this moment merely an emphasis placed on Palamon's goodness, versus Arcite's confessed falseness (TLN 3299, 5.4.91)? These questions cannot finally be decided, but are offered to the enrichment of the drama. One also ought briefly to note the objection that Arcite's long catastrophe had already (probably) started before this moment of spontaneous charity. However, there is also the counter-objection to be made that Shakespeare is not likely to care about such a pedantic observation of realistic time.

In response to the news of the reversal, Palamon voices one of the play's most puzzling inconsistencies: 'Can that be, | When *Venus* I have said is false?' (TLN 3247–8, 5.4.44–5). Turner and Tatzpauigh write: 'Perhaps he does say so elsewhere, but he does not in the dialogue' (n. to 5.4.44–5). Lois Potter adds the useful insight that there is a precedent for this in Richard Edwards' lost *Palamon and Arcite* (1566), whose Palamon 'casts reproaches upon Venus, saying that he had served her from infancy, and that now she had neither desire nor power to help him'.<sup>56</sup> In offering something of a resolution to this puzzle, this also argues Edwards' play as a possible source, much as Twine's adaptation of Gower was used as an ancillary source for *Pericles*. Another, closer precedent, however, is in Ferdinand's reaction to seeing Alonso in the final scene of *The Tempest*: 'Though the Seas threaten they are merciful, | I haue curs'd them without cause' (TLN 2152–3, 5.1.178–9). It is puzzling that this should come up in both plays.

Pirithous' report—a supremely well-crafted dramatic speech—could prompt an essay in itself. For present purposes, we must focus on a crucial presence in

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56. Durand, p. 511. Quoted by Lois Potter, ed., p. 53.

Chaucer which is minimised by the play, namely Saturn, of whom the play only says:

what envious Flint,  
Cold as old *Saturne*, and like him possesst  
With fire malevolent, darterd a Sparke  
Or what fierce sulphur else, to this end made,  
I comment not. (TLN 3266–70, 5.4.61–5)

The three qualities attributed to Saturn—coldness, age, and possession '[w]ith fire malevolent'—are all found in Chaucer's forty-or-so lines on the god. The first two are included in his introductory couplets. Although the reference to Saturn's coldness is brief and passing, his great age is a point of sustained focus:

Til that the pale Saturnus the colde,  
That knew so manye of adventures olde,  
Foond in his olde experience an art  
That he ful soone hath plesed every part.  
As sooth is seyde, elde hath greet advantage;  
In elde is bothe wysdom and usage;  
Men may the olde atrenne, and noght atrede. ('Knight's Tale', 2443–9)

The last line, according to Baugh, can be suitably paraphrased in modern English as 'One may outrun the old but not outwit'.<sup>57</sup> His malevolence is lightly alluded to in the lines immediately following:

Saturne anon, to stynten strif and drede,  
Al be it that it is agayn his kynde,  
Of al this strif he gan remedie fynde. (2450–2)

Saturn then addresses Venus with a long catalogue of the various miseries over which he is the god, which need not be quoted here. As said, in minimising Saturn, Shakespeare and Fletcher afford primacy in the drama's divine machinery to Venus.

The play's closing lines are, save for a few very bleak final remarks from Palamon, given to Theseus. He begins with an acknowledgement of a curious coincidence of place, followed by a pious commandment to Palamon:

In this place first you fought: ev'n very here  
I sundred you, acknowledge to the gods  
[Yo]ur thanks that you are living:  
His [i.e., Arcite's] part is playd, and though it were too short

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57. *Chaucer's Major Poetry*, ed. by Albert C. Baugh (London: Routledge, 1963), n. to 2449.

He did it well: your day is lengthned, and,  
The blissefull dew of heaven do's arowze you. (TLN 3308–13, 5.4.98–103)

The coincidence of place adds a fine circularity to the consummation, linking V. iv with III. vi, which is made the pivotal scene by virtue of its connection with the supplication episodes I. i and V. i, thus creating at this point a great sense of overall pattern and symmetry to the play. 'The blissefull dew of heaven' introduces the next section of Theseus' speech, which relates more closely to the part of the action with which this chapter is concerned:

The powerfull *Venus*, well hath grac'd her Altar,  
And given you your love: Our Master *Mars*  
Hast vouch'd his oracle, and to *Arcite* gave  
The grace of the Contention: So the Deities  
Have shewd due justice. (TLN 3314–18, 5.4.104–8)

Theseus again shows his closeness to Mars in referring to him as 'Our Master *Mars*', and points out that both deities fulfil their promises, are satisfied in the result, and hereby show 'due justice'. It is curious that Theseus neglects Diana; this leaves answered only implicitly the question of how she fits into the working out of the play's divine mechanics. Emilia's prayer does not make any statement of preference. Arcite asks for martial victory, and Palamon asks for victory in love. Emilia asks for the man with truest title to win, or to remain unwed. Her prayer to Diana is satisfied, as Theseus goes on to imply in his next speech, after Palamon's final, brief, but intensely tragic remark on the loss of desire and of love (TLN 3320–22, 5.4.109–11).

Finally, Theseus invokes Fortune before shifting his focus onto the gods' 'equality' in dealing out the various characters' fates. Then he summarises, crucially, the principal reason why it is *just* that Palamon should have Emilia:

Never Fortune  
Did play a subtler Game: The conquerd triumphes,  
The victor has the Losse: yet in the passage  
The gods have been most equall: Palamon,  
Your kinseman hath confest the right o'th Lady  
Did lye in you, for you first saw her, and  
Even then proclaimd your fancie: He restord her  
As your stolne Iewell, and desir'd your spirit  
To send him hence forgiven; The gods my justice  
Take from my hand, and they themselves become  
The Executioners. (TLN 3323–33, 5.4.111–21)

In confirming Palamon, Theseus (and implicitly Arcite) also confirm the position of this chapter, namely that Palamon's claim to have the right to love Emilia alone—by virtue of his first seeing her—is ratified by the outcome which the gods provide. This is what Emilia asks Diana for (TLN 2821–2, 5.1.158–9), is what Arcite himself confesses in his dying words (3299–300, 5.4.91–2), and what Theseus confirms here in his speech as divinely ordained. Mars may win the battle, but Venus wins the day—*omnia vincit amor*.



## Conclusion

*Nah ist  
Und schwer zu fassen der Gott.<sup>1</sup>  
Hölderlin, 'Patmos'*

Erich Auerbach, in an essay entitled 'Sacrae Scripturae sermo humilis', quotes Benvenuto Rambaldi da Imola's commentary on Dante. Of Beatrice's manner of speaking—'e comminciommi a dir soave e piana' (*Inferno*, II. 56)—Benvenuto writes: 'et bene dicit, quia sermo divinus est suavis et planus, non altus et superbus sicut Vergilii et poetarum'.<sup>2</sup> The style of the divine is humble and plain; that of the poetic, high and splendid. (There are many possible translations of 'superbus' but this seems fitting here.) Perhaps this can begin to explain why theophany in Shakespeare has not received a sustained treatment until now; it may also begin to explain, furthermore, why some treatments have lacked sympathy for these moments. The Shakespeare we are used to is a poet of complexity. One thinks of T. S. Eliot's contrast of the styles of Shakespeare and Dante in his essay on the latter, describing Shakespeare's style as a 'combination of intelligibility and remoteness'.<sup>3</sup> But the language that Shakespeare's gods speak is 'soave e piana'. (One thinks also of Cordelia, perhaps Shakespeare's closest equivalent to Beatrice: 'Loue, and be silent' (TLN 67, 1.1.62); 'I cannot heave | My heart into my mouth' (TLN 97–8, 1.1.86–7).) Marina, Imogen, Perdita, Miranda, and Emilia, although humble in character, cannot be said to use a style which is 'soave e piano'. Rather, their speeches represent points of nearly ecstatic charge in the plays. Think of Imogen's long speeches, which conclude with and involve such complex constructions as:

One, but painted thus  
Would be interpreted a thing perplex'd  
Beyond selfe-explication. (TLN 1676–8, 3.4.6–8)

Or think of Marina's way of sketching stark, striking, and indelible images:

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1. 'Near is, | And difficult to grasp, the God.'
  2. Erich Auerbach, *Studi su Dante*, trans. by Maria Luisa De Pieri Bonino and Dante Della Terza (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1963), p. 167.
  3. T. S. Eliot, *Selected Essays*, 2nd edn (London: Faber, 1934), p. 241.

I am a maid, my Lord, that nere before inuited eyes, but haue beene gazed on  
like a Comet. (H3v, 5.1.75–7)

These heroines use a high, poetic style, a *sermo altus et superbus*. Where then does the sense of sanctity—if present—reside in the late plays?

It is the gods in Shakespeare that, like no other characters or figures in his plays, speak in a manner which is simple and plain. How simple it is to say, for example, 'My Temple stands in *Ephesus*' (I1v, 5.1.241), or

Whom best I loue, I crosse; to make my guift  
The more delay'd, delighted. (TLN 3137–8, 5.3.165–6)

By contrast, that Time's speech employs a more complex, elliptical grammar shows, obliquely, the uncertain point which he occupies upon the line between allegorical idea and god:

I that please some, try all: both ioy and terror  
Of good, and bad: that makes, and vnfolds error. (TLN 1580–1, 4.1.1–2)

Apollo's Oracle, on the other hand, is so plain—contrary to the riddling and mysterious, historical Oracle of Apollo at Delphi—that the plain truth is put in prose, for the most part in the simplest configuration of subject–verb–complement:

Hermione is chast, Polixenes blamelesse, Camillo a true Subiect, Leontes a iealous  
Tyrant, his innocent Babe truly begotten, and the King shall liue without an Heire, if  
that which is lost, be not found. (TLN 1313–16, 3.2.132–6)

A similar sort of stylistic simplicity is found in almost all the hierophanic moments in the texts:

The Clymat's delicate, the Ayre most sweet,  
Fertile the Isle, the Temple much surpassing  
The common prayse it beares. (TLN 1146–8, 3.1.1–3)

By this rule, the sheer, wonderful complexity of the language in *The Tempest's* Act IV masque prevents it (and its goddesses) from reaching a sense of sanctity which the long final scene achieves by virtue of its humility and simplicity.

Emilia's prayer to Diana in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* is so much more moving, so much more convincingly devotional in character than those of Palamon and Arcite partly because it is not a vain volley of epithets and excursuses (one thinks again of Matthew, 6. 7), and partly because it is prefaced by a dumb procession:

*Still Musicke of Record[er]s.*

*Enter Emilia in white, her haire about her shoulders, [wearing] a wheaten wreath:  
One in white holding up her traine, her haire stucke with flowers: One before her carrying a silver Hynde, in whic[h] is conveyd Incense and sweet odours, which being*

*set upon the Altar her maides standing a loofe, she sets fire to it, then they curtsey  
and kneele.* (TLN 2793–99, 5.1.136SD)

Thus, when her elaborate prayer begins, the sense is that, although it is elaborate, it is earnest. The effect is thrown into high relief by the bombast of the prayers of Palamon and Arcite. Speech is shown to reside in dumbness, and 'Action is eloquence' (*Coriolanus*, TLN 2177, 3.2.76).

Shakespeare's gods represent and stage a certain simplicity within complex texts. Perhaps it is this incongruence—the simple nested within the complex—which has made these moments so difficult for criticism to comprehend. George Steiner writes in 'On Difficulty' of four species of difficulty in reading a text: 1) the somewhat prosaic, superable matter of 'looking things up'; 2) that species of difficulty in which a reader concludes that something eludes full, satisfactory *comprehension* even where there is some local *understanding*, such as when a student finds a centuries-old poem too remote; 3) that species in which the writer, rather than the reader, insists on difficulty as an 'endeavour [by which] to deepen our apprehension by dislocating and goading to new life the supine energies of word and grammar' (this Steiner calls *tactical*); and 4) *ontological* difficulties, which 'confront us with blank questions about the nature of human speech, about the status of significance, about the necessity and purpose of the construct which we have, with more or less rough and ready consensus, come to perceive as a poem'.<sup>4</sup>

We will come shortly back to Steiner's codification. Critics have acknowledged their limitations with these plays. Charles Frey wrote that, even after years of study and a book-length treatment, *The Winter's Tale* still 'serenely glides' out of ken.<sup>5</sup> David Lindley, concluding the introduction to his edition of *The Tempest*, writes that this play 'retains a perpetual capacity to exceed our critical grasp—and that is precisely why it continues to solicit our attention' (p. 101). In writing this, he echoes Kermode's remarks at the equivalent point of his edition of the play, written some fifty years earlier: 'the complex in which [the play's various elements] occur is unique [...] they derive from each other meanings which are beyond the last analysis of criti-

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4. George Steiner, 'On Difficulty', *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 36 (1978), 263–76; the quotations are from p. 273. The essay has been reprinted in Steiner's valuable book, *On Difficulty and Other Essays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 18–47.

5. Charles Frey, *Shakespeare's Vast Romance: A Study of The Winter's Tale* (Columbia: University of Missouri, 1980), p. vii.

cism'.<sup>6</sup> Such remarks are to be expected of *The Tempest* and *The Winter's Tale*. *The Two Noble Kinsmen* arguably has something graspable about it, as though it were chained to earth by its slight inconsistencies. But one may make superlative remarks about *Cymbeline's* extraordinary language, energy, heterogeneity, scope, vision, and ambition. *Pericles* astonishes despite—and in virtue of—its fragmentariness.

Pace Steiner, then, his four difficulties are not the ones faced here. (He himself concedes that his divisions are 'rough, and preliminary'.<sup>7</sup>) Critics have found the theophanies in Shakespeare too simple; one could call this a case of 2). But it is better here to draw two distinctions within the field of difficulty, namely that between the mysterious and the complex. Criticism has no problem with complexity *per se*, which consists of a series or amalgamation of simplicities. The mysterious, however, denotes that which perpetually, or seemingly perpetually, eludes the critical grasp. Of both of these kinds of difficulty there is an ample amount in this thesis' focal texts.

If this thesis has successfully shed any light on or offered any apology for Shakespeare's theophanies, then the question confronts us of what purpose or end is served by these moments in the plays. After a number of years of research, I am inclined to think that theophany for Shakespeare functions as another technique in an imaginative arsenal by which, as Novalis says, 'Die Welt wird Traum, der Traum wird Welt'.<sup>8</sup> Perhaps this is nowhere better seen than in Caliban's speech on music, sleep, waking, and dream:

Be not affeard, the Isle is full of noyses,  
Sounds, and sweet aires, that giue delight and hurt not:  
Sometimes a thousand twangling Instruments  
Will hum about mine eares; and sometime voices,  
That if I then had wak'd after long sleepe,  
Will make me sleepe againe, and then in dreaming,  
The clouds methought would open, and shew riches  
Ready to drop vpon me, that when I wak'd  
I cri'de to dreame againe. (TLN 1492–1500, 3.2.127–35)

He describes an action of waking 'after long sleepe', being made to sleep again, to dream of riches falling from the sky, so that, waking again, he cries to dream again.

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6. *The Tempest*, ed. by Frank Kermode (London: Methuen, 1954), p. lxxxviii.

7. Steiner, p. 276.

8. Novalis, *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, in *Heinrich von Ofterdingen | Hymnen an die Nacht | Geistliche Lieder*, ed. by James Boyd (Oxford: Blackwell, 1949), II. 66.

It is a cycle or an involution of dream and waking and waking and dream: Die Welt wird Traum, der Traum wird Welt. The involved nature of the speech with its difficult grammar (it is unclear whether it is conditional, subjunctive, or indicative) mimics the confusion of the dream-state; the diminutive participle 'twangling' summarises much about Caliban, and much about the dreamworld in which *The Tempest* is set. One sees this idea of the confusion of dream and world again, in a more tragic mode, in Hermione's trial scene in *The Winter's Tale*:

*Her.* Sir,  
You speake a Language that I vnderstand not:  
My Life stands in the leuell of your Dreames,  
Which Ile lay downe.  
*Leo.* Your Actions are my Dreames.  
You had a Bastard by *Polixenes*,  
And I but dream'd it. (TLN 1256–62, 3.2.79–84)

The two halves of *The Winter's Tale* are themselves like complementary dreams, or rather a nightmare followed by a pleasant dream; as much is signalled at the play's beginning, when Archilochus says to Camillo that, in Bohemia,

We will giue you sleepee Drinkes, that your Sences (vn-intelligent of our insufficiency) may, though they cannot prayse vs, as little accuse vs. (TLN 16–19, 1.1.13–15)

It is seen again in Time's inauguration of the second half, the new play, the new dream:

your patience this allowing,  
I turne my glasse, and giue my Scene such growing  
As you had slept betweene. (TLN 1594–6, 4.1.15–17)

Antigonus' dream is a dream about the dream. We have seen how the massive Behemoth of *Cymbeline* organises itself around its three cardinal points—its three dream scenes, II. ii, IV. ii, V. iii—which are either realities nested in a dreamlike state, or are dreams which possess a redolence of reality about them, such as in the material confirmation of Jupiter's theophany via the prophetic tablet which he leaves behind.

Finally, in these plays, as in the theophanies which are a part of them, life seems to possess, as Vincentio says in *Measure for Measure*,

nor youth, nor age  
But as it were an after-dinners sleepe  
Dreaming on both. (TLN 1235–7, 3.1.32–4)

Theophany in Shakespeare, however, offers a rare, redemptive, and 'true' dream by which the protagonists of these dramatic romances are able—perhaps figuratively, perhaps literally—to wake from the nightmarish world of that preceding action which might be attributed to Fortune. This vision differs in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, of whose conclusion Theseus can only say: 'Never Fortune | Did play a subtler Game' (TLN 3323–3, 5.4.111–12). Somewhat disturbing the expected pattern as this does, this might make one think of Shakespeare what Glenn Gould did of Mozart—'that he died too late rather than too soon'.<sup>9</sup> But in the other romances here discussed, the dream-space opened by theophany allows a redemption from Fortune's tyrannies and allows Pericles to say: 'This, this, no more, you gods, your present kindenes makes my past miseries sports' (I2v, 5.3.40–1). These are dreams from which none wishes to wake. Echoing Caliban, one might say, or sing, and hear:

The musical score is for Schubert's 'Nacht und Träume' (D. 827), bars 21–3. It is written for Soprano and Piano. The tempo is marked 'Langsam'. The key signature is three sharps (F#, C#, G#) and the time signature is common time (C). The Soprano part has lyrics: 'hol - de Träu-me, keh-ret wie - der.' The Piano part features a steady eighth-note accompaniment in the right hand and a more active bass line in the left hand.

Schubert, *Nacht und Träume*, D. 827, bars 21–3

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