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The strait gate and the wide gate in Matthew 7, 13
as represented on the cover of Calvin's
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Erzsébet Stróbl

A Monarch in Petticoat: Metaphors of the Body in Queen Elizabeth's Representations

In 1566 Queen Elizabeth used a striking image to describe herself in a speech in front of the joint delegations of the House of Lords and the House of Commons: 'I thank God I am indeed endured with such qualities that if I were turned out of the realm in my petticoat, I were able to live in any place of Christendom.'[1] Her words are remarkable as she consciously dons the role of a simple maid, whose social rank and standing was legally inferior to men in early modern England. Although Elizabeth's accession to the throne was justified by dynastic claims and by the Protestant discourse of a 'mixed polity' in which a ruler exercised their authority by the advice of godly councillors, her female body natural was a constant source of criticism throughout her reign. From time to time she was challenged by contemporary prejudice that claimed women were 'weak, frail, impatient, feeble, and foolish: and experience hath declared them to be inconstant, variable, cruel and lacking the spirit of counsel and regiment.'[2] In spite of this, courtly propaganda and Elizabeth's self-fashioning often utilized corporeal images and metaphors in order to emphasise her kinglike qualities and subvert anxieties about female rule.

The present paper will describe and analyse these strategies, and will argue that instead of avoiding hints at the gender of the monarch's body, the images and metaphors of the body—even allusions to its 'weakness'—were successfully incorporated into showcasing an authoritative public persona for Queen Elizabeth. Examples will be taken from the works of the Queen in the broadest sense, including her public speeches (some written by her, others outlined by her, and nearly all of them recorded after their delivery and existing in many versions), her autograph compositions of prayers and verses (some printed in her lifetime and available to her subjects, others existing only in a manuscript form), and her official portraits. Queen Elizabeth's forty-five year rule faced various challenges and threats, and the various reinventions of her image mirror the diversity of her long rule. The paper will expound upon how they were used to justify the Queen's rule, to emphasize her godly humbleness, her bodily fitness, and to hide her ageing body in the last decade of her reign.

[1] Elizabeth I: *Collected Works,* Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller, Mary Beth Rose (eds.), Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press, 2000, 97.

[2] John Knox: *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women,* Geneva, J. Poullain and A. Rebul, 1558, 10r.

Fig. 1. Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, *The Rainbow Portrait of Elizabeth I* (c. 1600–1602)

The Female Body in the Sixteenth Century

In early modern England the female body was still seen as largely inferior to the male body, an idea dating back to ancient Greek philosophical writing, where the principle of action is masculine and the material or body shaped by this activity is feminine. Thus the nature of women was considered to be soft, docile, apt to be despondent, quarrelsome, deceitful, lustful, and irrational. Next to classical writings, the early Christian Fathers introduced a further reason to discriminate against them: the accusation that women were the cause of the fall of man, and, consequently, the crucifixion of Christ. The early Christian author Tertullian condemns the female sex vehemently: 'And do you not know that you are (each) an Eve? … *You* destroyed so easily God's image, man.'[3] A further element within the Christian tradition appears with St. Paul, who explicitly forbids women to speak publicly (1 Cor 14:33–34, 1Tim 2:11–12) and thus one of the recommended female virtues became silence.

The Aristotelian and Christian discourse about women was adopted by Scholastic philosophy too, and the official status of women in the Middle Ages was best defined as having 'a private existence and no public personality.'[4] In the sixteenth century leading humanists, such as Erasmus, Thomas More, Juan Luis Vives, and popular conduct books such as Castiglione's *The Courtier* offered an enlightened view of the mental capacities of women, claiming that:

> … the male kinde shall not be more perfect, then the female, as touchinge his Formall substance: for both the one and the other is conteined under the Species of *Homo,* and that wherein they differ is an Accidentall matter and no essentiall. . . . these accidentes must consist eyther in the bodye or in the minde: yf in the bodye, bicause the man is more sturdier, nimbler, lighter, and more abler to endure travaile, I say that this is an argument of smalle perfection: for emonge men themselves such as abounde in these qualities above other, are not for them the more esteamed: and in warr, where the greatest part of peinfull labours are and of strength, the stoutest are not for all that the moste set bye. Yf in the mind, I say, what ever thinges men can understande, the self same can women understande also: and where it perceth the capacitie of the one, it may in likewise perce the others.[5]

3 TERTULLIAN, 'On the Apparel of Women,' transl. S. Thelwall. In: Alexander ROBERTS – James DONALDSON – A. CLEVELAND COXE (eds.): *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, IV, Buffalo, NY, Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1885, 14.

4 Juan Luis VIVES: *The Education of a Christian Woman: A Sixteenth-Century Manual (The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe),* Charles Fantazzi (ed. and transl.), Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press, 2000, xiii.

5 Baldassare CASTIGLIONE: *The Courtier,* transl. by Thomas Hoby, London, William Seres, 1561, CC3^{r-v}.

While similar apologies were common among the great thinkers of the age, the status of married women—and most were expected to marry—was subjected to men in legal matters, such as their rights to property or trading, and only those who were *feme sole* had equal rights to men.[6] Throughout the sixteenth century legal distinctions as well as misogynistic prejudices against women prevailed and were unchanged even after the fifty years of female rule that stretched across the second half of the century. In 1598 the popular concept that women were inferior to men was still widely accepted, as it is testified by the commonplace book *Natural and Morall Questions and Answeres* that echoes the same discriminating opinion about women: '*Qu*. What is man? *Ans*. The image of Christ. *Qu*. What is a woman? *Ans*. The similitude of man, and a cabinet of much good and euill.'[7]

The social status of queens was different from other women, yet their legal independence formed a subject of several disputes. While in the fifteenth century Sir John Fortescue, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench claimed that a woman could not become queen regnant, the political realities of the sixteenth century forced statesmen to re-examine their stance.[8]

The old beliefs about the suspicion of female governance surfaced in a pamphlet of 1532, where it was used to support the divorce of Henry VIII from Catherine of Aragon in order to secure a male heir to the throne. In *A Glasse of the Truthe* the author claims that female heirs 'were daungerous, leste we shulde make them superiours to us, over whome we clayme superioritie, seynge the manne must rule the woman … We think the establishment of titles is not so surely rooted nor yet so entirely maintained by the female as by male.'[9] But by 1540 Thomas Elyot already put such words ('in the partes of wisedome and civile policy they [women] be founden unapte, and to have litell capacitie') into the mouth of Caninius in *his Defence of Good Women*, one of the characters of the dialogue whose ideas were systematically refuted by his partner Candidus.[10] Elyot's pamphlet was originally dedicated to Anne of Cleves, fourth wife of Henry VIII, and published in 1540, but in 1545 a second edition came out without the dedication highlighting a significant change in the legal status of Mary and Elizabeth. In 1544 Parliament passed an act which restored to the line of succession the two royal princesses, who were previously declared illegitimate, and thus their legal standing as queens became a matter of high political importance, one that needed to be defended. Furthermore, in 1553 the Tudor dynasty's male line became extinct and the official discourse about female rule had to be radically altered to accommodate the reign of women.

6 Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford: *Women in Early Modern England*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2003, 34–58.

7 A. P. *Natural and Morall Questions and Answeres,* London, Adam Islip, 1598.

8 Mendelson and Crawford: ibid, 350.

9 *A Glasse of the Truthe*, London, Thomas Berthelet, 1532, A3^{r-v}.

10 Thomas Elyot: *The Defence of Good Women,* London, Thomas Berthelet, 1540, C6^{v}.

One of the most influential theories that emerged to justify the rule of women during the reign of Mary I, the first Tudor queen, was the view that defined the monarch as having two bodies: a body natural that could be weak, sickly, old or female, and a body politic, which was an abstract entity uncorrupted by such natural frailties.[11] Devised by Anthony Browne and Edmund Plowden the concept served to support the intactness of royal actions in legal cases of property. Queen Elizabeth made the theory of the king's two bodies one of the cornerstones of her justification for female rule.

Female Body and Male Voice

Three days after ascending the throne of England, in her first public speech Queen Elizabeth adopted her sister's strategy to deploy the theory of the king's two bodies to define her position as the undisputed head of state: 'I am but one body naturally considered, though by His permission a body politic to govern.'[12] The speech's figure of contrasting a female body natural with a powerful male body politic recurred throughout the Queen's self-fashioning. The conscious juxtaposition of the Queen's two natures both acknowledges the common concept of early modern female social roles and underpins her absolute authority as monarch. Cristy Ann Beemer points out that 'Elizabeth establishes power precisely by drawing attention to her female body' in order to 'reject, surpass, or comment' on it.[13]

In a speech of 1563 she alludes to the difference in the decision-making process between her body natural and body politic ('for though I can think it best for a private woman, yet do I strive with myself to think it not meet for a prince')[14] in order to underline the superiority of the latter. Elizabeth deemed her female traits less important than her male role as 'being a woman wanting both wit and memory, some fear and bashfulness besides, a thing appropriate to my sex, but yet the princely seat and kingly throne wherein God […] hath constituted me, maketh these two causes to seem little.'[15] On the same note in 1566 she spoke about herself with an emphasis on her two different gender entities: 'I care not for death, for all men are mortal; and though I be a woman, yet I have as good courage answerable to my place as ever my father had.'[16] Elizabeth's public rhetoric was often modelled on the image of her father, lending a definitely masculine identification to her role

11 For the detailed discussion of the topic see Ernst H. Kantorowitz: *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology,* Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1957.

12 Elizabeth I: ibid, 52.

13 Cristy A. Beemer: "*Usurping Authority in the Midst of Men": Mirrors of Female Ruling Rhetoric in the Sixteenth Century*, Electronic Thesis or Dissertation, Miami University, 2008, etd.ohiolink.edu (20 July 2019), 110, 85.

14 Elizabeth I: ibid, 79.

15 Elizabeth I: ibid, 70.

16 Elizabeth I: ibid, 97.

as monarch. In the famous Tilbury Speech of 1588 she again contrasted her body 'of a weak and feeble woman' with the 'heart and stomach of a king' and elevated the status of the latter over that of the former.[17] The theory of the king's two bodies enabled a double gender to be assigned to the Queen, and her public speeches equivocated about her gender identity by using both *king* and *queen* to refer to her persona. Even more often, her speeches used the gender neutral term *prince*.

While the public speeches obfuscated gender distinctions, the Queen's prayers are uttered by a pronouncedly weak feminine self, even if the prayer is about the burdens of governing. One may argue that prayers have a more private nature where there was no need to assert a public image of authority, yet one has to keep in mind that a collection of her prayers was published in 1563 by Purfoot as *Precationes privatae,* and in 1569 by John Day in *Christian Prayers and Meditations in English, French, Italian, Spanish, Greek and Latin*. In case of this latter collection Jennifer Clement emphasizes its direct international propagandistic nature, by connecting the language of the prayers with their discussed themes, which were chosen according to their envisioned continental audiences.[18]

Queen Elizabeth's prayers are based on the humility trope, in which the sinful undeserving self gives thanks to the special mercy and grace of God by adopting the lowest social rank and position of a simple handmaid from which to address God Almighty ('since I am feminine and feebele,'[19] 'hear the most humble voice of Thy handmaid'[20]). Yet in this Biblical context the juxtaposition of the weakest physical condition and God's miracle of choosing 'the weak things of this world in order to confound and destroy the strong'[21] gives a divine justification for Elizabeth's authority:

> Thou made me not a worm, but a creature according to Thine own image: heaping all the blessings upon me that men on earth hold most happy; drawing my blood from kings and my bringing up in virtue; giving me that more is, even in my youth knowledge of Thy truth, and in times of most danger, most gracious deliverance; pulling me from the prison to the palace; and placing me a sovereign princess over Thy people of England. Above all this, making me (though a weak woman) yet Thy instrument to set forth the glorious Gospel of Thy dear Son Christ Jesus.[22]

[17] Elizabeth I: ibid, 326.
[18] Jennifer Clement: "The Queen's Voice: Elizabeth I's *Christian Prayers and Meditations.*" *Early Modern Literary Studies* 13.3 (2008): 1.1–19.
[19] Elizabeth I: ibid, 159.
[20] Elizabeth I: ibid, 311.
[21] Elizabeth I: ibid, 157.
[22] Elizabeth I: ibid. 312–313.

In the prayers composed in 1563 (the year following the near fatal sickness of Elizabeth) the exposure and weakness of the feminine body and God's special election of her to govern is an immensely powerful claim to authority:

> … how much less am I, Thy handmaid, in my unwarlike sex and feminine nature, adequate to administer these Thy kingdoms of England and of Ireland, and to govern an innumerable and warlike people, or able to bear the immense magnitude of such burden, if Thou, most merciful Father, didst not provide for me (undeserving of a kingdom) freely and against the opinion of many men.[23]

In this Protestant Christian context the body of the queen was conflated with the Protestant governance of the country and it became the only safeguard of 'true religion' and 'the happiness' of the country. In Elizabeth's third Spanish prayer of 1569, the ominous year of the Northern Rebellion against her rule, God is shown capable of making from a 'woman by nature weak, timid, and delicate, as are all women,' a warlike monarch 'vigorous, brave, and strong in order to resist such a multitude of Indumeneans, Ishmaelites, Moabites, Muhammadans, and other infinity of peoples and nations who have conjoined, plotted, conspired, and made league against Thee [God Almighty].'[24]

Another Protestant device legitimizing the rule of a woman was a theory that grew strong among the exiled English Protestant community. Their belief in the concept of 'mixed rule,' a form of conciliarism where the monarch ruled with the counsel of wise men, meant that the problems posed by Elizabeth's gender could be avoided by the counsel of godly wise gentlemen.[25] While still in exile in 1559, John Aylmer wrote his apology for the Queen's succession to the throne of England and underlined the realm's stability even under a female ruler as:

> the regiment of England is not a mere Monarchy, … nor a mere Oligarchy, nor democracy, but a rule mixed of all these, wherein each one of these, have or should have like authority … It is not she that ruleth but the laws … she maketh no statutes or laws, but the honourable court or Parliament.[26]

The same concept was visually expressed by the city of London at the Queen's coronation entry, where one pageant depicted her rule being supported by the three estates of the country: on the stage Debora, the Old Testament Judge was shown

[23] Elizabeth I: ibid. 142.
[24] Elizabeth I: ibid. 157.
[25] John Guy: "Monarchy and Counsel: Models of the State," in Patrick Collinson (ed.), *The Sixteenth Century,* Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002, 121–124.
[26] John Aylmer: *An harborowe for Faithfull and Trewe Subiectes, against the late blown Blast, concerning the Government of Women, wherin be confuted all such reasons as a stranger of late made in that behalf, with a brief exhortation to Obedience,* London, John Day, 1559, H2^{v}–H3^{r}, Li.

wearing a parliamentary robe and listening to the advice of six figures representing the Nobility, the Clergy and the Commons. In the mid-1560s Thomas Smith explained the principle of mixed monarchy and argued that

> authoritie is annexed to the bloud and progenie, … for the blood is respected, not the age nor the sexe … for the right and honour of the blood, and the quietnes and suertie of the realm, is more to be considered, than either base age as yet impotent to rule, or the sexe not accustomed (otherwise) to intermeddle with publick affaires.[27]

His idea was a far cry from the above quoted pamphlet of 1532 that claimed just the opposite. Smith continued his discussion by mentioning a safeguard of the system, the importance of counsel: 'such personages never do lacke the counsel of such grave and discrete men as be able to supplie all other defaultes.'[28]

While the theory of the king's two bodies and belief in a mixed monarchy buttressed the Queen's position as monarch, the insistence on counselling the Queen often posed a threat to the authority of Elizabeth as head of her country. Unwanted counsel from the 'godly gentlemen' of the country, often irritated her, and while the importance of counsel was acknowledged several times by the Queen in her speeches and prayers (e.g. in her first speech as Queen in 1558 'I mean to direct all my actions by good advice and counsel'[29]), she firmly rejected counsel on matters such as her marriage and succession in order to establish an absolute sovereignty over her people. The image she so often conjured to express her indignation for the disregard of her absolute power was the corporeal metaphor about the hierarchy of the human body, the relationship of the head to the feet.

In 1566 Elizabeth delivered a speech in front of the joint delegation of both Houses who tried to force an answer from her about the questions of marriage and succession. She asserted her kingly status by using the Pauline metaphor of the commonwealth, in which every member represented a part of the body with several functions, but was governed by the head (1 Cor 12:14–27). Thus she angrily claimed upon hearing the advice of the delegation that it is 'a strange thing that a foot should direct the head in such weighty a cause' and two months later dissolving the same Parliament she reminded her audience that 'a prince … is head of the body' and is entitled to 'command the feet not to stray when they would slip.'[30]

[27] Thomas Smith: *De Republica Anglorum* (1583), Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982, 64–65.
[28] Smith: ibid.
[29] Elizabeth I: ibid. 52. On the importance of counsel and unwanted counsel see also Erzsébet Stróbl, "The Queen and Death: An Elizabethan Book of Devotion," in Kinga Földváry and Erzsébet Stróbl (eds.): *Early Modern Communi(cati)ons: Studies in Early Modern English Literature and Culture,* Newcastle, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012, 10–31.
[30] Elizabeth I: ibid, 96, 105.

In her last speech she used the same image to look back upon her reign when she claimed that she always aspired to be a 'careful head to defend the body.'[31]

Description of Queen Elizabeth's 'Natural Body'

While in her public speeches the Queen conformed to the widespread conception of female frailty and emphatically acknowledged her 'womanhood and weakness' on several occasions, her success as a ruler nonetheless depended on establishing an apology for her bodily traits in order to impress her court and justify her position.[32] There is a rare instance in one of her prayers where she speaks about her body and offers posterity a glimpse into how she viewed herself in 1563 at the age of thirty:

> When I consider how many—not only from among the common people but also from the nobility as well as royal blood, by Thy hidden but just judgement—some are miserably deformed in body, others (more miserably by far) destitute of wit and intelligence, still others (by far the most miserable) disordered in their mind and reason, and finally how many were and are, even today, insane and raging. Indeed, I am unimpaired in body, with a good form, a healthy and substantial wit, prudence even beyond other women, and beyond this, distinguished and superior in the knowledge of literature and languages, which is highly esteemed because unusual in my sex. Finally I have been endowed with all royal qualities and with gifts worthy of a kingdom.[33]

In an earlier letter written to her brother Edward VI king of England at the time (15 May, 1549) she speaks less favourably of her physical appearance, yet praises her intellect in a similarly bold manner: 'the face, I grant, I might well blush to offer, but the mind I shall never be ashamed to present.'[34] Her portrait sent as a present to accompany the letter shows a simple faced teenager with a book in hand and another book next to her lying open on a lectern. The strategy of Elizabeth and her tutors was from the earliest time on emphasizing Elizabeth's exceptional intellectual qualities. The young princess was encouraged to send New Year gifts to her father or stepmother that contained translations from French into English or from English into Latin. At the age of twelve she wrote a letter to her father Henry VIII which starts with lines that underline her understanding of the superiority of spiritual virtues over bodily ones:

[31] Elizabeth I: ibid, 348.
[32] Elizabeth I: ibid, 329.
[33] Elizabeth I: ibid, 141.
[34] Elizabeth I: ibid, 9.

> As an immortal soul is superior to a mortal body, so whoever is wise judges things done by the soul more to be esteemed and worthy of greater praise than any act of the body … Nothing ought to be more acceptable to a king, whom philosophers regard as god on earth, than this labour of the soul, which raises us up to heaven and on earth makes us heavenly and divine in the flesh.[35]

In shunning her appearance and emphasizing her intellect, Princess Elizabeth was not simply resorting to female modesty, but was adopting a strategy of survival at a time when her social status fluctuated form being a legitimate heir to the throne to being branded a bastard, and her role as a possible bride on the European marriage market was overshadowed by her dynastic importance and Protestant faith. Elizabeth's stance amid constant political insecurity was to achieve intellectual excellence, an aspect of her self-fashioning which became one of the strongest elements in her public image for years to come. Well into her sixties she boasted at court of her exercise of translating the verse sections of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*,[36] and managed to achieve the admiration of many with the impromptu Latin speech she gave to an insolent Polish ambassador in 1597. Thus her education and knowledge became forceful weapons to defend her body natural.

The gendered body of the Queen was also foregrounded in the symbolic act when Elizabeth claimed herself to be the mother of her nation ('Every one of you, and as many as are English, are my children and kinsfolk'[37]). In this act she embraced a traditional female role that fitted her body natural without becoming a biological mother. The idea may have been inspired by her sister Mary Tudor's speech at the Guildhall asking for the help of London at the time of the Wyatt rebellion in 1553:

> I can not tell how naturally the Mother loveth the Childe, for I was never the mother of any, but certainly, if a Prince and Governour may as naturally & earnestly love her Subiectes as the Mother doth the Child, then assure your selves, that I being your Lady and Maistres, doe as earnestly and as tenderly love and favour you. And I thus loving you, can not but thinke that ye as hartely and faythfully love me: & then I doubt not, but we shall geve these rebells a short and speedy overthrow.[38]

This incident recorded by Foxe in *The Acts and Monuments* does not appear in the first edition of the book of 1563, but was only included in the second edition of 1570. By that time the caring and loving mother metaphor for the depiction of Queen

[35] Elizabeth I: ibid, 9.

[36] Lysbeth Benkert: 'Translation as Image-Making: Elizabeth I's Translation of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*,' *Early Modern Literary Studies,* 6.3 (2001): 1–20.

[37] Elizabeth I: ibid, 59.

[38] John Foxe: *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online* or *TAMO* (1570 edition), The Digital Humanities Institute, Sheffield, 2011, dhi.ac.uk/foxe (21 July 2019), 1618.

Elizabeth became a commonplace in her public speeches and thus the Mary incident may have been included precisely because Elizabeth was repeatedly using and quoting it herself. For instance, for the conclusion of her speech of 1563 she declared 'after my death you may have many stepdames, yet shall you never have any a more mother than I mean to be unto you all.'[39]

Developing partly out of the Queen's preference for representing herself as natural mother of her country—and partly out of her role as the defender of the Protestant Faith—was Elizabeth's badge depicting a pelican feeding her children with her own blood. The mother (queen) sacrificing herself for her children (nation) was another image the Queen included in her public speeches, one outstanding example being the address to her troops at Tilbury: 'I am [resolved] to live and die amongst you all, to lay down for my God and for my kingdom and for my people mine honour and my blood even in the dust.'[40] As a symbol of the Queen the Pelican appeared in other public media as, for instance, on the her portrait by her official court painter Nicholas Hilliard of c. 1572–76 in the form of a Pelican jewel on the breast of Elizabeth, or in the most complete pre-Armada list of the various complimentary metaphors about the Queen published in John Lyly's *Euphues and his England* (1580): 'this is that good pelican that to feed her people spareth not to rend her own person.'[41]

The pictorial representations of the Queen show an interesting distinction between the engraved images and the oil paintings. While the engravings—published and available for a wide audience—portray the Queen wearing a crown together with the sceptre and the orb, the oil canvases produced for the members of the court seldom depict her as a monarch; instead she is painted as an elegant lady with a glove, fan, book or a sieve in her hand. On the rare occasions where she is wearing a crown—as on the Ditchley Portrait (1592), Hardwick Portrait (1599) or the Procession Picture (1601)—the sceptre and the orb are missing and are replaced by the trappings of a society lady. The kingly royal sword that was a crucial element of the iconography of Henry VIII is never placed in the hand of the Queen, but lies untouched nearby, or is replaced by the olive branch, the symbol of peace, in a deliberate act of distancing her from her father's image. The difference between the oil and print images of the Queen underscores the importance of the strategy of the two separate bodies: the oil canvases render the more intimate look of the Queen's body natural while the prints show the unchangeable image of the monarch based on the traditional representation of sacred kingship as it is seen on one of the earliest English royal portraits, the Westminster Abbey panel of Richard II (c. 1390).

[39] Elizabeth I: ibid, 72.

[40] Elizabeth I: ibid. 326. Further examples are her speeches of January 14, 1559; February 10, 1559; March 15, 1576; and November 12, 1586.

[41] John Lyly: *Euphues: the Anatomy of Wit and Euphues and His England,* Leah Scragg (ed.), Manchester and New York, Manchester University Press, 2003, 342.

Throughout the long reign of the Queen her pictorial images shifted gradually from simple likeness to allegorical complexity, from realism to symbolism, from spatial unity to diachronic multiplicity, yet the most significant aspect—comprising all of the previously mentioned features—was the way the aging body of the Queen was depicted.

The Aging Body of the Queen

The challenge posed by the common belief about the subordination of the female body to the male was resolved in the late 1570s—at a time when the age of the Queen rendered any further negotiations about a marriage in order to produce an heir to the throne irrelevant—by the establishment of the Virgin Queen epithet, which exempted Elizabeth from the requirements of her age to marry, and created a mystique around the elderly royal persona. Yet the Virgin image, with its associations of an eternally young maiden, was contradicted by the aging body natural of the Queen. Furthermore, the last decade of Elizabeth's reign was burdened by growing discontent caused by bad harvests, outbreaks of the plague, wartime taxation and a court torn apart by fractions.[42] The constant threat of Catholic invasion and the subversive influence of Catholic propaganda of slandering the Queen's morals—as epitomized in Cardinal Allen's *An Admonition to the nobility and people of England* (Antwerp, 1588) to prepare the favourable reception of an invading army—also aggravated the situation. The official reaction of the court was to introduce a more autocratic rule which ushered in a period of renewed impatience with female rule.

The general fears of the people are well comprised by the incident of John Feltwell who is reported to have said in 1591: 'The queene was but a woman and ruled by gentlemen … so that poore men cold get nothinge … We shall never have a merry world while the Queene lyveth.'[43] The last decade of Elizabeth's rule saw the rise of rumours, gossip and writings that challenged her female authority and undermined her moral reputation as a woman. Amid such circumstances the public appearances of Elizabeth, once an essential part of her style of government, became rare, and the accounts about her body contradictory.

To bridge the gap between the aging body of the Queen and the image of the Virgin Queen, a device for depicting her as an abstract concept or ageless maiden was invented in portraiture. Instead of the Darnley face pattern used for her portraiture for decades, a so called 'Mask of Youth' was propagated.[44] It meant

[42] John Guy: 'The 1590s: The Second Reign of Elizabeth I', in John Guy (ed.), *The Reign of Elizabeth: Court and Culture in the Last Decade,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995, 1–19.

[43] Quoted in Carole Levin: 'We shall never have a merry world while the Queene lyveth: Gender, Monarchy, and the Power of Seditious Words', in Julia M. Walker (ed.): *Dissing Elizabeth: Negative Representations of Gloriana,* Durham and London, Duke University Press, 1998, 77–78.

[44] Roy Strong: *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I,* New York, Thames and Hudson, 1987, 147–152.

the adoption of a face pattern—invented by Hilliard—that ignored reality and supplanted it with an idealized complexion of a girl of eighteen. This corporeal representation had no relationship to the real body of the Queen, and the portraits that used it were typically highly allegorical statements of Elizabethan propaganda. One of the last portraits of the Queen, the Rainbow Portrait (Fig. 1.) is especially interesting as it not just substituted the Queen's real face with the Mask of Youth, but it actually visualized her feminine body as a pure allegory of statecraft where the individual body parts of the theoretical body of the commonwealth appear. The gown of the Queen is littered with eyes and ears representing—according to contemporary emblem books—the vigilant councillors of the Queen who see, hear and advise the monarch on all matters.[45] A heart in the form of the jewel dangles from the mouth of a snake symbolizing prudence and love, and another jewel depicting a gauntlet in the ruff collar of the Queen represents the knights fighting for their country. Furthermore, this body of the state/monarch is illuminated by the only source of light on the canvas: the head (face) and heart (breast) of the Queen. Thus, it represents not the image of the body natural of the Queen, but the theoretical body politic of the 70 year-old Queen Elizabeth.

In these last pictorial images of the Queen the anxieties about the female body natural of Queen Elizabeth resurface, and instead of a real likeness of her royal body, we witness an alternative solution representing a fictive allegorical entity of the monarch.

Conclusion

The abundance of corporeal images and metaphors that appear in Queen Elizabeth's official rhetoric provide proof of the problem her gendered body posed throughout her reign. The supposed weakness of her female body and the Queen's ability to overcome it resulted in a unique construct of bodily metaphors that was formed out of the necessity to justify female rule because Elizabeth 'had literally to write her own text of rule or be subsumed within existing discourses that had a place for her only as a 'subject' or an 'object'."[46] By donning the feminine roles of being a daughter with references to her powerful father, and a loving mother of her country she managed to bypass discourses of being a wife. The strategy of deliberately drawing attention to her gendered body emphasized her capacities, both her physical fitness and mental abilities. Thus Queen Elizabeth created a rhetoric where she enjoyed and exploited her discourses about her gendered body in order to be both addressed a king or prince in the name of her body politic and adored as a lady for her body natural.

[45] Strong: ibid, 158.

[46] Theodora A. Jankowsky: 'The Subversion of Flattery: The Queen's Body in John Lyly's *Sapho and Phao,*' *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England* 5 (1991): 71.

Abstract

Queen Elizabeth's forty-five year reign is marked by refined representational strategies that aim to justify her rule as queen. One of the central issues she continuously addressed was female authority that defied traditional interpretations of the role of women within society. Instead of avoiding the question of her gender, Queen Elizabeth's speeches, prayers and portraits consciously included corporeal references both to refute misogynist arguments and to manipulate gendered references as validation of female power. The article will analyse the metaphors of body in the Queen's rhetoric and official representation in order to underline their significance as means to justify queenship in sixteenth-century England.

Keywords
Queen Elizabeth I, sixteenth-century England, female power, metaphors of the body, speeches, prayers

Rezümé

I. Erzsébet uralkodásának negyvenöt évében meghatározó jelentőségű volt az a propaganda, amellyel női uralmát körülvették. A reprezentációs stratégiák elsősorban az angol királynő hatalmának stabilitását kívánták megerősíteni és ezért állandóan szembe kellett nézniük a női hatalomgyakorlást támadó tradicionális illetve a radikális protestáns nézetekkel. Erzsébet nyilvános beszédeiben, imáiban és hivatalos portréin ahelyett, hogy kerülte volna a női test gyengeségére vonatkozó utalásokat, tudatosan felhasználta és átformálta azokat, hogy a női hatalomgyakorlás igazolásául szolgáljanak. Hosszú uralma alatt retorikájának állandó elemei maradtak a testmetaforák, amelyekkel semlegesíteni igyekezett a nemét ért támadásokat. A dolgozat a királynő reprezentációjában a testre történő verbális és vizuális hivatkozásokat vizsgálja, és rámutat azok jelentőségére a 16. századi női hatalomgyakorlás kihívásainak kontextusában.

Kulcsszavak
I. Erzsébet, 16. századi Anglia, női hatalom, testmetaforák, beszédek, imák

Frazer-Imregh Monika

Robert Burton hivatkozásai Ficino *De vita*-jára *The Anatomy of Melancholy* című művében

Robert Burton *The Anatomy of Melancholy* című olvasmányos stílusú, tudományos igényű (lábjegyzetelt) művében Ficinót is példaképei közé sorolja a melankóliát tárgyaló szerzők közül.[1] Burton (alias Democritus Junior) illusztrált, szatirikus bevezetése után gyakorlatilag mindent igyekezett könyvébe belefoglalni, amit valaha a hippokratési nedvtan negyedik testnedve, a μέλαινα χολή (fekete epe) által okozott testi és lelki betegségekről (azok diétával és egyebekkel való gyógyításáról), s a melankolikus temperamentumról írtak.[2] A lenyűgöző műveltségről tanúskodó, latin és görög klasszikusok versrészleteivel jócskán megtűzdelt munka egyszerre akar szórakoztatni és tanítani. Befogadása történetében egyaránt jellemezték „az idézetek kincsesbányájának", „közhelygyűjteménynek", „tudományos enciklopédiának", „orvosi kézikönyvnek", „önsegítő olvasmánynak" és „az egyik legzsúfoltabb könyvnek".[3]

Az ókori szerzőktől a saját kortársaiig felsorakoztatott érvek és ellenérvek ismertetésében a melankóliának ez az enciklopédiája hatalmasra duzzadt már az első, 1621-es megjelenése alkalmával is. A szerző azonban gyakorlatilag az 1640-ben bekövetkezett haláláig tovább dolgozott monumentális alkotásán. Az oxfordi Christ Church katedrálisban levő sírján szereplő sírfelirata is erre utal: *Paucis notus, paucioribus ignotus,/ Hic jacet Democritus junior/ Cui vitam dedit et mortem/ Melancholia.*

[1] Első kiadása 1621-ben. Kritikai kiadása: Robert Burton: *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, I–VI. A scholarly edition in six volumes with commentary, edited by Thomas C. Faulkner, Nicolas K. Kiessling, and Rhonda L. Blair, introduced and commented by J. B. Bamborough. Oxford, Clarendon Press/ Oxford University Press, 1989–2001. A kérdéses hivatkozás Ficinóra: Part. 1, Sect. 1, Memb. 3, Sub. 3.; alcíme: „Of the matter of melancholy": *Of the matter of melancholy, there is much question betwixt Avicen and Galen, as you may read in Cardan's* Contradictions, *Valesius'* Controversies, *Montanus, Prosper Calenus, Capivaccius, Bright, Ficinus, that have written either whole tracts, or copiously of it, in their several treatises of this subject.* Az [1060] jegyzetszám után.

[2] A testnedvekről, a négy temperamentumról és a fekete epéről ld. tanulmányomat és Galénos-fordításaimat: Frazer-Imregh Monika: „Galénos, az orvos-filozófus a testnedvekről és a fekete epéről", *Orpheus Noster*, X., 2018/4, Ókor és középkor, 73–97.; Galénos: „A testnedvekről", ford. Frazer-Imregh Monika, *Uott*, 98–103.; Galénos: „A fekete epéről", ford. Frazer-Imregh Monika, *Uott*, 104–118.

[3] Vö. B. Evans: *The Psychiatry of Robert Burton*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1944, 8.; Lawrence Babb: *Sanity in Bedlam. A Study of Robert Burton's Anatomy*, East lansing, Michigan State University Press, 1959, 7.; J. R. Simon: *Robert Burton et l'Anatomie de la Mélancolie*, Paris, Didier, 1964, 11.; Jean Starobinski (curatore): *Anatomia della malinconia: introduzione*, ford. Giovanna Franci, Venezia, Marsilio, 1983, 9.; Mauro Simonazzi: *La malattia inglese. La melanconia nella tradizione filosofica e medica dell'Inghilterra moderna,* Bologna, Il Mulino, 2004, 12.

Ob. 8 Id. Jan. A. C. MDCXXXX. „Élte melankolikus, sőt még a halála is az volt,/ Democritus Juniort senki sem ismeri jól. Elhunyt 1640. január 25-én."[4] 19. századi kiadásának előszava, amelyet a Gutenberg Project digitalizált a nyilvánvaló átírási hibák javításával,[5] név nélkül adja tovább azt az adatot, hogy e sorokat Burton maga írta halála előtt, ez azonban véleményem szerint erősen kétséges – hiszen aki könyve elé Martialist tökéletesen utánzó latin disztichonokban írta kétoldalnyi „előhangját" (a könyvet tréfás jótanácsokkal útjára bocsátva), az kizárt, hogy ne versben írta volna meg a saját epitáfiumát. (Jómagam csak tiszteletből fordítottam disztichonban, ahogy egy sírfelirathoz illik.) Talán az epitáfium készítője a könyv prológusának e részletére kívánt utalni:

> Ignotus notusve mihi de gente togata
> Sive aget in ludis, pulpita sive colet,
> Sive in Lycaeo, et nugas evolverit istas,
> Si quasdam mendas viderit inspiciens
> Da veniam Authori, dices; nam plurima vellet
> Expungi, quae jam displicuisse sciat.[6]

Saját angol verziójában:

> Should known or unknown student, freed from strife
> Of logic and the schools, explore my book:
> Cry mercy critic, and thy book withhold:
> Be some few errors pardon'd though observ'd:
> An humble author to implore makes bold.

Burton a későbbi kiadásokat folyamatosan újabb kiegészítésekkel toldotta meg, főként a vallási és szerelmi melankóliát tárgyaló harmadik (utolsó) részében. *Editio princeps*-e 880 oldal terjedelemre rúgott; ez a halála után, 1651-ben megjelent hatodik kiadásban immár 1500 oldalnyira nőtt. Mintegy 13 333 idézetet számoltak össze benne összesen 1598 különböző szerzőtől.[7] A cím maga arra utal, hogy Burton szinte sebészi precizitással akarja boncolgatni és feltárni,[8] mi tekinthető melankóliának, ami a saját korában szinte járványszerűen elterjedt testi-lelki állapot volt.[9] Elemzéséhez orvosi, vallási, irodalmi, filozófiai tekintélyeket idéz (az orvosok háromnegyed részben kortársai, tehát alaposan beleolvasta magát a legfrissebb irodalomba is). Sokszor egymás után fűzi egymásba a rövidebb idézeteket ókori, középkori, reneszánsz humanista és korabeli auktoroktól, máshol egészen hosszú citációkat is hoz, s ezeket értelmezi; így alakul ki a szöveg teste. Aminek saját korában rendkívüli népszerűségét köszönhette, az a tartalom gazdagsága és a szöveg vibráló stílusa. Emellett szatirikus-ironikus hangvétele s olykor keserű humora is hozzásegítette ahhoz, hogy kortársai kedvenc olvasmányává váljon, valamint az a tény is egy csapásra ismertté tette, hogy témaválasztásával valóban a kor elevenére tapintott. A 16. században ugyanis Ficino *De vita*-ja nyomán, Platónt, Démokritost és Aristotelést is idéző melankólia-értelmezése révén[10] a kontinensen szinte kultusza alakult ki a melankóliának (mai kifejezéssel: depressziónak) az írók, filozófusok és művészek között. Divatossá vált körükben a Ficino által leírt külsőségek között ábrázol(tat)ni saját magukat: a folyóparton, egy fa árnyékában állva, fekete ruhában – a tehetséges ember pózává válik tehát a melankólia.

Az *Anatomy of Melancholy* megjelenése után a brit színjátszásban is jócskán megszaporodnak azok a darabok, amelyek főhőse búskomorságban szenved.[11] A korszak már-már megszállott érdeklődése a melankólia iránt azonban nem egyedüli oka Burton tanulmány-folyama létrejöttének.

Jóllehet Burton maga nem volt orvos, a melankólia mint betegség közelről érintette. Élete java részét Oxfordban töltötte, ahol előbb a Brasenose College majd a Christ Church teológus hallgatója, később tudósa volt. Könyvtárosként és szorgalmas diákként falta a könyveket; számos olyan tárgyat hallgatott, amely a melankóliát is érintette. Több akadémiai drámát írt, ezek közül egyedül az 1615–1617 közötti *Philosophaster* című latin nyelvű komédiája jelent meg.[12] A kísértetiesen az oxfordi légkörre hasonlító környezetben játszódó cselekmény főszereplői klerikusok és tudósok; benne a kortárs társadalom szatirikus bírálatát fogalmazza meg. 1616-ban

4 Szó szerint: „Kevesek számára ismerten, még kevesebbek számára ismeretlenül,/ Itt fekszik Democritus Junior,/ Akinek életét és halálát is a melankólia adta."

5 Ld. gutenberg.org/files/10800/10800-h/ampart1.html (2020. 04. 04.)

6 „Ha egy számomra ismert vagy akár ismeretlen kisdiák, tanársegéd vagy gimnazista forgatja majd szerény művem, s belepillantva hibára akad, mondd neki [könyvem]: «Bocsáss meg a szerzőnek, már egy csomó mindent kitörölt, amiről tudja, hogy nem aratott tetszést.»"

7 Ld. J. B. Bamborough: „Introduction" in Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, I, viii.

8 A sebészi precizitásra és aprólékosságra utal Burton ironikus alcíme ill. cím-magyarázata is: „The Anatomy of Melancholy, What It Is, With All The Kinds, Causes, Symptoms, Prognostics, And Several Cures Of It. In Three Partitions. With Their Several Sections, Members, and Subsections, Philosophically, Medically, Historically Opened, And Cut Up. By Democritus Junior."

9 Vö. Erin Sullivan, *Beyond Melancholy: Sadness and Selfhood in Renaissance England*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2016, 256 pp., fdslive.oup.com/www.oup.com/academic/pdf/13/9780198739654.pdf (2020. 04. 04.) Uő, 'A Disease unto Death: Sadness in the Time of Shakespeare', in *Emotions and Health, 1200-1700*, ed. by Elena Carrera, Brill, 2013; Uő., „Melancholy", in *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction*, ed. Susan Broomhall, Routledge, 2017; Uő., (és Marie Louise Herzfeld-Schild) „Introduction: Emotion, History and the Arts", *Cultural History* 7:2 (2018), 117–128; Uő., „Melancholy, Medicine and the Arts", The Art of Medicine series, *The Lancet* 372 (September 13, 2008), 884–885. thelancet.com/journals/lancet/article/PIIS0140-6736(08)61385-9/fulltext (2020. 04. 04.) birmingham.ac.uk/staff/profiles/shakespeare/sullivan-erin.aspx (2020. 04. 04.)

10 Marsilio Ficino, *De vita,* III. k. 5. fej.: *„Miért éles elméjűek a melankolikusok; kik ilyenek közülük, és kik nem?"*; Aristotelés, *Problemata*, XXX, 1. kérdésfelvetésére hivatkozik.

11 Julie Sanders, *The Cambridge Introduction to Early Modern Drama, 1576–1642*, Cambridge, Cambridge introductions to literature, England, 2014, 111–127; 156–171.

12 Uott és 179–196.

az oxfordi St Thomas' Church lelkésze lett, majd 1630-ban ezen felül még a szülőhelyéhez közeli, a Leicestershire-hez tartozó Seagrave-ben rektorként is szolgált.

Mindazonáltal húszas éveinek elején hat év, úgy tűnik, kiesett tanulmányaiból. 1593 és 1599 között nincs nyoma Oxfordban, ugyanakkor Londonban valószínűleg ő az a Robert Burton, aki egy Simon Forman nevű orvos jegyzetfüzetében a kezelt melankolikus betegek között szerepel.[13] Az is alátámasztja ezt a lehetőséget, hogy könyvében folyton úgy beszél magáról, mint aki megtapasztalta a leírtakat, és közvetlen tudása van a melankóliáról. Többször is említi, hogy saját maga számára terapeutikus az írás e testi-lelki betegségről, pontosan annak legyőzése céljából, és reméli, hogy az olvasó is a róla való olvasás révén képes lesz megszabadulni a szorongástól és a búskomorságtól.

A könyv zsúfoltsága és túlméretezett, „túlírt" jellege ellenére Burton igyekezett világos struktúrát adni művének. Terjedelmes bevezetése után három nagy részre (*partition*) osztja: az első a melankólia különféle okait és tüneteit vizsgálja, a második ezek szerteágazó gyógymódjait, a harmadik pedig filozofikusabb jellegű: a szerelmi és vallási okokból keletkezett szorongást és búskomorságot tárgyalja, a humort és iróniát itt sem nélkülözve. E nagy egységeken belül számos egyéb felosztás: fejezet, tag, alfejezet (*sections, members, subsections*) található, mintha valóban igyekezne minél apróbb részletekre „szétszálazni" a témát a lehető legváltozatosabb és legkimerítőbb szempontok szerint. Hippokratés, Galénos és Avicenna mellett Ficino is állandó hivatkozási alap, a Ficino által fordított szerzők közül pedig sűrűn idézi Platónt, Plótinost, Porphyriost, Iamblichost, Proklost és Hermés Trismegistost.

Ficino és a De vita a The Anatomy of Melancholy lapjain

Sears Jayne abban a cikkében, amelyben azt igyekszik bizonyítani, hogy Ficino hatása az angol reneszánsz során sokkal kevésbé közvetlen, mint azt előtte feltételezték, éppen csak megemlíti, hogy Burton főként a *De vitá*t idézi Ficinótól.[14] Burton legnevesebb kutatói sem foglalkoztak részletesen Burton és Ficino kapcsolatával.[15]

[13] Burton életrajzáról és a *The Anatomy of Melancholy* tartalmi kérdéseiről ld. Mary Ann Lund, *Melancholy, Medicine and Religion in Early Modern England: Reading 'The Anatomy of Melancholy'*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 12010, 22013, 223 pp. (életrajz: 138–157.), cambridge.org/gb/academic/subjects/literature/renaissance-and-early-modern-literature/melancholy-medicine-and-religion-early-modern-england-reading-anatomy-melancholy (2020. 04. 04.) A Leicesteri Egyetem kutatója Burton művét főként a kora modern angol és európai protestáns vallási diskurzus és a kortárs orvosi irodalom vonatkozásában vizsgálja, valamint azt a kérdést járja körül, hogy mennyire lehetett gyógyító hatása a könyvnek (amit Burton bevezetőjében ígér).

[14] Sears Jayne: Ficino and the Platonism of the English Renaissance, *Comparative Literature*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (Summer, 1952), 218.

[15] Ld. a jegyzetekben már korábban idézett szerzők, Erin Sullivan, Mary Ann Lund, Julie Sanders munkáit, és ezt: A. Gowland, *The Worlds of Renaissance Melancholy: Robert Burton in Context*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Ugyanakkor a Ficino-kutatók és a *De vita* kritikai kiadásának készítői sem tárták fel, mennyiben, és hogyan merített a 17. századi angol szerző a firenzei filozófus *Az életről* című munkájából.[16] Magyarul Földényi F. László írt a melankólia történetéről, szempontja azonban elsősorban esztétikai, és nem tér ki erre az összefüggésre.[17]

A következőkben azt fogom megvizsgálni, milyen szövegkörnyezetben és hogyan jelenik meg a firenzei filozófus név szerint *A melankólia anatómiájá*ban, és hogy ennek alapján Burton a *De vita* mely könyveit olvashatta saját maga vagy ismerhette mások beszámolói révén.[18] Mivel tudjuk, hogy a legtöbb kiadásból az asztrológiai szempontú és a talizmánmágiát is tárgyaló harmadik könyv[19] a lehetséges támadások elkerülése céljából kimaradt, a fő kérdésem az, hogy vajon Burton személy szerint tanulmányozta-e a *De vita coelitus comparanda*-t? Ehhez megnézem Ficino név szerinti említéseit és az esetleges szövegszerű idézeteket is a bevezetésben, az első és a második részben. A harmadik részben, mely a szerelmi és vallásos melankóliát tárgyalja, Ficino neve 18 esetben bukkan fel, mint hivatkozott tekintély. Azonban a témából adódóan az idézett művei 17 esetben a Platón *Lakomá*jához írt *Kommentár*ja, egy esetben pedig a *Theologia Platonica*, ezért ezzel itt nem foglalkozom.

Hivatkozások a Bevezetésben

Százhatvan oldalnyi bevezetésében két helyen említi Ficinót. Első ízben ott, ahol arról elmélkedik, hogy vajon mit szólnak majd az orvosok, akik művét olvassák, s azokra hivatkozik, akik egyszerre voltak lelkészek és orvosok. Ficino és Linacre itt egy mondatban szerepel: "Marcilius Ficinus was *semel et simul*; a priest and a physician at once, and [165] Th. Linacer in his old age took orders."[20] Érdekes, hogy ugyanazt az érvelést használja, amelyet Ficino a *De vita*-hoz írt első *Apológiá*jában,

[16] Ld. J. Hankins, „Malinconia mostruosa: Ficino e le cause fisiologiche dell'ateismo", *Rinascimento*, 2nd s, xlvii, 2007, 3–23. A kritikai kiadás: Marsilio Ficino: *Three Books on Life*, Critical Edition and Translation with Introduction and Notes by C. V. Kaske and J. R. Clark, Binghamton (New York), 1989.

[17] Földényi F. László: *Melankólia*, Budapest, Magvető, [1]1984. ([2]1992, Akadémiai; [3]2003 és [4]2015, Kalligram.) Uő.: *A melankólia dicsérete*, Budapest, Jelenkor, 2017.

[18] Magyarul: Marsilio Ficino: „Három könyv az életről (részlet)" ford. Imregh Monika, *Orpheus Noster*, III., 2011/2, 63–78. Ld. még Frazer-Imregh Monika, „Marsilio Ficino – orvosságos ember vagy a szellem gyógyítója? A De vita libri tres asztrológiai és mágikus vonatkozásai". In: Vassányi Miklós; Sepsi Enikő, Voigt Vilmos (szerk.) *A spirituális közvetítő*, Budapest, Károli Gáspár Református Egyetem, L'Harmattan Kiadó, 2014, 85–107. A teljes mű fordítása értekezéssel: Marsilio Ficino: *Három könyv az életről*, ford., bev., jegyz., életrajz, bibliográfia: Frazer-Imregh Monika, Budapest, Szent István Kiadó, 430 pp., kiadás alatt.

[19] A harmadik könyv saját címe: *De vita coelitus comparanda*.

[20] gutenberg.org/files/10800/10800-h/ampart1.html Ld. *Preface*, a szövegben a [165] jegyzet előtt. Linacer személyesen is ismerte Ficinót, ld. Frazer-Imregh Monika: Adalékok Marsilio Ficino De vita című művének utóéletéhez – Hogyan került a De vita Angliába?", *Antikvitás és reneszánsz* 5, 2020/1, 107–126.

de nem rá hivatkozik, hanem egy tanárára, úgyhogy szinte biztos, hogy ezt nem olvasta, különben azt idézte volna:

> It is a disease of the soul on which I am to treat, and as much appertaining to a divine as to a physician, and who knows not what an agreement there is betwixt these two professions? A good divine either is or ought to be a good physician, a spiritual physician at least, as our Saviour calls himself, and was indeed, Mat. iv. 23; Luke, v. 18; Luke, vii. 8. They differ but in object, the one of the body, the other of the soul, and use divers medicines to cure; one amends *animam per corpus*, the other *corpus per animam* as [168] our Regius Professor of physic well informed us in a learned lecture of his not long since.[21]

Ficino érvelése így hangzik:

> A legkiemelkedőbb szolgálat pedig kétségkívül az, amelyik egyben a legszükségesebb is, és amelyre mindenki vágyva vágyik: tudniillik, hogy hozzásegítsük az embereket, hogy ép testben ép lelkük legyen. Ezt pedig akkor tudjuk elérni, ha a papi hivatallal összekapcsoljuk az orvoslást. […] Krisztus is, aki tanítványainak megparancsolta, hogy enyhítsenek a szenvedők bajain az egész földkerekségen, a papoknak is valószínűleg azt írná elő, hogy ha már szavakkal nem tudnak gyógyítani, ahogyan egykor az apostolok tették, legalább füvekkel és kövekkel gyógyítsanak.[22]

Az előszóban másodszor a „helyeslendő őrületek" között az isteni ihlettel kapcsolatban mintha Ficino egy korai (1457-es) művét, a *De furore divino*-t említené (ámbár az isteni ihlet Ficino számos más művében is gyakran felbukkan):

> I may not deny but that there is some folly approved, a divine fury, a holy madness, even a spiritual drunkenness in the saints of God themselves […]. Such is that drunkenness which Ficinus speaks of, when the soul is elevated and ravished with a divine taste of that heavenly nectar, which poets deciphered by the sacrifice of Dionysius [462].[23]

Csakhogy a *De vita* I. könyvének 6. fejezetében is erről van szó, ahol Ficino Aristotelés, Démokritos, Platón és Avicenna nyomán azt taglalja, hogy „Mi módon tesz a fekete epe tehetségessé?" Ezt mondja ugyanis a fekete epéről, azaz a melankolikus testnedvről [ἡ μέλαινα χολή]:

[21] Ld. *Preface*, a szövegben a [168] jegyzet előtt.

[22] Marsilio Ficino: „Apologia quaedam…" in *Three Books on Life*, 396.

[23] Ld. *Preface*, a szövegben a [462] jegyzet előtt. Ld. ál-Areopagita Szent Dénes, *Egyházi hierarchia*, 4. fejezet (Az Úrvacsoráról).

> Általa válnak a filozófusok rendkívülivé, különösen amikor lelkük a külső mozgásoktól és a testtől elszakadva közel kerül az isteni dolgokhoz, és azok eszközévé válik. S akkor a magasban eltelve az isteni sugallatokkal és titkokkal, mindig valami új és szokatlan dolgot talál ki, s megmondja a jövendőt. Ezt állítja nemcsak Démokritos és Platón, hanem Aristotelés is a *Problémák* könyvében, és Avicenna *Az isteni dolgokról* és *A lélekről* szóló könyvében.[24]

Itt tehát elképzelhető akár egy közvetlen olvasat is, hiszen az idézet tartalmába teljesen belefér, és az előző, I. 5. fejezetben[25] a *furor* terminus is megjelenik:

> A gyulladás révén létrejövő fekete epe pedig négy fajtára osztható, ugyanis vagy a fekete epe, vagy a tisztább vér, vagy az epe, vagy a sós nyálka [*falsae pituitae*] gyulladása okozza. Azonban minden, ami gyulladás révén jön létre, árt az ítélőképességnek és a bölcsességnek, hiszen azáltal, hogy az illető testnedv begyullad és ég, izgatottá és őrjöngővé teszi az embert. Ezt a görögök mániának hívják, mi pedig őrültségnek [*furorem*]. [26]

Hivatkozások az Első részben

Az első részben (*partition*) 13 név szerinti Ficino-hivatkozás található, több helyen konkrétan a *De vita* egyes helyeire való utalással. A helyekre elsősorban a lábjegyzetszámokkal utalok, egyrészt mert Burton fejezetbeosztása túl bonyolult és nem egészen következetes, másrészt mert a Gutenberg Project online szövegében[27] (így ebben a szövegben is) mindenki számára elérhető és könnyen kereshető. A lábjegyzet száma a mai gyakorlattal ellentétben nem a kérdéses kifejezés vagy mondat végén, hanem ezek előtt áll. Sajnos a tartalomjegyzékben megadott címek sem egyeznek meg a szövegben szereplő fejezetcímekkel, ami még nehezebbé teszi az azonosítást.

A név szerinti idézések előtt a „Division of the Body, Humours, Spirits" című alfejezetben, a 956. jegyzetet megelőzően a szellem Ficino-féle meghatározását adja summázva, de nagyon pontosan:

[24] *Hinc philosophi singulares evadunt, praesertim cum animus sic ab externis motibus atque corpore proprio sevocatus, et quam proximus divinis et divinorum instrumentum efficiatur. Unde divinis influxibus oraculisque ex alto repletus, nova quaedam inusitataque semper excogitat et futura praedicit. Quod non solum Democritus atque Plato affirmant, sed Aristoteles in* Problematum *libro et Avicenna in libro* Divinorum *et in libro* De anima *confitentur.* Marsilio Ficino: *Three Books on Life*, 120–122. A Ficino-részleteket mind saját fordításomban hozom.

[25] *De vita*, I. 5. „Miért éles elméjűek a melankolikusok; kik ilyenek közülük, és kik nem?"

[26] *Adusta vero in species quattuor distribuitur: aut etenim naturalis melancholiae aut sanguinis purioris aut bilis aut salsae pituitae combustione concipitur. Quaecunque adustione nascitur iudicio et sapientiae nocet. Nempe dum humor ille accenditur atque ardet, concitatos furentesque facere solet, quam Graeci maniam nuncupant, nos vero furorem.* Ficino, *Three Books on Life*, 117.

[27] Ld. gutenberg.org/files/10800/10800-h/amparti.html (2020. 03. 25.)

> Spirit is a most subtle vapour, which is expressed from the blood, and the instrument of the soul, to perform all his actions; a common tie or medium between the body and the soul, as some will have it; or as [956] Paracelsus, a fourth soul of itself.[28]

Az, hogy a passzus végén Paracelsusra hivatkozik, nem zárja ki azt, hogy magát a meghatározást Ficinónál olvasta, így a „some" kifejezésben elsősorban reá kell gondolnunk. Paracelsus, az orvostudomány képrombolója maga egyébként kivételesen tisztelte Ficinót, szemben az őt megelőző egész hagyománnyal (hisz neve is arra utal, hogy ő maga a legnagyobbnak tekintett latin nyelven író orvost, Celsust is meghaladja).[29] A szellem mibenlétéről valamint a testben és a gondolkodásban játszott szerepéről az I. könyv 2–7. fejezetében, az emberi és a világszellem párhuzamáról és ezek közvetítő szerepéről a III. könyv 1–3. és a 11. fejezetében ír Ficino.

A név szerinti említések közül elsőként tehát a betegségeket kategorizáló első nagy egységen belül az [1060] lábjegyzet után az „Of the Matter of Melancholy"[30] fejezetében a fekete epe mibenlétéről értekező írókat sorolja fel, Galénos, Avicenna és a Burton-nel kortárs szerzők között Ficinót is; a lábjegyzet tartalma a következő: „Lib. 1. cap. 6. de sanit. tuenda." – tehát pontosan a *De vita* első könyvének fent idézett fejezete.

Az [1170] jegyzetszám után[31] a bolygóprincípiumokhoz tartozó daimónokat vagy démonokat illetve angyalokat tárgyaló szerzők között jelenik meg Ficino. Gregorius Tholsanus[32] a bolygóknak megfelelően hét étheri szellemet vagy angyalt különböztetett meg, melyeket a híres paviai matematikus és orvos Cardanus[33] a *De subtilitate* című művében ős-szubsztanciáknak, olympusi daimónoknak nevez, akik

[28] Part. 1. Sect. 1. Memb. 2. Subsect. 2. *Division of the Body, Humours, Spirits*. A [956] jegyzetszám előtt.

[29] Giancarlo Zanier, „Platonic Trends in Renaissance Medicine", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 48, No. 3. (1987), 515.

[30] Part. 1. Sect. 1. Memb. 3. Subsect. 3. *Of the Matter of Melancholy*. Az [1060] jegyzetszám után.

[31] Part. 1. Sect. 2. Memb. 1. Subsect. 2. *A Digression of the nature of Spirits, bad Angels, or Devils, and how they cause Melancholy*. (Az [1170] jegyzetszám után.)

[32] Tholsanus, (Pierre Grégoire c.1540–1597), *Syntaxes artis mirabilis, in libros septem digestae. Per quas de omni re proposita, disputari aut tractari, omniumque summaria cognitio haberi potest*, Lyon, Antoine Gryphe, 1575–1576, három részben, az első kettő egy kötetben: I. *Syntaxes artis mirabilis* 8 ff. + 190 pp. II. *Commentaria in prolegomena syntaxeon mirabilis artis* 1 f, 304 pp., III. *Syntaxeon artis mirabilis*, 8 ff., 1055, 125 pp. Későbbi kiadása: *Commentaria in syntaxes artis mirabilis per quas de omnibus disputatur habeturque cognitio autore Petro Gregorio Tholosano impressum Lugduni per Antonium Griffum 1585*. További kiad.: Köln, Lazarus Zetner, 1610. A könyv Raimundus Lullus tanításait követi, témája asztrológia és daimonológia, indexre tették.

[33] Gerolamo Cardano (1501–1576), *De Subtilitate rerum* (a természeti jelenségekről), Johann Petreius, Nürnberg, 1550. Teljes szövege oldalanként fotózva: archive.org/details/hin-wel-all-00000138-001. Ld. még: digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/06d8c190-6ca1-0134-ecf8-00505686a51c. Továbbá a Párizsi 1550-as kiadás: books.google.co.uk/books?id=2Hw7AAAAcAAJ (2020. 04. 04.) Angol ford.: *The De Subtilitate of Girolamo Cardano*, trans. by J. M. Forrester, Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Tempe, 2013.

az Állatöv élén állnak. A Hold felett szerinte ezek jó angyalok, alatta rosszindulatúak, számos néven számtalan feladatot látnak el, melyeket „Dionysius of Angels" (az ál-Areopagita) is az országok, hivatalok, emberek fölé helyez. Velük egyetért – mondja, Ficino, főként Platónt követve:

> [1170] Marcilius Ficinus seems to second this opinion, out of Plato, or from himself, I know not, (still ruling their inferiors, as they do those under them again, all subordinate, and the nearest to the earth rule us, whom we subdivide into good and bad angels, call gods or devils, as they help or hurt us, and so adore, love or hate) but it is most likely from Plato, for he relying wholly on Socrates […]

A bolygóprincípiumokhoz tartozó daimónokról Ficino több helyen is beszél a *De vita* III. könyvében: az alapelveket lefektető 1. fejezetben, a világszellemet tárgyaló 4., a talizmánokat ismertető 13., 14., 15., 20. fejezetben, és a 22. fejezetben, ahol azt fejti ki, hogy az ég adományainak befogadására az ember a harmónia segítségével készülhet fel. Iamblichos mondását idézi, miszerint az ég és a világ istenségei magas- és alacsonyabb rendű erőkkel is rendelkeznek. A 23. fejezet, mely az önismeret, az egyénnek megfelelő lakhely és mesterség kiválasztásának fontosságát hangsúlyozza, a személyt segítő daimónok két típusát különbözteti meg: az embert születésétől fogva oltalmazó daimónt és a mesterségével kapcsolatban mellette állót. Itt Ficino Porphyriosra hivatkozik ugyan, de az idézetet Iamblichos *De mysteriis*-éből vette. Sajnos Burton szűkszavúsága miatt ebből nem bizonyíthatjuk, hogy ő maga olvasta volna a III. könyv e fejezeteit, ám hogy tudott tartalmukról, az biztos.

Visszatérve Burton szövegéhez, a fenti hely után azzal folytatja, hogy Platón a daimónok kilenc fajtáját különböztette meg, s azt taglalja, hogy milyen elődöktől vette át e tanítást. Nos, ez ismét Ficinóra megy vissza, ha ezt nem is írja le Burton – hiszen az ősi tudás, a *prisca theologia* képviselőire utal, akiket Ficino rendszeresen e hagyomány továbbvivőiként emlegetni szokott: Zoroasterre, Pythagorasra, Hermés Trismegistosra. A kilenc irányító szellemi létező felsorolása után némi magyarázattal arra a két újplatonikus szerzőre hivatkozik, akiket szintén Ficino fordított latinra, s a *De vita*-ban név szerint is gyakran citálja őket – Proklosra és Iamblichosra:

> first God, second idea, 3. Intelligences, 4. Arch-Angels, 5. Angels, 6. Devils, 7. Heroes, 8. Principalities, 9. Princes: of which some were absolutely good, as gods, some bad, some indifferent *inter deos et homines*, as heroes and daemons, which ruled men, and were called genii, or as [1171] Proclus and Jamblichus will, the middle betwixt God and men.[34]

[34] Part. 1. Sect. 2. Memb. 1. Subsect. 2. *A Digression of the nature of Spirits, bad Angels, or Devils, and how they cause Melancholy*. (Az [1171] jegyzetszám után.)

Ugyanebben a fejezetben, nem sokkal lentebb, az [1208] jegyzetszám után még mindig a daimónokról vagy démonokról tárgyalva egy Richard Argentine[35] nevű szerzőt idézve jelöli meg az ő forrásaként Ficinót. A híres emberek halálának előjeleit eszerint nem gonosz szellemek, hanem jó angyalok jelzik csodás jelenségekkel, szemben más forrásokkal, amelyek a gonoszul megölt emberek házában kísértetjárásról számolnak be:

> These spirits often foretell men's deaths by several signs, as knocking, groanings, &c. [1208] though Richard Argentine, *c. 18. De praestigiis daemonum*, will ascribe these predictions to good angels, out of the authority of Ficinus and others; *prodigia in obitu principum saepius contingunt*, &c. (prodigies frequently occur at the deaths of illustrious men), as in the Lateran church in [1209] Rome, the popes' deaths are foretold by Sylvester's tomb.[36]

A következő előfordulás a melankólia okait az asztrológiai, fiziognómiai, tenyérből megállapítható jelekből vizsgáló fejezetben[37] bukkan fel, az [1291] fejezetszám után. Miután az asztrológia érvényességét illetően maga is állást foglal, Burton bemutatja több Ficino utáni szerző[38] leírását a melankolikus betegségek asztrológiai okairól. Majd a Galénost követő orvosok közül Ficinót is említi, akik azt vallották: „the influence of stars to have a great hand to this peculiar disease".[39]

A rossz táplálkozás a következő ok a melankolikus betegségek kialakulásában, s itt Ficino azon szerzők felsorolásában szerepel, akik egész könyvnyi tudnivalót foglaltak össze a helyes táplálkozás fontosságáról.[40] Az [1349] fejezetszám előtt: „Many physicians, I confess, have written copious volumes of this one subject, of the nature and qualities of all manner of meats; as namely […]".

Majd a búskomorságnak az emésztés és a testnedvek megrekedéséből vagy túlzott kiömléséből fakadó okai között szerepel a szerelmi élet túlhajszolása is,[41] ahol Galénos és Avicenna mellett ismét Ficino az egyik auktoritás [1488]:

> Intemperate Venus is all but as bad in the other extreme. Galen, *l. 6. de mortis popular. sect. 5. text. 26*, reckons up melancholy amongst those diseases which are [1488] exasperated by venery: so doth Avicenna, *2, 3, c. 11.* Oribasius, *loc. citat.* Ficinus, *lib. 2. de sanitate tuenda*.

Itt tehát csak a II. könyvet jelöli meg a *De vita*-ból, a fejezetet nem. Valójában a témáról már az I. könyv 7. fejezetében is szó esik: „A tudósok öt ellensége: a nyálka, a fekete epe, a szeretkezés, a túlzott jóllakottság és a délelőtti alvás". A túlzott mértékű szeretkezés azért ellenjavallt Ficino szerint, mert felemészti a szellemeket és nyugtalanná teszi az elmét.[42] A II. könyvben pedig több helyen is felmerül a téma, de immár nem mennyiségi tekintetben, hanem csak a korra vonatkozóan: a 8. és a 14. fejezetben az időseket inti, hogy kerüljék a Venus adta testi gyönyöröket, mert már nem nekik való, helyette érjék be a nevetéssel és a zenével. Jellemző, hogy Burton ezután Ficino fenti indoklását nem tőle idézi, hanem három kortárs szerzőtől: „Marsilius Cognatus, Montaltus, *cap. 27.* Guianerius, *Tract. 3. cap. 2.* Magninus, *cap. 5. part. 3.* [1489] gives the reason, because [1490] it infrigidates and dries up the body, consumes the spirits". A Ficino-idézés helye tehát nem pontos, de tartalmilag lényegében rendben van. Burton egyébként két további kortárs szerzőtől két nagyon hasonló esetet is leír, ahol egy idős férj egy hosszú, forró nyáron fiatal leányt vett feleségül, és a túlzott szeretkezéstől kitikkadva búskomorságba esett, őket nedvesítő gyógyszerekkel hozták helyre.

Az elmebéli okok, azon belül is a képzelet ereje a következő téma, ahol Ficino neve újra felbukkan.[43] Az orvosban való hit erejéről beszél Burton (természetesen számos tekintélyt idézve Hippokratéstől Avicennán át Cardanóig), s arról, hogy az elme ereje gyakorlatilag a testi funkciók működésére is kihat. Így szinte már a gondolat által gyógyulni kezdenek a páciensek – vagy romlik az állapotuk, ha úgy vélik, megátkozták őket. Ez a *placebo* és a pszichoszomatikus betegségek modern fogalmára emlékeztet. Majd ráadásként fűzi hozzá, hogy képzeletünk olyan sokféle irányban és módon képes formálni vagy befolyásolni testünket, mint egyfajta Próteus vagy kaméleon, mely mindenféle alakot ölt, sőt még másokra is kihat, s itt idézi Ficinót:

> So diversely doth this phantasy of ours affect, turn, and wind, so imperiously command our bodies, which as another [1627] Proteus, or a chameleon, can take all shapes; and is of such force (as Ficinus adds), that it can work upon others, as well as ourselves. How can otherwise blear eyes in one man cause the like affection in another? Why doth one man's yawning [1628] make another yawn?

35 Richard Argentine (megh. 1568), alias Sexten, angol orvos és lelkész, művének nincs modern kiadása: *De Præstigiis et Incantationibus Dæmonum et Necromanticorum*, Bázel, 1568, 8vo.

36 „Ezek a szellemek gyakran előre jelzik az emberek halálát számos jel révén, mint kopogás, nyöszörgés stb., habár Richard Argentine, *c. 18. De praestigiis daemonum*, jó angyaloknak rója fel ezeket az előjeleket, Ficino és mások tanúsága szerint: *prodigia in obitu principum saepius contingunt*, &c. (gyakran történnek csodajelek kiváló férfiak halálakor), miként Rómában a Lateráni Székesegyházban Szilveszter pápa sírja előre jelezte a pápák halálát."

37 Part. 1. Sect. 2. Memb. 1. Subsect. 4. *Stars a cause. Signs from Physiognomy, Metoposcopy, Chiromancy.* Az [1291] fejezetszám után.

38 Pl. Paracelsus, Melanchton, Leovitius, Cardano, Giovio Pontano.

39 „A csillagok hatásának nagy része van ebben a betegségben."

40 Part. 1. Sect. 2. Memb. 2. Subsect. 1. *Bad Diet a cause. Substance. Quality of Meats.* Az [1349] fejezetszám előtt.

41 Part. 1. Sect. 2. Memb. 2. Subsect. 4. *Retention and Evacuation a cause, and how*. Az [1488] jegyzetszám után.

42 Ficino tekintélyei itt Galénos (ő csak egy hasonlata révén), Hippokratés és Avicenna (név szerinti említésben).

43 Part. 1. Sect. 2. Memb. 3. Subsect. 2. *Of the Force of Imagination*. Az [1627] jegyzetszám után.

A hozzáfűzött jegyzetből azonban kiderül, hogy a gondolatot nem a *De vita*-ból, hanem a *Theologia Platonica*-ból vette.[44]

Viszont szövegszerű idézetet is hoz Ficinótól a *De vita*-ból ott, ahol a tudósok (diákok) megfeszített szellemi munkájából adódó mentális és testi problémákat elemzi.[45] Először a fejezet elején az [1974] jegyzetszám után hivatkozik arra, hogy Ficino a tudósok öt legfőbb baja között tartja számon a melankóliát, ami szinte elválaszthatatlan társuk: „Marsilius Ficinus, *de sanit. tuenda, lib. 1. cap. 7*, puts melancholy amongst one of those five principal plagues of students, 'tis a common Maul unto them all, and almost in some measure an inseparable companion."[46] Majd miután Varro szavaival jellemzi a tudósokat (szigorúak, szomorúak, szárazak), Patritius, Machiavelli és a törökök példáival mondja el, hogy a könyvmolyok nem lesznek jó katonák. Ezután sorra veszi az okokat, hogy a tudósokat miért sújtja különösen a melankólia: ülő életmódot folytatnak, magányosan, csak a múzsák között élnek, nem mozognak és nem járnak szórakozni, ráadásul sokszor rosszkedvűek és tétlenek, az általános ok azonban a túl sok tanulás. Itt bibliai utalás jön: Festus, Júdea helytartója is azt mondta Pál apostolnak, hogy a túl sok tanulás vette el az eszét. Időben közelebbi példák után idézi Ficinót ismét[47] a *De vitá*ból:

> Marsilius Ficinus *de sanit. tuend. lib. 1, cap. 1, 3, 4*, and *lib. 2, cap. 16*, gives many reasons, [1980] "why students dote more often than others." The first is their negligence; [1981] "other men look to their tools, a painter will wash his pencils, a smith will look to his hammer, anvil, forge; a husbandman will mend his plough-irons, and grind his hatchet if it be dull; a falconer or huntsman will have an especial care of his hawks, hounds, horses, dogs, &c.; a musician will string and unstring his lute, &c.; only scholars neglect that instrument, their brain and spirits (I mean) which they daily use, and by which they range overall the world, which by much study is consumed."

E részlet is jól mutatja Burton munkamódszerét: emlékezetből dolgozott. Bár tudása valóban óriási, meglehetősen pontatlanul jelöli meg idézett helyeit – ez rengeteg lábjegyzetére is igaz. Ficino ugyanis az első könyv második fejezetében beszél arról, hogy a tudósok elhanyagolják a kutatáshoz legfontosabb eszközüket: szellemeiket. Az általa megjelölt első fejezet szükséges segítőikről, a harmadik a melankolikus és a flegmatikus testnedv túltengésének elkerüléséről szól, tehát éppen nem találta el a kérdéses helyet. A 4. ficinói fejezet azonban valóban a tudósok melankolikussá válásának három (égi, természeti és emberi) okát elemzi, nagyon szellemesen, a

[44] Az [1627] jegyzetben a *Theologia Platonica* 13. könyvének 18. fejezetére hivatkozik: „Imaginatio est tanquam Proteus vel Chamaeleon, corpus proprium et alienum nonnunquam afficiens."

[45] Part. 1. Sect. 2. Memb. 3. Subsect. 15. *Love of Learning, or overmuch study. With a Digression of the misery of Scholars, and why the Muses are Melancholy.*

[46] Uott.

[47] Az [1980] jegyzetszám körül.

bolygók és a testnedvek alapminőségeinek tanai alapján. Felmerül a kérdés, hogy miért nem inkább ezt a briliáns eszmefuttatást idézte tőle? A válasz talán az lehet, hogy Burton a saját szellemei elhanyagolásában ismert a leginkább magára a tudós emberek melankóliáját illetően, s nem annyira orvosi szempontból, mint a páciens nézőpontjából érdekli a téma. Az idézetben szintén megjelölt második könyv 16. fejezete pedig a Saturnus (a tudósok bolygója) és (a testi gyönyörök bolygója) Venus között feszülő ellentétet, illetve az emberi szellemre és testre gyakorolt ellentétes hatásukat taglalja. Mivel Venus a külső részek felé csalogatja, Saturnus pedig befelé vonja a szellemet, ha egyidejűleg mozgatják, akkor kétfelé vonják, és szétzilálják azt. Ezért az elmélkedők és a kutatók számára semmi sem veszedelmesebb, mint a szerelmi aktus, mondja Ficino. Erre valójában már utalt Burton egy korábbi téma kapcsán, melyet fentebb taglaltunk.

A melankólia tünetei tárgyalásában ismét a *De vita* I. könyvének 4. fejezetét idézi, a testnedvek keveredését, minőségét és természetes vagy nem természetes voltát illetően: „Symptoms therefore are either [2453] […] from the humours diversely mixed, Ficinus, *lib. 1, cap. 4, de sanit. tuenda*: as they are hot, cold, natural, unnatural, intended, or remitted".[48]

Miután a tünetek helyét, eredetét és jellegét két *membrum* nyolc alfejezetében (*subsection*) ismertette, a harmadik *membrum*ot egészében a fent leírt tünetek közvetlen okának szenteli, ahol kétszer is idézi Ficinót.[49] Először a híres Aristotelés-hely kapcsán,[50] ahol a szellemileg tehetséges emberek: tudósok, művészek, filozófusok és törvényalkotók melankolikus voltát tárgyalja:

> Why melancholy men are witty, which Aristotle hath long since maintained in his problems; and that [2672] all learned men, famous philosophers, and lawgivers, *ad unum fere omnes melancholici*, have still been melancholy, is a problem much controverted. Jason Pratensis will have it understood of natural melancholy, which opinion Melancthon inclines to, in his book *de Anima*, and Marcilius [sic!] Ficinus *de san. tuend. lib. 1. cap. 5.* but not simple, for that makes men stupid, heavy, dull, being cold and dry, fearful, fools, and solitary, but mixed with the other humours, phlegm only excepted; and they not adust, [2673] but so mixed as that blood be half, with little or no adustion, that they be neither too hot nor too cold.[51]

Érdekes, hogy Ficino számos érvelését e témában nem tőle idézi, hanem saját kortársaitól, miként az előbbi részletet közvetlenül megelőző mondatban. Ott ugyanis arról beszél, hogy a tudósok és a szerelmesek azért melankolikusok gyakran, mert

[48] Part. 1, Sect. 3, Memb. 1, Sub. 1. *Symptoms, or Signs of Melancholy in the Body*; a [2453] jegyzetszám után.

[49] Part. 1, Sect. 3, Memb. 3. *Immediate cause of these precedent Symptoms.*

[50] Aristotelés, *Problémata,* XXX, 1.

[51] Part. 1, Sect. 3, Memb. 3. *Immediate cause of these precedent Symptoms*. A [2672] és [2673] jegyzetszámok körül.

a folytonos és megfeszített gondolkodásban szellemeiket az agyukba vonják, és elégetik.[52] Erről épp a már többször idézett I. könyv 4. fejezetében értekezik Ficino, a melankólia emberi okának nevezve e jelenséget. Az emberi ok szerinte a következő: az elme sűrű tevékenysége kiszárítja az agyat, a nedvesség híján viszont a hő is elvész belőle. Így az agy száraz és hideg lesz, ez pedig földi és melankolikus minőségnek felel meg. Azonkívül, mint mondja, a kutatás során a mozgásnak kitett szellemek folytonosan elpárolognak. Ily módon tehát Burton művében nemcsak azt látjuk, hogy ő mennyire ismerte a firenzei filozófusnak *Az életről* szóló munkáját, hanem azt is, hogy Ficinónak a *De vita*-ban kifejtett tanai mennyire beépültek már a köztudatba, amikor Burton az *Anatomy of Melancholy*-t írta.

Az utolsó idézet az első részben annak kapcsán merül fel, hogy vajon mi okozza az irracionális jelenségeket. Például a fura visszhangokat szerte a világon, vagy amikor valaki hirtelen prófétálni kezd, egyszerre nyelveket beszél, vagy számára addig ismeretlen dolgokról, csillagászatról vagy egyebekről kezd értő módon beszélni. Középkori szerzőket hoz fel, akik szerint ez biztos jele a megszállottságnak, melyet csak egy pap gyógyíthat. Majd négy kortárs szerzőt idéz, köztük Lemniust,[53] akik a testnedvek okozta betegségre vezetik vissza e problémát, méghozzá Aristotelésnek a már citált kérdésfelvetésére hivatkozva (*Problémata*, XXX, 1.), azzal az érveléssel, hogy e betegséget tisztító kúrával lehet megszüntetni. Az utóbbi Platón visszaemlékezés-tanát is felhozza, melyet Burton lehetséges magyarázatnak tart, csakúgy mint Ficino tanúságát barátjáról, Pierleone Leoniról.[54] A Iamblichos *De mysteriis*-fordítása elé írt bevezetőjében ugyanis azt állítja róla Ficino, hogy isteni sugallatra megértette a természet titkait valamint a görög és barbár filozófusok tanításait, mielőtt olvasta volna műveiket:

[52] Uo.: „Why students and lovers are so often melancholy and mad, the philosopher of [2671] Conimbra assigns this reason, because by a vehement and continual meditation of that wherewith they are affected, they fetch up the spirits into the brain, and with the heat brought with them, they incend it beyond measure: and the cells of the inner senses dissolve their temperature, which being dissolved, they cannot perform their offices as they ought."

[53] Levinus Lemnius (1505–1568), holland orvos és író, a Leuveni Egyetemen és Padovában tanulta az orvoslást, Vesalius tanítványa volt. Svájcban és Angliában is utazgatott, a felesége halála után pap lett. Legismertebb műve az *Occulta naturae miracula* (1559, Antwerpen), mely angolra fordítva is megjelent *The Secret Miracles of Nature* címen 1658-ban John Streater kiadásában.

[54] Pierleone Leoni vagy Pierleone da Spoleto (Spoleto, 1445 – Firenze, 1492. április 9.), orvos, filozófus, asztrológus. Valószínűleg Rómában tanult, filozófiából és orvoslásból doktorált, majd meghívást kapott a pádovai egyetemre, ahol élete végéig orvoslást tanított. Lorenzo katedrát adott neki az általa újjászervezett pisai egyetemen is. Itt került kapcsolatba a Lorenzo körül csoportosuló filozófusokkal és művészekkel. Kortársai a legnagyobb tudósok között tartották számon. Királyok és fejedelmek folyamodtak hozzá gyógyításért: a nápolyi király, a calabriai herceg, Milánóban Lodovico il Moro, és talán VIII. Ince pápa. Így lett Lorenzo orvosa is. Lorenzo halálakor (hamisan) mérgezéssel gyanúsították és megfojtották; a bérgyilkost valószínűleg fia, Piero il Fauto küldte rá. Vö. M. Rotzoll, *Pierleone da Spoleto: vita e opere di un medico del Rinascimento*, Olschki, Firenze, 2001.

> another argument he [Lemnius] hath from Plato's *reminiscentia*, which all out as likely as that which [2715] Marsilius Ficinus speaks of his friend Pierleonus; by a divine kind of infusion he understood the secrets of nature, and tenets of Grecian and barbarian philosophers, before ever he heard of, saw, or read their works.[55]

Burton művének a melankólia okait és tüneteit tárgyaló első része alapján tehát azt gondolhatnánk, hogy a *De vita*-nak csak az első és második könyvét ismerte közvetlenül – nyilván olyan kiadásból, melyben a harmadik könyv nem szerepelt.

Hivatkozások a Második részben

Csakhogy a melankólia gyógyítását bemutató *Második rész*ben több ponton is érinti Ficino *De vita*-ja harmadik könyvének tematikáját. Összesen kilencszer említi itt név szerint Ficinót. Rögtön az első, a jogellenes gyógymódokat elutasító fejezetében[56] felsorolja a *De vita coelitus comparanda*-t, méghozzá azon művek és szerzők között, akik szerint a szellemek vagy ördögök hatással lehetnek ránk:

> Tandlerus, Lemnius, (Hippocrates and Avicenna amongst the rest) deny that spirits or devils have any power over us, and refer all with Pomponatius of Padua to natural causes and humours. Of the other opinion are Bodinus *Daemonamantiae, lib. 3, cap. 2*. Arnoldus, Marcellus Empyricus, I. Pistorius, Paracelsus *Apodix. Magic*. Agrippa *lib. 2. de occult. Philos. cap. 36. 69. 71. 72. et l. 3, c. 23, et 10*. Marcilius [sic!] Ficinus *de vit. coelit. compar. cap. 13. 15. 18. 21. &c.* Galeottus *de promiscua doct. cap. 24*. Jovianus Pontanus *Tom. 2. Plin. lib. 28, c. 2*. Strabo, *lib. 15*. Geog. Leo Suavius: Goclenius *de ung. armar.* Oswoldus Crollius, Ernestus Burgravius, Dr. Flud, &c. Cardan *de subt.* brings many proofs out of Ars Notoria, and Solomon's decayed works, old Hermes, Artefius, Costaben Luca, Picatrix, &c. that such cures may be done.[57]

A Ficino-kutató számára itt érhető tetten Burton művének igazi gyengéje: bár óriási ismeretanyagot vonultat fel, az idézett szerzők és művek sokaságában képtelen a legtöbb témában igazán elmélyülni. Egy-egy gondolatot felkap, melyre citációk sora következik, majd anélkül, hogy egy szerző nézeteit részleteiben kifejtené vagy elemezné, máris száguld tovább a következő, sokszor csak egy asszociáció által kapcsolódó témához. Így válhat sokszor olyan felszínessé, hogy úgy tűnjék, azt állítja: Ficino hasonló elveket vallott a *Picatrix*ban kifejtett tanokhoz, ami igen távol

[55] Part. 1, Sect. 3, Memb. 3. *Immediate cause of these precedent Symptoms*. A [2715] jegyzetszám után.

[56] Part. 2, Sect. 1, Memb. 1, Sub. 1. *Unlawful Cures rejected*. A [2789] jegyzetszám előtt.

[57] Part. 2, Sect. 1, Memb. 1, Subsect. 1. *Unlawful Cures rejected*. A [2791] jegyzetszám előtt.

áll a valóságtól.[58] Hiszen a mellette felsorolt Galeotto Marzio és Gioviano Pontano valóban ugyanannak a szellemi közegnek a hasonszőrű képviselői, ám a 11. századi, igen vegyes összetételű, és javarészt kisstílű vagy épp rosszindulatú célokat szem előtt tartó mágia-tankönyv messze alatta áll a humanista szerzők szellemi horizontjának, főként pedig Ficino emelkedett, filozófiai megközelítésének. Ficino követői közül pedig Paracelsus vagy Cornelius Agrippa jóval túlment azokon a határokon, amelyeket a firenzei filozófus az ún. természetes mágia körein belül megengedhető gyógymódoknak ítélt. Mindazáltal Burton utalása a *De vita coelitus comparanda*-ra helyes annyiban, hogy a felsorolt fejezetekben: 13., 15., 18., 21. valóban a talizmánokról van szó, melyek készítőik és használóik szerint az égi hatásokat közvetítik a (fentebb érintett módon értett) szellemek révén. Azonban a köztes, tehát a 14., 17., 19., és a 20. fejezet is így vagy úgy, de tárgyalja ezt a tematikát, így nem világos, mi alapján ragadta ki Burton a megjelölt fejezeteket.

Ezután az 1. felosztás, 4. tag, 1. alfejezetében, az orvosokról, a betegekről és az orvoslásról való elmélkedéseiben Ficinót azon orvosok között sorolja fel, akik szerint az asztrológia ismerete szükséges a gyógyításhoz. Ezt az asztrológiát elutasító orvosokkal szemben maga is így véli, és Hippokratés, Galénos és Avicenna tekintélyével támogatja meg, hisz e nagy tekintélyű szerzők úgy tartják, az orvos pusztán hentes az asztrológia ismerete hiányában:

> Astrology is required by many famous physicians, by Ficinus, Crato, Fernelius; [2847] doubted of, and explored by others: I will not take upon me to decide the controversy myself, Johannes Hossurtus, Thomas Boderius, and Maginus in the preface to his mathematical physic, shall determine for me. Many physicians explore astrology in physic (saith he), there is no use of it, *unam artem ac quasi temerariam*[59] *insectantur, ac gloriam sibi ab ejus imperitia, aucupari*: but I will reprove physicians by physicians, that defend and profess it, Hippocrates, Galen, Avicen. &c., that count them butchers without it, *homicidas medicos Astrologiae ignaros*, &c.[60]

Az első részben, az okok között már tárgyalta a túlzásba vitt szexuális életből adódó melankóliát. Itt a gyógyítással kapcsolatban merül fel újra ez a téma, és itt jön a következő idézet Ficinótól, ugyanaz, mint ott: „[2986] Ficinus and [2987] Marsilius Cognatus puts Venus one of the five mortal enemies of a student: it consumes the spirits, and weakeneth the brain."[61]

[58] Ld. Frazer-Imregh Monika: „Marsilio Ficino *De vita coelitus comparanda*-ja és a *Picatrix*", *Orpheus Noster* XII. évf., 2020/1, 78–87. Továbbá Uő: „A *Picatrix* fejezeteinek tartalmi összefoglalója", *Orpheus Noster* XII. évf., 2020/1, 88–109.

[59] A *Gutenberg project*ben közölt szövegben hibásan: *temerarium*.

[60] Part. 2, Sect. 1, Memb. 4, Subsect. 1. *Physician, Patient, Physic*. A [2847] jegyzetszám körül.

[61] Part. 2, Sect. 2, Memb. 2. *Retention and Evacuation rectified*. A [2986] jegyzetszám után. A hely megjelölése a fejezet száma nélkül csak *De sanitate tuenda, lib. 1.*

Az ezt követő idézet viszont egy olyan témát érint, amely ismét a *De vita coelitus comparanda*, azaz a *De vita* harmadik könyvének szövegére utal. Az iránytű észak felé fordulásának okát illetve forrását kutatva megjegyzi, hogy Ficino azt a Nagymedve csillagkép egyik csillagának tulajdonította, szemben másokkal, akik a Sarkcsillagnak, egy mágneses sziklának vagy meridiánnak rótták fel:

> […] what should be the true cause of the variation of the compass, [2998] is it a magnetical rock, or the pole-star, as Cardan will; or some other star in the bear, as Marsilius Ficinus; or a magnetical meridian, as Maurolieus; *Vel situs in vena terrae*, as Agricola; or the nearness of the next continent, as Cabeus will; or some other cause […][62]

A Nagymedve csillagképről a *De vita coelitus comparanda* 15. fejezetében Ficino főként Proklos *De mysteriis* című műve alapján a kövek erejét és minőségét tárgyalja, itt tér ki a mágnes erejére is:

> Láthatjuk, hogy a hajósok iránytűje, mely ha nyugalomban van, az északi sarkot jelzi, s végével a mágnes hatására a Nagymedve felé áll be; nyilvánvalóan arrafelé vonzza a mágnes, mivel ebben a kőben is leginkább a Nagymedve ereje van jelen, s ez adja át azt a vasnak; s a Nagymedve felé vonzza mindkettőt. Ez az erő pedig részint már keletkezésétől fogva benne rejlik, részint a Nagymedve sugarai folyamatosan táplálják belé.[63]

Ez tehát arra enged következtetni, hogy saját olvasattal rendelkezett Burton, hiszen ez annyira apró részlet, hogy aligha jutott Ficino e nézetének tudomására közvetett módon. Kivéve persze, ha egy professzora előadás közben említette meg, amire az orvos és pap témájával kapcsolatban volt példa, mint a *Bevezetés*e idézetei közt láthattuk. Ám ezt itt nem említi, így valószínűbb, hogy ő maga olvasta a harmadik könyv tizenötödik fejezetében.

További három idézet az első könyvre utal, az első kettő a rossz álmok és nyugtalan alvás okait és a nyugodt, pihentető alvás elérését tárgyalja. Előbb csak a jegyzetben magában magyarázza az I. könyv 24. fejezetére (*De nimia vigilia* – Az alváshiány) utalva, hogy a melankolikusok agya az állandó éjszakai fentlét miatt kiszárad és erőtlenné válik:

> 3380. jegyzet: Saepius accidit melancholicis, ut nimium exsiccato cerebro vigiliis attenuentur. Ficinus, lib. 1. cap. 29. [sic! helyesen: 24.] Főszöveg: But the

[62] Part. 2, Sect. 2, Memb. 3. *Air rectified. With a digression of the Air*. A [2998] jegyzetszám után.

[63] Ficino (1989): 316–318.: *Videmus in specula nautarum, indice poli, libratum acum affectum in extremitate magnete moveri ad Ursam, illuc videlicet trahente magnete, quoniam et in lapide hoc praevalet virtus Ursae et hinc trasfertur in ferrum et ad Ursam trahit utrunque. Virtus autem eiusmodi tum ab initio infusa est, tum continue Ursae radiis vegetatur.*

> ordinary causes are heat and dryness, which must first be removed: [3380] a hot and dry brain never sleeps well: grief, fears, cares, expectations, anxieties, great businesses[64].

Majd ugyanott, kicsit lentebb az elalvás előtt kellemes zene hallgatásában találja meg az aggodalmak, gyász, szorongás, félelmek eloszlatását és a jó álom helyrehozatalát:

> before he goes to bed, or in bed, to hear [3386] sweet music, which Ficinus commends, *lib. 1. cap. 24*,[65]

A harmadik pedig a bor és a zene kedélyjavító hatását ecseteli:

> Many and sundry are the means which philosophers and physicians have prescribed to exhilarate a sorrowful heart, to divert those fixed and intent cares and meditations, which in this malady so much offend; but in my judgment none so present, none so powerful, none so apposite as a cup of strong drink, mirth, music, and merry company. Ecclus. xl. 20. Wine and music rejoice the heart. [3468] Rhasis, *cont. 9. Tract. 15*. Altomarus, *cap. 7*. Aelianus Montaltus, *c. 26*. Ficinus […][66]

Az ezután következő idézet viszont a kiadásokban a harmadik könyv után szereplő két apologetikus és a *De vita* megvédésére buzdító levél közül a másodikra utal, melyet Ficino három barátjának: Bernardo Canigianinak, Giovanni Canaccinak és Amerigo Corsinininak címzett 1498. szeptember 16-án, Careggiben. A levél címe: *Quod necessaria sit ad vitam securitas et tranquillitas animi* (Arról, hogy az élethez szükség van a békés kedélyre és a lelki nyugalomra). Burton idézése előtt a téma a jó kedvre derítő dolgok: testmozgás, játékok, színházi előadások, versenyek és a jó barátok társasága, tehát minden, ami felvidít. Mivel itt a levél végét szinte szó szerint idézi, latin félmondatokat is beékelve, egészen bizonyos, hogy ez a szöveg a keze ügyében volt, amikor a passzust írta:

> And as Marsilius Ficinus concludes an epistle to Bernard Canisianus, and some other of his friends, will I this tract to all good students, [3535] Live merrily, O my friends, free from cares, perplexity, anguish, grief of mind, live merrily, *laetitia caelum vos creavit*: [3536] Again and again I request you to be merry, if anything trouble your hearts, or vex your souls, neglect and contemn it, [3537] let it pass. [3538] And this I enjoin you, not as a divine alone, but as a physician; for without this mirth, which is the life and quintessence of physic, medicines,

[64] Part. 2, Sect. 2, Memb. 5. *Waking and terrible Dreams rectified*.
[65] Uott.
[66] Part. 2, Sect. 2, Memb. 6. Subsect. 3. *Music is a remedy*.

> and whatsoever is used and applied to prolong the life of man, is dull, dead, and of no force. *Dum fata sinunt, vivite laeti* (Seneca), I say be merry.[67]

Ficino levelének vége magyarul így szól:

> Éljetek tehát szélesen, a kicsinyességtől és a szorongásoktól mentesen, barátaim! Éljetek vidáman! Hiszen örömében teremtett titeket az ég. Ezt az örömét mosolyával, vagyis kiterjedésével, mozgásával, ragyogásával nyilvánítja ki, mintha örömét fejezné ki. Az ég a ti örömötök révén fog megőrizni benneteket. Ezért minden nap örömmel éljétek meg a jelent! Az éppen folyamatban levő dolgokon való aggodalmaskodás ugyanis elrabolja tőletek a jelent, és a jövőtől is megfoszt. Az eljövendő hiábavaló dolgok tudni vágyása gyorsan a múltba ragad titeket. Újra és újra arra kérlek hát, „éljetek vidáman! A sors megengedi ezt mindaddig, amíg aggodalmak nélkül éltek." [Seneca] Ám hogy valóban gondtalanul éljetek, még ezen se aggódjatok túlságosan, mármint hogy azon gyötrődtök, hogy minél inkább elkerüljétek a gondokat. Ez az egyetlen gond is elég ugyanis, hogy a szerencsétlen halandók szívét nyomja és eleméssze. Ne engedjétek tehát, hogy a gondok nyomasszanak, a gondtalanságot viszont kedveljétek, de azt is csak egykedvűen, vagyis amíg kedvetekre való, és amíg illő. Ezt pedig nem annyira papi mivoltomban tanácsolom nektek barátaim, hanem mint orvos. Ugyanis ez minden orvoslás egyedüli élete és alapja, amely nélkül minden, az élet meghosszabbítása érdekében alkalmazott gyógymód halott.[68]

A főszövegben olvasható latin félmondat idézése pontos, a Seneca-mondás is nagyjából egyezik, az utolsó mondatot pedig a lábjegyzetben hozza szó szerint a latin eredetiben: [3538]: „Haec autem non tam ut Sacerdos, amici, mando vobis, quam ut medicus; nam absque hac una tanquam medicinarum vita, medicinae omnes ad vitam producendam adhibitae moriuntur: vivite laeti." Megállapíthatjuk tehát, hogy biztosan rendelkezett a levél másolatával, márpedig ez, mint említettem, a *De vita coelitus comparanda* után áll a teljes szövegkiadásokban.

A hátralévő két Ficino idézet közül mindkettő a *De vita* második könyvére utal. Az egyik az arany mint gyógyír külső és belső használatát taglalja a melankolikusok

[67] Part. 2, Sect. 2, Memb. 6. Subsect. 4. *Mirth and merry company, fair objects, remedies*.
[68] Ficino (1989): 404. Kiemelések tőlem. *Vivite ergo laeti ab angustia procul, o amici. Vivite laeti.* Laetitia coelum vos creavit *sua, quam suo quodam risu, id est dilatatione, motu, splendore declarat, quasi gestiens. Laetitia coelum vos servabit vestra. Ergo quotidie impraesens vivite laeti, nam sollicitudo praesentium rapit vobis praesens praeripitque futurum. Curiositas futurorum celeriter in praeteritum vos traducit. Iterum igitur precor atque iterum,* vivite laeti, nam fata sinunt, dum securi vivitis. [Seneca] *Sed ut re vera sine cura vivatis, ne unam quidem hanc curam sumite, qua solliciti curetis unquam, qua potissimum diligentia curas effugiatis. Una enim cura haec mortalibus, heu miseris, omni cura cor urit. Negligite igitur diligentiam, negligentiam vero diligite; atque hanc etiam negligenter, quoad licet vobis, inquam, atque decet.* Haec autem non tam ut sacerdos, amici, mando vobis quam ut medicus. Nam absque hac una tanquam medicinarum omnium vita medicinae omnes ad vitam producendam adhibitae moriuntur.

számára hasznos gyógyerejű drágakövek, nemesfémek és ásványok között. Itt ismét a kortárs szerzők után hozza Ficinót, mint az ő forrásukat is:

> Lemnius *lib. 3. cap. 6. de occult. nat. mir.* commends gold inwardly and outwardly used, as in rings, excellent good in medicines; and such mixtures as are made for melancholy men, saith Wecker, *antid. spec. lib. 1.* to whom Renodeus subscribes, *lib. 2. cap. 2.* Ficinus, *lib. 2. cap. 19.*[69]

A második könyv 19. fejezetében Ficino a „Háromkirályok orvosságaként" egy tömjénből, mirrhából és aranylevélkékből készített pirula receptjét adja elő az idősek számára, akik tulajdonságaikban megegyeznek a melankolikus típussal. Az aranygyűrűk használatáról beszél ugyan Ficino, de csak a harmadik könyv 8. fejezetében, ahol Thabitot idézi, és a gyűrűk helyett inkább a gyógynövények receptekben való felhasználását ajánlja, valamint a már tárgyalt 15. fejezetben, ahol Pietro d' Abano mesés leírását adja tovább a perzsa király aranygyűrűjéről, fenntartásokkal.

Az utolsó Ficino-idézet az illatok kedélyjavító hatását mutatja be, sőt az illatok esetleges tápláló erejét. Ezt Ficino a *De vita* második könyv 18. fejezetében írja le részletesen, Hippokratésra, Aristotelésre, Galénosra és Avicennára hivatkozva. Burton említése ismét csak egészen rövid, Démokritos példájára azonban, akitől írói nevét vette (Democritus Junior), külön kitér, sőt a róla szóló részt szinte szóról-szóra hozza:

> Odoraments to smell to, of rosewater, violet flowers, balm, rose-cakes, vinegar, &c., do much recreate the brains and spirits, according to Solomon. Prov. xxvii. 9. They rejoice the heart, and as some say, nourish; 'tis a question commonly controverted in our schools, *an odores nutriant*; let Ficinus, *lib. 2. cap. 18.* decide it; *[4334]* many arguments he brings to prove it; as of Democritus, that lived by the smell of bread alone, applied to his nostrils, for some few days, when for old age he could eat no meat.[70]

Az egyébként Diogenés Laertios által hátrahagyott történetet[71] Ficino kétszer is említi a *De vita*-ban, egyszer a második könyv 8. fejezetében, egyszer pedig itt, a Burton által is jelzett 18. fejezetben, így:

> Ismét Démokritos példáját szeretném felhozni nektek, aki amikor már a halálán volt, hogy a barátai kedvében járjon, még négy napig visszatartotta szellemét frissen sült kenyér illatát szagolva, s ha úgy tetszett volna neki, még tovább is megőrizhette volna.[72]

[69] Part. 2, Sect. 4, Memb. 1, Subsect. 4. *Precious Stones, Metals, Minerals, Alteratives.* A *[4167]* jegyzetszám előtt.

[70] Part. 2, Sect. 5, Memb. 1, Subsect. 5. *Alteratives and Cordials, corroborating, resolving the Reliques, and mending the Temperament.*

[71] Diogenés Laërtios, *Vitae Philosophorum*, IX, 43.

Robert Burton összes Ficino-idézetét bemutattam és elemeztem tehát a második részből, s ezek alapján megállapítható: biztosan olvasta a *De vita* mindhárom könyvét, tehát a *De vita coelitus comparanda*-t is. Jóllehet egykor ezeket alaposan tanulmányozta, írás közben nem mindig ellenőrizte a hivatkozott helyeket, így idézetei némileg pontatlanok.

Ha Ficino tárgyalási stílusa a Cicero által megkövetelt lendületes, tiszta, világos, de ékes megfogalmazás eszményi ideáljához áll közel, Burton szövege részleteiben ugyan időnként lendületes és magával ragadó tud lenni, de túl hosszúra nyúlnak benne az idézetfüzérek. Ugyanakkor a gondolatmenetek sokszor nincsenek lezárva, hanem csak lazán, szinte asszociáció-szerűen kapcsolódnak egymásba. Szinte végtelen gondolatfolyam. Kora olvasói közül bizonyára sokaknak segített melankóliájukkal megküzdeni, mégis a töméntelen és sokféle idézet egymásra halmozása miatt a látszólag szigorú struktúra ellenére szinte elárasztja az embert a sok információval. Ékesszólása az olyan spontánabb, szívből jövő szakaszokban mutatkozik meg, mint saját panaszainak szatirikus hangú előadásában, ahol például a tudósok csekély anyagi és erkölcsi megbecsültségét siratja.[73]

A melankólia ezen „anatómiája", mint említettem, harminc év leforgása alatt hat kiadást ért meg, és azóta is számtalanszor megjelent, így máig foglalkoztatja nemcsak a kutatókat, de a szélesebb olvasóközönséget is.[74] Nagy hatással volt Miltonra, aki két nagyszerű költeményt szentelt neki (*L' Allegro* és *Il Penseroso*).[75] A Milton-kutató irodalomtörténész Thomas Warton (1728–1790), akinek az előbbi adatot köszönhetjük, *The Pleasures of Melancholy* címmel adott ki verseskötetet,[76] mellyel elnyerte az „Anglia koszorús költője" címet. Laurence Sterne (1713–1768) az *Anatomy of Melancholy* sok részletét beleszőtte *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman* című regényébe. Ugyanakkor, miként 19. századi kritikusok (pl. Woods) kimutatták, számos kisebb író is „kölcsönzött" tőle, a forrás feltüntetése nélkül.

[72] Ficino (1989): 226. *Commemorare vobis iterum placet Democritum iamiam expiraturum, ut obsequeretur amicis, spiritum ad quatriduum usque olfactu calentium panum retinuisse, ulterius etiam, si modo placuisset, spiritum servaturum.*

[73] Part. 1. Sect. 2. Memb. 3. Subsect. 15. *Love of Learning, or overmuch study. With a Digression of the misery of Scholars, and why the Muses are Melancholy.* A *[2000]* jegyzetszám körül.

[74] William Randolph MUELLER, *The Anatomy of Robert Buerton's England.* [A study of The Anatomy of Melancholy] Berkeley – Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1952, viii, 121 pp.; vö. BBC Radio 4, In Our Time, Melvyn Bragg and his guests discuss a masterpiece of 17th-century medicine and literature: Robert Burton's The Anatomy of Melancholy. Thu 12 May 2011 21:30, bbc.co.uk/programmes/b010y30m

[75] Thomas Warton (the younger), *Warton's Milton*, hn. én. 2nd ed., 94. Milton egymást kiegészítő pásztori ill. allegorikus költeményeit aztán Händel (*L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato*) és William Blake is feldolgozta, az utóbbi illusztrációkat készített mindkettőhöz.

[76] Warton egyike volt a kora-romantikus, ún. „Graveyard" költőknek.

Burton felvetései Keats verseiben, Beckett drámáiban is tetten érhetők. Végül Samuel Johnson (1709–1784), költő, dráma- és életrajzíró, szótárkészítő, a *Dictionary of the English Language* összeállítója és Shakespeare szakértője apjától öröklött szörnyű depresszióban szenvedett, melyet saját bevallása szerint egyetlen könyv olvasása tudott enyhíteni: *A melankólia anatómiája* Robert Burtontől.[77]

Rezümé

Tanulmányomban azt vizsgálom, hol jelenik meg Ficino *A melankólia anatómiájá*ban, és hogy Burton a *De vita libri tres* mely könyveit olvashatta saját maga. Mivel tudjuk, hogy ennek legtöbb kiadásából az asztrológiai szempontú és a talizmánmágiát is tárgyaló harmadik könyv, a *De vita coelitus comparanda* kimaradt, a fő kérdésem az, hogy vajon Burton személy szerint tanulmányozta-e ezt? Ehhez megnéztem Ficino név szerinti említéseit és az esetleges szövegszerű idézeteket is a bevezetésben, az első és a második részben. A harmadik részt, mely a szerelmi és vallásos melankóliát tárgyalja, és Ficinót *Lakoma-kommentár*ja kapcsán idézi, másutt tárgyalom. Burton művének a melankólia okait és tüneteit tárgyaló első része 13 Ficino-idézete alapján azt gondolhatnánk, hogy a *De vita*-nak csak az első és második könyvét ismerte közvetlenül, azonban a melankólia gyógyítását bemutató *Második rész* 9 idézetében több ponton is érinti a harmadik könyv tematikáját. Így kijelenthetjük, hogy biztosan olvasta a *De vita* mindhárom könyvét, tehát a *De vita coelitus comparanda*-t is. Jóllehet egykor ezeket alaposan tanulmányozta, írás közben nem ellenőrizte a hivatkozott helyeket, így idézetei némileg pontatlanok.

Az oxfordi tudós Ficino számos érvelését a melankóliát illetően nem tőle idézi, hanem saját kortársaitól. Ilymódon tehát Burton művében nemcsak azt látjuk, hogy ő mennyire ismerte a firenzei filozófusnak *Az életről* szóló munkáját, hanem azt is, hogy Ficinónak a *De vita*-ban kifejtett tanai mennyire beépültek már a köztudatba, amikor Burton az *Anatomy of Melancholy*-t írta.

Kulcsszavak
Robert Burton, melankólia, Marsilio Ficino, pszichoszomatikus betegségek, test-lélek egészségének összefüggése, a testnedvek teóriája, temperamentumok

[77] James Boswell, *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, (¹1791) vol. i. 580. Ld. eBook a Project Gutenbergben (2006): gutenberg.org/files/1564/1564-h/1564-h.htm (2019. 09. 22.)

Abstract
Robert Burton's References to Ficino's De vita libri tres in The Anatomy of Melancholy

This study examines where Ficino appears in The Anatomy of Melancholy *and which books of* De vita *Burton he may have read himself. Since it is known that the Third Book,* De vita coelitus comparanda, *which deals with astrology and talismans, has been omitted from most of its editions, the main question is whether Burton has personally studied the latter. To this end, I also looked at Ficino's mention by name and possible textual quotations in the Introduction and the First and Second Partitions. The Third Partition, which discusses love and religious melancholy and quotes Ficino in connection with his* Commentary on The Symposium, *is discussed elsewhere. Based on Burton's thirteen Ficino quotes in the First Partition of his work, we might think that he knew only the First and Second Books of* De vita *directly. However, in the nine quotes from the Second Partition, which presents the cure for melancholy, Burton touches on the subject matter of the Third Book on several points.*

Thus, we can say that he must have read all three books of De vita, *and thus also* De vita coelitus comparanda. *Although he once studied these thoroughly, he did not check the places cited at the time of writing, so his quotations are somewhat inaccurate. The Oxford scholar quotes many of Ficino's arguments about melancholy, not from himself but his contemporaries. Thus, in Burton's work, we see not only how well he knew the Florentine philosopher's work* On Life, *but also how much Ficino's teachings in* De vita *were already built into the public consciousness when Burton wrote* The Anatomy of Melancholy.

Keywords
Robert Burton, melancholy, Marsilio Ficino, psychosomatic diseases, body-soul health relation, humoral theory, temperaments

CSABA JÓZSEF SPALOVSZKY

Eternal Death & Resurrection: From Single Vision to the Fourfold and the Mystic Number 4 in William Blake's Cosmogony and Mythology

When we begin to study William Blake's mysticism, it becomes apparent that some numbers, like codes describing a kind of secret truth for him, are highly important. Decoding the symbolic meanings of these numbers allows us to enter a world where we find ourselves in the realm of God assumed and proposed by Blake. In my treatment of this subject, I intend to grasp the concept behind the system on the basis of analysis of several examples. I will study the different types of vision that are related to the numbers 1 to 4, starting with the philosophical and theological background that could have influence on Blake's number system.

The importance of the number 4 was not new in Blake's time because its history even goes back to the number symbolism of Greek antiquity. Blake possibly knew a lot about the subject because he had a good relationship with Thomas Taylor, a well-known Neoplatonic philosopher of his age, who translated the complete works of Plato and Aristotle into English and was also skilled in mathematics. According to Raine and Harper, Blake obviously read Taylor's works,[1] and it is also known that Blake learnt mathematics from Taylor, which provides evidence of Bake's interest in both mathematics and ancient Greek philosophical systems. Taking this into account, it is not surprising that Blake applied the knowledge he acquired from Thomas Taylor and built it into his of own system of ideas. However, of all the Greek mathematicians who used the number 4 as a basis for their logical systems, one group may have had greater importance for Blake, the Pythagoreans. Blake even named a character "Sipsop the Pythagorean" in his drama, *Island in the Moon* (1784). According to Damon, this figure in the drama was no other than a representation of Thomas Taylor.[2]

The Pythagoreans arranged things in sets of four. One such set was called a *Tetractys* ('a set of four things'). They used the following ten sets:[3]

1 Kathleen RAINE and George Mills HARPER (eds.): *Thomas Taylor the Platonist: Selected Writings*, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969, 13.

2 Ágnes PÉTER: *William Blake illusztrációi a Jób könyvéhez*, Budapest, Könyvpont Kiadó, 2017, 86.

3 Milena BOGDANOVIĆ: 'The number and its symbolism in ancient Greece'. *Journal of Arts and Humanities (JAH)*, Vol. 2, No. 6, July, 2013, 117.

Numbers	1	2	3	4
Magnitudes	point	line	surface	solid
Elements	fire	air	water	earth
Figures	pyramid	octahedron	icosahedron	cube
Living Things	seed	growth in length	in breadth	in thickness
Societies	man	village	city	nation
Faculties	reason	knowledge	opinion	sensation
Seasons	spring	summer	autumn	winter
Ages of a Person	infancy	youth	adulthood	old age
Parts of living things	body		three parts of the soul	

From the point of view of my study, the sets of Faculties, Seasons and Elements are especially interesting, because it is possible to find parallel ideas in Blake's number mysticism.

The first striking fact is that completeness equals the number 4 in both Blake and Greek number symbolism.[4] Many Greek philosophers liked to arrange everything according to a mathematical logic, and the number 4 was suitable to describe the world in a logical way. They used their number system in connection with all aspects of life, such as music, arithmetic, cosmology, architecture, and even the arts.[5] William Blake also used the number 4 to express the idea of fulfilment and completeness, and develop it into his unique concept of the fourfold. As he states it in *The Four Zoas*, 'Four Mighty Ones are in every Man.'[6] Samuel Foster Damon paraphrases this eloquently when he writes: 'Man, the image of God, is fourfold; God therefore must also Be fourfold.'[7]

The second analogy is that winter is the season that belongs to the number 4. In Blake's *The [First] Book of Urizen*, Urizen's (Reason) Disk was smitten by Los (Poetic Imagination) in winter, 'the night of Time'[8]:

> 4. Oppos'd to the exulting flam'd beam,
> The broad Disk of Urizen upheav'd
> Across the Void many a mile.
>
> 5. It was forg'd in mills where the winter
> Beats incessant: ten winters the disk,
> Unremitting, endur'd the cold hammer.[9]

4 Cf. William BLAKE: *[To Thomas Butts]: With Happiness stretch'd across the hills.*

5 Milena BOGDANOVIĆ: 'The number and its symbolism in ancient Greece', 118.

6 William BLAKE: *The Four Zoas*, Night the First (FZ).

7 Samuel Foster DAMON: *A Blake Dictionary. The Ideas and Symbols of William Blake* (Updated Ed.), Hanover, New Hampshire, Dartmouth College Press, 2013, 419.

8 FZ Night the Ninth.

9 William BLAKE: *The Book of Ahania*. 1:4–5 (BA).

It took ten winters to make the Disk, a number that suggests completeness or totality. The number 10 is also significant in Greek number symbolism, as it was a triangular number that they preferred above many others. It suggested completeness, the full scale of sets of four things.[10] In Blake, the number 10 implies a full period of time, a complete, finished term, as in the case of 'ten winters' cited above. It is also associated with completeness and the fulfilment of time in *The Ancient Britons*, number V. in *A Descriptive Catalogue for Pictures (1809)*:

> In the last Battle of King Arthur only Three Britons escaped, these were the Strongest Man, the Beautifullest Man, and the Ugliest Man; these three marched through the field unsubdued, as Gods, and the Sun of Britain s[e]t, but shall arise again with tenfold splendor when Arthur shall awake from sleep, and resume his dominion over earth and ocean.

The third analogy is in connection with the Elements. In Blake's mythology, the elements are personified; for instance, in *The [First] Book of Urizen*, the four elements are the sons of Urizen. Remarkably, there are exactly the same four elements, and the order of their births is exactly the same as the order of the elements in the system of the Pythagoreans. To be more precise, fire is the first element in both cases; however, Fuzon, the incarnation of fire in Blake, is the 'first begotten, last born' of the four:

> 3. Most Urizen sicken'd to see
> His eternal creations appear,
> Sons and daughters of sorrow, on mountains,
> Weeping, wailing. First Thiriel appear'd,
> Astonish'd at his own existence,
> Like a man from a cloud born; and Utha,
> From the waters emerging, laments;
> Grodna rent the deep earth, howling,
> Amaz'd; his heavens immense crack
> Like the ground parch'd with heat; then Fuzon
> Flam'd out, first begotten, last born;
> All his Eternal sons in like manner;
> His daughters, from green herbs and cattle,
> From monsters and worms of the pit.[11]

The order of Elements in the Pythagoreans' division is fire, air, water and earth, represented by Fuzon, Thiriel, Utha and Gronda in Blake. I see in this division a vertical line of perception between the Sun and the ground. But Blake's intention was not merely to follow the Greek pattern, but to adapt it to his own system according to his idea of existence and creation. In Blake's concept, the flame of imagination and desire is an underlying power all along the process of creation. In both the system of the Pythagoreans and Blake, the creation of the world would be incomplete without the fourth Element. These multiple analogies suggest that there may be an ancient Greek influence working in Blake's thought that lives together with other systems and contributes to Blake's number mysticism.

Besides the possible ancient Greek influence, other contexts should also be considered. As David Groves writes in his article about Blake and the "fourfold", the Bible and Milton could also be sources for the concept. Blake openly liked John Milton and his great work, *Paradise Lost*, in which the word "fourfold" appears once.

> Nor less on either side tempestuous fell
> His arrows, from the fourfold-visaged four,[12]

The same word occurs twice in the King James Bible (1611), although its usage is different to Blake's.[13] Despite this evidence, Groves argues that there may be a much more immediate influence behind Blake's concept of the fourfold: the work of the Presbyterian clergyman Thomas Boston.[14]

Boston became known in the eighteenth century for his book *Human Nature, in its Four-fold State* (1720), which contained the word "four-fold" immediately in its title. Blake usually wrote this word without a hyphen, but sometimes he used the same spelling as Boston did, as in the following lines of his prophetic book *Milton*:

> From Golgonooza the spiritual Four-fold London eternal
> In immense labours & sorrows, ever building, ever falling, [15]

However, it is more important what Boston wrote in his book about the four stages of human experience: 1) 'State of Innocence, or Primitive Integrity,' 2) the 'State of Nature, or Entire Deprivation,' 3) 'The conscience is renewed,' 3) 'a *mysterious* union.'[16]

The first state is related to the birth of a human being, and it ends in that very short period of life. The second state is when a 'natural man' cannot do anything but sin. The third state is when a human being's conscience or moral sense is renewed and becomes important for them again. The last state is, as Boston wrote in his book, a 'mystical union betwixt Christ and Believers.'

[10] Milena Bogdanović: 'The number and its symbolism in ancient Greece', 117.
[11] BU 8:3.
[12] John Milton: *Paradise Lost*, 6, 844–845.
[13] Cf. 2Sam 12:6; Lk 19:8.
[14] David Groves: 'Blake, Thomas Boston, and the Fourfold Vision', *Blake, An Illustrated Quarterly*, Vol. 19, Issue 4, 1986. 142.
[15] William Blake: *Milton: Book the First*, Plate 6, line 1.
[16] David Groves: 'Blake, Thomas Boston, and the Fourfold Vision', 142.

If we examine the states proposed by Boston, we may see that they correlate to St Augustine of Hippo's philosophy about the four states of *Libertas Naturae* ('freedom of nature'). The Church Father made the following distinctions:

1. *Libertas Adami* ('freedom of Adam'): this is the state before the Fall of mankind. Here a man has the ability not to sin.
2. *Libertas peccatorum* ('freedom of sinners'): a freedom within the limits of fallen nature. Here a man is not able not to sin.
3. *Libertas fidelium* ('freedom of the faithful'): a state where the Holy Spirit (or the Holy Ghost) regenerates nature, heals it, enlightens it. In this state, a person has both the ability not to sin, but also to sin.
4. *Libertas gloriae* ('freedom of glory'); the ultimate state that belongs to the blessed in heaven where a person is unable to sin.[17]

It is clear that the states defined by Boston and St Augustine follow parallel ideas. They also have their parallels in Blake. Blake's Albion, the 'Four-fold Man', the ancient of mankind, existed in the first state, that is, before the fall in Boston's and St Augustine's system. He could not commit any crime or sin; he was—like a newborn baby—pure and innocent. The second state is also similar in Blake, Boston and St Augustine. The fallen state is when sin rules, when there is disorder, when the powers of the fourfold are not in unison. This is the theme of the first part, *Night the First*, of *The Four Zoas*, where the powers within man are divided and turn against one another. The third state is also essentially the same for St Augustine and Boston, and Blake seems to share their views. This is the awakening of the moral sense, when the Seven angels call Albion to awake so that the Four Zoas can awake within Man, resulting in the restoration of divine order:

Awake Albion awake! reclaim thy Reasoning Spectre. Subdue
Him to the Divine Mercy. Cast him down into the Lake
Of Los, that ever burneth with fire, ever & ever Amen!
Let the Four Zoa's awake from Slumbers of Six Thousand Years.[18]

The last state For Blake is the state of Imagination. It is when Albion awakes, the Four Zoas awake in Albion, the order is restored through the divine aid of Jesus Christ, and sin is no more.

Behold Jerusalem in whose bosom the Lamb of God
Is seen tho slain before her Gates he self renewd remains
Eternal & I thro him awake to life from deaths dark vale

[17] Cf. *The Four States of Libertas Naturae* in Reformation Theology. reformationtheology.com/2006/05/the_four_states_of_libertas_na_1.php (02/09/2019).

[18] William Blake: *Milton: Book the Second*. Plate 39, lines 10–13.

The times revolve the time is coming when all these delights
Shall be renewd & all these Elements that now consume
Shall reflourish. Then bright Ahania shall awake from death
A glorious Vision to thine Eyes a Self renewing Vision
The spring. the summert o thine then sleep the wintry days
In silken garments spun by her own hands against her funeral
The winter thou shalt plow & lay thy stores into thy barns
Expecting to receive Ahania in the spring with joy
Immortal thou. Regenerate She & all the lovely Sex
From her shall learn obedience & prepare for a wintry grave
That spring my see them rise in tenfold joy & sweet delight
Thus shall the male & female live the life of Eternity
Because the Lamb of God Creates himself a bride & wife
That we his Children evermore may live in Jerusalem
Which now descendeth out of heaven a City yet a Woman
Mother of myriads redeemed & born in her spiritual places
By a New Spiritual birth Regenerated from Death[19]

Both Boston and St Augustine agree that the fourth state is when man does not and cannot sin. These correspondences are too strong to be due to a mere coincidence. In this case, we can assert that Blake's number mysticism was influenced by a long and traditional past that helped Blake to work out a system both Christian and scientific, but in an alternative way. In this new system, instead of the number 3 (Holy Trinity), the number 4 has the supreme significance.

After considering the background of Blake's number symbolism, one needs to focus on the *oeuvre* itself, in which Blake's vision is repeatedly articulated in terms of numbers. These numbers represent ways of viewing life as it is or should be,[20] and in certain important passages they seem to reveal that existence is actually rooted in the immortal Imagination. In the following lines from *The Book of Los*, Blake describes the birth of material life created by Los, the divine aspect of the Imagination:

6. The Immortal revolving, indignant,
First in wrath threw his limbs, like the babe
New-born into our world: wrath subsided,
And contemplative thoughts first arose;
Then aloft his head rear'd in the Abyss,
And his downward-borne fall chang'd oblique.[21]

[19] FZ Night the Ninth. Page 122, lines 1–20.

[20] cf. William Blake: *[To Thomas Butts]: With Happiness stretch'd across the hills*. bartleby.com/235/146.html (02/09/2019).

[21] William Blake: *The Book of Los,* Chap. II, lines 86–91. (BL) bartleby.com/235/262.html (02/09/2019).

However, this text is not the only one where Blake expresses his views about the world. This universe, as Blake describes it in his poem *[To Thomas Butts]: With Happiness stretch'd across the hills*, is based on the concept of rising towards the number 4, which in Blake's system represents perfection. Number 1 equals spiritual blindness and mental rigidity, a state when people become solid rocks in the stream instead of letting divine energies flow through them. A man of 'single vision' is the Newtonian man, the rational thinker, a human Urizen, who sees everything as it seems to be. Blake rejected this attitude because it denies the Imagination, the creative power that is divine in man. Nobody can realise that man is a 'Divine Image'[22] with a 'single vision.' Blake's idea of the fourfold vision is outlined in his letter to Butts (1802):

Now I a fourfold vision see,
And a fourfold vision is given to me;
'Tis fourfold in my supreme delight,
And threefold in soft Beulah's night,
And twofold always.—May God us keep
From Single vision, and Newton's sleep!

1 is the number of linear and material thinking, while a "fourfold vision" is a combination of physical and mental perception and also the representation of a divine ability in man called the Imagination, which is a concept of the highest importance in Blake's poetry. The distance from it equals the distance from understanding Blake's idea of completeness in a mystical revelation. In Blake's world, the lack of Imagination is life without fluctuation, while regulation and law are death and rigidness as we can see it in the satirical *The [First] Book of Urizen*:

6. 'Here alone I, in books form'd of metals,
Have written the secrets of Wisdom,
The secrets of dark Contemplation,
By fightings and conflicts dire
With terrible monsters sin-bred,
Which the bosoms of all inhabit—
Seven deadly Sins of the Soul.[23]

3. Sund'ring, dark'ning, thund'ring,
Rent away with a terrible crash,
Eternity roll'd wide apart,
Wide asunder rolling;

[22] Cf. William Blake: *A Divine Image*.
[23] William Blake: *The [First] Book of Urizen*, Copy A, 2:6 (BU).

Mountainous, all around
Departing, departing, departing,
Leaving ruinous fragments of life,
Hanging, frowning cliffs, and, all between,
An Ocean of voidness unfathomable.[24]

William Blake used the four levels of visions not only to criticise the lack of Imagination and to offer a better attitude, but also to reveal a way of creation and to place this theory in his system of mysticism and cosmogony. To better understand this, however, we should first see in detail what the four levels mean in the Blakean perception of the world and existence.

The first level of visions is what Blake calls the 'single vison' or 'Newton's sleep.'[25] It is a way of perception and also a way of thinking, an approach to the universe, existence, and faith. When somebody sees another person and reduces that individual to a being of flesh and bones, nerves, blood and mind, nothing more, then that person is a single-vision man. This kind of person ignores many things associated with human existence and approaches a human being only with rules and dogmas. This attitude is best expressed in the idea of uniformity in *The [First] Book of Urizen*:

8. 'Laws of peace, of love, of unity,
Of pity, compassion, forgiveness;
Let each choose one habitation,
His ancient infinite mansion,
One command, one joy, one desire,
One curse, one weight, one measure,
One King, one God, one Law.'[26]

Uniformity is the opposite of what Blake held to be acceptable. "Single vision" leads to oppression, as we can read it in the last line of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*: 'One Law for the Lion and Ox is Oppression.'[27] 'Single vision' is consequently a limited level of visions. Nobody needs to work on this ability to possess it, because it is natural, though insufficient. It is nothing else but the reduction of things into rules and laws. Blake's intention is to get closer to what Ralph Waldo Emerson stated in his essay on History: 'a man is a bundle of relations, a knot of roots, whose flower and fruitage is the world.'[28]

[24] BU 3:3.
[25] Cf. William Blake: *[To Thomas Butts]: With Happiness stretch'd across the hills*.
[26] BU 2:8.
[27] William Blake: *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*. (MHH) bartleby.com/235/253.html (02/09/2019).
[28] Ralph Waldo Emerson: History, in Ralph Waldo Emerson: *Emerson's Essays*. Washington, D.C., National Home Library Foundation, 1932, 23.

The second level is 'twofold vision' or 'double vision.'[29] This is what Blake attributed to the state when someone can see the world through images, when the object perceived immediately carries a reference to something else, when it functions as a poetic symbol. When a person can associate two things in his mind and can possibly feel the two things together, 'twofold vision' is achieved. This level of visions prevents the individual from relying on mere prejudice, semblance or appearance, an outward form of an existing reality. Blake claimed that he possessed this vision all the time and saw the world through 'twofold vision':

> For double the vision my eyes do see,
> And a double vision is always with me.[30]

Blake also provides his readers with another example of double vision in the same poem, when writing about his own visionary ability:

> With my inward eye, 'tis an Old Man grey,
> With my outward, a Thistle across my way.

These lines reveal two things: the fact that for Blake everything is antropomorphic, and that 'double vision' is the normal, ordinary way of seeing the world.

The third level of visions mentioned in the poem is 'threefold vision,' when the images start to act, when the poet starts to dream. This is a three-dimensional vision, a state when poetic insight becomes possible. This vision is a daydream in daylight and a dream during the darkness of the night. This stage of imaginative perception is the state that Blake describes as 'soft Beulah's night' where Beulah is the Paradise on Earth. The name 'Beulah' is found in John Bunyan's seventeenth-century Christian allegory, *The Pilgrim's Progress*. In Bunyan, it is the Promised Land, a direct biblical reference to the *Book of Isaiah* which contains the name 'Beulah' used for the land of abundance,[31] and also to the holy city of Jerusalem in the Revelations.[32] Bunyan's work is itself a good example of threefold vision, where the poetic Imagination works as a creative force and catches the message of a sacred text. This Imagination places the text into the dream of an artist in the case of both Bunyan and Blake. All of us are capable of reaching this stage of vision, which leads us to the ultimate level of Blakean imaginative perception, 'fourfold vision.'

'Fourfold vision' offers a poetic insight into the nature of the cosmos, best described by Blake in *Auguries of Innocence*:

[29] William Blake: *[To Thomas Butts]: With Happiness stretch'd across the hills*.
[30] William Blake: *[To Thomas Butts]: With Happiness stretch'd across the hills*.
[31] Isa 62:4–12. I use the King James Version of The Holy Bible for my study.
[32] Rev 21:10.

> To see a world in a grain of sand,
> And a heaven in a wild flower,
> Hold infinity in the palm of your hand,
> And eternity in an hour.

As we have seen, in the poem entitled *[To Thomas Butts]: With Happiness stretch'd across the hills* Blake places 'fourfold vision' above the other three and claims that he is able to be in that state:

> Now I a fourfold vision see,
> And a fourfold vision is given to me;
> 'Tis fourfold in my supreme delight,

When one enters a fulfilled desire, one moves into 'fourfold vision' that causes delight. This is a dream while one is awake. This is the stage of visions where people can experience the unity of the cosmos and be connected to God's infinite Imagination that operates within themselves:

> VII. The desire of Man being Infinite, the possession is Infinite & himself Infinite. Application. He who sees the Infinite in all things sees God. He who sees the Ratio only sees himself only.
> Conclusion. If it were not for the Poetic or Prophetic character the Philosophic & Experimental would soon be at the ratio of all things, & stand still unable to do other than
> repeat the same dull round over again.
> Therefore God becomes as we are, that we may be as he is.[33]

This requires practice and is the opposite of 'single vision.' A 'fourfold vision' is not one interpretation, not one way of perception among many; this is a power of creation with Imagination and also the realization of the fact that life is multi-dimensional. Blake's statements about this state are in line with St. Paul's words from the New Testament:

> O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!
> For who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who hath been his counsellor?
> Or who hath first given to him, and it shall be recompensed unto him again?
> For of him, and through him, and to him, are all things: to whom be glory for ever. Amen.[34]

[33] William Blake: *There is No Natural Religion [b]*.
[34] Rom 11:33–36.

Although Blake starts by asserting man's infinite desire and St. Paul by contemplating the infinite knowledge of God, the shared point is their focus on divine infinity. This is an ultimate attribute of divine existence and also a power that allows man to manipulate the world. This is possible only if man becomes one with God; the glory of man depends on whether the 'likeness'[35] in which God created man could become a complete, fulfilled reality.

However, if we further examine the number 4 in Blake's philosophy and art, we can realise that it is not only the symbol of the most complex way of seeing, but the whole Blakean universe and mythology are in fact built upon this number. It is the true aspect of man, which is presented in Blake's *Jerusalem: The Emanation of the Giant Albion*. It is the 'Fourfold Man' called 'Albion' in whose sleep the creation began. It is his slumber in which the fallen world as a dream exists:

> There is from Great Eternity a mild & pleasant rest
> Namd Beulah a Soft Moony Universe feminine lovely
> Pure mild & Gentle given in Mercy to those who sleep
> Eternally.[36]

After the fall, Albion's sleep is a sleep of death, a fallen state where Man has to wait, or act for an awakening, for the slumber of Man is being rent from the unity within:

> Throughout the whole Creation which groans to be deliver'd,
> Albion groans in the deep slumbers of Death upon his Rock.[37]

The dream of the 'Ancient Man' is in a state where his four elements—Humanity, Spectre, Emanation and Shadow—are in disharmony and fall into division. The Humanity is Man's central personality, the Spectre is the power of reason, the Emanation is Imagination and emotions, but not like the Shadow which is rather a kind of restrained desire in Blake:

> Those who restrain Desire, do so because theirs is weak enough to be restrained; and the restrainer or Reason usurps its place and governs the unwilling.
> And being restrained, it by degrees becomes passive, till it is only the shadow of Desire.[38]

While one element permanently oppresses another by force or simply because of the weakness of the other, there is no balance in a human being. Only when the four elements are in full unison can harmony be restored, allowing Albion to wake.

35 Cf. Gen 1:26, 5:1.
36 FZ Night the First.
37 William Blake: *Jerusalem* (J).
38 MHH 13–14.

According to Blake, only Jesus Christ, the Saviour and 'the Lamb of God' can heal 'Fourfold Man.' 'The Divine Body of the Lord Jesus' is for him the divine Imagination. In *Jerusalem*, there is a need for this power to solve the conflict between reason and the emotions or desires for the sake of 'Universal Man.'[39] Reason is presented as a force of death in itself:

> From them they make an Abstract, which is a Negation
> Not only of the Substance from which it is derived,
> A murderer of its own Body: but also a murderer
> Of every Divine Member: it is the Reasoning Power,
> An Abstract objecting power, that Negatives every thing.
>
> This is the Spectre of Man: the Holy Reasoning Power,
> And in its Holiness is closed the Abomination of Desolation.

Jesus is the only one who can unite the divided forces and settle the conflict. He is everything that is good, a God of mercy, forgiveness and self-sacrifice, a God of infinite love. His aid is necessary for the awakening of Albion from dreaming a fallen, bodily and earthly creation in the stormy struggle and turmoil of the four 'Mighty Ones,' the divided powers in every individual:

> Four Mighty Ones are in every Man; a Perfect Unity
> Cannot Exist. but from the Universal Brotherhood of Eden
> The Universal Man. To Whom be Glory Evermore Amen[40]

These powers, 'the Four Eternal Senses of Man'[41] are personified in Blake's cosmogony and mythology as 'the Four Zoas.'[42]. Here again the mystical number 4 plays a crucial role in the vast Blakean system. The Zoas are the powers that inhabit the depth of the human individual. As Blake writes in *The Four Zoas*: 'Four Mighty Ones are in every Man.' They are named Urizen, Luvah, Urthona and Tharmas, the main characters in Blake's mythology together with the figures of Jesus and Satan. As the Zoas are described in *Jerusalem*, they all have a dominion to rule; they are body parts of 'Fourfold Man':

> South stood the Nerves of the Eye, East in Rivers of bliss the Nerves of the Expansive Nostrils, West flow'd the Parent Sense, the Tongue, North stood The labyrinthine Ear: Circumscribing & Circumcising the excrementitious Husk & Covering into Vacuum evaporating, revealing the lineaments of Man,

39 J Plate 32, line 26.
40 FZ Night the First.
41 J Chap. II.
42 Cf. J; FZ.

[20] Driving outward the Body of Death in an Eternal Death & Resurrection,
Awaking it to Life among the Flowers of Beulah, rejoicing in Unity
In the Four Senses, in the Outline, the Circumference & Form, for ever
In Forgiveness of Sins which is Self Annihilation, it is the Covenant of Jehovah.

The Four Living Creatures, Chariots of Humanity, Divine, Incomprehensible,
[25] In beautiful Paradises expand. These are the Four Rivers of Paradise,
And the Four Faces of Humanity fronting the Four Cardinal Points
Of Heaven, going forward, irresistible from Eternity to Eternity.[43]

When these powers or senses are divided in Man, harmony disappears, Man cannot discover the holiness within. Only Jesus can help to restore the unity of the Zoas, and thus only he can save the man who wishes to be reborn.[44] Jesus says to Albion the following words:

[…] if God dieth not for Man & giveth not himself
Eternally for Man, Man could not exist, for Man is Love,
As God is Love […][45]

In the moment of glory and restored balance, the 'Four Mighty Ones' act together in a perfect harmony:

The Druid Spectre was Annihilate, loud thund'ring, rejoicing terrific, vanishing,

Fourfold Annihilation, & at the clangor of the Arrows of Intellect
The innumerable Chariots of the Almighty appear 'd in Heaven,
And Bacon & Newton & Locke, & Milton & Shakspear & Chaucer.
10 A Sun of blood red wrath surrounding heaven on all sides around,
Glorious, incomprehensible by Mortal Man, & each Chariot was Sexual Twofold.

And every Man stood Fourfold, each Four Faces had, One to the West,
One toward the East, One to the South, One to the North, the Horses Fourfold.
And the dim Chaos brighten'd beneath, above, around ! Eyed as the Peacock
[15] According to the Human Nerves of Sensation, the Four Rivers of the Water of Life.[46]

43 J Plate 98, lines 16–27.
44 cf. Ágnes Péter: *William Blake illusztrációi a Jób könyvéhez*, 115.
45 J Plate 96, lines 25–27.
46 J Plate 98, lines 6–15.

The Zoas are originally good when they are in their unfallen state enjoying a complete unison, but when they are rent from one another and are in a fallen state, they become evil and are quite rampant. This is natural, since justice without mercy and love is usually cruel or cold-hearted. The just man should combine justice with mercy to have a merry and peaceful life:

Thus speaketh the LORD of hosts, saying, Execute true judgment,
and shew mercy and compassions every man to his brother:
And oppress not the widow, nor the fatherless, the stranger, nor the poor; and let none of you imagine evil against his brother in your heart.[47]

In *A Divine Image*, Blake had already asserted the same:

To Mercy, Pity, Peace, and Love
All pray in their distress;
And to these virtues of delight
Return their thankfulness.

For Mercy, Pity, Peace, and Love
Is God, our father dear,
And Mercy, Pity, Peace, and Love
Is Man, his child and care.

For Mercy has a human heart,
Pity a human face,
And Love, the human form divine,
And Peace, the human dress.

Then every man, of every clime,
That prays in his distress,
Prays to the human form divine,
Love, Mercy, Pity, Peace.

And all must love the human form,
In heathen, Turk, or Jew;
Where Mercy, Love, and Pity dwell
There God is dwelling too.

47 Zech 7:9; cf. Dan 4:24.

The provisional separation of the Zoas is exactly the same situation as denying love and disregarding the fact that each individual is a human being when one needs to decide, or refuse the words of sanity and reason. However, Blake states that the contraries are necessary for human life and improvement. Without the contraries of Reason and Energy, Love and Hate, there can be no progression:

> Without Contraries is no progression. Attraction and Repulsion, Reason and Energy, Love and Hate, are necessary to Human existence.[48]

When Albion is in his fallen state, the Zoas are incapable of forming their holy unity. The following lines from Blake's *The [First] Book of Urizen* speak about this dark and gloomy separation in connection with Urizen, the Zoa of intellect, who resides in the North, in direct reference to the abode of Milton's Satan[49]:

> Of the primeval Priest's assum'd power,
> When Eternals spurn'd back his Religion,
> And gave him a place in the North,
> Obscure, shadowy, void, solitary.[50]

It important, however, to underline that it is not only Urizen, the 'King of Sorrow,'[51] or Reason, who is responsible for the fallen state. All the 'Four Mighty Ones' are responsible for the disorder in *The Four Zoas*.[52] The unity and order within man cannot be realised until their mutual reconciliation. 'Fourfold Man' needs all the four forces to awake in Eterinty, which is the way of salvation by Imagination and the divine aid of Jesus Christ:

> Behold Jerusalem in whose bosom the Lamb of God
> Is seen tho slain before her Gates he self renewd remains
> Eternal & I thro him awake from deaths dark vale
> The times revolve the time is coming when all these delights
> Shall be renewd & all these Elements that now consume
> Shall reflourish. Then bright Ahania shall awake from death
> A glorious Vision [of] to thine Eyes a Self renewing Vision
> The spring. the summer to be thine then sleep the wintry days
> In silken garments spun by her own hands against her funeral
> The winter thou shalt plow & lay thy stores into thy barns
> Expecting to recieve Ahania in the spring with joy

48 MHH The Argument.
49 Cf. John Milton: *Paradise Lost*, Book 5.559 (See also Isa 14:12–14; Jer 1:14, 4:6, 6:1).
50 BU Preludium.
51 BA Chap. I.
52 Cf. FZ Night the First.

> Immortal thou. Regenerate She & all the lovely Sex
> From her shall learn obedience & prepare for a wintry grave
> That spring may see them rise in tenfold joy & sweet delight
> Thus shall the male & female live the life of Eternity
> Because the Lamb of God Creates himself a bride & wife
> That we his Children evermore may live in Jerusalem
> Which now descendeth out of heaven a City yet a Woman
> Mother of myriads redeemd & born in her spiritual palaces
> By a New Spiritual birth Regenerated from Death.[53]

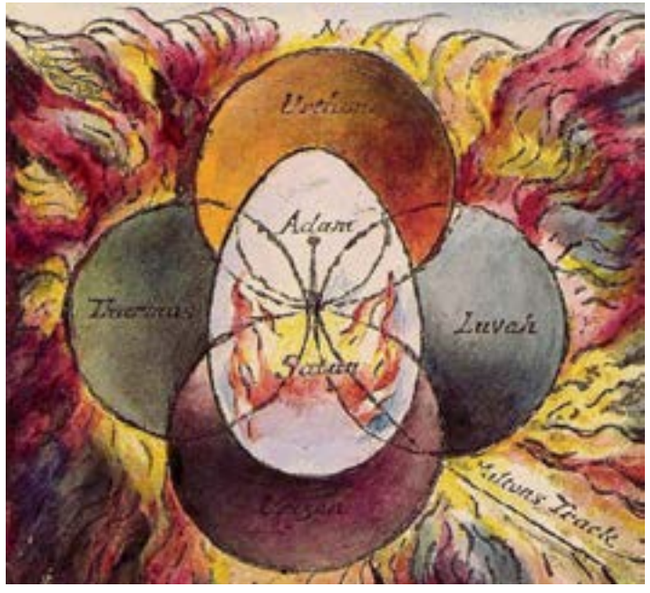
Each of the Zoas are strong both together and alone, but their power together surpasses that which they possess in their fallen state. But as it is shown in the above lines of *The Four Zoas*, their unity is impossible without the help of the Lamb of God. Only Jesus can heal the sick world and bring back the glorious state of Eternity:

> O Albion, mildest Son of Eden! clos'd is thy Western Gate
> Brothers of Eternity! this Man whose great example
> We all admir'd & lov'd, whose all benevolent countenance, seen
> In Eden, in lovely Jerusalem, drew even from envy
> The tear: and the confession of honesty, open & undisguis'd,
> From mistrust and suspition. The Man is himself become
> A piteous example of oblivion. To teach the Sons
> Of Eden, that however great and glorious; however loving
> And merciful the Individuality; however high
> Our mildness and cities, and however fruitful are our fields
> In Selfhood, we are nothing: the greatest mildness we can use
> Is incapable and nothing! none but the Lamb of God can heal
> This dread disease: none but Jesus! O Lord descend and save![54]

Luvah is the Zoa of emotions who rules in the Centre, in the East, in the Heart and Nostrils, in Fire. Tharmas is in connection with the Senses. He rules in the Circumference, in the West, in the Loins and Tongue, in Water. Urizen, one of the most elaborate characters in Blake's mythology, is the reasoning power. Although he can be associated with the North as well, he rules in the Zenith, in the South, in the Head and Eyes of Man, in Air. The fourth Zoa is called Urthona (Los[55]), who can be both instinct and inspiration. He rules in the Nadir, in the North, in the Womb and Ears, in Earth. The Zoas have four so-called 'Emanations', female pairs, one for each of them. Urizen's Emanation is Ahania representing Pleasure. Tharmas' Emanation is Enion who represents Sexual Urges. Luvah's Emanation is Vala rep-

53 FZ Night the Ninth.
54 J Plate 40, lines 3–16.
55 Cf. J Chap. III.

resenting Nature. Urthona's Emanation is Enitharmon who represents Inspiration. Here the number 4 again plays an important part in building up Blake's cosmos. This Blake showed most lucidly on a plate in *Milton, A Poem*, illustrating the division of his universe where the significance of the number 4 is clearly visible:



COPY C, OBJECT 34.

This illustration shows that all four Zoas are divided into others, and a multiplicity of the number 4 exists in every aspect of life within man. Number 4 is also a reference to creation itself. It was on the fourth day God finished the creation of the material world,[56] the earthly dominion, after which the creation of animals began.

It was again not by chance that one of the prophets Blake used in *Jerusalem* was 'Ezekiel.' We can also find a lot of possible allusions to the *Book of Ezekiel* in the Blakean text.[57] The number 4 or its product in the visions of this prophet is of high importance. We can read about the anthropomorphic Cherubim with four wings and four faces, about human hands reaching out in four directions, four wheels made of fabulous stones with eyes around, the ability of the Cherubim to go upon their four sides without turning, and—of course—about a vision of God:

> Also out of the midst thereof *came* the likeness of four living creatures. And this *was* their appearance; they had the likeness of a man.

[56] Gen 1:14–19.
[57] Cf. Ezek 1; J Plate 12, lines 45–66.

> And every one had four faces, and every one had four wings.
> And their feet *were* straight feet; and the sole of their feet *was* like the sole of a calf's foot: and they sparkled like the colour of burnished brass.
> And *they had* the hands of a man under their wings on their four sides; and they four had their faces and their wings.
> Their wings *were* joined one to another; they turned not when they went; they went every one straight forward.
> As for the likeness of their faces, they four had the face of a man, and the face of a lion, on the right side: and they four had the face of an ox on the left side; they four also had the face of an eagle.
> Thus *were* their faces: and their wings *were* stretched upward; two *wings* of every one *were* joined one to another, and two covered their bodies.
> And they went every one straight forward: whither the spirit was to go, they went; *and* they turned not when they went.
> As for the likeness of the living creatures, their appearance *was* like burning coals of fire, *and* like the appearance of lamps: it went up and down among the living creatures; and the fire was bright, and out of the fire went forth lightning.
> And the living creatures ran and returned as the appearance of a flash of lightning.[58]

Blake gave the following description of the Cherubim:

> The Western Gate fourfold, is closd: having four Cherubim
> Its guards, living, the work of elemental hands, laborious task!
> Like Men, hermaphroditic, each winged with eight wings[59]

These were interpreted by Blake in a way to see 4 as a number of power, glory and perfection, the number of Eternity:

> The Four Living Creatures, Chariots of Humanity, Divine, Incomprehensible,
> In beautiful Paradises expand. These are the Four Rivers of Paradise,
> And the Four Faces of Humanity fronting the Four Cardinal Points
> Of Heaven, going forward, forward irresistible from Eternity to Eternity.[60]

Here the four rivers are also allusions to the Paradise on Earth, where Man and God were in close relationship without sin. The four sacred rivers are mentioned in the Genesis, and their names are Pison, Gihon, Hiddekel and Euphrates.[61] These rivers symbolize prosperity and richness because water in the desert is always more

[58] Ezek 1:5–13.
[59] J Plate 13, lines 6–8.
[60] J Plate 98.
[61] Cf. Gen 2:10–14.

precious than gold. Where there is water, there is life. The rivers of Paradise are one while flowing through the Garden of Eden, then they divide into four heads. It is again the transformation from one into four, from single into fourfold, from simple blessing into foison.

Although there is a kind of revulsion on Blake's part towards the Old Testament and its image of God, which he identified with oppression, tyranny and oppressive law (stating in the last line of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* that 'One Law for the Lion and Ox is Oppression'), it is interesting that he sympathizes with the prophets of the Old Testament, mainly Ezekiel.[62] Prophets in the Bible represent prophetic inspiration, thus they deserve to be accepted and are necessary in the world to guard the flame of inspiration and Imagination. Blake, however, probably did not concentrate on some parts of the *Book of Ezekiel* when he made JHWH present the oppressor and stated that only Jesus is the true God, dividing the Son from the Father. The following passage shows that God did not build his world on written laws, those are just guidelines to find him.

> Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean: from all your filthiness, and from all your idols, will I cleanse you.
> A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you: and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you an heart of flesh.
> And I will put my spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments, and do *them*.[63]

If we continue to read this text, it turns out that it is not God, but Man who commits abominations, and God who is One in the Old Testament and The New Testament, just leads people back to His ways.[64] If we can regard at the continuity of the Testaments, we will find the same good God Blake talked about, but not in the division of the Trinity and the opposition of the Testaments, but in the unity of God. The hypostasis reflects this unity as well, and the old ways of Man are just rectified by Jesus who did not abolish the law, but showed its true meaning. At this point, the orthodox Christian theology and Blake depart from each other, in spite of Blake's dynamic Christian reference system.

We can finally conclude that in Blake's mythology there is a system of fourfold correspondences leading the reader into a world of apparent confusion. Blake's system may suggest that the competent reader can easily decode the messages of the texts, but it is a harder challenge than one could expect. One of the difficulties may lie in the difference between the orthodox Christian number symbolism and Blake's own system. In Christianity, it is usually the number 3 that has a similar

[62] Cf. J.
[63] Ezek 36:25–27.
[64] Cf. Ezek 36:31.

significance to Blake's number 4,[65] the number of awakening into Eternity and of the restoration of the original state of Man in creation. In Blake, the number 3 corresponds to a married state that becomes complete only with the fourth dimension, Imagination. The difference between the two systems, however, is not qualitative but merely theoretical. The number 4 is also perfect to express completeness and the absolute. The fourfold is a central concept in Blake's philosophy. It is an underlying principle upon which the Blakean universe is built, but it is also a way of viewing existence. While the number 1 is Death, the number 4 is Resurrection. When harmony is restored in 'Fourfold Man,' the way to Eternity, the 'real Now,' 'the annihilation of Time,'[66] opens. For Blake it is in 'The Divine Imagination,' Jesus Christ, and in whom God showed Himself to the world, that we find the key to Eternity.

List of Abbreviations:

BA	The Book of Ahania
BL	The Book of Los
BU	The [First] Book of Urizen
FZ	The Four Zoas
J	Jerusalem
MHH	The Marriage of Heaven and Hell

Abstract

Eternal Death & Resurrection: From Single Vision to the Fourfold and the Mystic Number 4 in William Blake's Cosmogony and Mythology

William Blake is one of the most influential figures in the world of Anglo-Saxon literature. He continues to shape literary thinking with his unique worldview, and his number mysticism and fourfold vision that describes the world occupy a central place in this worldview. Numbers have an important meaning to Blake, acting not only as symbols, but also as directing principles in his cosmological vision and self-created universe.

This article aims to shed light on the most important elements of Blake's number mysticism and attempts to highlight the analogies by which Blake developed his own system. I will pay special attention to the Neoplatonic influences on Blake, the ancient classical mathematical and philosophical schools, mainly the Pythagoreans, the biblical tradition of Christianity, and the philosophy of St. Augustine.

The article also aims to explain the significance and meaning of the mysticism of number

[65] In orthodox Christianity, there is the Holy Trinity as an image of bliss and perfection. However, the 4 Cardinal Virtues are taken from Plato's ethics, and St Augustine's four states of *Libertas Naturae* are also relevant here.
[66] Samuel Foster Damon: *A Blake Dictionary*. *The Ideas and Symbols of William Blake,* 129.

4 in William Blake's universe, a mathematical and philosophical expression of perfection and completeness in an age where the mysticism of number 3 was the ultimate ruler to describe life, completeness and perfection.

Keywords
Blake, cosmogony, Pythagoreans, numerology, Trinity, Urizen, Milton, Ahania, Los, Fuzon, Zoa, Tetractys, JHWH, Augustine

Rezümé

William Blake az angol irodalom egyik legnagyobb hatású szerzője. Sajátos világképével mind a mai napig formálja az irodalmi köztudatot, és ebben a világképben központi helyet foglal el számmisztikája és a világmindenséget leíró négyes látásmódja. A számok Blake-nél fontos jelentéssel bírnak, kozmológiai látásmódjában és az önmaga által teremtett univerzumban nem csupán szimbólumként, de sajátos rendező elvként működnek.

A tanulmány célja, hogy bemutassa Blake számmisztikájának legfontosabb elemeit és rávilágítson azokra az analógiákra, amelyek mentén Blake kialakította önálló rendszerét. A vizsgálat során különös figyelmet kapnak a Blake-t ért neoplatonikus hatások, az ókor klasszikus matematikai és filozófiai iskolái, kiváltképpen a püthagoreusok, valamint a kereszténység biblikus hagyománya és Szent Ágoston filozófiája.

Célom továbbá, hogy magyarázatot adjak a 4-es szám misztikájának jelentésére és jelentőségére William Blake univerzumában. A 4-es szám a tökéletesség és a teljesség matematikai és filozófiai kifejeződése volt egy olyan korban, ahol az élet, a teljesség és a tökéletesség leírására a 3-as szám misztikája volt uralkodó.

Kulcsszavak
Blake, kozmogónia, számmisztika, Szentháromság, püthagoreusok, JHVH, Urizen, Milton, Ahania, Los, Fuzon, Zoa, tetraktüsz, Augustinus

Ágnes Beretzky

Women's Suffrage and Irish Home-Rule: A Comparative Analysis and Assessment of the Use of Violence against the British Establishment

In his new-year message, 1914 was characterised by the Archbishop of York as 'a very fateful year' in the history of the British Empire: the much debated issue of the Irish Home Rule and the similarly controversial demand for women's voting rights were the two top-listed challenges to social order.[1] In the background of both problems lay a long-standing contemptuous public attitude, which manifested itself in anti-Irish sentiments, and a stereotypical image of women being oppressed and subservient. The present paper aims to discuss some common features of the anti-Irish and the male supremacist sentiments in Britain, together with the parallels between the Irish home rule/independence movements and women's rights, especially suffrage movements. The law-abiding and the violent attitudes will be contrasted, in the light of their legacies: it is a fact that the organisations that promoted pacifism in both questions have faded from public memory, whereas there are forty-five Easter Rising Memorials throughout Ireland together with a statue of Emmeline Pankhurst at Westminster. Does history teach us that violence pays off?

The negative stereotyping of the Irish had been present in Britain since 1169, the year of Henry II's occupation of the island, and was further aggravated by the virulent anti-Catholicism of the reformation and that of the enlightenment. This prejudice was still widespread in 1836, when the young Benjamin Disraeli wrote: '[The Irish] hate our order, our civilization, our enterprising industry, our pure religion. This wild, reckless, indolent, uncertain and superstitious race have no sympathy with the English character. […] Their history describes an unbroken circle of bigotry and blood.'[2]

As regards the situation of women in Britain, it was originally the misinterpreted Biblical 'inferiority and moral weakness' that offered the necessary justification for male domination in politics, society and culture. In 1822, Britain saw the passing of the world's first animal protection legislation, the *Cruel Treatment of Cattle Act*. It included fines up to five pounds or two months imprisonment for 'beating or abusing ox, cow, […] steer, sheep, or other cattle.'[3] Apparently, bulls were excluded. So were women. Francis Buller, ridiculed later as Judge Thumb, supposedly stated in 1782 that a 'man had the right to beat his wife with a stick not thicker

1 Mark Bostridge: *The Fateful Year: England 1914*, Penguin, 2014, 2–3.
2 Robert Blake: *Disraeli*, Faber & Faber, 2010, 131.
3 Richard Burn: *The Justice of the Peace and Parish Officer,* London, 1820, Vol. I, 125.

than his thumb.' This commonly held misconception was only dispelled in 1851, almost three decades after animal protection legislation was enacted; however, in English-speaking countries common law was often cited as self-defence by cruel husbands up until the twentieth century.[4]

From the eighteenth century onwards, biological racism and evolutionary reasoning gradually replaced biblical justification for the stereotypes of the 'brutal, bigoted' Irish and the 'silly-subservient' women. By offering (often pseudo-intellectual) evidence for social and political oppression, scientific racism largely contributed to the rationalization of the British domination of Ireland after the Act of Union in 1800. A prime example is John Beddoe, a leading ethnologist and a contemporary of Darwin, who provided a widely quoted example for evolutionary inferiority. Having analysed the population of the British Isles using the physical descriptions of a population of thirteen thousand males, he complied his *index of negrescence*. He published his findings in *The Races of Britain* (1862) arguing that all men of genius had less prominent jaw bones in contrast to the Irish and the Welsh, who were loosely related to the 'Africanoid,' thus popularizing the image of the 'ape-like Celt.'[5]

Similar to biological racism against the Irish, the idea of the intermediate position in evolutionary reasoning was equally effective at underpinning (male) domination in the second half of the nineteenth century. Exposed to far fewer selective pressures than men, especially in war and competition, women were placed between nature and men; together with children and congenital idiots, whose powers of intuition, perception, and perhaps of imitation were 'characteristic of the lower races, and therefore of a past and lower state of civilization.'[6] Thus argued Charles Darwin, who, a few months before his engagement, at twenty-nine, listed the pros and cons of marrying, which included:

> *Marry*
> Children—(if it Please God)—Constant companion, (and friend in old age) who will feel interested in one,—object to be beloved and played with—better than a dog anyhow.—Home, and someone to take care of house.—Charms of music and female chit-chat. These things good for one's health, but *terrible loss of time*.
> *Not marry*
> Freedom to go where one liked—choice of Society & *little of it*.—Conversation of clever men at clubs—[…] fatness & idleness […].[7]

4 Elizabeth Foyster: *Marital Violence: An English Family History, 1660–1857*, Cambridge University Press, 2005, 12.

5 John Beddoe: *The Races of Britain*, *A Contribution to the Anthropology of Western Europe,* London, Thürner & Company, Ludgate Hill, 1862, 11.

6 Charles Darwin: *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex,* London, John Murray, 1871, Vol II, 26–27.

7 Charles Darwin: Second Note on Marriage [July 1838], darwinproject.ac.uk/tags/about-darwin/family-life/darwin-marriage

One has to bear it in mind that compared to the average mid-nineteenth-century white upper-class English male, Darwin was surprisingly enlightened and liberal-minded; a staunch abolitionist, who considered Blacks and Indians people, feeling disgust and horror at their mistreatment.[8]

We have seen that the Irish were subjected to the widely-held biological racism, whereas women had to face the biological racism of the 19th century. Therefore, both fights—whether for a wide variety of aims under the concept of Home Rule or for women's rights under the unifying theme of the right to Vote—implied rejecting the stereotypes and rationalisations offered throughout history for British or male domination.

The roads for both the Irish nationalist and the various suffrage groups were complex from the start with different, even divergent, aims ranging from domestic parliament for Ireland to full independence, equal political rights for the middle-class and universal suffrage for house-owning women. Consequently, the methods therefore had to be different, too.

Most scholars agree that the credit for the mass mobilisation of British women should be given to the large pacifist organisation of the *National Union of the British Suffrage Societies (NUWSS)*, into which the pioneering smaller organisations were combined in 1897. Its leader, Millicent Fawcett remained constitutional in approach, preferring to lobby parliament with petitions and hold public meetings for the right to vote that she believed should be extended to all women regardless of class.

In Britain, single women ratepayers had been allowed to vote since 1869 at local elections, and married women established far more control over their property than anywhere else in Europe. However, owing to such implacable opponents as Prime Minister Asquith, King Edward, Queen Mary, the majority of the Conservatives and the widely held belief in all political circles that women's votes would favour 'the other party,' wider suffrage proposals kept getting delayed. Frustrated by a deeply prejudiced and split public opinion and the lack of headway, in 1903, Emmeline Pankhurst and her daughters founded the *Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU)*. The new organisation's more militant tactics were devised primarily by one of Pankhurst's daughters, Christabel, with the main aim of obtaining publicity through militancy. One instance: on a Friday, 13th of October 1905, after a Liberal Party meeting when Christabel spat at and struck two policemen, and then refused to pay a fine, she achieved the desired martyr-status. The subsequent celebrations on her release from jail drew an unprecedented level of publicity and excitement. In her letter to the editor of *The Times,* the law-abiding Millicent Fawcett stated:

8 'Great God how I should like to see the greatest curse on Earth, Slavery, abolished.' – wrote Darwin to the renowned American botanist, Asa Gray, commenting on the Civil War. Charles Darwin to Asa Gray [5 June 1861]. In: *The Correspondence of Charles Darwin,* Vol. 9, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994, 163.

> Many of us have worked persistently and quietly by voice and pen for women's suffrage for the best part of half-a-century […] but nothing is done here in England materially to forward the success of the women suffrage movement. […] a group of women […] have deliberately adopted, other and more sensational methods to force the attention of the country […] In my opinion, far from having injured the movement, they have done more during the last 12 months to bring it within the realms of practical politics than we have been able to accomplish in the same number of years.[9]

However, it was not only publicity and martyrdom that drove the Pankhurst-Organisation towards violence. In the suffragette interpretation, it was part of a conscious tactic. 'It is perhaps one of the strangest things of our civilisation, argued Emmeline Pankhurst, where [women] are forced to say that an appeal to justice, that an appeal to reason, the evidence of their fitness for citizenship, should be of less value than the breaking of panes of glass.'[10] Besides violence, excitement also played its part. Many suffragette stories openly admit that it was exhilarating, 'a bit of a lark!' There is a lovely description of breaking windows by a Suffragette called Charlotte (Charlie) Marsh in which she describes it 'as though I was playing hockey.'[11]

Nevertheless, the time quickly arrived when violence as a strategy started to backfire. Originally, two distinct traditions of militancy were present among the suffragettes: for the Leftists, including Sylvia Pankhurst, radical attitude was part of the movement itself in a wider struggle against oppression everywhere. Much of the suffragette violent action, on the other hand, was undertaken by freelance militants as a sign of individual heroism, often without the permission and knowledge of the WSPU's more conservative leaders. While the organisation was officially committed to the sanctity of life, increasing violence suggested that the Pankhursts had difficulty in restraining and controlling their more fanatical supporters' individual initiatives, e.g. using horsewhips on the deputy governor in Holloway prison or burning a train guard with sulphuric acid.[12]

The opposing traditions of constitutionalism and militancy had been present in Irish history too, practically since the Act of Union. The federal, law-abiding interpretation of the Home Rule put forward by Charles Parnell, his skilful use of parliamentary procedure, and his renunciation of violent extra-Parliamentary action made him a very capable negotiator. At the end of 1885, the highly centralised organisation of the *Irish National League* had 1,200 branches spread around the country with Parnell asserting immense authority and control. The *Irish Parliamentary*

9 Millicent Fawcett: Letter to the editor. *The Times*, CCXXXV, 27 October 1906, 8.
10 June Purvis: *Emmeline Pankhurst, A Biography*, London, Routledge, 2002, 177–178.
11 Tessa Boase: Mrs Pankhurst's Purple Feather: Fashion, Fury and Feminism, London, Aurum Press, 2018, 221.
12 C. J. Bearman: 'An Examination of Suffragette Violence'. The English Historical Review, CXX, 2005/4, 368–369.

Party into which it merged in 1900 is generally regarded as the first modern British political party. Gladstone described Parnell in the following way: 'I do not say [he was] the ablest man; I say the most remarkable and the most interesting. He was an intellectual phenomenon.'[13]

Ultimately, the O'Shea-divorce issue and Parnell's premature death greatly altered the course of Irish politics. For generations of Irish people, he grew to become the figure with an almost mythical reputation which no later leader could hope to compete with,[14] not even John Redmond, Parnell's successor as the head of the *Irish Parliamentary Party* between 1900 and 1918. It is fashionable to dismiss Redmond's moderate Anglo-Irish policy as ineffectual, yet today it seems possible that it would have given Ireland both the long-awaited independence and unity. The limited Home Rule Bill, with which he was satisfied, would almost certainly have been amplified later as a result of Britain's liberal Commonwealth policy, or as a specific result of Irish-American pressure, while in relation to Irish unity it was precisely Redmond's moderate Anglo-Irish policy which would have made possible the entry of an anglicized North into an Irish parliament. His willingness to co-operate with England and accept her constitutional methods assured the North that, in an Ireland endorsing his policy, she could preserve a stable connection with the British Commonwealth and international life.[15]

Furthermore, the election of 1910 changed everything to Redmond's advantage, giving his parliamentary party the balance of power at Westminster, which marked a high point in his political career. He used this immense influence to persuade the Liberal government of Asquith to introduce the Third Home Rule Bill in April 1912 to grant Ireland national self-government. This could no longer be blocked by the Lords, but its enactment was merely delayed for two years. Home Rule had reached the climax of its success and Redmond had gone much further than any of his predecessors in tailoring British politics to Irish needs. At the same time, militant Irish separatism remained a marginal force even at the end of the first decade of the twentieth century. Had All-Ireland Home Rule evolved earlier, there might perhaps also have been no Easter Rising, no Anglo-Irish War, no independent twenty-six county-Free State and no ensuing civil war.

It was obviously Ulster unionism rather than the Tory Party, which formed the key obstacle to securing Home Rule for the entire country. As Patrick Pearse explained on the formation of the *Irish Volunteers* movement in Galway: 'Ireland armed would be able to make a better bargain with the Empire than Ireland unarmed.' Notwithstanding the organization's militant tone, there was nothing in the manifesto explicitly critical of Redmond's Irish Party or its goal of Home Rule.[16]

13 Richard Barry O'Brien: The Life of Charles Stewart Parnell, New York, Huskell House Publishers, 1968, Vol II/357.
14 Frank Callanan: *The Parnell Split, 1890–91*, New York, Syracuse University Press, 1992, 151–152.
15 Michael Sheehy: *Divided We Stand*, London, Faber & Faber, 1955, 55.
16 Fearghal McGarry: *The Rising: Ireland, Easter 1916*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2016, 49.

Mrs Pankhurst was most possibly influenced by Charles Parnell's campaign for the Irish Home Rule, first of all, by his autocratic approach: by 1909, and with her daughter Christabel, she insisted on the total control of the WSPU. She referred to her organisation as a volunteer army, a distinctive uniform was devised, and more direct threats to public order were carried out. Unlike Parnell, however, she was unwilling to compromise and negotiate.

By 1912, and still having witnessed no real progress in Parliament, the level of militancy was on the rise again, turning the WSPU into a guerrilla organisation: pipe bombs, chemicals, explosions and stones were all tools to carry out their sacred plans. According to official sources, 103 acts of destruction were carried out in the first seven months of 1914 alone. The attacks were executed by about a hundred top activists, some of them paid agents.[17]

It is important to note that by that time the peaceful NUWSS had fifty thousand members in six hundred regional societies, about *fifteen times* more than the militant WSPU membership, as the unwillingness of the latter to change their vision about women's vote to include those without property cost them many members. Sylvia Pankhurst, heading the Leftists, among others, broke with her mother and sister and moved into the East End of London to accomplish a more radical social, as well as political, revolution in women's lives.[18]

The outbreak of the Great War meant a sudden turning point for both the Irish and the suffragette causes. The first law ever passed by the Parliament of the United Kingdom to establish a devolved government in Ireland was formally postponed for a minimum of twelve months. The southern *Irish Volunteers* split into the larger *National Volunteers* and followed Redmond's call to support the Entente war effort.[19] He was hoping that the common sacrifice by Irish nationalists and Unionists would bring them closer together. 'Let Irishmen come together in the trenches' he argued 'and risk their lives together and spill their blood together, and I say there is no power on earth that when they come home can induce them to turn as enemies upon one another.'[20] His confidence was not totally unfounded: out of the of 140,000 who followed him and formed the National Volunteers, many enthusiastically enlisted in Irish regimens of the tenth and sixteenth (Irish) Divisions of the New British Army.

At the same time, and after having been released from prison, Emmeline Pankhurst seemingly suspended militancy and requested all WSPU members to support the war effort instead. The prosecution of the war, however, became Emmeline's new passion. She rejected pacifism and started making recruiting speeches: 'If you go to this war and give your life, you could not end your life in a better way—for to give one's life for one's country, for a great cause, is a splendid thing.'[21] Militancy, so it seems, was not primarily a reaction to the mistreatment of women or the indecision at Westminster, but rather Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst's constant character trait that finally alienated most of their supporters and may have confirmed anti-suffrage views. On the other hand, Millicent Fawcett—who lacked sensationalism and was therefore unjustifiably devalued—saught a workable consensus. In 1918, eight million women over thirty finally got the right to vote. Nevertheless, only one woman was elected; Constance Markiewicz, who was a member of *Sinn Fein* and thus refused to take any oath of allegiance, never took her seat. (In 1925 Emmeline Pankhurst joined the Conservative Party.)

Was suffragette violence a mistake? Was militancy instrumental in granting women's voting rights? The answer to both questions must be an unequivocal yes. However, it was not the window- and bone-breaking suffragettes, but the German Kaiser's militant conduct that significantly contributed to the outbreak of the Great War and the cessation of violent suffragette activities. The latter two, in Millicent Fawcett's words 'opened up both opportunities and men's minds.'[22]

The analogous question remains whether Irish violence was a mistaken means to achieve a higher end: independence. Moderate John Redmond denounced the rebels as traitors, whose actions, he argued, had been driven more by the hatred of Home Rule than England.[23] Logically so, as by 1914 he had become a nationalist hero of Parnellite stature and could have had every expectation of becoming the head of a new Irish government in Dublin. Nevertheless, the Great War intervened, and unlike the feminist cause, to the disadvantage of the law-abiding forces: the radicals led by among others James Connolly and the fanatical Patrick Pearse staged the misguided and rather unexpected uprising of 1916, 'a Passion Play with real blood.'[24] The rest is history.

Abstract

Women's Rights and Irish Home-Rule: A Comparative Analysis and Assessment of the Use of Violence against the British Establishment

Women's rights and Irish home-rule were the two most powerful issues in early 20th century United Kingdom that largely dominated political discourse. The main aim of the paper is to draw a parallel between these two prominent problems, their roots, together with the methods

17 C. J. Bearman: 'An Examination', 396–397.

18 Purvis: Emmeline Pankhurst, 270–271.

19 A minority of around 9,700 members remained as the original *Irish Volunteers* with radicals in key positions.

20 Joseph P. Finnan: John Redmond and Irish Unity: 1912–1918, New York, Syracuse University Press, 99–101.

21 Purvis: *Emmeline Pankhurst*, 272.

22 Melanie Philips: *The Ascent Of Woman: A History Of the Suffragette Movement and the Ideas Behind It*, Little Brown, 2003, 303.

23 McGarry: *The Rising*, 285.

24 Philip Jenkins: "Easter 1916: Blood, Sacrifice and Holy War", aleteia.org/2016/03/28/easter-1916-blood-sacrifice-and-holy-war/

and solutions offered whether constitutional or violent. Secondly, it is a fact that the organisations that promoted pacifism in both questions have faded from public memory, whereas there are forty-five Easter Rising Memorials throughout Ireland together with a statue of Emmeline Pankhurst at Parliament. Although history seemingly teaches us that violence pays off, the paper claims that despite public opinion or legacy, neither the militant suffragettes nor the radical Irish Volunteers were the prime agents in bringing about a real solution to the problems of both minorities.

Keywords
Great-Britain, prejudice, Irish, women's rights, suffragettes, violence

Rezümé
Nőjogok és ír autonómia: az erőszak, mint eszköz szerepe és megítélése
Összehasonlító elemzés

Nagy-Britanniában a huszadik század első évtizedének két legnagyobb kihívása egyértelműen a női választójog és az ír autonómia-követelések voltak. Jelen tanulmány arra vállalkozik, hogy egyrészt párhuzamba állítsa a nők és írek iránti előítéletesség forrásait és a hatalomgyakorlók jogkiterjesztéssel szembeni ellenérveit, valamint megvizsgálja a két ügy jogkövető vagy éppen jogsértő élharcosainak tevékenységét és sikerességét. Jelen tanulmány annak bebizonyítására tesz kísérletet, hogy a közvélekedéssel ellentétben a nők és az írek esetében is a militáns magatartás figyelemfelhívó volt ugyan, azonban nem tekinthető a létrejött jogkiterjesztés okának.

Kulcsszavak
Nagy-Britannia, előítélet, ír autonómia, női jogok, szüffrazsettek, erőszak

Elena Rimondo

From Anti-Heroism to Complete Obscurity and Return: Thomas Hardy's Modern Tragic Heroes

George Eliot, by claiming the right to the tragedy of common people condemned to a monotonous life, made the first step towards the convergence of the realistic mode of the novel and tragedy. Yet Thomas Hardy's novels induced many contemporary critics to adopt the adjective 'tragic' to describe his heroes' and heroines' destinies. This contribution will illustrate, first of all, how Hardy internalised George Eliot's legacy, then, in the second part, it will argue that in Hardy's universe, which is dominated by chance and by an indifferent nature, the hero's tragic destiny coincides with an utterly meaningless death.

When, in 1874, Thomas Hardy's novel *Far from the Madding Crowd* was serialised, many readers thought they were reading George Eliot's latest novel. One of the reasons for their mistake was probably the fact that *Far from the Madding Crowd* does not belong to the category of Hardy's tragic novels. No such confusion arose in the reception of *The Return of Native*, Hardy's first experiment with the form of tragedy.[1] There are indeed many reasons why George Eliot's novels can be defined as tragic, but not as authentic tragedies. For example, George Eliot attributes a fundamental role to the individual's possibility to exert his or her free will in shaping his or her destiny.[2] Moreover, the sense of continuity following the tragic event at the end of her novels breaks with the sense of finality inherent to the tragic form.[3] According to Jeanette King, who defined George Eliot's novels as 'pathetic tragedies',[4] Eliot's most lasting legacy lies in the convergence of the realistic mode and the tragic form.[5] If the artist's aim is 'to extend our sympathies'[6] through a faithful representation of reality and life, the tragic situation is the one which, more than any other, can stimulate and facilitate our ability to sympathise. Yet George Eliot did not limit herself to claiming common people's right to tragedy. In the well-known Chapter XVII of *Adam Bede*, she introduced a short but effective apology of Dutch painting, which was generally considered inferior at the time. On the

1 See Dale Kramer: *Thomas Hardy: The Forms of Tragedy*, London, Macmillan, 1975, 48.
2 See Jeannette King: *Tragedy in the Victorian Novel: Theory and Practice in the Novels of George Eliot, Thomas Hardy and Henry James*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1978, 90.
3 See King: *Tragedy in the Victorian Novel*, 94 and K. M. Newton: 'Tragedy and the Novel.' In Phillip Mallett (ed.): *Thomas Hardy in Context*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2013, 122–131, 128.
4 King: *Tragedy in the Victorian Novel*, 70.
5 See King: *Tragedy in the Victorian Novel*, 45 and 89.
6 George Eliot: 'The Natural History of German Life' (July 1856). In A. S. Byatt and Nicholas Warren (eds.): *Selected Essays, Poems and Other Writings*, London, Penguin, 1990, 107–139, 110.

contrary, in George Eliot's opinion Flemish paintings are characterised by a 'rare, precious quality of truthfulness'.[7] It is the very fact of being 'pictures of a monotonous homely existence'[8] that arouses Eliot's sympathies—in the etymological sense of the word—to the point that she recommends the subjects (and the faithfulness of representation) of Flemish paintings as models for contemporary novelists who pursue the apparently modest aim of truthfully relating stories and portraying characters on the verge of insignificance. It is the triviality and the imperfection of the subject matter represented in Dutch paintings that elicits our sympathies, also because—as Eliot reminds us—'a monotonous homely existence […] has been the fate of so many more among my fellow-mortals than a life of pomp or of absolute indigence, of tragic suffering or of world-stirring actions'.[9] Similarly, a novelist should give voice to that multitude of individuals condemned to an existence so monotonous as to be, in its own way, tragic. George Eliot illustrated this new form assumed by the tragic mode, according to which even death is to be preferred to the tedium of an uneventful life, in the figure of Dorothea Brooke, the protagonist of *Middlemarch*. Dorothea marries Edward Casaubon, a pedantic scholar much older than her, hoping to contribute to the spiritual and intellectual progress of humanity. Contrary to her expectations, the marriage soon proves disastrous, and Dorothea finds herself in a situation that cannot but be defined as tragic. The narrator himself explains why Dorothea's condition is tragic in a paragraph that is also a manifesto of George Eliot's conception of the tragic form:

> Not that this inward amazement of Dorothea's was anything very exceptional: many souls in their young nudity are tumbled out among incongruities and left to 'find their feet' among them, while their elders go about their business. Nor can I suppose that when Mrs. Casaubon is discovered in a fit of weeping six weeks after her wedding, the situation will be regarded as tragic. Some discouragement, some faintness of heart at the new real future which replaces the imaginary, is not unusual, and we do not expect people to be deeply moved by what is not unusual. That element of tragedy which lies in the very fact of frequency, has not yet wrought itself into the coarse emotion of mankind; and perhaps our frames could hardly bear much of it. If we had a keen vision and feeling of all ordinary human life, it would be like hearing the grass grow and the squirrel's heart beat, and we should die of that roar which lies on the other side of silence. As it is, the quickest of us walk about well wadded with stupidity.[10]

In this passage from *Middlemarch* George Eliot questions the current idea of tragedy from many points of view, first of all by criticising the assumption that the tragic must necessarily coincide with the unusual. Besides strongly claiming the right to define the ordinary, yet for this very reason omnipresent human failures as 'tragic', Eliot instils the doubt that this new shape assumed by the tragic may even require a more perceptive sensibility to be acknowledged and appreciated. If the representation of an exceptionally tragic event imposes itself in front of the reader or spectator, the account of a monotonous life characterised by daily frustrations can excite heartfelt sympathy only in human beings with the ability to feel—and, consequently, to understand—subtler passions. When mankind is able to grasp the dramatic element of an ordinary existence, it will realise—and this is the most disruptive statement contained in the passage—that an insignificant life can be even more tragic than a life characterised by one exceptional 'tragic' (in the general sense of the term) event.

George Eliot therefore fostered the encounter between the novel and that tragic mode which would characterise bourgeois tragedies,[11] i.e. the idea that a tragedy coincides with life itself, rather than with its ending.[12] At the same time the premises which allowed the birth of the modern novel, that is to say, in Ian Watt's words, 'the serious concern', felt both by the novelist and by his or her readers, 'with the daily lives of ordinary people',[13] became established. As hinted above, however, George Eliot's novels did not prove entirely successful tragedies. This failure was partly due to the very recourse to realism, which on the one hand enabled readers to identify with ordinary individuals, but on the other hand undermined the heroic aura typically surrounding tragic characters. Indeed, the protagonists of some of George Eliot's novels inspire compassion and pity rather than awe mixed with reverence.[14]

Thomas Hardy continued George Eliot's legacy, but he was able to combine the form of novel and the tragic mode in a more convincing way only by taking to extremes some of the innovations introduced by his predecessor and, at the same time, by making a clean break with her technique. As in George Eliot's novels—and sometimes even more than in them—in Hardy's works the tragic performs the function of extending our sympathies, thus promoting the perfect identification with the hero or the heroine, be that a milkmaid or a decaying grain merchant. In George Eliot's novels, indeed, the individual is part of an intricate web of social relations, which not only influence every aspect of his life, but also have the function of putting into proportion the individual's aspirations, disappointments, successes and failures. Although in Hardy the social context undoubtedly plays a fundamental role in forging the tragic destiny of the characters, as D. H. Lawrence observed,[15]

7 George Eliot: *Adam Bede* (1859), ed. Margaret Reynolds, London, Penguin, 2008, 195.
8 Eliot: *Adam Bede*, 195.
9 Eliot: *Adam Bede*, 195.
10 George Eliot: *Middlemarch* (1871–2), ed. Rosemary Ashton, London, Penguin, 1994, 194.
11 See King: *Tragedy in the Victorian Novel*, 46.
12 See Peter Szondi: *Theory of the Modern Drama*, English translation by Michael Hays, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1987, 17.
13 Ian Watt: *The Rise of the Novel* (1957), Harmondsworth, Penguin in association with Chatto & Windus, 1972, 66.
14 See King: *Tragedy in the Victorian Novel*, 70.
15 See David Herbert Lawrence: 'Study of Thomas Hardy'. In Edward D. McDonald (ed.): *Phoenix*, London, Heinemann, 1961, 2 Vols., Vol. I, 398–516, 419–420.

on the whole his protagonists appear as isolated and tower over both the other characters moving around them and the environment in which they live. This happens even if the natural world is often extremely oppressive and brutal, as in *The Return of the Native* or *The Woodlanders*. Hardy's heroes and heroines possess that dignity[16] Eliot's protagonists lacked, despite their being—it is worth remembering—of humble origins and their not being characterised by any exceptional quality, apart from the extreme cases represented by Tess Durbeyfield and Jude Fawley, who are endowed with a sensibility out of the ordinary. Hardy's heroes derive their dignity from their obstinate resistance not only to society, but also to incommensurable nature and to the obscure forces of destiny. By returning to ordinary people part of that dignity they had been deprived of, Hardy revealed that he had received the legacy left by Coleridge and Wordsworth in the *Lyrical Ballads*.[17]

Secondly, by so doing Hardy reinforced the bond between the form of the novel and the tragic mode. Thirdly, he made tragedy more democratic. As Dale Kramer has observed, 'what he [Hardy] brought to English tragedy was democracy, the pain of the average, who wasn't average'.[18] We can therefore say that Thomas Hardy carried to extremes George Eliot's intention of turning tragedy into a 'democratic' form, to the point that the social origins of his protagonists become almost irrelevant.[19] This does not mean that the material circumstances into which Hardy's heroes are born do not contribute to their tragic destiny. On the contrary, social status does play a fundamental role, for example in complicating Tess Durbeyfield's and Jude Fawley's lives and then in determining their fates. But even if Hardy was far from denying common people's right to tragedy, in his essay titled 'The Profitable Reading of Fiction' he explained the reason why one's tragic destiny does not depend on the social class into which one was born:

> All persons who have thoughtfully compared class with class – and the wider their experience the more pronounced their opinion – are convinced that education has as yet but little broken or modified the waves of human impulse on which deeds and words depend. So that in the portraiture of scenes in any way emotional or dramatic – the highest province of fiction – the peer and the peasant stand on much the same level; the woman who makes the satin train and the woman who wears it. In the lapse of countless ages, no doubt, improved systems of moral education will considerably and appreciably elevate even the involuntary instincts of human nature; but at present culture has only affected the surface of those lives with which it has come in contact, binding down the passions of those predisposed to turmoil as by a silken thread only, which the first ebullition suffices to break.[20]

[16] See Harold Bloom (ed.): *Thomas Hardy*, New York, Bloom's Literary Criticism, 2010, 3.

[17] See Elena Rimondo: '"The essence of individuality": Hardy and the Provincial Novel between Anthropology and the Romantic Legacy'. *Annali di Ca' Foscari – Serie Occidentale*, 50 (2016), 323–340, doi. org/10.14277/2499-1562/AnnOc-50-16-17, online [last accessed 13/05/2017]. 324–330.

[18] Dale Kramer: 'Hardy: The Driftiness of Tragedy'. In Rosemary Morgan (ed.): *The Ashgate Research Companion to Thomas Hardy*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2010, 371–385, 374.

[19] See King: *Tragedy in the Victorian Novel*, 44.

According to Hardy, education, and culture in general, can do nothing or very little to counteract human passions. And since human beings, regardless of the social class to which they belong, are affected by the same passions and are driven by common instincts, it follows that we lose individual distinctions when a tragedy befalls us. As a consequence, women[21] and poor people—that is to say those who have often been excluded from tragic literature—have neither less nor more rights to be stricken by a tragedy.[22] After all, a note written by Hardy in April 1878 confirms that passions are one of the main causes of the tragic fate of the Hardyan heroes:

> A Plot, or Tragedy, should arise from the gradual closing in of a situation that comes of ordinary human passions, prejudices, and ambitions, by reason of the characters taking no trouble to ward off the disastrous events produced by the said passions, prejudices, and ambitions.[23]

It is no coincidence that Hardy insists on the fact that human passions at the core of tragedies are common and ordinary. In a note written in 1881 Hardy affirmed that literary fiction has the function of satisfying our attraction to whatever is unusual in human experience, but specified that the events must be out of the ordinary, not the characters. In this way the reader's interest is aroused and at the same time he or she can easily identify with the hero or heroine:

> The real, if unavowed, purpose of fiction is to give pleasure by gratifying the love of the uncommon in human experience mental or corporeal.
>
> This is done all the more perfectly in proportion as the reader is illuded to believe the personages true and real like himself.
>
> Solely to the latter end a work of fiction should be a precise transcript of ordinary life: but,
>
> The uncommon would be absent and the interest lost. Hence,

[20] Thomas Hardy: 'The Profitable Reading of Fiction' (1888). In Harold Orel (ed.): *Thomas Hardy's Personal Writings: Prefaces, Literary Opinions, Reminiscences*, London and Melbourne, Macmillan, 1967, 110–125, 124.

[21] On this point, Arthur McDowall stated that in Hardy's novels passions represent the most powerful and pervasive natural force and then observed how they are able to blur the differences between men and women and between individuals with different personalities (see Arthur McDowall: *Thomas Hardy: A Critical Study*, London, Faber & Faber, 1931, 119).

[22] As Dale Kramer maintains, in Hardy 'there is no felt obligation to dignify his protagonists beyond their deserved stature, to either romanticize, aggrandize, or pardon their failings. They are, simply, individuals caught in a web of interrelated lives and influences' (Dale Kramer: 'Hardy's Prospects as a Tragic Novelist'. *The Dalhousie Review*, 52:2 [1971], 178–189. 182).

[23] Michael Millgate (ed.): *The Life and Work of Thomas Hardy by Thomas Hardy*, London, Macmillan, 1989, 123.

> The writer's problem is, how to strike the balance between the uncommon and the ordinary so as on the one hand to give interest, on the other to give reality.
>
> In working out this problem, human nature must never be made abnormal, which is introducing incredibility. The uncommonness must be in the events, not in the characters; and the writer's art lies in shaping that uncommonness while disguising its unlikelihood, if it unlikely.[24]

This refusal of the monotonous, though realistic, homely existence reveals how Hardy combined a personal and autonomous conception of tragedy with the legacy left by George Eliot. In order to increase the tragic potential of his novels, in a certain sense Hardy had to forgo some realism, or at least to subtract it from the events and direct it towards the characters.[25] In fact, Hardy himself declared that an artist's duty is to transform reality in order to emphasise some aspects which would otherwise pass unnoticed. From that he deduced that realism, whose purpose is to faithfully represent reality, cannot be true art:

> Art is a disproportioning—i.e., distorting, throwing out of proportion of realities, to show more clearly the features that matter in those realities, which, if merely copied or reported inventorially, might possibly be observed, but would more probably be overlooked. Hence 'realism' is not Art.[26]

Fortuitous coincidences, unexpected encounters leading to equally unexpected consequences, a past event emerging again at the right moment, the sudden return of a character everyone deemed dead: these are the improbable events taking place around Hardy's ordinary protagonists. *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* ends with the narrator's famous comment that 'the President of the Immortals […] had ended his sport with Tess',[27] but the reader should not be deceived. We have indeed to bear in mind that, in a certain sense, it is the author himself who puts various kinds of individuals to several tests. In so doing, he aims at bringing out the very 'ordinary human passions, prejudices, and ambitions' which would have remained unexpressed if his heroes and heroines had led a monotonous homely existence. According to Arthur McDowall, the complex plots characterising Hardy's novels, where action prevails over description and introspection, leave 'little room for an elaborate psychology'[28] because they are 'planned in a way that shows the behaviour of the characters but much less, as a rule, of their inner life'.[29]

[24] Millgate: *The Life and Work of Thomas Hardy*, 154.

[25] On this point, see Francis O'Gorman: 'Thomas Hardy and Realism'. In Phillip Mallett (ed.): *Thomas Hardy in Context*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2013, 113–121, 116.

[26] Millgate: *The Life and Work of Thomas Hardy*, 239.

[27] Thomas Hardy: *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* (1891), ed. Tim Dolin, London, Penguin, 2003, 397.

[28] McDowall: *Thomas Hardy*, 125.

[29] McDowall: *Thomas Hardy*, 116. After all, Aristotle himself suggested in his *Poetics*, after having declared that plot is the most important element of the six parts a tragedy is made of (see Aristotle: *Poetics*, English translation by Malcolm Heath, London, Penguin, 1996, 11), that a character's spoken words and actions concur in defining his personality (see Aristotle: *Poetics*, 25). Moreover, it is worth reminding that, according to Nietzsche, the very tendency to portray definite characters with psychological depth is one of the signs of the future victory of the Socratic rationalism over the Dionysiac spirit, or 'of the individual phenomenon over the universal' (Friedrich Nietzsche: *The Birth of Tragedy* [1872], English translation by Shaun Whiteside, London, Penguin, 1993, 84).

The Hardyan conception of tragedy, however, cannot be reduced to a mere combination of ordinary characters (ordinary because driven by instincts and passions to be found in any individual) and exceptional events. In fact, Hardy carried to extremes, rather than rejected, George Eliot's conviction that the tragic destiny coincides with an insignificant existence, deprived of momentous events and great ambitions. If, on the one hand, Hardy's common heroes are the protagonists of extraordinary vicissitudes, on the other hand they are condemned, as if by a contrapasso punishment, to a fate far from exceptional. Yet, unlike what often happens in George Eliot's novels, Hardy's novels and short stories usually end with the classic death of the hero.

The protagonist's death, however, has a peculiar meaning in Hardy, which can be understood if we analyse and compare the four novels generally considered as 'tragic', that is to say *The Return of the Native*, *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, *The Woodlanders*[30] and *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, plus a fifth novel, *Jude the Obscure*. Critics tend to disagree about whether the latter is a 'tragedy',[31] and indeed, it has been defined by Ronald Draper as 'at once the most and the least tragic of Hardy's novels'[32] because of the absence of a serious wrong committed by the protagonist and the lack of an ineluctable fate. In fact, the epilogue of *Jude* confirms a tendency detectable since Hardy's first 'tragic' novel and which will be developed in different directions in the following works. Although the tragic hero (or the heroine) dies in all of the novels mentioned above, their deaths do not give them any of the advantages, so to speak, offered to the heroes of Greek tragedies. In *The Death of Tragedy* Steiner has

[30] In fact, critics do not agree on *The Woodlanders* either, since it contains some elements which are typical of comedies (see, for example, Michael Millgate: *Thomas Hardy: His Career as a Novelist*, London, Bodley Head, 1971, 257–260). Conversely, Kramer argues that in this very novel Hardy was able to move away from classic models and to write a completely new kind of tragedy, where the fates of all the characters are disrupted by the strict social conventions (see Kramer: *Thomas Hardy: The Forms of Tragedy*, 105–110). Finally, David Ball maintains that in Hardy, as in Shakespeare, it is the ending (where the hero—in this case Giles Winterborne—dies) that obliges us to read the preceding events in a tragic way instead of a comic one (see David Ball: 'Tragic Contradiction in Hardy's *The Woodlanders*'. *Ariel*, 18 [1987], 17–25. 17 and 19).

[31] This vision has been influenced by the already mentioned essay by D. H. Lawrence on Hardy (see Lawrence: 'Study of Thomas Hardy', 420). According to Albert Guérard, who yet defines *Jude the Obscure* as 'an impressive tragedy' (Albert J. Guérard: *Thomas Hardy: The Novels and Stories*, London, Oxford University Press, 1949, 32), Jude is not a tragic hero for the very reason of being a modern man (see Guérard: *Thomas Hardy*, 152).

[32] Ronald P. Draper: 'Tragedy'. In Norman Page (ed.): *Oxford Reader's Companion to Hardy*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000, 428–432, 431.

written that, since the tragic hero always has to suffer a punishment exceeding his guilt, the disproportion between the sin committed and the chastisement inflicted allows him to acquire dignity in our eyes.[33] In Hardy, on the contrary, the punishment for the guilt committed by his heroes is even more excessive compared to those inflicted by the obscure divine forces in Greek tragedies. This is all the more true if we consider that at the same time Hardy questions the very concept of guilt. He does so by contrasting man and his passions not only with blind universal forces, but also with the rigid human institutions and society. Certainly the romantic ideals derived from Rousseau and listed by Steiner (that is, the centrality of the self and the individual's fundamental goodness) survive in Hardy, and this has been confirmed above. Yet his notion of guilt did not undergo that radical revision undertaken by Rousseau and completed by the Romantics:

> In the Rousseauist mythology of conduct, a man could commit a crime either because his education had not taught him how to distinguish good and evil, or because he had been corrupted by society. Responsibility lay with his schooling or environment, for evil cannot be native to the soul. And because the individual is not wholly responsible, he cannot be wholly damned.[34]

In fact it would be inappropriate to say that Hardy's heroes—with the only exception of Michael Henchard—are completely guilty. Tess can be blamed for a certain passivity, Eustacia Vye for her bovarysm and Grace Melbury for her wrong choice, but in any case their punishment always appears as excessive if compared to their mistakes. Moreover, the combination of the natural environment (especially in *The Return of the Native*), the material conditions into which Hardy's heroes are born and the social conventions plays a fundamental role in triggering the tragic mechanism.[35] Hardy's tendency to exculpate the individual is particularly evident in *Tess*, whose provocative subtitle reads 'A pure woman faithfully presented'. Notwithstanding this, a punishment far more severe than death is in store for Hardy's heroes: it is complete obscurity, which threatens to make their sacrifice useless and meaningless.

Now, the 'damnatio memoriæ' bears different characteristics and meanings in Hardy's various tragic novels. For example, it is a spontaneous choice only in *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, whose protagonist, Michael Henchard, has been defined by the already mentioned Ronald Draper as the most Aristotelian of Hardy's heroes because the origin of his tragic fate is a true 'hamartia', that is to say, a mistake he made when he was young. Besides, Henchard's tragic course aims at the final

[33] See George Steiner: *The Death of Tragedy*, London, Faber, 1961, 10.

[34] Steiner: *The Death of Tragedy*, 129.

[35] Jeannette King has rightly defined Hardy's novels as 'tragedies of situation, rather than of character' (King: *Tragedy in the Victorian Novel*, 99).

catharsis.[36] The subtitle of the novel, 'A story of a Man of Character', states at the very beginning that here the character of a man is his fate. Moreover, during one of the turning points of the novel, when Henchard orders his young rival Farfrae not to see his daughter Elizabeth-Jane anymore, thus hindering a union advantageous for both, the narrator explicitly quotes Novalis's famous words, 'Character is Fate'.[37] Also in the other novels by Hardy—not only the 'tragic' ones—the hero's (or heroine's) character plays an important role in shaping his or her destiny, but only in *The Mayor of Casterbridge* does the protagonist choose obscurity of his own free will. This happens because Michael Henchard has a personality that could be literally defined as 'overflowing'. Henchard is proud, obstinate and endowed with an extraordinary strength, so that his personality cannot be contained by (and in) the rural town of Casterbridge, whose community is strictly divided into castes and whose inhabitants perform a specific role and have to abide by a series of non-written rules. Casterbridge, in addition, is an only apparently motionless town, for transformations take place in an almost imperceptible way and novelties have difficulties in imposing themselves. Yet the main tragic aspect of the novel consists in Henchard's inability to acknowledge progress (and changes more at large) and to adapt to them. Henchard's personality, indeed, undergoes no substantial evolution in the course of the novel.[38] Therefore we can say that Henchard cuts himself off from the town of which he had been mayor and the most noteworthy person, to go and die far from civilisation because he does not want to and cannot forgo his identity. Unable to find a place that can contain his instinctual and egotistic personality, Henchard prefers to end his life as it had begun, that is to say as a wanderer. Thus his experience as mayor and merchant of Casterbridge appears as a rather brief interlude in his life.

Although the other tragic heroes of Hardy's novels distinguish themselves from Henchard by the lack of an authentic 'hamartia', they nonetheless share the common wish to maintain their own identities. Every Hardyan hero desperately struggles to defend his or her uniqueness, but the battle between them, on the one hand, and society, nature and even the universe on the other, is so unequal that death appears as a desperate act—the only possible one—to exert their will. There is actually no other option, given that some individuals cannot maintain their identities in the real world, or, to be more precise, in the world as conceived by the author. Unlike Henchard, the other heroes do not have an unrestrainable personality; moreover, it would be incorrect to say that they are unable to adapt to changes. Hardy's tragic heroes are generally young people sufficiently educated, who had the opportunity to travel. Thus they have temporarily left behind their birthplace, characterised by

[36] See Draper: 'Tragedy', 430.

[37] Thomas Hardy: *The Mayor of Casterbridge* (1886), ed. Dale Kramer, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004, repr. 2008, 107. On the origin of this maxim, quoted by both Hardy and Eliot, see Dale Kramer's note to Thomas Hardy, *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, 328n.

[38] See Kramer: *Thomas Hardy: The Forms of Tragedy*, 90.

traditions of pagan origin and often by an inclement environment. For instance, Tess has received an education of a modern kind which has created between her and her mother 'a gap of two hundred years';[39] Grace Melbury has studied in a prestigious school by her father's will; Eustacia, who was born and bred in a fashionable seaside resort, becomes infatuated with Clym Yeobright primarily because he spent some years in Paris. In fact, the tragedy of the protagonists of Hardy's novels, apart from Henchard, is not so much that of belonging to an endangered species, as to be in a sort of limbo between modernity and an archaic world to which they keep returning because they are unable to part with it once and for all.

In some ways, Hardy's heroes are therefore even too modern, especially in comparison with the surrounding environment, which is still closely characterised by a traditional and pre-industrial past. Some Hardyan characters, in particular Clym and Jude, could be said to be born in the wrong place at the wrong time. As for Clym, who leaves Paris to return to Egdon Heath, his native soil, he is described as a typically modern man, also from the point of view of his physical appearance: 'In Clym Yeobright's face could be dimly seen the typical countenance of the future. Should there be a classic period to art hereafter, its Phidias may produce such faces'.[40] Not long after, the narrator explicitly says that Clym's attempt to educate the heathmen fails because he belongs to a later era than Egdon Heath:

> Mentally he was in a provincial future, that is, he was in many points abreast with the central town thinkers of his date. […]
>
> In consequence of this relatively advanced position Yeobright might have been called unfortunate. The rural world was not ripe for him. A man should be only partially before his time: to be completely to the vanward in aspirations is fatal to fame.[41]

If in *The Return of the Native* Clym is conscious of his modernity until the end, in *Jude the Obscure*, on the contrary, the protagonists themselves have the impression of being ahead of their times and, as a consequence, of being never understood by the society they live in. Jude Fawley, after realising his failures, comments: 'It takes two or three generations to do what I tried to do in one'.[42] This is all the more true of Jude's son, Little Father Time, who commits suicide after having killed his siblings because he has already been tainted by the 'cupio dissolvi', a self-annihilating tendency still unknown to his contemporaries. To Sue, who feels guilty about the murder-suicide committed by Little Father Time, Jude replies by reporting the doctor's diagnosis:

> 'It was in his nature to do it. The doctor says there are such boys springing up amongst us—boys of a sort unknown in the last generation—the outcome of new views of life. They seem to see all its terrors before they are old enough to have staying power to resist them. He says it is the beginning of the coming universal wish not to live.'[43]

Although modern and cosmopolitan, Hardy's protagonists are still characterised by a well-defined identity, even if, as it has been said above, their inner self must be deduced from their actions and their behaviour in the extraordinary situations contrived by the author. The very fact of possessing a unique personality is the reason why Hardy's heroes are not entirely modern. The most enlightening declaration on the close bond between progress and the loss of identity is contained in one of Hardy's earlier novels, *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, which has nonetheless been defined as 'neither properly comic nor properly tragic, but something in between—and something other than a tragicomedy'.[44] The young architect Stephen Smith, an even too pragmatic man originally from a Cornish village, has lost—also because of the years spent in London—the distinctive characteristics his father John still preserves:

> John Smith […] was a satisfactory specimen of the village artificer in stone. In common with most rural mechanics, he had too much individuality to be a typical 'working-man'—a resultant of that beach-pebble attrition with his kind only to be experienced in large towns, which metamorphoses the unit Self into the fraction of the unit Class.[45]

Lacking a unique physiognomy and personality, Stephen Smith cannot be listed among Hardy's tragic heroes. At the opposite pole there is of course the 'man of character' by definition, that is to say Henchard. Yet all the protagonists of Hardy's tragic novels, as hinted above, share the necessity and the desire to protect their uniqueness from the attacks launched by an overwhelming nature and the advance of progress into the remotest corners of the rural South West of England, that is to say Hardy's Wessex.

As far as *The Return of the Native* is concerned, both protagonists are unique specimens in the circumscribed environment where the story takes place. Clym's peculiar appearance and personality has already been dealt with. Regarding Eustacia, who appears isolated and in contrast with the surrounding environment from the very beginning, she is perceived as an intruder by the natives of the heath. After all, her tragedy consists in her proud and obstinate wish to affirm her uniqueness[46] in

39 Hardy: *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, 23.

40 Thomas Hardy: *The Return of the Native* (1878), ed. Simon Gatrell, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005, repr. 2008, 165.

41 Hardy: *The Return of the Native*, 170.

42 Thomas Hardy: *Jude the Obscure* (1895), ed. Dennis Taylor, London, Penguin, 1998, 326.

43 Hardy: *Jude the Obscure*, 336–337.

44 Tim Dolin: 'Introduction' to Thomas Hardy, *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, ed. Alan Manford, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005, xi–xxxviii, xxix.

45 Thomas Hardy: *A Pair of Blue Eyes* (1873), ed. Alan Manford, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005, 83.

46 D. H. Lawrence made this remark about Eustacia: 'What does she want? She does not know, but it is

an environment where man is constantly engaged in a useless fight against a nature all the more malignant because of her indifference. In the attempt of getting out of her bovarysm, Eustacia ironically dies (or, more probably, kills herself) in the heart of the loathed heath.

A similar fate lies in store for the male protagonist of *The Woodlanders*, Giles Winterborne, who lives in total harmony with nature. Unlike Eustacia, he does not try to oppose nature because he is well aware that it is a battle lost before it began. Yet, even if the cause of his death is nature in the shape of a series of rainy days, the tragic mechanism is set in motion by the strict rules in force in the close-knit community of Little Hintock and, again, by human passions. As the narrator announces at the beginning of the novel, it is in microcosms like this that the greatest tragedies have their origins. The reason is the clash between fierce passions and the tendency to normalise typical of society:[47]

> [Little Hintock] was one of those sequestered spots outside the gates of the world where may usually be found more meditation than action, and more listlessness than meditation; where reasoning proceeds on narrow premisses, and results in inferences wildly imaginative; yet where, from time to time, no less than in other places, dramas of a grandeur and unity truly Sophoclean are enacted in the real, by virtue of the concentrated passions and closely-knit interdependence of the lives therein.[48]

After having long repressed his passions, Giles dies because of the excessive pressure exerted by an unnatural structure of conventions and moral principles, which is even more oppressive in such a small community and faraway place. And since in microcosms of this kind the lives of the individuals are tightly bound together,[49] by sacrificing himself Giles brings about not only his own tragedy, but also Marty South's and Grace Melbury's, who are condemned to a life that promises to be worse than death.

However, it is in *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* and in *Jude the Obscure* that the protagonists' will—combined with the impossibility—to defend their own identities to the bitter end merges with the tragic mode. Tess and Jude are constantly engaged in an

evidently some form of self-realization; she wants to be herself, to attain herself' (LAWRENCE: 'Study of Thomas Hardy', 414).

47 See KRAMER: *Thomas Hardy: The Forms of Tragedy*, 96 and 106.

48 Thomas HARDY: *The Woodlanders* (1887), ed. Patricia Ingham, London, Penguin, 1998, 8.

49 The concept of the interdependence of human lives is crucial in George Eliot, who used the image of the web in *Middlemarch* as a metaphor to describe the dynamics underpinning human destinies in the microcosm where the novel is set. The affinity between Eliot and Hardy on this point would require a more extensive investigation, which cannot be pursued here for reasons of space. Illuminating observations can be found in Jeannette King's study, regarding in particular the analysis of the greater importance assumed by human institutions and biology in Hardy (see KING: *Tragedy in the Victorian Novel*, 16–17).

ineffectual struggle to claim their uniqueness, and maybe it is no coincidence that their personalities and the reasons for their choices always remain elusive. Even if Tess is aware of the insignificance of human lives, she does not consent to conform to the various stereotyped identities, from impure woman to murderer, that society and single individuals, especially Alec and Angel, try to impose on her. The seven phases forming the novel correspond to as many visions of Tess, but none coincides with her true identity, which is so unique and complex as to defy any classification. The calm pervading Tess in the scene at Stonehenge is due to her being aware that death will put an end to every attempt to reduce her personality to a stereotype. Tess is convinced that her final sacrifice is necessary to assert and protect her identity.

On the other hand, the tone of Jude's existential parable and death is totally different. Unlike Tess, Jude does not have a precise physiognomy and he himself ignores his origin and his identity. In other words, Jude is characterised by a certain vagueness, both physical and psychological. His inclinations are subject to frequent changes, and there are only two constants in his life: his love for Sue and his attachment to Christminster. Yet those pivots turn out to be not only insufficient, but also deleterious to his quest for a precise and stable identity, given that Sue is in her turn unable to accept and express her own nature, while Christminster continues to arouse false hopes in him. Jude's tragedy is therefore even greater than those of the other Hardyan heroes, since he does not possess a strong identity to oppose the normalising forces of society. Moreover, these same forces, together with the inevitable human passions, crush all his attempts to discover his inclinations.

At this stage a question arises spontaneously: do Hardy's heroes succeed in preserving their identities thanks to death? In my opinion, in most of Hardy's novels death is only the latest joke played on the protagonists by a blind and malevolent fate. Death, which they are obliged to accept in order to preserve their uniqueness, in fact turns out to be the final phase of the total annihilation of their identities. Both society and the obscure forces that dominate in the Hardyan universe witness the tragic event with mute indifference. The death of Eustacia, the heroine of *The Return of the Native*, cannot in any way move the cruel and terrible nature of the heath, just as Tess's execution does not spoil the beauty of the spires of Wintonchester illuminated by the sun. And while Jude is dying completely alone, Christminster is celebrating Remembrance Day, a coincidence that does but emphasise the utter uselessness of his sacrifice. To make matters worse, most of Hardy's protagonists, and especially his tragic heroes—from Clym and Eustacia to Henchard, from Winterborne to Tess—die childless, so that few, or no one, remains to hand down their story to posterity. The case of Jude is emblematic, to the point that his obscure destiny even becomes his epithet.

Yet, it is thanks to the same puppeteer, who had delighted in inflicting any kind of torment on his characters, if all is not lost and if not even Jude's death is meaningless. The omniscient narrator and the author hiding behind him not only re-as-

sign a meaning to the hero's death, but also glorify his uniqueness and his individuality, by momentarily opening a gap in the wall of mute indifference enclosing Hardy's Wessex.

Abstract

George Eliot, by claiming common people's right to tragedy and by showing how a monotonous life is probably a tragedy worse than death, made the first step towards the convergence of the realistic mode and tragedy. Thomas Hardy continued Eliot's legacy and made common people dominated by ordinary passions the protagonists of tragic destinies. Yet Hardy had to take some realism away from the plot in order to give his heroes the dignity Eliot's protagonists lacked. At the same time, however, Hardy carried to extremes Eliot's conviction that the tragic destiny may be an insignificant existence. Although Hardy's tragic novels usually end with the hero's classic death, this is not the cruellest punishment inflicted on them. The present contribution takes into consideration Hardy's tragic novels and aims at illustrating how his heroes' efforts to defend their identity are mockingly punished with a sort of 'damnatio memoriæ' only the author can relieve.

Keywords
Hardy, Thomas; tragedy; Eliot, George; realism; identity; Jude the Obscure; Tess of the D'Urbervilles

Tamás Juhász

On the Prince Rudolf Motif in Joyce's *Ulysses* and Krúdy's *Jockey Club*

The mysterious death of Prince Rudolf and his lover Maria von Vetsera in 1889 provoked a large number of artistic and literary responses. These ranged from novels through musicals to films,[1] and *The Waste Land*, T. S. Eliot's supercanonical, exemplary modernist poem evokes the memory of the young baroness in the very first section: 'And when we were children / staying at the arch-duke's / My cousin, he took me out on a sled, / And I was frightened. He said, Marie, / Marie, hold on tight. And down we went.'[2] Eliot's reliance on ominous wording suggesting fear and a downward move is in harmony with the manner in which many others—by then distinguished by their ability to review World War I in retrospection—believe that the Crown Prince's death in Mayerling revealed a major discord within the skeletal, but still powerful communal frame of the monarchy, and thereby anticipated the eventual demise of dynastic rule. In my paper, I would like to discuss and compare two early twentieth-century reactions to the famous incident. One of them is another supercanonical modernist text, James Joyce's *Ulysses* from 1918/1920 (1922). The other, in terms of its influence and reputation, is a somewhat peripheral novel, especially for non-Hungarian audiences. Even though Gyula Krúdy's *Jockey Club* from 1925 bears a somewhat unusual English-language title, one with a reference to a still existing international organization, there is no English translation available, and the book has arguably fallen into relative critical neglect, even among Krúdy scholars. While Joyce, like Eliot, treats the Rudolf motif in a distanced, quite oblique manner, Krúdy wrote a kind of historical novel with very directly portrayed characters, and this, in the context of his otherwise brilliantly impressionistic, quintessentially modernist writing may seem to be a romantic and overtly nostalgic engagement with a popular, sensational subject matter. Yet neither Joyce's seeming casualness nor Krúdy's obvious concern with marketability discounts the artistic relevance of Prince Rudolf's presence in the two novels. As I will argue, portraying the archduke helps both authors capture deep and complex

[1] Examples are numerous, and they include, but are not limited to, two novels (Claude Anet's *Mayerling* from 1930, Michael Arnold's *L'Archiduc* from 1967), a musical (composer Frank Wildhorn's *Rudolf—The Last Kiss* from 2006), and a ballet (choreographer Kenneth MacMillan's *Mayerling* from 1978). The list of films is quite long, and while some of the Western productions feature such notable actors as Audrey Hepburn and Omar Shariff, two Central-European productions should also be pointed out in the present context: Alexander Korda's *Tragödie im Hause Habsburg* (1924) and Miklós Jancsó's *Magánbűnök, közerkölcsök* (1976).

[2] T. S. Eliot: 'The Waste Land': *Collected Poems 1909–1962*, London, Faber and Faber, 1963, 63.

relations that govern gendered behavior, shape notions of lineage and community and, ultimately, impact the modernist sense of time and history. In exploring these processes, the essay places special emphasis on how and why the evocation of Rudolf's death creates a distinct Gothic register in the two narratives.

In Joyce, a strong narrative reliance on cultural associations with Prince Rudolf asserts itself through the central character Leopold Bloom's family history. Bloom is barred from traditional patterns of genealogy and paternal interaction in that he is placed between the two dead figures of his father Rudolf Virag (who migrated from Hungary and who would later commit suicide) and his son Rudy (who died at the age of eleven). This structural setup itself parallels those concerns with broken continuity and failed reproduction that one finds in the tragically short life of the historical Prince Rudolf.

Indeed the situation of Franz Joseph's only son was unusual and complicated, if not absurd.[3] As an heir to the throne, he was trained as a military leader as well as a statesperson from the beginning of his childhood. Nevertheless, in what seemed to be a conventional paternal arrangement about succession, no real power sharing appeared on the horizon. This was partly because of personal differences (biographers usually describe the relationship between Franz Joseph and his son as a deeply estranged one) and political differences (while the emperor tried to maintain close ties with Germany and keep a cold distance from Hungarians, the Crown Prince was his polar opposite: distrustful of Germany and, like his mother, pro-Hungarian in his sentiments). Rudolf's peripheral position would have changed, of course, with his father's death, but, in one commentator's wording, 'Franz Joseph, like Queen Victoria, seemed immortal.'[4] Indeed, the sheer length of the emperor's rule from 1848 to his death in 1916 is unparalleled in modern Western monarchial history.

As a husband (there was an arranged marriage between him and Princess Stéphanie of Belgium), Rudolf's failure was more gradual. The marriage looked, initially at least, acceptable, and the couple had one child, Elizabeth. Yet as time went by, the relationship grew colder and Rudolf started once again seeing numerous women, like he had done before his marriage. Even if there were periods of reconciliation between husband and wife, Rudolf insisted more and more on a divorce, but his father refused to consent.[5] Thus, succession and dynastic expansion, especially in its patrilineal form, became an impossibility for the prince.

3 For Anna Fábri, the Rudolf of *Jockey Club* exists 'in the double-bind of identification and rejection [in relation to his father]' (146). 'Bécs volt a városa. A Ferenc József-i Bécs Krúdy Gyula műveiben.' *Mi ez a valósághoz képest? Kérdések és válaszok Jókai, Mikszáth és Krúdy olvasása közben*, Budapest, Kortárs Kiadó, 2013, 149–150.

4 Robert Weldon Whalen: *Sacred Spring. God and the Birth of Modernism in Fin de Siècle Vienne*, Grand Rapids MI, Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2007, 31.

5 It is to be noted in the present literary context that Stephanie was the daughter of King Leopold II of Belgium, the monarch whose exceptionally cruel rule over the Belgian Congo (the ironically named Congo Free State) constitutes the historical background for yet another supercanonical modernist text, Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*.

Ulysses, within the context of its overall engagement with cultural discontinuity, brings home for the reader the variety of ways in which Bloom's story is embedded in another, Central-European narrative. Because the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy is Bloom's place of origin, some of these semantic correlations connect the Austrian royal family and the Jewish/Irish/Hungarian family of the Blooms, while others create a more unambiguously Hungarian backdrop for the Irish narrative. Thus, the first-name Leopold in *Ulysses* evokes the memory of Saint Leopold III, the patron saint of Austria. In addition, the novel makes reference to the old Hungarian city known in Latin as Alba Regia, where thirty-nine kings were crowned. Joyce calls this place by its current, Hungarian name (*Székesfehérvár*), but in a distorted, misspelt manner (*Szesfeharvar*)[6], and in juxtaposition with a weird imagery of clogging or constipation, thereby creating a sense of blockage and impediment in matters of tradition and continuity. So when facing the discontinuity of generations, the dead end of his lineage, 'the Hapsburg family crisis becomes,' in Andras P. Ungar's words, 'a subtext to' Bloom's story.[7] As the same scholar sums up,

> 'Bloom, the last male of the lineage, is threatened by the extinction of his name … His isolation in 1904 Dublin between the two deaths resonates with a notorious Hapsburg parallel: the death of the imperial heir, Crown Prince Rudolf, under mysterious circumstances on January 30, 1889, a harbinger of the doom that seemed to cling to the Hapsburg emperor who had lost his brother, Maximillian to a Mexican firing squad, and would lose his empress, Elizabeth, to an assassin's bullet [in 1898].'[8]

In addition to these cases that involve Rudolf quite directly, the end of the century sees an unusually high number of deaths in the social circles closely and less closely connected to the Austrian royals. Thus, just the previous year, 1888 sees the passing away of both Emperor Wilhelm I and, completely unexpectedly, his son Friedrich III in the neighboring German Empire. In 1896, Franz Josef's brother, Archduke Charles Ludwig, father of the yet again ill-fated Franz Ferdinand, dies of typhoid. Parallel to all this, a strange spate of suicides rages in Vienna. The city, claims Frederick Morton, 'had not only more suicides per capita than most European cities, but a particularly high incidence among the upper bourgeoisie.'[9]

Assuming that all these narratives of bereavement function indeed as (one of the many) subtexts for Joyce's hero, it is unsurprising that Bloom's attempts to repair the rupture in his patrilinear descent carry further monarchial echoes. Let me

6 Joyce, James: *Ulysses*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1987, 594.

7 Andras P. Ungar: "Among the Hapsburgs: Arthur Griffith, Stephen Dedalus, and the Myth of Bloom", *Twentieth Century Literature* 35.4 (480–501).

8 Ungar makes a strange factual mistake in his otherwise excellent study on Joyce: Elizabeth was not shot, instead, she was stabbed to death by the Italian anarchist Luigi Lucheni in 1898.

9 Frederic Morton: *A Nervous Splendor: Vienna 1888–1889*, New York, Penguin, 1979, 67.

resort to Ungar's perceptive examples again. To restore continuity, Bloom adopts a paternal attitude toward the other main character of the novel, Stephen Dedalus. A sonlike figure, Dedalus at one point thinks about a 'hawklike man'[10] (who, in the Joycean context, is his namesake Daedalus) and this leads us to the etymology of the family name Hapsburg, as it comes from *Habitschburg*, or Falcon's Castle (Habitsch is falcon in German). In addition, there is a specific Austro-Hungarian Monarchial reference in Stephen's name: just as Saint Leopold is the patron saint of Austria, Saint Stephen is a quintessentially Hungarian saint—King Stephen was the first Hungarian king, and his heavily politicized figure has stood for the idea of Hungarian statehood ever since. Furthermore, the first name Stephen itself denotes royalty in that the Greek *Stephanos* means crown. Thus, the relationship with Dedalus (and his symbolic crown) represents, again in Andras Ungar's words, 'dialogue with the fathers with whom Bloom has broken.'[11]

If, in terms of this symbolic conversation, Bloom is a figure of impediment, Stephen of hope and continuity, then Rudy, Bloom's dead son stands for what was once a possibility but now irrevocably gone. Rudy is, on one level, an indicator of the state of Leopold and Molly's marriage. After his death, there is no sexual contact between the parents, and the child's name (through never ending Joycean word play) will reappear in association with the book title *Ruby: Pride of the Ring*, a pornographic novel Bloom gives as a gift, that is, as a substitute for sex, to his wife. On another level, this is clearly more than just a family story because the ongoing crisis of Bloom's masculinity reflects, quite systematically, on the various cultural narratives that are associated with the historical Crown Prince, especially in their gendered dimensions. Thus, references are made to the ruler's ring, a token of monarchial sovereignty (*Pride of the Ring*), and the idea of power, leadership, and publicity (Bloom takes his time to sample a passage or two, so in the book one can read about sadistic animal taming in a circus and how the large attendant crowds watch this in awe). When the Ruby Ring motif returns in the Circe chapter, reference continues to be made to troubled masculinity and the dead Rudolph Bloom's monarchial namesake, Prince Rudolf. Here, in a dream vision about transformation and subjugation (remember how the mythical goddess Circe turned Odysseus and his men into swine), Bloom, who happened to walk into a brothel, experiences various humiliating challenges to his virility and allows 'his latent femininity and submissiveness'[12] to be displayed and exploited. But in a very close alternation with this process, Joyce's hero also sees himself as a royal character: he becomes a 'mantled, sceptred figure,'[13] and in this imaginary preparation for coronation, he actually 'puts on a ruby ring.' A complex imagery emerges then in *Ulysses*, where an at least triangular dynamism connects Bloom, his dead son and the dead prince, partly

[10] JOYCE, 175.
[11] UNGAR, 492.
[12] Harry BLAMIRES: *The New Bloomsday Book. A Guide Through Ulysses*, London, Routledge, 2009, 192.
[13] Ibid., 180.

to unfold the Irish narrative, and partly to delve into the ill-fated Prince Rudolf's masculine identity as disobedient son, unfaithful husband and self-destructive inamorato.

As to this last context of love affairs, it is notable that despite the popular cultural tendency to see the relationship of Rudolf and Mary as a star-crossed one, the Crown Prince bears at least as much responsibility as the stars. In other words, the story should by no means be romanticized. Clearly an attractive person, Rudolf cultivated simultaneous relationships, had an unknown number of illegitimate and completely neglected children, contracted sexually transmitted disease, and passed it on to his wife and presumably to others as well. Other factors—alcohol, morphine, lack of sleep—also contributed to the deterioration of his health, and at the same time, they are likely to have fuelled his growing fascination with death. Eventually, he managed to lure young Maria von Vetsera into a suicide pact, but it is a remarkable, and not widely known, historical point of interest that while the girl may appear to be the unique and ultimate object of love for the Prince, Rudolf had previously tried to convince his other lover, a certain Mizzi Casper, a former prostitute, to enter a suicide pact with him. Mizzi refused. From our cultural historical perspective, the significance of this parallel relationship (with Mizzi and Maria) within another parallel relationship (with Maria and his wife Stephanie) is that it reflects a new, specifically modernist engagement with a sense of the primary and the original on the one hand, and a sense of the secondary, even spectral, on the other.

Spectrality and duplication are key dimensions in *Jockey Club*, Gyula Krúdy's work. In this novel, the Hungarian author presents, on one level, an essentially conservative, or at least respectfully romanticised account of Prince Rudolf's final days. Rudolf's chief problem is that he is too educated, too enlightened. Unlike the other Hapsburgs, he has excellent writing skills (this is historically accurate), he maintains friendly ties with Hungarians (this is accurate too), and his attitude towards women is not as destructive as it was in reality. So even if a variety of mistresses from his past make their essentially absurd or funny appearances, Maria von Vetsera is now the exclusive focus of his emotions. The young woman's mother is an even more idealized person: she is the respectable widow of a general, relatively poor but always proper, always dignified (in reality, she was extremely ambitious, and she made advances to a no lesser person than Franz Joseph himself). This idealization must have satisfied many readers, and it is in harmony with what John Bátki, one of Krúdy's English translators, sees as the writer's fundamentally conservative outlook: '[the novelist] was deeply … traditionalist. He had a great, and abiding respect (more: a love) for old standards, old customs, for older people … He had … a nostalgic, almost hopeless, and surely a melancholy longing for an older Hungarian way of life that was no longer his.'[14] Yet parallel to this traditionalism, Krúdy is seen as a key writer of Central European modernism, and it is almost clichéd to compare

[14] John LUKACS: 'The Chronicler and the Historian', in *Krúdy's Chronicles: Turn-of-the-Century Hungary in Gyula Krúdy's Journalism*, ed. by John BÁTKI, Budapest, Central European University Press, 2000, viii.

him to Marcel Proust on account of his handling of time. But while his concern with memory, remembering and temporality in general is indeed central in his finest work, the historical-sensational-sentimental *Jockey Club* can strike its readers as a particularly modernist piece of literature for other reasons. Among these is the level of spectrality, where Krúdy creates a Gothic subtext about repression and disintegration that is at once individual and collective.

To achieve a Gothic quality, the author introduces an alter ego when the Prince accidentally encounters a young, penniless Hungarian and realizes that the man is his exact lookalike. In a well-known narrative formula, which is familiar from, for example, Mark Twain's *The Pauper and the Prince*, Rudolf will use the other person to substitute for him, which is a welcome service because the prince is under increasing pressure in his father's court. This key element of duplication in the storyline has no historical basis. Rudolf had his confidants, from among which a particular coach-driver appears under his own name (Bratfisch) in the novel, and there was also a servant who stayed with the prince in the Mayerling hunting lodge until the fatal hour, but he never had anybody to actually replace him. The fictional lookalike's Hungarian origin, and especially the fact that he bears a highly symbolic name, Rudolph de Vienna in its Germanized version, just emphasizes the element of fictionality. This Rudolph often displays a comic ease and contrast, nevertheless, his very existence should be seen as part of a fundamentally Gothic artistic vision in the nineteenth-century-early twentieth century, with examples ranging from A. T. Hoffman's romantic characters through Stevenson's *Jekyll and Hyde* to Joseph Conrad's short story 'The Secret Sharer.'

Of the numerous cultural and literary implications of doubling, we can note at least two crucial facts by reference to *Jockey Club*. One is that such representations are possible only through the 'evolution of a self-culture,' through the appearance of the 'concept of the individual self.'[15] Thus, along with the emergence of psychoanalysis, alter egos come to be seen as subpersonalities that are in a more or less permanently conflictual relationship to each other. This is, from another angle, also a reproduction, on the level of personality, of how collectivism and centralized-hierarchical structures in a social sense give way to pluralistic, often deeply divided, social-political systems in the modern world. The other factor is this: the modernist subject is not simply alienated and fragmented but it also 'laments the loss of a self that was once coherent and self-sufficient, just as secularists followed Nietzsche in both pronouncing the death of God and grieving over it.' The modernist self is 'dualistic or divided,' and at the same time, it laments the 'loss of an older, integrated self.'[16] In other words, the self is not simply split into multiple subselves, but it also has deeply divided sentiments about its own division.

[15] Jane Silverman Van Buren: *Modernist Madonna: Semiotics of the Maternal Metaphor*. Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1989, 116.

[16] Peter Childs: *Modernist Literature. A Guide for the Perplexed*. London, Routledge, 2011, 135.

I think it is this link between split and disintegration on the one hand, and desire and nostalgia for integrated selves and, ultimately, unquestionable absolutes on the other hand that accounts for the fascination with the narrative of Prince Rudolf. Thus, in Krúdy's rendition, the author's nostalgic, even sentimental, and surely commercially motivated interest in the monarchial setting can be seen as a kind of reproduction of his readers' interest and belief in unchanging, unquestionable truths and absolutes. The writer reflects on a sense of primacy embodied by a never dying, almost totemistic emperor and supported by the universal, foundational spirit of Catholicism, a religious tradition thoroughly defining the archconservative sexual mores and general behavioral patterns of the Hapsburgs. And at the same time, this setting is also Freud's Vienna, a big and extremely vibrant immigrant city with not only all the innovations, fantasies and thought-structures of what would come to be referred to as modernism, but also with sordid (and surprising) social realities, such as an unusually high rate of suicides. Prince Rudolf inhabits (incarnates, in fact) both spheres, the unchanging-monarchial domain as well as the new, shifting, ever transforming realm of social mobility, exerting an appeal to a readership that is itself part of modernity and yet feels the fascination of a dynastic, premodern civilizational frame.

Compared with Joyce's novel, *Jockey Club* treats, to a great extent, Gothic spectrality in the context of genealogy, gendered behavior and masculine space. Rudolf finds himself more and more on the fringes of traditional succession and genealogy for reasons that have been mentioned earlier: his own sexual choices, his distaste for conventional aristocratic male activities, and especially his alienation from his father, which reflects irreconcilable personal and political differences between the two. Typical of Krúdy, who often created titles out of names, objects or concepts which have only some loose, metonymic relation to the main story, the Jockey Club is a place and organization that Rudolf never actually visits in the narrative. Yet the capacity of the club to portray the chilling immobility of the male aristocracy that frequents it—at one point, the organisation is described as the most boring place on earth[17]—designates both the ominous calm before the storm that the First World War would soon represent, and the social-political repression that the preservation of the skeletal,[18] conflict-ridden, economically powerful yet in many respects still semi-feudal Monarchy inevitably entailed around the century.

That violence is the price at which at least some status quo is achieved is apparent through a small, but in the present reading quite essential, detail in *Ulysses* as well: if a daguerreotype of Bloom's grandfather was created in 1852, the date itself is likely to evoke the memory of the crushed Hungarian Revolution of 1848–49. Joyce

[17] Gyula Krúdy: *Jockey Club. Az utolsó gavallér*. Ed.: András Barta. Budapest, Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1980, 362.

[18] László Fülöp describes Franz Joseph as "phantomlike" in Krúdy's fiction, a word choice warranted partly by the emperor's anachronistically simple lifestyle and his reluctance to appear in public. *Közelítések Krúdyhoz*. Budapest, Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1986, 256.

does not particularly pursue the implications of this loss, but such an event in the background creates an additional context for the sense of discontinuity that characterizes Bloom's genealogical position. The revolution and the ensuing retribution is not, strictly speaking, Rudolf's individual story, but it is certainly part of a larger narrative surrounding the key characters of both *Ulysess* and *Jockey Club*, one that is punctuated by traumas in Irish[19] as well as Central-European history. Referencing such events contributes to the two authors' engagement with a partly playful, partly frightening spectrality where an ineffaceable past keeps blocking the way to progress and genuine change. Thus, in the Hungarian novel, it is the usually cheerful, vital character of Rudolf's alter ego who, after becoming a near-witness to the prince's so Gothically portrayed death, falls prey first to depression, then madness.

The analogy between the two literary works should not be overstretched. But the tricky, clearly modernist interest in the link between such primary fields of life as sexuality and religion on the one hand, and their secondary, subversive forms on the other, definitely connects the two. Joyce's artistic strategy is to just indicate the memory of what has been lost, and foreground, in the author's teasing, provocative texture, the symptoms and the consequences of this loss. Combining traditionalist and modernist traits, Krúdy follows a different course of narrative action. In his novel, he restores and portrays the magnificence of the declining dynasty, but then the sentimental and perhaps too historically faithful main text is overwritten by the novelist's deeper artistic instincts: hence the emphasis on secondariness, duplication, and spectrality, extending to those fields of life that traditional thought structures associate with primacy and exclusivity: marriage, religion, and the very notion of romantic love.

Abstract

This paper explores the presence of Prince Rudolf, son of Franz Joseph and Archduke of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy as theme, motivic structure and artistic inspiration in James Joyce's Ulysses and Gyula Krúdy's Jockey Club. While these two literary reflections are not the only cultural responses to the Mayerling incident in which the Prince and his lover Maria von Vetsera lost their lives, they are among the ones that focus not so much on the sensational impact of the historical material but treat the mysterious royal narrative as emblematic of a major civilizational transition from dynastic rule to nationalism and political pluralism, from the predominance of communal thought to individualism and, ultimately, from lingering premodern cultural contexts to full-blown modernity.

[19] One of the relevant studies to relate spectrality to the history of Ireland is James F. Wurtz's 'Scarce More a Corpse: Famine Memory and Representations of the Gothic in Ulysses' in *Journal of Modern Literature* 29.1 (2005), 102–117.

Keywords
Prince Rudolf, Maria von Vetsera, Hapsburgs, Joyce, Krúdy, modernism, genealogy, Gothic

Rezümé

A dolgozat azokat az okokat vizsgálja, amelyek miatt Krúdy Gyula és James Joyce Rudolf főherceget, Ferenc József fiát választotta regényeik, a Ulysses és a Jockey Club modernista víziójának kibontásához. Bár mindketten tudatában vannak annak a nosztalgikus, sokszor szenzációhajhász gesztusnak, amellyel a korabeli populáris kultúra a trónörökös és Vecsera Mária halálának történetét újramondja, és bár a modernizmusra jellemző módon ezeket a populáris kulturális elemeket bizonyos mértékig be is építik műveikbe, a hangsúlyt mindketten Rudolf alakjának emblematikus voltára helyezik. Ennek értelmében a herceg ábrázolásával mindkét szerző azt a civilizációs fordulatot ragadja meg, amelyet a dinasztikus uralom és a nacionalizmus, valamint a politikai pluralizmus, kollektivizmus és individualizmus – végső soron még létező általános premodern kulturális minták és a kiteljesedő modernizmus közötti átmenet jelentett.

Kulcsszavak
Rudolf herceg, Vecsera Mária, Hapsburgok, Joyce, Krúdy, modernizmus, genealógia, gótika

József Lapis

"Bare and Leafless Day": The Function and Poetic Structure of the Poems in *The Lord of the Rings*[1]

The origin-myth of *The Lord of the Rings* universe, recounted in *Ainulindale*, names music—the Music of the Ainur—as the medium and form of creation. In the beginning, Ilúvatar does not simply 'speak' to his creatures, but sings to them, or more precisely, he propounds themes and motifs of music to them, to which they reply likewise with singing, to the utmost joy of the creator.[2] The collaboration between the members of the 'orchestra' is halting at first—they are capable of apprehending each other's chords only slowly.

> But for a long while they sang only each alone, or but few together, while the rest hearkened; for each comprehended only that part of the mind of Ilúvatar from which he came, and in the understanding of their brethren they grew but slowly. Yet ever as they listened they came to deeper understanding, and increased in unison and harmony.[3]

It seems that dialogue unfolds gradually between the parties, and only with the establishment of a *deeper understanding* can they reach the harmony considered sufficient by Ilúvatar to sing the basic motif of the Great Music that offers the form for the creation of the world. This is how the Ainur need to shape that melody, endlessly changing and woven into harmony, which can finally fill the surrounding Void.[4]

Thus, the genesis of Arda could only have taken place deep in the context of mutual understanding and cooperation—we may say that the creation of the universe does not only stand as an example of the Romantic act of creating worlds out of nothing with a single word, but also assumes a certain kind of hermeneutic work.[5] Creation remains immaculate right until one of the Ainur, Melkor, begins to exaggerate the workings of his own imagination, weaving unfitting accords into the melody of Ilúvatar, which results in a dissonance in the Great Music. *Ainulindale* recounts the musical competition between Ilúvatar and Melkor, during which the

[1] I render thanks to Thomas Honegger and to Thomas Kullmann for their very expedient remarks and advice—without them, this essay would be much *barer*.

[2] John Ronald Reuel Tolkien: *The Silmarillion,* New York, Ballantine Books, 1982, 3.

[3] Tolkien: *Silmarillion*, 3.

[4] On the Music of the Ainur, cf. Chiara Bertoglio: 'Dissonant Harmonies: Tolkien's Musical Theodicy.' *Tolkien Studies*, Vol. XV, 2018, 93–114.

[5] This act, moreover, definitely refers to the Bible—the Book of Genesis—in the first place. In my essay, however, I discuss the relationship from a different point of view.

harmonic melodies of sorrow and beauty from Ilúvatar stand against the 'loud,' 'vain,' aspiring uproar of the greatest of the Ainur. 'And it essayed to drown the other music by the violence of its voice, but it seemed that its most triumphant notes were taken by the other and woven into its own solemn pattern.'[6] The role of Melkor (later called Morgoth, 'the Black Foe of the World,' master of Sauron) in the creation is not to be underestimated, because even though Ilúvatar understands the essence of the narcissistic thoughts and is able to integrate the dissonant accords into the Great Music, he is nevertheless forced to change the shape of the Melody. The formation of Arda is thus not just the result of an ancient melody being woven further (that is, not a one-way process), but the consequence of mutual determination, an encounter of two, where, due the appearance of difference and dissimilarity, there will always be the Other, which needs to be explained, interpreted and answered, turning the well-known world upside down. However, the discordant voice of Melkor may prove to be a productive subversion, if we consider that Ilúvatar is able to attach meaning to it, constructively contributing to the formation of the plan. (In one of his letters, Tolkien claims that Melkor 'introduced alterations, not interpretations in the mind of the One'; the One then presented the Music which included Melkor's discords as well.[7])

The fundamentally aesthetic nature of the creation of the world is enthralling—the aesthetic pleasure, and more closely, the *aesthesis*, the knowledge acquired by sensory experience defines the recounting of *Ainulindale* from the very start. Ilúvatar is happy for the song of the Ainur, who are in turn amazed by the majestic, glorious and radiant melody of the Great Music, and whose task is to 'adorn' it and to fill it up with 'great beauty,' so that Ilúvatar can sit and hearken, and be glad of it.[8] When describing the Music of the Ainur, sensual reception and comprehension are both significant.

> Accordingly, the definition of aesthetic pleasure as enjoyment of self in the enjoyment of what is other presupposes the primary unity of understanding enjoyment and enjoying understanding. […] In aesthetic behaviour, the subject always enjoys more than itself. It experiences itself as it appropriates an experience of the meaning of the world which both its own productive activity and the reception of the experience of others can disclose, and the assent of third parties can confirm. Aesthetic enjoyment that thus occurs in a state of balance between disinterested contemplation and testing participation is a mode of experiencing oneself in a possible being other which the aesthetic attitude opens up.[9]

[6] Tolkien: *Silmarillion*, 5.

[7] Humphrey Carpenter (ed.): *The Letters of J. R. R. Tolkien*, London, George Allen and Unwin, 2000, 300.

[8] Tolkien: *Silmarillion*, 3.

[9] Hans Robert Jauss: 'Aesthetic Pleasure and the Fundamental Experiences of Poiesis, Aesthesis, and Catharsis.' In *Aesthetic Experience and Literary Hermeneutics*, translated by Michael Shaw, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1982, 22–35, 32.

The dissonant voice of Melkor is revealed on all levels: he does not wish to join the consonance, he would like to control the leading melody in a narcissistic way—we may say he would rather start a radically new song. But his singing does not have a flow, it is not majestic and radiant (euphonic), but primitive, loud and repetitive (almost cacophonic).[10] Yet this does not mean that nobody else can join in: some of the Ainur start to adopt it in their confusion, and Ilúvatar himself cannot stay untouched by it. The expressive power of Melkor's song has a great sensual effect.

If we observe how the featured songs in the text of *The Lord of the Rings* affect the characters of the book, we can state that there is a correlation with what has been said above. Tom Bombadil almost repeats the structure of the music of the Ainur in his song—according to Richard Mathews, this is the first of many episodes that stress the power of the word, especially of poetry and song, to restore harmony and order to the natural world.[11] The voice of Goldberry is 'as young and as ancient as Spring, like the song of a glad water flowing down into the night from a bright morning in the hills.'[12] It is not a coincidence that in *The Silmarillion*, the leading medium for the creation of the world is singing, for the songs and poems fundamentally define the possibilities of understanding the world in *The Lord of the Rings* as well: they are responsible for transmitting knowledge and have an influence on the condition of the characters' body and soul. It is also rather curious that while reading the lyrical texts of the book, the reader seems to have a similar experience as the characters of the book—it is an illusion, certainly, an effect of the text. In the text of *The Lord of the Rings,* the featured poems provide the most significant sensual effects, and though Tolkien's prose is indeed able to call forth the most diverse 'sensations,' it is the different lyric sections that can have a physical effect on the reader in the first place. The rhythmical, pulsing forms of text that have an increased sonority and operate with consonances (and jingles) generate powerful effects of presence,[13]

[10] The narrator of the *Ainulindale* recounts the events from the point of view of Ilúvatar, and the result of this focalization is that Melkor consequently plays the role of the antagonist, the Other who causes confusion. The teleology of *The Silmarillion*'s narrative legitimizes the order kept by the Valar and the Elves against Melkor (and later Sauron), and this structure and logic also pervades the narrative of *The Lord of the Rings*. The possibility to change perspectives, and so the chance to place ourselves in the position of the Other, is not something that can occur to a relevant extent in Tolkien's texts. However varied and not over-idealized the portrayal of the realms and worlds represented by elves, humans, dwarves and hobbits is, the other side, the negative position of the sphere of Morgoth, Sauron and the orcs, does not become internal, so it will never be, apart from a few isolated situations, something available to the reader.

[11] Richard Mathews: *Fantasy: The Liberation of Imagination*, New York, Twayne Publishers, 1997, 68.

[12] John Ronald Reuel Tolkien: *The Fellowship of the Ring*, New York, Ballantine Books, 1982, 158.

[13] I am using this term in the sense defined by the book of Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht: *The Production of Presence: What Meaning Cannot Convey,* Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2004: presence is a significantly spatial relationship, during which a certain thing has a direct, physical influence on the human body. The accessibility realized through senses challenges the meaning, the interpretative relationship. Presumably, the oscillation of the effects of meaning and presence defines the aesthetic experience of the lyric texts to a greater extent than that of the epic pieces.

making the process of reading more dynamic—the reception of the poems puts our usual rhythm out of joint, initiates us into a different dimension of experience, and we can say that it makes our (imaginative) entrance to the other world possible in a somewhat more informal way, without using epic means. The songs function as a (medial) system of transmitting knowledge of the past, contributing to the development of cultural traditions related to the peoples (Hobbits, Ents, Elves, and Dwarves) and regions (Gondor, Rohan, Mordor) in the novel, and as such, help both the reader and characters of the book to understand the story; but at the same time, they can represent atmospheric tension or contrast. They may draw up the sense of nostalgic desire, intensify the notion of adventure or intimacy, but can also provide shelter in a distressing or desperate situation, bringing a momentary calm in the midst of chaos. Maybe the most typical example of this dual nature is the scene in Moria from Chapter II/4 ('A Journey in the Dark'), where Gimli sings an old dwarf-song ('The world was young, the mountains green…'), which recounts the former power and glory of the ancient Dwarf-halls. Sam is astonished, his curiosity is spurred, and his mood is directly defined by the beauty of the song: '"I like that!" said Sam. "I should like to learn it. *In Moria, in Khazad-dûm!* But it makes the darkness seem heavier, thinking of all those lamps. Are there piles of jewels and gold lying about here still?"'[14] Christopher Tolkien claims that by his 'enthusiastic cry,' Sam brings closer 'the mighty kings of Nargothrond and Gondolin, Durin on his carven throne, but places them at once at an even remoter distance, a magical distance that it might well seem (*at that moment*) destructive to traverse.'[15] Indeed, experiencing the historical ballads and legends leads to the impression of familiarity and strangeness at the same time.

It resembles the phenomenon of wandering—the road itself bears the duality of being simultaneously at home and homeless. Tamás Bényei claims that 'stories are like roads: on the one hand, flowing endlessly, they connect the characters strange to each other (and connect the storytellers as well), and on the other hand, they make all participants homeless at the same time.'[16] The walking-songs (road songs)[17] themselves present this experience. In the case of the poem beginning 'The Road goes ever on and on…,' Tolkien offers a slow, thoughtful, highly meditative song, which unveils the unknown, distant nature of the road itself. There is a delicate, but significant

[14] Tolkien: *Fellowship*, 377.

[15] John Ronald Reuel Tolkien: *The Book of Lost Tales 1,* The History of Middle-Earth Vol. 1, edited by Christopher Tolkien, London, HarperCollins, 2002, 2.

[16] Bényei Tamás: *Az ártatlan ország: Az angol regény 1945 után*, Debrecen, Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 2003, 191. The translations of the Hungarian sources are mine—J. L.

[17] In connection with the three variations of the 'Old Walking Song' in the novel, see T. A. Shippey: *J. R. R. Tolkien: Author of the Century,* London, HarperCollins Publishers, 2000, 189–191; Petra Zimmermann: '"The glimmer of limitless extensions in time and space": The Function of Poems in Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*.' In Julian Eilmann – Allan Turner (eds.): *Tolkien's Poetry*, Cormarë Series No. 28, Zurich and Jena, Walking Tree Publishers, 2013, 51–90, 73–74.

distinction between the first two occurrences of the song (Chapters I/1 and I/3):[18] instead of Bilbo's version, which goes 'Pursuing it with eager feet,' Frodo sings 'weary feet'—which suggests a completely different relationship between the singer and the road before him (one is hurrying anxiously to leave, while the other feels rather the weight and gravity of it). The third version of this song can be read in Chapter VI/6, presented again by Bilbo ('Many Partings').[19] As Shippey also suggests,[20] the radically different nature of this version stems from the fact that, according to the analogy of road and life, the sleep and settling at the end of the poem implies the symbolic meaning of death. The third version has a specifically elegiac atmosphere. The close connection between the three occurrences is obvious and significant: the characters retell the same melody again and again according to their actual position in the story, following the traditions of folklore and folk songs (and this oral tradition may be, in all probability, a trait of Shire-poems themselves). In the version at the end of the novel, Bilbo uses the phrase 'weary feet' again, which he heard from Frodo earlier in the story. By this, in a very subtle and elegant way, the novel indicates that the mental state and existence of the old hobbit have dramatically altered since the variant of 'eager feet,' whereas for Frodo, it was the weight of the burden that made it difficult at the beginning of his journey to experience their venture as a thrilling adventure. The three versions of the 'Old Walking Song' represent the special and complex relationship of the figures of Frodo and Bilbo. Moreover, as Petra Zimmermann argues in her essay, the presence of the three versions is not accidental: they are in a special intertextual and intratextual relationship with each other, and they are able to create a sense of passing time by referring to each other. She conceives the song as a medium which makes us 'perceive together' all the layers of time.[21]

One typical and revealing example of the previously described multi-level modes of effect of the poems can be demonstrated by Samwise Gamgee's case in Chapter IV/10 ('The Choice of Master Samwise'), when in Shelob's Lair Sam, crouching beside the unconscious Frodo, takes Galadriel's Phial, and out of his desperation, 'as if some remote voice had spoken,' 'in a language which he did not know,' he starts yelling the Elbereth song,[22] the Elvish hymn heard a long time ago. This arouses his courage and strengthens the light of the star of Erendil, thus enabling Sam to chase away the monster.[23] Szymon Pindur argues that the song[24] 'is able to affect the reality in some way,' 'its magical nature makes Frodo stop and listen as if he were bound and unable to move.'[25] (Based upon this scene, Pindur claims that words have power in Tolkien's stories.)

[18] Tolkien: *Fellowship*, 58, 102.
[19] John Ronald Reuel Tolkien: *The Return of the King,* New York, Ballantine Books, 1983, 297.
[20] Shippey: *Author of the Century*, 190.
[21] Zimmermann: 'The Function of Poems,' 74.
[22] In connection with the Elbereth-song, see Shippey: *Author of the Century*, 200–202.
[23] John Ronald Reuel Tolkien: *The Two Towers,* New York, Ballantine Books, 1982, 399–400.
[24] He refers to the occurrence of the song in Tolkien: *Fellowship*, II/1 (in the Rivendell scene).
[25] Szymon Pindur: 'The Magical and Reality-transforming Function of Tolkien's Song and Verse.' In Anna Milon (ed.): *Poetry and Song in the Works of J. R. R. Tolkien,* Peter Roe Series XVIII, Luna Press Publishing, 2018, Kindle Edition, Location 852–853.

We should not forget that the song is composed in the form of a prayer: it is an invocation, by which it can evoke and summon the Vala, creating her presence.[26] The main characteristic of the figure of the apostrophe (see Culler's study[27]) is the fact that it creates the rhetoric illusion that the summoned phenomenon becomes responsive, as if being alive, due to the act of invocation. The old Elvish hymn now invoked by Sam (who becomes the medium of the song), and the terrible light of Galadriel's gift ('May it be a light to you in dark places, when all other lights go out'[28]) create a presence that gives untameable courage to Sam, who is on the verge of exhaustion. The speech act itself has a greater importance than the meaning of the words, which is indicated by the fact that the sense of the song composed in Sindarin language is unknown to Sam—and to the reader as well. Even so, as Tom Shippey suggests, the sound of the poem is able to mediate a certain meaning by itself both for the reader and the hobbits (at this actual moment of the story and when recited in Rivendell as well).[29] We do not have the accurate meaning, even if Frodo more or less translates the song for himself (and for the reader) in Chapter I/3 in the Shire, but the given passage indicates that it is just an approximate interpretation. We see that the Sindarin lines recited by Sam[30] do not coincide with either of the English verses, furthermore, the first and the last of the four lines hold the invocation of Varda and contain her three different names—Elbereth, Gilthoniel and Fanuilos (the last one meaning Snow White[31]). The Sindarin exclamation "A" is the same as the English "O", the most typical apostrophic device in lyric poetry.

In Chapter I/11 ('A Knife in the Dark') the escaping and hiding hobbits are tortured both by the dread caused by the Black Riders and the incomprehensible nature of the events happening to them, which, certainly, are mingled with a healthy and naughty curiosity, a characteristic feature of the hobbit folk. Strider attempts to soothe their curiosity as much as possible, and at a certain point, to everyone's surprise, it is Samwise who comes to help him out by answering Merry's question ('Who was Gil-galad?') with a poem learnt from Bilbo Baggins. The reactions of his companions indicate that his recitation does not only help the team (and, again, the reader) to make sense of the events happening to them, but also gives them a direct

[26] Regarding the role of the prayer in Tolkien's verse, see Lynn Forest-Hill: 'Poetic Form and Spiritual Function: Praise, Invocation and Prayer in *The Lord of the Rings*.' In Julian Eilmann and Allan Turner (eds.): *Tolkien's Poetry*, Cormarë Series No. 28, Zurich and Jena, Walking Tree Publishers, 2013, 91–116.
[27] Jonathan Culler: *The Pursuit of Signs: Semiotics, Literature, Deconstruction*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2002.
[28] Tolkien: *Fellowship*, 444.
[29] Shippey: *Author of the Century*, 201.
[30] 'A Elbereth Gilthoniel / o menel palan-díriel, / le nallon sí di'nguruthos! / A tíro nin, Fanuilos!' (Tolkien: *Two Towers*, 400).
[31] Cf. Ruth S. Noel: *The Languages of Tolkien's Middle-earth*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1980, 143.

sensual experience by raising their spirit and mood. Furthermore, in this case foreshadowing is used as a narrative device as well:

> 'There was a lot more,' said Sam, 'all about Mordor. I didn't learn that part, it gave me the shivers. I never thought I should be going that way myself!'
> 'Going to Mordor!' cried Pippin. 'I hope it won't come to that!'[32]

In the same chapter a few pages later, in an even darker hour of the day, hiding in a dent, Strider tells old tales to the hobbits, who are shivering from cold, in order to 'keep their minds from fear.'[33] Finding the story of Gil-galad too dangerous at this point, in response to Sam's request ('I would dearly like to hear more about Elves; the dark seems to press round so close') he sings the rhyme of Beren and Lúthien Tinúviel. 'It is a fair tale, though it is sad, as are all the tales of Middle-earth, and yet it may lift up your hearts.'[34] The ancient song shows the most characteristic motifs of Elvish lyric: music, stars, light, forest, leaves, sea, sorrow, travelling, passing away, etc. When having sung the saga-like song, Strider confesses that this version of the tale belonging to the genre of Elvish *ann-thennath* songs (a kind of a long verse[35]), performed in Common Speech, is only a 'rough echo' of the original.[36] So both the characters and the reader can feel that however enchanted they were by the beauty of these verses, they could only have an insight into a remote and inaccessible world, into the realm of eternal beauty and wisdom, yearned after but unattainable for mortal beings. As written by Tolkien himself in one of his often quoted letters: 'Part of the attraction of The L. R. is, I think, due to the glimpses of a large history in the background: an attraction like that of viewing far off an unvisited island, or seeing the towers of a distant city gleaming in a sunlit mist. To go there is to destroy the magic, unless new unattainable vistas are again revealed.'[37] It is exactly these mysterious poems that are responsible for a greater narrative hidden in the background, for the 'new unattainable vistas.' Being aware of the fact that reciting Tinúviel's tale would create an unwanted informational obscurity, Strider tells the hobbits the story of the doomed lovers (which is potentially a parable of his own fate, too), until the moon rises above them.

It is strange that Aragorn defines the old tales of Middle-earth, as I mentioned before, in the same way as the song of Ilúvatar was described: 'deep and wide and beautiful, but slow and blended with an immeasurable sorrow from which its beauty chiefly came.'[38] Beauty filled with grief, nostalgia for the lost home mingled with desire and the heroic and majestic grief of loss: these are indeed the leading motifs of the Elvish songs of Middle-earth. The most memorable piece of this kind in *The*

[32] Tolkien: *Fellowship*, 229.
[33] Tolkien: *Fellowship*, 235.
[34] Tolkien: *Fellowship*, 235–236.
[35] Noel: *Languages,* 112.
[36] Tolkien: *Fellowship*, 237.
[37] Tolkien: *The Book of Lost Tales 1*, 2.
[38] Tolkien: *Silmarillion*, 5.

Lord of the Rings is Galadriel's farewell song in Chapter II/8. 'In the midst of the vessel sat Celeborn, and behind him stood Galadriel, tall and white; a circlet of golden flowers was in her hair, and in her hand she held a harp, and she sang. Sad and sweet was the sound of her voice in the cool clear air.'[39] Eric Bronson writes that the 'concept of lost beauty and dispossession' is the main theme of the book, and is especially characteristic of the Elves. 'Galadriel presides over Lórien with songs of joy, and that is why the Fellowship takes such comfort in its beauty. But it is a happiness born of sorrow and dispossession.'[40] No wonder that Lórien, one of the most sublime places in Middle-earth, has such a deep impact not only on the Shire-folk but also on the experienced members of the Fellowship. It is obvious to them that all the present beauty is nothing but the shadow of an even more majestic realm (Valinor), and that the grandeur of Lórien shall soon fade and pass. This is similar to the ambivalent experience of the hobbits (and the reader) walking through the ways of the book and encountering memorials of the glorious past of an ancient and mighty world in the form of fragments of tales and sagas. On the basis of these narratives and lyrics the past cannot fully be restored, but even so, through the metonymical (and sometimes synecdochical) relationship with the past, listeners may share in the vividness of glorious history or myth. In *The Lord of the Rings* 'all the fictional world that disguises the past is covered by the ruins and remains of the forgotten and uninterpretable past.'[41] What we experience first of all is not the past, but the desire for something that is missing from the present. For the hobbits, it is magic and adventure, or else the alluring and inspiring strangeness (as they have a peaceful home: the Shire), while in the case of Elves and Dúnedain, it can rather be described as a nostalgic longing felt towards their lost (real) homeland. However, it is a narrative of consolation for the reader: the Story, even if only parts of it are accessible, still exists and may be tangibly reached, as if he or she could hear the music of the Ainur, and we were not fully surrounded by chaos and the Void.[42]

But it is not only the songs of the Elves that are full of the sad beauty of lost things, even though in the case of mortal beings the feeling of loss may also come from the fleeting nature of their own mortal lives. Consider, for example, Bilbo's quiet little song in Chapter II/3 ('I sit beside the fire and think / of all that I have seen, / of meadow-flowers and butterflies / in summers that have been'),[43] Gimli's above-quoted Dwarf rhyme, or the elegies of the Rohirrim. When thinking about the function of poetry in *The Lord of the Rings*, we can agree with Thomas Kullmann, who emphasizes the significance of the narrative context of the occurrences and

[39] Tolkien: *Fellowship*, 439.
[40] Eric Bronson: '"Farewell to Lórien": The Bounded Joy of Existentialists and Elves.' In Gregory Bassham and Eric Bronson (eds.): *The Lord of the Rings and Philosophy*, Chicago and La Salle, Open Court, 2004, 72–84, 76.
[41] Bényei: 193.
[42] 'Despite the prospect that "Consolation" is attainable through fantasy, Tolkien, unlike Milton, sees loss as irremediable,' claims Richard Mathews (*Fantasy*, 62).
[43] Tolkien: *Fellowship*, 333.

the communal aspect of the texts. He claims that all the poetic insertions 'appear to fulfil a function within the narrative; they are all part of the plot and motivated by narrative developments. Most of the poems and songs are sung by a group of characters or recited by one character for the benefit of a group of listeners; they constitute or record communal experiences; and they serve to convey important information.'[44] The culture of Rohan is fundamentally based on orality, and, as mentioned by Shippey, in a culture which has no written records, poetry has the function of presenting and refusing the grief of loss. That is the reason why most of the songs of the Rohirrim are rather elegiac.[45] In Chapter III/6 ('The King of the Golden Hall') the song beginning with 'Where now the horse and the rider?' functions as a mourning song or lament as well and 'is laden with the sadness of Mortal Men.'[46] It is sung silently by Aragorn on their way to Edoras, among the sepulchral mounds of Théoden's ancestors. The song is performed in the language of the Rohirrim and Aragorn translates it into Common Speech for his companions (and the reader), leaving them in doubt again about the accuracy of the translation. He eventually adds: 'Thus spoke a forgotten poet long ago in Rohan, recalling how tall and fair was Eorl the Young, who rode down out of the North; and there were wings upon the feet of his steed, Felaróf, father of horses. So men still sing in the evening.'[47] This song portrays the final days of a nation and a royal dynasty, the undone past, the sentiment of *sic transit gloria mundi*, in a moment when little hope seems to have remained for Théoden's rebirth and for Rohan's rise.[48] This sort of passing has a peculiar heroic glory, it is a more tangible and real condition, much less decadent than the departure of the immortal Elves. It is worth comparing the lament of the Rohirrim with Galadriel's farewell song: although there is a prominent structural and modal resemblance, there are some basic distinctions between them. The song of the Rohirrim emphasizes the longing for positive notions, such as fertile summers with all their crops and springs symbolizing rebirth ('Where is the spring and the harvest and the tall corn growing?').[49] It still renders some strength, as all the questions are full of desire and hope, pointing at the present,

44 Kullmann draws attention to the literary tradition behind the poems as well: 'Most of them, however, do not serve as expressions of the poet's or singer's personal feelings and thus do not correspond to the "mainstream" of English lyric poetry. Their origins can rather be found in Anglo-English poetry or in English folksong, as can be seen from the metres used.' (Thomas Kullmann: 'Poetic Insertions in Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*.' *Connotations* Vol. 23.2, 2013/14. Web: connotations.de/article/thomas-kullmann-poetic-insertions-in-tolkiens-the-lord-of-the-rings/.)

45 Shippey: *Author of the Century*, 97.

46 Tolkien: *Two Towers*, 132. Certainly, this is a version of the well known 'ubi sunt' theme.

47 Tolkien: *Two Towers*, 133.

48 It is worth turning to the movie version for a moment, where the scene of the song (recited in a condensed version) is one of the most memorable ones of the movie: Théoden is preparing for the battle at Helm's Deep, when he starts reciting, almost murmuring to himself the verse. However, contrary to the book, this is a situation of great significance, preceding a big change, even though at this point it is still unknown whether the outcome will be a victory or the fall of the people.

49 Tolkien: *Two Towers*, 132.

while in Galadriel's song the productivity of the yearning is hardly perceptible. It is nostalgia and contemplation on the past days that prevails, and of all the natural allegories the song evokes primarily winter: 'O Lórien! The Winter comes, the bare and leafless Day; / The leaves are falling in the stream, the River flows away.'[50] The last question is asked in a mood of powerless and helpless homesickness, inquiring about the possibility of a happy sailing away, and doubting the magical and creative power of poetic words: 'But if of ships I now should sing, what ship would come to me, / What ship would bear me ever back across so wide a Sea?'[51] The unknown poet of Rohan sings a similar tune in the final question of his song, although he is not fearful about his own destiny, only about the fate and survival of his people. 'Who shall gather the smoke of the dead wood burning, / Or behold the flowing years from the Sea returning?'[52] Galadriel's song is a magnificent, art-nouveau style confessional song, ending with the wish of sailing away to another, more blessed world, but she has little hope, lacking the belief in the power of the words and the strength of her own desire. The song from Rohan is a piece of popular poetry, and even though this poem also ends with images of grief and absence, there is still a trace of hope in it: the task of preservation and protection, the duty of gathering the smoke and ashes belongs to someone from the community, who is expected to give an affirmative answer to the call. The final expression, 'from the Sea returning' now gives a hint of a possible revival, for the last word keeps echoing the returning time.

In my essay, I attempted to outline some possible functions of the poems in *The Lord of the Rings*, in order to point out the fact that these passages have a crucial role in the interpretation of the novel, apart from the atmospheric contribution they provide. I am convinced that the origin myth of Tolkien's world is a useful starting point for this kind of study, because in this myth the form of song (and singing) has a fundamental role in the formation of the world's structure. This is why the interpretation of the related parts of *Ainulindale* took up a relatively long part of the essay. The examination of the lyrical pieces discussed in the present paper is certainly not enough for thorough research, so I have to emphasize that parallel analyses shall be carried on. For instance, I have not mentioned such exciting texts as the song of the Ent and the Entwife (beginning with 'When spring unfolds the beechen leaf' in Chapter III/4),[53] which provides a sensual context to the present situation and story of the Ents. Nor could I discuss the riddle-like poetic pieces of prophetic character (for example the ones beginning with 'All that is gold does not glitter' and 'Seek for the Sword that was broken,' both in Chapter II/2[54]).[55]

50 Tolkien: *Fellowship*, 440.

51 Tolkien: *Fellowship*, 440. The starting lines of the poem, however, apparently affirm the Orphic power of poetry: 'I sang of leaves, of leaves of gold, and leaves of gold there grew: / Of wind I sang, a wind there came and in the branches blew' (Tolkien: *Fellowship*, 439).

52 Tolkien: *Two Towers*, 133.

53 Tolkien: *Two Towers*, 94–95.

54 Tolkien: *Fellowship*, 298.

55 I have to say thank you to my colleague, György Marcsek, for his invaluable help in translating this essay.

Abstract

'Bare and leafless Day': The Function and Poetic Structure of the Poems in The Lord of the Rings

Poetic texts form an integral part of the epic world of The Lord of the Rings. *These poems and songs (ballads, epic poetry, riddles, various folk and popular songs, etc.) function as elements in the formation of the fictional word as well as a system of transmitting knowledge of the past, contributing to the development of cultural traditions related to the peoples (Hobbits, Ents, Elves, and Dwarves) and regions (Gondor, Rohan, Mordor) in the novel.*

In my essay, I attempt to outline some possible functions of the poems in The Lord of the Rings, *in order to point out the fact that these parts of the text have a crucial role in the interpretation of the novel, apart from the atmospheric contribution they provide. I am convinced that the origin myth of Tolkien's world is a useful starting point for this kind of study, because in this myth the form of song (and singing) has a fundamental role in the formation of the world's structure.*

Keywords

Tolkien, music, Ainulindale, song, nostalgia, poetic structure

Rezümé

„Lombtalan idő": A Gyűrűk Ura *verses szövegeinek funkciója és poétikai szerkezete*

A költői szövegek lényegi szerepet játszanak *A Gyűrűk Ura* epikus világformálásában. E versek és dalok (balladák, verses elbeszélések, rejtvények, különféle népi énekek stb.) funkciója részint a fikcionális világ megformálásában rejlik, részint a regény népeinek és régióinak közösségi emlékezetét jelenítik meg, s a hagyomány közvetítésért felelősek.

Dolgozatomban megkísérelem *A Gyűrűk Ura* lírai szövegeinek bizonyos funkcióit bemutatni, s eközben értelmezéseket is kínálni a szövegekkel kapcsolatban. Középföld eredetmítoszának vizsgálata (ahogyan azt A szilmarilok elbeszéli) az elgondolás hasznos kiindulópontjának tűnik, ezért foglalkozom részletesebben az Ainulindale vonatkozó részeinek interpretációjával.

Kulcsszavak

Tolkien, zene, Ainulindale, dal, nosztalgia, poétikai szerkezet

Turi Zita

Középkori és kora modern *pageant*-hagyomány a kortárs brit kultúrában[1]

> The cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces,
> The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
> Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
> And like this insubstantial *pageant* faded,
> Leave not a rack behind.
> (Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, 4.1.152–156)[2]

Az angol középkorral és a kora modern korral kapcsolatos performansz-tudomány kutatóinak figyelme eddig elsősorban a tizenhatodik és a tizenhetedik század eleji drámára összpontosult, és viszonylag kevesen foglalkoztak az úgynevezett *pageant*ek[3] kutatásával. Ennek oka egyrészt az lehet, hogy ugyan számos középkori és kora modern forrás elérhető a témakörben, ám az előadások rendkívüli sokszínűsége miatt ezek nehezen kategorizálhatók és rendszerezhetők. Másrészt a műfaj populáris jellege miatt a korszak szakértői sokszor meglehetősen elutasítóan viszonyultak a *pageant*ekhez. Ennek ellenére az utóbbi időben néhányan vizsgálták a témát: Tracey Hill elsősorban a társadalmi-politikai szempontokat mérlegelte, míg David M. Bergeron, Gordon Kipling és Kathleen Ashley, akárcsak e cikk írója, rituális előadásoknak tartják a *pageant*eket.[4]

Edward Muir olyan performatív cselekedetekként határozza meg a rítusokat, amelyek funkciója csak akkor teljesül, ha a résztvevőkben konkrét reakciókat váltanak ki; ha ezt nem teszik meg, akkor a performansz pusztán hatás nélküli, üres csele-

[1] Published with the permission of Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
Ez a cikk részben a European Society for the Study of English (ESSE) segítségével született meg. Köszönetem fejezem ki Rowland Wymernek, aki kritikai észrevételeivel segítette a munkámat.

[2] William Shakespeare: *The Tempest*. In Virginia Mason Vaughan – Alden T. Vaughan (szerk.): *Arden Shakespeare*, Revised Edition, London, Bloomsbury Publishing, 2011. Minden magyar idézetet Fábri Péter fordításában közlök. mek.oszk.hu/00400/00483/00483.htm (2020. május 28.).

[3] Mivel a *pageant* szót nem lehet pontosan lefordítani magyarra, az angol kifejezést használom. A *pageant* olyan nyilvános performansz/látványosság, amelyet felvonulások, zene és ének, illetve színpadi előadások kísérhetnek. Ilyen például az uralkodó beiktatása, éves városi ünnepségek és felvonulások, évfordulók, illetve a vallásos ünnepek szekuláris megnyilvánulásai.

[4] Lásd Tracey Hill: *Pageantry and Power: A Cultural History of the Early Modern Lord Mayor's Show, 1585–1639*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2013; Gordon Kipling: *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph*, Oxford, Calderon Press, 1998; Kathleen Ashley: „Introduction: The Moving Subjects of Processional Performance". In Kathleen Ashley – Wim Hüsken (szerk.): *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA, Rodopi, 2001, 7–35; David M. Bergeron: *English Civic Pageantry, 1558–1642*, London, Edward Arnold, 1971.

kedet.[5] Muir hozzáteszi, hogy a rituális performansz olyan „egységes előadás", illetve „viselkedési szabályrendszer", amelyen keresztül a rítus célja teljesül.[6] Ezek a performanszok társadalmi függőséget fejeznek ki,[7] ezért az előadások megerősíthetik és átdefiniálhatják azt az identitást, amellyel a közösség azonosulni szeretne. A *pageant*ek, akárcsak a rituálék, szintén csak az előadás pillanatában létező térbeli-időbeli események, és ez alkalmassá teszi őket a kulturális identitás átmeneti tükrözésére.

A középkori és a kora modern kori *pageant*ek különféle típusai összefüggést mutatnak a rituálék és a kulturális identitás kialakulása közt, és a mai napig meghatározó performatív események az Egyesült Királyságban. Jól példázza ezt három 2012-es előadás is: Andrew Lloyd Webber *Jézus Krisztus Szupersztár*ja, Damon Albarn és Rufus Norris *Dr. Dee* című operája, valamint a Danny Boyle által rendezett 2012. évi londoni olimpiai megnyitó ünnepség látványosságai. A *Dr. Dee*-t a „kulturális olimpia" (Cultural Olympiad), az Olimpiai Játékokat kísérő kulturális esemény-sorozat részeként állították újból színpadra, s noha Webber műve nem kapcsolódott az olimpiai játékokhoz, a produkció illeszkedik a 2012-ben bemutatott *pageant*-jellegű előadások sorába. Ezek az előadások a kulturális identitás alternatív narratíváit felvázoló *pageant*-hagyomány folytatásának tekinthetők.

A misztériumjátékok

2012-ben ismét színpadra vitték Andrew Lloyd Webber ikonikus musicaljét, a *Jézus Krisztus Szupersztár*t.[8] A látványos multimédia-elemekkel kiegészített show-t az első, 1972-es West End-i előadás negyvenedik évfordulója alkalmából álmodták meg az alkotók. A darabot Laurence Connor rendezte, Jézust Ben Foster, Júdást a brit születésű ausztrál komikus, Tim Minchin, Mária Magdolnát az ex-Spice Girl Melanie Chisholm, Heródest pedig a rádióhírésség Chris Moyles játszotta. A premiert országos aréna-turné követte. A musical Jézus utolsó napjait mutatja be: Krisztus megérkezését tanítványaival Jeruzsálembe, Júdással folytatott küzdelmét, a Pilátus és Heródes előtti meghallgatást és az ítéletet. A darab a keresztre feszítéssel ér véget, és nem történik utalás a feltámadásra. Az előadásnak többszintes, kivetítőkkel felszerelt színpad ad teret, amelynek közepén hatalmas lépcsősor köti össze a darab hétköznapi és transzcendens szintjeit. Az előadást élő rockzene és nagyképernyős médiainstallációk egészítik ki. A darab bizonyos részletei, mint például Júdás bűntudata vagy Heródes alakja nem felelnek meg közvetlenül az evangéliumoknak, és inkább köthetők a középkori misztériumjátékokhoz, különösen a legteljesebb ciklus, az úgynevezett „York Register" (másnéven York-ciklus) epizódjaihoz.

5 Edward Muir: *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2nd ed., 2005, 2.
6 Muir: *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, 3.
7 Muir: *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, 3.
8 Andrew Lloyd Webber: *Jesus Christ Superstar: Live Arena Tour*, DVD, rendezte Laurence Connor, London, Universal Pictures UK, 2012.

A York Register rögzítette az előadások menetét és részleteit, és az angol misztériumjáték-gyűjtemények közül a legteljesebb ciklust alkotja: 47 *pageant*ből áll, amelyeket a helyi céhek írtak és adtak elő a Corpus Christi (Úrnapja) ünnep során az 1460-as és 1470-es években.[9] A ciklusdrámákat a tizenhetedik század elejéig játszották Angliában; Clifford Davidson kutatásai szerint a yorki darabokat 1569-ig mutatták be.[10] A ciklusdrámák tükrözik a középkori keresztény teológiát és az adott közösség vallásgyakorlási szokásait; e két komponens alkotta a közösségi identitás alapját a tizenötödik századi Yorkban. A színdarabok helyi istentiszteleti mintákhoz adaptálódó vallásos megnyilvánulások voltak, amelyek révén a közösség értelmezte a szentség természetét, és amelyek a középkori Anglia identitásának magját képezték. Pamela M. King szerint a színdarabok szorosan összefüggenek a yorki liturgia formájával: az olvasás és írásbeliség elterjedésének hiányában sok laikus ember a játékokon keresztül ismerte meg a Bibliát. King hozzáteszi, hogy a laikus közönség számára az előadások vallásos élménnyé váltak, és tükrözték azt, ahogy a közösség a biblikus szövegeket értelmezte.[11] A misztériumjátékok remek lehetőséget kínáltak az egyháznak vallási doktrínái terjesztésére, illetve társadalmi-politikai hatalma demonstrálására, az előadásokat színre vivő céheknek pedig reklámlehetőséget biztosított a fesztivál, hiszen például az özönvíz-jelenetet a hajókészítők adták elő, saját mozgó hajószínpadjukon, míg az utolsó vacsorát a pékek vitték színpadra.

A huszadik században újjáéledt a York-ciklus, és 1990 óta rövidített változatban kétévente adják elő a darabokat rögzített vagy mozgó kocsiszínpadokon.[12] A ciklust jelentősen lerövidítették, és az előadásokat a modern közönség ízlése szerint dolgozták át. [13] Bár a misztériumjátékokat több évszázadon keresztül nem játszották, a ciklusok hatása többé-kevésbé folyamatos volt az elmúlt kb. 400 évben, és a tiltás ellenére a hagyomány széles körben kimutatható az Erzsébet- és Jakab-korabeli drámában. A huszadik században újra divatossá váltak a misztériumjátékok, és azóta is a brit populáris kultúra szerves részét képezik.

Noha a *Jézus Krisztus Szupersztár* az evangéliumok narratíváit követi, számos olyan epizódot tartalmaz, amely inkább a York-ciklussal mutat hasonlóságot. Webber musicalje nem Jézusra, hanem Júdásra összpontosít: belső konfliktusait, Jézusba vetett hitének megkérdőjelezését és az árulás utáni lelkiismereti válságát mutatja be. Júdás nem gazember vagy áruló a darabban; inkább egy olyan, a hatalommal állandóan szembeszálló, mélyen emberi szkeptikusként és cinikus lázadóként jelenik meg, akivel a közönség könnyen azonosulhat. A bibliai Júdást a Sátán befolyásolja, ami karakterét metafizikai szintre emeli. Lukács Evangéliuma az alábbiak szerint

9 Pamela M. King: *The York Mystery Cycle and the Worship of the City*, Westfield Medieval Studies, Cambridge, D.S. Brewer, 2006, 2.
10 Clifford Davidson: *Festivals and Plays in Late Medieval Britain*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2007, 143.
11 King: *The York Mystery Cycle*, 5.
12 Lásd yorkmysteryplays.co.uk/ (2020. május 28.).
13 Lásd Patrick Nuttgens – Bridget Nuttgens: „A Fortune for the Past: York in the Twentieth Century". In Patrick Nuttgens (szerk.): *The History of York: From Earliest Times to the Year 2000,* Pickering, Blackthorn Press, 2001, 302–358.

írja le az Utolsó Vacsorát: „Beméne pedig a Sátán Júdásba, ki Iskáriótesnek neveztetik, és a tizenkettőnek számából vala" (Lukács 22:3).[14] Rosemary Woolf szerint a karakter bibliai leírása hangsúlyozza, hogy az ördög közvetlenül manipulálja Júdást.[15] Woolf hozzáteszi, hogy az angol misztériumjátékok Júdás emberi és nem ördögi oldalát emelik ki, ellentétben a ciklusdrámák többi gonosz alakjával, például Heródessel vagy Káinnal, akikkel a közönség nem tudott azonosulni. Júdás összetettebb karakter, és nem pusztán a gonosz tükröződése.[16] Alakja kevésbé hangsúlyos a Towneley- és a Chester-ciklusokban,[17] míg a yorki darabokban nagyon markánsan jelen van. A 32. darab (*The Remorse of Judas*, „Júdás lelkiismerete"), amelyben Júdás visszaadja Pilátusnak a harminc ezüstpénzt, kiváló példája a karakter összetettségének. Máté 27:3–5 a következőképp írja le Júdás bűnbánatát és halálát: „eldobván az ezüst pénzeket a templomban, eltávozék; és elmenvén felakasztá magát". Mind a 32. darab, mind Webber musicalje követi Máté narratíváját, és mindkettő hangsúlyozza az öngyilkosság előtti bűntudat jelentőségét.

A York-ciklus nem részletezi Júdás öngyilkosságának körülményeit, ám Woolf megjegyzi, lehetséges, hogy egy némajáték keretein belül vitték színre, melynek során a színész imitálta a fellógatást, vagy esetleg egy Júdást ábrázoló képet rögzítettek az állványra.[18] Laurence Connor szintén némajátékhoz hasonló árnyjátékként ábrázolta az öngyilkossági jelenetet: a démonaitól meggyötört karakter a színpad hátulján egy nagy képernyő előtt áll (Jézus töviskoronát viselő fejével a háttérben), és egy árnyjáték keretén belül felakasztja magát egy, a sivatagban álló fára. E jelenet előtt Pilátus megjegyzi, hogy az árulás híressé teszi majd Júdást,[19] s ugyanez a téma jelenik meg a musicalben. Ez az epizód, akárcsak Jézus és Heródes találkozása, nem az evangéliumokat, hanem inkább a misztériumjátékok narratíváját tükrözi.

A középkori misztériumjátékok kutatói Heródes karakterét gyakran a rossz színjátszás legkiemelkedőbb példájaként tartják számon. Peter G. Beidler meggyőzően érvel amellett, hogy Chaucer *A Canterbury mesék* című művének egy epizódjában, „A molnár meséjé"-ben utal erre, melyben Absolon dühe Heródes alakját idézi.[20] Heródes színpadra lépése a York-ciklus 31. darabjában (*The Trial before Herod*, „Tárgyalás Pilátus előtt") meglehetősen extravagáns. A kardjával hadonászva fenyegeti a közönséget, és azt mondja:

[14] Minden bibliai idézetet Károli Gáspár fordításában közlök. biblia.hu/biblia_k/k_42_22.htm (2020. május 28.).

[15] Rosemary Woolf: *English Mystery Plays,* Berkley és Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1980 repr., 239.

[16] Woolf: *English Mystery Plays*, 240.

[17] Woolf: *English Mystery Plays*, 241.

[18] Woolf: *English Mystery Plays*, 243.

[19] „Fondely as a false foole thiselffe has famed." (212). *York Register, Play 32*. In Clifford Davidson (szerk.): *The York Corpus Christi Plays*, Online Middle English Texts Series, University of Rochester. d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/davidson-play-32-the-remorse-of-judas (2019. szeptember 1.).

[20] Peter G. Beidler: *The Lives of the Miller's Tale: The Roots, Composition and Retellings of Chaucer's Bawdy Story*, Jefferson, NC, McFarland and Company, 2015, 254.

> Ne nyelveljetek apróságokat / Vagy e fényes kard a fejetekbe hasít / Ne perlekedjetek jobb (ülő)helyekért, huppanjatok le a földre / És ne zavarogjatok, hanem félelemmel viseltessetek.[21]

Michael O'Connell megjegyzi, hogy ez a szakasz ellentétben áll Heródes azon soraival, melyekben óvatos és finom bánásmódot követel, mikor ágyba fektetik:[22]

> Te, mivel szívből szeretsz, / óvatosan fektess le, / mert jól tudod, / hogy nagyon érzékeny a bőröm.[23]

A Heródes zsarnoki és lágy oldala közötti ellentét következtében a figura bohócként jelenik meg, amely – ahogyan O'Connell hozzáteszi – remek lehetőségeket nyújt a komédiázásra a királyt ábrázoló színész számára.[24] A karakter megnyilvánulásai a néma yorki Jézus kihallgatása során a középkori szatirikus komédiákat, a *farce*-okat idézik, amit a korabeli közönség valószínűleg roppant szórakoztatónak talált. Ez a darab mutatja be a legrészletesebben ezt a bibliai passzust, a többi ciklusdrámában kevésbé hangsúlyosan jelenik meg az epizód, és O'Connell rámutat arra, hogy az N-Town ciklus fizikai agressziója, amely Heródes Krisztus meggyilkolására adott parancsában csúcsosodik ki, a yorki játékban intenzív nevetéssé alakul át.[25] A kora modern korban Heródes a rossz színész szimbólumává vált, amint azt Shakespeare *Hamlet*jében Hamlet ki is emeli:

> Ó, a lelkem facsarodik belé, ha egy tagbaszakadt, parókás fejű fickót hallok, hogyan tépi foszlánnyá, csupa rongyokká a szenvedélyt, csak hogy a földszint állók füleit megrepessze, kiknek legnagyobb részét semmi egyéb nem érdekli, mint kimagyarázhatatlan némajáték és zaj. Én az ilyen fickót megcsapatnám, amiért a dühöncöt is túlozza és heródesebb Heródesnél. Kerüld azt, kérlek (3.2. 3–5).[26]

Ezek a sorok jól mutatják, hogy Heródes az eltúlzott színészkedés elrettentő példájává vált a reneszánsz Angliában, és Webber musicalje is így ábrázolja a karaktert

[21] Saját fordítás. Vö. „Youre tounges fro tretyng of triffillis be trased, / Or this brande that is bright schall breste in youre brayne. / Plextis for no plasis, but platte you to this playne, / And drawe to no drofyng, but dresse you to drede." (3–6) d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/davidson-play-31-the-trial-before-herod (2019. szeptember 1.).

[22] Michael O'Connell: „Mockery, Farce, and *Risus Paschalis* in the York *Christ before Herod*". In Wim Hüsken – Konrad Schoell (szerk.): *Farce and Farcical Elements*, Amsterdam és New York, Rodopi, 2002, 45–59. 46.

[23] Saját fordítás. Vö. „Ya, but as thou luffes me hartely, / laye me doune softely, / For thou wotte full wele / that I am full tendirly hydid." (49–52) d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/davidson-play-31-the-trial-before-herod (2019. szeptember 1.).

[24] O'Connell: „Mockery, Farce, and *Risus Paschalis*", 46.

[25] O'Connell: „Mockery, Farce, and *Risus Paschalis*", 45–46.

[26] Arany János fordítása, mek.oszk.hu/00400/00486/00486.htm (2019. szeptember 1.).

(1:08:00-1:11:55). A *Jézus Krisztus Szupersztár* Heródesét egy rádiós híresség, Chris Moyles játssza, a király udvara, illetve a kihallgatás pedig televíziós vetélkedővé válik, amelyben Jézus a fő attrakció. Heródes, a show házigazdája hivalkodó vörös bársonyöltönyt visel, Elvis-szerű hajjal. Moyles túlzó játéka nevetségessé teszi a karaktert, aki, amikor Heródes király dalát énekli, cirkusszá változtatja Jézus kihallgatását, ahol Krisztusnak bizonyítania kell isteni mivoltát: „Győzz meg minket édes úr! Menj, ott a swimming pool! / kis sétát tegyél fenn a víz tetején!"[27] Később megkéri a csendes Jézust, hogy változtassa át a vizet borrá. Jézus azonban nem válaszol, a színpad közepén ül miniszoknyás táncosokkal körülvéve, és a Heródes előtti kihallgatás csillogó revübe torkollik. A kihallgatás-parádé végén Moyles a következőt énekli: „Ha te vagy a Krisztus, az igaz és nagy", majd a nézők, mint egy vetélkedőben, szavazhatnak arról, hogy Jézus csaló vagy isteni eredetű. A *Jézus Krisztus Szupersztár* a szent fogalmának huszadik századi reprezentációja, és a keresztre feszítéssel ér véget.

A megfeszítés a misztériumjátékokban is kulcsjelenet volt. Krisztust a kereszthez rögzítik, amelyet azután a közönség előtt felállítanak; a közönség szemtanúja Jézus halálának, feltámadásának és a végítélet napjának. Webber darabja azonban eltér a bibliai narratívától, kihagyja a feltámadást, és Jézusnak az Isten felé intézett kérdésével zárul: „Miért hagytál el engem?" Ez nem jellemző a misztériumjátékokra. A *Jézus Krisztus Szupersztár* olyan *pageant*et mutat be, amelynek fókuszában a bibliai narratíva emberi aspektusai állnak, és amely a feltámadás és a megváltás kérdését megválaszolatlanul hagyja. A musical és a York-ciklus közötti hasonlóságok valószínűleg szándékosak, mivel a York-ciklus a huszadik században újra életre kelt, és széles körben elérhetővé vált a nagyközönség számára.

A misztériumjátékok iránti populáris és tudományos érdeklődés folyamatosan növekszik a 19. század óta. David Mills úgy érvel, hogy a hagyomány újjáélesztése fontos szerepet játszott a közösségek életében, hiszen a hagyomány összekötötte a jelen és a múlt közösségi gyakorlatait, és aktívan hozzájárult az adott város kulturális identitásának megteremtéséhez.[28] A 2012. évi *Jézus Krisztus Szupersztár* aréna-turné ezzel a performatív hagyománnyal kísérletezik úgy, hogy bemutatja a passió szekularizált változatát, amely megfelel a szekularizált brit közönség kulturális elvárásainak.

[27] A magyar szöveget Miklós Tibor fordításában közlöm. Tim Rice – Andrew Lloyd Webber: *Jézus Krisztus szupersztár* musical, Margitszigeti Szabadtéri Színpad, 2015. szöveg.hu/dalszoveg/16392/jezus-krisztus-szuper-sztar/herodes-kiraly-dala-zeneszoveg.html (2020. november 25)
A yorki ciklus Heródese szintén arra kényszeríti Jézust, hogy csodatételeken keresztül bizonyítsa isteni mivoltát. A ciklusdráma Krisztusa, akárcsak a musical karaktere, néma marad (lásd *The Trial before Herod*); lásd O'Connell: „Mockery, Farce, and *Risus Paschalis*", 45–46.

[28] David Mills: *Recycling the Cycle: The City of Chester and Its Whitsun Plays*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1998, 218–219.

Dr. Dee

Damon Albarn és Rufus Norris operáját, a *Dr. Dee*-t 2011-ben mutatták be a Manchester International Festival keretein belül. Albarn a brit Blur és Gorillaz együttesek énekese és dalszerzője, Rufus Norris pedig a londoni Royal National Theatre művészeti igazgatója. A darabot a 2012-es kulturális olimpia részeként újra színpadra vitték, ezúttal a London Coliseumban. Az operát John Dee, a tizenhatodik századi okkultista, matematikus, asztrológus, alkimista, filozófus és I. Erzsébet kémje inspirálta. Dee befolyása révén kimagasló kulturális jelentőséggel bírt a 16. századi Angliában. Többek között ő alkotta meg a „Brit Birodalom" kifejezést, és *General and Rare Memorials Pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Navigation* (1577) című művében az Újvilág meghódítására biztatta I. Erzsébet királynőt. Dee-nek a kora modern korra gyakorolt jelentős kulturális hatását jól mutatja, hogy tartja magát a meggyőződés, miszerint ő volt a fő inspiráció, mikor Shakespeare megalkotta Prospero alakját *A vihar*ban (1611). A tizenhatodik századi Anglia egyik legbefolyásosabb embere volt, mégis szegényen és elhagyatottan halt meg.

A színházi plakátok „angol operaként" reklámozták a darabot, ami sajátos megfogalmazás, mivel az opera nem tipikusan angol műfaj. A darabot hagyományos reneszánsz zene kíséri, modern elemekkel és afrikai dobokkal. A dobok különös jelentőséggel bírnak, hiszen, ahogy Albarn több interjúban kifejtette, a zene és a színház rituális jellegét fejezik ki. John Dee tragédiáját és kapcsolatát alkimista társával, Edward Kelley-vel az előadás ritualisztikus elemei egészítik ki. Az Albarn–Norris produkció a két reneszánsz tudós okkult kísérleteit mutatja be, amelyek csúcspontja a híres „feleségcsere"-jelenet. Ez egy sajátos szertartás volt, amelyben Dee és Kelley elcserélték feleségeiket, és a megállapodást a vérükkel aláírt szerződésben rögzítették. Szőnyi György Endre és Rowland Wymer cikkükben a kora modern kortól a huszonegyedik századig térképezik fel a John Dee-vel kapcsolatos kulturális utalásokat, és megállapítják, hogy Dee már életében megjelent a korabeli irodalmi művekben. Szőnyi Shakespeare *A vihar*jára és Marlowe *Doktor Faustus*ára utal, és úgy érvel, hogy a kortársak varázslóként és ezoterikus tudósként tekintettek Dr. Dee-re.[29]

Szőnyi hangsúlyozza, hogy Dee kulturális hírnevét John Weever alapozta meg 1631-es *Ancient Funerall Monuments* című művében, amely a halottakkal kapcsolatos szokásokkal és hagyományokkal foglalkozik. Weever megemlít egy történetet Dee kristálygömbjéről és a kortárs alkimistáról, Edward Kelley-ről. Az anekdota szerint Kelley és munkatársa, Paul Waring megidézte a halottakat egy temetőben, és kikérdezte őket. Noha a történetben nem jelenik meg Dee, Meric Casaubon *A True and Faithful Relation* 1659-es kiadásához készült, Dee és Kelley kísérleteiről is beszámoló előszava együtt említi a két tudóst, a tizenhetedik század végére a kulturális

[29] Szőnyi György Endre – Rowland Wymer: „John Dee as a Cultural Hero". *European Journal of English Studies* 15 (3): 2011, 189–209. 189. Doi: tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13825577.2011.626942 (2020.november 25.)

emlékezet pedig már úgy rögzítette a történetet, hogy Dee és Kelley feltámasztotta a halottakat.[30]

A cikk második részében Rowland Wymer olyan huszadik századi filmes és irodalmi példákat említ, amelyek Dee-t modern és posztmodern hősként ábrázolják, és arra használják a karakterét, hogy megragadják az angol kulturális identitást.[31] Wymer többek között Derek Jarman 1978. évi filmjére, a *Jubilee*-re hivatkozik, amely párhuzamot von az Erzsébet-kor és az angol punk szubkultúra között: Dee fehér mágusként, Erzsébet királynő pedig az aranykor megtestesítőjeként jelenik meg, és a film szembe állítja a reneszánsz iránti nosztalgiát az 1970-es évek gazdasági és politikai kontextusával.[32] A kéziratban fennmaradt *Kicking the Pricks* című tervezetében Jarman kifejti, miért látja Dee-t reprezentatív kulturális alakként: „Érdekelt Dee, és megtudtam, hogy az Erzsébet-kori London egyik központi alakja volt. Ezután kutatni kezdtem, és azt találtam, hogy valószínűleg találkozott Giordano Brunóval. Shakespeare biztosan hallott róla, még akkor is, ha valójában nem találkozott vele, és talán Dee inspirálta Prospero alakjának megformálásában."[33] Valószínű, hogy Dee ilyenforma kulturális jelentősége inspirálta Rufus Norrist és Damon Albarnt, mikor megírták operájukat. A darab teljes egészében az *A True and Faithful Relation* (1659) szövegén alapul, és tragikus hősként mutatja be a tudóst.

Az előadás kétszintes színpadon zajlik, amely a középkori Angliára jellemző színpadi szerkezet, s amelyet Shakespeare Globe Színházában szintén használtak. Albarn és a zenekar az egész előadás során a színpadon van: az elején az alsó színpadon ülnek, míg a felső színpad egy *pageant* terévé válik, melyben történelmi alakok felvonulása reprezentálja az angol történelmet, és megalapozza a darab kulturális üzenetét. A nyitójelenet lefekteti az opera koncepcióját: ez nem csupán John Dee életének dramatizálása – Dee az angol identitás kulcsfontosságú alakjaként jelenik meg. Az előadás ennek az ikonikus embernek a bukását ábrázolja, akit – akárcsak Jarman *Jubilee* című filmjében – arra használnak, hogy Anglia és az „angolság" egy alternatív történetét mutassák be. Wymer szerint ebben központi szerepet játszik a letűnt Erzsébet-kor, amelyben a tudomány, a vallás, a mágia és a művészet nem feltétlenül voltak különálló és egymásnak ellentmondó narratívák.[34]

Erzsébet halála után gyakorlatilag azonnal megjelent az aranykor iránti nosztalgia az angol drámai hagyományban, amint azt például Thomas Dekker *The Whore of Babylon* (1607) című drámája is mutatja. Dekker ún. „polgári *pageant*eket" is írt, és részt vett az I. Jakab 1603-as koronázása alkalmából szervezett ünnepségsorozat megtervezésében. Ennek nyomtatott szövegemléke a *The Magnificent Entertainment* (1604) című fesztiválkönyv, amelynek sok elemét később átültette színpadra írt darabjaiba is. A *The Whore of Babylon* allegorikus színmű, amely a Titania (Tündérföld királynéja, az igaz hit védelmezője és I. Erzsébet irodalmi alteregója) és a babiloni szajha (Róma és a pápa szimbóluma) közötti csatát ábrázolja. A darab gyakorlatilag egy politikai *pageant*-sorozat, amelyet a Titania elleni merényletkísérletek kapcsolnak össze. Minden ilyen kísérlet kudarcot vall, és válaszként a babiloni császárné flottát küld Tündérország megtámadásra, mely utalás a Spanyol Armada 1588-as támadására. Dekker *pageant*jei a polgári szórakoztatás és a professzionális színház közötti átfedések kiváló példái. A *The Whore of Babylon* történelmi dráma, amely tükrözi a letűnt Erzsébet-kort, az aranykort és a tizenhetedik századfordulós angol identitást.[35]

Egy látványos tabló keretén belül a Spanyol Armada és Erzsébet alakja is megjelenik a *Dr. Dee*-ben: a királynő hatalmas, aranyszínű köpenyben a színpad közepén lóg, köpenye a válláról a színpad padlójáig omlik, ami az uralkodó isteni eredetét, gazdagságát és hatalmát jelképezi. A királynő köpenye színpadi függönyként funkcionál, a jelenet alatta bontakozik ki. A közönség szemtanúja lehet a Brit Birodalom születésének: ezt a színpadon megjelenő angol zászlók jelölik, amelyek apró hajók vitorláiként szimbolizálják az angol flottát. A jelenetben színre lép Dee alakja is, aki állítólag megidézte a vihart, amelyben a spanyol hajók elsüllyedtek. Az előadás végén Albarn hátrafelé leesik a színpad mögé, és köddé válik, akárcsak a történelmi figurák az első jelenetben.

A *Dr. Dee* operajellegű előadás, s központi eleme az angol kultúrát átható melankólia, amely fontos szerepet játszik a tizenhatodik és a tizenhetedik századi angol irodalomban és művészetben is. Albarn és Norris *pageant*-sorozata az angol identitás különféle aspektusait mutatja be, és az „angolság" fogalmát a reneszánszig vezeti vissza, amikor a tudomány és a spiritualitás kiegészítették egymást. Ez az időszak a Brit Birodalom születését is jelöli, amely kifejezést Dee alkotott meg, és biztatta Erzsébetet az Újvilág meghódítására. Wymer szerint Dee 20. századi népszerűsége annak köszönhető, hogy az 1570-es években a matematikát elvetve az alkímia és mágia felé fordult, és ez mintegy előrevetíti a felvilágosodás elutasítását, amely Blake-kel kezdődött, és amely meghatározta az 1960-as és 1970-es évek ellenkultúra-mozgalmát Angliában.[36] Ez utóbbi fontos szerepet kap a Danny Boyle által rendezett 2012-es olimpiai nyitóünnepség, az *Isles of Wonder* (*Csodák szigete*) dramaturgiájában is; a rendező ott kezdi a nyitóünnepséget, ahol a *Dr. Dee* véget ér: a racionalizmus és az ipari forradalom hajnalán.

30 SZŐNYI – WYMER: „John Dee as a Cultural Hero", 190.

31 SZŐNYI – WYMER: „John Dee as a Cultural Hero", 198.

32 SZŐNYI – WYMER: „John Dee as a Cultural Hero", 200–201.

33 Saját fordítás. „I was interested in Dee, I discovered that he had been at the intellectual center of Elizabethan London. After that I started to make connections, he probably met Giordano Bruno. Shakespeare must have heard of him even if he didn't actually meet him, maybe Prospero was modelled on him." Idézi SZŐNYI – WYMER: „John Dee as a Cultural Hero", 199.

34 SZŐNYI – WYMER: „John Dee as a Cultural Hero", 203.

35 Erzsébet kultusza kapcsán lásd. Stróbl Erzsébet: „Az Úr második szolgálóleánya – I. Erzsébet királynő kultusza a kora Jakab-korban". In Panka Dániel–Pikli Natália–Ruttkay Veronika (szerk.): *Kősziklára építve – Built upon His Rock/Írások Dávidházi Péter tiszteletére– Writings in Honour of Péter Dávidházi,* Budapest, ELTE BTK Angol-Amerikai Intézet Anglisztika Tanszék, 2018, 359–367.

36 SZŐNYI – WYMER: „John Dee as a Cultural Hero", 201.

Isles of Wonder

A polgári *pageant*ek nagyon népszerűek voltak a középkorban és a kora modern korban, általában a közösség számára meghatározó pillanatokban adták őket elő, például katonai győzelmek után rendezett ünnepségeken. A római hagyományból származó polgári *pageant*ek különféle formákat öltöttek: lehettek diadalmas bevonulások, udvari látványosságok (lovagi tornákkal és lakomákkal), koronázási felvonulások, királyi esküvők (pl. VII. Henrik és Yorki Erzsébet esküvője) vagy az ún. Lord Mayor Show, a londoni polgármester éves ünnepségének fontos elemei. Ezek az előadások mitológiai vagy történelmi karaktereket ábrázoló rituáléknak tekinthetők, amelyek vallási célokat szolgáltak, vagy esetleg az egyházat és a társadalom más tekintélyes testületeit gúnyolták. C. Clifford Flanigan szerint a *pageant*ek olyan, mindig a közösséget szolgáló performatív események, amelyek hozzájárulnak a közösség identitásképzéséhez.[37] Flanigan hozzáteszi, hogy ezek a ritualisztikus előadások olyan csoportos tevékenységek, amelyekben az individualitás minimálisra csökken, és a performanszok fizikai formája, a menetek lineáris, illetve kör alakú mozgása erősíti a csoport identitásának kifejezését; mivel a tömeg egy irányba mozog, a céljaik is megegyeznek.[38] A csoportidentitás hasonlóképpen teremtődik meg az *Isles of Wonder pageant*jeiben is.[39] Az olimpiai megnyitó lehetőséget adott Nagy-Britanniának arra, hogy kifejezze és átdefiniálja kulturális és nemzeti identitását a világszínpadon.

Míg a *Dr. Dee* az „angolságot" az Erzsébet-korhoz kötötte, az olimpiai megnyitó csak nagyon röviden tesz utalást a kora modern korra, és a tizenkilencedik századot tekinti döntőnek a kortárs brit identitás meghatározása szempontjából. Ugyan az Oscar-díjas Danny Boyle, az ikonikus *Trainspotting* (1996) rendezője tiszteleg az ipari forradalom eredményei előtt és elismeri, hogy azok Nagy-Britanniát a bolygó egyik vezető gazdasági hatalmává tették, a produkció kétértelműséget és kritikát is kifejez azzal kapcsolatban, milyen ára volt a jólétnek és a fejlődésnek. A megnyitó az ipari forradalom *pageant*jeivel kezdődik, és megjelenik annak egyik legkiemelkedőbb mérnöke, Isambard Kingdom Brunel, akit a Shakespeare-színész Kenneth Branagh alakít. Az előadás színterének egyik végén, egy zöld szigeten álló tölgyfa (Glastonbury Tor jelképe) alatt mondja el Shakespeare *A vihar* című darabjából a következő sorokat:

[37] C. Clifford Flanigan: „The Moving Subject: Medieval Liturgical Processions in Semiotic and Cultural Perspective". In Kathleen Ashley – Wim Hüsken (szerk.): *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA, Rodopi, 2001, 35–53. 38.

[38] Flanigan: „The Moving Subjects", 39.

[39] Danny Boyle (rendező): *Isles of Wonder. London 2012 Olympic Games. Opening Ceremony*. DVD, London, BBC, 2012.

Ne félj, a sziget tele van zajokkal,
hangokkal, dallamokkal, egy se bánt.
Van úgy, hogy ezer hangszer húrja peng
a fülembe, néha meg olyan hangok,
ha rájuk ébrednék alvás után,
elaltatnának újra: és álmomban
kincseiket mutogatnák a felhők,
és az mind rám zúdulna; ébren aztán
sírnék, hogy újra álmodhassam ezt. (3.2)[40]

Ezek Caliban sorai, amelyekben Prospero szigetének furcsa hangjait írja le. Az „ezer hangszer húrja" említése szellemesen előkészíti a következő jeleneteket, amelyekben Brunel álma intenzív rituális dobszó és zene kíséretében fokozatosan kibontakozik. A shakespeare-i sorokat Anglia zöld és természetes vidékének letarolása követi, helyüket az ipari forradalom füstölgő kéményei és gépei veszik át. Ezt követi az olimpiai gyűrűk élő kovácsolása, amelyet Brunel maga felügyel. Az olimpiai gyűrűket az előadás tere felett kifeszített vashuzalokra emelik, így azok mennyei körökhöz hasonlítanak, amelyeket szinte vallásos áhítattal csodál minden mérnök és munkás. Noha a jelenet az emberi alkotást és a mérnöki zsenialitást ünnepli, a *pageant*et „Pandemoniumnak" nevezték el, utalásként Milton *Az elveszett paradicsom* című művére, amelynek első könyvében a Sátán és udvara a pokolban építik fel városukat és Pandemoniumnak, azaz „összes démonoknak" nevezik el.[41] Milton eposzának ez a részlete arról számol be, hogy a Sátán és társai, miután lezuhantak a mennyből, magukhoz térnek, és elkezdik építeni királyságukat a pokolban:

mert már előbb
lehullt, a pártütőkkel; s nem segített
rajta sok égi tornya; semmi gépe
nem mentette meg: fejest dobatott, mint
serény hada: építsen a Pokolban (1.746–750)[42]

[40] „Be not afeard. The isle is full of noises, / Sounds and sweet airs, that give delight and hurt not. / Sometimes a thousand twangling instruments / Will hum about mine ears; and sometime voices, / That if I then had waked after long sleep, / Will make me sleep again; and then, in dreaming, / The clouds, methought, would open and show riches / Ready to drop upon me, that when I waked / I cried to dream again." (3.2.135–143) Fábri Péter fordítása, mek.oszk.hu/00400/00483/00483.htm

[41] William Blake *Jerusalem* (1808) című verse sötét sátáni malmokként („these dark Satanic mills") utal erre.

[42] Szabó Lőrinc fordítása. In *Örök barátaink* I, Budapest, Osiris Kiadó, 2002. krk.szabolorinc.hu/orokbarataink.htm (2020. november 25.)
Vö. „for he [Satan] with his rebellious rout / Fell long before; nor aught avail'd him now / To have built in Heav'n high Towrs; nor did he scape / By all his Engins, but was headlong sent / With his industrious crew to build in hell." (747–751), dartmouth.edu/~milton/reading_room/pl/book_1/text.shtml (2019. szeptember 19.).

Az olimpiai nyitóünnepségnek ez a része a poklot idézi: a zöld gyepet felszedik, és az idillikus táj embertelen iparosodott környezetté alakul, megjelenítve ezzel az Aranykor átváltozását egy mechanikus világgá, amelyben, ahogy John Donne írja 1611-es „A világ anatómiája" („The Anatomy of the World") című versében, „all coherence is gone".[43] A füstölő kémények, a gerendahajtóművek, a gőz, a tűz és az olvadt ólom fortyogó elegyéből pokoli birodalom bontakozik ki, amely meglehetősen zord képet fest a modern Nagy-Britanniáról. Ironikus módon, a „Pandemonium" jelenetet a „Boldog és dicső" („Happy and Glorious") szakasz követi, egy rövid BBC film, amelyben II. Erzsébet királynő meghívja James Bondot – akit Daniel Craig alakít – a Buckingham palotába. Bond helikopterrel kíséri őt a Wembley Stadionhoz, a királynő ejtőernyővel kiugrik a repülőgépből, és az uralkodó isteni eredetének középkori és kora modern elképzeléséhez méltóan az égből érkezve nyitja meg a 2012. évi olimpiai játékokat.

James Bond karaktere köti össze a Pandemonium *pageant*et az ünnepség következő felvonásával, amely megemlékezik a Nemzeti Egészségügyi Szolgálat (National Health Service) 1948-as megalapításáról, az első londoni olimpiáról, illetve fontos irodalmi és kulturális utalásokat vonultat fel. Érdekes módon az alkotók elsősorban gyermekirodalmi alkotásokat idéznek meg, például J. M. Travers *Mary Poppins*-sorozatát, J. M. Barrie *Pán Péter*ét, és J. K. Rowling *Harry Potter*ét. Az „angol irodalom atyja", Geoffrey Chaucer, az Erzsébet- és Jakab-korabeli drámaírók, valamint a tizennyolcadik és tizenkilencedik századi szerzők kimaradtak – talán mert ezek a művek nem tükrözik az ipari forradalom és a felvilágosodás eszmeiségére adott kulturális és irodalmi reakciót, vagyis a mágia és a varázslat hiányának megjelenítését egy mechanikus világban. Amint azt John Dee esetében láttuk, a varázslatot ábrázoló irodalmi művek beemelése egy olyan szélesebb kulturális tendencia jele lehet, amely megkérdőjelezi a nyugati civilizáció túlracionalizált világképét.

Az *Isles of Wonder* második része a kortárs brit kultúrát ábrázolja, és elsősorban a televízióra, a pop-rock zenére és a közösségi médiára összpontosít. Míg a műsor Shakespeare *A vihar* című darabjának egy részletével kezdődött, az angol nyelv jelenlegi állapota a közösségi média rövidítéseire és szlengjére redukálódik. Csevegőbuborékok villannak fel, „luv u"-k és hasonló kamasz-üzenetek cikáznak a nézők előtt, kísérőzeneként pedig olyan slágerek szólnak, mint a The Rolling Stones „I Can't Get No Satisfaction" című dala. Ezt követi az 1970-es évek punk kultúrája, a The Sex Pistols „Pretty Vacant" című számának soraival: „and we don't care."[44] Egymást követik David Bowie, a Eurythmics, a Prodigy, a Blur, a Muse és Amy Winehouse ikonikus dalai, végül az ünnepség fergeteges házibuliba torkollik, amire a bolygó minden lakosa magától Sir Tim Berners-Lee-től, a világháló feltalálójától kap meghívást.

Az *Isles of Wonder* a brit identitást kívánja megragadni, a dinamikus *pageant*-sorozat olyan társadalmat mutat be, amelynek gyökerei elsősorban a felvilágosodás korában és az ipari forradalom eredményeiben és szellemiségében rejlenek. A transzcendens szinte egyáltalán nincs jelen a produkcióban, a metafizikus áhítatot a tudományos fejlesztések csodálata váltja fel, és a spiritualitást csak a gyermekirodalomban megjelenő varázslat képviseli. A 2012-es londoni olimpia megnyitóünnepsége a multikulturális és globalizált brit társadalom képével zárul, amelyben a (főként populáris) kultúra jól exportálható termékké vált.

[43] „Minden egység elveszett." Saját fordítás.

[44] „És ez minket nem érdekel." Saját fordítás.

Konklúzió

A *pageant*ek a középkor óta folyamatosan jelen vannak Nagy-Britannia performatív hagyományában. A bibliai narratívák, különösen Krisztus szenvedésének újbóli bevezetése a yorki misztériumciklusba tükrözi a közösség vallásos gyakorlatát és a közösségi identitás kialakulását York városában. A tizenhatodik század végére a vallási *pageant*-hagyományt szinte teljesen betiltották, és történelmi vagy mitológiai témájú szekularizált előadások váltották fel, melyek kifejezték a kollektív identitást és a politikai hatalmat. A *pageant*ek elemei beszivárogtak a korabeli professzionális dráma hagyományaiba és viszont: a professzionális dráma befolyásolta a népszerű előadásokat. A tárgyalt 2012-es előadások a *pageant*-hagyomány szekularizációjának huszonegyedik századi példájaként tekinthetők: a *Jézus Krisztus Szupersztár* egyértelműen magán viseli a yorki darabok jellegzetességeit, és feltámadása nélkül mutatja be Krisztus szenvedéstörténetét. A *Dr. Dee* szellemiségét a mágia hatja át, és a darab megjeleníti az angol nemzeti identitás és a Brit Birodalom születésének pillanatát, míg az olimpiai megnyitó a mágia helyett az iparosodás és a mérnöki teljesítmény csodájára fókuszál. Ezek az előadások a brit kultúra egymást követő korszakainak reprezentációjaként értelmezhetők: az egyházi uralom alatt álló középkori Anglia, az Erzsébet uralkodását övező aranykor-mítosz és az ipari forradalom világa jelenik meg bennük. A kortárs *pageant*-előadások ily módon történő felhasználása továbbra is ritualisztikus jelleggel bír, és a *pageant*ek alkalmasak arra, hogy megjelenítsék az Egyesült Királyság kulturális sokszínűségén alapuló nemzeti identitást a 21. században, illetve kifejezzék azt az illuzórikus és múlandó kulturális identitást, mely „föloldódik egyszer / és mint ez a ködből lett maszkabál, / nyomtalan elszáll" (*A vihar,* 4.1.).

Rezümé

Dolgozatomban a középkori és a kora modern kori ún. *pageant*-hagyomány sajátosságait elemzem a kortárs brit kultúrában. Három 2012-es előadást vizsgálok: Andrew Lloyd Webber *Jézus Krisztus Szupersztár* című musicaljét, Damon Albarn és Rufus Norris operáját, a *Dr. Dee*-t és a Danny Boyle által rendezett 2012. évi olimpiai megnyitó ünnepséget. A középkori/kora modern kori *pageant*ek olyan kulturális performanszként is értelmezhetők, melyek lehetővé teszik a kulturális identitás

megteremtését. A három 2012-es előadás tükrözi a 21. századi brit kulturális identitást, ugyanakkor a kulturális identitás alternatív narratíváit felvázoló *pageant*-hagyomány folytatásának is tekinthetők.

Kulcsszavak
középkor, kora modern kor, *pageantry*, *Dr. Dee*, *Jézus Krisztus szupersztár*, Londoni Olimpiai Megnyitóünnepség

Abstract

My paper explores medieval and early modern pageantry in contemporary British culture through performances staged in 2012 in England: Andrew Lloyd Webber's Jesus Christ Superstar, *Damon Albarn and Rufus Norris' opera,* Dr Dee, *and the 2012 Olympic Opening Ceremony. I argue that global attention in 2012 offered the opportunity for Britain to redefine its cultural identity through the above-mentioned performances.*

Keywords
medieval, early modern, pageantry, *Dr Dee*, *Jesus Christ Superstar*, London Olympic Opening Ceremony

Következő számunk tartalmából – kuba