ORAL TRADITION

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Editor's Column

With the present issue, *Oral Tradition* begins its twenty-third year of publication. We are happy to report that the entire run of the journal, from the inaugural issue in 1986 through the present number, is now available as an open-access, searchable, and free-of-charge online resource. In other words, scholars and students from anywhere in the world can read or download any of approximately 500 articles on the world's oral traditions, amounting to some 10,000 pages—all without subscription fees of any sort. And the tracking software on our server strongly indicates that they have been doing just that: people from 109 different countries, using browsers in nearly 50 languages, have visited the site. Just as importantly, we are now receiving submissions from a much wider range of potential authors, many of them based in areas where they have firsthand experience of thriving oral traditions. We look forward to helping more people join the international conversation that *Oral Tradition* was long ago established to support.

Fatos Tarifa begins this issue with a fascinating account of the roots of Albanian "customary law" in oral tradition. Purportedly formulated by the fifteenth-century Prince Dukagjini, this body of law was passed down orally for many generations and "shaped and dominated the lives of northern Albanians until well into the mid-twentieth century." Next, Florence Goyet proposes a new theory of what oral and oral-derived epic actually do for a society: namely, they compare contemporary visions of the world, offering audiences an instrument for thinking about and evaluating alternatives. Her essay considers the ancient Greek *Iliad*, the Old French *Song of Roland*, and the Japanese *Hôgen* and *Heiji monogatari*. Next comes an essay on Mark Twain's (highly literate and literary) novel, *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, in which Marie Nelson explores the author Clemens' use of simulated oral speech-acts to trigger certain kinds of realities and hoped-for responses. In a similar vein if also in a very different kind of work, Nancy P. Stork finds "traditions of oral memory and composition" operative even in as thoroughly textual a document as Julian of Toledo's *Prognosticon*, written in seventh-century Visigothic Spain.

The next five articles show a similar variety in subject and breadth of approach. Susan Gorman studies Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, also known as *The Golden Ass*, in the context of second-century Roman public readings, called *recitationes*, arguing that this work creates a new kind of politically valenced storytelling. As a counterweight to the prevailing evolutionary notion of oral-to-written, Tom Pettitt examines the evidence for the source and transmission of a Gypsy folk ballad that had its origin in a printed broadside and was subsequently absorbed into the vibrant oral tradition of English folk song. Lene Petersen likewise productively problematizes oral and written in her analysis of Elizabethan playtexts, specifically *Hamlet* and *Romeo and Juliet*, arguing that laws of variation governing folk narrative are also applicable in playtext transmission. Narrative strategies—methods for effective storytelling, in short—are the focus of Owain Edwards' treatment of the legend of St. David, the Welsh patron saint, in versions of which he locates certain propagandistic motives. Finally, Thérèse de Vet reports on her fieldwork on performances of Balinese oral epic, comparing what she has uncovered with the oral-derived poems of Homer from ancient Greece.

Let me close this column with a special invitation to those of you who have discovered *Oral Tradition* via the internet, which in many ways I take to be its most natural home.[1] Please share your research and ideas by sending us your contributions for possible publication. We can offer prompt evaluation (usually 60-90 days), the opportunity to include multimedia illustrations (audio, video, photographs, etc.) to accompany your text, and not least an increasingly large and extremely diverse international audience.

John Miles Foley
Editor, *Oral Tradition*
http://journal.oraltradition.org

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[1] See further Foley, "Navigating Pathways: Oral Tradition and the Internet," *Academic Intersections*, 2 (Spring 2008): http://edcommunity.apple.com/ali/story.php?itemID=13163 .

Of Time, Honor, and Memory:
Oral Law in Albania

Fatos Tarifa

This essay provides a historical account of the role of oral tradition in passing on from generation to generation an ancient code of customary law that has shaped and dominated the lives of northern Albanians until well into the mid-twentieth century. This traditional body of customary law is known as the *Kode* of Lekë Dukagjini. It represents a series of norms, mores, and injunctions that were passed down by word of mouth for generations and reputedly originally formulated by Lekë Dukagjini, an Albanian prince and companion-in-arms to Albania's national hero, George Kastriot Skanderbeg (1405-68). Lekë Dukagjini ruled the territories of Pulati, Puka, Mirdita, Lura, and Luma in northern Albania—known today as the region of Dukagjini—until the Ottoman armies seized Albania's northernmost city of Shkodër in 1479.

Throughout the past five to six centuries this corpus of customary law has been referred to as *Kanuni i Lekë Dukagjinit*, *Kanuni i Malsisë* (the Code of the Highlands), or *Kanuni i maleve* (the Code of the Mountains). The "Code" is an inexact term, since *Kanun*, deriving from the Greek *kanon*, simultaneously signifies "norm," "rule," and "measure." The *Kanun*, but most particularly the norm of vengeance, or blood taking, as its standard punitive apparatus, continue to this day to be a subject of historical, sociological, anthropological, and juridical interest involving various theoretical frames of reference from the dominant trends of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to today.

The *Kanun* of Lekë Dukagjini was not the only customary law in Albania. Some regions in the north attributed theirs to Skanderbeg (*Kanuni i Skënderbeut*—the Code of Skanderbeg), and in the south another Code (*Kanuni i Labërisë*—the Code of Labëria) was enforced, although not as rigidly as the *Kanun* of Lekë Dukagjini. Although the latter two are little known, they, too, are worthy of sociological and anthropological attention.

Before the Ottoman Turks invaded Albania over 600 years ago, the country was divided into several petty principalities, none of which was sufficiently strong for long enough to subject a neighboring territory to its rule. Faced with the danger of Ottoman invasion, Skanderbeg was able to unite all of the Albanian princes and their territories under his unchallenged leadership in a single state. Lekë Dukagjini was one of his closest friends and allies. They both were Christian crusaders and resisted the whole force of the Ottoman army for a quarter of a century. Although the Ottomans finally conquered Albania ten years after the death of Skanderbeg, they were

unable to exert more than a nominal authority outside the main towns, and certainly not in the remote highlands of northern Albania, which formed the northwestern corner of Ottoman Turkey in Europe. As Edith Durham, to whom we owe essentially the first in-depth interest and study on Albania's customary law, has put it, "the mountain tribesman has never been more than nominally conquered—and is still unsubdued. Empires pass over him and run off like water from a duck's back" (Durham 1910:453).[1]

Like other foreign invaders before them, the Turks barely bothered with the highlanders of northern Albania. A number of authors point to the fact that there were no roads[2] along which the Ottoman forces, strong enough to be effective, could march in order to reduce them to real submission. Johnson (1916:36) writes:

> The conquering arm of the Turk[s] reduced the Bulgarian inhabitants of open plains to complete subjection within a comparatively short time; but a century and a quarter was required to secure a less firm hold upon the mountains of Serbia, while the inaccessible wilds of Albania and Montenegro were never completely subjected to Turkish power.

As Margaret Hasluck[3] points out, "the Turkish government, unable to enforce its will, accepted the situation and left the mountaineers to govern themselves, as they had presumably done under their native princes and chiefs" (1954:9).

In reading the *Kanun*, Lekë Dukagjini appears as a kind of Albanian Moses, whose teachings were recorded in the memories of elders, the tribal elite, and in the mountains of northern Albania in the form of proverbs and rites and were handed down from the middle ages. It is obvious that the bulk of the tribal laws existed much earlier than the time of Lekë Dukagjini (Durham 1910). In point of fact, what Prince Dukagjini really did was to codify and add to the existing customary law as well as introducing and enforcing it—along with the penalties—more rigidly in the territories under his control (Durham 1910; Whitaker 1968). The Code was later gradually accepted and obeyed as common law in the entire area of northern Albania, in Kosovo, as well as in Montenegro.[4]

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[1] Like several other foreign travelers—Lord Byron, Rose Wilder Lane, and Margaret Hasluck, for example—Durham became enamored of Albania, but significantly more than any of these other recorded travelers. She spent the first two decades of the twentieth century traveling in the Balkans, visited Albania numerous times prior to and after World War I, and befriended 24 tribes (Durham 1910), learning about their origin and becoming known and respected by them as *Krajlica e Malsorëve* (the Queen of the Highlanders). Durham wrote seven books and numerous articles on Albania and the Balkans and influenced British foreign policy at that time. She remains to date one of the most respected foreign personalities among Albanians, both northerners and southerners alike.

[2] The first all-weather road in northern Albania was constructed in 1916 by the Austro-Hungarian armies during their temporary occupation; it ran from Shkodër to Durrës, with a branch in Tirana (Hasluck 1954:9).

[3] A Scottish folklorist who lived in Albania for 13 years prior to World War II, Margaret Hasluck (1885-1948), is the author of the renowned book, *The Unwritten Law in Albania*, published posthumously in 1954.

[4] Albanians and Montenegrins, "divided as they are by language and by the bitter course of history, have a largely common culture" (Elsie and Mathie-Heck 2005:xv). Edith Durham observed not only that certain tribes of *Malsia e madhe* (Great Mountainous Land) in Albania and in Montenegro were consanguineous—that is, they acknowledged blood-relationship and traced their descent from a common male ancestor (Durham 1910)—but also that they had virtually the same tribal law and custom up to the end of the eighteenth century and indeed well into the nineteenth (Durham 1923). Durham even believed that the "present language and nationality of such tribes—that

Every social system, or document in which a given system is embodied, has a history, which means that it has had its beginnings even if these are shrouded in antiquity (Gouldner 1960). Like all documents of uncertain origin, however, the question of the origin of the *Kanun* can be easily bogged down in a metaphysical morass. Some believe that its origin can be traced in some measure to the ancient Illyrians, the direct ancestors of the Albanians and from whom they inherited their language, various traditions, customs, and certain aspects of their legal system. Indeed, as Durham points out, the Albanian mountaineer "boasts and believes that he is the oldest thing in the Balkan Peninsula" (1910:453). Others assume that parts of the *Kanun* are adaptations from Roman law; other parts very likely do go back to the Bronze Age. J. H. Hutton (1954:xii) observes that Albanian customary law is "primitive enough in many ways to be compared with the customary law of tribes much less civilized than the Albanians," whereas Ismail Kadare (1988a), Albania's most celebrated writer, argues that the Code predates Aeschylus.

Although the *Kanun* of Lekë Dukagjini has no identifiable origin, the striking similarities between the common laws of Homeric Greece and the *Kanun* make it possible to imagine that this corpus of unwritten law, known and practiced in various forms in other parts of the Balkans, in southern Italy, and among the northern Caucasian peoples, could well have originated in Illyria. This might explain why, of all other societies, in northern Albania customary law persisted well into the mid-twentieth century as the only, or "parallel," informal legal system; to some degree it remains valid in various areas even today.

Like Émile Durkheim (1968 [1912]), who believed that by studying the religious beliefs and practices of the Aboriginal populations of Australia one could understand all religion in its most elementary form, Edith Durham—studying Albania's customary law and writing about it at the same time as Durkheim—assumed that she had discovered "the land of the living past." Durham, like her contemporary historian Robert Seton-Watson, started from the assumption that the key to understanding the past is the understanding of the present.[5] Durham felt that she had found that past in northern Albania and that the Balkans could be approached as an *in vivo* tableau of a society functioning on the basis of tribal customary law, a sort of living laboratory—or reservation—for the study of Europe's distant tribal past and the origins of the European civilization.[6] In her renowned and now-classic book *High Albania*, Edith Durham writes (1985[1909]:1):

> The wanderer from the West stands awestruck amongst them [the Albanians], filled with
> vague memories of the cradle of his race, saying: "This did I do some thousands of years

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is, whether today they are Serbophone and Montenegrin, or Albanophone and Albanian—has been determined mainly by whether they came under the influence of the Orthodox Serbian Church or of the Roman Catholic Church" (Durham 1910:454).

[5] "The past as a key to the present—this is true of every country and period. The present as a key to the past—this is peculiarly true of Central and South—Eastern Europe" (Seton-Watson 1923:16).

[6] Elsie and Mathie-Heck (2005) consider Albania of the early twentieth century as "the only intact heroic society in Europe."

ago; thus did I lie in wait for my enemy; so thought I and so acted I in the beginning of
Time."

Our information is incomplete but suggests that the *Kanun* of Lekë Dukagjini, in the
codified form in which we know it today, is not quite the same as the customary law that has
habitually been practiced throughout the centuries. It has surely had its "spontaneous
development," to use Henry Maine's language in *Ancient Law* (1861), but it has also been
purposefully changed by human agency to suit the purposes of those who transmitted the oral
law. As Margaret Hasluck has observed, "Every type of unwritten law has been constantly
recast, added to, and restarted down the centuries by a body of experts drawn from the rank of
rulers" (1954:9).

Each new era made modifications to the code, which have been attributed to "a conscious
desire for alternation" (Hutton 1954). It is most certain, for example, that the *Kanun*, especially
that part of it that spells out the rules regulating vengeance, changed when the Ottomans
introduced firearms as weapons. Because firearms made killing easier than before, new rules had
to be adopted to prevent the great loss of life inflicted by their use.

For centuries the *Kanun* was not written down. It remained in the verbal custody of the
village or tribal elders and subject to modification or reinterpretation from time to time by
assemblies of clans or villages. And just as the application of the traditional *Kanun* varied
somewhat from one to another of the relatively isolated mountain communities, so too, no doubt,
"in the same community the centuries brought some changes in its interpretation and application,
since both of these depended considerably on the memory and wisdom of the local chieftains and
elders" (Kastrati 1955:124). As to the accuracy of the northern tribesman's memory, Edith
Durham observed that he possess "an extraordinary memory, and has handed down quantities of
oral traditions, most of which remain to be collected" (1910:453). Durham also made a similar
assessment with regard to elderly Montenegrins, who, being unable to read or write, had
"marvelous memories and stores of oral tradition" (1909:86).

Traveling through northern Albania and Montenegro at the end of the nineteenth
century, W. H. Cozens-Hardy (1894:389) observed that "the rhapsodist of the Homeric type"
was still alive among the people of these areas. Analysis of the traditional Albanian epic songs
(*këngë trimërie*) show significantly that in the absence of a literate society in the highlands of
Albania, epic songs served as a repository of collective memory about their national history, the
lives and traditions of their ancestors, and the norms and institutions regulating their remote
communities.

An ethical and aesthetical expression of the permanence and the power of the *Kanun*
may be seen in its influence on Albanian folklore. The rhapsode places the following words in
the mouth of the Albanian hero Gjergj Elez Alia, long ill as a result of nine wounds inflicted
upon him in nine battles, before a duel he must fight with Baloz the Black, who epitomizes the
Arab invader (Camaj 1989:xv):

> *Më ke lypë motrën para se mejdanin,*
> *Më lype berret para se çobanin,*
> *E jam dredhë n'kët log me t'kallxue*

Se ne të parët nji Kanun na kanë lane:
Armët me i dhanë përpara e mandej gjanë.

(You demanded my sister before the duel,
You demanded the herds from the herdsman,
And I have come here to show you
That our ancestors left us a Kanun:
First a trial of arms and then the property [is taken].)

Martin Camaj draws a parallel between the *Kanun* of Lekë Dukagjini and the Albanian epic songs, "the *true natural form* of which is not written but *sung*, and hence in eternal wandering from mouth to mouth and from generation to generation" (1989:xv). Rose Wilder Lane (1923:180), for her part, provides an interesting account of her conversation with a clansman from the northernmost Albanian village of Thethi, in which he said:

I am an old man, and I have seen that when men go down to the cities to learn what is in
books they come back scorning the wisdom of their fathers and remembering nothing of
it, and they speak foolishly, words which do not agree with one another. But the things
that a man knows because he has seen them, the things he considers while he walks on
the trails and while he sits by the fires, these things are not many, but they are sound.
Then when a man is lonely he puts words to these things and the words become a song,
and the song stays as it was said, in the memories of those that hear it.

It wasn't until the mid-1930s that the *Kanun* of Lekë Dukagjini, which until then was handed down orally from father to son and from generation to generation for who knows how many hundreds of years, was meticulously transcribed in its fullest form and published integrally in Albanian. The author of the text was Shtjefën Konstantin Gjeçov, an ardent patriot and Franciscan priest, born in Kosovo in 1874. He began his labors in 1913 collecting, sifting through, and writing ancient stories as preserved in the repository of collective memory of the chieftains and the elderly in northern Albania and Kosovo. It is widely believed that he has provided the best, the fullest, the most trustworthy and most authoritative version of the customary law as remembered, interpreted, and applied in a given community at the time he himself studied it.

As of today, Gjeçov's account has never been contested by any student of Albanian customary law. Indeed, in the form it is compiled, Gjeçov's work is genuinely a professional piece of ethnographic anthropology. His approach to this unwritten "Torah" is that of the Talmudist: he surrounds quotes from the *Kanun* with his own interpretations and reconstructs the "ancient law" on the basis of his own empirical observations. In numerous footnotes he draws parallels with the Indian Laws of Manu, Roman Law, Greek Public Law, and the Ten Commandments. At the time of his death in 1929, the final text was not ready. The document, as

it is known to us today, was completed by priests from his order, using Gjeçov's manuscripts and notes, and published in book form under Gjeçov's name in 1933.[7]

Leonard Fox, the English translator of the *Kanun*, points to an astonishing resemblance between the customary law of the northern Albanians and that of the peoples of the North Caucasus. Quoting early twentieth century German anthropologist Adolf Dirr, Fox (1989:xix) informs us that the two systems of customary law may be considered practically interchangeable:

> The analogies are so strong that one immediately asks oneself the questions that always
> arise in ethnography: Borrowing? Common origin? Basic similarity of thought? Although
> Dirr gave numerous examples, particularly those involving hospitality and the blood
> feud, he made no attempt to explain the striking similarities between the two systems.

Like all documents whose origin remains unknown to us, opinions about the *Kanun* abound. For those romantic elegists who enthuse about heroic settings and cycles of heroic verse, mythology, and legendry, like Fox, the Code of Lekë Dukagjini is "the expression and reflection of the Albanian character, a character which embodies an uncompromising morality based on justice, honor, and respect for oneself and others" (Fox 1989:xix).

The *Kanun* covered all aspects of life of northern Albanian society and the relationships between its members. The cornerstone of the *Kanun* was the concept of *Besa*—a term very rich in meaning and use, which means oath, faith, trust, protection, truce, word of honor, or all of these together—since honor was the primary and most important cohesive institution of Albanian social fabric. Inseparably connected with this was the high value placed by Albanian mountaineers upon the lineage honor. Family honor was a supreme value among them to the extent that any explanation of the extended family among the Ghegs[8] must take account of this cosmo-philosophical element (Whitaker 1968). Honor was the principal value of traditional northern Albanian society, something prized above personal liberty, or even life itself. For "what profit is life to a man if his honor be not clean? To cleanse his honor no price is too great" (Dako 1919:33).

In this extremely remote cosmo-philosophical world Honor (*Nderi*), the Word of Honor (*Besa*), and Hospitality (*Mikpritja*) were indissoluble elements of people's lives. Honor, *Besa*, and Hospitality were the pillars that formed the lifeworld (*Lebenswelt*) of the northern Albanian highlanders, around which their entire life revolved. Honor represented their *supreme moral value*; *Besa* was their *true religion*,[9] and Hospitality their *most sublime virtue*.

As a sacred promise and obligation to keep one's given word, *Besa* was idolized and romanticized in the rhapsodies of the Albanians who immigrated to southern Italy after the death of their national hero, George Kastriot Skanderbeg. In the famous song *Kostantini and Garendina*, the mother reminds her son, now in his grave, of his *Besa*, and she summons him to

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[7] The *Kanun* of Lekë Dukagjini was first translated and published in Italian in l94l, than in English in l989, and in Russian in l994. See Gjeçov 1989 for bibliographical data.

[8] The traditional name commonly used to refer to northern Albanians *vis-à-vis* the Tosks of the southern part of the country.

[9] "La Besa c'est la religion albanaise, c'est la religion du people" (Godart 1922:75).

arise in order to fulfill his promise—to bring her daughter back from a foreign land (Camaj 1989:xv):

> *Kostantin, biri im,*
> *Ku ësht besa që më dhe*
> *Të më sillje Garendinën,*
> *Garendinën t'ët motër?*
> *Besa jote ësht nën dhee!*

> (Konstantin, my son,
> Where is the *besa* you gave me
> That you would bring Garendina back to me,
> Garendina, your sister?
> Your *besa* is under the earth!)

In the course of this rhapsody, the motif of which occurs among other Balkan peoples as well, Kostantin rises from the dead, fulfills his promise, and returns to the grave.[10]

Numerous foreign travelers testify on the hospitality of the Albanians, both in northern and southern Albania. In the northernmost highlands of Albania, however, their hospitality has been solemnized, romanticized, and glorified by foreign travelers and a number of renowned anthropologists and historians, as well as diplomats.[11] At the end of the nineteenth century, W. H. Cozens-Hardy confessed that in northern Albania there was "every element of romance to fascinate the traveler" (1894:401). His confession is indicative to the Western bourgeois vogue or romantic primitivism to which the Balkan lands were subjected at the turn of the twentieth century and during the interwar period (Fussell 1980).

Having said this, however, the glorification of the Albanian hospitality by foreigners has happened for at least six distinct reasons: (1) the remarkable forms and rituals in which hospitality is expressed among the mountaineers of northern Albania; (2) the universality of its reach, involving uncompromising protection of one's guest, even one with whom the host is in a state of blood feud; (3) its profound power in their society and on each individual's life both as a constitutive principle of morality and as a central element of their day-to-day life; (4) its unparalleled altruistic appeal and application; (5) the unusually scarce material resources as well as the extremely remote, harsh, and inhospitable geographical setting—amounting to an almost absolute isolation—in which people conferred such hospitality that is beyond any description;

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[10] The motif of this rhapsody has been captured masterfully and restyled as a fascinating story by Ismail Kadare (1988b) in his novel *Doruntine*.

[11] There exists an extensive literature, largely written by early foreign travelers to the area in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries up to the Second World War. See, among others, Shpëtim Mema (1987) and Allcock and Young (1991). Among the most celebrated individuals that have traveled to Albania were Lord Byron (see his poem *Childe Harold*, published in 1812-18), Lord Broughton (see his book *Travels in Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey in 1809 & 1810*, published in 1813), and Edward Lear (see his books *Journal of a Landscape Painter in Greece and Albania* [1851] and *Journal of a Landscape Painter in Southern Albania* [1852]). Other renowned figures include Baron Franz Nopsca, Edith M. Durham, and so on.

and equally important, (6) the way in which hospitality was sanctified in the *Kanun* as a basic institution of society (Tarifa 2007b:94-95).

Edith Durham noted that "hospitality is the law of the mountains" and she accepted it even when meager, since the tribesman gave freely and of his best (1910:463). "He offers you bread and salt and [his] heart (*buk e krype e zemer*)" (*ibid.*).

The law of hospitality was most meaningfully and distinctively exemplified in the way in which the *Kanun* defined the home of the Albanian. The definition of the Albanian house in the *Kanun* is: "The house of the Albanian belongs to God and the guest."[12] Hence, before it is the house of its master, it is the house of one's guest. The guest in an Albanian's life represents the supreme ethical category; it is more important than blood. One could pardon (through the mediation of good friends) the man who spilled the blood of one's father or one's son, but never the blood of a guest. A guest was really a semi-God. Albanians exalted the institution of the guest above all other human relations, even those of kinship (Kadare 1990).

The *Kanun* is not a religious document. It is a secular legal system[13]—hence binding for Christians and Muslims alike—but it was sacred nonetheless. The American sociologist Richard Schwartz (1955:566) has pointed out that the "secularity and specificity" of the *Kanun* make it "sufficiently similar" to western legal systems to "permit fruitful comparison, but different enough to suggest general hypotheses, particularly on the relations between law and society." The *Kanun* carried much greater authority than the two main religious faiths prevailing in the highlands of northern Albania—Christianity and Islam. As Durham puts it, "to the tribesmen . . . all the so-called laws of Lek are as divine decrees" (1910:465). So much did the *Kanun* influence the mentality and the lives of the mountaineers of northern Albania that, with Lekë Dukagjini cast in the role of the Marquees of Queensberry, the words "Lek said so" "obtained far more obedience than the Ten Commandments and the teachings of the hodjas and the priests were often in vain if they ran counter to that of Lek" (Durham 1928:65).

Like many other travelers and observers of Albanian life in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Durham offers first-hand evidence of the superficiality and pragmatism of the Albanians in religious matters, hence the rapidity with which they would change their religion. Durham observed (1910:465):

> Whole districts have been known to turn Moslem suddenly, in order to score off a priest who has offended them. Nor do they become good Moslems. I have lived with Moslem tribesmen all night and all day, but I have never seen one pray or perform the ceremonial ablutions; and his women are all unveiled. So long as he is allowed to go on being Albanian in his own way the tribesman will assume any faith that is convenient. Islam lets him have his own way, consequently Islam is spreading. In some transition districts (e.g., Lura), people will go both to mosque and to church. If they don't get what they want from one they try the other.

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[12] The Code, § 602 (Gjeçov 1989).

[13] According to Edith Durham, Lekë Dukagjini appears to have been excommunicated by Pope Paul II "for his most un-Christian code" (1928:66).

Almost 200 years before Durham began her trips to Albania and throughout the Balkans, another renowned British traveler and writer, Lady M. W. Montagu, wrote about the triviality of religion in the lives of the Albanians as follows:

> These people, living between Christians and Mohamedans, and not being skilled in controversy, declare that they are utterly unable to judge which religion is best, but, to be certain of not entirely rejecting the truth, they very prudently follow both: they go to the mosque on Fridays and to the church on Sundays, saying, for their excuse, that they are sure of protection from the true Prophet, but which that is they are not able to determine in this world.[14]

Special rituals common to members of both religions restored equilibrium after major events such as birth, marriage, and death. As Coon observed (1950-30),

> All of those rituals, which reinforced their social habits, were of much greater importance to the mountaineers than the rites of church or mosque, which were not as well adjusted to this particular form of society.

In short, the teaching of Christianity and of Islam all had to yield to the *Kanun* of Lekë Dukagjini. Then again, under the *Kanun*, both religions were equally protected and used: offences against sacred objects and religious functionaries of either denomination were punished more severely than were comparable acts against lay persons and property, and oaths, basic in the compurgatorial juridical procedure, were equally acceptable when sworn on the Bible or the Koran, at a church or a mosque, depending upon the religion of the swearer (see Hasluck 1954:159-60, 176-77).

It was precisely this Durkheimian version of sacred—although secular—authority of the *Kanun* that accounted for the universal conformity given to it. It also accounted for the "enviable tolerance" that has historically characterized the relations between Moslems and Christians in Albania (Barnes 1918). Schwartz is in agreement with this. He persuasively asserts that "the secular nature" and "the cross-religious effectiveness of the Kanun"—which he attributes to "an earlier pagan code, common to all the tribes and which the Kanun of Lekë merely summarized and consolidated"—appear to have "permitted relatively peaceful relations among proponents of traditionally antagonistic faiths" (Schwartz 1955:567). We can add that the very success of the system based on the *Kanun* suggests an explanation for its longevity and unwavering authority, which has remained unchallenged well into the twentieth century.

With its l,263 articles, the *Kanun* was comprehensive, universal, and inescapable for any family or clan member or the broader community of mountaineers in the areas in which it was introduced and enforced with rigidity. It was literally devised as a legal framework to govern every aspect of life and did not leave out a single aspect of economics, ethics, or the slightest human action. On the contrary, the *Kanun* described in great detail numerous substantive rules

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[14] Montagu 1740, Letter XXVII, dated April 1, 1717.

bearing particularly on the prevention and settlement of troublesome disputes. As Ismail Kadare puts it, the power of the *Kanun* "reached everywhere, covering lands, the boundaries of fields; it made its way into the foundations of houses, into tombs, to churches, to roads, to markets, to weddings" (1990:27). It sanctioned, for Christians as well as Muslims, the attitude toward marriage, the selection of wives, the rites to be conducted during wedding ceremonies and birth, the generational roles in family and society, the rigid gender division of labor, the forms of punishment, the rules of blood feud, and the customs to be followed when a person died (Tarifa 2007). In a word, the *Kanun* was the law that governed everything in peoples' lives, from the cradle to the grave. It contained statutory, criminal, civil, and family laws as well as procedural rules for both criminal and civil courts. As such, it took care of all of these subjects "once and forever," and it served to shape up rigorously patterned forms of behavior while inhibiting change in a society whose members were "trained from childhood to believe in its infallible authority" (Coon 950:37).

Ian Whitaker (1968) suggests that for its comprehensiveness, clarity, and logic, the *Kanun* of Lekë Dukagjini—in the codified version that has come down to us by way of oral tradition—"deserves to be ranked among the great legal documents of the world." Ismail Kadare (1990:73) concludes that the *Kanun* was "not merely a constitution, it was also a colossal myth that had taken on the form of a constitution. Universal riches compared to which the Code of Hammurabi and the other legal structures of those regions look like children's toys."

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Narrative Structure and Political Construction:
The Epic at Work

Florence Goyet

The studies presented here[1] explore an aspect of the dynamism and efficacy of literature so masterfully illuminated by John Foley, especially in *Immanent Art: From Structure to Meaning in Traditional Oral Epic* (1991). The construction of meaning through structure is at the very foundation of oral or "oral-derived" texts, which rely on the totality of tradition to create precise meaning. All the stories and narratives heard by listeners contribute to the creation of every character, every action, and every narrative motif.

My own analyses, along the same lines as Foley's, have led me to recognize that it is possible for real political thought to emerge *in* as well as by means of the narrative. I am interested in the construction of meaning through structure, not in literature in general, but within a given text. After a dozen or so years spent studying the genre of the epic, it seems to me that epics are precisely the texts in which literature can develop a profound, vital, and irreplaceable meaning not possible anywhere else: a real way of thinking, although without concepts.

Of course, in the first place, an epic presents itself as a narrative, or rather a series of narratives. These narratives are so compelling, and so familiar, that we remain fascinated by them and ready to believe with Hegel or Lukacs that they describe a harmonious and stable world. But if we place these texts very precisely *in their original context* we recognize that the world they describe is a world that is prey to crisis, disorder, and chaos; we may see then that the function of the epic is precisely to allow society as a whole to see, first dimly and then in more detail, a new political order. War is in fact used as a sort of metaphor for the intense political crisis in which Greece finds itself at the end of the Dark Ages and Japan finds itself at the beginning of feudalism. And so the epic will in effect discuss the epoch's disorder while seemingly "only" telling the stories of the warriors. It will make its public aware of a radically new political form that represents the real solution to the crisis facing them. If we focus our attention not on the psychology of the characters or the unfolding of the narrative surface but rather on the *structural relationships* among these characters as established by the various episodes, that is, if we read these war-stories as a structure, we discern political oppositions as the major stakes. The entire *Iliad* is primarily the staging of the confrontation of two possible forms of political power: on the one hand the *autos* (autocratic) government that Agamemnon seeks to impose by taking Achilles' captive, on the other hand a government in which the king is

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[1] See further Goyet 2006.

responsible before the people, and where his power is absolutely limited, a situation that the Greek world will effectively create with the city.

In other words, we have here an extremely effective way of thinking even though it is very different from the conceptual discourse to which we are accustomed. Through the narrative the epic builds a vision of the world, or, more exactly, it makes possible a comparison of the world visions that are available at that time, it plays out before the public the possible options by developing them in such a way as to allow the audience to judge them all. This is what I propose to call the "work of the epic." In the major texts I am studying, we can see the development of a radically new concept, never imagined by the listeners, of which the text is the "proof," whose validity it eventually shows, and which is what history will in fact retain: the city in the case of the *Iliad*, the vassalage pyramid in the *Chanson de Roland*, and the outline of what will later be codified as the Way of the Warriors in the Japanese *Hôgen* and *Heiji monogatari.*

To achieve this goal, the epic uses no other means than the narrative. Its essential tool is the parallel, the intellectual possibilities of which it uses brilliantly, in its two essential forms: parallel-difference (the *sunkrisis* of the Greeks, *comparatio* of the Romans) and parallel-homology. Equipped with only or almost only this one tool, the texts are hurled into attack on contemporary problems. One of this tool's benefits is that it is always there, before the presence of either philosophy or history, or juridical thought, and also when conceptual thought bogs down—in short, when rational thought is absent.

What I will try to demonstrate in the short space of this article is the very existence of this "epic work" behind the apparently gratuitous narrative that is generally seen as purely celebratory. I will illustrate my theory by examples taken from each of the three texts I have analyzed thus far.[2] The examples from the *Chanson de Roland* and the *Iliad* will illustrate the operation of parallel-difference, the comparison of two options in order to better understand each one of them. In the diptych formed by the *Hôgen* and *Heiji monogatari,* I will show the efficacy of homology that divides into two in order to reveal the true stakes. In fact, in these texts the distinction between the different sorts of parallels is unimportant. What is important is that, because of them, the epic structures the narrative, and these structures are significant in that they allow for a profound discussion of political situations. To repeat once more Foley's expression, "from structure to meaning,"[3] it is the structure that creates the meaning.

The Old French Song of Roland

Let us look at the first illustration from the *Chanson de Roland.* Dominique Boutet's criticism of this text—and of the epic—is typical when he defines it as shadowless and dedicated to a simple celebration of established values, although he most certainly is not one of those who deny literature *a priori* any efficacy. His great book *Charlemagne et Arthur* precisely shows in the Arthurian romance that literature is capable of creating meaning and again of challenging

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[2] I am also presently working on the *Nibelungenlied* and the *Aeneid*—aural texts if not oral.

[3] Cf. the subtitle of his book (1991): *From Structure to Meaning in Traditional Oral Epic.*

accepted truths. It is only the epic (with the *Roland* as one example) that he relegates to a sort of intellectual nothing; it is supposed to be merely "confirming the solidity" of order.[4]

It seems to me, on the contrary, that the *Roland* articulates powerfully the elements of the political debate of its time. Historians have insisted on the intensity of the intellectual debate of the eleventh century and on the era's scholars' inability to develop an adequately strong response in the face of the troubles of what has long been called "feudal anarchy." The *Chanson,* it seems to me, elaborates precisely this new concept of the world that scholars have not been able to recognize. Thus it achieves far more than just "accompanying the emergence and evolution of civilizations," as many have put it. It is a protagonist of history in that it *permits* the appearance of new thought and therefore of change.

Let us take, for example, the "horn scene" (or rather scenes) to try to show that the *Chanson* embodies in them the two fundamental options for the audience. The remainder of the epic and its end will then provide the means of making an in-depth judgment—by developing the ultimate implications of the choice offered by each position.

We know that the *Chanson* presents two symmetrical scenes centering on the call of the horn, before and after the first battle against the Saracens. First Oliver, and then Roland, pleads for Charlemagne to be called to the aid of their rear-guard. The two scenes as a whole, far from being mere storytelling for its own sake or for mere praise, constitute in reality a parallel-difference that opposes and distinguishes the two political attitudes of Roland and Oliver. In the second scene there is a reversal of their respective positions concerning the need to sound the horn for help; this is the symmetry. But the essential structure has not changed: the option represented by each of them is constant, and embodies a real political option. The symmetry highlights the political position of Roland in the first scene, and of Oliver in the second—of the one who resists the suggestion of a call for help; and so there is no sense of repetition or monotony. But it is the same debate that continues, very coherently. In the end this is the real subject of the whole beginning.

I shall try to show that these attitudes are precisely those available at the time and that Oliver's is the choice of the future. To summarize, when Oliver sees Marsile's huge army, he expresses the opinion that they should call for Charlemagne's help. Roland refuses because it seems shameful to him: "Rather I'll die than shame shall me attain." In fact the rear-guard under his command joins battle and wins, killing or putting to flight hundreds of thousands of Marsile's troops. But a second enemy wave appears; the rear-guard kills them all, but themselves are killed to the last man. At this point it is Roland who announces that he is going to call for Charlemagne's help to avenge their dead, and Oliver who protests that it would be shameful.

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[4] Cf. Boutet 1992:584: "Plus conservateur, le genre épique s'intéresse surtout au cadre juridique, à la place qui est celle de chacun dans une société stable, aux attaques qui peuvent être menées, de l'intérieur comme de l'extérieur, contre cette fixité, et aux moyens de la rétablir. La diversité des situations narratives et des cas juridiques s'accommode d'autant mieux de cette fixité de l'ordre, qu'elle a toujours pour objectif d'en confirmer la solidité." ("The epic genre, being more conservative, is particularly interested in the legal framework, in the position that is everyone's in a stable society, in the attacks that can be made, both from within as from without, against this steadiness and the means of reestablishing it. The diversity of the narrative situations and the legal cases is an even better fit with this steadiness of order, in that its objective is always to confirm the steadiness.") *Charlemagne et Arthur, ou le roi imaginaire,* Paris, Champion, 1992:584.

The text takes pains to compare the two positions, one with the other. What may be essential is that they are both tenable, and that they represent the two possible political choices at the end of the eleventh century.

Oliver's position is the one with which we moderns are most familiar. What gradually evolves is that the rear-guard placed under Roland's command is *in the service* of Charlemagne. Its destruction (which will be total) deprives Charlemagne of a precious instrument. Since these 20,000 men are the best of his army, they are his most precious instrument: of Roland alone it is often said that he is "el destre bras del cors," the right arm of Charlemagne. He has with him the "twelve peers" and the flower of the knighthood. In Oliver's eyes, every consideration must give way to the need for Charlemagne to preserve these political means. "Sweet France" has need of them in order to be strong and for Charlemagne to be respected—in an Empire that appears as disjointed as France is in the eleventh century. In short, Oliver is a soldier whose personal glory is only part of the glory of the empire.

Roland's position is the better known to readers of heroic stories: he is the "pure warrior," who typically advises Charlemagne (who is hesitating between accepting the possibly false surrender of Saragossa and continuing to exhaust himself and his army in the effort to take it by force) as follows: "To Sarraguce lead forth your great army. All your life long, if need be, lie in siege" (xiv). For such a warrior, the whole of his life is an infinite succession of battles. He goes from exploit to exploit, and whenever a city resists him it becomes an object worthy of his efforts; there is no need to go in search of others.

Behind the heroic archetype, however, we can clearly see the formation of the other political figure of the eleventh century, confirmed and overwhelming. He is the nobleman who scarcely recognizes any authority but his own. Roland acts according to his personal honor, in a grandeur that calmly ignores any higher horizon whatsoever. If at first he refuses to call for help, it is partly because he considers his own little army strong enough to fight the tens of thousands of men who are attacking. But it is also that he is allowing himself the chance to preserve the honor of his family by keeping secret his kinsman's, Ganelon's, betrayal—even if the flower of knighthood must die for it. The exploit, for such a warrior, is autotelic, and has no other aim than itself: any idea of "service" is as remote for Roland as that of any future project that will go beyond the continuation of his own exploits. The honor of France is only ever seen as the extension of his own honor and that of his kinsmen. In the eleventh century, when every lord is concerned only with his own power, Roland stands for every lord's self-interest that overrides all other considerations.

What is interesting is that whereas Roland's position is well known to everyone, and forms the very framework of life at that time, Oliver's is new. And it is also important that the text drives both of them so far that the full details are clear to the audience: the causes and, more importantly, the effects. Roland's grandeur is all the stronger for the support of the whole intertext of heroic tales. Despite everything, however, Oliver's position is able to develop and gradually assumes a place that it unquestionably did not have in the world as it existed when the tale was being told. In the end his position can construct and receive an attention that at first is evasive but becomes increasingly profound as the text advances.

In the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth centuries, Oliver's political posture is indeed very new. Contemporary scholars try to define the position of the king, but have difficulty

finding an answer. All those who lived in the Francia of the West were far more aware of the omnipresence and demands of the noblemen than of the distant presence of a king whose authority was completely limited. It is for good reason that this period has long been called the century of "feudal anarchy." Thus with the *Roland* we see a text emerging from the eleventh century that exceeds contemporary political reality in world vision, and in which a feudal pyramid is constructed that will gradually take shape in the twelfth century.

This parallel-difference between Oliver and Roland is obviously not the only instrument of this elaboration. The parallel-homology between Roland and Charlemagne will also play a part (as Charlemagne resumes his role of chief, a role that until then had fallen to Roland, much will be changed). Also necessary is the parallel-homology that is built in the whole text between Roland and Ganelon (and which takes its full force in the trial at the end). But we seem to sense already in this passage the efficacy of the structure and the role the text can play in developing real options for the listener and opposing them to each other, in a confrontation that allows for definition, understanding, and judgment. The example is very simple, and the *Roland* that we thought was transparent will possess subtleties that go far beyond. But it is already possible to understand one essential point: the story itself is the vehicle for the intellectual debate.

The Ancient Greek Iliad

The *Iliad* provides us with a more complex example. My thesis is that the entire text is involved in elaborating a new concept of the king and royalty. At first this new royalty is fleshed out by Hector. The great duel between Hector and Achilles thus becomes a means of comparing two concepts of power—of opposing the two political postures that have been established from the beginning. Let us note, however, that one of the most important features of the epic is that it assumes the right to use every means available, one of which is the magisterial freedom with which it portrays the novelty in several successive characters. After Hector it is Agamemnon who will assume for himself this completely new political role, then Achilles himself and Zeus, converted *sub fine* to a way of governing diametrically opposite to what they have represented throughout the text.

We shall examine here one of the links in the intellectual chain that leads to the duel between Achilles and Hector: the double parallel-difference, put in place in Books V and VI, between Hector, Diomedes, and Paris, which allows for the definition of the new political option represented by Hector.

Let us remember where we are. The first four books relate how Achilles' anger is triggered by the denial of justice inflicted on him by Agamemnon (Book I), how it was on the verge of affecting the entire army but was checked by the Assembly Session (Book II), the duel between Paris and Menelaus that, it was hoped, would end the war (Book III), then the preparations for battle (Book IV). Book V represents the beginning of the military action proper, but very quickly in Book VI this action is interrupted by a long passage that shows Hector returning to the city to order sacrifices and to search for Paris in his house; it is this passage that contains the "farewell of Hector to Andromache."

This moment, I think, finds its in-depth meaning in the confrontation involving the three heroes. The result will be the appearance of a type of hero different from both Diomedes and Paris. By "comparing" Hector with them—by making him parallel and *distinct from them*—the text begins to detail the figure that he so profoundly embodies. Here we are dealing with what the Greeks called a *sunkrisis*—which we still know by the Latin term *comparatio,* even if only in the *comparative* sciences: literature, but also anatomy or grammar. It is always a question of comparing two facts that effectively form a relationship (e.g., the Romance languages among themselves and with Sanskrit, the anatomy of man and ape), in order to see at the same time what they have in common, and also, sometimes especially, to reveal their differences. In a world where the only known type of royalty is patriarchal, it is not possible to imagine something completely different except by making the existing models interact with one another in order to "see" something else appear.

Book V centers on Diomedes: it is his *aristeia*, the celebration of his exploits. In it he is shown as greater than the greatest: so great that a goddess, Athena, is not afraid to become his charioteer and take him to wound a god. Diomedes, therefore, is the warrior hero par excellence—as such, he can be considered a prototype of Achilles, the pure warrior. The characteristic trait is that Diomedes is iteratively said to "be" a wild natural strength. He is the river in full flood, the wild boar, the ravaging fire.

Allied with the figure of Diomedes, the figure of Paris helps us to understand Hector. The *Iliad* does not condemn Paris in the same way as we and other traditions do. On the contrary, he is closely associated with the idea of opulence that strongly characterizes Troy. The expedition in which he carried off Helen is not presented as shameful, but as one of those raids that alone in this world significantly increased wealth—and were greatly appreciated. He is also a great hero who does not hesitate, at least no more than do others, to confront Menelaus in single combat. However, the shame that his name triggers in us fits reality: I think this is because, as developed in this passage, Paris is the symbol of a different universe. In the middle of a city besieged by war, he is concerned only with his own personal life and interests. When he is in danger, Aphrodite carries him away from the duel with Menelaus and takes him to his chamber in the depths of the city, where he enjoys Helen and attends to his business as if they were at peace. In the war that envelops Troy, he alone has not changed his world. He alone can consider taking refuge in his chamber and living an everyday life there. He is the very opposite of Diomedes: by refusing war as the overwhelming law of existence, he is in retreat from the city and all its inhabitants, and is detested because he withdraws from the confusion that has engulfed everything around him.

It seems to me that we must look at the central scene of Book V, "Hector's farewell to Andromache," the subject of so many schoolboy discourses, from this double perspective. The real importance for us is that this encounter is placed in strict parallel (in *sunkrisis)* with the meeting between Hector, Paris, and Helen that occurs just before. While the battle is raging outside, Hector returns to the city to sacrifice to the gods but also to look for Paris in order to take him back into battle. From a strictly narrative point of view, this is absurd: protagonists never know, in the *Iliad* or in the *Odyssey,* where a god has taken his protégé. But even more, Paris is not such an extraordinary hero that his presence in the battle would justify taking the trouble to go find him and convince him to return—at a moment when Hector does not even

have the time to purify himself in order to make the sacrifices in person that he has just ordered. But when something important is at stake, the epic never bothers with narrative likelihood. Here this long detour (60 verses) makes it possible to distinguish between the two couples. As we have seen, on the part of Paris and Helen there are all the marks of the individual, civic life: wealth, peace, and voluptuousness despite an entire society at war around them. They are apart from it, in deep isolation that inevitably is underlined by Aphrodite's action in removing Paris from the duel with Menelaus that was meant to put an end to the whole war.

Andromache and Hector, on the other hand, are in the heart of the city. Andromache is described at length in Book VI. Her extreme wealth is emphasized, a wealth that had marked her formerly as a suitable wife for Priam's eldest son, fit to reign over Troy "of the wide streets." But equal emphasis is placed on her current deprivation: all twelve of her brothers, and her father, were killed in a single day by Achilles. As she holds her infant in her arms, she is not just any woman. She is the future king's mother. And that is all she is, having lost all her relations and her own wealth. Before we go the modern route of seeing in this conversation a touching family scene, we should look at the terms it uses—that speaks of social relationships (*kleos*, the "fame," l. 446; *aideomai*, the "shame," l. 442), and Hector's prayer that his son should "rule all Troy in power" (l. 570), that he should distinguish himself in battle "and one day let them say, 'He is a better man than his father!' when he comes home from battle bearing the bloody gear of the mortal enemy he has killed in war—a joy to his mother's heart" (572-75). Hector's love for Andromache is "structural": it is the love of a king for the queen, and his only gesture—a gentle caress on the cheek suggesting a pact rather than a gesture of love—points to the contrast with Paris' love for Helen, which ends in voluptuousness.

Andromache's words serve to clarify the meaning of the scene. Contrary to how it is usually understood, she is not asking him to quit the battle—to return to their chamber where she, like Helen, could take pleasure in him. She is, once again, speaking as a queen who has in mind the wellbeing of her city. She is even speaking as a wise tactician. The place where she wants him to gather the Trojans is "where the city lies most open to assault . . . . Three times they have tried that point . . . . Perhaps a skilled prophet revealed the spot—or their own fury whips them on to attack" (513-20). That is the remark of someone who has observed the battle closely, arguing carefully the imperatives of battle, and not the lament of a woman wanting to protect her husband. But at the same time she firmly refuses the alternative option, that of Diomedes: Hector is king, king of a city that he must defend—and not, like the Greek heroes, "kings" of small groups of soldiers they have brought with them and whom they are content to lead into battle. By demanding that he defend the walls, that he protect the city, she is forbidding him to be "the river in full flood," or the "ravaging star" that characterizes Diomedes. Astyanax, "he who reigns in the city," refers first to Hector prior to its reference to his son.[5] His royalty is rooted in the plain, and he cannot, like other heroes, become great in ravaging it. If he does, his destiny will be to die in combat, and he will have betrayed Troy, which by his death will be left as distraught as Andromache. In fact, nothing is farther from Hector than the choice offered to

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[5] The child is called moreover Scamandrios; if the Trojans always call him Astyanax, it is in reference to Hector.

Achilles between a short and glorious life and a long existence without glory: for him the short and glorious life amounts to shame. Nothing is more foreign to him, except perhaps the existence of Paris, participating in the wealth of the city but almost as an individual: leading raids, and then turning away from the fate of the city when the war engulfs it.

Neither Paris, nor Diomedes. The encounter presents a different destiny. In the last analysis, Hector is here defined as responsible for the city and its inhabitants—and responsible before their eyes. That is the meaning of the great interior deliberation at the moment of confronting Achilles (Book XXII, 99-130). If Hector remains outside the walls waiting for the hero who the whole world (himself included) knows is "a hundred times better than him," it is because he sees it as the one chance to make amends to his people for a fault. And this fault is that he did not pay heed to Andromache's injunction, and that he yielded to heroism "like Diomedes," or like Achilles, that he has to die that day in a last effort to save his city.[6] After Book VI, Hector will have become a new political possibility, unknown to previous centuries, far removed from the figure of the Mycenean king or the chief exercising *autos*, "all alone," a patriarchal power that would not lead to such anguish. The *Iliad* will encompass the complete development of this new figure, and its triumph, despite Hector's defeat in the duel with Achilles; the end of the text brings the transformation of all the heroes. Thus, at the time the Greek city is beginning to emerge, the *Iliad* successfully provides a concrete definition of the political power it will finally impose.

The Japanese *Hôgen* and *Heiji monogatari*

The Japanese *Hôgen* and *Heiji monogatari* offer a distinctive feature that is always noted, even in the short accounts found in encyclopedias of literature: their three parts are in strict parallelism, and there is scarcely any episode in one of them that does not have its exact equivalent in the other.[7] From our point of view, as can be imagined, this structure might offer an essential interest. As a diptych is a parallel that organizes the whole, then the "work of the epic" consists of redoubling and comparing, to an almost infinite degree, the facets of a confused political situation until clarity emerges. In fact, the text fully exploits the structure it has created—and which to my knowledge appears nowhere else.

My aim here is to show the effect of this structure on one aspect of the text that has, however, a central meaning. The parallel structure will make it possible, among other things, to "judge" a question that haunts the first tale—the first *volet* of the diptych—the *Tale of Hôgen*,

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[6] The Trojans had won the day's battle and advanced across the plain almost to the Greek camp. Instead of bringing his troops safe and sound back into the city, Hector wanted to push his advantage. Despite the advice lavished on him, he made camp outside the Greek wall. In the morning, the Greeks had reseized the advantage and decimated the Trojan troops. Hector feels responsible for what he considers a catastrophe, and that is a novelty: it is the first time in the poem. For the role of Polydamas, parallel to the one I describe for Andromache, and concerning the same consciousness, see Goyet 2006: Part I.

[7] In each work, Book I is said to be "the book of preparations" and Book II "the book of battles," while Book III depicts the consequences.

but which cannot be answered by this *volet:* does Yoshitomo have the right to kill his father at the command of his emperor? The question is central and offers a true case study, for which it is not even necessary to know the precise historical situation.[8] It is enough to recall the elements of the dilemma.

Yoshitomo was in command of the Emperor's troops. The opposing camp (followers of the retired emperor) was led by his father and his brother. Their family is not famous, and Yoshitomo is expecting an important promotion for his engagement on the emperor's side against the rest of his family. He is the victor, despite the extraordinary heroism shown by his brothers (he finally conquered them by setting fire to the palace where they were assembled). The emperor grants the promotion, but in doing so orders him to execute his father, the leader of the rebellion. Even more than in our eyes, this is a major dilemma: in this country shaped by Confucianism, father and emperor are thought of in the same way, and the absolute requirement of respect is as strong in the one case as the other.

The *Hôgen* stresses this dilemma at length, which takes up the whole of the end of book II—assumed to be the book "of battles." Yoshitomo will finally make the decision to execute his father, after the text has developed no fewer than three complete arguments by three of its protagonists. For all that, the question of conscience has not been solved.

The case is essential, because it epitomizes the actual confusion of civil war. The characteristic of the events of the Hôgen era, constantly repeated in the texts, is that in every family of the empire father fights son, brother fights brother—beginning with the antagonistic emperors who are brothers. This is a typical dilemma that seems to offer no honorable escape. The alternative "solution" is in fact totally unacceptable: if Yoshitomo had refused to put his father to death, it would mean rebelling against an order of the emperor's. Thus this episode can be considered as the heart of the *Hôgen,* in that it expresses what is basically at stake, and indicates the failure.

The *Tales of Hôgen* and *of Heiji* are, in fact, very strange epic texts, in that they constantly proclaim the failure of the "celebration" and the inadequacy of the values. I know of no other non-parodic epic in which one of the principal warrior chiefs is seen to fall miserably from his horse while trying to lead his troops, and another grumbles futilely and turns his back on the enemy, whereas a warrior who follows the classical discourse of heroism is treated as an idiot by the narrator. We are still in the time period immediately following the civil war—as compared with the familiar texts that address distant if not fabled events. At this point the country has not yet recovered from its self-inflicted wounds and they are described without complacency.

However, the reader or listener who comes to the end of the diptych is no longer the confused individual, buffeted by events, who is so often portrayed in the text itself. Not that the

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[8] Simply put, after four centuries of the almost absolute peace of the Heian period (794-1185), Japan has toppled into civil war. At the heart of the conflict is the claim to the throne of two candidates who have apparently equal rights: on the one hand a retired emperor (who has abdicated), who is thinking of retaking the throne, and on the other hand his very young brother, who had just been placed on the throne. Note, by the way, that for once the epic texts are dealing with authenticated historical facts: the *Tales of Hôgen* and *of Heiji* (first testimony 1290), but also the better known *Tale of Heike,* are *Kamakura gunki monogatari*–warrior tales from the time of Kamakura (1185-1333). The deeds they describe begin in the middle of the twelfth century, "Hôgen" and "Heiji" being the names of the two historic periods: the Hôgen era, 1156-59; the Heiji era, 1159-60.

second *volet,* the *Tale of Heiji*, would have succeeded in exorcising the anti-heroic tone in order to return to the celebration. On the contrary, it is here, for example, that we find the scene where the leader falls miserably over the other side of the horse as he tries to mount and go into battle. But the "work of the epic" succeeds in bringing to light totally new values, unknown in the preceding epoch. Again, our example is central: the epic transcends Yoshitomo's dilemma, it finds the seemingly unobtainable solution. In doing so, it provides an Ariadne's thread, producing a strong, almost immobile point of anchorage on which it will be possible to base an action in the world. In fact, in the seventeenth century it is along these lines of force that Japan will actually emerge from its interior troubles. By the end of the diptych, we have left behind the confusion of civil war, the conflict in which each side is literally torn between equally imperative but contradictory duties.

It is the strong epic structure that makes this dynamic possible. The solution to the crisis is brought about in two steps. At first the parallel established by the diptych reveals the general implications of Yoshitomo's action, and clarifies them; on this occasion it issues a sure judgment of his action. In a second step the parallel-differences "replay" the same situation but with different actors, revealing a truly heroic solution ignored by Yoshitomo.

Every episode of the *Hôgen* has its homolog in the *Heiji.* Yoshitomo's dilemma thus has an equivalent in the dilemma of one of his own vassals, precisely in relation to him. The situation is homologous: Yoshitomo is now in disgrace and flees. He counts on the help of Tadamune, a vassal who is moreover his relative—just as his father had come to seek his aid. But the emperor wants the death of Yoshitomo. So Tadamune in turn finds himself faced with the same dilemma (to be a faithful subject to the emperor by bringing Yoshitomo's head to court, or to help his lord to flee). The text "replays" the same situation in homology, with different actors. But on this occasion it takes no time at all for Tadamune to salve his conscience. He welcomes Yoshitomo warmly and kills him in his bath.

Through a sort of black humor the text emphasizes the parallel in the acceleration and downfall. For Yoshitomo, this takes place in a long passage in a very subtle tone, a series of three complete arguments; for Tadamune, it is only a few lines, a case of conscience resolved in advance by the irresistible appeal of profit (he hopes for some recompense for the capture), a tone of peasant bargaining while deliberating in secret with his son. The parallel, however, is absolute. Even if the vassals of that period had a very limited understanding of their duties towards the lord, Tadamune is a special case. He is one of the "hereditary vassals" (with the families bound together, not just the men), he is a relative of Yoshitomo's. So he is expected to remain firmly on the side of his lord.

The parallel both creates the situation and allows for its solution. It creates the situation because Tadamune is only repeating his lord's action that brought about what was unthinkable. There is not even a need for long deliberation, because it has already been done by Yoshitomo to solve his own dilemma: the parricide is the "precedent" that creates the jurisprudence. But the parallel also brings about the solution. Comparing the two is one way of showing the action's implications. The story "thinks"; it makes it possible to judge the actions and the political positions by showing their ultimate results. Yoshitomo's action is a political stance. The parallel shows that, although killing his father in obedience to his emperor was assuredly a way out of a dilemma that had to be resolved, the price was breaking the first of the bonds, that of filial piety.

To hide behind the subject's duty (the "public" duty) in order to avoid the "private" duty in reality means destroying all bonds, both public and private. The parallel implies that the choice carries within itself the death-blow to the social organization that it seemed to privilege over the private sphere. The case is emblematic, since it is Yoshitomo himself who suffers from the destruction he brought about.

Obviously this does not mean that the dilemma should be resolved in favor of the inverse "solution," the rebellion against the emperor. Like all profound dialectics, the epic goes beyond the aporia that seemed to completely enclose it, and does not merely totter from one extreme to the other within the dilemma.

After the homology has allowed us to pass a sure judgement on the parricide, it is the role of the parallel-differences to suggest the way out of the dilemma. I will mention only two of these parallels, in a series that forms a paradigm, constructing a complete world vision. The first, the death of Tadamune's daughter, takes place right after the death of Yoshitomo. Despite its anecdotal aspect, it is important because it immediately indicates another possibility. We can then return to the mirror image, a homologous episode in the *Hôgen*: the "death of the little ones," which then takes on a larger meaning.

Tadamune's daughter was the wife of Kamada, Yoshitomo's foster brother and loyal friend. She again embodies the same dilemma; having learned of her father's intention to kill them, she has the choice either to betray him by warning her husband—and therefore Yoshitomo—or betraying her husband by taking the side of her father. Imprisoned at the moment of action, she is prevented from intervening. But nevertheless the response is definitely there. The imprisonment prevented her from having to oppose her father. On her release after the death of her husband, she refuses to take her place with the members of the party opposed to her husband; she throws herself on his body and kills herself. The most important thing perhaps is that her action is completely useless in the plan of the diagesis. Nothing will in fact change as the result of the action. And yet it is perhaps the most profound moment of rebirth in the text. By sacrificing herself on her husband's corpse, she succeeds in reconciling the two duties: she is faithful to her husband *and* to her father—against whom she does not rebel.

In turn the episode throws light on a homolog in the *Hôgen*. Just after putting his father to death, Yoshitomo receives the emperor's order to put to death his young brothers because the emperor fears their future vengeance. He obeys this time without hesitation (note that in this passage there is once more an effect of "precedent," in that it is the parricide that also stands behind this quick decision-making). The four children are very young. Yet they will die with a bravery that still draws tears from the public today. This dilemma is in the first place their tutors'. Should they save the children in defiance of the imperial order (thereby condemning Yoshitomo who will not have carried out the order)? Or should they let them die, these children whom they love and have a mission to protect? But the dilemma is resolved by the children themselves: the eldest, Otowaka, who is thirteen, takes the decision on himself and so transforms its significance. Now the choice is: defy the emperor (and bring about the death of their brother) or die, and the text insists, with extraordinary pathos, on the strength of their acceptance of their own death.

Voluntary death is the third way not recognized by Yoshitomo. It was actually possible for him to solve the dilemma in which the emperor's order seemed to enclose him. By doing it he

would make the only comment that a vassal could address to his emperor: he would denounce the prince's arbitrary command, responsible ultimately for the horrible disorder around them. If a son may not act so as to incur the guilt "of the first of five capital crimes," the emperor may not order him to carry it out. In the world depicted in the *Tales*, the action would not have been without repercussions. Each and every one always knows everything happening in the four corners of the social world. Even the most secret deliberations are discussed (and with what political savvy!) by the "riff-raff of the town." The sacrifice itself would be sure to play a role far beyond the purely private sphere. This is the case with the death of the children, and also with another character's sacrifice—the "lovely Tokiwa's" devotion to her own old mother, and with a whole series of other characters whom the *Heiji* can reintroduce once Tadamune's daughter has set the example of virtue. This virtue is contagious, and sows the interior of the text with the seed of the country's future reconstruction.

One may find (as I do!) that this reconstruction of values is really terrible. But the importance of this rebirth should not be underestimated. It is certainly a solution that transcends the crisis. It is on the basis of this acceptance, in the constant presence of voluntary death, that Japan will, much later, reorganize into what will be called the "Way of the Warriors." The peace finally reached in the seventeenth century is dependent on it. The seeds are there in a diptych that, though obscure, is hugely efficacious. Our texts provide all the elements for a reconstruction, a universal reconstruction. For the most striking trait is that all the heroes of this new virtue are "insignificant"—women without protection, children, lesser vassals—to whom society and literature in the past had paid no attention. The efficient virtue proposed in the *Tales of Hôgen* and *Heiji* is accessible to everyone. The medium represented by the epic is available to everyone. Recited at street corners, it eventually brings about the clarity that the conceptual reasoning of the epoch looked for in vain, that it will not for a long time know how to use for social reconstruction, but which is already providing the stable intellectual basis for it.

These three examples are only meant to show the subterranean yet intense activity that reigns within the epic: the "epic work"—the work of the structure—that to my mind is the basis of the genre. Depending on the texts, the results are very different: what is apparent is that royal power could just as well be reinforced (*Chanson de Roland*) as drastically limited (*Iliad*) or, again, a paradoxal path to liberty could be invented (*Hôgen* and *Heiji monogatari*). What is constant is the novelty of the ultimately validated option and the way of achieving it; the epic "thinks" in the heart of the story and with its tools.

Thus I think the epic must be seen as superior to rational discourse in two major ways: it allows us to think outside of current prejudices and it speaks to everyone. It allows us to consider something new. As is well documented, in every epoch the radically new is unthinkable—impossible to imagine *ex nihilo*. People of the eighth century B.C.E. have difficulty thinking rationally, explicitly, of a political power different from a patriarchal type of power. Similarly, in twelfth-century Japan or eleventh-century France it would be difficult to rethink from the beginning the relationships between prince and vassal. Going back to rational political thought inevitably means thinking along traditional lines. The useless efforts of the (great) intellectuals of the Japanese Middle Ages, as well as the French, clearly show how almost impossible it is to change the way of thinking from what has gone before. The story itself allows for the novelty to emerge because it plays out for the listener, as long as necessary, all the

elements of the political situation. It reveals trait by trait all the lines of force, it follows the consequences of each of the choices that could be made, even to their most distant effects. Furthermore, it plays it out all the possibilities *at the same time*, within a story that will intermingle quite naturally the trajectories of all the characters.

The process gains strength from the fact that it is oral, making it possible for the reflection to be available to and participated in by everyone. Or rather, in this precise case, the medium is aural, since all the texts on which I have worked have in every case been heard.

Not read, that is, but recited. This includes the Japanese epics that appear in a civilization that has been literate for many centuries, but where these texts are constantly recited, everywhere, and in all layers of society. The profound work we have seen taking place involves the whole of society. It is addressed to everyone, but also responds to everyone's expectation, to the in-depth questioning of the time. The classic vision of the epic as a "transparent," "non-problematic" text is therefore the result of the remarkable success of the process. The newly created way of functioning corresponds so well to the details of the problem, it so profoundly reshapes society, that it obliterates the ancient world and the endless, useless, and sometimes bloody attempts to go beyond it. The solution is so effective that it erases both the problem and the length of time it required to forge a solution. Only oral/aural literature, because it allows everyone to participate in the construction of meaning, could achieve such a tour de force.

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The Authority of the Spoken Word:
Speech Acts in Mark Twain's
A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court

Marie Nelson

In real life, Mark Twain—Samuel Clemens—fantasized that his investment in the Paige typesetting machine would bring the wealth he needed to continue to support his beloved wife Olivia in the fashion she deserved. Bruce Michelson, citing an unpublished manuscript, gives attention to his unbridled enthusiasm for the machine. As Twain described its capabilities (Michelson 10-11):

> To begin, then, the operator makes a dart at the keys with both hands; a word instantly appears in the raceway before him; it came from the channels under the glass, but too quickly for anyone to see how it was done. The machine takes the measure of that word, automatically, and then passes it along to the front tooth of the long comb; it measures the next word and the next, and passes them to the comb-teeth; and so on and so on, stringing the words along the raceway about three inches apart until the operator touches the justifying bar; by this time the machine has exactly determined what kind of spaces are required in that line, and as the procession moves past the space-sash, the proper spaces emerge and take their places between the words, the completed line is then gently transferred to the galley by automatic mechanisms, and the thing regarded for four centuries and a half as an impossibility is accomplished. And no spacing by hand could be so regular, no justifying by hand could be so perfect.

The Paige typesetting machine, Justin Kaplan observes, could work four times as fast as a human printer, set whole words at a time, space words, and justify its own margins—when it was working (1966:282-88). But unfortunately the miracle machine's time had not yet come.

Samuel Clemens' investment in the Paige compositor began with two thousand, then five thousand dollars and continued, Albert Bigelow Paine noted in his introduction to *Mark Twain's Autobiography* (Twain 1924:78), until it reached a total of about $190,000. According to his own account, in which he refers to his caution as that of a "burnt child" (1939:232), Twain passed up a chance to invest in Alexander Graham Bell's telephone, an invention for which the time *had* come, because he had no illusions about the capability of an invention of man to carry the sound of the living voice. For him this required physical travel and speaking in person to large, enthusiastic audiences. As he tells this part of his own story, "the lecturing raid around

the world" that enabled him to emerge from the bankruptcy to which his typesetting machine investments led started in July 1895, and he had paid all his creditors 100 per cent on the dollar by the beginning of 1899 (260-64).

Louis J. Budd writes that Hank Morgan, the protagonist of Twain's *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, "comes the closest of his major characters to being Twain himself" (1962:112), while Kaplan takes the comparison a step further, claiming that "to a great extent Hank Morgan *is* Mark Twain . . . both are showmen who love gaudy effects" (1966:297). Furthermore, Michelson, who begins his story of Sam Clemens' real-life involvement with the development of print technology with "the first surviving image" of Sam Clemens as a printer's apprentice in Hannibal, Missouri, points out that Morgan did not just introduce the printed word to King Arthur's kingdom. He mass-produced it and rejoiced in the pleasure his sixth-century readers took in the "feel" of the strange new thing in their hands. Although Twain acknowledged certain shortcomings of his print journalism, he declared that he was "vastly pleased" with its general success (Michelson 2006:174-77).

In Stein's edition of *Connecticut Yankee*, Hank Morgan uses his newly established newspaper to tell the story of his successful restoration of the long dry fountain of the Valley of Holiness (302-4) and to promote his forthcoming joust with Sir Sagramor (428-29) in highly individual, if not very well typeset style. And, though Twain may have underestimated the potential value of the telephone in real life (speaking as the Connecticut Yankee, he declared that it could be a "very demon for conveying similarities of sound that are miracles of divergence from similarities of sense") (276), he enables his fictional hero to use this triumph of technology, with its ability to extend the communicative power of the spoken word, to good advantage.

The nineteenth-century technology Morgan takes with him when he travels back in time to sixth-century England includes, along with methods for producing and reproducing words, the means for manufacturing arms. He uses nineteenth-century explosive devices to win a contest for prestige with Merlin, in which he blows up the rival magician's ancient stone tower and then reconstructs it; and he wins his duel with Sir Sagramor by shooting him through his chain mail with a dragoon revolver. He wins his last battle—if what happened can be called a victory (Chadwick Hansen described his Battle of the Sand-Belt as an act of genocide [1973:70]) by using explosives, electricity, and barbed wire. These successes, along with a number of others, are to some degree the result of the careful coordination of support made possible by telephone and telegraph communication with Clarence, who, as the story of Morgan's assumption of the control of King Arthur's kingdom develops, becomes The Boss's chief assistant. But without his own well-developed ability to use the spoken word, Morgan might well have perished when he first found himself in King Arthur's country.

Twain's hero, despite his willingness to act as a critic (he finds his guide Alisande's word-for-word repetition of Malory's narrative unendurable[1]), knew as little about twentieth-century critical theory as he knew about the wonders of the word-processor or the miracles of telecommunication—and of course there is no reason for him to have demonstrated knowledge

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[1] As Twain tells the story of his real life, Olivia Clemens was the critic. *She* had a sure sense of how a story ought to begin (see Twain 1959:267).

of any of the three. Twain was writing the kind of fiction in which the hero travels backward, not forward, in time. Nevertheless, Hank Morgan's performance of acts that J. L. Austin first introduced in a 1955 series of Harvard lectures makes it seem that an understanding that *promising* and *threatening*, *asserting* and *predicting*, *commanding* and *demanding*, indeed perhaps all the acts whereby a speaker in saying something does something, were part of his stock in trade. The Connecticut Yankee was an accomplished performer of speech acts. Morgan's *locution* (utterance of speech sounds) was, according to his own account, impressive; his *illocution* (performance of acts like *commanding*, *threatening*, and *promising*) was quite consistently felicitous; and his *perlocution* (achievement of intended effect) was close to foolproof.

In the following consideration of the Connecticut Yankee's triple-barreled verbal power I will be using the terms "speech act," "locution," "illocution," and "perlocution" as they are defined in Austin's *How To Do Things with Words* (1962) and further developed by John R. Searle in *Speech Acts* (1969). I will first give attention to a scene in which Hank is saved by an opportune eclipse (it comes just in time to save him from being burned at the stake), then move on to his restoration of the fountain of the Valley of Holiness, to the rescue of Morgan and the king by Sir Launcelot and his bicycle brigade, and finally to a concluding account of the defeat of ten thousand armored knights by Morgan and his "boys."

The Eclipse

The eclipse scene comes very soon after Hank Morgan, a nineteenth-century munitions maker, sustains a blow to the head, awakens in the kingdom of King Arthur, and is taken captive by Sir Kay, King Arthur's seneschal. He is almost immediately sentenced to be executed on June 21st, 528, which, if his young guide Clarence's knowledge of the date of his arrival can be depended on, is two days away. Clarence, however, is wrong about the date at which this sequence begins. It is now June 20th, not the 19th. But the Yankee's memory of an eclipse he read about in his former life is right. It *did* occur on June 21st, 528. So it would seem, as Morgan calculates it, that what he has to do, as he expresses it, is just "keep my anxiety and curiosity from eating the heart out of me for 48 hours" (63). But as he soon learns, he has less time than that because the date for his execution has been advanced by one day.

He nevertheless begins a defense that depends on his power to effectively perform a series of speech acts. Morgan, then, is the *performer*. The situation? He is condemned to be burned at the stake at high noon of a day he mistakenly thinks is June 20th, not the 21st. But he nevertheless assumes the right to *command* his young messenger to carry a message to the king.

All the prisoner has to back up himself up at this point is the power of his own *locution*, but he pulls out all the stops. As he describes his manner of utterance when he *commands* Clarence, whom he has barely met, to deliver a message to King Arthur, "I paused, and stood over that cowering lad a whole minute in awful silence; then in a voice deep, measured, charged with doom, I began, and rose by dramatically graded stages to my colossal climax, which I delivered in as sublime and noble a way as ever I did such a thing in my life" (87-88).

The message he orders Clarence to deliver is a *threat*, and here the syntax is most formal. With just one exception—the concluding prediction of starvation and death to all—each verb phrase is given its full construction, with every auxiliary "will" and "shall" provided explicit realization as the Connecticut Yankee orders his messenger to "'Go back and tell the king that at that hour I will smother the whole world in the dead blackness of midnight; I will blot out the sun, and he shall never shine again; the fruits of the earth shall rot for lack of light and warmth, and the peoples of the earth shall famish and die, to the last man!'" (88).

As for the *perlocution* of the order just given, Clarence, Morgan's audience of one, collapses. And this is the immediate effect of the *command* (Go tell the king . . .) and of its embedded *threat* (I will blot out the sun . . .), the two speech acts that constitute the preparatory action for the eclipse scene.

Now for the big scene itself, which Twain presents in Chapter Six, "The Eclipse." Morgan, who has been led to the stake, begins his *illocution*, or act of doing something by saying something, as the eclipse begins. The timing is right after all! But it will take more than this to demonstrate that, as he has told young Clarence, Merlin may be a powerful magician but Hank is a better magician than Merlin is. Twain gives attention to the placement of the faggots beneath the stake, to the expectant silence of the audience, and to Morgan's use of physical gesture as he prepares to validate his claim by calling upon his own superior communication skills.

The eclipse begins, and the Yankee prepares to make use of its opportune timing. As he describes the physical gesture that precedes his acts of speaking he says, "I was in one of the most grand attitudes I ever struck, with my arm stretched up pointing to the sun. It was a noble effect" (93). The word "kinesics" might not yet have entered the language when Twain wrote his story of the Connecticut Yankee (Ray L. Birdwhistell's *Kinesics in Context*, a "brilliant pioneer study" in Marshal McLuhan's introductory judgment, was not published until 1970), but Hank clearly knows how to use his body language to support his spoken words.

Three *commands*—performed by Merlin the magician, the king, and the Yankee—now dramatize a conflict of intention. Almost simultaneously Merlin commands, "'Apply the torch,'" the king says "'I forbid it,'" and Hank Morgan says to the torch bearer, "'Stay where you are,'" then adds force to his *command* with the *threat*, "'If any man moves—even the king—before I give him leave, I will blast him with thunder, I will consume him with lightnings'" (94). And the force of his utterance is sufficient.

As Hank describes the *perlocution*, or effect, of his command and supporting threats, the spectators sink to their seats, and Merlin hesitates but sits down. And now the king *requests* that they be spared. As Searle spells out the conditions for *requesting*, this speech act involves 1) the future act of a Hearer (or Hearers) as its "proposition," 2) the ability of the Hearer to do what he is asked to do and an understanding that he will not do what he is asked to do unless he is asked to do it as "preparatory conditions," 3) the Speaker *wants* his Hearer to do what he asks him to do as a "sincerity condition," and 4) the Speaker's words count as an attempt to get the Hearer to do what he is being asked to do as an "essential condition" (1969:66). There can be no doubt that the king wants the Yankee to spare him and his people, and the audience adds its "supplications," or fearful requests. And at this point, Hank, having the advantage now, confident as the darkening sky resolves his confusion about what day it is (it is the day it *needs* to be for his "prediction" of the eclipse to come true and his life to be saved), presses his advantage.

He *demands* to be appointed perpetual minister and executive to the king, and in performing this act he has not exceeded the expectations inherent in the situation. As the sky continues to darken, Hank presents the king with two choices: he can spare his captive and award power to him that will be second only to his own, or he can allow the execution to proceed, with the result that his kingdom will be plunged into eternal darkness. Arthur chooses the first alternative, and his newly appointed minister is permitted to "clothe himself with power and authority," or, literally, to put on clothes. Properly attired, and speaking now from his newly acquired authority, he *commands* the sun to shine again; and once again he suits his physical action to his act of speaking as he lifts his hands, stands with them raised for a moment, and says, "'Let the enchantment dissolve and pass harmless away'" (96).

The response of the audience is immediate: "It [breaks] loose with a vast shout and [comes] pouring down like a deluge to smother [Hank] with blessings and gratitude" (96). And thus, despite Clarence's mistake about what day of the month it was when the action here began (and the serious trepidations that resulted when Hank learned about the rescheduling of his execution), the series of speech acts the Connecticut Yankee performs culminates in wild success.

In the sequence just considered, every act performed by the hero required a certain overstepping, an assumption of authority he did not have. He had no right to *command* a boy he had just met to carry a message, he had no right to *threaten* the king or *demand* a high office, he had no right to *command* the sun to shine; but the result of his assumption of these rights is that his power is now exceeded only by that of the king.

All three of the acts Hank Morgan has just performed are forms of *requesting*, one of the basic categories of speech acts described by Austin and Searle. *Commanding,* Searle notes, has an additional preparatory rule: the Speaker must have an authority that is acknowledged by the Hearer (66), while *demanding,* as "a request made imperiously or as if one had a right," according to its *Oxford American Dictionary* definition (168-69), involves an assumption of that authority. And *demanding* succeeds, we might add, only if the Hearer acknowledges the authority assumed.

Morgan, supporting his speech acts with effective use of verbal and physical gestures to communicate an *impression* of authority and power, has just convinced the *king* that he is worthy of promotion to the position he *demands*. Every speech act he performs results in almost immediate success, and the effects of the acts just performed extend beyond the immediate situation and influence the outcome of every conflict that follows. Instead of having to rely on a memory of an eclipse that occurred on June 21st, 528, the Connecticut Yankee, his status firmly established in King Arthur's kingdom, can now begin to develop a nineteenth-century technology that he can call upon for further success.

The Fountain

Let us move on now to the speech acts that prepare for the big scene of Chapter 23, "Restoration of the Fountain." These consist of two *promises* to restore a fountain that has not functioned in many years. Hank reassures the old abbot who has charge of the fountain of the

Valley of Holiness with the words "'I shall use no arts that come from the devil, and no elements not created by the hand of God'" (251). Merlin has already made a comparable *promise* and reinforced his pledge with a stronger act of promising. He has taken an *oath* that he will make his promise good. And thus the contest begins.

When the time for public conflict arrives Merlin is the first to perform. As Hank Morgan describes the congruence of his physical and speech acts, Merlin raises a great smoke and pours out "volumes of speech to match. He contort[s] his body and saw[s] the air in a most extraordinary way. At the end of twenty minutes he drop[s] down panting, and about exhausted!" (262-63). Defeated, Merlin acknowledges his failure and *predicts* that no one will ever restore the well, thus performing a special kind of *assertion*. Performance of a speech act of *prediction*, for which the *Oxford American Dictionary* provides the synonyms "forecast" and "prophecy," involves asserting in advance that something is likely to happen or foretelling things as if by divine inspiration, and thus goes beyond what can be immediately demonstrated to make a questionable claim of knowledge. But Merlin provides this support for his prediction of failure: the magician who put the spell on the Well of Holiness, he says, is so powerful that no one will ever dare to speak his name.

Hank Morgan takes Merlin's negative prediction as a challenge. Now he can not only use his nineteenth-century expertise to restore the fountain—he has already learned that what will be required is simply the repair of a leak, Clarence has sent on the needed materials and tools, and the repair has been made—he can also humble his rival and enhance his own reputation by performing a speech act that requires the highest degree of courage. He will utter the unspeakable name. He will name the great magician who, Merlin claims, has bewitched the well and thus negate his power. His assistants have installed the lead pipe and pump needed to prepare the well and Hank has the "Greek fire, sheaves of big rockets, roman candles, colored-fire sprays, electric apparatus, and a host of sundries—everything needed for the stateliest kind of miracle" on hand (264). The stage is set, and Hank rises to the occasion. As the Yankee describes his performance, his body language can be seen as suitable preparation for the speech act that will show that Merlin is wrong. To produce the word that will prove his own superiority Morgan says, "I stood up on the platform and extended my hands abroad, for two minutes, with my face uplifted—that always produces a dead hush—and then slowly pronounced this ghastly word with a kind of awfulness which caused hundreds to tremble, and many women to faint" (267). The word he utters is indeed of ghastly length, but a currently available typeface enables its representation here as

Constantinopolitanischerdudelsackspfeifenmachersgesellschafft!

and the blue glare that accompanies its utterance produces an immense effect.

Next, saying "Now was the time to pile in the effects," The Boss tells how he again lifts his hands and groans out a word as if in agony. The audience moans and howls as the red lights go off to accompany the utterance of another word of impressive length. He waits 60 seconds, then shouts another, even longer word and lights "the green fire"; then 40 seconds later he spreads his arms once again and "thunders out the devastating syllables" of the longest word of all. He then gives his listeners a few moments to prepare themselves for the naming of the evil

magician who has bewitched the fountain, makes "a grand exhibition of extra posturing and gesturing," and shouts "'Lo, I command the fell spirit that possesses the holy fountain to now disgorge into the skies all the infernal fires that still remain in him, and straightway dissolve his spell and flee hence to the pit, there to lie bound a thousand years. By his own dread name I command it—BGWJJILLIGKKK!'" (269). His command that the evil magician relinquish his control is accompanied by a magnificent display of fireworks. The language of Morgan's commands to the evil magician can be read in terms of the requirements for fully explicit speech acts. He uses the first person nominative pronoun "I" and the imperative verb "command" not once but twice. The first "I command" is followed by a fully developed proposition that obligates the magician who cast the spell on the well to 1) release the powers of fire that may still remain within him, 2) deprive his spell of its power, and 3) flee to the pit [of hell, it can be assumed], where he is to be rendered powerless for years to come. The second "I command" is followed by the fearful name that guarantees that the Speaker will achieve the result he intends to achieve. With this utterance, accompanied by a magnificent display of fireworks, and (we can assume) a flip of the switch that turns the pump on, the people see the "freed water leaping forth!" (269). The result? Jubilation and gratitude on the part of the people, and for Hank Morgan a pleasure in his success so great that he can hardly go to sleep that night for glorying in it.

A stronger contrast with Merlin's pitiful performance can hardly be imagined, and the effect on the audience is all that Hank could have hoped for. A wild hosanna follows a groan of terror. Choking with tears, the abbot embraces him, and the people fall down to kiss the water and then fall back in reverence to make way for the restorer of the fountain.The sequence just presented includes a preparatory action that consists of the performance of conflicting *promises*, which involve an obligation on the part of the performer to do what he says he will do. Merlin fails to keep his promise, then attempts to excuse his failure; and Hank takes Merlin's negative prediction as a personal challenge to which he responds with defiant courage and a splendid display of showmanship. Thus once again a conflict is resolved in favor of the hero, whose reputation is now even more firmly established than it was before. Indeed, as we learn later, the news of this great success will spread far and wide by means of the print technology Hank has brought to King Arthur's kingdom.

The Rescue

The third scene to be considered here, like the first, involves a life placed in jeopardy. It is precipitated by a series of infelicitous speech acts performed by King Arthur on a journey that he, persuaded by Hank Morgan (now referred to as "The Boss"), has been convinced to take in the guise of a humble peasant.

The Yankee, who wishes to inform the king about the conditions in which his people live, has taken pains to instruct him on appropriate behavior, but the king, to understate the case, is a slow learner. In Chapter 28, "Drilling the King," we are permitted to see the Yankee's teaching methods in action as he tells the king to abandon his "soldierly stride" and "lordly port" and to lower his chin and look at the ground, all of which takes practice and further practice but continues to seem "amateur." Nevertheless, Morgan determines to move to a stage at which the

king will knock at the door of a peasant's hut and introduce himself. Given this challenge, the king immediately reverts to his accustomed behavior. His self-introduction takes the form of a *command*, "'Varlet, bring a seat; and serve to me what cheer ye have'" (321), which clearly does not fit the role the king must play for their mission to succeed. But though the king has barely passed his kinesics test and miserably failed his speech exam, the Yankee persists in his effort to teach him how to play the role he has persuaded him to take on.

In Chapter 33, "Sixth-Century Political Economy," Hank fails to make clear the lessons in economics he undertakes to teach to a group of farmers, but wins an argument in which he assumes a position that the pillory should be abolished—and takes his usual pleasure in having defeated an opponent. The pleasure, however, is short-lived. He soon realizes that his pro-pillory opponent and the men who have served as audience here do not really understand the implications of what he has just demonstrated. They do not agree that men do not deserve to be clodded with dirt, pelted with dead cats, and finally—if others bear grudges against them—with mutilating bricks and stones. But *this* is not what causes the farmers to turn against Hank and the king. Unable to understand the Yankee's lecture on buying power and the proper rewards for labor, they respond as dead men, unable to act. But in Chapter 34, when the king assumes a right to lecture on the topic of agriculture, the assembled farmers turn against the two travelers.

As Hank listens helplessly—he can't whisper a precaution into the king's ear for fear of being taken as a conspirator—the king goes on about onions, using legalistic syntax as he is heard to say (383-84):

> . . . were not the best way, methinks, albeit it is not to be denied that authorities differ as concerning this point, some contending that the onion is but an unwholesome berry when stricken early from the tree . . . whileas others do yet maintain, with much show of reason, that this is not of necessity the case, instancing that plums and other like cereals do be always dug in the unripe state—yet are they clearly wholesome, the more especially when one doth assuage the asperities of their nature by admixture of the tranquilizing juice of the wayward cabbage . . . .

Intently watching the audience, Hank notes that as the king speaks his listeners—who have at first just begun to show signs of life—show signs of distress and then terror, and finally, with the king's introduction of the topic of the life cycle of the goat, grow determined to kill both Hank, who they suspect will betray them, and the king, who in their judgment is clearly mad.

The results of the king's infelicitous acts of speaking are nearly catastrophic, but he and Hank are saved—for the moment—by the intervention of a nobleman. Despite Hank's protests that he and the king are but peaceful strangers, the nobleman responds to their appearance, which has been carefully planned to place them in a social order far below their actual status, and issues this *order*: "'Lash me these animals to their kennels'" (389), determining to sell the two as slaves.

At this point the Yankee needs all the natural ingenuity, technological savvy, and verbal skills at his command. They do not fail him. Having managed to steal a pin from one of three potential buyers, he picks the locks that bind him and manages to escape from the prison in which he and the king are held. Having noted that there are wires above one of the streets (the

prison to which he and the king have been brought is in London), he follows a line to a telegraph office. The young man he finds there, though his basic training is adequate, is sadly lacking in communication skills, so Morgan sends this message directly to Clarence himself: "'Send five hundred picked knights with Launcelot in the lead; and send them on the jump. Let them enter by the southwest gate, and look out for the man [Hank] with a white cloth around his arm.'" Clarence promptly answers, "'They shall start in half an hour'" (416).

A minor conflict between speech acts now ensues. Hank *predicts* that none of the slaves who have been condemned to hang along with the king will be hung. He strengthens his first prediction with a second, saying that before another day passes not only will they not be hung, but they will be free to go as they please. The prison guard's ironic agreement constitutes a counter prediction: "'Out of prison—yes—ye say true. And free likewise to go where ye will, so ye wander not out of his grace the Devil's sultry realm'" (419). And the forces of pessimism win this round when the laconic nay-sayer pulls out his trump card to reveal that the execution has been advanced a day.

Hank Morgan despairs. Help cannot possibly arrive in time. The drama, however, must be played out. The preparatory speech acts have put the wheels in motion, and Clarence has responded by dispatching five hundred knights on bicycles. The crowd assembles and tension runs high. The king now performs another infelicitous speech act. Clad in rags, he *threatens* everyone in the crowd with punishment for treason. In doing so, he speaks from his own authority as king, but because he is not in his present condition recognizable as the king his act fails to have its intended effect. The crowd responds with insults. The first slave is hung, the second, and then the third. Tension builds to a climax until they are blindfolding the king himself!

Hank finds himself momentarily incapable of speech. His tongue, he says, is petrified; but he recovers his powers of locution when Launcelot, leading a troop of cyclists, comes riding in. Back in charge, the Connecticut Yankee now *commands* all those assembled to fall to their knees, and, as he has done before, follows his command with a *threat*: "'Who fails shall sup in hell tonight'" (426).

As Frank Parker and Kathryn Riley (1999:18) spell out, the requirements for *threatening*, *promising*, and *threatening* both function as *commissives,* or utterances that commit a Speaker to do something. But while *promising* requires that the Speaker believe the Hearer wants an act to be performed, *threatening* requires that the Speaker believe that the Hearer does *not* want the Speaker to perform the act to which he commits himself. The farmers of Chapter 33 may not have understood the Connecticut Yankee's lectures on social justice and human rights, but judging from the compliance of the people who have gathered for the hanging scene of Chapter 38, "Sir Launcelot and Knights to the Rescue," there can be no doubt that they understand what they must do to avoid a punishment their religion has taught them to fear. Their response to Hank's threat-supported *command* is immediate. All those assembled fall to their knees. The king is recognized again as king, and Morgan *congratulates* himself once again on the "high style" he always uses when "climaxing an effect."

The Defeat of the Knights

As *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* approaches its conclusion, Malory's story of King Arthur and his court—all but forgotten through much of a book that centers on the successes of the Connecticut Yankee—reasserts itself. Queen Guinevere is reported to have been rescued from burning at the stake; the uneasy peace between Arthur and Mordred is broken when a knight raises his sword to strike an adder, thus unintentionally breaking an agreement the two have previously made; King Arthur dies; and Guinevere enters a nunnery. Morgan, who remains fully confident of his own power, reveals the support on which this power depends—a well-established system of schools, mines, factories and workshops—to the world; and he considers the possibility that he may become the president of a republic that will follow the reign of King Arthur. With a hubris transcending anything he has shown before, he issues a *challenge* by having it engraved in brass, posting it where any priest can read it, and publishing it in his newspapers. As he recalls this act, he represents himself as having said, "I not only renewed it, but added to its proportions. I said, name the day, and I would take fifty assistants and stand up *against the massed chivalry of the whole earth and destroy it*" (442-43). And then his carefully established system begins to fall apart, not because of the revelation of the Launcelot and Guinevere affair—everyone but the king has known about this all along—but because Launcelot has scored a tremendous financial success through manipulation of another of The Boss's successful enterprises: the stock market. It was this, Hank says, that caused Arthur to turn against Launcelot.

War results, and in Chapter 42, which carries the one-word title "War!," Twain inserts a representation of Malory's account of the meeting of King Arthur and his son Mordred on the field of battle (462),[2] commending the language with which it is represented and giving credit to Clarence for his "good piece of war correspondence." Twain then proceeds, with an account of a following conversation between The Boss and Clarence, to show how Morgan, with the help of his assistant, prepares for a revolution. The schools, colleges, factories, and workshops may have resisted all opposition before, but now, at least in Clarence's opinion, they are confronted by a force they cannot defend themselves against: the Church.

And this is The Boss's response. Unintimidated (his perspective on matters of religion is his own individual nineteeth-century perspective), he says that their defense, the construction of which Clarence has skillfully supervised, will become a method of *offense*. "'The *de*fensive,'" The Boss says, "'isn't in my line, and the offense is.'" Next, in response to Clarence's question, "'When does the performance begin?'" he answers "'*Now*! We'll proclaim the Republic,'" and having determined not just when but also how the performance will begin he dictates the following words to his amanuensis (469):

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[2] The language of the *Connecticut Yankee* account of King Arthur's last battle, except for Twain's modernization of Middle English spelling, is almost word for word the same as the language to be found in Malory (1977:713-14).

"PROCLAMATION

"BE IT KNOWN UNTO ALL. Whereas, the king having died and left no heir, it
becomes my duty to continue the executive authority vested in me, until a government
shall have been created and set in motion. The monarchy has lapsed, it no longer exists.
By consequence, all political power has reverted to its original source, the people of the
nation. With the monarchy, its several adjuncts died also; wherefore there is no longer a
nobility, no longer a privileged class, no longer an Established Church: all men are
become exactly equal, they are upon one common level, and religion is free. *A Republic
is hereby proclaimed*, as being the natural estate of a nation when other authority has
ceased. It is the duty of the British people to meet together immediately, and by their
votes elect representatives and deliver into their hands the government."

Hank Morgan may not say "*I proclaim* that a republic now exists," with a first-person
nominative pronoun subject followed by a first-person present tense verb of speaking followed in
turn by a proposition. Instead, he says "'A republic is hereby proclaimed,'" using a form that, as
Austin pointed out, is "a very common and important type of . . . indubitable performative
[which] has the verb in the *second or third person* (singular or plural) and the verb in the *passive*
voice" (57). Having assumed the power to *proclaim,* or perform a special act of *assertion* that
carries the authority of an official statement, Hank confers republican status upon sixth-century
England. He next *commands* the people of England to assemble and elect a leader.[3] He signs his
proclamation "The Boss," which can be seen not as a new assumption of power—he has been
going by this title for a long time now—but simply as a further assertion of control in this
context, and then dates it "from Merlin's Cave." Clarence objects, "'Why, that tells where we
are, and invites them to call right away,'" and Hank explains that this is his intention. He *is*
inviting his enemies, or *requesting* that they come to him and do battle.

The Connecticut Yankee is prepared. Chapter 41, "The Interdict" (452-57), provides
details about Twain's hero's plans to defend himself when the Church, acting from its long-
established position of authority, first issued an interdict (an "authoritative prohibition," to call
once again upon the *Oxford American Dictionary*) against him. The bastion then and now to be
defended is still known—though the magician no longer really possesses it—as Merlin's Cave.
The means of defense consists of twelve circles of electrified barbed wire along with a number of
well-placed gatling guns and bombs prepared for detonation. The defenders, 52 English boys,
Clarence, and the Connecticut Yankee are pitted against a force of 30,000 knights.

In Chapter 43, "The Battle of the Sand Belt," Morgan prepares his boys for what is to
come. First, The Boss, having now assumed the role of General, assesses the mental readiness of
his 52 boys. He watches the expressions on their faces and the way they walk, and he intuits their
unconscious attitudes, knowing that "all these are a language—a language given us purposely

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[3] At this point, as a reader and listener and viewer of twenty-first century news reporting, I find myself
suddenly moving from Twain's representation of Morgan's plan for the reform of sixth-century government to
visual memories of recurrent representations of the voters of Baghdad raising their ink-stained fingers to show that
they have performed their obligation to vote.

that it may betray us in times of emergency, when we have secrets which we want to keep." He knows they may be hearing the message "*All England*—ALL ENGLAND—*is marching against you*!" over and over again in their minds and hearts (473-74), and he waits for the expression of what they are thinking and feeling to come.

It comes. The boys' spokesman tells their leader they have tried to forget that they are English boys, and to "'put reason before sentiment, duty before love.'" They do not feel that it will be wrong to oppose the nobility that have survived the recent wars, but they cannot deny their love for their people. He concludes his short speech with this eloquently expressed *request*: "'Oh, sir, consider!—reflect!—these people are our people, they are bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh, we love them—do not ask us to destroy our nation!'" (475).

And The Boss congratulates himself for having, once again, looked ahead. First, with an admirably short series of parallel commendations, he tells the boys their hearts are in the right place, they have thought the worthy thought, they have done the worthy thing. They are English boys, and he assures them that they will remain English boys and will "'keep that name unsmirched.'" Continuing in this manner he says, "'Give yourselves no further concern, let your minds be at peace,'" all of which leads up to a question-answer sequence. Acknowledging that all England is marching against them, he asks, "'Who, by the commonest rules of war, will march in the front?'" and follows his apparent *request* for information with the *command*: "'Answer me.'"

The answer is "'the mounted host of mailed knights.'" The Boss responds with "'True.'" He has received the answer he clearly intended to elicit. He next says, "'Now observe,'" as if he did not already have complete control of their attention! and continues with "'None but *they* will ever strike the sand belt!'" and assures the boys that it is not just true but "'absolutely true'" that they will never have to fight anyone but the thirty thousand knights. And this leads to a *command* that the boys answer a single question and a *promise* that their answer will determine whether or not they fight the battle.

The question is "'Shall we avoid the battle, retire from the field?'" and the answer is a unanimous and hearty "'NO!!!'" The next "question"—and the manner in which it is presented shows that the Boss's intention is not to elicit information but to reduce the tension—is "'Are you—are you—well, afraid of these thirty thousand knights?'" This brings forth laughter, and the stage is effectively set for battle. But what happens in this chapter, despite the fact that it bears the title "The Battle of the Sandbelt," can hardly be called a battle if we consider the noun to carry its usual meaning, "a fight between large organized forces."

True, the opposing force is seen to advance, and Morgan, with his consistent eye for drama, sees innumerable banners flutter and a sea of armor set aflash by the light of the sun. He hears the blare of trumpets and sees "acres" of "plumed knights in armor" advance at first in a slow walk, and then with the speed of a gallop. And then the ground explodes and he exclaims, "Great Scott! Why, the whole front of that host shot into the sky with a thundercrash, and became a whirling tempest of rags and fragments . . ." (476). But then he coldly advances to the next step of his plan. He pushes a button connected to all the "noble civilization-factories" he has taken years to build, and they too are destroyed.

Finally, turning to performance of the speech act that seems to be the obligatory response, he offers formal words of *congratulation* to his troops. Searle provides the essential conditions

for *congratulating*: the event or act is related to the Hearer, it is in the Hearer's interest, the Speaker believes it is in the Hearer's interest, the Speaker is pleased at the event, and his utterance counts as an expression of pleasure at the event (1969:67). And all that is required to fit his definition to the exchange here is a pluralization of Hearer to Hearers. These are the words with which Morgan congratulates his boys (478):

> SOLDIERS, CHAMPIONS OF HUMAN LIBERTY AND EQUALITY: Your General congratulates you! In the pride of his strength and the vanity of his renown, an arrogant enemy came against you. You were ready. The conflict was brief; on your side, glorious. This mighty victory, having been achieved utterly without loss, stands without example in history. So long as the planets shall continue to move in their orbits, the BATTLE OF THE SAND-BELT will not perish out of the memories of men. THE BOSS.

The tone is splendidly heroic, and The Boss, again following an established pattern, congratulates *himself* on its effect: "I read it well, and the applause was gratifying to me." But the glory has gone out of the enterprise.

Morgan's words may have overcome his men's—or boys'—defenses against killing their own countrymen, and he gives them credit for their help with his enterprise in an appropriate manner. The language of his proposed ultimatum to the surviving knights is also appropriately impressive. It concludes with a clearly expressed presentation of a choice: "'We offer you your lives; for the sake of your families, do not reject this gift. We offer you this chance, and it is the last: throw down your arms, surrender unconditionally to the Republic, and all will be forgiven'" (480), and it is signed, once again, The Boss. Thus, with carefully balanced phrases, the Connecticut Yankee *promises* his opponents that they will be permitted to continue to live if they surrender, and *threatens* them with certain death if they refuse.

Clarence, who knows his people better than the Yankee does and seems to have learned from demonstrations of his Boss's argumentation strategies, asks that he be permitted, for the moment, to take on the role of commander of the knights while Hank plays the role of the messenger entrusted with the ultimatum. The Boss decides to "humor" his assistant, and, approaching Clarence, receives this answer to the proposed message: "'Dismember me this animal, and return him in a basket to the base-born knave his master; other answer have I none'" (481). Having received this answer (without actually sending his message), which echoes the superiority of class distinction with which the noble who earlier rescued Hank and the king from hanging only to sell them as slaves, The Boss checks his electrical connections to make sure he can control every fence from the cave, orders his boys to keep their two-hour watches, and prepares for his final act: destruction of the remaining 10,000 knights by creating a river a hundred feet wide and instructing a force of thirteen gatling guns to open fire.

The result of the Connecticut Yankee's years of successful entrepreneurship and careful planning is a triumph of superior nineteenth-century technology, but not of the human beings who use it. The electrified barbed wire fences successfully defend Morgan's fortification. Men in armor, which is obviously worse than useless here, die as they touch the fences. Thirteen gatling guns "vomit death into the fated ten thousand," who, if they are not electrocuted or shot, drown in a flood engineered by Hank Morgan and his loyal crew. The 54—Hank, Clarence, and the 52

boys—defeat the 10,000, but, surrounded by the dead, they themselves have little hope for survival.

The enemy has been destroyed. The "battle" is over. But there is no victory. The two postscripts with which Twain's novel concludes, one written by Clarence and one by M. T., present a Boss who will have no consciousness of life until he has slept "like a stone" for over a thousand years, and a human being longing for the comfort of contact with his wife and child.

Mark Twain, who took his own nineteenth-century concerns back to the time of Sir Thomas Malory's King Arthur, tells a story that may not just predict technological achievements of the twentieth century, as when Clarence, permitted to use the telephone after the restoration of the Fountain of Holiness, was sure that his Boss could *hear* him wink and smile if he listened sharply to his voice (276). His story may also carry this message: there are important things that cannot be accomplished through use of the most highly developed technologies of war. But my intention here has not been to judge The Boss's final "success" or to claim the predictive power or essential wisdom of his creator. I have simply tried to show how Twain used his understanding of some of the ways that language works to tell the story of a Connecticut Yankee who, through no intention of his own, found himself in a past world. Though our methods for reproducing the written word may have gone far beyond what Samuel Clemens hoped to achieve with the Paige typesetting machine, sometimes the Connecticut Yankee's world seems not to be too different from the world in which we live and try to do things with words.

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A Spanish Bishop Remembers the Future:
Oral Traditions and Purgatory in Julian of Toledo

Nancy P. Stork

Part One: Julian's Sermon Hidden in Titles

Julian of Toledo, born to Christian parents of Jewish descent, took a strong stand against Rome and was responsible for making Toledo into the pre-eminent bishopric of Visigothic Spain in the late seventh century. He also helped King Erwig retain his election by declaring his comatose predecessor Wamba a penitent and presiding over a council in which his people were released from their obligation to obey him. In the intellectual as well as political sphere, he took an aggressive stance. Julian argued against the Babylonian Talmud, insisting that the Messiah had arrived in the person of Jesus, and also wrote a grammar and some poetry (Hillgarth 1976: viii-xi). One of the pre-eminent men of his day, he also contributed notably to the creation of a Christian theology of Purgatory in his *Prognosticon Futuri Saeculi*, a surpisingly rational and and intimate approach to Judgment Day and the last things. In this work Julian does not offer typical medieval "prognostications," those charming books sometimes attributed to Daniel that promise to reveal the future from the imagery of your dreams, the occurrence of thunder, wind or sunshine on a Thursday, or the phase of the moon on your birthday. Julian seeks to answer a simple question: where does the soul reside between death and Judgment Day? In doing so, he creates one of the most popular works of the early Middle Ages: the *Prognosticon* survives in 162 complete manuscripts (*ibid.*:xxxiv).

In an inspired moment, Julian, who may not or may not have known Greek, chooses the Greek *prognosticon* over the Latin *praescientia* as his title and then creates a work that is *sui generis:* a model of clarity, consolation, and good sense. Yet, it is rare to meet anyone today who has actually read or studied this text. The *Prognosticon* suffers from a triple whammy of unpopularity, at least for English-speaking audiences: it is written in Latin prose by a seventh-century Spanish bishop, helps to formulate orthodox Catholic theology, and is comprised largely of quotations remembered from Julian's reading of Patristic authors. To my knowledge, it has never been translated into English, though many of the works it draws upon have been. Lacking the aesthetic appeal of poetry and the linguistic appeal of the vernacular, neither sermon nor penitential nor encyclopedia, the *Prognosticon* remains in the realm of systematic theology, used mostly as an ancillary citation to illuminate the *Zeitgeist* of the late Visigoths.

Julian's *Prognosticon* is one of the earliest works to formulate in some coherent way the fate of the human soul between individual death and Judgment Day in the medieval Christian

tradition. Jacques LeGoff, of course, is the leading historian of the creation of the realm of Purgatory and its fullest formulation in late medieval scholastic theology (LeGoff 1984). The vast mythology of Purgatory includes Bede's account of Dryhthelm's vision wherein souls are flung between regions of burning heat and freezing cold, Dante's multi-terraced Mount of Purgatory, medieval French confessions to Jacques Fournier that describe the dead traveling by night from church to church around southern France, Hamlet's father's ghost's assertion that he is "doomed for a certain time to walk the night," and folk songs such as the Lyke Wake Dirge, which admonishes one to give shoes, hose, silver, gold, food, and drink to the poor, because those gifts will protect you as you cross over the Thorny Moor and the Bridge of Dread to Purgatory. To this day pilgrims travel to Saint Patrick's Purgatory in Ireland, and countless visions in romance, epic, sermon, fantasy, science fiction (even TV dramas such as "Neverwhere" and "Lost") remind us of the fluid boundary between this world and the immediate next. Much of this mythology can be attributed to oral tradition, popular religious customs, and folk tales about communing with the dead.

Julian's work initially seems to come from a very different, learned and written tradition. Like most Christian theologians, Julian must resolve the paradox arising from the words of Jesus to the good thief on the cross—"Verily I say unto thee, Today shalt thou be with me in paradise" (Luke 23:43)—and the description of the dead being raised at the Day of Judgment. Because it was such a popular work, Julian's *Prognosticon* has had significant influence on medieval thought on this topic. The *Prognosticon* was copied frequently until the fifteenth century and was used not only as a monastic school text and easily accessed compendium of Patristic wisdom but also as a highly personal and contemplative guide to the next world. It addresses a multitude of questions in a brief space: how death entered the world, the types of paradise, our age and sex after death, whether the disembodied soul can sense pain, the resurrection of those consumed by animals, whether what the soul senses after death is any more vivid than that which it once sensed in dreams, and whether our corporeal eyes, that now see the sun and moon, will also be the eyes that see God. The fact that Julian brings together quotations from earlier authors has caused his work to be seen as derivative, and even Julian's modern editor, J. N. Hillgarth, will go only so far as to call the work a "manual de doctrina y de contemplacíon."[1]

And yet, when one looks more closely there are several curious features of this work. The fundamental paradox in the composition of the *Prognosticon* is that Julian is remembering what he knows about the future—he recalls only those passages from his extensive reading that refer to future time and our fate in eternity. He blends Scriptural and Patristic authors in his quest to reveal the truth of our ultimate fate and inspire his readers to forsake sin.[2]

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[1] Hillgarth 1971:112. Julian's contributions to the idea of purgatory are explored by LeGoff (1984) and his articulation of the interim paradise by Kabir (2001). In addition, Collins (1992), Madoz (1952), Pozo (1970), and Von Wicki (1953) have analyzed Julian's contribution to the development of the theology of the after-world and his use of Patristic sources.

[2] In this way, he resembles Augustine, who dwells on the problem of memory extensively in his *Confessions*. Connelly has said of Augustine's memory that "memory acts as a mirror of Augustine's whole identity; fully present to himself, Augustine can dialogue with God about his revealed truth in Scripture . . . memory reveals Augustine's intimacy with Truth who dwells within him" (Connelly 1999:abstract).

We know how the work was composed, from Julian's own account in his preface. From this and other evidence, I propose three ways to illuminate this text and its place in early medieval literary culture: first, the *Prognosticon* within its written form reveals an earlier, "oral" version of itself, rooted in *communitas* and a shared dialogue. Second, Julian, who composes from memory and an understanding of *ars praedicandi*, can be considered a preacher or even, like the Anglo-Saxon poets who bear that name, a *scop*. Finally, the *Prognosticon* is comprised of a series of paradoxes that bear strong similarities to early medieval riddles. For the latter point I will draw on several glossed English manuscripts, including one from the Anglo-Saxon period that contains three sets of riddles and the *Prognosticon* glossed by the same hand (British Library Royal 12.C.xxiii).

While Julian draws his *exempla* from other theologians, he composes a unique book that provides insight not only into seventh-century eschatology, but also into the use of memory, paradox, oral composition, metaphor, enigma, and appeals to emotion. Like many early medieval thinkers and writers, Julian lived in a culture influenced by a Germanic vernacular heritage, as well as a Latin-based book culture; just as the Anglo-Saxons melded their Germanic past with their new religion, so too the Visigoths, in their journey from a pagan Germanic culture through Arian Christianity and finally to Catholicism, blended elements of Germanic and Roman cultures. This may explain, in part, the popularity of this work among so many generations of medieval readers, particularly in northern Europe. More intriguing perhaps is what it reveals about the possible survival of Germanic "beer or mead hall" culture of orally transmitted and shared poetry, transmuted into a version acceptable to a religious community living behind very different walls. We even find in Julian's other work a hint of the tradition of the pre-battle *flyting* in his attacks on the Franks in the *Historia Wambae* and *Insultatio in tyrannidem vilis Galliae*.[3] But, paramount for our purposes here, the *Prognosticon* offers a very literal embodiment of the contradictions and interplay between oral and literate culture and shows how memory is truly the key to composition in pre-modern cultures. In fact, the text actually provides two versions of itself—a conversationally inspired, orally composed version and a fuller, remembered, written version. The *Prognosticon* is comprised of three books, each beginning with a list of chapter titles, followed by the chapters themselves. The titles, in each case, provide the record of the original conversation transmuted into a sort of sermon.

Julian tells us in his preface that he initially composed the *Prognosticon* in one sitting, drawing on the inspired conversation of his friend, Bishop Idalius of Barcelona, and their mutual memory. He is quite clear that the entire shape of the book is revealed before he actually takes up his stylus. Since the preface is brief and has not, to my knowledge, been previously translated, I provide my own translation below. Note, as you read, that Julian mentions the titles four times. Although he may in part be using the titles as a metonymy for the work as a whole, his repeated emphasis is striking. The prince mentioned is most likely the Visigothic King Ervigius (aka Ervigio, Erwig, r. 680-87) whose reign coincides with the probable decade for the composition of the *Prognosticon*:

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[3] "For Julian of Toledo the Roman Empire has ceased to exist; the enemy is the Franks and he employs against them his unbridled rhetorical talents" (Hillgarth 1970:277). "The attacks on "Gaul" (here meaning Septimania, the province ruled by the Visigoths) in the *Historia* and especially in the *Insultatio*…are extraordinary in their violence, in their praise of the Goths and hatred of Gaul . . ." (299).

<u>Preface</u>

To the most holy Lord Idalius, bishop of Barcelona, most dear to me above all others, from Julian, most unworthy bishop of the Cathedral of Toledo.

Who, with the clear exception of the redeemer of us all, would be able to express in words worthy of the task the joy we remember experiencing on that famous day this year when we, situated in the royal city, celebrated the feast of the Lord's Passion with the festive ardor of our hearts?

For indeed, it happened, as we were longing for the silence appropriate to such a festival, we entered into a more remote place of quiet. And there being filled, as we ought, by tearful rain-showers for the divine passion, we two reclined on couches, and were together touched by the mirror of divine light as we took up sacred reading for a long time that day. We scrutinized the secrets of the Lord's Passion in the concordances of the synoptic Gospels and when we arrived at a certain delectable passage, which I am now unable to recall, we shake violently, we moan, we sigh! A sublime joy arises in our minds, and at once we are drawn up to the summit of contemplation. Tears spring from our eyes, and hinder our attempt to read; in our mutual grief we lay aside the book and await the work to be brought forth by the inspiration of our shared and individual reading. What divine savor touched our spirits? What sweetness of supernal charity, cast forth from heaven, diffused into our mortal minds? Who may explain this in writing? Whose voice might be equal to the task of explicating what happened? Indeed, you at that time (who are, I confess, my lord and most holy brother), were languishing, laid low with the pains of gout, yet even still you remained upright in the hope of divine contemplation. I believe that all your excruciating physical pain was put to flight when we began to engage in divine colloquy between ourselves. And then how fully we sensed "how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity" (Psalm 132:1) when the balm of the Holy Spirit, which descended upon our heads from the hem of his garment, illuminated us by setting us on fire for this most necessary inquiry.

Having thus been invited to such a rich feast, we began to inquire between ourselves, in what manner the souls of the dead exist before the final resurrection of the body. By this mutual endeavor we hoped to know what we ourselves will become after this life and to contemplate this business more vigorously and truly, so that in scrutinizing those future realities, we might more emphatically flee the realities of the present world. There arose certain small questions out of this matter which in their diversity did not touch our souls lightly. But since we did not wish merely to collect a brief answer to these questions, we both agreed that whatever question had arisen among us concerning these things, ought to be written down with a stylus quickly (*stilo percurrente annotari deberet*) and that whatever reason itself proferred in response or whatever was well defined by the good sense of Catholic teachers, we should express from the memory of our sacred reading, so that the work of recording might be done not by the turning over of many books, but with the living voice (*vivae vocis*).

Then at your urging—unless I am mistaken—I took up my stylus and organized into chapters the previously mentioned questions, that same day, in your presence, with such brevity as I was able. But you, with your spirit of sanctity, being impatient in divine

things, as usual, constrained my feeble powers by the most sweet force of familiarity and the precept of individual friendship, and I received a divine inspiration that those same things which came into question above and also that the list of titles I had already given you ought to be gathered together into one complete and brief volume. In this way, what greater authors had already touched upon, I could demonstrate by placing their *sententiae* alongside others and the examination of such questions would not force the inquiring spirit to search among numerous books, but rather that this collected short work might slake the thirst of a multitude of readers.

Moreover, we decided, by the working of yet more divine charity, that I would provide a list of titles for the arguments and questions we could recollect concerning the final resurrection of bodies. In addition, we recalled a friend suffering from illness and a saddened heart, and proposed that a preliminary book be joined to the two already conceived, concerning the death of this body, a book which would be preceded by titles in the same manner as the others, so that the titles might raise hope of celestial joy in the soul of a reader terrified by an immoderate fear of death. And thus, the nature of the fruit of that eternal beatitude prepared for blessed spirits after the deposition and reception of the body would be expressed in the titles of the following books. You yourself know that all these things were conceived and done with me on that delectable day.

Since the warlike departure of the glorious prince Ẹrvigius] from the royal city [*ab urbe regia*, i.e. Toledo] has driven away those turbulent crowds of people who departed with him, I believe now the health of our mind (*salutem mentis nostrae*) might begin to be calmed amidst the more peaceful and silent airs that now caress our ears. Therefore I betook myself to remember your command and my promise. I have done what I promised, if not as I ought, then at least as I was able. The first book concerns the origin of human death, the second how souls of the dead exist before the resurrection of the body, and the third treats of that same resurrection to come.

Joining together this entire work of three books in one volume, we gave it a name from the last of these, so that it might be called from its better and greater part the *Prognosticon futuri saeculi,* or "Foreknowledge of the world to come." In this work, you will find teaching and examples not from me but from those greater than I, and if anywhere my voice recites something more briefly than what I remember having read in their original books, I have written it with my own stylus in my own style (*proprio stilo conscripsi*). But, if perhaps in any place I have spoken things other than how they ought to be spoken or I have placed things other than where they belonged, or expressed them otherwise than they ought to be formulated, may charity, which suffers and tolerates all things, overlook what I am confessing and may the same charity of your sanctity obtain in those souls of my readers so that what my feeble sense has created in ignorance, your prudence may correct, elucidate, and embellish. May this above all other things obtain in prayers to be placed before the Lord, so that whatever I, aware of my own faults, have gathered together badly in this work, the intervention of the pious blood of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ may remedy.

I did not write this book in this way in order to demonstrate unknown things to my readers, since I do not doubt that there are volumes of diverse books that teach the

knowledge of these things, but rather that the account of things to come, collected together as one, might more powerfully touch the minds of mortals, that they may read without labor the things placed here and that the remorseful mind may return in time to where this meal is laid out most conveniently before it. May this ordered collection of chapters be in its combined wisdom a mirror wherein our spirit may recognize its very self. For if we consider in careful meditation what we will become in the future, I believe that we would rarely or never sin. Thus, indeed, is it written: "Son, in all thy works remember thy last end and thou shalt never sin" (Ecclesiasticus 7:40).

       With these things now finished, which are recorded both for memory and discernment, I pray and beseech that the offered form of this work, whether its cloak be pleasing or displeasing, may either be improved by the stylus of your censure or be published by the wisdom of your judgment. <u>Here ends the preface.</u>

Although the work is composed from memory, Julian has forgotten the delectable passage that initially inspired him. The lost text stands here as a sort of cipher for the moment of inspiration, the actual conversation that gave birth to the text. Like the erased text of a palimpsest, this text has escaped the preserving power of both memory and stylus. Unlike Cædmon, the first Christian Anglo-Saxon poet, who receives his inspiration in an angelic vision and whose song of creation has survived in multiple copies, Julian's moment of inspiration has been effaced. So too, except for a verse epistle addressed to one Modoenus, otherwise unknown, Julian's poetry has been lost, though he is known to have written at least one book of poems (Collins 1992:9). Yet Julian's prose account of his inspiration remains and, despite his curious inability to remember the exact Biblical passage that caused their almost mystical communion with the text, Julian's goal is to recapture the memory of that sweet day when he and his friend withdrew from the company around them to discuss the resurrection. I have tried to faithfully translate the verb tenses above because the tense shifts unexpectedly into the present when Julian describes his and Idalius' physical reaction to the texts. The sense of immediacy combined with his forgetting the original text obscure the actual birth of the text, in spite of his desire to recount its very origins. Like all histories, narratives, and apocalyptic visions, the impelling movement forward to the desired end causes the origins to become more and more obscure. As inspiration moves forward, memory lags behind. Or is this perhaps a novel use of the modesty *topos*? Unlike Cædmon, who needed scribes to take down his verse, Julian serves as both *scop* and scribe. And, also unlike Cædmon, Julian is interested not in creation and the beginning of the world, but rather the end of all things. How fitting in a way that he has forgotten his moment of inspiration, because his intent is to look not back, but forward. And yet, like other *scops,* he shapes from memory for his new audience.

       Julian and Idalius' mode of composition seems to be almost conversational: they consider questions and draw upon their remembered readings of sacred writings and scripture to resolve difficulties in interpretation. Stancati emphasizes the *Prognosticon's* unique genesis in an episcopal dialogue which attests not only to the theological sophistication of the Spanish church hierarchy but to a unique sense of educational ministry that includes eschatology as a topic of passionate interest (Stancati 1996:412).

Certainly at some point during their conversation (*collatio*) Julian becomes aware that they will turn their conversation into a book. Nonetheless, his and Idalius' initial act of composing is an entirely oral endeavor, in which they search not through books, but through their own memories.[4] Twice Julian mentions that he wants to save others from the laborious task of searching through books for the answers to their queries. There is no hint of the laborious turning over of pages in his description of the act of remembering, which is uniformly suffused with joy. And it is clear that, to Julian at least, the book filled an urgent need—to answer in one brief book all the troublesome philosophical problems and contradictions inherent in the theology of the afterlife. Beyond this goal, Julian also has the intent to help people to consider the state of their own souls. Though he does not call his work a *speculum*, he has not only the intellectual desire to resolve contradictions and solve problems, but the explicit desire to make the mind recognize its very self (*ut et in hoc speculo noster sese animus recognoscat*). Julian's second stated goal, inspired by an ailing friend, is to offer comfort to those suffering from an excessive fear of death. Once again, the act of composition is couched in terms of friendship and spiritual *communitas*.

The prayer that follows the preface continues to reveal the work's genesis in a shared dialogue and joy of *communitas*. Note that Julian, of all the joys of heaven, desires most to see not the gems or ornamented gates and towers of the celestial city but the dwellers themselves in the heavenly Jerusalem. This concern for others, so clearly a part of the inspiration and composition of the *Prognosticon*, reveals itself here as well in the preface. Because it is brief, I translate it in full:

Prayer

A dweller and inhabitant of the desert of Idumeus, blind and near death, I call to you, O son of David, to have mercy on me. I seek my homeland, the heavenly Jerusalem, I desire to see its citizens, but a leader to take me there I do not find. You, therefore, who in your very self are worthy to show me the way, reach out your hand to me, that, thus, no longer blind but seeing, I may come there without encountering any thieves. You indeed are the only pathway along which there lies no thief in wait. Behold my anxious heart, desiring for a long time the return to your homeland, is filled with great cares for the future, wishing that before it is illuminated it might contemplate the future joys of blessedness. Seeking thus to know what reward remains for the defunct spirits after the death of this body and what glorification they may attain after the return of their bodies, in the small measure of my strengths and insofar as I was able to discern from the disputes of those greater than I, I have collected together certain things useful for these purposes.

I have spoken these things insofar as they can be spoken by mortals; I have not however, told of all things that will happen in the future since the narrow paths of your judgment are inscrutable. I however wish to fly to the bosom of that fatherland of which

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[4] Regarding Julian's *Historia Wambae*, Hillgarth comments, "An explicit motive for the work . . . is to provoke the young to virtuous and warlike deeds. The use of dialogue and imaginary speeches enlivens the story" (1970:299).

many things are spoken, so that through you, who are the way, I may ascend to you, who are the truth, that I may not offend, yet may come to you, who are the life. I would be divided from you for no cause, you who are the way of the highest felicity, I would be separated by no impediments, that ascending towards you, about to die, I will not suffer the thief, dead I will not arrive at the accuser. Protect me, as I die, with guardian angels and when I have called to you, console me in the bosom of your protecting piety so that I, coming to you without confusion, may see the good things that are in Jerusalem. Already, Lord, it is enough that I, clouded by such shadows of sin, should perish. So that this may not come to pass, I am preparing a remedy for myself and my brothers, that if it be offensive to you in anyway I beseech, I pray you, through the glorious intervention of your sacred blood and the venerable and undefeated sign of your cross, that for these offenses I be not shown to be rash, nor waste away as one in error, nor be punished or judged as one of those who speak of great things from their own heart rather than your spirit.

Behold me, Lord, thus, your servant, begging and urging, neither defining things not to be known in pride, but humbly wishing to understand those things that ought to be known. Feed me thus, from all the promises of your grace, those things that cannot be touched by the senses, things thought to be true, thought to be perfected in the true firmness of faith, so that you may grant me that joy that cannot be expressed by the mere stylus of any man, what the eye has not seen nor has entered into the heart of man [that is, the things which God hath prepared for them who love him] (1 Corinthians 2:9). I pray you grant a wretch like me to enjoy the proof of these things on earth and also to behold them there more fully in heaven. Here ends the prayer.

We know from Julian's account that the book was initially composed in conversation with Idalius. Yet in its final form, it contains 79 citations (out of a total of 128) from Augustine. It is not mere chance that Julian had so many examples from Augustine ready to hand. He had some years earlier prepared two books of excerpts from the works of Augustine (Hillgarth 1976:viii). These efforts surely laid the groundwork for the ease and felicity with which he (and Idalius?) were able to recall the passages relevant to their queries. Much as a preacher carries a store of Biblical verses and a *scop* carries his word-hoard and the mythical history of heroes in memory, so Julian carried with him Augustine's arguments about such difficult questions as why men die as a result of sin and angels do not. Each of the three books of the *Prognosticon* is comprised of citations in answer to genuine paradoxes and theological puzzles, the greatest number of which come from Augustine, and then Gregory.[5] The questions initially concern etymologies and explanations of names and end with practical advice on praying for the dead or visions of the eternal joys of heaven. Much in the way that medieval *artes praedicandi* recommend, Julian introduces his overarching *theme* in his preface, then a *protheme* in each of the three books. In each section he divides, subdivides, and discusses the *protheme*, gives one

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[5] Of 128 citations, 79 are from Augustine, 19 from Gregory, eight from Isidore, five from Julian Pomerius, five from Jerome, four from Cyprian, two from Ildefonsus, and one each from Origen, Chrysostom, and Eugene of Toledo.

major exemplum, and finally recapitulates and applies it to his audience. The subdivisions of the *protheme* mostly involve etymologies or the classification and description of types of heaven and hell. Prefaced by a series of titles arrayed into a sort of homily, and comprised largely of Augstinian citations, each of Julian's three books nonetheless supplies a selection from another work whose contrast to Augustine's philosophical style is striking. Cyprian's homily on not fearing death is in some ways the heartfelt centerpiece for the whole work, occurring as it does two-thirds of the way through the first book. Though not directly addressed to Julian and Idalius's friend mentioned in the preface, this section certainly addresses the fears of someone near death. We do not know if this friend lived to read or hear the *Prognosticon*, but he was certainly intended as the first audience for the work.

This selection from Cyprian's homily is not, however, the only homily in the *Prognosticon*. This is a work that means to be several things: a brief reference work to spare others the laborious search for answers to difficult questions, a *consolatio* or *ars moriendi*, and a record of shared inspiration from a holy muse. One can read the book as a puzzled thinker, careful researcher, or a fearful soul living in the shadow of death. Yet one can also read the book as Julian initially composed it, by reading the titles straight through. Julian, though he quotes from Cyprian's homily in Book One, also leaves evidence of his own homiletic tendencies in the written record of his inspiration. How is this possible?

The work retains its oral urgency if we read the titles not as an index, but in order, on their own. And since the titles are presented in the surviving manuscripts in the traditional form (in title pages preceding each book), we can read the titles through as a record of the oral form of this work. In this way the titles to each of the three books of the *Prognosticon* become a miniature homily, with the initial titles setting out a problem or puzzle to be solved and the titles gaining in certainty as each book progresses. By the end of the each book the titles no longer pose questions, but provide answers. This strongly suggests that Julian and Idalius in their composition moved from question to answer, from uncertainty to certainty, from doubt to faith as they answered the central query posed by each book. Let us look at them in turn to see how this works.

Book One begins with eight titles on the origin of human death:

> I. *Quo modo mors primum subintrauerit in mundum.*
> II. *Quod Deus immortales angelos creans, peccantibus hominibus mortem sit comminatus.*
> III. *De qualitate creati hominis, uel de poena mortis, qua post peccatum iuste damnatus est.*
> IIII. *Vnde dicta mors.*
> V. *De tribus generibus corporalium mortium.*
> VI. *Quam aspera sit mors carnis et quod plerumque molestiam eius non sentiant morientes.*
> VII. *Quod plerumque contingat, ut per asperam mortem carnis liberetur anima a peccatis.*
> VIII. *Quod mors nec bonum aliquid sit, et tamen bonis bona sit.*

I. How death first entered into the world.

II. That God, though creating angels immortal, yet assigned death to sinning humans.

III. Concerning the nature of created man, or the pain of death, to which, after sin, he is justly condemned.

IIII. Whence it is called "death."

V. Concerning the three types of bodily death.

VI. How bitter is the death of the flesh, and that, for the most part, those dying do not sense its sting.

VII. That, for the most part, it happens that the soul is liberated from sin through the bitter death of the flesh.

VIII. That, although death is in no way good, yet it is good to the good.

Each of these questions proceeds naturally from the preceding and reveals an interest in etymology and the fundamental problem of the link between sin and death. In order to find the answers to the puzzles posed by these titles, one must consult the text. So far, Julian has done what he says he set out to do, organize a useful compendium of the answers to difficult questions for his readers. And yet, with the very next question, his rhetorical strategy changes and, rather than posing a question to be answered, he poses an argument against those who assert that if baptism removes our sins then baptized men should not die. Now his title links us not to an etymology or a bit of salvation history, but to a theological argument of Augustine. Note the use of the word "Contra" to indicate the difference from the earlier titles beginning with "Quod:"

> VIIII. *Contra eos qui dicunt, si in baptismo peccatum primi hominis soluitur, quare mors baptizatos homines subsequatur.*

Julian quotes Augustine here, who argues that if we were to attain immortality with baptism and the absolution of our original sin, inevitably our faith would be weakened and it is for this purpose that we must still suffer death. Whether this is conscious on Julian's part or not, he proceeds in the remaining sections of Book One to do just as Augustine suggests: strive to increase his listeners' faith. After the posing of each philosophical question, there follows a series of titles as an exhortation to faith. Because this exhortation is revealed in the titles themselves, there is almost no further need to read the attendant passages. The titles shift from asking a question or identifying a topic, to answering their own questions themselves.

As an example, take Title X, which tells us that when faithful men die there will be angels present and by these angels their souls will be rescued and led to God:

> X. *Quod praesto sint angeli quando fideles homines moriuntur, et quod ab eisdem angelis animae eorum excipiantur perducendae ad Deum.*

The next titles (XI and XII) are devoted to the fear of bodily death and the various forms this fear takes before exhorting in Title XIIII.

> XIIII. *De non timenda Christianis morte corporea propterea quod iustus ex fide uiuat.*

The next two citations quote extensively from a homily of Cyprian, in a style far more passionate than that of Augustine. Lastly, the remaining titles instruct the living to pray for the dying, bury them properly, and offer prayers after death. The book ends with the practical application of what one is to do in the face of bodily death.

Book Two asks and answers the question of where the spirits of the dead dwell before the Last Judgment—a classic problem in Christian theology. Once again, Julian begins with etymologies and careful distinctions among such terms as paradise, the bosom of Abraham, and hell (*paradisus, sinus Abrahae, infernos*), and his titles change from a mere indicator of a topic or definition into titles that provide their own answers. Along the way he provides one of the earliest formulations of the idea of Purgatory. But of more import here is the sequence of questions that his titles answer. He is quick to assure his readers that the souls of the blessed go immediately to Christ upon leaving their bodies:

> *VIII. Quod animae beatorum statim ut a corpore exeunt, ad Christum in coelis uadunt.*

He continues on through various other complications that arise out of this assertion: that these souls do not see God in the same way they will after their resurrection, that the spirits of the elect have also ascended to heaven, that sinners will be brought to hell, and that the spirit will have its same shape and senses after separation from the body. From here he continues to a consideration of how incorporeal spirits can be tortured by corporeal fire and speculates that purgatorial fire is different from the fire in which the impious will be submerged after the Last Judgment.

As in Book One, there are several points against which he argues strongly and these are indicated by the use of *Contra*:

> *XXXIII. Contra eos qui dicunt quod nulla sit animae uita post mortem.*
> *XXXIIII. Contra eos quibus parum uidetur quod anima post mortem carnis, in quadam*
> *corporali similitudine laeta quaedam uideat uel tristia sentiat et quod expressiora sint ibi*
> *laeta uisa uel tristia quam hic uideri possunt per somnium ab animo*

> XXXIII. Against those who claim that there is no life for the soul after death.
> XXXIIII. Against those to whom it does not seem that the soul after the death of the
> flesh, sees in a certain corporeal likeness certain joyful things and senses sad things, and
> that these joyful sights and sadnesses are more vivid than what they can see here by their
> mind through a dream.

Here Julian quotes from Cassianus and Augustine as well as Daniel, Psalms and Revelation, Matthew, Exodus, Luke, and Hebrews. Several well-known Biblical passages regarding dreams are cited (Psalm 150:6, Matthew 22:31-32, Exodus 3:6, Luke 20:38, Hebrews 11:16), as well as Augustine's story of the monk Gennadius who doubted that the souls of the dead were in heaven and was shown a vision of heaven, including music, in a dream. Augustine further argues that because the vision was not seen by corporeal eyes, this offers proof of non-corporeal (or spiritual) eyes and thus the existence of the soul. This is the philosophical climax of Book Two and it is followed by titles that call to mind the joys of heaven:

XXXVI. Quod post depositionem corporis huius statim uideatur a sanctis spiritibus Deus.
XXXVII. Quod etiam modo sanctorum animae iam cum Christo in coelis regnent.

XXXVI. That God will be seen by the blessed spirits immediately after the deposition of
the body.
XXXVII. That even now the spirits of the blessed reign with Christ in the heavens.

Book Three concerns Judgment Day and its attendant terrors. Once again, Julian seeks to alleviate the fear of his readers and begins with an ominous title asserting that no one knows the time and day of Judgment:

I. Quod tempus et diem iudicii nullus hominum nouerit.

 Well, a reader might wonder, if I cannot know the time and day of Judgment, perhaps I can know the place or how long it will last?

II. Utrum specialis locus esse credatur ubi iudicium a Domino agitabitur.
III. Quod nullus nouerit hominum per quot dies futurum illud iudicium extendatur.

The answer to the first is yes, but to the next, alas, no. Julian cites Jerome's commentary on Joel, explaining that Iosaphat means "judgment of the Lord," and this is where Judgment will likely take place. To the second query he cites Augustine (*De Ciuitate Dei*, XX:1), who provides no more information than the title itself: how long the Judgment will last is unknown (*Nam per quot dies futurum iudicium tendatur, incertum est*).

Because this book is a bit longer than the preceding two, it offers more topics: the terror or the appearance of both Christ and Satan, the coming of the seventh angel, the exact appearance of our resurrected bodies, the ultimate fall of the devil, and the diversity and appropriateness of punishments. Like Books One and Two, Book Three contains certain passages that begin with the word *Contra* and present counter-arguments against those who would challenge Julian's version of future events. There are two in Book Three:

XXXXIII. Contra eos qui scrupulosissime quaerunt qualis sit ille ignis futurus uel in qua
mundi parte haberi possit.
XXXXVIIII. Contra eos qui dicunt, si post factum iudicium erit conflagratio mundi, ubi
tunc esse poterunt sancti, qui non contingantur flamma incendii?

XXXXIII. Against those who too scrupulously seek to know what type of fire there will
be or in what part of the world it could be.
XXXXVIIII. Against those who say if after the judgment the world is entirely burned,
where then can the saints be, who are not touched by the flames of the fire?

These are two places where the titles will not suffice and one must consult the text itself. And yet, the use of the word *Contra* itself allows a reader more interested in affirming faith than

exercising reason to see that the arguments given to support such statements will be disproved. The first of these is the more interesting because it actively seeks to dissuade the reader from looking up the answer: it exhorts the reader to leave behind excessive questioning and simply accept the inconsistencies and imponderables, puzzles and paradoxes that arise when one tries to define hellfire. Here Julian refers us once again to Augustine, who says that the nature of hellfire and its location cannot be known unless the divine spirit were to reveal it (*De Ciuitate Dei* XX:16). We are entering the mystical end of Julian's *Prognosticon* and just as the first two books ended with visions of joy, so too will this last.

But before this sermon in titles comes to an end, there is one last interesting feature to note in Book Three. In the first two books, the titles begin with queries and end with series of answers. In Book Three we notice an even more pronounced effect: in three instances the titles pose a question that is answered by the very next title. This is persuasive evidence that these titles reflect the "sermon" that Julian composed orally on that Sunday long ago. These three instances follow:

> *XII. De his qui cum domino ad iudicandum sessuri sunt.*
> *XIII. Quod in praenominatis a Christo duodecim sedibus non tantum duodecim apostoli sessuri credendi sunt, sed omnis perfectorum numerus qui in duodenario numero partietur.*

> XII. Concerning those who will be seated with the Lord at judgment.
> XIII. That it is not only the 12 Apostles who are believed to fill the 12 seats appointed by Christ, but the full number of the elect who will be divided into 12 parts.

> *XXVIIII. Quod hi qui nunc a bestiis comeduntur aut diuersa laniatione truncantur, resurgentes integritatem sui corporis obtinebunt.*
> *XXX. Quod hi qui de hac uita debiles exierunt, cum suis integris membris in resurrectione futuri sint.*

> XXVIIII. That those who are eaten by beasts or who suffer amputation in various ways upon arising will regain the integrity of their body.
> XXX. That those who leave this life lame or crippled will have their members whole in the resurrection.

> *LIIII. Vtrum per corporeos oculos istos, quibus nunc cernimus solem et lunam, uideatur tunc Deus.*
> *LV. Quod ea uisione tunc Deum uidebimus, qua nunc eum angeli uident.*

> LIIII. Whether with the same eyes that now see the sun and moon we will also see God.
> LV. That the vision we will have of God is that which the angels enjoy now.

The entire work ends with a vision of eternity in a passage explaining the end without end in which we will praise God forever:

LXII. De fine sine fine in qua Deum laudabimus infinite.

This is of course the perfect antithesis of the dire opening of Book One: how death came into the world. The *Prognosticon* follows the same path from death to heaven as many other works of spiritual *consolatio*, and yet it reveals in its titles its own composition via the more commonplace structure of a medieval sermon.

There is evidence from another of Julian's works to support my thesis that these titiles are a record of his initial composition of this work as an exercise in memory and orality, inspired by dialogue and a sense of *communitas*. Julian's *Ars Grammatica* also shows his delight in dialogue in the way he uses questions and inserts a more personal voice into the text he inherits from Donatus. Consider the passages below, which Julian has changed from the standard text of Donatus by the addition of queries:[6]

> Donatus 369, 16
> *Pes est syllabarum et temporum certa dinumeratio*
> (A metrical foot is a specific measure of syllables and quantities.)
> Julian II, XI, 2
> *Pes quid est? syllabarum et temporum certa dinumeratio.*
> (What is a metrical foot? A specific measure of syllables and quantities.)

> Donatus 369, 21
> *huic contrarius est spondeus ex duabus longis temporum quattuor*
> (The opposite of the preceding metrical foot is the spondee which is four units of length
> in two long syllables.)
> Julian II, XI, 66

> *Quis est illi contrarius? spondeus. Quomodo est illi contrarius? quia quomodo ille ex*
> *duabus breuibus constat, ita iste ex duabus longis. Quot tempora habet? quattuor.*
> (What is the opposite of the preceding metrical foot? The spondee. And how is it opposite?
> Because the previous metrical foot consists of two short syllables and the spondee consists of
> two long. How many units of length does it have? Four.)

Consider as well the example below, in which Julian changes the simple question "Whence is Pyrrichius named" and reveals his explicit interest in etymology by asking "Whence this etymology?"

> Audax 334, 8
> *Pyrrichius unde nominatus? A Pyrro, Achillis filio, qui Eurypilo, Telephi filio interfecto*
> *cantu quodam, qui ex isto pede constabat, in armis saltauit.*

---

[6] This comment and the passages below are found in Maestra Yenes 1973:l-li. Further comment on Julian's use of dialogue can be found in Hillgarth 1970:299.

(From whence does the Pyrrhic foot get its name? From Pyrrho, the son of Achilles, who, when Eurypilus, the son of Telephus, had been killed, honored him by singing, in his armor, a song written in this meter.)

Julian II, XI, 60

Unde habet etymologiam? a Pyrro, filio Achillis, eo quod ad funus patris armatus, eodem metro luserit, siue quia interempto Eurypilo, eodem metro saltauit.

(From whence arose this etymology? From Pyrrhus the son of Achilles, either because he sang a song in this meter, when he sang fully armed at his father's funeral or when he honored Eurypilus, the son of Telephus, in the same meter after he died.)

Maestra Yenes, the editor of *Julian's Ars Grammatica* (1973), says that she is unable to find a source for Julian's variations on these passages. The evidence from the *Prognosticon* above, suggesting that his titles are structured as a sermon, as well as his preface where he tells us that he has expressed passages in his own style, suggest that these are his variations on these passages as well. In six of the nine instances provided by Maestra Yenes, Julian has either added a question (five times) or reframed a question (once). This procedure suggests a homiletic rhetoric that reaches out for its audience and is congruent with what we can tell of his compositional techniques from the *Prognosticon*.

Part Two: Glossed English Manuscripts of the *Prognosticon*

Very few manuscripts of the *Prognosticon* survive from Spain, and because this work, unlike Julian's others, was not widely read in his homeland, the *Prognosticon* finds its true literary home in England and the Irish-based monasteries of the early medieval period (Hillgarth 1985:1-16). Six manuscripts of the *Prognosticon* are known to have survived from Anglo-Saxon England, evidence of its dissemination among early English monasteries and cathedral schools (Gneuss 1981). In addition, the preacher Ælfric based one of his sermons on his reading and compilation of notes from Julian. Though Ælfric made selections from the Patristic selections found in the *Prognosticon* he does not seem to have used the titles independently of the text (Gatch 1977:129-46).

While we have some evidence for Julian's intentions towards his future readers in his preface and style of composition, we have no direct medieval commentary on or response to this work. In this absence, we must rely on historical and textual evidence to see how medieval readers read the text. Luckily, there are plentiful manuscripts of this work and three English manuscripts of note from the eleventh to the thirteenth century: London, British Library Manuscript Royal 12.C.xxiii (copied at Christ Church, Canterbury, XI c.); Oxford, Balliol College 218 (XII c.) and Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 476 (XII-XIII c.). The glosses to these three manuscripts in particular reveal how medieval readers responded to the challenges and complexities of this text.

British Library MS. Royal 12.C.xxiii contains the *Prognosticon*, followed by the Riddles of Aldhelm, Eusebius, and Tatwine, some pieces of advice for Charlemagne and his sons, and the *Versus cuiusdam Scoti de alfabeto*. While Tatwine's and Eusebius' riddles are less well

known, a few of Aldhelm's 101 riddles (occuring in the manuscript directly after the *Prognosticon*), serve as the inspiration for some of the Old English riddles of the Exeter Book. Others an interest in pragmatic morality, Greek terms, the puzzles of metaphor, etymology, and other types of word-play—traits common to much of the vernacular literature of the Anglo-Saxons. Aldhelm, the author these riddles, was a near contemporary of both Julian of Toledo and Bede. Copious amounts of his Latin verse have survived as well as a description of him singing Old English verses on the bridge in Malmesbury in order to bring people into church. No surviving Old English verse can be attributed definitvely to him, though his Latin poetry and prose is written in the fabulously ornate "Hisperica Famina" style. Perhaps like Julian, he was a man who moved easily between the world of Latin letters and the vernacular. Likely the crucial difference in their literary formation would be the fact that Aldhelm grew up speaking English and learning Latin, whereas Julian spoke a native tongue quite a bit closer to Latin. Like Julian, Aldhelm wrote extensively in Latin, both poetry and prose. That a scribe from Christ Church, Canterbury chose to put these two authors together in a single manuscript suggests that there was some perceived usefulness or similarity in this arrangement. It is quite likely that the texts included in Royal 12.C.xxii were school texts, and the glosses contained within the manuscript corroborate this view. Aldhelm himself, in the preface to his riddles, says that he wrote them to help students learn to write Latin verse. Perhaps the *Prognosticon* was also useful in teaching Latin prose or homiletic composition. The extensive syntactical glosses to the text suggest that this may be true. But there is surely more than a set of syntactical glosses to explain the occurrence of these texts together. Let us look at some textual congruities before we return to the question of the glosses.

What similarities do we find between a compendium of questions about the afterlife and a set of Latin riddles on diverse creatures? Julian's preface tells us that he wants to create a book that was a distillation of his earlier readings on the afterlife. Likewise, Aldhelm's riddles reveal that he was a man who lived in a world of books and texts:

> *Aenigma 29: De elemento vel Abedecedario*
> *Aenigma 59: De Penna Scriptoris*
> *Aenigma 89: De Arca Librari*
>
> Riddle 29: On the Elements of writing or the Alphabet
> Riddle 59: On the Writer's pen
> Riddle 89: On the Bookcase

Like Julian, Aldhelm relies heavily on paradox and word-play to create his puzzles. And also like Julian, Aldhelm would have known the definition of *aenigma* from the Donatus-based grammars of his era, such as Pomeius' commentary on Donatus or Julian's own grammar. The following passage occurs in Aldhelm's preface to his riddles as well as in Julian's grammar (Maestre Yenes 1973:217-18):

Aenigma est obscura sententia per occultam similitudinem rerum, ut: mater me genuit, eadem mox gignitur ex me, cum significet aquam in glaciem concrescere et ex eadem rursus effluere.[7]

A riddle is a saying made obscure by a hidden similarity between things, as for example: My mother bore me and then is born again from me, which signifies water solidifying into ice and then flowing again out of ice.

The paradoxes of Julian's work are often akin to the strange juxtaposition, *prosopopoeia*, and metaphor of the commonly cited riddle above as well as the riddles of Aldhelm. For paradox in particular, we can compare Aldhelm's riddle on the nettle to Julian's phrase *fine sine fine* (III:62) or his quotation from Augustine on the "goodness" of death (*Prognosticon* 1:8):

Riddle 45
De Urtica
Torqueo torquentes sed nullum torqueo sponte.
I torment tormenters, but I torment none willingly.

I: VIII *Quod mors nec bonum aliquid sit, et tamen bonis bona sit.*
1: 8. That, although death is in no way good, yet it is good to the good.

Likewise, consider the paradox of fire that does not consume, a problem similar to the punishment of spirits by flames. Aldhelm addresses this puzzle in his riddle on the salamander and Julian in his comments on purgatorial fires:

Aenigma 15 De Salamandra
Ignibus in mediis uiuendi non sentio flammas
Although I dwell amid the fires I do not feel the flames.

Prognosticon II: XVII Si anima, cum incorporea sit, igne credatur corporeo cruciari.
If the spirit, although it be incorporeal, can be believed to be tortured by corporeal fire.[8]

Another interesting feature shared by Julian and Aldhelm's text is a tendency for the sequence of titles to create another level of textual complexity. While I would not argue that Aldhelm's titles create a sermon in the way Julian's do, there is at least one instance where the sequence of titles provides an answer to a sort of Christological meta-riddle: a set of 4 riddles where the mill and sieve hint at the flour they produce, which turns into bread and then is joined by fish to create one of the miraculous meals of the New Testament (Boryslawski 2006). This sequence occurs over a brief space and includes:

Aenigma 66 De Mola
(On the Millstone)
Aenigma 67 De Crebello
(On the Sieve)
Aenigma 70 De Tortella
(On the Hearth Cake)
Aenigma 71 De Pisce
(On the Fish)

In addition to the textual similarities that may have contributed to these works being copied together, we find actual evidence of both texts being studied together in glosses. Let us look first at the *Prognosticon* and *Aenigmata* in Royal 12.C.xxiii, the earliest of the three English manuscripts that concern us here. The most heavily glossed of surviving manuscripts of the *Prognosticon*, it contains glosses in both Latin and Old English: lexical, grammatical, alternate reading, suppletive, correlative, syntactical, and encyclopedic (definitions follow below). There are a total of 576 glosses to Julian's text, almost evenly divided between word glosses and syntactical marks to link words together.[9] Word glosses are of the following types:

Lexical (Latin)
        conspicuum: pulchrum
Lexical (Old English)
        remuneratur: by_geleanod (folio 69r)
Grammatical (gives the case of a noun or adjective)
        mensura: ablatiuus
         lector: s. ó
Variant reading (supplies a reading from another manuscript)
        beatam: uel beatorum
        concremari: uel cruciari
Suppletive (adds a form of *esse*)
        Quid: s. est
        bonum: s. est
Correlative (adds referent to pronoun, subject to verb or conjunction)
        quo: s. die
        uidetur: s. animae
        dampnum: s. et
        ipsius: s. diaboli
        quos: s. casus

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[9] For a full discussion of these types of glosses see, Stork 1990:27-78. The total numbers of word glosses to Julian in Royal 12.C.xxiii are the following: lexical (68), grammatical (11), alternate reading (52), suppletive (65), correlative (98), encyclopedic (6). Syntactical mark glosses occur in the following configurations: linking noun and/or adjective and/or article (19), linking subject and verb (35), linking conjunction and verb (153), linking negatives with noun or verb (39), linking conjunction with preposition (22), linking verb with direct object or participle (8). Of the total 576, word glosses comprise 52.1% of the total; syntactical glosses the other 47.9%.

Encyclopedic

i. per uisionem egritudinum uel per uisiones egritudinum. prognosticon a praesciendo uocatur.

oportet enim medicum preterita. cognoscere praesentia scire. et futura preuidere.

(that is, through the vision of a sick man or the visions of sick men. Prognosticon is derived

from "prescience." It behooves a doctor to be aware of past things, to know present things, and

to foresee future things.)

Glosses like this are quite common in medieval manuscripts, but less common are the syntactical marks that also accompany the *Prognosticon* in this text. These are comprised of various sigla that allow one to scan a sentence quickly and link the elements crucial for comprehension of the prose. The 8 sigla, somewhat resembling the dots and dashes of Morse code, are the following:

These sigla are used in groups of two or three in the following contexts to link elements of a sentence together:

Linking nouns and/or adjectives and/or articles

Quis ibi diuinus sapor

Linking subject and verb

Ipsi….mandauerunt

Linking conjunction and verb

Ut……esset

Sed…….coegit

At modo……...contigit

Linking a negative particle with another sentence element

Non….deus et…..credendus

Non…saluarentur

Linking conjunction with conjunction or pronoun

Et quia hec recte factum……..ac

Nam et……...

Linking verb and direct object or participle

Iubeat commercium illud

inpensum……est

We see from this evidence that at least one medieval reader took great care with the written form of this text and probably used Julian as the basis for lessons in reading and even writing Latin. Aldhelm says specifically that his *Aenigmata* are intended to teach students to write Latin poetry, and they are glossed similarly to the *Prognosticon* in this manuscript. This is evidence that at least at Christ Church, Cantebury the *Prognosticon* was used to teach Latin prose composition.

Our next manuscript, which shares many of the word glosses from Royal 12.C.xxiii, but none of the syntactical marks glosses, suggests that the glossator who worked on Royal 12.C.xxiii is unique among commentators on Julian in paying such attention to the fine points of Latin syntax. Oxford manuscript Balliol College 218 is a twelfth-century Italian manuscript containing many identical glosses to those in Royal 12.C.xxiii and reveals the popularity of this text across Europe, as well as the copying of glosses from one manuscript to another. The fact that the lexical glosses, but *not* the syntactic glosses of Royal 12.C.xxiii, are found in Balliol 218 show that these syntactic glosses did not always (or ever?) travel together with the lexical and variant reading glosses. For example, look at the following sequence of glosses from Royal 12.C.xxiii:

conspicuum: i.pulchrum

quo: s. die

ardore: i. calore

Illo: s. die

actum: i. factum

Ut…..intraremus

ambo: ego et tu

stratibus: i. sedibus

secreta: s. res

Congestis: i. congregatis

iubilum: uel laus

The glosses to the same section of text in Balliol College 218 read:

conspicuum: i. pulchrum

quo: s. die

ardore: i. calore

actum i. factum

ambo: ego et tu

secreta: s. res

iubilum: uel laus

The similarities here suggest that each of these manuscripts was copied from an earlier exemplar containing the glosses common to both. Though it is a later manuscript, Balliol College 218 preserves an earlier stage of the transmission of these glosses. Since there is only one glossating hand in Royal 12.C.xxiii, there was likely at least one intervening manuscript between it and the earlier exemplar. Somewhere in the stages of their transmission to England and Italy another glossator has added glosses distinctive to each. Of 164 glosses in Balliol College 218, 116 are shared with Royal 12.C.xxiii. The glosses unique to Balliol College 218 are lexical, grammatical, correlative, and suppletive, and are exclusively in Latin.

Oxford manuscript Bodley 476 is a thirteenth-century manuscript that reveals an entirely different tradition of glossing the *Prognosticon*. Bound together at some later point in a sheet of

music parchment with a copy of Thomas Bradwardine's handbook on speculative arithmetic in a different hand, it reflects the survival of this text into the later world of medieval universities. And perhaps in this new world concerns about teaching Latin grammar are not as important as other questions. Unlike the twelfth-century manuscripts above, whose primary concern was understanding the details of Julian's prose, this manuscript has only five encyclopedic glosses, two relating to dreams and three to seeing God. This interest in last things at the end of the manuscript suggests that Julian's intent to inspire his readers to a better life had that effect for at least one medieval reader. In the left margin of folio 10v, midway through the *Prognosticon*, opposite the text "Ex hoc noster predictus doctor sic ait Mitti ad vivos aliquos ex mortuis. Sicut econtrario paulus ex vivis in paradisum raptus est" (Book II:xxx), we find the following glosses:

> *Ibidem*
> *secundo machabeorum 15*
> *hec quod onias*
> *defunctus*
> *aperuit Jude*
> *Machabeo*
> *et recitat hoc*
> *doctor de*
> *lira in prologo*
> *super psalterium*
> (This same event occurs in 2 Maccabees 15 where the dead Onias appears to Judas Maccabeus. Nicholas of Lyra tells the story in his Prologue to the Psalter.)

In the bottom margin of folio 10v beneath the text "Credendum omnino est quod sicut viventes mortuorum gestis interesse non possunt" (Book II: xxxi) we find:

> *persona apparens vel instruens in alia effigie. aliud est homo sanctus sicut secundo machabeo 15 habetur quod onias iam defunctus apparuit jude machabeo dicens ei de jeremia propheta sicut apparente hic est qui multum orat pro populo et cetera hec dicit lira in prologo super psalterium circa medium.*
> (This is the apparition of a person appearing (after death) and instructing in a recognizable form. Another type of apparition is the appearance of a blessed man, just as according to 2 Maccabees 15, the already deceased Onias appears to Judas Maccabeus, saying to him, concerning the appearance of the prophet Jeremiah, "Here is the one who prays much for the people, etc." This and many other things are told by Nicholas of Lyra in his Prologue to the Psalter.)

This passage refers to Judas Maccabeus' vision from II Maccabees 15, 12:

> And the vision of that dream was this. He saw Onias, him that was a high priest, a noble and good man, reverend in learning, yet gentle in manner and well spoken, and exercised from a child in all points of virtue, with outstretched hands invoking blessings on the

whole body of the Jews; thereupon he saw a man appear, of venerable age and exceeding glory, and wonderful and most majestic was the dignity around him and Onias answered and said, This is the lover of the brethren, he who prayeth much for the people and the holy city, Jeremiah the prophet of God; and Jeremiah stretching forth his right hand delivered to Judas a sword of gold and in giving it addressed him thus, Take the holy sword, a gift from God, wherewith thou shalt smite down the adversaries.

Like Julian before him, this medieval glossator was eager to share a passage that he thought would perfectly illuminate the problem at hand. He remembered reading about this incident in Nicholas of Lyra's *Prologue to the Psalter* and added the reference to the margins. If he had continued or added enough passages of his own, he could have expanded Julian's work to include this example. If he were to have copied the text and included his examples, these glosses might have been incorporated into the actual text in later versions. But, alas, this unknown glossator's work never makes it past the gloss stage. Because he was working as a glossator, rather than a *scop* or author, his work here comprises only five scattered glosses.

The other glosses to Oxford MS. Bodley 476 occur at the very end of the work and provide first a somber and then an ecstatic commentary on Julian's final vision. On folio 19v, these three glosses are added after the final *Amen* of Julian's text and neatly fill in the remaining space of the folio. The hand of the last two glosses may be different from the hand of the antepenultimate gloss, though this hand closely resembles the glossing hand of folio 10v. All of the glosses appear to be in hands contemporaneous with the hand of the manuscript. The first of these later glosses explains that all sins, no matter how small, and including original sin, must be atoned for to achieve salvation:

> *Anselmus de conceptu uirginali.*
> *Inpossibile est homo unquam saluari cum aliquo quamuis paruo peccato. Quare si*
> *originale peccatum est peccatum necesse est in eo natum*
> *illo non dimisso dampnari.*

This is taken from Anselm, *De Conceptu Virginali,* or *On the Virgin Birth* (1844-64: 462):

> *Impossibile itaque est aliquem hominem cum aliquo, quamvis parvo, peccato, salvari.*
> *Quare si, quod dixi, original peccatum est aliquod peccatum, necesse est omnem*
> *hominem in eo natum, illo non dimisso, damnari.*

> Indeed, it is impossible for any man with any sin, no matter how small, to be saved. And since, as I have said, original sin is indeed a sin, then all men born to that sin will be damned, unless it be absolved.

The last two glosses reveal an interest in the nature of angelic versus human bodies. The first is not linked to a specific part of the text, but logically refers to *Prognosticon* (III:lviii), which discusses the fact that the blessed do not envy the rank of those above them and follows after

Julian's final description of the joys of heaven. The gloss refers to Deuteronomy 4:19, which also follows below:

> *Quorum eadem est natura. Et idem locus naturalis sed eadem est natura angeli et anime.*
> *ergo idem locus. Sed celum est locus angeli ergo et cetera*
> *Ita est quoniam adam componitur ex pluribus locus corpori est locus naturalis in eo et*
> *u.8. Si terra praedominetur in aliquo corpore, tunc corporis locus est terra. sed anima*
> *praedominatar corpori hominis. ergo locus anime est locus naturalis corporis hominis.*
> *Sed anime locus est celum. igitur et corporis. Nobilia corpora*
> *supracelestia. Facta sunt propter corpus humanum, igitur humanitate nobilius.*
> *In Deu 4 solem et cetera quae creauit deus in*
> *ministerium cunctis gentibus. Si igitur corpus humanum*
> *sit nobilius. et eius locus maxime suppremus.*

> Whose nature is thus the same. And also in the same place: but the nature of angel and soul is the same. Therefore in the same place: But the sky is the place of an angel, etc. Thus it is since Adam was made of many things, that the place of the body is the natural place. See verse 8 (?). If earth predominates in a certain body, then the place of the body is earth. But spirit predominates in the body of man, therefore the place of the spirit is the natural place of the human body. But the place of the spirit is heaven. And thus of the body. The supracelestial bodies are noble; they were created because of the human body, and thus the human body is more noble because of its humanity, as in Deuteronomy 4. If thus the human body were to be more noble and attain its supreme maximum place . . .
> [n.b. this gloss seems to be unfinished]

> Deuteronomy 4:19: *ne forte elevatis oculis ad caelum videas solem et lunam et omnia astra caeli, et errore deceptus adores ea et colas quae creavit Dominus Deus tuus, in ministerium cunctis gentibus quae sub caelo sunt.*
> And lest thou lift up thine eyes unto heaven, and when thou seest the sun, and the moon, and the stars, even all the host of heaven, shouldst be driven to worship them, and serve them, which the Lord thy god hath divided unto all nations under the whole heaven.

The next passage continues in an even more mystical vein and defines three types of visions of God. The text is laid out graphically so that the words *Visio dei est infinita* stand on the left while the three types of visions are joined by three radiating lines:

> *Visio dei est infinita*
> *duratione quae conuenit omni menti rationale*
> *numerositati quae conuenit omni menti beate*
> *intensione quae conuenit soli deo.*
> *Tenendum est quod essentia prima quae deus est uisibilis est non oculo carnali*
> *quantumcumque depurato et glorificato ut uolunt auctoritates. scilicet Exodus 33.*
> *non uidebit me homo et Iohannis 1. deum nemo et cetera. Et Nota*

quod deus noster plus minus que limpide a diuersis. non cadunt gradus
ex parte uisi sed ipsius uidentis.

The vision of God is infinite in:
1. duration, which pertains to every rational mind,
2. number, which pertains to every blessed mind,
3. intention, which pertains only to God. It is held to be true that the prime essence ,
which is God, is not visible to the carnal eye no matter how purified and glorified, as say
the authorities, such as Exodus 33 and John 1. (Also note that our God is seen more or
less clearly by various creatures; degrees do not occur on the part of the seen but of the
seer.)

Here the glossator once again, like Julian, calls upon remembered passages of Scripture
to assert that no one has seen God:

Exodus 33:20 *Rursumque ait: non poteris videre faciem mean: non emin videbit me homo*
et vivet.
And he said, Thou canst not see my face: for there shall no man see me, and live.

John 1:18 *Deum nemo vidit umquam*
No man has seen God at any time.

Despite an extensive search, I have been unable to find any written sources for the last
two of these glosses, on the nature of angelic or blessed bodies and the vision of God. I would
love to think that the glossator is providing his or her own commentary, but from what we have
seen about the preponderance of memory in medieval composition, that seems unlikely. Yet the
glossator adds glosses that heighten the overall rhetorical effect of the *Prognosticon*, which
suggests, at least once, that Julian's text achieved its purpose.

Though oral tradition is not usually concerned with texts such as Julian of Toledo's
Prognosticon, I hope I have convincingly demonstrated that even here, in a work comprised
mostly of remembered quotations of Patristic authors we see the traditions of oral memory and
composition at work. The peripheral elements of this text, its titles and glosses, provide evidence
of just such a mode of composition. From another perspective, we might want to classify the
Prognosticon with such works as Plato's *Symposium*, which record the purported conversation of
a group of friends. Perhaps some will decide that the references to oral composition and
conversation are mostly artifice or even a pose, rendered in a strictly literate context. Yet, the
evidence of the titles and even the glosses to Julian suggest that we can see in the surviving
medieval manuscripts some actual evidence of oral composition and a tradition of commentary
aided by memory.

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When the Text Becomes the Teller:
Apuleius and the *Metamorphoses*

Susan Gorman

In Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, the text speaks, introducing itself to its audience in its own voice. When the text tells the audience to ask the question "Who is this?" it responds by giving a "family" history and linguistic genealogy. While the text highlights storytelling through its plot and situations, it also *participates* in storytelling, making itself the primary agent of transmission. During a time when ancient Rome highlighted the performances of literary works in order to offer authorized interpretations (that is, the performance of the text would indicate to the audience how to understand it), Apuleius' text makes itself the performer and subordinates the audience to itself. This new relationship of audience to text that was created by a new use of storytelling allowed for the exhibition of and creation of a counter-culture that permitted imperial critique during the Age of the Antonines.

The *Metamorphoses*, or *Asineus Aureus*, continually plays with the concepts of making a written text "speak," with storytelling in literary form, and with the creation of an alternative hermeneutic of a mediating genre. The plot-line, a continuous wandering through the frontiers of the Roman Empire with a brief, glossed-over interlude in Rome, and the surprise ending of a conversion to the cult of Isis (the credibility of which is questionable), is full of detours and deceptions. The form continually slips from allusions to literary epic, to oral storytelling, to novelistic prose, all of which are attached to an introductory prologue that sets itself up as formally and narratologically distinct from the whole. The reader must be involved in the process of making meaning for this text and is explicitly called upon to speak at certain points. The historical situation of this work is the Age of the Antonines in the second century CE, a time period that Edward Gibbon called the "happiest period the world had ever known" (1963:14). Yet when read against Apuleius' disruptive techniques of questioning discourses of power, the perception of the calm and serene historical period creates a conflict that needs to be addressed.

Background and Cultural Context

In the Roman Empire of the second century CE, public readings of literary works became institutionalized as a method of sustaining imperial control and as a way to create willing Roman imperial subjects. Along with the importance of declamation and oratory, the practice of *recitationes*, the public performance of texts, reproduced and reinvigorated elite aristocratic

values. These readings became so important that it is possible to claim that a boy's first public performance of his literary work marked a threshold of entry into the public, political world. Describing the literary culture that such performances created, Florence Dupont writes (1999:228):

> *Recitationes* thus constituted a practice in which the values of the old republican nobility truly were revived . . . . The practice of writing followed by a public reading was a way of preserving the unity of the Roman political class, essentially the senatorial class, as a group of peers who offered one another mutual recognition on the occasion of each *recitatio* through the celebration of common values, first and foremost a rhetorical mastery of language.

The extension of class values exhibited by such public performances created a community of writers/listeners who upheld the continuing political schema of the Roman Empire. However, this practice reproduced the formal literary world of the urban elite and did not take into account social rules distinct from those urban centers.

Outside the city of Rome and in the province of Roman Africa, where Apuleius lived as a child and young man, the relationship between the empire's city and its margins was changing. The army's Romanization urbanized the provinces and created cities replete with Roman architecture and ideology. Urbanization was so prevalent that Carthage (in modern-day Tunisia) became the second largest city in the western empire after Rome. Additionally, Rome not only came to the provinces but representatives from the provinces also made their presence felt in Rome. Senators from Africa were part of the largest provincial group from the West by the second century (*Oxford Classical Dictionary* 2003:34). Michael Grant highlights that it is not surprising that the emperors of second century Rome would pursue a policy that looked toward the provinces, perhaps because they themselves were partly of provincial origin. As Grant notes, Antoninus Pius, although himself born in Italy, was originally from Nemausis (Nîmes) in Gaul, and Marcus Aurelius's family came from Córduba in Spain (1994:156-57).

Just as the Roman army replenished its stock of soldiers through re-creating the military class from people from the provinces, the Roman elite was also working to romanize the provincial elites. Empires disseminate ideology through educational practices. Thus, for the education of the provincial elites, the Roman upper class sought to establish a community linked by common cultural works and values and therefore exported a Greco-Roman educational program (Finkelpearl 1998:135-36). This education not only formed the basis of education and acculturation for writers and orators in the Roman Empire; politicians also needed to take part in this Greco-Roman knowledge. As Ellen Finkelpearl explains in *Apuleius: A Roman Sophist* (140),

> Assimilation was particularly important for those who wished to advance politically; the few Africans who advanced to senatorial rank and went to Rome would have needed to adopt Roman customs and manners and to perfect their Latin, though Septimius Severus managed to become emperor even with a strong African accent.

Roman customs and practices were dominant, despite a policy that supposedly affirmed cultural values from places other than the center.[1]

Apuleius was born around 123 CE and died around 170 CE, and hailed from the Roman African city of Madauros. What is known about his background suggests that he was from a prosperous family and also a Roman citizen (Harrison 2000:5). He was well educated in the Roman style and "his name, literary culture, and education, [were] fundamentally Roman in cultural identity and [he was] a native speaker and writer of Latin" (3). He studied in both Carthage and Athens and became a professional orator, a profession well in keeping with the tenets of the Second Sophistic movement. Margaret Anne Doody, however, highlights the anxiety of difference: "Apuleius was a provincial, an outsider, an African who rose by his capacity to speak and write, but who was not a member of the nation which supplied the ruling power" (2000:437). Thus, Apuleius had an ambivalent relationship in respect to the power discourses of the Roman Empire. Educated through and with family ties to the empire, Apuleius, because he was from the provinces, did not fit in completely. Accepted and welcomed because of his talents, he was not an entirely *Roman* Roman citizen.

Written around the middle of the second century, the *Metamorphoses* is an extended work of fiction that draws upon multiple genres and appeals to both higher and lower registers of writing. The text follows the main character, Lucius, who begins the text as a traveler, but because of witchcraft performed on him by a maid named Photis is turned into an donkey, remaining that way until the final book in which he converts to the cult of Isis and undergoes repeated initiation rituals. After an intriguing prologue, which I discuss further below, the stories are arranged as episodes connected by Lucius' journeys and encounters with various storytellers. Storytelling becomes a consistent plot device utilized throughout the entire work.

Lucius, in his human form, hears stories of a witch named Meroe who kills her ex-lover and later listens to the tale of a man who has his ears and nose eaten off and replaced with wax replicas by witches who mistake him for a corpse. As Lucius drunkenly walks home after a dinner party, he is attacked and kills three "thieves" who, after having been put on trial for their murder, he discovers were actually wineskins; he has been duped by the whole town in the Festival of Laughter. Photis confesses that it is because of her bad luck that Lucius was tricked so she lets him watch her mistress, Pamphile, transform herself into an owl. Lucius wants to

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[1] Despite attempts at assimilation however, anxiety about provincial status cannot be entirely erased. Even though the Roman Empire may have been sending its cultural monuments and urban structures to the provinces and extending citizenship rights, it may not have been so easy to re-create Rome on the margins of its empire. In an essay entitled "Reflections on the African Character of Apuleius," included in the collection *A Companion to the Prologue of Apuleius'* Metamorphoses, Mark Edwards states: "For all that, though the tone is not provincial, Roman Africa was a province, and the truth in such a phrase as 'African Latin' is that, like the Punic capital, it brings together the margins and the centre. The Latin culture of Africa is the best, if not the only, Latin culture of its time; yet its exponents know that they are not at the heart of the Roman world. It is therefore no surprise that African writers often try to be more Roman than the Romans" (2001:48). Edwards raises an interesting point in the final sentence of this passage. To what extent is the Latinity and influence of Rome present in the works of writers from the provinces simply because they *are* from the provinces? Juvenal, writing in Rome, took Rome as his subject matter but hardly in the glowing terms with which other writers treat it. Fame in the literary world would come from a work's circulation and prestige within the city of Rome, regardless of any popularity outside the city. Knowledge of this fact could make writers who wanted to gain the city's attention manipulate their works in order to make them more palatable to their audience.

experience the magic so he asks Photis to turn him into an owl as well. However, by misreading the vials, he is transformed into an ass instead.

To regain human form, Lucius needs only to eat rose petals; but he is stolen during the night before he can find any, and thus begin his adventures as a donkey. The thieves by whom he has been stolen are also great storytellers, and Lucius, in his animal form, hears about the heroic exploits of various dead thieves. A young woman hostage, Charite, is brought to the camp to be ransomed back to her parents. She is upset by a dream and, in order to take her mind off of it, an old woman looking after the thieves tells her the story of Cupid and Psyche, beginning the longest and most famous inset story of the *Metamorphoses*. The girl is later rescued when her husband infiltrates the band of thieves and absconds with both Lucius and Charite. Lucius is supposed to be set free because of his help in rescuing Charite, but is instead stolen again and undergoes hard labor. At this point Lucius, still in animal form, hears the story of the death of both Charite and her husband by a jealous ex-suitor.

Lucius then passes through various owners: men who sexually attack a young boy who is saved by the donkey, a mill-owner at whose business Lucius hears various stories about the infidelity of women, a Roman soldier who steals Lucius from a gardener, and later two baker brothers. Still with the sensibilities of a human despite his animal form, he eats the bakers' food, a practice that they find so amusing that they begin to charge people to watch him at the table. Eventually a woman falls in love with him and pays to have sex with him. This episode gives the brothers the idea to make this act into a spectacle. They find a condemned woman to have sex with Lucius in public. Apuleius then relates the story of how the woman was condemned. Before this spectacle occurs, however, Lucius escapes and prays to Ceres. However, it is Isis who comes to him and tells him how he will be transformed back into a man—on the condition that he will become her follower. He accepts and is eventually initiated into the rites of Isis.

The question of whether or not Apuleius is sincere in his conversion to the cult of Isis have been dealt with by scholars such as John Winkler (1985), Ellen Finkelpearl (1998), Nancy Shumate (1996), Stephen Harrison (1998), and others. Whether Lucius in the final book of the *Metamorphoses* undergoes a genuine conversion, or whether in the final scene in which he walks down the street with his shaven head he is playing the part of the Isiac priest or the Roman buffoon, has been written about extensively. Perhaps Apuleius intends this work to be read as a serious conversion tale. Perhaps he instead seeks to preserve the themes of deception and parody that are included in the rest of his work. I cannot determine exactly what Apuleius was trying to do with this conclusion of his story, but I think that this multiplicity of interpretations and the consistent open-endedness found throughout the text are its key attributes, and that they can be further explored through an analysis of the *Metamorphoses'* Prologue.

The Talking Book: The Prologue

The prologue itself initiates the storytelling program. The text states, "At ego tibi sermone isto Milesio varias fabulas conseram, auresque tuas benivolas lepido susurro permulceam" ("And I will join together for you different stories in the Milesian style, so that I

might charm your kind ears with a pleasant whisper") (1.1).[2] Thus, from the outset of the work the storytelling project is emphasized. Additionally, Lucius is an audience for oral storytellers in both his human and animal forms during his journey. The Cupid and Psyche episode is a recounted story, as are all the heroic robbers' deaths, for example. Thematically, storytelling is often appealed to for entertainment, but need not be seen solely as such. For example, as Carl Schlam states (1992:44), "the pleasures are abundant and, at the same time, are subject for speculation. For interwoven into the artfulness of the narratives is an association of storytelling with re-creation and renewal, with comedy in a religio-philosophic sense." Linking storytelling with "re-creation and renewal" ties in well with both diversion and delight from the stories, as well as the "surprise" ending of religious conversion, regardless of whether that conversion is taken as straightforward religious change or as some kind of parody. Thinking about storytelling in these two ways allows the reader to understand both the stated reason for the telling of these stories offered in the first line of the work and also to reconcile the ending with the rest of the narrative. Storytelling allows for different kinds of manipulations of text and audience to set up or follow through on the stories' content.

Why then is there this emphasis on this type of oral literature apart from its simple thematic appeal? Dupont claims that "storytelling made an appearance where epic would not and was substituted for the latter, as a second-best" (1999:197-98). For her, storytelling and epic are integrally related, with the former an inferior form of the latter. Interestingly, Dupont writes that storytelling is present where epic *would* not go, rather than *could* not go. Something happens on the margins, on the outside of the urban aristocratic center, to make the formalized epic genre of the *recitationes* less applicable.

Oral storytelling creates a community, similarly to the way in which formal *recitationes* created an authorized community. Dupont suggests that these oral storytelling communities were produced in response to those elite, aristocratic literary communities (173). Literary culture was splitting apart, forming an aristocratic community through education and rhetors' declamation, and a decidedly non-aristocratic culture passed through these other venues.

Storytelling culture was a minority one, located on the margins and transmitted through different forms of literature and speech. As Dupont writes, the storytelling culture was "less resplendent, a culture that has to be tracked down along caravan routes and among working women" (174). Storytelling thus creates a marginal(ized) community that can substitute for the urban aristocratic identity based on formal performance of imperial ideologies. The formal rhetorical community was located in the urban areas; the storytelling culture was not. Instead, "stories, like warrior values, had in theory at least, no need of the city in order to flourish. These stories that come from the margins of the world also belong to the margins of culture. And, of course, those margins of culture can only be conveyed through fiction" (198). Margins, center, empire, and society are all mediated through stories. Storytelling therefore does not need an urban setting as do the more formal recitations that would spread imperial values. Instead, the oral nature of the stories allows them to be itinerant, capable of moving nomadically through the provinces, rather than remaining anchored to any one particular place. This portability therefore

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[2] All translations in this article are my own.

allows for a natural malleability that would adapt itself to different communities, as opposed to the more rigid textualized orality of the Roman cities.

Since the literary culture built around the idea of the *recitatio* did not allow for the same casualness as that of the storytelling culture, it is difficult to think about these stories in Apuleius being read aloud as part of that forum. Rather, the stories contained within the *Metamorphoses* appear to be the antithesis or antidote to such formal lectures.

The power of the spoken word is applied differently in this work than in other narratives that attempt orality. In the *Metamorphoses* words enact change through magical incantations, summon witches if their names are mentioned, and render Lucius powerless, as when he is robbed of his human speech while in animal form. Schlam comments on such power of language as follows (1992:106-7):

> The stories in the *Metamorphoses* present a great range of uses of language, to summon aid or inflict harm, to praise or accuse, to inform or deceive, to comfort, amuse, and enchant. Against this tableau of the delights of language, so much a part of the entertainment offered by the novel, is also cast the question of its limits: words are found wanting that can adequately express truth of adoration.

I am intrigued by the idea of the power of language being opposed by the search for the limits of language in this text. It seems natural that a text so preoccupied with the nature of language would explore its limits as well. Similarly explored in the investigation of limits in this work are limits of literary genres as well as social or political limits. The Roman Empire was certainly invested in thinking about boundaries, and this text illustrates a preoccupation with the provinces, the geographical limits of the empire.

There is not a one-sided focus on orality, however. The text carefully maintains a tension between orality and literacy. If at some points orality is primary, at other points Apuleius conscientiously promotes the physical nature of the text as something to be read. For example, in the first lines of the prologue, the narrator professes the intention to enchant the audience's ears with his gentle murmuring. However, immediately following this claim, he focuses on the text's creation on *papyrum Aegyptiam* ("Egyptian papyrus") with a *Nilotici calami* ("reed from the Nile") (1.1). This balance of textual and oral is maintained throughout the entire work. As John Winkler puts it, "even a person listening to another read is made to think at that moment of the actual conditions of performance, rather than of the shared illusion of an imagined live narrator named Lucius" (1985:158). Some literary works staging orality promote solely the chimera of the audience hearing an oral performance. Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* is not invested in this same deception. Instead, he carefully advances both sides of the dialogue.

One effect of the oral/literary duality is that the text is opened up not as a fixed document but rather as something with which the audience may participate. The readers/listeners (for at times the audience is both, switching back and forth as Apuleius' text does) need to work with the text in order to make meaning. As Winkler notes (1985:187):

> The point is that the *Asineus Aureus* was originally written not to be a hermetically sealed monument, to be admired only from a respectful distance, but as an open text, one that

encourages participation—real embarrassment, puzzlement, disgust, laughter, tentative
closures of meaning and surprising entrapments, mental rewriting ("Oh, he must mean . . . ")
and physical rewriting.

The audience must necessarily cooperate with Apuleius in order to uncover meaning. In the *Metamorphoses*, Winkler continues, "plays tag with its readers, constantly renouncing its own authority in order to encourage reader participation" (187). One way the text encourages participation is through claiming itself as text but also promoting itself as speaker. The reader constantly negotiates his or her own position in relation to the text, asking questions of it and questioning its authority. By requiring this constant action on the part of the reader, the text opens itself up to other critical inquiry.

Perhaps most interestingly, the narrator creates a dialogue with his audience in Book 9, chapter 30:

> *Sed forsitan lector scrupulosus reprehendens narratum meum sic argumentaberis: "Unde autem tu, astutule asine, intra terminus pistrini contentus, quid secreto, ut affirmas, mulieres gesserint scire potuisti?" Accipe igitur quem ad modum homo curiosus iumenti faciem sustinens cuncta quae in perniciem pistoris mei gesta sunt cognovi.*

> But perhaps you, a careful reader, will argue thus, detaining my narrative: "How are you able to know, you astute ass, what the women were doing in secret, as you say, while you were striving inside the boundaries of the mill?" Accept thus how I, a curious man carrying the form of a beast of burden, knew what they all did for the destruction of my miller.

Apuleius provides the reader with questions in a dialogue to which he then offers answers. The reader is thereby given a specific role within the script of this text of keeping the narrator honest and therefore is invited to trust him and credit the stories further. This is a clever and insidious method of making the narration more believable. The readers have to question the text, and when they do not Apuleius provides the dialogue to force this role upon them.

The prologue of the *Metamorphoses* is brief but contains a wealth of insights into the nature of this text. I have already mentioned how the opening lines begin with both a suggestion of orality or conversation by mentioning the murmuring to delight his audience's ears, as well as an emphasis on the written nature of the book by highlighting the physical papyrus and stylus used in putting the stories into text. After claiming that he has written this text in order that *mireris* ("that you may be amazed"), the narrator states, "Exordior. Quis ille?" ("I will begin. Who is this?"). The answer given to this question is a genealogy of texts and languages. He mentions the three Greek cities of Athens, Corinth, and Sparta and their literatures as his provenance and then claims that his first language is Greek: "Ibi linguam Attidem primis pueritiae stipendiis merui" ("There I earned the Greek language in the first campaigns of childhood" [1.1]). He then excuses his *rudis sermonis* ("raw speech") in Latin by claiming that he had no teacher for the language and thus had great difficulty in acquiring it, admitting that he

may make mistakes. Finally, closing the prologue, he writes, "Fabulam Graecanicam incipimus. Lector intende: laetaberis" ("We are beginning a Greekish story. Reader, pay attention: you will be delighted" [1.1]).

This introductory prologue seems straightforward enough, but upon further examination several critical points are raised and a number of questions need to be addressed. First, it becomes clear that the audience is required to perform two actions. The audience must read the written text and make it a reality by speaking the words. The ancient world did not read silently,[3] so these texts would be made into sound each time they were read, whether before a group or individually. The prologue is very aware of this and thus plays them together for the audience's sake. As an example of the cooperative effort required in this text, the narrator claims *incipimus* ("we shall start"), using the first person plural ending of the verb and unifying the project of author and reader from the beginning. This move is especially interesting because the use of the first person plural accomplishes what the oral performances of other authors might wish to accomplish but so often are unable to carry out. It unites the audience in the text and the audience of the text. Often in literary oral performances, the audience is allowed to watch but not participate. But in the *Metamorphoses* the audience does not watch the audience in the text; they are unified with that audience.

Second, there is another example of the audience being solicited to question the text in these lines. After the narrator claims that he is beginning, he is "interrupted" by having to answer the question of "Who is this?" The reader is invited into the world of the text from the prologue onward, signaling how the audience will have to be involved within the text throughout the entirety of the work. The audience must question the narrator and must think independently while also engaging with the text and making it speak.

Finally, the question arises of who speaks these words of the prologue to the audience. On first glance, it seems that the narrator of the entire work would introduce himself, and thus Lucius would be speaking. However, based on what we discover about Lucius through the narration, it cannot be him. As we find out, he has quite good Latin and Greek, as his fluent defense against the charge of the murder of the men/wineskins in Latin court demonstrates, so the linguistic heritage detailed in the prologue cannot be his. Also, Lucius claims that his well-off, elite family had descended from Thessaly (and Plutarch, he adds), so the three cities mentioned earlier are not his family's places of origin.

If the speaker of the prologue is not Lucius, is it Apuleius himself addressing the audience before he introduces the character of Lucius? Dupont cautions against equating the narrator of the prologue with Apuleius, pointing out instead that this narrator's "history and origins make him the Greek double and negative of the Roman Apuleius" (1999:210). The narrator was born in Greece; Apuleius was from the Roman province of Africa. Apuleius' native tongue was Latin, while the narrator's first language was Greek. The narrator goes from Greece to Rome to learn Latin. Evidence from Apuleius' writing suggests that he went from Madauros, his birthplace, to Carthage in order to learn Greek and philosophy. These two figures, one textual

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[3] The standard practice of reading aloud is evident in St. Augustine's wonder in the *Confessions* at Ambrose's skill of reading silently to himself in the fourth century CE.

and the other historical, should not be conflated with each other simply for convenience because the evidence does not support such a claim.

So is it the text itself that speaks to the audience? Perhaps this text is an actual "talking book" rather than a straightforward attempt at replicating the conditions of an oral performance. There is definitely a third-person narrator that is neither Lucius nor Apuleius. Katherine Clarke claims (2001:105) that "so the overall effect of this list of place names may be to locate us temporally and spatially in a long-vanished Greece, and in addition, to link this location with literary productions, giving us a cultural background for the author and the present work." The location is kept in the provinces of the Roman Empire, but it becomes an ancestry for this text, locating it within a literary production timeline. So perhaps the narrator of the prologue is the text itself, introducing itself and beginning a conversation with the audience. Ultimately, it seems that the identity of the narrator of the opening chapter remains unclear. However, it is important to think about how the audience is to react to this uncertainty and how it colors the reading of the text that follows. The audience is invited to be soothed and delighted, and also commanded to pay attention. Thus, while they are supposed to enjoy the text, audience members must never let that enjoyment lull them into complacency. If they do, they are able to count on Apuleius to prompt them to ask the pertinent questions at different points in the narration.

I agree with Harrison that regardless of how the narrator of the prologue is read, Apuleius's mastery of different levels of voice in the same text emerges most clearly. Further, as he elaborates, "this kind of complex presentation of narrative voice which we have identified in the *Metamorphoses* is precisely the kind of strategy which draws attention to the existence and virtuoso status of the work's author" (2000:232-33). That passage, however, raises a number of questions in terms of this project. Apuleius has harnessed this combination of genres and this usage of orality in order to promote his artistry in particular. Instead of a political agenda, might he have a more personal one? Or is his understanding of the political system such that he uses his conception of empire in order to pull himself up? Is there something different about Apuleius' status in the colonies that makes him and his text different?

Empire in Apuleius

In order to think about the questions concerning Apuleius' use of radical storytelling, I must examine how the empire is portrayed within this text and about the ideological maneuvers that the genres used in this text imply. The most obvious figure to associate with the Roman imperial presence in the provinces is the Roman soldier who steals Lucius away from the gardener in Book nine, chapter 39 onward. This soldier embodies the empire on the soil of the province. He is the figure who would enforce the empire's administration and laws. The episode with this soldier clearly portrays an empire on the decline, filled with abuses. This soldier first takes offense at the gardener's walking by him without addressing him, although the gardener does not speak Latin and could not address him even if he wanted to. The soldier then demonstrates his bilingualism and speaks in Greek, demonstrating a proper education for a Roman citizen. When the soldier claims to need the donkey Lucius, the gardener protests and, when that does not work, pummels the soldier, who can only pretend to be dead until the

gardener goes away with the animal. The soldier confesses his beating to other soldiers who concoct a plan by which they can take revenge on the gardener. They falsify charges against him, repeatedly swearing in the name of the emperor, so that the man will be dragged away as a prisoner. Lucius is seen by one of the soldiers and taken away as well. Concerning this episode with the Roman soldier, Doody writes (2000:446-47):

> [The ass] is at the very bottom of the pyramid of power of which the Romans are the apex—as we see clearly in the incident in which the wretched ass is taken by force from the poor gardener [*hortulanus*] by a Roman soldier . . . . This vivid and analytical description of colonial power's use of casual violence is a sharp political commentary: *Asinus aureus* certainly has its political anti-imperial aspects, and the novel here shows its hand. At the apex of power is the Roman emperor (to whose bureaucracy in Rome this *miles* is sent, forcing him to sell the ass for a clear profit). At the bottom of the structure of power is the poor ass, which bears all the economic and social burdens in the most literal manner.

Doody sees this passage as strikingly anti-imperialist. This random violence utilized haphazardly by imperial agents and their false swearing to the Emperor demonstrate a condemnation of imperial practices in the provinces. Asymmetrical power dynamics, certainly present under empire although often concealed, are rendered highly visible in this episode.

Doody also cites gender issues made evident in the transformation from human to animal. For a member of the elite, such as the portrayal of Lucius suggests, to be turned into virtually a member of the slave class (in that he exists solely to provide labor for others after his transformation) would mark him as less masculine. This transformation, she claims, would be "the stuff of nightmares, what every true Roman *vir* would dread" (448). Without delving too deeply here into issues of gender, it is sufficient to realize that overt and concentrated masculinity was a facet of the Roman Empire and that a switch from an aristocratic man to a "slave" animal would indeed turn the power dynamics into which he is placed upside down. On this same path of inquiry, Doody also suggests that the character of Lucius challenges how the Roman character wanted to portray itself. She notes his curiosity, his wanderings, and his talkativeness as decidedly "un-Roman." Building on this portrayal, she claims that "the novel, the work that is *his* (Lucius's) story, is overtly and in all elements of its form, an anti-Roman tale" (450-51).

What makes this tale anti-Roman? Thus far I have cited the creation of a counter-culture forged through the realm of the storyteller. As opposed to the formal *recitationes* of the Antonine period in the second century and the aristocratic virtues that it would approve and promote, storytellers reproduce narratives *of* the margins *to* the margins. It is not so much anti-Roman in the sense that it seeks to oust Rome from control of the territories, but rather that it wants to revise imperialist discourses of power. This desire could evoke a reason for creating Lucius as a character who typifies the opposite of Roman values and undergoes what would be a striking humiliation in the eyes of the Roman aristocratic elite.

At this point, I think that it is necessary to think further about aspects of this text that would run counter to the dominant ideologies of *Romanitas*. Schlam claims that this text differs

from other Roman writing in the lack of moral italics linked to Roman values. There are no object lessons on Roman history and elucidatory of the aristocratic elite order. Schlam believes that this is unique to Apuleius' text and that, because of this lack, the idea of *Romanitas* is no longer the center of the work as it would have been for the *Aeneid*, for example (1992:10). I find this textual irregularity to be highly intriguing. Does the lack of *Romanitas* in this text simply demonstrate that affairs were more peaceful during the Antonine dynasty and especially under Antoninus Pius? Was there no longer the need for such forthright propaganda and instructive literature? Or is there something else going on, maybe something related to the fact that Apuleius was writing from the provinces where Rome was no longer the center of culture?

Schlam links this lack of moral italics of Roman behavior to an alternative kind of virtue. He suggests that the moral lessons included are no longer tied to the conception of public good. Instead, the focus is on "personal rather than public experience" (10). This shift is entirely different from Virgil's *Aeneid* and from how Augustus venerates Aeneas because of his placement of the public ahead of the personal. Has the Roman Empire become complacent? Perhaps everything is progressing so well that there is no longer the same vigilance in representing the protection of the *res publica* as there was earlier at a time following a series of civil wars?

Doody proposes that the form of the *Metamorphoses* shows an anti-Roman bent. She suggests that the rhymes, puns, repetition, and style all show themselves to be against the Roman order because they demonstrate "the illegitimate formulations of a style that rejects empire, masculinity, and solidity" (2000:451). While explaining the anti-imperial nature of the style in these terms may be stretching a bit, it seems clear that the style rejects solidity.

The key to reading form and political ideology in genre in this text lies in how boundaries are presented. Textual solidity is perforated in a way that distinguishes itself from other works that seek to reproduce orality. Apuleius injects a fluidity or a shiftiness in his text that opens up various possibilities for reading. He questions genre boundaries in probing how to re-create the epic in this work and how to expand the novel form in order to be able to include the epic in it. He examines how storytelling can be placed in a literary genre. He questions the boundaries of audience. He reaches through his text not only in order to give his audience an opportunity to subsume his voice, but also to provide them a voice that he listens to and addresses. In moving the center of his focus he plays with geographical boundaries. Is the central geographical site Rome, as in other Latin texts, or is Rome at the margins? Are the provinces moved to fill the void of the center or do they also remain on the margins? Cultural boundaries are made fluid through the application of the storytelling counter-culture rather than the authorized literary culture to this text. Just as one cannot imagine Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* being read in a formal *recitatio*, so the *recitatio* has no place within this text. Formal literary recitation gives way to the flood of stories told in informal settings for a variety of purposes, none of which is the furthering of Roman imperial ideals. Magic is consistently used in this work to break down boundaries; it appeals to something other than the authorized elite culture. Magic becomes a power that cannot be harnessed by empire's structure and assimilated into the power dynamic. It is a power on the outskirts of the empire and on the outside of the power structure. Therefore, magic becomes the instigator for this entire work, and for these quasi-epic wanderings performed by the man who has been changed into animal form and who travels on the outskirts of the empire.

Dupont suggests another interesting way boundaries are crossed in this text. In a section entitled "Books that were not for Reading," she proposes that the *Metamorphoses* is a "staging post in between two kinds of orality" (1999:216). She means that Apuleius' text was designed in such a way as to make it possible to reintegrate it into the oral storytelling culture. For this to occur, multiple boundaries have to be crossed. Initially, the oral text has to be fashioned into a written text. Subsequently, the written text has to be oralized. Finally, that oralized narrative must re-enter the oral tradition, allowing for the variations inherent in an oral literary culture. Critically, it is perhaps possible for the boundary between oral and written to be crossed both ways.

Doody writes about the idea of this exploration of boundaries in the text in the following way: " . . . but are not conquests, empires, and borders illegitimate fictions? We depend on boundaries and straight lines; bloodlines and clear borders. In [this narrative] . . . the boundaries by which we live—even the boundary between human and animal—become subject to question and dubiety" (2000:457). When borders are realized to be illegitimate, that realization has broad implications for empire. Does Apuleius' text prompt a recognition of boundaries' arbitrary natures? The *Metamorphoses* certainly suggests that boundaries found within the text, such as I have just mentioned, are not steadfast. With some manipulation, all of these supposedly hard and fast limits are changeable. Does this mean that the illegitimacy of empire is illustrated by the mutation of boundaries? I would not go that far at this point, simply based on changeability of what was thought to be sure. However, the idea of the *fictions* of empire and boundaries is intriguing. The literature of the Augustan Age unquestionably established and distributed the empire. The aristocratic elite, deeply invested in the invented narrative of empire because of its position at the top of the power structure, worked to disseminate this fiction. Apuleius' work is not invested in this same project. Does it wish to dismantle empire? It seems a stretch to claim that this text would seek to take empire apart, but it does appear to expose the fiction of power and government at work on the margins of the empire.

Concerning the combination of fiction and exploration of borders, Dupont remarks (1999:202-3):

> . . . the exploration of those borderlands is carried out purely by means of fiction and serves to mark out the boundaries of the world . . . . What makes it rather confusing for us is the fact that these margins of civilization are explored not through fictions from the outside . . . but from the inside: the imaginary microsocieties created by the stories and in which stories are also told are composed of robbers or emancipated slaves—social groups that really do exist but that, in these stories, are defined by a culture that is deficient, too deficient to be believable. They are fantastical representations of the majority culture. It is as though that majority culture was unable to speak of those who constituted its cultural margins, except through fiction.

Perhaps the real fiction of *Metamorphoses* is the illusion that the stories create a counter-culture. If the depiction of the non-majority in this text is an illusory representation of majority culture, what does that do to this text? Lucius makes his way through these smaller societies, but perhaps Apuleius does not create them in order to represent the margins to the margins or even the

margins to the center (Rome) but rather to create a distorted image of the margins to the anxious majority. The labyrinthine twists and turns of the narrative and the criss-crossing of boundary markers could simply demonstrate how the majority culture thinks of and represents the minorities and the margins.

To Whom is the Text Talking?

In order to clarify what Apuleius is doing, it is necessary to think about who the audience may be to whom this text is directed. Is it indeed Rome? Is it instead Carthage and therefore a provincial audience? In "The Roman Audience of *The Golden Ass*," Ken Dowden claims that since Apuleius' references and links to the classical tradition do not remain firmly entrenched in the provinces but rather look to Rome, perhaps his audience may be found there as well (1994:421). Since other provincial authors went to Rome to make a place for themselves in its literary culture, it may be fair to say that Apuleius would have done so as well, since Rome was where literary reputations were made. Or at least it would be shortsighted to think that Apuleius only expected to find his audience away from Rome. As Dowden argues, "in the West, Apuleius does not herald a new wave of decentralized literature. If he had been primarily addressing provincial audiences in his published work, he would be practically unique" (422). In his other works, such as his oratory defense against the charge of witchcraft, Apuleius did address the Carthaginian audience. But even when he does so, he "paints [them] in Roman colors," describing Carthage and its literary audience in such a way that they become a "mini-Rome" (423). The African city becomes both more closely united to the Roman imperial project and seems imitative, a knock-off of the "real thing." Because of this depiction, Dowden claims that Apuleius already sought his glory in Rome and was not interested in limiting his literary output simply to a provincial audience.

Finkelpearl, while agreeing that Apuleius was interested in the Roman audience, cannot so easily discount his interest in the provinces. She claims that simply because Apuleius portrays his audience as similar to a Roman audience does not mean that he was looking primarily to Rome. She suggests, on the contrary, that perhaps he sought to affirm that educated literary audiences do in fact exist in the provinces and Rome should not be taken as the singular center of the cultural world (1998:143).

Harrison points out that the lack of specificity in geographical place-names from the provinces and the mention of particular locations in Rome suggest that Apuleius may have been writing to a Roman audience unfamiliar with sites outside the city. For Harrison, "the vagueness of the Greek landscape of the *Metamorphoses* is a reflection of the relatively uninterested Romanicentric readership (1998:65). While I am swayed by the argument that Apuleius would have been writing in order to garner an audience for himself at Rome based on Dowden and Harrison's evidence, I do agree with Finkelpearl that the audience outside of the imperial city cannot be entirely discounted. The question then becomes that of the significance of the audience for the *Metamorphoses*.

Perhaps this is a text from the provinces directed toward Rome. But before I can make that claim without qualification, I must consider how this text perhaps shifts the focus away from

Rome to the provinces, or at least to a counter-culture that is not urban-based and does not have a singular focus entirely on Rome and its aristocratic practices. Representing a potential counter-culture is fairly revolutionary and is able to occur because of the *Metamorphoses'* reliance upon storytelling as an intermediary between epic and novel. However, since there is not necessarily an appeal to that body as the audience for this work and since the major focus of the audience does not change, perhaps the appeal itself is different.

Historical evidence suggests that for the most part the reign of Antoninus Pius was serene. The emperor ushered in an era of peace, but that fact does not necessarily mean that everything was uniform throughout the empire. Perhaps the forced centralized government and the focus having been shifted back onto Rome produced a need for the provinces to reassert themselves. This shift would be a possible reason why the text emphasizes places other than Rome and practices other than Roman practices.

A number of Roman historians suggest that, despite the peace of the Antonine Age, this reign did in fact contain the seeds of the "decline and fall" of the Roman Empire.[4] This shift in authoritarian practices of reading could be another marker of that transition, toward the ultimate dismantling of the empire.

In terms of literary form, as with Petronius' *Satyricon*, this is a carnivalized text. Petronius carnivalizes his imperial Julio-Claudian society in order to parody it and shake concealed ideologies free. Apuleius does much the same thing, but this process does not seem to be an end in itself. Instead, this carnivalesque text shifts sociocultural practices, a feat much more dangerous to the authority of the empire. Additionally, in terms of form, all boundaries are transgressed. Combined with the changing carnivalizing of the text, this crossing of boundaries—the act of opening up space for interpretation of limits—could point to a beginning of the fragmentation of the authority of the Roman literary culture. Breaking through limits and seeking how far boundaries can be pushed could signal the emergence of political meaning.

Through the appeal to the intermediary form of storytelling, seemingly halfway between the extremes of epic and novel, a new audience is appealed to and formed by means of this text. The epic and novel forms—one too rigid and the other too lax—could be charted onto the map of the Roman Empire, with the epic symbolizing the city of Rome and the novel representing the unconquered terrain. The middle area, that which has been inflected with Romanization (the epic) but which is still not entirely part of the aristocratic culture and instead belongs to the *barbari*, is storytelling. Hence a derivative literary culture is created, one that mirrors to a certain extent the formal nature of the *recitatio* but instead of filling the audience with Roman citizens

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[4] Michael Grant discusses, for example, aspects of internal disquiet in the Roman Empire during the Age of the Antonines. He cites the prevalence of banditry, explaining that term as understood by the Romans as "includ[ing] every revolt against authority" (1994:148). Thus, while seeming serene, domestic events beyond the superficial level were not quite placid. Further, Grant also clarifies the limits of Gibbons' understanding of the Antonines' period: "the focus on Rome but not on the provinces and the foregrounding of an exploitative wealthy elite" (1994:149). Gibbons may have had evidence to support his claim concerning the peace and happiness of the Age of the Antonines, but his evidence was not all-encompassing, according to Grant. In terms of foreign relations, Chris Scarre (1995) mentions that "there is evidence of near continuous fighting and unrest" (110). Whether that fighting was against the Dacians, in Egypt, Greece, Mauretania, Scotland, or Judaea, the Roman Empire was not always stable (1995:110). Thus both internally and externally the Roman Empire was in transition and perhaps decline.

rustles up women, slaves, thieves, and even animals. This form, then, could be the ideal genre for the provinces, at once not quite Roman enough for the epic but too trained in literary form for the novel.

This analogy must not be pushed too far. Certainly novels were being written in Greece, a cultured area, and one that was highly sophisticated. But what makes Apuleius' text different from Greek novels is its language. Just as language choice is a major issue for modern postcolonial writers in terms of audience and the production and distribution of their texts, so it is for a writer during the Roman Empire as well. A political element is infused into Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* simply by virtue of its being written in Latin. Apuleius could have written in Latin, Greek, or Punic. Although he was from the margins of the Roman Empire, as were the authors of Greek novels, he did not make his text accessible only in the language of his area. Instead, he sought the larger audience made available through the use of the Latin language.

Through content and form, Apuleius creates a different appeal that begins to show the disintegration not of Latin literature, but of the authorized point of view of the imperial reader. He involves the reader along with himself and that created reading community is integrally involved in the production of meaning. It is not possible to passively listen to this text and allow an authorized performer to lead one through it. Instead, the reader is addressed and the text makes the individual reader speak. This talking book requires participation precisely because of its mixing of epic and novel. That mixture highlights the liminal genre of storytelling—not quite epic, not quite novel—and the creation of a different kind of community of storytellers and listeners. Further, if this book is a stopgap between two different kinds of orality and prompts storytellers to re-create it (at least in pieces), then that also is entirely different. The *Metamorphoses* invites each person to make his or her own interpretation and reproductions of the text, which is certainly different from how Petronius or Virgil would want their texts to be reproduced. This difference leads to the fragmentation and the individualization of the authority of interpretation, rather than promoting an imperially authorized point of view that would seek to homogenize meaning.

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From Journalism to Gypsy Folk Song:
The Road to Orality of an English Ballad

Tom Pettitt

Recent years have seen the discovery of something as wonderful and unexpected as an authentic English oral tradition, persisting into the last quarter of the twentieth century: authentically English in being performed in English and in England; authentically oral in being performed by largely illiterate singers, who have received this heritage from the preceding generations of their families and communities without the intervention of writing or print. Authentic also in that although there of late was a sense that times were changing, for the generation concerned the performances remained a living and vital part of the social life and culture of their community.

This tradition comprises the "folksongs" of the English Gypsies, as represented for example by Mary Ann Haynes, "Queen" Caroline Hughes, the Smiths of Kent and the Smiths of Gloucester, and the Brazil siblings Lementina (Lemmie), Tom, Hyram, Alice, Harry, Danny, and Weenie. From one scholarly perspective it might be regretted that they were not the object of the same intense scrutiny accorded to the Scottish travelers by the School of Scottish Studies in Edinburgh a decade or two earlier (Gower 1968; Gower and Porter 1970, 1972, 1977; MacColl and Seeger 1986), not least because there is no analogous School of English Studies in London.[1] But by the same token their singing has been spared the disturbance and distorting effects that the associated celebrity on the "folk" scene had on the Scottish singers (Porter 1976). And quietly and steadily many performances have been collected in England, along with much information on the lives of the singers and the relationships between those lives and the songs (MacColl and Seeger 1977; Hall 1998; Richards 1987; Stradling 2000 and 2007; Yates 2003).

While the singing was manifestly part of the singers' sense of their own cultural identity, apart from a few songs rather self-consciously deploying Romany idioms the tradition is effectively an English oikotype, most of the songs also recorded from non-Gypsy—gorgio—singers, and indeed like most English "folksongs" deriving ultimately from eighteenth- or nineteenth-century broadsides. The difference is that Gypsy sub-culture sustained into our times the English folksong tradition recorded by Cecil Sharp and others at the beginning of the twentieth century, but which in the meantime has been abandoned by the ambient culture. This is good for our knowledge of this particular sub-tradition, since with a few exceptions (Gillington 1911; cf. Yates and Roud 2006) the early

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[1] As it happens, one of the Brazil brothers, Weenie, together with his daughter Angela, had been recorded by Hamish Hamilton along with Scottish travelers during a period living in Scotland in the 1950s (Peter Shepheard in Stradling, 2007:5).

collectors rather neglected Gypsy singers, but it is also a major opportunity for the study of English folksong tradition as a whole, which has in this way been sustained into a period when technological advances enabled the making, preservation, and dissemination of "live" recordings of performances, offering scholarship a more direct, accurate, and comprehensive access to the material than the field notebooks of the earlier collectors. With a folksong noted down by Cecil Sharp we are never certain just how much the repeated singings, necessary to get all the words, affected those same words; this is not a problem when we can ourselves transcribe the words from a tape-recording reissued as a compact disc. And the tradition thus documented in the second half of the twentieth century is paradoxically more oral than it was around 1900, since the broadsides from which many of the songs were originally learned have long ceased to be available to the singers, who have accordingly passed the songs on by word of mouth over two or more generations.

Like most discoveries, the exact dating of this one depends on who is concerned: As with the Victoria Falls, the people who lived with the songs knew they were there all the time. Of the outsiders, folksong collectors such as Peter Shepheard, Mike Yates, and Gwilym Davies (to mention those to whom this study is most directly indebted) were recording Romany singers from the mid-1960s onwards. More recently, and with gathering pace, the recordings have been made available on LP's, tapes, and latterly CD's (notably Gypsies 1998; Smith 2000; Gypsies 2003) whose publication has technically speaking been commercial, but in reality inspired and enabled by the commitment and competences of those in the often overlapping roles of collectors, editors, and producers. These efforts have achieved a provisional culmination in the issuing of a multi-disc anthology of the songs of the Brazil family by Musical Tradition Records (Brazils 2007), which is responsive to the current interests of folksong studies in providing multiple performances of some songs. Texts are also being made available on the internet (e.g. Shepheard 2008).

In this way the "discovery" is finally shared by the institutional, academic community that has contributed little to any of these developments, and the present study is offered from within that community by way of acknowledgment and celebration of the singers, the collectors, and the publishers who cultivated, preserved, and made available this English oral tradition.[2] It takes the form of a study of one song—or more specifically, to confess another dereliction, the *words* of one song—that invites attention by the way it lends itself to both of the scholarly approaches best capable of documenting and revealing the nature of oral tradition as it applies to narrative in the form of song. These are, respectively, the longitudinal, "diachronic" approach, which traces the development of a song from its origins to the form it achieves after a lengthy period of oral transmission (in this instance well over a century), and the singer-oriented, "synchronic" approach, which examines the variation the song displays as performed by one particular singer on different occasions over a relatively short time-span. More specifically, what

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[2] It might appropriately be dedicated to the Gypsy classmate, wherever he may be now, whose illiteracy I scorned during his brief attendance at my Essex school in the early 1950's.

follows is a multifaceted study of "Three Brothers in Fair Warwickshire" (Roud 2008:#3207) as sung by Danny Brazil in 1966 and on several later occasions, in the context of Gypsy song tradition, and in juxtaposition with the original form of the song, "The Lamentation of W. Warner T. Ward & T. Williams," as published a century and a half earlier. And a more informed generic appreciation of that original song will in turn be sought by comparing it with accounts in other modes of narrative discourse (judicial and journalistic prose) reporting the same events: a violent highway robbery and its judicial aftermath. The story of this song begins on the king's highway just outside Nuneaton in 1818, and ends in our times in a Gypsy campsite beside the ring road just outside Gloucester.

In celebrating the discovery of a living English oral tradition by pursuing a better scholarly understanding of the nature, significance, and mechanisms of oral tradition, the present study should also be seen in the context of the ongoing (if sporadic) discussion on the significance of oral tradition for narrative songs, or "ballads." Discussion in this area is confused, and controversy fueled, by the variant meanings that can be attributed to "ballad" in various contexts. In literary histories and anthologies the ballad is a sung narrative recounting physical violence or domestic conflict, strong emotions, and tragedy, often set in Scotland (thanks largely to the vigor of Scottish collection in the decades on either side of 1800), and transmitted orally. It is represented in the current edition of *The Norton Anthology of English Literature* by songs such as "Lord Randall," "Bonny Barbara Allan," "The Wife of Usher's Well," "Sir Patrick Spens," and "The Bonny Earl of Murray," introduced as "narrative poems [sic] transmitted orally" whose distinctive quality is "spareness":

> the narrative style typically strips the story down to a few objective and dramatic scenes. Ballads are apt to deal only with the culminating incident or climax of a plot, to describe that event with intense compression, to put the burden of narration on allusive monologue or dialogue, and to avoid editorial comment. The force of the ballad often depends on what is *not* told directly, which must be inferred from dialogue and action.

Their verbal style is characterized by "heavy use of formulaic expressions," and the narrative progresses by stanzas that are often linked by repetition (Greenblatt and Abrams 2006:2898).

The terminological problem is that songs like this were not normally called "ballads" by the people who sang them, and that from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, outside academic circles, "ballad" invariably referred to a song (often, but not necessarily, narrative) printed and sold as a broadside—a single sheet of paper printed on one side—a cheap and highly successful form of mass media of which many hundreds were published every year, each in print-runs of many thousands or even hundreds of thousands. Many of these songs narrated stories of physical violence or domestic conflict, strong emotions and tragedy, but in a style (journalistic or sub-literary) very different from the spare, formulaic, and repetitive mode of the literary history ballad, although in similar stanza forms and sharing many of the same melodies.

It is of course feasible to distinguish between "oral ballads" and "broadside ballads," but these terms refer only to the medium in which the songs are encountered: their generic status is compromised by the movement of actual songs between those media in both directions: "oral" ballads could be printed on broadsides, and many broadside ballads, having been sold and sung, learned from singing, and sung again, entered oral tradition. In the latter case, it is my thesis that the shift in medium could in time produce a modulation in narrative mode. Songs can acquire the features described in the *Norton Anthology*, can effectively become "ballads" in the literary history sense, in the course of—and as a result of the pressures involved in—oral tradition. The ballad (in this sense) is not defined as oral, but its characteristic, "balladesque" way of handling narrative material is determined, or rather generated, by the oral context.

Accordingly, the present study is in part a further testing of this thesis (for earlier experiments see Pettitt 2003), in that the original song, "The Lamentation of W. Warner T. Ward & T. Williams," was a broadside ballad, indeed a classic crime-and-execution news ballad opportunistically presented as a "last goodnight," ostensibly comprising the confession, regrets, and valediction of the condemned criminal(s) on the eve of execution. It will be shown that by the time it was recorded from the singing of Danny Brazil the song has indeed acquired some "balladesque" features (and lost many of its "broadside journalism" features), but as always in this ongoing investigation, with some unexpected features, and in this particular case, as discussed further below, the investigation is widened to include the significance of the intertextual (inter-performance) context provided by Gypsy song tradition.

The point of departure is then a song that was composed, pen in hand, as a text, designed in the first instance (having been published and sold as a broadside ballad) for singing from the printed text. And as thus composed and printed the song narrates the sorry fates of a certain William Warner, Thomas Ward, and Thomas Williams, who were hanged on 14 July 1818 following their trial at Warwick Assizes on the charge of highway robbery. The writers of news-ballads seem generally to have culled their information from the printed press (newspapers and occasional news-sheets), and in checking, for contrastive purposes, the way such prose media handled this particular crime we are therefore dealing with the *kind* of material our balladeer had acquaintance with, and in one instance quite probably as a direct source. This initial move also has the function, of course, of introducing the narrative.

The trial was reported in a local newspaper, *The Warwick Advertiser*, in August 1818, and its reproduction (evidently almost verbatim) of the official indictment offers both a first glimpse of the protagonists and an example of a very unballad-like way of reporting the events:

> William Warner, alias *Hard-hearing baby* (aged 20); Thos. Ward, alias *Jasper* (aged 18); and Thos. Williams, alias *Stodger* (aged 19); were indicted for a violent assault upon the person of George Greenway, on the King's highway, and taking from his person, a silver watch, value £5, a gold chain, value £8, two gold seals, value £6, a silver snuff box, value 2

Guineas, and several Country Banknotes, value £26, on the 1st of July last in the parish of Nuneaton. (Yates 1983:2).

Much of the apparently redundant detail here probably had a judicial significance, the taking of the property "from the person" of the victim defining the offense as robbery rather than mere theft or burglary, and even more seriously as "highway robbery," a crime committed on the "King's highway" carrying the additional opprobrium of breaching the King's Peace. The value of the property stolen is specified to classify the offense as a capital crime: little opportunity here for a sympathetic jury to value the items as worth less than the modest amount automatically triggering the death penalty. The age of the offenders would probably determine whether they were qualified as minors to be shown lenience. The specification of their aliases is to prevent a perpetrator claiming a mistrial on the technical plea of not being accurately identified in the indictment. Not surprisingly, the song, with its non-judicial function, will feel free to omit much of this detail.

The accused all pleaded guilty, but rather than proceeding straight to sentence, the judge—apparently to be quite certain there were no mitigating circumstances—instructed their victim, Mr. Greenway, to tell his story. The latter's highly circumstantial account was also reproduced (if doubtless reshaped in accordance with journalistic protocols) in the *Warwick Advertiser* (Yates 1983:3), but our ballad-writer probably had access to a derivative news-sheet, "An Account of the Lives and Execution of Wm. Warner, Thos. Ward, and Thos. Williams, who were Executed at Warwick, on Friday, August 14th, 1818, for Highway Robbery," published by the printer Taylor of Birmingham. It reprints from the *Advertiser* the judge's admonitions and Greenway's narrative, with some few verbal omissions, together with brief notices of the culprits and a laconic account of the hanging, on a single sheet headed by a stark woodcut of three men hanging from a gallows.[3] Its title is close to that of the broadside, "The Lamentation of W. Warner T. Ward & T. Williams, who were executed at Warwick, August 14, 1818, for highway robbery," and the two accounts share the error of dating the execution to August rather than July. Roy Palmer suggests (2004b:1) that the ballad printer may have postdated the events to give the ballad enhanced newsworthiness, but we should now probably give the credit, if that is the word, to the author or printer of the news-pamphlet. A connection is also suggested by the fact that both were printed in Birmingham.

Mr. Greenway's narrative, both as a possible source and for contrastive purposes, will be referred to from time to time below but will not be elaborated on here because the comparison would be distorted: the crime and execution broadside invariably tells the *perpetrator*'s story, rather than the *victim*'s. This is partly because, unlike the fortunate Mr. Greenway, the victim is usually dead and so unable to tell his or her story. But part of the selling power of the subgenre lies precisely in its emphasis on the fate and feelings

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[3] The publication was discovered by Roy Palmer at the Birmingham Reference Library and kindly made available in photocopy; the Library (now the Local Studies and History Department of Birmingham Central Library), is currently unable to locate the original.

of the criminal as his misdeeds are unfolded in public view, his sentence pronounced, and the hour of reckoning approaches.

Our ballad, accordingly, will show no interest whatever in what Mr. Greenaway was doing before or after his encounter with his three attackers, and the attack itself will be seen from their perspective. The song tells us the criminals' story, and for purposes of comparison is therefore, at least with regard to the opening moves, best juxtaposed with the narrative, also reported by the *Warwick Advertiser*, which is embedded in the confession of one of the three robbers, William Warner, to a local magistrate:

"The examination and Confession of William Warner, of Braunston, boatman . . ."	"The Lamentation of W. Warner T. Ward . . ."[4] T. Bloomer, Birmingham

	1. It's melancholy to relate
	    Of three young men who met their fate
	    Cut of[f] just in the bloom of day,
	    For robbing in the king's highway.

[Confesses that:] . . . on Thursday, the 25th of June last, he met with Thomas Ward, with whom he went to Boughton Green Fair, and from thence to Leicester; That at Boughton Fair they met with another person, whose name examinant does not know, but whose nickname was "Stodger," and who accompanied them to Leicester, where they staid until Wednesday, July 1st,	

when they all three went to Hinckley,
from whence they set off
about 8 o'clock in the evening,
along the road towards Nuneaton;
when they had arrived
within a mile of Nuneaton,
	2. At Nuneaton in Warwickshire
	    We lived <u>as you soon shall hear</u>,
	    But in our station not content,
	    To rob and plunder we were bent,

they saw a person approaching them on horseback, whom they immediately agreed to stop and rob; that the man, called Stodger, caught hold of the bridle,	3. Mr. Greenway was the first we met, And by us he was soon beset

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[4] The original of the broadside version quoted here is in the *Cecil Sharp Scrapbook of Songs and Ballads* (p. 193), Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, London (see Appendix 1), and is reproduced with the kind permission of the English Folk Dance and Song Society through the good offices of their Librarian, Malcolm Taylor. I have introduced the conventional stanza divisions that are not signaled in the original, but which are confirmed in the other broadside printings and by the oral version.

and with a large stick struck him	With dreadful blows upon the head,
and knocked him off his horse;	
	We left him as we thought for dead.
that Thomas Ward	
then took from the person's pockets,	
some bank notes, 4. His money	
of which examinant thinks	
three were of the value of one pound each,	
and two of five pounds each;	
that examinant caught hold of his watch chain, and his watch also	
and drew his watch out of his pocket; We took, which proved our overthrow,	
that they then proceeded across the country And then we ran away with speed,	
. . . And left him on the road to bleed.	
. . .	

After this the prose confession continues with an account of further crimes committed by the group, while the ballad's remaining narrative is effectively determined in advance by a well-established paradigm for crime and execution reports in the popular media (Fulcher 1984-85): the apprehension and imprisonment of the culprits, the trial and condemnation, their remorse (here somewhat muted) and valediction (these stanzas will be quoted in full below).

Indeed, in a manner quite typical of journalistic broadsides (Pettitt forthcoming) the generic paradigm outweighs the facts of the individual case—here, for instance, the bringing of a guilty verdict by a jury (broadside st. 6) who in reality, since the prisoners pleaded guilty, were not called upon to give a verdict. And in following the established convention the ballad actually loses out on what seems to have been the real emotional drama of the trial (as reported by the *Warwick Advertiser* and the derivative Birmingham news-sheet), the prisoners' insistence on pleading guilty despite the earnest warning of the judge that it would not increase their hopes of a pardon. Stanzas 5-9 effectively have nothing specific to this case apart from the accurate identification of Warwick as the venue for the trial and the number and ages of the accused.

The broadside ballad evidently shares to a degree, however, the predilection of the journalistic accounts for circumstantial detail, supplying us with the location of the crime, the name of the victim, and at least some of the items taken from him. We also have the blow to the head and the specification of the "king's highway" supplied in other sources. But there is much detail that is omitted in the song, and furthermore the facts are selected, distorted, or augmented, either to achieve conformity with the generic paradigm, or simply to help create a more effective narrative (which is presumably how the paradigm emerged in the first place). Thus, rather than narrate the preliminary moves—how the group met up somewhat fortuitously at a country fair almost a week earlier—the broadside ballad effectively begins its narration at the encounter with Mr. Greenway, strongly implying that the robbers already knew each other and were residents of the same village (Nuneaton being in reality the home of the victim). Furthermore, rather than an unplanned response

to an opportunity that fortuitously presented itself, the robbery is now seen as the fulfillment of a deliberate plan to "rob and plunder" (st. 2.4), and not merely premeditated but, like most crimes in broadside ballads, the result of moral turpitude on the part of the villains, who are "in our station not content" (2.3). The same depravity is shown by the callous way the robbers leave their victim "as we thought for dead" (3.4), "on the road to bleed" (4.4): this is admittedly in conformity with the facts of the case (the *Advertiser* reports, rather clinically, the "very copious discharge of blood" "occasioned" by the blow to the head), but the journalistic sources chose not to focus on the image of the wounded man left on the highway.

In addition to the pressures of the generic paradigm, the broadside's rendition of the material is also of course influenced by the circumstance that it is a song, not a prose account, and designed to be both sung and sold. The latter factor helps to explain the moral tone just discerned, since the broadsides were effectively in the business of peddling lurid accounts of sex and violence under the aegis of moral indignation and admonition. It is this that enables the about-turn at the end, when the robbers, hitherto the objects of the moralizing, become its mouthpieces, urging those who have come to witness the execution to avoid their sorry fate and not to cast aspersions on their families (referred to, in a rather antiquated usage, as their "friends").[5] There is no "come all ye" stanza to attract the attention of potential customers, but the author has supplied the singer with an opening gambit that announces the subject of the song and its "melancholy" character (that is, an opportunity to indulge in sentimental empathy). The author has clearly decided that the best selling point is the relative youth of the condemned: baldly stated at the outset, enhanced with the image of "blooming," then reiterated with the ages specified in connection with the execution.

Although printed as a column of verses with no breaks between stanzas, the text readily resolves itself into a song of nine quatrains, singable to any number of "ballad" tunes. The stanzas are in the variant of the conventional ballad stanza with four stresses in all four lines (rather than alternating four and three); the rhyme scheme is aabb rather than the abcb considered typical of traditional ballads, but it is not at all unusual in broadsides. For its genre and period the song is decidedly short, but with several near-identical printings surviving this is evidently the song as it was published on broadside. The length was determined by technical rather than aesthetic factors, the song designed for publication as a "slip" ballad, that is printed with one or more other ballads on a single sheet from which the individual items could be cut and sold separately.

The career of the song as a broadside seems to have been chronologically and geographically limited, which may explain its poor showing in oral tradition. All but one of the surviving printings (see Appendix 1 for a full list) were issued by the Birmingham printer Theophilus Bloomer, who ceased publishing in 1827 (Book Trade 2008), only nine years after the events, supporting Roy Palmer's view (2004a:236) that the Bloomer

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[5] This could also be a response to the cruel remark on William Warner in the Birmingham prose pamphlet: "Thus has the culprit entailed a disgrace of the most humiliating kind upon the surviving members of a respectable family."

version is probably the original, inspired directly by journalistic reports of the trial and execution. It was also issued by an otherwise undocumented printer, Shipway of Cirencester. On the other hand only a small minority of broadside news-ballads made it into oral tradition, and a strong narrative line with some dramatic high-points is clearly a significant qualification: a quite different song on this same case, "[The Sorrowful Lamentation] of three men. Viz. [W. Warner T. Ward] and T. Williams," dominated by the spiritual instruction and repentance of the condemned men after the trial, made one appearance on broadside and thereafter disappeared without trace.[6]

Except for the correction of spelling mistakes and occasional variations in punctuation the broadside text is stable, any subsequent changes consequently attributable to the processes of oral tradition, a tradition that furthermore will have been independent of printed versions for at least a century before it was recorded. And because the broadside was published shortly after the events it reports, there is no doubt of its priority in relation to any oral versions recovered subsequently: they cannot go back to an antecedent oral tradition that the broadside (as broadsides sometimes did) transcribes.

And the song reappears, miraculously and uniquely, in the repertoire of Danny (and Lemmie) Brazil, as "Three Brothers in Fair Warwickshire"—followed in due course by the second miracle of Mike Yates spotting the connection (Yates 1983). Although originally reporting a specific, somewhat humdrum robbery, the reshaping we have seen the narrative undergo in the composition of the song was evidently enough—just—to ensure it a place in folksong tradition, and it may not be coincidental that it was retained specifically in a Gypsy song tradition that had something of a taste for tales of clashes, often fatal, between renegade figures and the authorities. The Brazil family repertoire included songs on poaching ("Limpy Jack" [Brazils 2007:#1.6]; "'Tis My Delight" [#2.7]), piracy ("Henry Martin [#3.23]), and an insubordinate soldier ("McCaffery" [#2.6]), as well as others on highway robbery (e.g. "Brandon on the Moor" [#2.32]). It will also have enhanced the song's compatibility with tradition that the reality it reported matched the tendency in traditional song for such poachers, pirates, and highway robbers to operate in groups of three.

Given the circumstances, the impact of oral tradition on the song can be measured with some accuracy. To the extent it is seen as a historical document, Roy Palmer is right to characterize the changes as "errors" (2004a:236), but to the extent it is seen as an achievement of what is now called "intangible culture" they can also be appreciated as the

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[6] Cambridge University Library, Madden Collection Vol. 21 (Country Printers VI), No. 609 (the second of two items with this number, the first containing the "Statute Song" printed on the reverse of the sheet); my thanks to Roy Palmer for drawing this ballad to my attention. Only half the text survives: it was printed in two columns, but the sheet was divided down the middle (as if it contained two slip ballads), and only the righthand strip has survived. The full title can be readily reconstructed (as above) from the remaining words, broadside conventions, and the facts of the case. The name of the printer has been lost with the lefthand strip, but the address is "Moor Street, Birmingham," so he was probably the "Taylor" who printed the news-sheet on the case discussed above. The song is in a strangely stumbling idiom, quite unlike the sub-literary extravagances of the professional hack-writers, and may even, for once, in truth be the "last goodnight" of the condemned criminals.

results of a re-creative process transmuting the song from a journalistic broadside to the "balladesque" narrative mode.

This modulation will largely have been achieved by the internal processes of its aural reception by a given singer, retention in the memory, and reproduction from the memory under performance conditions (by a series of singers in a line of transmission): one is tempted to term the tradition "memoral" (mem-oral / memor-al) rather than merely oral. But change will also be influenced (both induced and inhibited) by external factors such as the intertextual pressure from the song tradition, not least as represented by the other songs known to the singers in the chain of transmission that extends from the broadside to Danny Brazil's recorded performances. Direct influence from written or printed texts on Danny himself can be ruled out, as he was illiterate throughout his life (Burgess 1999:1), and the same is likely to be true of his predecessors. Of these singers we know the exact repertoire of only Danny Brazil himself, but we can also catch glimpses (or rather echoes) of the preceding link in the chain, in that Danny Brazil learned most of his songs, including this one, from his father, who "knew hundreds of songs" (Burgess 1999:1). Danny Brazil's own recorded repertoire comprises scores rather than hundreds of songs, but supplementary avenues to the father's repertoire and more generally the longer-term family tradition are available in the overlapping repertoires of other singing members of this generation of Brazils (Stradling 2007:15).

Beyond these inner intertextual contexts for the latter days of the song's transmission is the local tradition represented by singers socially close to the Brazils (e.g. Smith 2000), and beyond that the wider circle of song tradition among the English Gypsies. The further we move from the center of this synchronic set of concentric circles representing current or recent repertoires, the further back we may be penetrating diachronically into the history of the song tradition leading to Danny Brazil's "Three Brothers in Fair Warwickshire," but with a proportionate uncertainty as to whether a given song was ever in direct contact with ours. And at some point we cross the boundary between intertextual connections between specific songs to the sharing of free-floating formulas or narrative motifs common to the tradition as a whole.

As a basis for analysis there follow parallel full texts of the original broadside and the song as first recorded (by Peter Shepheard) from the singing of Danny Brazil on 6 May 1966.[7]

PRINTED ORIGINAL	ORAL DERIVATIVE
The Lamentation of W. Warner T. Ward	**"Three Brothers in Fair Warwickshire"**
& T. Williams	**Danny Brazil 1966**

1. It's melancholy to relate

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[7] The latter supplied by Peter Shepheard and quoted here with his kind permission. See Appendix 2 for details of the oral versions invoked in what follows; here and in all my quotations from transcripts (or my own transcripts) of recordings I have removed all punctuation with the exception of very obvious stops and question marks.

Of three young men who met their fate
Cut of[f] just in the bloom of day,
For robbing in the king's highway.

2. At Nuneaton in Warwickshire
    We lived as you soon shall hear,
    But in our station not content,
    To rob and plunder we were bent,

3. Mr. Greenway was the first we met,
    And by us he was soon beset
    With a dreadful blow upon the head,
    We left him as we thought for dead.

4. His money and his watch also
    We took, which proved our overthrow,
    And then we ran away with speed,
    And left him on the road to bleed.

5. But for the crime we soon were ta'en
    And sent to Warwick for the same;
    To be confined in prison strong,
    Till the Assizes did come on.

6. When at the bar we did appear,
    We pleaded guilty as you shall hear,
    The jury all the same did cry,
    And we were condemned to die.

7. As for the ages of all three,

    Is eighteen, nineteen, and twenty;
    It must be awful for to see,
    Such young men at the fatal tree.

1. All for three brothers in fair Warwickshire
    Three daring fellows you all shall hear
    To rob and plunder was their intent
    To go robbing along the highway they went

2. The first they met was Lord Granuaille
    With his coach and four there they did rebay
    The heavy blow struck him on the head
    And they left him on the highway for dead

3. They took his watch and his money too
    So soon they proved his sad overthrow
    They run away its with all the speed
    And they left him on the highway to bleed

4. Now as they were taken all for the same
    They were put in prison to the trial come
    They were put in prison bound in iron strong
    Until the assizes it did come on.

5. Now at the Bar these three young men 'peared
    They was pleading guilty you all shall hear
    The judge and jurymen all did say
    For its they are cast and condemned to die.

6. The age, the age of you young men three
    Your age, your age you come tell to me
    One eighteen, nineteen, and the other twenty
    Isn't it a shock and a sight to see
    Three clever young men on the gallows tree

[7. The names, the names of you young men three
    Your names, your names you come tell to me
    My name is Will Atkin from once I came
    Yes and many a time I've heard your name.]

8. At the Bar their poor mother 'peared
    She was wringing her tender hands tearing
      out her hair
    Saying 'Judge and jurymen spare their lives
    For they are my sons and my heart's delight'

9. It's go you home dearest woman dear
   We have just told them of their shocking fate
   For tomorrow morning at the hour of three
   You can claim their bodies from the gallers tree.

10. It's go you home dearest mother dear
   You have come too late for our time is near
   Tomorrow morning that is the day
   From all our friends we must die away.

8. All you that come to see us die,
   Upon the gallows tree so high,
   Shun every vice and take good ways,
   Then you may all see happy days.

11. Come all you people that is standing by
   That have come here for to see us die
   You shun bad company take to good ways
   That's the way to live and see happy days.

9. We hope none will reflect upon
   Our friends when we are dead and gone
   For if they do they're much to blame,
   Since we have suffered for the same.

As actually sung by Danny Brazil on 6 May 1966, the song did not include what is here numbered stanza seven (duly enclosed in square brackets), but in subsequent discussion (28 December 1966), prompted by his sister Lemmie, who also had the song in her repertoire, he agreed that "Three Brothers," as he knew it, included this stanza.[8] It accordingly forms part of my "Danny Brazil 1966" version, but the words specified are technically as spoken by Lemmie rather than as sung by Danny, and its vulnerability is duly noted for future reference.

    General features meriting immediate comment include the fairly systematic shift from the broadside's first person narrative of the condemned men to the third person of the oral version, which is in accordance with generic modulation, in that emotional engagement is an important selling-point for the broadside, while conversely "impersonality" has long been considered one of the hallmarks of the traditional ballad.

    Another feature conventionally assigned to the "balladesque" narrative mode is its penchant for passages that are dramatic both in comprising direct, urgent confrontations between parties with a vital interest in what is occurring, and in constituting dialogue. And largely as a result of the additions to be discussed in a moment, the oral version, with five out of eleven stanzas involving or comprising direct speech (most of it urgent), is infinitely more dramatic than the original, which has none.

    The juxtaposition also shows clearly enough that oral transmission has involved some *subtraction*: it amounts to only two stanzas, but this is relatively significant (over 20%) given that the original has only nine. It is also striking that the stanzas omitted are

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[8] My thanks to Peter Shepheard (personal communication) for this contextual information.

the first and last, that is, involving not the narrative itself but the classic broadside packaging of opening statement about the subject (a boon to the broadside peddler but redundant for the social folk singer) and the concluding, admonitory valediction to the reader/listener, most of which is now removed. (Oral tradition has nonetheless supplied the remaining valedictory stanza with the "Come all ye" commonplace normally associated with the opening of broadside ballads.) This reduction in packaging also increases the impersonality of the narration, as well as achieving a sharper focus on the essential events.

But the most striking feature of the oral version is the extent of the *additions* to the song that have occurred in transmission, no less than four of the oral version's eleven stanzas having no equivalent in the original. Most of the songs that have lent themselves to this sort of investigation display exclusively (at the stanzaic level) subtraction, and this is the only instance in which an oral derivative is actually *longer* than the printed original. On the other hand, addition *has* been discerned in other songs, and this one conforms to the thesis in the sense that all the material added is in itself traditional, and/or is generated by traditional processes.

It is the latter that produces the first "new" stanza of the oral version (st. 7), in which the judge inquires about the names of the accused. It is not so much added as cloned from the preceding stanza in which he asks about their ages, although in the process the source stanza has in turn modulated into conformity with its derivative, including the generation of some verbal repetition within the stanzas. The result corresponds exactly to the "incremental repetition" that is a major formal feature of the balladesque narrative mode, the judge's question about the ages now repeated, but with the narrative "increment" that it has moved on to their names.

This request in itself has a good pedigree as a *topos* in traditional balladry (with some associated commonplace phraseology), not least in the outlaw ballads, when the King needs to know who has accosted him in the greenwood:

> "What is your names?" than sayd our kynge,
> "Anone that you tell me" (Child 1965:#116A.118)

or when Robin Hood himself needs to know the identity of a doughty opponent:

> Pedlar, pedlar, what is thy name?
> Come speedilie and tell to me (Child 1965:#132A.11; cf. 136A)

The other major addition—the mother's plea at the trial—encompasses the insertion of new but traditional material that at the same time is partly generated by the cloning of an existing stanza, and then itself subject to a repetition-generating bifurcation. The intervention of someone close to the condemned criminal pleading for his life occurs elsewhere in traditional song, the closest analogue to the present case probably being "Geordie" (Child 1965:#209), although the plea is from the sweetheart rather than a

parent. One version, from oral tradition in Somerset in 1904, also parallels/anticipates the specific detail of the intervention coming "too late" to help the condemned person:

> Then George looked round the court
> And saw his dearest Polly
> He said My dear you've come too late
> For I'm condemned already. (Sharp 1974:#36A.3)

Not documented in the repertoires of Danny Brazil or his immediate family, the song was nonetheless known in English Gypsy tradition; witness the versions (rather cut down, largely comprising the words of the sweetheart's plea) collected by Mike Yates from the singing of Levi Smith in Surrey in 1974 (Yates 1975:73-74; MacColl and Seeger 1977:94) and from his brother Jasper (Yates 2003:#2). Rather more of the court scene (but still not this stanza) is preserved in a Gypsy version collected by Alice Gillington almost a century earlier (1911:6-7, "The Warminster Song").

On the other hand, the incident may not have been imported as a verbal whole, but pieced together (around the traditional theme) from individual stanzas, lines, or phrases, from tradition in general or specific songs known to the singers in this train of transmission. The mother's hand-wringing (cf. Child 1965:#61, #87C, #181B, #218A, #239, #259, #266) and hair-tearing (cf. Child 1965:#41A, #90B, #191, #196, #203, #210 #238) are familiar *topoi* of emotional stress, and sometimes occur together, as indeed in Danny Brazil's own "My Love Willie" (Brazils 2007:#2.12): "She wrung her hands and she tored her hair / Just like a woman all in despair." Parental hair-tearing also occurs in some versions of "The Folkestone Murder," reputed to be popular with Gypsies in southern England, when mother and father learn of the fate of their daughters (Kennedy 1975:#320, and p. 727): This song too is in Danny Brazil's repertoire, but as recorded in 1977 (Brazils 2007:#2.19) he cuts to another stanza immediately before this line.

But there is a further (traditional) process at work, for, just like the second of the judge's questions discussed above, the stanza narrating the appearance of the mother before the court is in several respects cloned on the stanza already in the ballad narrating the trial itself:

6. When at the bar we did appear,
    We pleaded guilty as you shall hear,
    The jury all the same did cry,
    And we were condemned to die.

5. Now <u>at the Bar</u> these three young men '<u>peared</u>
    <u>They</u> was plead<u>ing</u> guilty you all shall hear
    The <u>judge and jurymen</u> all did <u>say</u>
    <u>For</u> its <u>they are</u> cast and condemned to die.

        . . .

8. <u>At the Bar</u> their poor mother '<u>peared</u>
    <u>She was</u> wring<u>ing</u> her tender hands tearing
       out her hair
    <u>Saying</u> <u>Judge and jurymen</u> spare their lives
    <u>For</u> <u>they are</u> my sons and my heart's delight

The plea *topos* continues with the negative response, many of whose constituent phrases have a traditional or intertextual status too. The announcement that the young men will die "tomorrow morning" has connections with the moments when a ballad protagonist anticipates (even without the certainty of a judicial execution) his or her own demise:

> For tomorrow morning before it is day
> My body shall lie by him (Child 1965:#85, "Lady Alice," C.6)

and dismissing someone with a "go home" phrase is equally traditional, if perhaps more often applied to a deceitful lover, as in two Gypsy songs: "O, go home, go home, you false damnceitful" (MacColl and Seeger 1977:228); "O go home, go home, you artful, seekful" (229). In Harry Brazil's version of another ballad (sung by most of the Brazil family), "The Old Riverside," this expression is combined, if in a different grammatical construction, with a reference to a mother: "You go home to your own dear mother's house" (Brazils 2007:#1.1; Danny Brazil himself [#1.3] sings "father" at this point). In the holy legend ballad "Hugh of Lincoln," as recorded from oral tradition in late nineteenth-century Lincolnshire, the martyr combines both of the conventional phrases discussed above in a statement to his mother that could qualify as a model for the replies of the brothers and the judge in our ballad:

> Go home, go home, my mother dear
> And prepare my winding sheet
> For tomorrow morning before eight o'clock
> You with my body shall meet (Bronson 1959-72:#155.24.6)

This ballad is in the Brazil family repertoire, although this stanza does not occur in the version recorded from Lemmie Brazil in 1967 (Brazils 2007:#3.16), or indeed in other Gypsy versions as yet consulted (MacColl and Seeger, 1977:88; Yates 2003:#20).

Wherever it came from, at some point—before, during, or after the insertion of the Mother's plea into our ballad—the rejection bifurcated into two utterances, each of a stanza, expressed in the voices, respectively, of the judge and the sons. Together they constitute another case of incremental repetition, that is, verbal repetition with change constituting a narrative increment: "It's go you home dearest woman dear" (st. 9) and "It's go you home dearest mother dear" (st. 10), and so on. Since this incident is not in the broadside, we do not know which of the two utterances/stanzas is the original, and which the derivative clone. To the extent that this is a crime and execution ballad, the original rejection would most appropriately come from the judge, but in what we might call the *stabat mater* topos illustrated by "Hugh of Lincoln" the response properly belongs to the sons. It may be relevant that at the strikingly parallel moment in "Geordie," the "you have come too late" formulation is sometimes (as in the version cited above) spoken by the accused, sometimes by the judge (Bronson 1959-72: #209.53.4; #209.45.5).

In terms of narrative as opposed to verbal structure, the addition of this intervention produces a more articulated narrative, more in the balladesque manner, with a balance

between two major scenes, the robbery and the mother's plea, linked by the intervening condemnation. The broadside original reaches an early climax with the robbery, and then tapers off with a brief evocation of the trial and its aftermath, shifting its energies from narrative construction to emotional inflation. And the insertion of this plea by "their poor mother" cannot of course have taken place independently of the song's other decisive shift towards the traditional, which transformed the historical and unrelated W. Warner, T. Ward, and T. Williams of the broadside into "three brothers" (1.1), making their common fate an even starker tragedy.

Groups of "three brothers" figure frequently in folksong tradition as a whole (e.g., Child 1965:#14, #49, #188), often as "three bold brothers" (Child 1965:#62, #71, #96, #101) if not actually "daring," not least in the songs of the travelers, whose large families depended for their well-being on a good deal of solidarity and cooperation among adult brothers. The ethos is reflected in the song, "The Oakham Poachers," recorded from Traveler Wiggy Smith (neighbor and friend of Danny Brazil) in 1974, in which "Three brothers being wet and weary, / Off a-poaching they did go" (1.3-4). Ambushed by the gamekeepers, "These three brothers being brave hearted, / They boldly kept on firing" (3.1-2) until arrested and sent for trial. As these quotations indicate (and cf. 5.2, "we three brothers"), there is a similar emphasis on their number and relationship (Yates 2006:95). It may also be relevant that the Brazil family repertoire included two songs in which the disruption of fraternal relationships is seen as unwise or tragic: the sentimental "Shake Hands and be Brothers Again" (Brazils 2007:#2.8), in which two brothers who have fallen out are reconciled as one lies dying, and the classic ballad (Child 1965:#13, "Edward") "Son Come Tell it Unto Me" (Brazils 2007:#1.14-16), in which one brother, in response to his mother's anxious queries, eventually confesses he has killed the other. Sung by seven members from two generations, it was a song manifestly well known to the Brazil family.

More specifically, it may be significant that Danny and Lemmie Brazil both sang a version of the pirate ballad "Henry Martin" (Child 1965:#250). As recorded, their versions comprise exclusively the climactic battle (Bronson 1959-72: #250.9; Brazils 2007:#3.23), but since the ballad is essentially about three brothers who draw lots to decide which of them should support the others by turning pirate, at some time in the Brazil family tradition it very likely started, as do most other recorded versions, with a line about three brothers, which sometimes comes close—"There were three brothers in merry Scotland" (Bronson 1959-72:#250.1, #250.5); "There were three brothers in fair London town" (Bronson 1959-72:#250.3)—to the opening line of our song in Danny's Brazil's rendition, "All for three brothers in fair Warwickshire." Many versions of "Henry Martin" also contain a line specifying that the one chosen "should go robbing all on the salt sea" (Bronson 1959-72:#250.2, #250.3, #250.8), similar to the expression Danny uses in the opening stanza, "To go robbing along the highway."

The discussion of the additional stanzas in the oral version above encompassed in passing several instances of the verbal repetitions (including "incremental repetition"), and the commonplaces or formulas characterizing the balladesque narrative style, but they

may be supplemented with others that are generated—evidently in the course of oral transmission—in the stanzas deriving from the original broadside.

Quite a number of the phrases new to the oral version have parallels in folksong, suggesting a traditional, if not formulaic, status. Of the more substantial, "To rob and plunder was their intent" (1.3) is matched in content and structure by "To kill or be killed was their intent" (Child 1965:#207.3) and "To bring her home was his intent" (Child 1965:#5D.11) from ballads elsewhere, or indeed by "To join the force was my intent" from Danny's own "McCaffery" (Brazils 2007:#2.6), "All for to get married was her intent" from his "The Golden Glove" (Brazils 2007:#1.26), or ". . . to wed with her was his intent" from his "The Brake of Briars" (Shepheard 2008). But also possible is influence from a particular song, the poaching ballad "Limpy Jack," also recorded by Peter Shepheard from Danny Brazil in 1966 (Brazils 2007:#1.6). Allowing for reversal in order, the setting off of the poacher and his dogs—

> To catch a fat buck away <u>we went</u>
> To catch a fat buck <u>was our intent</u>

—is identical in rhyme and close in formulation to our oral version's account of the three brothers at the same point of their story (st. 1.3-4):

> To rob and plunder <u>was their intent</u>
> To go robbing along the highway <u>they went</u>.

And the two songs may have tangled at another point as well. The fate of the poachers:

> Now <u>we were put</u> <u>in prison strong</u>,
> <u>Until assizes did come on</u>

is very close to that of our three brothers (st. 4.3-4):

> <u>They were put</u> <u>in prison</u> bound in iron <u>strong</u>
> <u>Until the assizes</u> it <u>did come on</u>

or perhaps rather to something between this and the broadside original (st. 5.3-4):

> To be confined <u>in prison strong</u>
> <u>Till the Assizes did come on</u>

—suggesting that at this point the influence may have been in the opposite direction. In balladry at large, the 1818 broadside's "in prison strong" is as well qualified as a commonplace as Danny's "bound in iron strong," but the latter is closely matched by a Gypsy version of another crime and execution ballad, Mary Ann Haynes' "Waxford Town" (Yates 2003:#11): "And he's bound down in irons strong."

The transformation of the broadside's "Mr. Greenway was the first we met" (3.1) to "<u>The first they met was</u> Lord Granuaille" (2.1), even leaving aside the remarkable change of identity (discussed below), probably occurred under the pressure of traditional song idiom (cf. Child 1965:#17H.12 and #130A.2). External influence is also discernible in the ostensibly minimal change in the narration of the taking of the victim's possessions:

4. His money and his watch also	3. They took his watch and his money too
We took, which proved our overthrow,	So soon <u>they</u> proved <u>his</u> <u>sad</u> overthrow

The second lines actually have quite different meanings.[9] The broadside author, perhaps with a sense of the whole narrative typical of a textual mode of composition, can look forward, and understand that the robbery *will prove* the overthrow of the perpetrators. Oral performance, which is more conscious of the immediate task, leaving overall strategy to more automatic processes, sees the event as the overthrow, here and now, of the victim. And the addition of the words "So soon" and "sad" indicates very strongly that the reformulation of the line occurred under intertextual pressure from Danny Brazil's "Poison in a Glass of Wine" (Brazils 2007:#3.20), where a jealous lover resolves to destroy his sweetheart: "<u>So soon</u> that he proved her <u>sad</u> overthrow."

The oral version follows the broadside in twice stating that the robbers "left" their victim in a helpless condition, but the formulations in the two instances are now both closer to each other (qualifying the lines for discussion under repetitions, below), and closer to traditional folksong idiom:

3.4 <u>We left him</u> as we thought for dead.	2.4 <u>And they left him on the highway</u> for dead
4.4 <u>And left him on the</u> road to bleed.	3.4 <u>And they left him on the highway</u> to bleed

A similar opening phrase participates in an analogous repetition in Danny's 1977 performance of "Betsy the Milkmaid" (Brazils 2007:#1.11), first in the narrative of her fighting off a would-be rapist:

>   And she left him lay bleeding / Near the blackberry fold

and then in her report of it:

>   And I've left him laid bleeding / Near the blackberry fold.

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[9] These lines may also be taken to illustrate the changes in tradition that make the words fit more comfortably into the four-line framework constituted by the melodic structure. The oral derivative, reflecting the practicalities of performance, operates much more emphatically with one-line units, and almost systematically demolishes the enjambement that occurs in the original, whose composition was more under the constraint of the rhyme scheme, which facilitated two-line sense-units. (It is also likely that the meter of the oral version's "They took his watch and his money too" is more singable than the broadside's "His money and his watch also.")

The second half of the repeated phrase in our song "on the highway" (or, as in the broadside, "on the king's highway") is very common in song tradition, including a Brazil family favorite "The Gown so green," at least as sung by Harry Brazil (Brazils 2007:#2.26; Danny himself [#2.26] sings "along the highway"), Hyram Brazil's "Game of All Fours" (#1.7), and Danny's "Jack and the Robber" (#1.24).

The concatenation of a blow to the head and abandonment on the highway, meanwhile, occurs in the ballad "The Famous Flower of Serving-Men" (Child 1965:#106) as sung by Gypsy Caroline Hughes (MacColl and Seeger 1977:84),

> But every <u>blow struck him</u> all <u>on the</u> crown,
> <u>Left him on the highway</u>, there to die.

This song does not seem to figure in the repertoires of the Brazil family, but the formulation is altogether close to that in Danny's "Three Brothers" (st. 2.3-4)

> The heavy <u>blow struck him on the</u> head
> And they <u>left him on the highway</u> for dead.

Brazil's opening phrase in the first line of the song, "All for . . . ," is clearly something of a Brazil family convention, which they also use to begin four other songs: "All for a pretty ploughing boy" ("The Pretty Ploughing Boy"; Brazils 2007:#2.10), "All for a true born Irish man" ("Brandon on the Moor"; #2.32), "All for a fair damsel" ("The Banks of the Sweet Dundee" #3.8), and "All for a farmer . . . " ("The Brake of Briars," Shepheard 2008); it is rarely found in this function elsewhere in folksong tradition.

Another favorite commonplace of both traditional ballads and news broadsides, "upon the gallows tree," occurs in our original (8.2) but is lost at this point in the folksong. But by way of compensation, however, it occurs twice elsewhere: once as a substitute for a less formulaic expression:

7.4 Such young men at the fatal tree   6.4 Three clever young men on the gallows tree

and once in the folksong's new material (st. 9.4): "You can claim their bodies from the gallers tree."

Several of these instances of formulaic phrases or commonplaces, in occurring more than once in the song, have added to the roster of verbal repetitions. Of what remains perhaps the smallest, but still, I think significant, is the way two quite similar phrases in the original achieve identity in the oral version:

2.2 We lived <u>as you soon shall hear</u>,   1.2 Three daring fellows <u>you all shall hear</u>
6.2 We pleaded guilty <u>as you shall hear</u>,   5.2 They was pleading guilty <u>you all shall hear</u>

The reference to "the [king's] highway" which was lost with the subtraction of st. 1, reappears three times in the derivative, providing repetition between what are now sts. 1,

2, and 3, in the case of the last two also providing a further classic example of the way two lines of similar import in the original achieve much closer verbal repetition in the derivative:

1. To rob and plunder we were bent,   To go robbing along <u>the highway</u> they went
2. We left him as we thought for dead.   <u>And they left him on</u> <u>the highway</u> for dead
3. <u>And left him on the</u> road to bleed.   <u>And they left him on</u> <u>the highway</u> to bleed

Beyond these verbal details there are additions, subtractions, and substitutions that in a more general sense transmute this journalistic account of a specific event into a more "traditional" narrative of a personal tragedy. This includes the drift from the specific to the conventional in empirical information. Thus, while we lose Nuneaton we retain Warwickshire, only it is now the more poetical "fair Warwickshire," and "in fair Warwickshire" may qualify as another formula introduced in the song's oral transmission: the ubiquitous "fair" applied to places in traditional balladry may more often than not relate (at least in Child's corpus) to Scotland, but is sometimes used more specifically of counties and towns, even English (e.g. Child 1965:#139, #169, #289). Weenie Brazil is close to matching this phrasing when he sets the action of "The Cruel Ship Carpenter" in ". . . fair London city, twas near Worcestershire" (Brazils 2007:#2).[10]

We also lose the individual names of the criminals as part of the process by which they become three brothers.[11] That the tragedy is reinforced by their youth (underlined by the appearance of their mother to plead for their lives) probably explains why their specific ages, in contrast, are retained, and the age of young protagonists is often specified in tragic folksongs: "I was scarcely years eighteen of age"; "I was young and in my prime and my age was twenty-one" (MacColl and Seeger 1977:274 and 251—both songs from Gypsy tradition). The sequence of ages in our song, "One eighteen, nineteen and the other twenty" may have enhanced the song's welcome in a Gypsy song tradition that appreciated the poignancy of the last stanza of the well-known "Long a-growing," here as sung by Harry Brazil:

> Now the age of sixteen, he was a married man
> The age of seventeen he was the father of a son
> The age of eighteen all on his grave the grass growed green
> And it soon put an end to his growing.
> (Brazils 2007:#2.25; see also Caroline Hughes, in MacColl and Seeger 1977:17)

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[10] The text in the booklet accompanying the CD, (Stradling 2007:#2) reads ". . . in fair Worcestershire," which is even closer, and may indeed be what the singer intended.

[11] In the process they also acquire a new (common) surname, as one identifies himself as "Will Atkin" (st. 7). This becomes "Will Atkins" in Danny's later versions, and may have had some currency in popular eighteenth-century tradition on robbers and renegades, being the name of the most bloodthirsty of the mutineers who at the end of Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) are abandoned on the desert island (Defoe 1976:264).

But while still young they are more heroic than in the broadside: not merely three brothers but three "daring fellows" (st.1.2) for whom to rob and plunder was a deliberate commitment rather than a symptom (as in the original) of social discontent (broadside st. 2.3). There is a corresponding shift towards the heroic in the identity and character of their victim: the real and rather prosaic "Mr. Greenway," who in the broadside (st. 3.1) is not even dignified by the horse he was riding in the newspaper accounts, becomes a figure better qualified as the antagonist of "daring" highway robbers: "Lord Granuaille" (st. 2.1), with a dashing "coach and four" (st. 2.2).

The latter feature—the exact number of horses varying for the sake of rhyme—almost certainly derives from song tradition (e.g., Child 1965:#12H, #53, #204, #232), where an impressive equipage is a symbol of wealth (like the "coach and three" in Danny's own version of "Lord Bateman," Child 1965:#53 [Brazils 2007:#3.25]) and can indeed identify the owner as a suitable victim of highway robbery. But in the latter function there could be a more direct intertextual influence from one particular song or another. As we have seen in other connections, Danny's own repertoire included a ballad on the career of a highwayman, "Brandon on the Moor" (Brazils 2007:#2.32), which by the time it was recorded in 1977 (and in other oral versions consulted) lacks the relevant episodes, but a fuller, broadside version has him rob two victims qualified precisely by their ostentatious vehicles: "<u>A coach and six horses</u> . . ." / "<u>A coach and four horses</u>, Brannan chanced to spy."[12] Some kind of interaction between the two songs is suggested by the other parallels between Danny's versions of each already touched on. To these it can be added that as in our original broadside Brandon encounters some of his victims on "the king's highway," but another victim, as in "Three Brothers," "along the highway," and in both songs the person concerned is relieved of his watch; Brandon's name is also a matter of interest to the authorities. A comic highway robbery song, "Three jolly sneaksmen," recorded in 1907 from a singer in Portsmouth (and apparently nowhere else), also involves a coach-driving victim in a stanza otherwise reminiscent of the oral version of "Three Brothers":

> <u>Three</u> jolly sneaksmen <u>they</u> all set out
> <u>To rob and plunder</u> without a doubt
> When a <u>coach and</u> six came rattling by
> Stop stop coachman they all did cry.

And the fate of the robbers is very similar:

> Our '<u>sizes</u> and sessions is drawing near
> And <u>at the bar </u>they did<u> appear</u>
> When the <u>judge</u> cast round his rolling eye
> Saying My jolly little sneaksmen, you're bound for <u>to die</u>. (Purslow 1968:111)

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[12] "Bold Brannan on the Moor." National Library of Scotland 2008, "The Word on the Street," http://www.nls.uk/broadsides/broadside.cfm/id/16810/transcript/1.

"Lord Granuaille" himself, or his name at least, has an uncommonly precise origin in the Brazil family repertoire, which includes a favorite of Irish folksong tradition, "Poor old Granuaille" or "Dear Old Erin's Shore" (Brazils 2007:#1.28, sung by Harry Brazil), presumably encountered during the Brazils' lengthy sojourn in Ireland. It is a nationalist lament for lost freedom, symbolized in a mythical female figure whose original was a rumbustious lady pirate from Elizabethan times, Grace O'Malley, of whose Gaelic form "Granuaille" (in various spellings) is a corruption (Chambers 2003).[13]

Not surprisingly, the changes undergone by the song between the first and last recorded performances by Danny Brazil are distinctly limited compared to the impact of oral tradition over the century and one-half following the song's publication in 1818, and have no generic implications: the song is no more and no less balladic in 1995 than it was in 1966. This verbal stability indicates very clearly that at least during this phase of oral tradition (even in a predominantly illiterate subculture) performance entailed retrieving verbal material from the memory, rather than improvising a reconstruction on the basis of a remembered storyline, deploying traditional devices like formulas and repetitions. The oft-noted instability of Gypsy songs, notably the tendency to conglomerate stanza sequences from different songs (MacColl and Seeger 1977:12-13; 24; Stradling 2000:9), has prompted discussion that Gypsy singers may to this degree improvise in the course of performance (Yates 2003:5; Yates 2006:23-24), but while at some point in the past our song experienced a substantial injection of material from specific songs or the general tradition, all Danny Brazil's versions, with one proviso already noted and one to come, comprise the same eleven stanzas, and the same goes for Lemmie Brazil's version. This includes the appearance in all versions of the same, unorthodox, five-line stanza.

It is equally clear, however, that certain parts of the song are more stable than others, and perhaps not surprisingly the instability is particularly characteristic of those stanzas that have been added to the broadside, or have been most radically altered before we get to the first recorded performances: these are also, as it happens, the stanzas encompassing the song's major instances of verbal—incremental—repetition.

This less stable material is to be found exclusively in the trial scene, and the opening five stanzas, taking us from the robbery through the escape, apprehension, and imprisonment to the beginning of the trial, are reproduced more or less verbatim on each occasion. Such variation as does occur is worth noting only to the extent it involves the generation of (very small) patterns of verbal repetition, and is restricted to two—as it happens related—lines. The second line of the song as first recorded from Danny Brazil, begins:

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[13] As previously noted, the present study does not extend to musical aspects of the song, but the latter can of course have implications for the words sung, and I am grateful to Peter Shepheard (personal communication) for the observation that Danny Brazil sings this song to a melody in 3/2 time, which allows the option of five stresses per line, a factor that has contributed to the lengthening of some lines (in relation to the broadside) with additional syllables. There is a transcript of the tune in Shepheard 2008. Peter Shepheard also reports that while he has encountered this tune in Gypsy tradition it is not used by the Brazil family for any of their other songs (which might have had implications for verbal interference).

1966: Three daring fellows

(followed by Lemmie Brazil in the same year), but is subsequently rendered variously as:

1977: Three daring <u>young</u> fellows
1978: Three daring <u>brothers</u>
1995: Three daring <u>young</u> fellows.

The line has effectively made two attempts—only one in the upshot sustained—to establish or enhance verbal links with other lines in the song. The "young" of 1977/95 would add this line to the already impressive list referring to the youth of the robbers (st. 5, "three young men," st. 7, "young men three," st. 6, "you young men three"; "Three clever young men"), while the "brothers" of 1978 produces a closer parallel to the preceding line:

1978: All for three <u>brothers</u> in fair Warwickshire
Three daring <u>brothers</u> you all shall hear.

This may suggest that even after 1966 "Henry Martin," in some version other than Danny's, continued to exert an influence, as it can open with a similar construction (Bronson 1959-72:#250.8; cf. #250.5, 7, 10):

Three loving <u>brothers</u> from Old Scotland,
Three loving <u>brothers</u> were they . . .

or simply that the two songs responded similarly to the pressure to generate internal repetitions.

And it is the designation of the robbers that constitutes the other, minor, instability in these opening phases. Danny Brazil's sixth stanza (st. 6.5) is consistent through all his performances in its anticipation that spectators will be shocked to see:

1966: Three clever young men on the gallows tree.

This line thus participates in the incantatory repetitions of "young men" just noted, but Lemmie Brazil has instead:

Three <u>daring</u> young <u>fellers</u> on the gallows tree

which makes the line a closer verbal parallel to the second line of the first stanza (as they both sang it):

1966: Three <u>daring</u> <u>fellows</u> you all shall hear.

The impression of a song seeking (but not always sustaining) verbal repetitions, or achieving repetitions that are unstable within themselves, is confirmed by the larger-scale instability represented by the new, or significantly altered, material. In tradition the song developed an incremental set of two questions from the judge (about ages and names, respectively) out of the one question (about ages) in the original, but it will be recalled that while he later acknowledged he did know it, when Danny Brazil performed the "Three Brothers" in 1966 he did not sing the additional stanza. Sister Lemmie, who jogged his memory, has both stanzas in her version. Danny dutifully retains both stanzas in all his subsequent performances, but instability persists, in that the order of the questions varies.

Most unstable of all, however, is the totally new episode, the plea of their mother that the three brothers be spared (sts. 8-10). Its initial stanza (st. 8) containing the mother's plea, "At the bar their poor mother 'peared . . ." is effectively reproduced verbatim in all performances, but the next two stanzas (sts. 9-10), with the incremental responses of the judge and the brothers, are extremely fluid (although the order of speakers remains constant), and the instability also encompasses the degree of verbal repetition involved. Most drastic, but in some ways least significant, is the swapping of the second line-couple between the stanzas. Both replies inform the mother that the decisive event will occur "tomorrow morning," but sometimes it is the Judge who says:

> For tomorrow morning at the hour of three
> You can claim <u>their</u> bodies from the gallers tree
> > (Danny 1966, 1978, 1995)

sometimes (with appropriate adjustment of pronoun) the brothers themselves:

> Tomorrow morning at the hour of three
> You may claim <u>our</u> bodies from the gallow's tree
> > (Lemmie 1966; Danny 1977)

When this happens, accordingly, the other response shifts from the brothers:

> Tomorrow morning <u>that is the day</u>
> From all <u>our</u> friends <u>we</u> must die away
> > (Danny 1966, 1978, 1995)

to the Judge:
> For tomorrow morning <u>at the dawn of day</u>,
> From all <u>their</u> friends <u>they</u> must die away.
> > (Lemmie 1966; Danny 1977).

It will be noticed that there is a variation within this variation in the way the first line oscillates between "that is the day" (Danny 1966, 1978 and 1995) and "at <u>the dawn of day</u>" (Lemmie 1966 and Danny 1977). The latter phrase has the air of an alliterating

formula, but in may derive from another song in family tradition, the line "Early one morning by <u>the dawn of the day</u>" occuring in versions of "The Cruel Ship Carpenter" recorded from both Weenie and Danny (Brazils 2007:#2.1&2).

The first two lines of these two stanzas (9 & 10) offer a kaleidoscope of variations involving several words or phrases. Of the two 1966 versions, that of Lemmie Brazil is technically more "correct" in sustaining the rhyme-scheme:

9.   Oh no dear woman you have come too late,
        We have just told them of their shocking fate;

10.   It's go you home dearest mother dear,
        You have come too late for out time is near.

As sung by Danny Brazil the same year, the two linked stanzas achieve more verbal repetition (by internal contamination), but at the expense of the rhyme:

9.   <u>It's go you home dearest</u> woman <u>dear</u>
        We have just told them of their shocking fate

10.   <u>It's go you home dearest </u>mother <u>dear</u>
        You have come too late for our time is near.

While the second lines are quite different, the first now differ only in their addressee: "woman" when the Judge is speaking, while the brothers say "mother." This arrangement fails to maintain itself however, and as in other respects Danny's handling of these lines in 1977 falls into line with that of Lemmie Brazil in 1966. In 1978, however, by a massive internal contamination that maintains the rhyme scheme intact while substituting a whole line he achieves two highly repetitive lines, in which only one word varies to suit the identity of the speaker:

9.   It's go you home dearest woman dear
        <u>You have come too late for</u> the <u>time is near</u>

10.   It's go you home dearest women dear
        <u>You have come too late for</u> our <u>time is near</u>.

This is effectively an example of the internal contamination process in oral tradition taking verbal parallelism too far. There is virtually no increment in the repetition, and in 1995 Danny makes a tactical withdrawal to increase the incremental element to a slightly more adequate level:

9.   It's go you home dearest <u>woman</u> dear
        You have come too late for <u>their</u> time it's near

10.   It's go you home dearest <u>mother</u> dear
        You have come too late for our time it's near.

These changes are occurring simultaneously with the similar variations in the second two lines of these stanzas glanced at a moment ago, giving a range of permutations defying clear presentation, but it will have been seen that the number of units involved is limited, as is the variation within a given line. The sequence of four stanzas just examined, one deriving from the broadside, one generated out of it by reproduction-with-variation, and the two new stanzas (the one probably bifurcating from the other), form a kind of playground for this song's verbal instability, perhaps appropriate for its one really dramatic scene, while the remaining—more narrative—part of the song progresses, as we have seen, on its relatively steady way.

Amidst all the detail, discernible trends seem to emerge that may provide valuable insights into the way oral tradition impacts on verbal performance culture, at least in the field of narrative song. Over the long term, the trend clearly is towards the "balladesque"—a more impersonal, dramatic, and stark narrative, deploying more formulas and displaying more repetition patterns, and it is hard not to suspect that similar processes operated at other times, on original narrative songs other than broadsides, to produce late medieval or early modern ballads of the likes of "St. Stephen and Herod," "Robin and Gandelyn," or "The Battle of Otterburn." In studies of broadsides in tradition, with only the beginning and the latter end of the sequence available, we normally cannot see the myriad of tactical variations by which this strategic result was achieved in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. But in this instance the additional material from Gypsy tradition, both of Danny Brazil's later performances of this song and the intertextual environment of other songs (in their many variants) in which it had to survive by evolving, seems indeed to reveal a distinctly Darwinian world in which various options are tried out, but of which only the "fittest" survive—in the true Darwinian sense of best fitted to the given circumstances.

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Appendix 1

Surviving Copies of "The Lamentation of W. Warner T. Ward & T. Williams"[14]

THE Lamentation OF W. Warner T. Ward & T Williams, who were executed at Warwick, August 14, 1818, for highway robbery.

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[14] For help in identifying, locating and acquiring broadsides versions I am grateful to Roy Palmer, Assistant Librarian Peta Webb of the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, London, and Special Collections Librarian Craig Simpson of Kent State University Libraries and Media Services.

THEOPHILUS BLOOMER, BIRMINGHAM

Bloomer evidently printed the ballad several times, as the accompanying "slip" ballads on the sheet (when it has not been divided) vary. The copies consulted form two groups, distinguished by the spelling of a word ("of" vs. "off") in the third line of the first stanza:

A. (st. 1.3: "Cut <u>of</u> just in the bloom of day")

> # Kent, Ohio. Kent State University Library, Special Collections, Borowitz Crime Ephemera: Criminal Broadsides of 19th-Century England, Inventory No. 67C (oversize box 2).
> # Cambridge. Cambridge University Library, Madden Collection, 21 (Country Printers 6) item no. 22

> # London. Vaughan Williams Memorial Library. *Cecil Sharp Scrapbook of Songs and Ballads*, p. 193.

> # London. Vaughan Williams Memorial Library. *Cecil Sharp Scrapbook of Songs and Ballads*, p. 261.

> # Cambridge. Cambridge University Library, Madden Collection, 21 (Country Printers 6) item no. 15

B. (st. 1.3: "Cut <u>off</u> just in the bloom of day")

> # London. Vaughan Williams Memorial Library. *Cecil Sharp Scrapbook of Songs and Ballads*, p. 194.

SHIPWAY, CIRENCESTER

> # Cambridge. Cambridge University Library. Madden Collection, 23 (Country Printers 8), item no. 647

Appendix 2

Brazil Family Versions of "Three Brothers in Fair Warwickshire"[15]

 # Danny Brazil, 1966

> Recorded by Peter Shepheard, Gloucester, 6 May 1966
> > Springthyme Archive 66.5.1
> > > -- cited here on the basis of transcript (and notes) supplied by Peter Shepheard.
> > > -- also accessible in Shepheard 2008

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[15] My thanks to Rod Stradling and Peter Shepheard for help in identifying and distinguishing the oral versions. Shepheard 1967 has a conglomerate text based on Danny Brazil 1966 and Lemmie Brazil 1966; also accessible in Shepheard 2008.

 # Danny Brazil, 1977

  Recorded by Gwilym Davies, Staverton, December 1977

      -- cited here on the basis of Stradling 2007:#2.18

 # Danny Brazil, 1978

  Recorded by Mike Yates, Gloucester, 78.2.19.

       -- cited here on the basis of Yates 1983:4

       -- also printed in Yates 2006:111-13 [ten stanzas only: lacks stanza 10 of Yates 1983

       text]

 # Danny Brazil, 1995

  Recorded by Gwilym Davies, Staverton, 95.4.13

       -- cited here from Brazils 2007:#2.18 [transcribed TP]

 # Lementina ("Lemmie") Brazil 1966

  Recorded (in part; recited) and discussed with Peter Shepheard, Walham Tump, Gloucester, 28
December 1966

    Springthyme Archive 66.9.2

       -- cited here on the basis of transcript and notes supplied by Peter Shepheard

       -- also accessible in Shepheard 2008

 # Danny and Lemmie Brazil 1966

       -- also accessible in Shepheard 2008

Discography

Brazils 2007   *The Brazil Family: Down by the Riverside*. MTCD 345-7. Stroud: Musical Traditions Records.

Gypsies 1998   *My Father's the King of the Gypsies—Music of English and Welsh Travellers and Gypsies*, The Voice of the People, vol. 11. Topic TSCD 661.

Gypsies 2003   *Here's Luck to a Man . . . : An Anthology of Gypsy Songs and Music from South-East England*. Musical Traditions MTCD320.

Smith 2000   *Wiggy Smith: Band of Gold*. Musical Traditions MT CD 307.

Yates 2006   Mike Yates. *Traveller's Joy: Songs of English and Scottish Travellers*. London: English Folk Dance and Song Society. Accompanying CD.

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De-composition in Popular Elizabethan Playtexts:
A Revalidation of the Multiple Versions of *Romeo and Juliet* and *Hamlet*

Lene Petersen

Recomposition and De-composition in Playtexts and Folk Texts

When Grimm's folktales returned to the folk, they tended to become purified and in many ways have again approached the abstract style that was weakened by Wilhelm Grimm. According to the Swiss folklorist Max Lüthi (1986:110-11), a rendition of the *Cinderella* tale narrated by a North German farm worker "restores the sort of progression of clearly defined elements (*Steigerung*) that strives for clear and simple visibility and that had become effaced in Grimm's mistier, more poetical phrasing . . . in oral tradition it corrects itself."

The aim of this article is to establish some premises for comparing the transmission of playtexts of the early modern stage with the transmission of folk material. My central question is whether playtexts and ballad and tale texts "de-compose" in similar ways, and, if they do, whether we may then predict a similar "goal product" that can only be achieved through transmission. The detailed comparison of traditionalized ballads and Elizabethan playtexts is still a relatively uncharted field of inquiry, and this article thus simultaneously revisits and supplements the few observations published in this field so far.

In the quotation above, referring to the traditional folktale *Cinderella*, Lüthi stresses the power of oral tradition to correct, simplify, and make visible the narrative aspects that aesthetic/authorial composition complicates or obscures in a recorded text. The final product of transmission Lüthi called the *Zielform*,[1] meaning "goal form." He saw the notion of the *Zielform* as relating both to the transmission and form of folk tales and folk epic, and his research, most of which was carried out in the 1960s and 1970s, assumes that under the right auspices a given story will transform according to certain expected (and hence predictable) corrective "laws" as it evolves and multiplies into different versions. During this process the tale may be *zurechterzählt*, "told into shape," or possibly *zerzählt*, meaning "dis-told," or "told out of shape." Either way, the mutation process that a given story undergoes in tradition is seen to be positive and necessary to the formal survival of that story.

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[1] The German plural is formed by adding –e/–en: "*Zielforme/formen*," depending on grammatical case. I have however opted for the anglicized plural "*Zielform<u>s</u>*" where appropriate.

Cecil Sharp's view of the evolutionary adaptability of the traditional folk ballad was similar (1923:38):

> In the evolution of species of the animal and vegetable worlds, those variations will be preserved which are of advantage to their possessors in the competition for existence. In the evolution of folk [songs] . . . the corresponding principle of selection is the taste of the community. Those . . . variations, which appeal to the community, will be perpetuated, as against those which attract the individual only.

By using examples of variant versions of traditionalized English broadside ballads alongside the multiple-text Shakespearean plays *Romeo and Juliet* and *Hamlet*, I hope to illustrate how a similar selective mechanism can be detected in the transmission of early modern playtexts. I also want to illustrate how the formative importance of transmission is made apparent in such texts through the generation of certain identifiable stylo-structural features. Given that I shall be referring recurrently to the terms "transmission" and "tradition" in this article I should like clarify from the start what I mean by those terms in relation to popular stage plays. By the *transmission* of playtexts, I mean the long-term interaction between stage-performance and print distribution over time, in the sense described by Adam Fox (2000:5). *Tradition*, then, is defined as the equally time-dependent accumulation of identifiable textual witnesses (extant and lost) produced by transmission. Thus recordings of the Hamlet story in various playtexts formats (octavo, quarto, folio), along with related forms such as plots, parts, and play summaries in table books and diaries, all belong to the tradition of *Hamlet*, as do ballads of the kind referred to as "residuals" by Bruce R. Smith.

In "Shakespeare's Residuals," published recently in a collection of essays on *Shakespeare and Elizabethan Popular Culture*, Smith argues that there is a sustained relationship of cultural residuality between Elizabethan stage plays and ballads, suggesting that plays and ballads enter into a reciprocal living tradition where the repeat performances of, particularly, broadside ballads is comparable to the dissemination processes of the Elizabethan stage (2006:193). Smith's viewpoints appear corroborated by Fox (2000); however, it is not necessary to shift media from play to ballad to experience the mechanism of residualism as he defines it. Such residualism becomes apparent even within Shakespeare's own canon whenever a play has been fortunate enough to survive for long enough in a sustained performance/print tradition. In the multiple-text plays, and in particular in the short texts usually known as "bad quartos," we thus have evidence of plays behaving according to the mechanics and aesthetics of the popular ballad in several significant and predictable ways, while still retaining the form of stage play.

Transmission and Biological Metaphors

Biological metaphors of selection and survival continue to be crop up in the study of folk material—from the studies of Vladimir Propp (1968) to Smith (1999; 2006)—and so ought to perhaps also be relevant when considering the transmission of early modern playtexts (or indeed

any texts determined by transmission). The biological metaphor central to this article is the notion of the *de-composing* narrative/story/text, a notion I want to pursue in tandem with Lüthi's theory of the *goal form* and with reference to Smith's "residuals."

One way to illustrate the relevance of the de-composition metaphor is the striking analogue of the de-composition of the body-text seen below. The so-called cadaver tomb (also known as "double-decker tomb") depicted here is the fifteenth-century tomb of Bishop Henry Chichele at Canterbury Cathedral, Kent, United Kingdom.[2] As the ballad scholar Thomas Pettitt has already expressed elsewhere,[3] this type of tomb presents a striking working metaphor for the time-determined, organically reduced narrative, where the full body-form is shown in conjunction with the reduced bare and essential "skeletal" form below:

**The cadaver tomb of Henry Chichele in
Canterbury Cathedral, United Kingdom**

While Pettitt has previously employed this simile, the resurrection tomb pictured on the next page (belonging to Thomas Spryng of Lavenham, Norfolk, United Kingdom, and dated 1486) is included here for the first time. This model shows the deceased casting aside his shroud, rising, and growing in size again, and so suggesting a possible extended metaphor for the continuation of transmission. I am going to elaborate further on this suggestion later.

What becomes very clear through the cadaver tomb metaphor is the reduction of the fuller version of a narrative into eventually only the bone structure of that narrative; what Lüthi would call the *Zielform*, or goal form. Simultaneously, the de-composition of the body-text stresses the narrative's part in a larger, organic context of cyclical de- *and* re-composition, through the ongoing *activity* of de-composition (cf. worms/rot; a cadaver is a de-compos*ing* corpus).

Combined with the resurrection tombs, which unite the shrouds and skeletons with resurrection imagery where the dead body rises again at the last trumpet and regains flesh and

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[2] The image is reproduced here by permission of the National Monument Record.

[3] Private correspondence.

former size, we see how the skeletal story, perhaps after a period of lying dormant, is capable of re-entering living tradition: [4]

I believe this compound metaphor is compatible with Smith's argument of residuality, in the sense that ballads were seen to re-form out of Shakespeare's plays while those plays were still in transmission. These resized/reduced forms may have been disseminated via a different medium, namely the sung ballad, but were nevertheless part of the de- and recomposition of the commercial scripts that were play narratives.[5] There is even the possibility that the pared-down ballad versions grew primarily out of already reduced play versions, versions like those preserved in some short, "bad" quartos. If this were the case, the resurrection tomb simile would be particularly relevant to our appreciation of the co-relationship between Elizabethan plays and ballads.

Bearing these analogues in mind, we can now proceed to the main objective of the present experiment, that is, to analyze the so-called "bad" quartos as examples of the most *immediate* Shakespearean residuals. It goes for these forms, as for traditional ballads, that only certain subject matter and structural features appear to survive as they de-compose and move towards their respective "goal forms."

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[4] This illustration is reproduced with the kind permission of the Hon. Secretary of the Monumental Brass Society: http://www.mbs-brasses.co.uk.

[5] Like early modern stage plays, ballad topics might be characterized as historical or pastoral, but particularly popular were sensational "news," "murder," and "hanging" ballads (most often broadsides). Alternatively, ballad subjects could coincide with what was presented on the popular stage. Examples of Elizabethan para-literary ballad subjects are: Arden of Faversham, Titus Andronicus, Doctor Faustus, King Lear, Romeo and Juliet, The Merchant of Venice, Hamlet, The Blind Beggar of Bethnall Green, Patient Grissel, and so forth. See "Old Ballads" in Dicey and Marshall 1764; Cappell and Ebsworth 1871-99; Rollins 1929-32; Child 1882-98; and Sharp 1923.

Applying the "Broadside ballad test" to the "bad" Elizabethan playtexts

In order to carry out a stylo-structural comparison of playtexts with traditionalized ballad texts, we need, of course, playtexts that survive in several versions. Next, it is beneficial to know which play-version is closer to the initial (sometimes dubiously referred to as the "original") version and which versions further removed. In the printed broadside ballads we often have a specific date for the "original" text; particularly, of course, in the case of news and/or murder ballads. In such cases we can thus establish from external evidence that later versions recorded from oral tradition are indeed products of transmission. But there is internal evidence too: transmitted ballad texts will quite often be marked by repetition, formulaic epithets, local additions, omissions, and narrative compression, and while the presence of such stylo-structural features may vary, we recognize them as characteristic of transmitted ballad narratives (for example, Anderson et al. 1982:7). The dating of the early modern playtexts is much harder. Using external evidence we can attempt to establish chronologies based on entries in the Stationer's Register and printed publication data, but such dating methods do not often establish which quarto version of a play is derivative (in relation to an "original" version), or indeed *how* derivative a playtext is. Locating internal evidence, like repetition, formulaic epithets, local additions, omissions, and narrative compression, in the style and structure of a playtext may therefore be one way of telling that such a text has been through an oral-memorial transmission process.[6] Moreover, locating a high presence of such features might indicate a long (or, at least, intense) career-in-transmission.

The transmission of broadside ballads provides an almost ideal medium for illustrating how interpenetrations across oral, printed, and scribal traditions contribute to the production, dissemination, and reception of early commercial texts. Frequently originating in printed form, broadsides would be orally sung by ballad-sellers, and subsequently purchased, over-heard, memorized, or even copied in manuscript form by audiences representing a wide range of social classes and evincing various degrees of literacy. In the transmission of the broadsides, the media of speech, script, and print seem to blend seamlessly, as Adam Fox (2000:5) points out:

> Then as now, as song or a story, an expression or a piece of news could migrate promiscuously between these three vehicles of transmission as it circulated around the country, throughout society, and over time. There is no necessary antithesis between oral and literate forms of communication and preservation, the one did not have to destroy or undermine the other. If anything the written word tended to augment the spoken, reinventing it and making it anew, propagating its contents, heightening its exposure, and ensuring its continued vitality, albeit sometimes in different forms.

Importantly, prior to re-use, these "stories for singing" were not "traditional" per se, although potentially they could become so. Similar to the Elizabethan playwrights' manuscripts, some of them started out as individuated, written "versions" on similar topics—or "original" reworkings of traditional material already in existence. While some of the broadsides represent rehashed

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[6] See also Pettitt 2001:416-17.

versions of already traditional material, this particular kind of ballad, like the stories told on stage in the popular Elizabethan playhouses, is dependent on print for its proliferation and continued life. Print thus ensured the ballad's continued existence by moving the ballad narrative from oral tradition into print only to allow it to pass back into oral tradition once again.

It may be seen from the extant multiple-text ballads in print that a broadside behaves according to the aesthetics of the "real" folk ballad (oral tradition) only if it survives in transmission long enough. It might not be traditional in the sense that it was handed down from generation to generation by private singers, who learn and perform the words of a song and structure it by means of what Albert Lord and Milman Parry call "formulaic composing," yet when it enters oral tradition it nonetheless attains a form marked by repetition, formulaic epithets, local additions, omissions, and narrative compression. It has become a "ballad" through tradition.[7] Similarly, one might argue that the short quartos achieve their independent forms ("goal forms") only through entering tradition, as they too become marked by repetition, formulaic epithets, local additions, omissions, and narrative compression.

In an article first published in 1996, Thomas Pettitt analyzes the ballad tradition of *Maria Martin*, a narrative broadside that has gained traditional ballad status through plentiful oral renditions, many of which were recorded; and where repetitious patterning is clearly visible. This is an example of the initial broadside version, composed by a "ballad hack" and printed in 1828, within a year of the events described in the song. It is compared to a derivative version recorded from oral tradition as sung by Robert Feast at Ely in 1911:[8]

1828. Verses 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12	**1911.** Verses 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6
I went into her father's house	I went into her father's house
The 18th day of May	On the eighteenth day of May
And said my dear Maria	I said He's come my dearest Maria
We will fix a wedding day	We'll fix the wedding day.
If you'll meet me at **the Red Barn**	If you'll meet me at **the Red Barn**
As sure as I have life	**Floor**
I will take you to Ipswich town	As sure as you're alive
And there make you my wife	I'll take you down to Ipswich Town
	And make you my dear bride
I then went home and fetched my gun	He straight went home and fetched his gun
my pickaxe and my spade	His pickaxe and his spade,
I went unto the **Red Barn**	He went unto **the Red Barn Floor**
And I dug her grave	and he dug poor Maria's grave

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[7] For further corroboration of this argument, see Andersen et al. 1982:2, 4, 5.

[8] The broadside version was first printed by James Catnach in 1828 and sold 1,116,000 copies. The example is quoted in Andersen et al. 1982:77-83 and in Pettitt 2001:417. Another oral version, collected from Joseph Taylor of Lincolnshire in 1908, retains only verses 1, 2, and 7.

With her heart so light she thought no harm	This poor girl she thought no harm
To meet me she did go	But to meet him she did go
I murdered her **all in the barn**	She went unto **the Red Barn Floor**
And laid her body down	And he laid her body low
(. . .)	
Her mother's mind being sore disturbed	Her mother dreamed three dreams one night
She dreamed a dream she saw	She ne'er could get no rest
Her **daughter she lay murdered**	She dreamed **she saw her daughter dear**
Beneath the Red Barn floor	**Lay** bleeding at the breast
She sent the father to the Barn	Her father went into the barn
Where he the ground did thrust	And up the boards he took
And **there he found his daughter**	There **he saw his daughter dear**
Lay mingling with the dust	**Lay** mingled in the dust.

Here we notice the repetitious patterns that have arisen, the omission of initial verses, along with verses eight, nine, and ten of the broadside text, and also, remarkably, the scene of the crime, that is "the barn," has become terminologically homogenized, or streamlined, as "the red barn floor."

Another example, quoted below, is the traditional ballad *House Carpenter* (also known as *James Harris* or *The Daemon Lover*). Recorded versions of the song abound. It survives in Child as #243A-H, and appears to have its origin in an early broadside entered in the Stationers' Register February 21, 1657, called *A Warning for Married Women*.[9] In this instance, for obvious reasons, we are less sure of chronology. However, it is established that "text one" is the version given in Child as #243F (i.e., recorded pre-1884) and that "text three" represents a Canadian version, recorded from oral tradition in 1961, as sung by the folksinger LaRena Clark.[10] Text two is an intermediary English version.[11]

Text 1.	Text 2.	Text 3.
"O where have you been,	Well met, well met,	"Well met, well met,

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[9] The full title of the broadside is *A Warning for Married Women, being an example of Mrs Jane Reynolds (a West-country woman), born near Plymouth, who, having plighted her troth to a Seaman, was afterwards married to a Carpenter, and at last carried away by a Spirit, the manner how shall presently be recited. To a West-country tune called "The Fair Maid of Bristol," "Bateman" or "John True."* Initials of a possible "author" ("L. P.") are on a copy of the broadside in the Euing Collection. They are also to be found in the sale catalog of one Richard Herber's library, ca. 1832, and may stand for "Lawrence Price," a well-known seventeenth-century "ballad hack." See Holloway 1971:#377. The text has some similarities to the nineteenth- and twentieth-century "Well met, well met" variants. Thus verses 22-25 feasibly are the origin of subsequent versions' opening verses.

[10] Fowke 1973:186-87, no. 81 as sung by Larena Clark, Toronto, 1961.

[11] This text is listed on Lesley Nelson's electronic database of Child Ballads as an "English version." No source or singer is given, but the version contains elements from Child #243B and F. See http://www.contemplator.com/child/carpentereng. html/.

Column 1

my long, long love,
This long seven years and mair?”
O I’m come to seek my
former vows
Ye granted me before.
 (plus verses 2,3)
I might hae had a **king’s
daughter**,
Far, far beyond the sea;
“I might have had a **king’s
daughter**,
Had it not been for love o thee.”

If ye might have had a **king’s
daughter,**
Yer sel ye had to blame;
Ye might have taken **the king’s
daughter**,
For ye kend that I was nane.

(. . . 6)

I have seven ships upon the sea
The eighth brought me to land
With **four-and-twenty** bold
mariners,
And music on every hand.”

She has taken up her **two little
babes**,
Kissd them baith cheek and chin:
“O fair ye weel, my ain **two
babes**,
For I’ll never see you again.”

(. . . 9, 10)

They had not saild a league, a
league,
A league but barely three,
Until she espied his cloven foot,

Column 2

my own true love
Well met, well met, cried he
I’ve just returned from the
salt, salt sea
And it’s all for the love of thee
O I could have married the
king’s daughter dear
And she would have married me
But I have refused the
crown of gold
And it’s all for the sake of thee

If you **could have married the
king’s
daughter dear**
I’m sure you are to blame
For I am married to the house
carpenter
And he is a fine young man

 (. . . verses 4,5)

I’ve **six** ships sailing on the
salt, salt sea
A-sailing from dry land
And a hundred and **twenty**
jolly young men
Shall be at thy command

She picked up her poor wee **babe**
And kisses gave him three
Saying stay right here with the
house carpenter
And keep him good company

They had not been at sea
two weeks
I’m sure it was not three
When this poor maid began to

Column 3

my own true love
And very well met,” said he.
“I have just returned from the
salt, salt sea,
And it’s all for the sake of thee.
I could have married a
queen’s daughter,
And she would have married me,
“But I refused a crown of gold,
And it’s all for the sake of thee.”

If you **could have married** a
queen’s daughter,
Then she **should have married**
thee,
For me, young man, you have
came too late,
For I’ve married a house
carpenter.”
(. . . verses 4, 5)

I have **seven** ships at sea
And seven more in port,
And a hundred and **twenty-four
jolly, jolly** boys,
And they all will wait on thee.”

She called then her **two
pretty babes**
And **she** kissed them most
tenderly,
Saying, ‘Stay at home,
my **two pretty babes’**
And bear your own father
company.’

She had not sailed on sea
two weeks,
I’m sure not sailed on three,
Till here she sat in her

And she wept right bitterlie.

O hold your tongue of your **weeping**, says he,
"Of your **weeping** now let me be;
I will shew you how the lilies grow
On the banks of Italy."

O what hills are yon, yon pleasant hills,
That the sun shines sweetly on?"
"O you are the hills of heaven,'
he said,
"Where you will never win."

"O whaten a mountain is yon,"
she said,
"All so dreary wi frost and snow?"
"O yon is the mountain of hell,"
he cried,
"Where you and I will go."
(. . .15)

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weep
And she wept most bitterly
O do you weep for your gold, he said
Your houses, your land, or your store?
Or do you weep for your house carpenter
That you never shall see anymore

I do not weep for my gold, she said
My houses, my land or my store
But I do weep for my poor wee babe
That I never shall see anymore

They had not been at sea three weeks
I'm sure it was not four
When in their ship there sprang a leak
And she sank to rise no more

What hills, what hills are those,
my love
That are so bright and free
Those are the hill of Heaven, my love
But not for you and me

What hills, what hills, are those, my love
That are so dark and low
Those are the hills of Hell, my love
Where you and I must go

---

new husband's cabin,
Weeping most bitterly.
 "Oh, do you weep for gold ?" he said,
"Or do you weep for fear?
Or do you weep for your house carpenter
That you left **when you came here**?"

I do not weep for gold," she said,
Nor do I weep for fear,
But I do weep for my two pretty babes
That I left **when I came here."**

She had not sailed on sea three weeks,
I'm sure not sailed on four,
Till overboard her fair body she threw
And her weeping was heard no more.

Her curse did attend a sea sailor's life,
Her curse did attend a sailor's life,
For the robbing of a house carpenter,
And stealing away his wife

Neither Text 1 nor Text 2 above represents an "original" version of *House Carpenter/The Demon Lover*, and both contain (to some degree) some of the phenomena expected to

accumulate in tradition. The late Text 3, however, distinctly shows a very high degree of streamlining/patterning of phraseology, the generation of balances and triads for framing conceptual patterns, new small-scale repetition, and in this case alternative final verses. The economy of Text 3 is also noticeable in the "loss" of verses compared to Text 1's 15 and Text 2's 13. Compared with Text 1, and on the basis of the stylo-structural tendencies evinced by the *Maria Martin* example where dates are known, one would thus conclude that the latter text is almost certainly derivative and, moreover, likely to be further removed in tradition than Text 2.

Examples of condensation and increased patterning are multitudinous in studies of transmitted ballad texts, but similar lessons could be drawn from Middle English romances, late medieval mummers' plays, mystery plays and *gestes* (McGillivray 1990; Halvorsen 1977). With Pettitt's study of the A text of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* and the "bad" Octavo of *The Massacre at Paris* (2003a:15, 20, 28), some evidence is already provided that a similar accumulation of traditional, "balladic" features has happened in some "bad" Elizabethan playtexts. Taken one step further, these texts might even be defensible as specimens of nearly realized "goal forms" of earlier, somehow more authorial, versions.

Of the surviving Shakespearean multiple-text plays, the texts of *Romeo and Juliet* (written ca. 1595, texts: 1597, 1599, 1623) and *Hamlet* (written ca. 1600, texts: 1603, 1604-5, 1623) are particularly apt for this kind of analysis. First, both plays survive in *three* substantive English versions: a first quarto, a second quarto, and a folio equivalent, but just as importantly both plays exist in seventeenth-century German derivatives, making up a total of four closely related texts that can be placed in discrete narrative traditions. For *Hamlet*, writing, performance, and recording/publication stretches from ca. 1600 to 1781, including the text of *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*,[12] while the immediate tradition of *Romeo and Juliet* covers a time span from ca. 1595–1640, including the version *Romius und Julietta*.[13] In terms of the extant multiple-text plays dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this constitutes particularly good evidence of stylo-structural adaptability over long periods of time.[14] Or, as a folklorist might say of a ballad, the plays provide suitably long careers-in-tradition.

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[12] The text may be consulted in Cohn 1865/1971.

[13] The analysis excludes literary versions such as Arthur Brooke's epic poem, prior/parallel literary versions, and the anonymous Latin play *Romius et Juliet,* possibly by John Lyly.

[14] The fact that there are four closely related yet differing versions distinguishes *Hamlet* and *Romeo and Juliet* from the remaining Shakespearean multi-text cases: *2* and *3 Henry VI / Contention, True Tragedy, Henry V, Merry Wives of Windsor, Richard III* (*Titus Andronicus* and *The Taming of the/a Shrew*, for which there are also German versions, have shorter traditions and less versions), and the three non-Shakespearean cases: Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, Greene's *Orlando Furioso*, and Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*. Some 31 additional playtexts are listed by Laurie E. Maguire (1996) in the category of "suspect texts," which unfortunately survive in only one edition. While she traces "memorial reconstruction" as a corrupting factor, most of the derivative texts she discusses make excellent check cases on the contrasting theory that the generation of certain "balladic" features compresses and optimizes the play as narrative. It remains unclear why so many texts studied by Maguire are reclassified as "not memorially reconstructed."

The Tests

The stylistic phenomena common to the performative genres of the popular ballad and the popular play can very easily be identified, and have already been mentioned in passing above. They include simple verbal repetition and simple verbal formulae, large-scale structural patterns (frames, balances, triads), dramatic formulae, transposition of text segments, telescoping, omission, and topical additions. These are, not surprisingly, largely the same features that were examined by the Shakespearean New Bibliographers—W. W. Greg, Robert McKerrow, Alfred Hart, G. I. Duthie, Harry Hoppe et al.—as tokens of the memorial transmission theory, and revisited by Laurie E. Maguire in her influential bibliographical study *Shakespearean Suspect Texts* (1996).

By narrowing definitions for some of the above-mentioned phenomena, Maguire tried to single out the features that would indicate *only* oral-memorial transmission in playtexts (and so rule out authorial revision). Methodologically this is what any philologically or stylistically inclined scholar should be aiming for, but I nevertheless believe Maguire makes some mistakes.[15] First, she "under-simplifies" the marker "internal repetition," which in her book is defined as a run of lines showing distinctive vocabulary. Where the work of Greg (1955), Hart (1942), Duthie (1941), and Hoppe (1948) and several studies in traditional folk material had allowed repetition of simple single words and phrases, Maguire insists that, in order to qualify as related to memory/orality, instances of "internal repetition" in playtexts must show length and distinctive vocabulary in order to qualify as oral-memorially determined features (164,168-69).[16] This results in the rather baffling denial of the presence of repetition and verbal formulae in texts like Q1 *Hamlet* (255) and Q1 *Romeo and Juliet* (301), the former of which abounds in simple verbal repetition, while both texts clearly include the latter symptom.

Maguire's work does respond to the "oral debt" of the short versions (she mentions, for instance, Pettitt's work in the field, recognizing that repetition may be a "compositional quiddity of a residually oral culture" (117), but her approach to "repetition" as a stylo-structural marker is by no means obvious. Her study, for instance, tentatively adopts the traditional folk ballad as an analogue to Elizabethan playtext derivation, but not, in fact, the stylistic research achieved in the study of folklore on the style-marker "repetition."

Counter to Maguire's definition, it is probably the case that the more mechanical and functional the repetition (that is, the less distinctive and the more uninteresting), the more likely it is to be an oral-memorial symptom; hence both small-scale *and* large-scale reiteration should be

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[15] Maguire's procedures are similarly queried by Gurr (1999:85).

[16] The same definition is applied to "external echoes": "a run of lines plus distinctive vocabulary" (164). By excluding small-scale echoes, says Maguire, "[t]his distinction provides an important test for memory . . ." (164), but an external echo of any length is arguably a phenomenon where authorial idiosyncrasy, stylistic imitation by one playwright of contemporary famous playwrights, and actors' memorial recollection of lines from other plays could be causative. Unlike "internal repetition," a stricter definition of "external echoes" may be merited (1) to bypass mere resemblance of subject matter if one wants to advocate authorial attribution, and (2) to possibly distinguish between actors' unintentional import of external matter.

considered.[17] When examining repetition in early modern playtexts I therefore retain Harry Hoppe's definition of "internal repetition" as "words, phrases, or passages that are used more than once" (1948:128). All other things being equal, Maguire's general dismissal of the validity of simple repetition as a symptom of oral-memorial reconstruction (and hence oral transmission [170-71]) in early modern playtexts remains surprising.

Now, if Maguire had more explicitly disqualified the feature on the grounds that it crosses over with potentially authorial/rhetorical repetition, it would have been a different matter. The repetition of unique words or phrases is in fact a problematic style-marker exactly because it crosses over between oral-memorial and authorial composition markers. Indeed, which is the oral and which the authorial repetition? Is it even possible that the two species of repetition could be intermixing in a kind of strong variant of Albert Lord's formulaic composition theory (2000), where author-playwrights avail themselves pre-hoc of oral formulae when composing commercial scripts destined for oral-memorial presentation? At worst, this makes none of these repetitious formulae source-specific and, at best, certainly indicates that one has to be extremely careful about basing conclusions concerning a text's provenance exclusively on this style-marker.

Does Maguire underestimate the value of ballad studies as an appropriate analogue for the stylistic study of "bad" playtexts? In certain respects I think she does. She points out two fundamental objections to comparing ballad transmission with playtext transmission. Her first objection is that the traditional ballad is structurally dependent on repetitive formulae, whereas the renaissance playtext "is not"; her second objection is that ballads are given to more frequent performance than plays, over a longer career-in-tradition (125 ff.). The following analysis at least renders her verdict relative (if not void).

Another potential oversight by Maguire is her construing the value of the structural marker "transposition" (a feature found in many of the "bad" texts; considerably in Q1 *Hamlet*, though less so in the *Romeo and Juliet* texts) as positive evidence that a text has been orally-memorially transmitted. According to Murray McGillivray, whose work on oral-memorially transmitted English Romances is indicative of consensus in the field, transpositions are solid evidence that a work was memorized in its entirety at some point (1990:5):

> Memorial transfer, the movement of material from one part of a text to another part, which is physically remote, but which is liable to confusion with it because of similarities in situation, content, or language, is a very secure indication that the entire text in which it occurs has at some stage of its transmission been committed to memory.

Based on the above examples, it is clearly important to keep re-assessing the collection of stylo-structural markers that can indicate that a playtext has been transmitted. To the above selection of style markers derived from Shakespearean bibliography (which is perhaps always going to be biased towards *literary* tradition), I suggest adding the following conceptual structure markers

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[17] The fact that small-scale formulae and verbal inertia may equally derive from the cross-canonical "dramaturgical principle" or a scribe working on an actor's part (Maguire 1996:168-69) far from refutes the role of oral tradition in the transmission of the short texts. Dramaturgical principle and the preparing of a stage document do not reflect particularly literary dimensions of Elizabethan playwrighting.

summarized from Max Lüthi's work on the morphology of the oral-memorially transmitted folktale (1967; 1982):

1. The relative "non-importance" of the author as opposed to "Logos" and structure.
2. Importance of an inner necessity in narrator (actor)/and audience.
3. Importance of an inner necessity in the "story," that is, the plot.
4. Memorial transmission is not so much the reason why the tale transforms, as it is the necessary vessel for the transformation to take place, and the final form to be achieved.
5. Goal striving or orientation.
6. Narrative and dramatic logic and clarity.
7. Abstractness, depthlessness, circumstantial material avoided.
8. Patterning.
9. Isolation of events and characters.

Other stylo-structural features found in transmitted folk texts were summarized by the Danish folklorist Axel Olrik as the "Epic Laws of Folk Narrative" (1909/1965). Some of these stylistic features are in operation in the "bad" Elizabethan playtexts as well, and are therefore listed below (The relevant "laws" are emphasized in boldface type):

1 and 2   The Law of Opening and The Law of Ending: There are no abrupt beginnings or ends.

3   **The Law of Repetition: Every time there is a striking scene in a narrative, and continuity permits, the scene is repeated.** There is simple verbal repetition and intensifying incremental repetition. The *Sage* (tale, epic) cannot attain its fullest form with Internal Repetition.

4   **The Law of Three:** Most common number to occur in structures of folk narrative. Subsides in realistic literature. The law of three reigns supreme in purely oral versions.

5   The Law of Four (Indic tales).

6 and 7   **The Law of Two-to-a-Scene:** Only two people appear on the stage at one time. Interaction between three or more characters is avoided. Characters made to be silent/fall asleep if "on-stage." **The Law of Contrast:** Folk narrative is always polarized: good vs. evil, small vs. large, old vs. young.

8   The Law of Twins.

9   The Law of Initial and Final Position: Whenever a series of persons or things occur, the principal one will come first. Center of gravity of a narrative always lies in the

end. Combined with the Law of Three, triads are established, with focus on the last increment.

10   Single-strandedness. Folk narrative never goes back to fill in missing details.

11   **The Law of Patterning: Two people and two situations of the same sort are not as different, but as similar as possible. The superfluous is repressed and the rest stands out salient and striking.**

12   **Tableaux Scenes: Striking set scenes that appear formulaic.**

13   **Logic and Unity of Plot: Scenes are only there if they have an influence upon the plot. Each narrative element works within it so as to create an event, the possibility of which the listener had seen right from the beginning and never lost sight of.**

14   **Law of Epic Unity (*Transposition)*: Several narrative elements are grouped together in order to best illuminate the relationships between characters/events.**

15   **Law of Concentration on the Leading Character.**

Some Examples of Predictable De-composition in the Playtexts

Following in the footsteps of Maguire, I have re-collated verbal and structural data for omission, repetition, formulae, telescoping, transposition, and addition across the *Romeo and Juliet* and *Hamlet* texts.[18] To these were added frequency counts for some of Olrik's "Epic Laws" in combination with the narrative formalist theories of Max Lüthi (particularly the elements pertaining to what Lüthi calls the *Zielform*). The decision was made to only show examples of omission, repetition, and transposition here, as these features are at the core of the processes involved in the balladic re- and de-composition of the playtexts.

(a) Omission and Zielform

Let us start by looking at the length of the shorter quarto texts, focussing on "narrative economy" across the different versions of *Romeo and Juliet* and *Hamlet*. First, it is apt to state that the short Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet*, with its 2232 lines, is about 25% shorter than the Q2/F1 versions, which both run close to 3000 lines; and that Q1 *Hamlet* at 2155 lines has been reduced by approximately 1745 lines compared with the longest Q2 version (3800 lines) and by approximately 1515 compared with the Folio text. The surviving seventeenth-century German

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[18] I count comparative frequencies in all the early substantive versions of a play, whereas Maguire quantifies the stylo-structural features in the short (suspect) versions only.

versions are even shorter than the Qs. It is also significant that the verbal variation witnessed when comparing the different versions of the plays promotes not only verbal economy, but also new (potentially more logical) narrative structures.

Olrik formulates his law of "Two to a Scene" in folk tales and legends as follows: "Two is the maximum number of characters who appear at one time . . . . The interaction of three or more characters, which is so popular in literary drama, is not allowed in folk narrative" (1909/1965:134-35). He thus posits that, by featuring only two—often antagonistic—characters or themes in one setting, the folk narrator by restricting his focus keeps it clear, and no impeding "noise" disturbs the audience's perception.

In Q1 *Romeo and Juliet* we see a "Two-to-a-scene" reduction in crucial scenes (and stage directions) such as: Q2/F1: "Enter Mercutio, Benvolio and men," which in Q1 becomes: "Enter Benvolio and Mercutio" or Q2/F1: "Enter Prince, olde Montague, Capulet, their wives and all," which in Q1 becomes: "Enter the Prince and Capulet's wife."

In the German derivative *Romio und Julietta* 33.3% of scenes in fact have a two-character focus. Even in cases where three characters are on stage (seven scenes), lines are often distributed between only two. This mechanism means that Lady Capulet is not present in *Romio* 1.2 (Q2 1.3); Montague, Lady Montague "and all" are not present in *Romio* 4.1/2/3[post-fight] (Q2 3.1); and most notably, that Old Montague (and Pages) have vanished from the final scene (Q2 5.3.290ff). Interestingly, Lady Montague is considered superfluous from the start (a rudimentary possibility in Q1, visible in stage directions), and never in fact appears in the play. Combined with what happens in act five, this shows a move to fade out the Montagues altogether—seemingly highlighting the societal standing of Juliet's family in direct relation to that of the Prince (*Fürst*). A different, but no less powerful contrast is achieved.

In Q1 *Hamlet* 15 scenes out of 49 have thus been reduced to a two-character focus (that is, 30.6% of scenes): 1, 7, 11, 13, 14, 16, 26, 28, 30, 39 (Ofelia's First Mad Sc.), 42, 43 (Horatio and the Queen), 44 (The King and Leartes [*sic*] plotting), 45 (The Graveyard Sc.), and 49. In the later German derivative, *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* 17 scenes out of 40 are reduced to a two-character focus (that is, 42.5%): 1.1, 1.2 (one of the two is the ghost), 2.1, 2.2, 2.4, 2.5, 2.6, 2.7, 3.2, 3.3, 3.11, 4.3, 4.4, 4.6, 5.2, 5.4, 5.5.

In the short Q1 *Romeo and Juliet*, an example of what I would call the *Zielforming* of a single source element appears in a minute addition to the final and climactic act five: "Mount: Dread Sovereigne, my wife is dead to night / And yong Benvolio is deceased too . . ." (5.3.212). Now there is nothing explicit in the Q2 or Folio versions of the play that hints that Benvolio too must die. In keeping with Lüthi's theory, however, transmission would reinforce given themes and situations through heightened symmetry and patterning. With Benvolio's death an accentuation of "the tragedy of the young" is achieved. Jay L. Halio has commented on this addition, tracing its origin mainly to intentional theatrical adaptation by actors and/or an author (1995:143). That is, the death of the character Benvolio serves as a deft explanation to the actor Benvolio's disappearance from the stage for the remaining duration of the play (along with other characters such as Lady Capulet and the Nurse, who do not re-enter after this point).

Halio is right to note the practical origin of this change; it cannot be less important that the text itself (or rather its "story/plot") and seems to trigger the addition by striving towards the "symbolic final picture" (Lüthi 1969:173) of the extinction of absolutely everybody of note. It is

documented that oral tradition happens to accentuate specific conceptual situations, such as death, disease, courtship, and marriage in traditional folk narrative. Folklorists have found this to be the case especially with "death scenes" in the ballads (Andersen et al. 1982:58), but it seems that the same tendency is traceable in derivative Elizabethan playtexts as well. The oral-formulaic emphasis on extinction in Q1 *Romeo* is thus mirrored in the German derivative *Romius und Julietta*, which shows similar tendencies, and in Q1 *Hamlet* in the fencing scene mentioned above.

In the German derivative *Romio und Julietta* the narrative reformation involves the lament for the death of all *three* young lovers in the final scene, and the addition of laments for Paris and the excision of old Montague in these scenes create a triad structure, which again emphasizes that this is wholly and exclusively a tragedy of the younger generation.

Indeed, the final tableau scene (5.3.290ff) brings about closure between the older generation: the *Fürst*, Capulet and the *Pater* (notice there is no Montague/retinue), in rhyming couplets, linking the themes of youth, love, and death. Here *all three* dead youths are lamented—not just Romio and Julietta—in a strange exonerating-cum-redemptive speech by the Friar (5.8.337-44):

> Die Fäller der Menschen seindt wunderbahr. Wie leicht die Jugend genaygt zu fellen, ist weltkündig, darumb haben die fäller Rumio, Paris vnd Julieta ins grab gelegt, Herr Graff Capulet Was hier geschehen, ist nicht mehr zu endern, er lege ab seine Schmertzen vnd denckhe: Was hier der Himmel nimbt das kan er widergeben, wir müssen sein bedacht dort vor das ewig leben.

> "Human destiny is mysterious. It is known throughout the world how youth is prone to error; this is the reason why Romeo, Paris, and Juliet have all been laid in the grave. Master Count Capulet, what has happened here can no longer be changed. Lay off your pain and resign yourself thus: what the Heavens take can no more be given back. We must bethink ouselves and think upon eternal life hereafter." [my translation]

Hereafter Capulet pronounces: ". . . seind alle drey gefallen, Die Liebe hat die Schuld" ("all three have died, love is to blame"). Interestingly, nowhere after this is Romio mentioned explicitly. Instead, Capulet commits only Paris to Juliet's tomb. If nothing else, this is logical considering Old Capulet's wish to marry his daughter to Paris rather than Romio.

Q1 *Hamlet* in its present state exhibits perhaps only elementary character reduction. The *Brudermord* version, however, has become extremely streamlined with its general and stable two- and three-character foci, achieved through continental scene division. Approximately half of the scenes in the German playtext feature only two characters, while one-third have "three to a scene."

The First Folio characters of Rosincrance and Guildensterne are wholly excised in *Brudermord* and substituted for by two much less connotative agents in the shape of two royal servants. Fortinbras too is absent, though he is mentioned in a small reference toward the end of the version; and finally, a much less significant agent, namely a "Corporal of the Guard" listed in the *Dramatis Personae* of *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* has vanished.

The operation of restrictive "oral" laws in the "bad" texts to some degree adds a narrative sense of logic to the many attempts by Shakespearean theater historians, from Robert Burkhart (1975) via David Bradley (1992) to Scott McMillin (1992), at establishing just how few players were needed for performance of early modern plays. The above observations suggest that we are not dealing with plays randomly and crudely cut for reduced-cast performance on tour; Q1 *Hamlet* having been squeezed down to a minimum of 11 players[19] (*Brudermord* demanding no "larger speaking cast than five men and two women" [Hibbard 1987:375]). In effect, the observations suggest that certain characters in certain scenes (different ones in the two *Hamlet* derivatives) have proven unimportant to the progression of the plot and thus been excised through transmission.

Laurie Maguire, in her study of "suspect" texts (1996), unfortunately does not explore sustained functional omission as a symptomatic feature of popular playtexts. Literary historian Simon Williams does, but in his brief synopses of the German playtexts of *Brudermord* and *Romio und Julietta* adopts a clearly negative view of the part literary/part oral "skeletalization" of the derivatives (1990:43). Maguire maintains that in a great many "suspect" texts excision is as likely to derive from "scribal or compositorial eye skip," deliberate abridgement, and/or censorship (1996:191) as from oral/memorial transmission. In disagreement with Maguire's view, it has been thoroughly documented in the study of folklore that oral-memorial rendition is structurally *dependent* on omission; similarly, it is recognized how consistently certain elements are more readily omitted than others (Andersen et al. 1982:114; Lüthi 1967:160). In other words, a mechanics of omission is evident and necessary in oral, traditionalized literatures, irrespective of the identification of deliberate abridgers or methods of abridgement. Perhaps then, in opposition to a prior generation of Shakespearean text scholars (many of whom, from Greg to Kirschbaum, link omission generically with "bad memory" (Kirschbaum 1945:705, n. 17), one ought to consider omission as a more or less unavoidable functional effect, necessitated by the "story" or "plot" of the playtext once it enters tradition. A long career-in-tradition might facilitate much verbal and narrative economy, whereas a less orally exposed text will retain a longer, relatively more complex plot.

(b) Repetition and Repetitious Patterns

Below follow some examples of structural recomposition patterns (repetition) in Q1 *Hamlet* compared to the Folio version, and in Q1 *Romeo and Juliet* compared to the Q2 version. Examples of repetition in the German derivative texts are also included:

Hamlet, F1

1.4.68   *Ham.* "It waues me forth againe; **Ile follow it**."

1.4.79   *Ham.* "It wafts me still; goe on, **Ile follow thee**."

1.4.86   *Ham.* "I say away, goe on, **Ile follow thee**."

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[19] In his edition of *The First Quarto of Hamlet*, Albert B. Weiner (1962:xi) suggests, "[N]ot more than twelve actors . . . could easily produce Q1." Robert Burkhart (1975:98) counts a cast of 13.

***Hamlet*, Q1**

459 *Ham.* "Still I am called, go on, **ile follow thee**."

465 *Ham.* "Go on, **ile follow thee**."

471 *Ham.* "Away I say, go on, **ile follow thee**."

***Hamlet*, F1**

1.5.186   *Ham.* ". . . **Let us goe in together**."

1.5.190   *Ham.* "**Nay, come let's goe together**."

***Hamlet*, Q1**

643 *Ham.* "**Nay come lett's go together**."

647 *Ham.* "**Nay come lett's go together**."

But balances are one thing. Studies of transmitted folk material suggest that there is also a significant tendency to triplicate segments in orally transmitted narrative. However, this phenomenon, described by Olrik as the "Law of Three,"[20] emerges clearly in the popular plays only as we only shift the focus from sheer verbal reduplication to more elaborate conceptual patterns. Correspondingly, one finds, as did Olrik in Law 11, "[T]wo people or situations of the same sort are not as different as possible, but as similar as possible" (1909/1965:137).

This is a specimen of some newly generated triads, in order to prove the operation of the "Law of Three" in Q1 *Hamlet*:

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[20] "The repetition is almost always tied to the number three" (Olrik 1909/1965:133).

Hamlet, F1	*Hamlet*, Q1
2.2.86 "My Liege, and Madam, to expostulate . . ."	776 "**Now** my Lord, touching the yong Prince Hamlet."
2.2.100 "And **now** remaines / That we find out the cause of this effect."	778 "**Now** to know the cause of this effect . . ."
	784 "**Now** to the Prince."
	836 ". . . **I** there's the point."
3.1.55 ". . . that is the question . . ."	837 ". . . **I** all."
3.1.64 " . . . **I**, there's the rub . . ."	838 ". . . **I**, mary there it goes."
3.1.18 "And there did seem to be in him a kinde of **joy**"	1173 "Yet was he something inclined to **mirth** . . ."
3.1.27 ". . . drive his purpose on / To these **delights**"	1178 ". . . seeke still to increase his **mirth**."
3.1.24 ". . . and it doth much content me / To heare him so inclined"	1187 "It joyes me at the soule / He is inclin'd to any kinde of **mirth**"
-	-
4.3.12 "Where **the dead body** is bestow'd my Lord, / We cannot get from him."	1626 ". . . we can by no means know of him where **the body** is."
4.3.16 "Now Hamlet, where's Polonius?"	1627 ". . . where is **this** dead **body**?"
4.3.32 "Where is Polonius?"	1640 ". . . where is **this body**?"
-	-
5.2.283 ". . . **Here's** to thy health."	2155 "**Here Hamlet**, the King doth drink a health to thee"
5.2.288 "**Here's** a Napkin, rub thy browes."	2156 "**Here Hamlet**, take my napkin, wipe thy face"
52.289 "The Queene carowses to thy fortune, Hamlet."	2160 "**Here Hamlet,** thy mother drinkes to thee"

Another relevant example of formulaic patterning in Q1 *Hamlet* is the triad of traps established through the three consecutive siftings of Hamlet, achieved through the recomposed early position of "To be or not to be" / "Nunnery Scene" in the Q1 version) and the counter-trap (Hamlet's playlet "The Mousetrap"). Seen in conjunction, these create a causative pattern. Furthermore, each time a trap is set off the conceptual pattern is joined by a verbal formulaic signal: the repetition of "See where he comes/ See there he is" (Hamlet's "counter-trap" is contrastively signaled via Hamlet's ear: "Harke, they are coming").

F1 Hamlet		**Q1 Hamlet**	
Pol.'s first plan	2.2.162. Pol. "At such a time I'll loose my daughter to him"	*Cor.'s 1st plan*	822. Cor. "Mary good my lord thus…there let Ofelia, walke…" (unit 6)
1st trap	2.2.168. Queen "**But looke where sadly the poore** wretch comes reading" (Fishmonger sc)	*1st trap*	829. King.. "…**See where he comes**.… poring vppon a booke" (Nunnery sc. /unit 7)
2nd trap	2.2.220. Pol. "You seeke my Lord Hamlet; **see there he is**." (Ros & Gldst. with Hamlet.)	*2nd trap*	928. Cor. "I'll myselfe go and feele him. **See where he comes**." (Fishmonger sc./ unit 8)
3rd trap	3.1.54 Pol. "**I heare him coming**, let's withdraw…" (Nunnery sc.)	*3rd trap*	963. Cor. "You seeke Prince Hamlet, **see, there he is**." (R & G with Hamlet / unit 9)
counter-trap	3.2.90. Ham. "They are **coming** to the Play. I must be idle…" (Play sc.)	*counter-trap*	1273. Ham. "**Harke, they come**." (Play sc. / unit 13)

Beyond this example, the Q1 Nunnery Scene (Q1:859-923) probably provides the most striking example of patterned incremental repetition in the whole of the first quarto. Its compressed configuration resembles a canonical litany, where the choral interchange is divided between Hamlet and Ofelia [*sic*]. As illustrated in the chart below, each of his "to a Nunnery goe" commands—the phrase recurs *eight* times, now with identical wording[21]—is answered by the desperate Ofelia with four, not the original two, semantically similar pleas to the Heavenly

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[21] F1 *Hamlet* uses variant expressions such as "get thee to a nunnery" / "goe thy ways to a nunnery," and "to a nunnry go." See F1:3.1.89-161.

powers.[22] The graphic lines highlight the incremental repetition:

	F1			**Q1**
Ham.	**Get thee to a Nunnerie**		Ham.	**Go to a Nunnery goe,**
	. . . crawling betweene Heuen and Earth,			. . . crawling between heauen and earth?
				To a Nunnery goe,
	we are arrant knaues all, beleeue none of vs,			we are arrant knaues all, Beleeue none of vs,
	goe thy wayes to a Nunnery			**to a Nunnery goe,**
	-		Ofe.	**O heauens secure him!**
	Where's your father?		Ham.	Wher's thy father?
Oph.	At home, my lord		Ofe.	At home my lord
Ham.	Let the doors be shut vpon him,		Ham.	For Gods sake let the doors be shut on him
	that he may play the foole no way but in's owne house. Farewell.			He may play foole no where But in his Owne house:
				to a Nunnery goe.
Oph.	**O helpe him you sweet heauens**		Ofe.	**Help him God**
Ham.	If thou doest Marry . . .		Ham.	it thou dost marry, . . .
	Get thee to a Nunnery, Go, farewell.			**. . . to a Nunnery goe.**
			Ofe.	**Alas, what change is this?**
	Or if thou wilt needs Marry...		Ham.	But if thou wilt needs marry . . .
	To a Nunnery go, and quickly too, farewell.			**.... to a Nunnery goe.**
Oph.	**O Heauenly powers, restore him.**		Ofe.	**Pray God restore him.**
Ham.	I haue heard of your pratlings . . .		Ham.	Nay, I haue heard of your paintings . . .
	. . . shall keep as they are:			. . . shall keepe as they are, **to a Nunnery goe,**
	to a Nunnery, go.			**To a Nunnery goe.**
Oph.	**O what a Noble minde is heere o'rethrowne?**		Ofe.	**Great God heauen, What a quicke change is this?**

This is beyond doubt the closest a scene in Q1 *Hamlet* gets to realizing its verbal and conceptual *Zielform*.

　　Even though Q1 *Hamlet* contains a good deal of harmonized or patterned repetition, the element must be granted greater prominence in the *Brudermord*, which in transmission has generated five binary patterns, eleven triads, and three larger patterns of four, five, and twelve

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[22] Pettitt (2001:422) has previously juxtaposed the Nunnery Scenes of *Q2* and *Q1 Hamlet*.

incremental stages respectively. From this vast stock, these are some of the most impressive examples, all of which are of an incremental nature:

3.11.20 "hernach **wollen wir** essen und trinken /

3.11.21 und denn **wollen wir** tanzen"

3.11.22 "Ach, wie **wir wollen** uns lustig machen"

4.1.36   ". . . so **will ichs gern** erdulden . . . "

4.1.37-8 ". . . **will ich** euch **gerne** verzeihen"

". . . hernach **will ich gerne** sterben"

4.5.18-21 / 5.3.6-9 / 5.5.6-10:

"**Ihr sollt** mit **Rapieren fechten**, und der von euch beyden **die ersten** drey Stösse bekommt, soll ein weiss neapolitanisch Pferd gewonnen haben."

"Ihr sollt zusammen in Rapieren fechten, und wer den andern die ersten zwei Stösse anbringen wird, der **soll ein weiss neapolitanisch Pferd gewonnen haben**."

"**Ihr sollt** mit ihm in **Rapieren fechten**, und welcher von Euch beyden **die ersten** drey **Stösse** bekommen wird, der **soll ein weiss neapolitanisch Pferd** mit Sattelzeug und allem Zubehör **gewonnen haben**."

5.3.22 ". . . **nun** ist eine grosse Hitze"

5.3.24 "**nun** ists nicht recht kalt. . . "

5.3.25 ". . . **nun** eben recht temperiert"

5.3.29 "**nun**, kommt Horatio . . . "

3.10.50 "**Nun**, Ihro Majest't welches sind denn/ die rechten, . . ."

3.10.52 ". . . **Nun**, die Götter wollen euch begleiten, . . ."

3.10.55 "**Nun** Adieu, Frau Mutter!"

3.10.59 "**Nun** so fahrt wohl, . . ."

3.10.61 "**Nun**, Ihr noblen Quantchen, . . ."

While ballad studies attest to "death formulae" in traditional narrative songs, *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* offers its own formulaic approach to death, exemplified in the similar responses to death by different characters throughout the play.

First we hear Corambus: "O Weh, Prinz, was tut Ihr!" (*BB*:3.5.20). Then, in the final act: Leonhardus: "O wehe, ich habe einen tödlichen Stoss!" (*BB*:5.6.26), who is followed by the Queen: "O wehe, ich sterbe!" (*BB*:5.6.51), the King: "O wehe, ich empfange meinen bösen Lohn!" (*BB*:5.6.55), and finally Hamlet: "Ach, o weh, ich sterbe!" (*BB*:5.6.83).

Before listing the larger and incremental patterns in Q1 *Romeo and Juliet*, it is worth noting the frequent multiplication of particular formulaic interjections such as "I," "nay," "why," or "well" in the Q1 text. Another category is that of "copy cats," which produce statements where repetition supplants an original Q2/F1 term at the expense of context/formal logic.

Compare, for instance, Q2/F1: "Turn <u>giddie</u> and be <u>holp</u> with backward turning," which in Q1:2.1.82 reads: "turn <u>backward</u> and be holp with <u>backward</u> turning"; or alternatively the transformation of Q2/F1: "I would kill <u>thee</u> with too much cherishing" into Q1: "I would kill <u>thee</u> with too much cherishing <u>thee</u>."

The following is an example of the multiplication of interjections in *Romeo and Juliet*:

Q2	Q1
1.1.21 "And 'tis known I am a pretty peece of flesh"	1.1.21 "<u>**nay**</u>, thou shalt see I am a tall peece of flesh"
1.1.30 "**Nay**, They must take it sense that feele it"	1.1.30 "<u>**Nay**</u>, let them take it in sense that feele it"
1.1.32 "Fear me not . . ."	1.1.32 "<u>**Nay**</u>, feare not me, I warrant thee"
1.1.44 "Let us take the law of our sides…"	1.1.44 "<u>**Nay**</u>, let us haue the law on our side"
	1.3.59 "<u>**Well**</u> goe thy waies . . ."
1.3.59 "Peace, I haue done . . ."	1.3.69 "<u>**Well**</u> girl, the noble Countie seekes thee for his wife . . ."
1.3.69 " **Well**, think of marriage now, . . ."	1.3.96 "<u>**Well**</u> Iuliet, how like you of Paris' loue.
1.4.9 "What say you, can you loue the gentle-man"	

The Q1 *Romeo and Juliet* text also contains a fair number of binary incremental patterns, a regular feature in traditionalized ballads, created throughout the play; the following is only a small excerpt:

Romeo and Juliet, **Q2/F1**	*Romeo and Juliet,* **Q1**
1.4.92-94	1.4.94 / 92
"This is the hag, when maids lie on their backs, that . . ."	"<u>**This is that Mab**</u> that makes maids lie on their backes . . ."
"This is that very **Mab** that plats the manes of Horses . . ."	<u>**This is that**</u> verie **M a b** that plats the manes of Horses . . ."
2.5.18/19/38	
". . . o **hony Nurse what newes**? / Now good **sweet Nurse** . . ."	2.5.18 / 38
	". . . <u>**Tell me sweet Nurse**</u>, **what says** my Loue?"
". . . Let me be satisfied is it good or 'bad'. . . "	"But <u>**tell me sweet Nurse**</u>, **what says** Romeo?"
	3.1.64 / 68
3.1.64 / 68	"<u>**Romeo, the hate I beare to thee**</u> cannot afford"
"*Romeo*, the **loue I beare thee** cannot afford . . ."	"<u>**Tibalt, the loue I beare to thee**</u>, doth excuse"
"Tybalt, the reason that I haue to loue thee . . ."	3.4.23 / 27
	"<u>**Wee'le make no great a doe**</u>, a friend or two, or so . . ."
3.4.23 / 27	
"**Well, keepe no great ado**, a friend or two . . ."	"Some half a dozen friends and <u>**make no great adoe**</u>."
"Therefore weele haue some doozen friends . . ."	

5.3.27 / 40

"And do not **interrupt** me in my course . . ."

"**I will be gone**, Sir, and not trouble ye."

5.3.27 / 40

"So get thee **gone and trouble me** no more"

"Well, I'll be **gone and not trouble you**"

And here follows a specimen of the newly generated triplicate patterns, as a demonstration of operation of "The Law of Three" in Q1 *Romeo and Juliet:*

Q2/F1

Q1

1.1.105 / 6

"You Capulet shall goe along with me, / And Montague **come** you this afternoone"

1.1.105 / 6:

"**Come** Capulet **come** you along with me, and Montague, **come** you this afternoone"

2.2.173 / 74 / 75

"Let me **stand** here till thou remember it"

"I shall forget to haue thee still **stand** there"

"And Ile forget to haue thee **stay**, to haue thee still forget"

2.2.173 / 74 / 75

"Let me **stay here** till you remember it . . ."

"I shall forget to haue thee till **stay here** . . ."

"And **I'le stay** still to haue thee still forget"

4.5.19 / 25 / 43

"Look, look, o heavy day."

". . . out alas shes cold . . ."

"**Accust, unhappie, wretched day** . . ."

4.5.19 / 26 / 42

"**Accust**, unhappy, **miserable time** . . ."

"**Accursed time**, **unfortunate** olde **man**…"

"**Accurst, unhappy miserable man** . . ."

Larger patterns than these include the multi-stage incremental patterns and the framing of scenes by verbal trigger expressions. Below are shown specimens of both:

Q2/F1

1.1.45/47/49/50/52/54

"I will bite my thumb at them"

-

"do you bite your thumb at us sir"

"**I do bite my thumbe** sir"

"**Do you bite your thumb** at us sir"

" . . . I do **not bite my thumbe** at you sir:

But **I bite my thumbe** sir."

Q1

1.1.45/46/47/49/50/52/54:

"As I goe by **ile bite my thumbe**"

". . . goe thou by and bite thy thumbe"

"doo you bite your thumbe at us?"

"**I bite my thumbe**."

"**I bite my thumbe**, is the law on our side"

"**I bite my thumbe**"

2.5.19/38/47/67

". . . o hony Nurse, what newes?"

". . . Let me be satisfied is it good or 'bad'?"

"**What sayes** he of our Marriage. . ."

". . . Come **what saies** Romeo?"

2.5.19/38/47/67

"**What sayes** my Loue?"

". . . **what sayes** *Romeo*?"

". . . tell me **what sayes** he to our marriage?"

"**What sayes** my Lord, my Loue, my Romeo?"

3.1.94/105/111	3.1.94/101/106/115
"**A plague a both houses**. I am sped "-	". . . **A poxe on your houses**"
"I am peppered, I warrant . . . , **a plague a both**	"**A poxe of your houses**, I am fairly drest . . ."
your houses"	". . . you shall finde me a graue man. **A poxe of**
". . . Or I shall faint, **a plague a both your**	**your houses**."
houses"	"Benvolio, lend me thy hand, **a poxe of your**
	houses"
2.4.110 / 231	2.4.110 / 232
"**My fan Peter** . . ."/	"**Peter**, prethee **giue mee my fan**."/
"Before and apace . . . "	"**Peter take my fan**, and goe before"
3.5.191/197	3.5.191/197
"Looke too't , thinke on't, **I doe not vse to iest**"	"Looke to it, thinke ont, **I doe not vse to iest**"
"Trus't too's, bethinke you, **ile not be**	"Think ont, looke toot, **I do not vse to iest**"
forsworne"	
4.4.2/22	4.4.2/21
-	"**The Countie will be heere** immediately"
"**The Countie will be here** with musicke	"**The Countie will be here** with musicke straight"
straight . . . "	

None of the Q1 formations listed above are present in the Folio or "good" quarto versions, but if we believe that plays behave like transmitted ballads these may have arisen as a result of transmission.

The derivative *Romius und Julietta* version is particularly bountiful in small-scale adverbial insertions such as "Ach," "Ey," "O," and "ja, ja." A range of recurrent expressions is also detectable from entrance/exit and news formulae ("Ich bring Neue Zeitung") to an "oh wehe, ich sterbe" death formula, applicable to Tibold and Paris. As seen in other English suspect texts, there is a predilection for epithets too, notably "Herr . . . , " but also "Sohn Romio," "Vetter Tiboldt/Romio," and "Tochter Juliet" occur.

There are at least 20 instances of simple, verbal reiteration of the "come, come" variety. Binary patterns include, for example, 1.1.110/14: "Graff, das guete Vornehmen . . . " / "Graff, ich will Eurer Meinung . . ." ; 1.3.18/20: "So sein Sie aber würdig alle Ehre von meinen Hause zu nehmen" / "So wird Graff Paris würdig sein all Ehre zu ersetzen"; 5.3.84/92 "Ach liebster Herr und Gemal" / "Ach liebster Herr und Gemal."

Examples of triads are 2.3.51/58/87 "O Himmel was höre ich" / "Was höre ich" / "O Himmel was höre ich"; 2.4.10/12/26: "Rueff ihn doch" / "ich will ihn rueffen" / "ich mue_s ihn noch einmal rueffen." Larger patterns include "5.3.174/78/80/82: "Julietta Todt"; 1.4.40/44/48/52/57/59/64: "Lad ein . . . "; 2.1.18/22 and 2.3.3/12/21: "Mascara tanzen . . .," and 4.3.14/19/26/33: "Gnädigster Herr und Fürst."

It should be noted that the first three acts of Q1 *Romeo and Juliet* are extremely similar to the equivalent Q2/F1 passages, with very few minute alterations. It is only beyond act three that

the stylistic features discussed above (omission, repetition, and transposition) become more frequent and pronounced. This is also the case in the text of Q1 *Hamlet*, and to some in extent in the remaining Shakespearean "bad" texts. Short of going back to the "tired memorial reporter" theory, as suggested by, for instance, Katherine O. Irace (1994:186), some observations of similar mechanics in traditional folk song and tales should be taken into account (Lord 2000:17 [emphasis mine]):

> The instability of the audience requires a marked degree of concentration on the part of the singer in order that he may sing at all: it also tests to the utmost his dramatic ability and his narrative skill in keeping the audience as attentive as possible. But *it is the length of a song which is most affected by the audience's restlessness.* The singer begins to tell his tale. If he is fortunate, he may find it possible to sing until he is tired without interruptions from the audience. . . . If his listeners are propitious and his mood heightened by their interest, he may *lengthen his tale,* savoring each descriptive passage. . . . It is more likely that . . . his audience is not receptive, [. . .] hence he will *shorten his song.* Or if he misjudges he may simply never finish the song [. . .]. *One can say that the length of the song depends upon the audience.*

The fact that the original five "bad quartos" are all short, and less literally reproduced after acts one and two (noted for *Hamlet*, *Romeo*, *Henry V*), may mirror the above observations. If we accept that the "suspect" Elizabethan playtexts represent theatrically exposed versions, they may very likely reflect audience participation, expectation, and, above all, receptiveness to the degree that play length and structure have been gradually adjusted in response to circumstances similar to those described by Lord. In other words, the tendency towards what Olrik and Lord call "front-weight," that is, the verbally tighter initial acts, witnessed in the popular Elizabethan playtexts with variation increasing in the middle and final acts, may be attributable to the principles of oral-memorial tradition.

Some Conclusions

The majority of the above-mentioned, hypothetically oral-memorial or "balladic" style markers are prominently represented in Q1 *Hamlet,* with some markers even more prominently present in the German derivative *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*. In the case of Q1 *Romeo and Juliet*, mainly repetition and omission stand out, while, for instance, no significant transpositions are detectable in this version.

From comparing the relatively high frequencies of "oral-memorial" style-markers in Q1 *Hamlet* with those (relatively low counts) of Q1 *Romeo and Juliet* it could be postulated that Q1 *Romeo* has either not had a long career-in-tradition, or has recently been re-scripted (influenced by literary tradition), or both. The German derivative *Romio und Julietta* similarly contains large sections of reformed material probably derived from literary tradition (a translation of Q2?), but simultaneously exhibits some of the oral-memorial symptoms to a remarkably high degree.

I would like to argue that the textual stylistic variance between the two "bad" Quarto

cases discussed here indicates different stages in dramatic transmission in the tradition of each particular play, the presumption being that the more marked the above "balladic" parameters, the more intense the transmission history behind the version. On these premises, Q1 *Romeo* would be ranked as less orally/memorially influenced, that is, less traditionalized than Q1 *Hamlet*. Or in less neutral terms Q1 Romeo would qualify as a rather "good" "bad" text.

Transpositions of segments from one part of a scene to another within the same scene, or indeed from one act of the play to another, takes place in both Q1 *Romeo and Juliet* on a minor scale, and to a much more significant degree in Q1 *Hamlet*. Here I refer back to a quotation from McGillivray's study, *Memorization in the Transmission of Middle English Romances* already quoted above (1990:5): "Memorial transfer, the movement of material from one part of a text to another part, which is physically remote, but which is liable to confusion with it because of similarities in situation, content, or language, is a very secure indication that the entire text in which it occurs has at some stage of its transmission been committed to memory."

What has not been granted much consideration in the present article is the addition of extra material during transmission. Transmitted folk material indeed rarely permits expansiveness, and neither do transmitted early modern playtexts. Q1 *Romeo and Juliet*, Q1 *Hamlet*, and the two German derivatives do add material, but where this happens it is always in conjunction with subtractions and repetitious patterning, resulting in new (and more logical) conceptual structures, bringing about in what one might call "local" or internal *Zielforms*.

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Welsh Saints' Lives as Legendary Propaganda

Owain Edwards

An academic is carrying out fieldwork in cultural anthropology. This scene is easy for us to imagine, because we have seen numerous photographs and read countless accounts of researchers collecting information in this manner in the field. A note is made of everything "the natives" say, usually through an interpreter, and their answers to questions about all kinds of matters are taken down and sorted out for further study. Since the early twentieth century, interviews have been recorded not only in writing, but also on wax cylinders and later on magnetic tape, audiotape, and now digital audio and video. But before such means of securing permanent records came into being, the information assembled had to be either transcribed in real time or committed to memory and written down later. There have certainly been a large number of instances when a researcher conducted fieldwork for the express purpose of making the data more widely available to the general public. At such a stage, the fieldworker may not have known whether the material gathered was of any value to the "outside world." After accumulating observations from others researching similar topics, however, certain overarching trends might have begun to emerge, and the information most useful to the fieldworker working on that research project might thus become more apparent.

Turning our attention now from the more modern realities of anthropological fieldwork, let us imagine a different situation. A medieval cleric sits at a table placed outside a cathedral door. He is writing down details of miracles that were supposed to have been brought about through the intervention of the saint whose shrine visitors to the cathedral had come to see. The bishop might have decided that the local patron saint's reputation needed bolstering, so he launched a public-relations campaign by arranging for a man on his staff to collect information about how people had received assistance after praying to the saint. In the resulting account, gossip, travelers' tales, and anecdotes that "everyone" knew about the saint's powers gained a certain permanence simply because someone made a note of them, thus providing a written source for the medieval legend of the saint.

But these written sources were of course not the only way that legends came into existence. I would like to illustrate another route by referring to the example of the legend of the Welsh patron saint, St. David, whose background is well documented.[1] I shall first provide a background for the composition of the legend, and will give details of incidents described in the

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[1] See Bowen 1982:5-29; Evans 1988:xi-xix; and Evans and Wooding 2007:1-17.

legend as examples of what the transcriber felt needed to be recorded. I am concerned here with issues regarding memory and how people perceive an influential person's role(s) in their cultural history. I discuss how details from folklore and oral tradition are selected in order to manipulate the perception of these roles for political reasons. The resulting legend was composed—or written down—and thus "fixed," by a person familiar with traditional narrative themes and the formulaic language of a cleric. Legends such as these are therefore interesting examples of a literary genre whose primary intention was to influence a non-literate audience.

Historians do not seem to doubt that a man known as David, Dafydd, Degui, or Dewi, living in the sixth century, led a monastic community at the place where the city of Tyddewi, Menevia, or St. David's later grew up. It is not improbable that a reputation for sanctity earned during his lifetime was enough to insure that people wished to continue to revere him after his death. The promotion of saints was common in Western Europe, and right up to the Reformation new saints were continually being created through processes of local approval, and, interestingly, often without the recognition of the Vatican. Some royal saints were also deliberately cultivated to legitimize the claims to the throne made by their families.[2] But apart from such politically based reasons for securing power, there were also locally based, more practical reasons for doing so. All churches were dedicated to one or more saints; thus a church whose patron saint became popular benefited economically when people visited the church and left a coin in the collection box. This was all tied in with the Church's teachings on the matter of sin.

Penance and Pilgrimage

Through the sacrament of penance, the Church had a means of teaching about sin, while also educating people about the relative seriousness of different sins. The sacrament had existed since the early days of the Church, but from the thirteenth century all Christians were required to go to confession at least once a year.[3] Before giving absolution, a priest hearing confession could require a person to perform penance in proportion to the seriousness of the sin committed and in consideration of the person's circumstances. This could include prayer, fasting, almsgiving, or exposing oneself to the hazards of going on a pilgrimage.[4] Almsgiving included donating money and land to the Church as well as giving money, food, and clothing to the poor. It was considered to be a valuable act of piety. It also provided the economic basis that was fundamental to the spread of monasticism.[5]

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[2] Royal families supported the canonization of Edward the Confessor (canonized in 1161), Charlemagne (1165), and the Danish King Knud Lavard (1169) (Lundkvist 1997:165).

[3] Fourth Lateran Council, 1215. Canon 21.

[4] This is a topic about which many have written, including Hall 1965, Sumption 1975, Brooke and Brooke 1984, Krötzl 1994, and Turner and Turner 1978.

[5] For the scriptural basis, see Matt. 6. 3-4; and Tobit 4, 9-10.

Penance for grave sins might require long periods of fasting or exile. Taking advantage of papal indulgences connected with penitential exercise was a possibility that was often contemplated. Jerusalem had always been the prime goal for Christian pilgrims, but in the eleventh century a new kind of pilgrim appeared, as many young warriors visited the Holy Land during the crusades and attempted to reach the city. Pilgrimage to Rome had already been one of the forms of penance for dire offences since the ninth century, and in the eleventh and twelfth centuries pilgrimages to the grave of St. James the Apostle at Santiago de Compostela in northwestern Spain became the third important goal after Jerusalem and Rome (Hohler 1957:54).[6] By the early thirteenth century the idea of pilgrimage had become generalized and other sanctuaries had been established. Particular places in every country became centers to which pilgrims traveled (the cathedral at St. David's in Pembrokeshire, South Wales, being one).[7] According to the *Chronicon Angliæ Petriburgense*, Pope Calixtus II (d. 1124) conceded that two pilgrimages to remote St. David's counted for one to Rome (Baring-Gould and Fisher 1908:315).

By no means were all pilgrims doing penance for sins committed, and the motivation for embarking upon pilgrimages could be due to numerous factors. One would seem to have been the belief that illness or disability, endured by the pilgrim or a person represented by the pilgrim, could be cured after praying at a chapel containing the relics of a particular saint. People trying to practice a religion in which they are required to believe in a deity whom they cannot see may experience a very basic and understandable desire to implore the deity to give them a visible sign to affirm their faith. If the patient's condition improved, it might be supposed that a sign had been given, and that a miracle had indeed happened. If the patient's condition did not improve, no one probably heard of the request. Reports of miracles became embedded in travelers' tales that were told and retold, and thus contributed to promoting the reputation of the saint in question. Devotion to a particular saint was very common and was viewed as a form of insurance in the Middle Ages. With disability and death more obviously close at hand than they are today, people considered the protective influence of someone to whom they could pray—who would act on their behalf with the Almighty—as essential. Building a close relationship with a saint through prayer, giving thanks, and the possibility of pilgrimage, was therefore wise.

If I am correct in suggesting that respect for a person's memory may have been impetus enough to start a cult, we may assume that it will have helped the process if knowledge of the success of supplicating to the saint was passed on by word of mouth. Even so, a political strategy was necessary if a cult was to gain the support of many people and to lead to financial rewards. Impressive solemnities could be held annually to commemorate the date of the saint's death or, as it was always put, the saint's birth in heaven, or *natalicio*. These services might attract visitors to church, even though most of them could not understand what was sung because they were in Latin. It was consequently important to get the legend established, to provide material for

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[6] "By the twelfth century priests in the major Roman basilicas were specifically charged with absolving penitent pilgrims. These priests also became known as 'penitentiaries'" (Clarke 2005:1014).

[7] The extraordinary popularity in England of Canterbury cathedral, with its shrine of St. Thomas, was immortalized in Geoffrey Chaucer's well-known *Canterbury Tales*.

particular reminiscences that people could then learn in their own language. When they had been repeated often enough and embedded in their culture, they were often believed even if they were not entirely true.

Norman Settlers in South Wales

Hope of economic gain is a motive frequently recognized on the part of both the Church and the laity in the Middle Ages. A study of this period of Welsh history finds avarice to be the incentive for many undertakings. The legend about St. David was pure propaganda. It was concocted by an author well known for his learning,[8] and is evidently not a case of folklore that chanced to be recorded when the idea occurred to somebody to commit it to writing. Rivalry with the neighboring diocese of Llandaff, inflamed as a result of startling changes that took place there in the closing years of the eleventh century, was the reason for his constructing the legend. The influx of numerous wealthy families inspired people in both the dioceses of Llandaff and St. David's to compete for the benefit of their favors. South Wales was regarded as more or less up for grabs by land-hungry Normans who had come over to Britain and fought in the Conquest of 1066. The new feudal lords who settled there had much blood on their hands. Notorious for their ferocity and skill in battle, they were nevertheless Christians, and the degree to which they desired to have peace for their souls, especially in the life-ever-after, may be seen in the extent of the piecemeal transfer of recently acquired lands to the Church. Almsgiving was the solution. As French immigrants invaded South Wales, their castles and fortified manor houses were soon followed by monasteries, and the face of the countryside began to take on a new appearance. The newcomers did not know who the most highly regarded local saints were. They needed to be informed and persuaded. The bishops of the two dioceses in South Wales came to this conclusion at about the same time they saw the way things were going in the late eleventh century.

Then Lifris, son of Bishop Herwald of Llandaff, and Rhigyfarch, son of Bishop Sulien of St. David's, each wrote a legend. These are not dated, but it has been argued that the life of St. Cadoc of Llancarfan by Lifris appeared first, and Rhigyfarch's life of St. David shortly afterward.[9] Both hoped to impress the Normans with the venerability, piety, and benevolent influence of their respective saints. Besides wishing to leave the settlers in no doubt as to the pre-

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[8] When he died in 1099, *The Chronicle of the Princes* mentioned that "in that year died Rhigyfarch the Wise, son of bishop Sulien, the most learned of the learned men of the Britons, in the forty-third year of his life, the man whose equal had not arisen in the ages before him and whose peer it is not easy to believe or to imagine will arise after him" (Jones 1955:39).

[9] For more about the Life of St. Cadoc, see Baring-Gould and Fisher 1908:14-42 and Henken 1987:88-98. Versions of the legend of St. David are available in the standard lives of the saints (see, for instance, Farmer 1978), all of which are derived from Rhigyfarch's V*ita beati Dauidis*. Texts are available in James 1967, Evans 1988, and Sharpe and Davies 2007. On the matter of dating Rhigyfarch's composition of the legend, see James (1967:x-xi) and Evans (1988:xxxiii). Wade-Evans (1923:x, xviii) dates its composition at c. 1090, while the date 1081 is proposed by N. K. Chadwick (1958:175-76). Davies 2007:156-60 concludes that it was penned in the period 1091-93.

eminence of St. David among the Welsh saints, Rhigyfarch's additional purpose was to emphasize the leading position of St. David's in Wales and to assert the traditional independence of the Welsh Church against mounting pressure to submit to the ecclesiastical reforms that Lanfranc, the new archbishop of Canterbury, was introducing. In order to call attention to the antiquity and independence of the Welsh Church, Rhigyfarch asserted in the Latin *vita*, for example, that St. David had been consecrated archbishop by the patriarch of Jerusalem. In a mid-fourteenth-century version of the *Life of St. David* this event is said to have taken place in Rome (Evans 1988:9). In other words, anywhere but Canterbury! Probably the most prominent Welshman of the twelfth century, Giraldus de Barri (alias Giraldus Cambrensis), an archdeacon and canon of St. David's, wrote an elegant paraphrase of Rhigyfarch's legend in about 1172-76,[10] almost a century after it had been composed. Giraldus sought election as bishop of St. David's, but the king and the archbishop of Canterbury disapproved of his overt political commitment to the cause of an independent Welsh Church and denied his appointment on two occasions when he had been nominated by his fellow canons.[11]

Rhigyfarch's Legend of St. David

Living where he did, Rhigyfarch would have been familiar with the communal memory of the local patron saint, the celebration of whose annual feast would have recalled the details freshly to mind every year. He also may well have selected incidents from lives of the saints in very old written sources, as he claimed to have done, "out of the very many that are scattered in the oldest manuscripts of our country, and chiefly of [St. David's] own monastery. These, though eaten away along the edges and backs by the continuous gnawing of worms and the ravages of passing years, and written in the manner of the elders, have survived until now, and are gathered together and collected by me to the glory of the great father and for the benefit of others, that they shall not perish . . ." (James 1967:xi). This might, on the other hand, have simply been an assertion intended to impress his audience of the significance of the subject of his narrative, in so far as ordinary people did not usually have things written about them. The way he relates his story repeatedly gives the impression of trying to persuade his audience that St. David was a notable figure—a saint worth cultivating.

Rhigyfarch's legend is conventional in that it has clear indications of having been constructed for a purpose, using familiar storytelling techniques. It gives David a royal lineage with an impressive pedigree. Predictions are made about when he was to be born and to die, and details are given of how these were fulfilled. Descriptions are included of how he devoted years to preaching and doing good works, including performing miracles. Distinctive elements that might be identified, without my repeating the whole story, were his long period of study and extremely ascetic way of life, his missionary efforts through the founding of monasteries, and his

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[10] This is the opinion expressed in Evans 1988:xl, while the year 1200 is proposed in Harris 1940:16.

[11] The twelfth-century sources contain some 6,300 words, while the version by Giraldus, who must have been a greater talker, was 1,600 words longer (James 1967:xxv).

suppression of the so-called Pelagian heresy. The narrative has a chronological sequence that falls into four parts: the prophesy, birth, and his upbringing; the missionary work and miracles; his journey to Jerusalem and his consecration as archbishop of Wales; and the two general synods of the Welsh Church, concluding with general remarks on his sanctity and death.

With regard to the manner in which Rhigyfarch presents his story, we see that he uses techniques well known in passing on oral traditions in order to stress that St. David was a person of consequence. In his narrative, he first lets David's birth be foretold to his father and then to St. Patrick, the apostle of Ireland, by an angel 30 years before it took place. The fulfilment of the prophecy then confirms the truth of the account. There is a satisfying balance between the prediction and its implementation. He then reveals that he had the best credentials by naming 18 forefathers going back to Eugene, son of the Virgin Mary's sister.[12] This was not just anybody, but somebody with whom to be reckoned. And lastly, he accompanies the birth with dramatic supernatural incidents. The repetition of groups of threes in the legend has Trinitarian connotations, while the prophecies have noticeably Messianic associations. Rhigyfarch interweaves indisputable "facts" into his tale to lend it reliability. Thus he lets his readers know–most of whom would have been inhabitants of the diocese of St. David's—that David was a local boy. His grandfather, Ceredig, was king of Ceredigion, the district named after him in the north of the diocese. Name-dropping of this sort occurs frequently. The names of the places where the twelve monasteries that David is said to have founded, for example, may well have been known to the people of South Wales then: Glastonbury, where King Arthur was supposed to have been buried; Bath, of Roman fame and an important center of trade; and the border market town of Leominster, Crowland, Repton, and Raglan, and other places in southwest Wales, the ring of whose familiar names will presumably have been proof enough of the legend's reliability. When Rhigyfarch mentions Ireland and Jerusalem, of whose existence they had no reason to doubt, his audience cannot but have been convinced.

Rhigyfarch gives a clue at the beginning as to how the symbolism in his text should be interpreted. David's father, King Sant of Ceredigion, is told by an angel in a dream that he would go hunting the following day. He would kill a stag near a river and would find there three gifts: the stag itself, a fish, and a hive of bees. The honeycomb, fish, and venison were to be sent to a certain monastery, where they would be preserved for the son who was to be born to him in 30 years' time. At this point Rhigyfarch breaks off the narrative in order to make the symbolic meaning of the gifts clear. The example shows how he expected the legend to be read (Sharpe and Davies 2007:109-11):

> The honeycomb proclaims his wisdom; for just as the honey is in the wax, so he has understood the spiritual meaning in a literal statement. The fish signifies his watery life, for as the fish lives by water, so does he; rejecting wine and liquor and everything that can inebriate, he has led a blessed life for God on just bread and water; because of this he is surnamed David "of the watery life." The stag signifies dominion over the ancient serpent, for just as the stag desires a spring of water when it had grazed on despoiled snakes, and having gained strength is renewed as if with youth, so he is established on the heights, as

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[12] Sources vary on this point, showing that David was also a relative, uncle, or great-nephew of King Arthur of Round Table fame who, while still being nearly related to Jesus, was quite something (Henken 1987:32).

though with stags' feet, despoiling the human race's ancient serpent of his power to harm him. Choosing the fount of life by the constant flow of tears, renewed from day to day, he made progress, so that in the name of the Holy Trinity he would begin to have the knowledge of salvation [and] by the frugality of purer food the power of holding dominion against demons.

Orally transmitted stories can be both very detailed and infused with symbolism. Although this story will have been passed on from person to person, from teller to audience, and probably been modified in repetition, it should be borne in mind that at the time it was written down it was a deliberately constructed literary composition. We are reminded of this fact by its name, "legend," from the Latin *legere*, "to read." This was a story to be read to listeners who would learn and understand it in the sense that medieval students studied not by reading themselves but by listening to their teachers reading to them (as pointed out in Clancy 1979:270).[13] Though not part of the liturgy, the incidents described in the legend are referred to in choral pieces sung in the different services and provided material for the "readings" chanted at matins.

After David's birth, missionary endeavors, and his establishment of the twelve monasteries, Rhigyfarch settled in what is now the city of St. David's. The normally peaceful David becomes more assertive when he is exposed to force and guile from a local chieftain called Baia. This man's efforts to get him to go away included instructing his servant girls to play in the nude, imitating sexual intercourse where they could be seen by the monks. For this blow below the belt, divine retribution dramatically annihilated Baia and family.

An unsuccessful attempt upon David's life by three of his own men becomes an opportunity to show that he has divine protection. A former disciple living in Ireland has a premonition and sends a monk to warn him, crossing the Irish Sea on a sea monster's back. David then blesses bread that he knows contains poison and eats it without harm, while a raven and a dog with which he shares it die. Teilo and Padarn travel with David to the Holy Land, where David is consecrated archbishop of Wales by the patriarch in Jerusalem. This preferment later gets affirmed at the Synod of Llanddewi Brefi, where 118 bishops and a large number of priests constitute him archbishop of the British people. Miracles are seen to happen and his reputation increases. He also attends a second synod of the Welsh Church, where he finally stamps out the Pelagian heresy and establishes decrees of the Roman church. St. David predicts the date of his death, which takes place on a Tuesday, March 1st, after he has lived to the age of 147. This was likely in the year 589, but historians are not in agreement about this date (Evans 1988:xii).

The Female Audience

Certain details in the legend may have been intended to appeal particularly to the experience of women listening to the story. These are concerned with the conception, pregnancy, and birth of the future saint. David's mother, Non, is said to have been exceptionally beautiful,

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[13] We still hear this expression used today, for example: "So, you are at university . . . what are you reading?"—meaning studying or learning about a subject by listening to lectures as well reading books.

which was possibly the reason why the king in the region where she lived noticed her and consequently forced himself on her. Rhigyfarch makes no judgment about this but instead reports it in a matter-of-fact way. When the time for her confinement was close, she went to church; unexpectedly, the priest who was leading a service at the time she entered suddenly became dumb. He was unable to say a word, according to the narrator, in the presence of someone of higher ecclesiastical rank, though as yet unborn. When she left the church, the priest's speech returned. David's birth took place in an open field during a violent storm of thunder, lightning, and floods of rain and hail. It was an exceptional moment, so it was appropriate that the weather was also exceptional. The bad weather prevented a magician who had planned to kill the baby from carrying out his intention. Rhigyfarch writes that while giving birth she clasped her hands round a big stone, on which her hands left an impression. In sympathy with her agony, the stone broke in two. Giraldus embellishes this information, saying that one half of the stone jumped over her head and landed upright at her feet. This image of standing stones may remind us, as well as those who listened to the legend in the Middle Ages, of prehistoric monuments of the menhir kind found in Wales.

Another episode might have been deliberately constructed with geographical features that people would have recognized in the village of Llanddewi Brefi. The legend relates that attempts to eradicate the heresy of the "free will" monk, Pelagius, had failed despite efforts by St. Germanus to wipe it out. In concern, a very large number of people had gathered at Llanddewi Brefi for a synod of the Welsh Church. When some attempted to preach, their voices could not be heard, so they stood on a pile of clothes on the ground, to no avail. The suggestion was made that St. David be called; he declined three times before eventually consenting. Then, after restoring a young man to life in a Jesus-and-Lazarus fashion, he went to the synod and began to preach in a loud voice. The ground where he stood miraculously rose up to form a natural pulpit (this hill is still there today) and his voice rang out "like a trumpet." Having expelled the heresy, he was constituted archbishop of the Britons by unanimous consent.

29 Latin and 14 Welsh texts of Rhigyfarch's Life of St. David, dating from the twelfth to the seventeenth centuries, are said to exist (James 1967:xiv-xxxviii). This unusually high number may have been found because the legend was about the patron of the largest Welsh diocese. The degree to which Rhigyfarch's propaganda was successful may only be guessed at, but a certain accomplishment may be measured by the fact that there are 42 churches dedicated to this saint in the diocese of St. David's and 22 outside it.[14] Commemorative services for St. David's Day, containing texts based on material from the legend, were repeated annually for about 250 years, probably from the 1280s up to 1543, when King Henry VIII prohibited the worship of non-scriptural saints in England and Wales.[15] When the feast was included in the Sarum church calendar in 1398 it would have been observed throughout most of England, Wales, Scotland, and

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[14] According to Baring-Gould and Fisher (1908:317-22), this number made him the third most popular saint in Wales, preceded only by the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Michael the Archangel. It must be admitted that some of these dedications may have been earlier than Rhigyfarch's political campaign was launched. The dating of church dedications is clouded with uncertainty.

[15] Details of the services and grounds for these dates are given in Edwards 1990.

Ireland. A decree reasserting that St. David's Day on March 1st was to be celebrated throughout the province of Canterbury was issued in 1415, when Henry Chichele, who had been bishop of St. David's from 1408-14, was "promoted" to the leading prelate of England, the archbishop of Canterbury.

It is my hope that these reflections have given an impression of the nature of the legend of St. David, and have shown that legends were not merely stories that somebody chanced to write down. Rhigyfarch has the good storyteller's knack of providing us a combination of well-known elements that give us confidence to follow his narrative, and unexpected ones that we are encouraged to suppose are credible.[16] Realism of a kind that reassures us of the integrity of the legend is securely balanced against the miraculous. Our response today to the information given is obviously going to be different from that of people in medieval times. Most significantly, a common inability now to accept miracles as true is bound to affect our reaction to the achievements asserted. We have to be aware of the need to distinguish between reading, listening, and believing then and reading now; how differently the legend was understood in the Middle Ages; and how meaningful it was to those who believed in it.[17]

An event known to many people will be remembered differently by each person. The collective recollection might be comprehensive for a while, but details get forgotten, even from one generation to the next, and evidence that the event ever took place might eventually disappear completely. Experience confirms that memory is elusive. It is particularly noticeable with regard to changes occurring during the twentieth century. This reflection has nothing to do with the absentmindedness of elderly people: conventions and practices that are common knowledge at one time may not be fully understood or may even pass into oblivion only 50 years later. Unless someone consciously makes an effort to remember, record, and explain the information, it risks getting lost or misunderstood. In the case of legends, there is a common misapprehension even about the form of transmission. An unguarded listener might not be aware of being manipulated while paying attention to someone reading the legend of St. David. It is an engaging story: indeed, much of it is nearly plausible.

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[16] In view of the cultural tradition of the Irish Church, it is not surprising that Henken (1987:41), citing Wade-Evans and Evans, identifies Irish influences on Rhigyfarch's *vita*.

[17] I am indebted to Professor Jakob Lothe, Oslo, for this observation.

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Context and the Emerging Story:
Improvised Performance in Oral and Literate Societies

Thérèse de Vet

> At Kasiman a solid wall of people surrounded the clearing that had
> been prepared for the actors near the marketplace. I managed to break through to
> the inside. At one end hung a pair of curtains; at the other sat the musicians.
> Two air-pressure lamps hung down the middle, lighting up the faces which rose
> around the clearing in tiers. Around the edge, forever inching forward, each
> hoping to get a better view, sat an unbroken line of naked infants, solemn,
> patient, wide-awake.
>
> The swift, light music had already begun. Two flutes rose high above
> the rapid, fluttering drums, now one ahead, now the other, clashing at times in
> casual discord, dissolving again in the purest of unisons. All at once there was
> the sound of singing; the first actor was announcing himself. The curtains
> quivered, opened, closed again, as though the actor could not bring himself to
> appear. At last they parted; the mantri, the prime minister, stepped forth; the
> play had begun.
>
> What is the play? I asked Madé Tantra.
>
> It's not yet certain, he replied. The story has not emerged.
>
> Colin McPhee (1944:64)

When the American music scholar and composer Colin McPhee arrived in Bali in the early 1930s to study "the music of the East," he was surprised to find not only musicians able to improvise in performance, but also dramatic performers who followed a similar system (1944:2). Since in Bali music and drama go together, he had the occasion to attend many performances. In spite of McPhee's fears that "such music could not survive much longer," improvised musical as well as dramatic performances continue to take place: modernity and twentieth-century tourism have not stopped them (1944:79).

The fact that presentations by a group or a single actor are improvised is often lost on the Western observer. On the surface, while the actor struts about, when the musicians chime in just at the right moment, or when the audience rises because the event is over, a Balinese performance looks much like one in the West. But the processes by which a performance is created in Bali are very different from the processes familiar to us all in the Western tradition.

The most important difference, I believe, is that the Balinese performers do not memorize their roles from written librettos (although literacy among them is high), but continue to create improvised performances.[1]

In this paper I examine why the Balinese continue to improvise in performance in spite of the presence of writing, which leads me to investigate the more general supposition in Western scholarship that the advent or presence of literacy will, over time, supersede orality, and thus reduce the domain of oral (improvised) performance. Such an assessment can provide insights into other traditional systems, specifically the Greek performances of the Homeric poems. To provide a background to what follows I will briefly describe the relevant developments in orality research, from its initial framing to its current, more open, position.

The conflictive relationship between orality and literacy—where you have one you cannot have the other—was a key concept in the first phase of research into orality. A poet cannot be "*both* an oral and a written poet at any given time in his career,"[2] wrote Albert Lord in his seminal work, *The Singer of Tales*, which came out in 1960. Why the separation between writing and orality was so important to both Lord, and Milman Parry, his mentor, had more to do with the reasons that drove their initial research: the search for an explanation for the origins, transmission, and final fixation in alphabetic writing of the Homeric poems. Their fieldwork-based model convinced scholars that literate performers would hold an advantage over their illiterate brethren. Lord argued that singers would use their reading skills to simply memorize a text, and then perform it. Over time such literate memorizers would edge out their oral improvising colleagues because they offered their audiences a superior product: performances based on texts that had gradually undergone improvement until these texts became fixed not only in writing but also in presentation.[3] Since then, much has changed.

Ruth Finnegan's *Oral Poetry: Its Nature, Significance, and Social Context*, appearing in 1977, offered a wider sample of different kinds of oral poetry, only a few of which fit into the strict Oral Theory as formulated by Albert Lord. Slowly, new ideas took shape, suggesting that orality and literacy be viewed as existing on a continuum, rather than as opposites. For instance,

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[1] The earliest evidence for a writing system in Bali is inscriptions that date from the 9th century CE; several inscriptions refer to performances, actors, and taxes related to performances. Some refer to episodes from the Indic heroic poems, the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*, texts that were brought to the Indonesian archipelago in written form, and which now exist with many variants, missing several books and episodes that may never have reached the islands.

[2] Amodio 2004:27, citing Lord 1960:129. The original scholarship of Parry and Lord is too well known for me to repeat it here; I highlight only the part of the research that concerns the present paper. A brief description of the Oral Theory and its foundations can be found in Foley 1988, espec. chapters 1-3.

[3] The authors who subscribe to this view are too many to enumerate: the idea was first articulated by Lord (although it was implied in the scholarship of many others), and was picked up and adjusted for dates according to individual authors' understanding. Gregory Nagy, in numerous publications (most importantly, 1996) argues for a later fixation in writing than most. He considers a *schema* of gradual fixation of the Homeric texts, analogous to a pattern developed by Stuart Blackburn (1989) for Indic heroic poetry.

El Poema de mio Cid and *Beowulf* now are believed to fit somewhere into a timeline that stretched from fully oral to fully literate: such texts are seen as "transitional" or "oral-derived."[4]

In his *The Theory of Oral Composition: History and Methodology* (1988), Foley not only provided a basic introduction to the theoretical work on orality and its origins, but also recapitulated the many disciplines and geographical areas that were under study during the 1980s, incorporating developments and new insights. The Oral Theory had provided new approaches to almost anyone involved with literature, folklore, history, anthropology and (some) linguistics, and understandably scholars were eager to apply the new findings to their own fields. At the same time, *The Theory of Oral Composition* documents the main preoccupations of the time: the "oral-formulaic context," themes, formulas, and whether a work was "oral" in origin, or "oral-derived." Subsequent publications, as well as the journal *Oral Tradition* (started by Foley in 1986) continue to provide further world-wide examples of oral poetries, current as well as historical, and to depict the many ways oral poets function and maintain a foothold in their societies.

The role of literacy in the preservation of oral poetry and also in the creation of new (and old) oral poetry is now generally accepted, and now, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, has liberated research and fieldwork from the earlier restraint that insinuated that "[oral poetry] must be everything written poetry wasn't" (Foley 2002:36).[5]

More fieldwork and data continues to be gathered by folklorists and anthropologists: they confirm what had already become apparent in Finnegan's work, that there were almost as many ways of composing oral poetry as there were practitioners of the art. The search for new answers led to a different emphasis in fieldwork. Lauri Honko (2000:11-12) notes that in the 1970s "a new paradigm was ready to question the basic tenets of the text-centered folklore research . . . It was dominated by the concept of "performance": the focus shifted from the words of the song to the singer and his/her performance, and in fact to the entire situation of performance, interaction with the audience and the processes of the construction of meaning in a particular cultural context."

Thus the single, one-size-must-fit-all, model is long gone, replaced by "all are different" sizes, and with emphasis on the *performative* aspect of oral poetry. The building blocks for the Parry-Lord model remain, and have proven immensely useful: improvisation in performance, the use of formulas and themes, the additive mode, the use of an archaic or obscure language, and so on, but, as it were, scholars have stepped back a bit and looked at the larger picture. As Honko (2000:13) puts it, "The shift of paradigms may be in the making as we turn to the new millennium . . . 'the performance is king' paradigm relativized texts, the next paradigm will probably relativize performance."

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[4] Foley 1990:329; Amodio 2004:27-30 on the slow changes (of which both audience and poets were probably unaware) that Anglo-Saxon (oral) poets underwent as literacy encroached on their domain: "They [poets composing in writing in the vernacular] represented a development of, rather than a departure from, the oral tradition that preceded them" (Amodio 2004:30). The transformation from oral to literate is slow, but in the case of mediaeval English literature, took place as described.

[5] For a summary of what "oral poetry" includes today, see Foley 2002:espec. 22-57 and 2005:196-212.

My own work parallels the history of scholarship on orality: my first encounter with Balinese performance in the early 1980s drove me to question the then-current focus on texts and their formulary, and the virtual prohibition against the discussion of the role of literacy. The problem with the Balinese, as I saw it, was the continuation of the use of improvisation in their performances, in spite of the presence of literacy and written texts. I was not able to solve this conundrum until the mid-nineties.[6] Many other students of South Asia and Southeast Asia had encountered similar obstacles and had drawn similar conclusions.[7]

But now, again ten years later, I believe there is more going on, given the overwhelming evidence from other societies that literacy indeed (slowly) pushes out oral improvised performances. Why would the Balinese be so different? To continue the metaphor introduced in the paragraph above, I was forced to step back even further so that an even larger picture could emerge: the performance as an integral part of a major event in a given society. This "stepping back" has allowed me to see the larger societal "context" as the main reason why performers would continue to improvise in performance, using written texts for guidance or inspiration, and why they next would create written texts that had definite oral characteristics.

Only a description of a performative event in Bali and all that it entails can describe what I mean by "context." Thus, I must begin by painting a picture of a Balinese performance and the staging of a play in the West. A close analysis of the Balinese system—supported by theoretical frameworks borrowed from anthropology, sociology, and performance arts—offers a new perspective on performance in ancient Greece by broadening our knowledge of the range of possibilities with respect to text fixation, memorization, and the interaction between performer, audience, society, and place. Archeological evidence ties ancient Greece into the larger framework I am trying to establish.

Balinese Performances and Their Setting

A Balinese performance changes each time it is given. The differences are not small, or just matters of phrasing or detail. A story told in performance can have a different ending or beginning, last one hour or four, have additional characters or fewer, be tragic one time and comical the next. Oftentimes, one single performer acts different characters, or tells a story in a dramatic monologue. In other words, it is not until the performance is *over* (or half-way over!) that a Balinese audience member can decide whether he or she has seen it before, as the quotation by McPhee in the introduction of this paper so nicely demonstrates. Such unexpected novelty is possible because the actor(s) improvise. All performers employ a variety of sources, including written plot summaries, fully written-out versions of epic poems describing historical events, and many stories that are well-known although not written down anywhere. Balinese performers are literate, some in the Balinese script and all in Indonesian, which uses *huruf latin* ("Latin script"). The customary explanation for improvisation in performance—illiteracy and/or

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[6] For a brief historical background to the Balinese improvisational technique, see de Vet 1996.

[7] See footnote 13.

lack of available written texts —can thus be discarded. The main reason for improvisation, the performers explain, is that it makes the stories more interesting, both for the audience and the performer. Improvisation allows for adjustment and adaptation to the current social situation in the village or town where the performance is given, a fact of which the audiences are well aware.

Dramatic performances always form part of larger events: usually temple festivals, or smaller family celebrations, such as the many rituals related to rites of passage. The performance must be connected to this event by content and by form: no play about witchcraft at a wedding, for instance! In the case of a temple festival, the performance will be paid for from the contributions that have been collected from those worshipping there. If the festival is large, with audiences attending from all over the island, the performer will consider it an honor to have been invited, and will receive just a small fee to cover his cost, plus just a bit extra. No festival or celebration can take place *without* a performance: performances are a necessary ingredient. Audience members do not pay (except perhaps indirectly through their contributions to the temple) for the privilege of attending a performance.

But the audience is not only human. In Bali, the gods expect to be entertained as well. A performance is as much an offering as is the food that is brought to the temples to be blessed. Performances serve to remind the divine audiences (as well as the human ones) of the ties that exist between them and their worshippers, and the connection between the village, its inhabitants, and the story told. Historical links between clans, villages, and kingdoms are recalled; the importance of ritual and sacrifice are reiterated, as are other moral messages. Thus a Balinese play is suitable for delivering a direct, up-to-date, and pertinent message: whereas a Western play can suggest that "le crime ne paye pas" *in general,* a Balinese play can make that connection the day after "le crime." For example, the recent illegal sale of land to politicians and influential rich developers to build more luxury hotels was lampooned in a play set in the fifteenth century. The fifteenth-century character lamented that, had he known how much the land would fetch later, he would have made sure to conquer it![8]

The above description of some of the factors that shape a Balinese performance already offers some insights as to why Balinese performances are constructed so differently from Western ones. In order to be successful, a performer needs to be aware of the pressing social circumstances in the village where he is to perform. As offerings paid for by the community, performances must tie into local events, affairs, and concerns. In other words, it is the *social environment* of the performance that influences its content: changes in that environment, or context, will affect the outcome.

At this point I must define "context" more precisely, since I will argue that it is the most important factor in the continuation of improvisation even if literacy is available. "Context" here includes anything that affects the content of a performance: the locale where the performance takes place (temple? someone's home? the beach?);[9] the reasons for its presentation (festival? private event? divinity involved?); who pays for, or sponsors, the performance (the community?

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[8] Personal observation, July 2002.

[9] Although many performances take place in temple courtyards, there is no limit on where a performance can occur; oftentimes, it is only the music that cues the audience on what they may be getting to see.

an individual?); and the date or time of performance (religious? private ritual? is the day auspicious or inauspicious?). Another loosely related factor might be the choice of performer, since each has a more or less known repertoire and abilities; also, the person or committee who chooses the performer will affect the outcome. The intended audience also may influence the choice of the play, or the delivery: some villages are considered to be more educated than others, or may have higher standards, and so on. The combination of all these factors plays a decisive role in the shaping of the performance: the performance and its language and story do not only reflect the society and its concerns, they are shaped by it.

However, saying that the environment, or context, shapes a performance is not telling the entire story; at the same time, the performance aims to influence the audience. As I stated above, the performance is an obligation, an offering, and a reaffirmation of the ties that bind the gods, humans, and their world. The story describes proper and improper behavior, contrasting past and present at dazzling speed, while critiquing human as well as divine foibles. The performance is not only *de*scriptive, but also *pre*scriptive: it attempts to influence or change society, or solve some immediate problem of human or divine origin.[10]

Context then, for a Balinese performance, is huge: it decides every single aspect of the performance itself. But, at the same time, the "context" cannot exist without the performance.[11] That is to say, in Balinese society, a festival without a performance is unthinkable. It would not only be considered a "cheap" festival, or a lackadaisical one; it would not be considered a festival, and the whole (much larger) event of which it forms part would have to be cancelled. And canceling a festival or celebration, or otherwise upsetting the ritual calendar, is unheard of. It does not happen. Doing so has terrible consequences. For example, in 1963 the Indonesian Government demanded the Balinese hold a once-in-a-century month-long ceremony to launch the President's "New Order." Such a request could not be refused. During the preparations for the festival, the main volcano on the island, Agung, began to rumble and smoke. Huge eruptions followed during the ceremonies, almost destroying the main temple complex at Besakih where the ceremonies were held, and wreaking devastation on the eastern part of the island. Many people died, and there was a great famine. Sukarno, the president, never showed. The Balinese—and many Indonesians—viewed these events as a divine response to typical over-reaching by a ruler. The political regime collapsed in 1965 (Lansing 1983:129-37).

To summarize, then, the context for a performance in Bali is everything one can imagine: what animals were sacrificed, what food was cooked, which people were in charge, who drove the truck, who provided the musicians, who came, and who did not come. If it started to rain, that

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[10] There is a vast literature on ritual (which includes performance) and its purpose(s) in anthropology. Authors or their theories are not detailed or specifically laid out here, since the main concepts are well accepted, although authors may differ on matters of detail. See, for instance, Durkheim 1968, Van Gennep 1960, Malinowski 1935, Radcliffe-Brown 1952, Turner 1969, Rappaport 1968, Schechner 1993, and Geertz 1973.

[11] My definition of "context" thus is very different from, for example, the meaning of "context" in a recent edited volume: *Oral Performance and its Context* (Mackie 2004), where the meaning of the word "context" seems to refer mostly to the (presumed) presence of other oral texts or oral media, a background against which the different authors' choices are profiled. Underlying each author's paper is the assumption that written texts were on the increase, and that the customs of orality were on the decrease, unless they were "oral" recitations of written texts.

is also part of the context (what were the gods thinking?). Henceforth, when I refer to "context" it is this larger frame of reference that I have in mind.

It is thus not surprising then that Parry and Lord focused on literacy as the underlying cause for the fading of oral improvisation. Given their interest in the textualization of the Homeric poems, in the illiteracy of Homer documented already in antiquity, and in the presence of oral improvised performances in areas of the Former Yugoslavia where illiteracy rates were high, it is not surprising that "literacy" was identified as the culprit for the disappearance of the oral medium. But, as we saw before, literacy in Bali—even in several different languages—does not seem to inhibit a performer's improvisational skills, nor does it affect his ability to compose written poetry in an oral style with the use of specialized ancient languages learned in childhood. The upshot of this simple observation is twofold. First, it follows that the advent of a writing system, or even general literacy, need not be an impediment to continued improvisation. Second, the arrival of the alphabet or a writing system need not be a chronological marker for the fixation of written texts, since in Bali texts can migrate from oral to written and back again, as I have described elsewhere.[12]

Thus, I argue that it is not so much the advent or existence of literacy that seems to cut short the improvisational nature of performance as some other factor. More compelling, in my view, is the argument that once the context or social environment changes sufficiently and the influence and power of performances is lost, then the use a society has for such improvised performances diminishes. This observation finds support in Lord's reports on how the South Slavic singers had previously been more widely respected. Improvisation will cease when the group that benefited from such performances (be they the sponsors or the audiences) loses interest in either paying for a performance or in attending it. In what follows below I will explore evidence supporting my suggestion that it is societal change—"context" (in its widest, "Balinese" meaning) rather than the advent or existence of literacy—that marginalizes oral improvised performance in a society.

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[12] See de Vet 1996 for Balinese texts. Briefly summarized, performers employ a special "performance language," or *Kunstsprache*, which in Bali, for instance, can be used for both the written and the oral medium. Whereas in most Western cultures there is a marked difference between how people express themselves in writing and how they express themselves orally, the Balinese *Kunstsprache* is amenable to both media. This overlap (or coinciding) of what are to us two distinct ways of expression makes it difficult to apply Western categories: written texts are not necessarily more formal, nor do they employ more complex terms, nor do they use more abstractions, etc. The lines are drawn differently in Austronesian languages in general. The performance language is special: the performer has active knowledge of it, while the members of the audience may vary in their fluency of understanding. It is for this reason that many performers provide translations into the local vernacular in "asides." The situation is further complicated by the high number of registers (particular varieties of the common language appropriate for certain situations) that the Balinese use in everyday communication: caste, class, gender, location, age, and the situation in which one finds oneself all influence not only vocabulary and expression but also body language, silences, and ultimate outcomes of conversations. Specialists have counted multiple registers in everyday Balinese; add to this the *Kunstsprache* of the performances and the "registers" that the performer uses to depict conversations between, say, a king and a divine giant (who is higher in status? only a Balinese performer can answer this question!), followed by the need to translate this elevated conversation into the local dialect (while still observing status differences between characters, while not forgetting the status of the audience and their level of understanding), and one can see how intricate it can all become. See also Zurbuchen 1987:63-81.

Anthropology, Archeology, and Performance Studies

There are three related fields that offer more formal and theoretical support for this hypothesis. After highlighting the theoretical concepts developed by each field, I will show how these theories can be applied to the ancient material, emphasizing "context" in each instance.

Anthropology is the first field to be examined. It provides comparative material on contemporary societies practicing oral performance, where the poetry reflects, and affects, the societies themselves. Bali is just one of many cases, as I stated above. Other scholars have written on performance in India, and elsewhere in Indonesia, where similar traditions of performance are found.[13] The second discipline is archaeology. Anthropology and archaeology are closely related and frequently utilize the same theoretical frameworks. However, archaeologists work with populations that are no longer extant, so they must find material evidence and other sources to support their interpretations. In the case of classical archaeology, of course, there are the ancient texts as well. Nonetheless, these texts should be approached with less certainty than is often the case, since they are burdened with two thousand years of interpretation. The third and final field is performance studies, which teaches that the staging of a performance in any society brings with it particular requirements and limitations. These shared constraints concerning the creation of performances allow us to make some general inferences that apply across cultures.

Anthropology

At the beginning of the twentieth century (or thereabouts), anthropologists and classicists shared common interests. When anthropologists began to ask the question "Why do people in different societies act and think the way they do?" they only rephrased a question already posed by Renaissance scholars, as the early Humanists pondered the differences between Christians, Greeks, Romans, Jews, themselves, and any other newly encountered populations.[14]

In the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first few decades of the twentieth century a second wave washed over all fields, bringing the first systematic analyses of "primitive" tribal societies. Sir James Frazer set the example for many of his successors when in 1890 his *Golden Bough: A Study in Comparative Religion* was published. This work kept on growing and was published multiple times; it is still in print today. In the English-speaking world the works of the Cambridge school provide a good example of the influence of such anthropological studies: Jane Harrison's *Themis* appeared in 1912, Gilbert Murray's *The Four Stages of Greek Religion* also dates from 1912, and Francis (Macdonald) Cornford's *The Origin of Attic Comedy* was published two years later. The basic premise that the younger scholars developed was that all ritual, rites, and dramatic performances in Greece were derived from a "primal ritual," or *Sacer Ludus*. This "primal ritual" had several stages, of which vestiges could be found in all plays.

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[13] See, for instance, Hiltebeitel 1999; Brückner 1995; Tol 1990 for a Buginese tradition; Blackburn et al. 1989; Flueckiger and Sears 1991; Lutgendorf 1994; Richman 1991; Honko 2000.

[14] See Grafton 1997 and MacGormack 1997.

The classicists of that time imagined that theatrical performances could be placed on an evolutionary ladder: first there was ritual, and gradually performances and theater became detached from their primal *raison d'être*, ritual. With modifications, this belief continues. But, as anthropologists point out, all societies have theater, performances, and rituals, and games and sports as well. So rather than investigate which came first, or which gave birth to which, an investigation of why rituals, performances, and sporting events so often take place together would seem more fruitful. Many dissimilar events exist under the umbrella of festivals, and thus festivals must be seen as providing the context for performances. The identification of the main objective of festivals is thus potentially relevant to the question of the ultimate purpose of performances. For Bali the goal of performances has already been discovered: to please the gods, and to influence public opinion and action. One of the main actors, so to speak, in this public relations event is the performer of epic or historical poetry. To facilitate his goal, and to ensure that he is up to date, the performer relies on improvisation.

In what follows I will briefly describe some general characteristics of festivals, and argue that they match the driving force behind Balinese performances. My main purpose is to uncover what further information can be extracted from the ancient Greek data to shed light on performances of the Homeric epics.

Activities such as festivals, in which an entire community participates at a scheduled time and place, promote social cohesion and (may) prevent conflict. As Victor Turner writes, "every type of cultural performance, including ritual, ceremony, carnival, theatre, and poetry, is explanation and explication of life itself" (1982:13). Here Turner broadens van Gennep's account of the three phases in a rite of passage: *separation, transition, and incorporation*, but gives it a more positive twist by positing that shared liminality could bring about a state of *communitas* among participants. By taking part—and everyone has to take part—individuals and groups accept their allotted position in society. Frequent repetition of such occasions reminds citizens, women, children, foreigners, and slaves of where they stand in a literal sense. In addition, those who organize festivals obtain plenty of symbolic capital, of course.

In ancient Greece, every major city sponsored annual festivals bringing together the entire polity and its periphery. People from all over flocked to the cities to participate, to watch, or to play their part in the economic exchanges made possible by the presence of so many people from so many different areas. For this discussion I have selected the Panathenaia, given that the performance of the Homeric epics are known to have formed part of the events. Of all festivals, the Panathenaia, which took place every year on a small scale and every fourth year on a more international level, are the best known. Textual information on this festival is fairly reliable, and there are many archeological remains for fifth-century Athens as well. Of particular interest will be whose point of view was propagated to influence public opinion and action.

The events incorporated in the Panathenaia were mostly of a competitive nature: there were individual competitions, athletic as well as artistic, tribal athletic contests, manly beauty contests, and so on. The emphasis on competition seems to contradict Turner's point, which stresses unification and coming together. However, the purpose of competition in the games was ranking of the participants, and implied acceptance of the ranking principle. Later, all are re-unified by participating in larger events. Thus, at the Panathenaia we see communal dancing, all-

night wakes, processions, sacrifice, and the sharing of food at the very end, bringing together all both physically and symbolically.

Of particular interest is that our textual sources highlight the formulation of rules for the organization of the festival in the sixth and fifth century BCE, when democracy in Athens was coming into its own. And, on the surface, the festival appeared to be based on democratic principles. For instance, the organizers for this festival were chosen by lot from the ten tribes, as *The Constitution of Athens* (60.1-3) informs us. One would think that this would have provided an excellent opportunity to shed the competitive aspects. But the opposite happened: even though democracy implies equality (at least of all free-born, male citizens), it is at precisely this time that the competitive aspect of the festival gained greater prominence, as more groups began to participate. This development was possible, I believe, because the entire (original) structure of the festival was hierarchical and aristocratic, and so the elected or chosen participants had to follow patterns and strategies from which they could not deviate. Moreover, the duties assigned to the elected officials or those drawn by lot lasted at the most four years. Thus, rather than equality for the entire population of Attica, the activities at the Panathenaia (and elsewhere) endorsed *in*equality, and promoted acceptance of this inequality. The point of view that comes to the fore during festivals, then, is not that of the *dêmos*. So whose ideology was furthered in festivals and, by extension, in performances?[15]

The story of the mythical origins of the Panathenaia give us our first clue. The festival was thought to have been instituted by mythical kings or rulers, by Theseus or king Erichthonius, and to have been remodeled and enlarged by the historical statesmen Cleisthenes, Pisistratus, and Hipparchus. Thus, the mythical beginnings of the Panathenaia were linked to royalty, to the aristocracy, and to the Acropolis. Over time, new groups were included as full participants in the main festival and events proliferated. But each additional event followed the same pattern as the already existing activities, promoting competition, the ability to win a prize, and glory for the winner's tribe. In short, the goal of every event continued to be the same: the ranking of people and groups in relation to one another. After having been reordered in this way, all were re-"incorporated" during the final feasting.

The processions of the Great Panathenaia further illustrate the ordering principle. Processions serve as "ranking" systems *par excellence*: where one walks, what one carries, what one wears clearly signal one's position relative to the other members of that society. The greater the potential for conflict in a society, the more attention is paid to this kind of thing. Thucydides' story about the murder of Hipparchus, the brother of the tyrant Hippias, during the Panathenaic festivities is revealing. Hipparchus was murdered for personal reasons: he had used his powerful political position to bar the sister of a young man from participating in some other procession. The young man and his lover planned to murder both brothers in revenge, but Hippias escaped being murdered, we are told, because he was "arranging the order in which the several parts of

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[15] By "ideology" I mean that particular set of beliefs, ideals, assumptions, and customs that belong to a dominant group in a society, and to which most members of that society subscribe, consciously or unconsciously. It is transmitted from one generation to the next, and from one group in society to another. Thus an ideology is not only a reflection of a particular worldview, but also a lesson that is taught and learned over a lifetime. The imposition of one group's ideology on others is obviously the goal; ideology can thus be understood as a source of social power.

the procession were to go forward," and it would have been too dangerous to kill him in front of so many (Thuc. 6.56-57).

The above anecdote, as well as our knowledge of the organization of the entire festival, reveals that those in charge, those who formed the backbone and provided continuity, belonged to the aristocratic and wealthiest families of Athens. Assistance and assistants were obtained, by lot, from other free Athenians; but, like the events added on to the festival, the new jobs were also made to fit an existing pattern. The performance of heroic poetry, in the form of the Homeric poems, becomes more understandable: it was a means to proclaim the enduring value of the aristocracy to all citizens at once.

Archaeology

Archaeology is the second field for our investigation of the context of ancient performance. Archaeology has of old been the stand-by for classicists on such topics as the material culture of the Bronze and Iron Ages, and archaeological finds were interpreted as illustrative of the heroic lifestyle. As Morris observed, "classical archaeology was text-driven, trying to illuminate philology, not challenge it" (2000:89).

How can archaeology help us challenge our textual biases? Can archaeology provide a context for performances of the Homeric poems beyond ruins of theaters or depictions of *rhapsodes* or *aoidoi* on vases? Can the archaeology of ancient Greece confirm, or refute, the schema developed in the preceding section on anthropology? Ideally, then, archaeology should confirm that there existed a physical context that allotted great importance to public space. At the same time, it should show that the aristocracy held ideological supremacy in all matters of importance, and reveal the existence of mechanisms of ranking. Finding such evidence would support the argument made earlier for performance as a likely tool in the tug for supremacy between *dêmos* and aristocracy.

Over the past decade or so, archaeologists have begun to interpret objects and buildings as transformations of beliefs, ideas, values, and stories into physical realities. Buildings, monuments, and objects are seen as "materializations" of ideology, and as such indicate whose interests ranked highest. For example, structures (especially large ones meant for assemblies and performances) are viewed as materializations of collective social action. Thus Athens, which relied on corporate power, constructed many public edifices after its destruction by the Persian army. In less than 60 years, the Athenians built walls around their city and its port, a job begun by Themistocles and finished under Pericles in 445. Pericles is credited with the reconstruction of temples and other religious buildings. Completed were the Parthenon, the temple to Athena Nike, the Erechtheion, the Propylaea, the Theseion, the Panathenaic road, and most temples in the lower city. Public buildings comprised the Tholos, the southern Stoa, the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, the tribunal in the Agora, the Pompeion, and the Sacred Gate. The Agora itself underwent restructuring; also built were the theater of Dionysus, and the Odeion, a covered theater where the Homeric performances supposedly took place.[16] In brief, all construction was intended to provide various types of public spaces, some explicitly meant for ritual and

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[16] See Travlos 1972.

performances. During the Panathenaia, all the newly built sites were activated at once, linking them in a vast web.

By contrast, a city like Sparta, with one group firmly in control and no need to foster group collaboration, did not spend its resources on something so unnecessary. This we learn from Thucydides, to whom the connection "impressive buildings: power" was not unknown. Comparing Athens and Sparta, he prophetically remarks how (Thuc. 1.10.2; trans. R. Crawley),

> . . . if Lacedaimon were to become desolate, and the temples and the foundations of the public buildings were left, that as time went on there would be a strong disposition with posterity to refuse to accept her fame as a true exponent of her power . . . the city is neither built in a compact form, nor adorned with magnificent temples and public edifices . . . if Athens were to suffer the same misfortune, I suppose that any inference from the appearance presented to the eye would make her power to have been twice as great as it is.

While the massive construction program in Athens appears to demonstrate the communal power of the people, the organizing power behind it came from the aristocracy. Members of the aristocracy orchestrated the effort, allotted the money, and gave the orders—and the craftsmen and artists owed their income to the goodwill of the elite. The huge theaters, an innovation at the time, presented audiences with a physical setting that must have reminded them of the descriptions of royal palaces in the Homeric poems, or the impressive (royal) architecture that existed elsewhere in the ancient world. Even though the monumental city expressed shared power, at the same time its theaters, temples, and assembly halls "materialized" aristocratic grandeur and the stories told about past glory, when the aristocracy reigned supreme.

The Parthenon frieze with its impressive depiction of a Panathenaic procession provides an excellent illustration of the materialization of ideology. The frieze shows citizens, foreigners, children, women, and cattle moving *in order;* the motif was repeated on vases and cups. I call attention to the frieze here, since it represents the materialization of an ephemeral event, which itself was already a materialization of the existing social order, as I outlined in the previous section. But it was not only buildings and locations that reminded the inhabitants of the city of their respective places in society. Objects, too, could deliver powerful messages. For instance, the winners of the games and competitions received as prizes amphorae filled with sacred olive oil from the very hands of the aristocratic organizers. These amphorae, as well as smaller copies, have been found all over the Mediterranean world. As prized possessions, accompanied by a story about how they were won, brought, and what they meant, they spread the fame of the city of Athens, its citizens, its rule, and its power.

A further list of "materialized" symbolic objects related to the Panathenaia could be drawn up, but the main point of this discussion was to call attention to the potential of objects to illuminate the ideology of the time. Public space allotted for communal feasting and worship demonstrates the democratic spirit of Athens, but the style, scale, and the decorations betray the persistence of aristocratic values. A prize amphora may say something about a winner, but it also says something about the giver of the prize, the event itself, and ultimately the context of its reception.

Archaeology thus confirms the existence of an ideological contest between the *dêmos* and members of the aristocracy, expressed in buildings and objects, and in the choice of ephemeral events to be depicted, that is, "materialized," in the communal space. What remains to be discussed are the technical aspects of creating a performance under such circumstances. If context is so important, how then would a performer of the Homeric epics bring his material to market? How would he continue to please his audience, which is engaged in an ever-changing political and ideological competition? How would he convince? The answers to such questions can be found in performance theory, the last field to be discussed.

Performance Theory

Performance theory, a hybrid discipline that borrows from anthropology, folklore studies, and linguistics, focuses in part on the physical requirements of the staging of performances, a topic that bears directly on our interest in "context" and the influence of context on the shaping of performances. The importance of performance studies for our understanding of the purpose of performances, and how these goals affect the performative event, has increased over the last ten to fifteen years. Here I want to look at just a small sub-section of these new findings: the rules that govern performances. There are physical limitations and requirements that every performer and performance faces, no matter where or in which society. Richard Schechner, who is both anthropologist and stage director, has explored the constraints, internal as well as external, that are imposed on performers and performances. He suggests that the force of the constraints is applied differently depending on whether a performance is improvised or enacted from a memorized script.

Schechner divides the performative event into different frames that fit inside each other. Each frame governs certain rules, or expectations. The first and largest (outer) frame is the *performance* itself: the entire event, including audience, technicians, play, musicians, and so on. *Space*, the second frame, refers to the locale: in Western society, it is usually a theater building, concert hall, stadium, or the stage itself. The *conventions*, or third frame, are culturally determined; they represent the expectations of the audience of how "acting" is done, or of what can and cannot be shown in a performance. The next frame, *drama*, is the text written by the author. For instance, a tragedy has different rules from a comedy and so on.

The fifth frame is formed by the *director*, who will impose his rules or ideas on the actor. At the center of the performance stands the *actor* himself. We have moved from the outer frame, the performance, to the center. Each frame has its particular set of rules, and "each inner frame contains within it the rules established by frames further out" (Schechner 1988:14). Based on his twenty-five years of experience in the theater and of observing performances worldwide, Schechner states that "there is an 'axiom of frames' which generally applies in the theater: the looser an outer frame, the tighter the inner, and conversely, the looser the inner, the more important the outer" (*idem*).

To understand the relevance of Schechner's frames, we have to bear in mind that we look at this from the performer's perspective. In the West, the outermost frame is clearly defined: an audience that pays and wants to see the performance. The music, the play, the technicians—all is decided even before the performer is hired. The audience does not influence these choices,

although producers of course try to guess what may please. Second, we have the theater, with a stage, and lights, and the customary props. Again, a Western actor does not control this frame. Now the third frame: the "cultural conventions." In the West, an actor is supposed to act natural—there are certain ways to be funny or speak tragically, certain ways to do Shakespeare or historical plays—but on the whole the conventions are not very burdensome. The fourth frame, consisting of the play or drama, controls the Western actor. He must know it by heart, he must memorize it and he cannot change it. The director, who makes up the fifth frame, controls the actor even more: he tells him where to stand, when to sit, when to cry, when to speak, and so on. And ultimately, at the center is the actor himself, with enormous pressure. Is he or she the right person for the role? Is he or she young or old enough? Beautiful enough? Is he or she well cast? So we see that in Western theater we move from loose outer frames to very constricting inner frames.

In Balinese performances the frames are weighted very differently. It is almost the opposite of the Western approach. Again, I start at the periphery. The subject, the topic, the play, is selected by the performer himself from a range of possible stories. His goal is to please his audience or engage them, so the outermost frame puts most pressure on him. He controls the musicians and the attendants. The second frame, the performance space, can be anywhere: a busy festival, a beach, a place where members of the community may have traveled for purification rituals, or a temple courtyard. So it is up to the performer to establish where the action depicted in his performance is taking place: a court? a temple? the fifteenth century? Java? The third frame, the "cultural conventions," is very strong: there are certain languages and registers, kinds of expressions, and verb forms that can be used in only one kind of play and not in another. Gestures, facial expressions, poses, eye movements, dress, music, voice, intonation are all decided by the medium; they include stock characters and situations, audience expectations of actor's behavior, and so on. However, a good actor learns these things fairly quickly, and therefore the pressure is less. The next frame is formed by the "drama" itself. As I have already explained, in Bali there is no such thing. There is no unitary dramatic text that must be performed; instead, there are notebooks, plot outlines, written stories, complete scripts in verse—texts which have been around for a millennium, if not longer. It is up to the actor to make something from them. Most remarkably, there is no forced memorization. The next frame, the director, is also missing. Again, it is the actor who decides where to stand, how to speak. At the center, there is the Balinese performer. He has total freedom. The inner frames are so loose that they hardly exist.

Transferring Schechner's frame analysis to Greek performances and performers in contexts such as the Panathenaia brings interesting results.[17] As stated before, most performances formed part of festivals, and took place in front of a diverse population. The audience generally did not pay; the musicians, the topic, and all else was coordinated by the performer himself (Plato, *Ion*: *passim*; Hdt. 1.23-24). Thus a Greek performer of historic poems, for instance, had more responsibility for the success of the first frame than his modern Western colleague. The

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[17] To continue to comparison of "like with like," I am avoiding the competitions of plays involving numerous actors and a chorus, which evolved during the fifth century BCE and began to require the use of a director, customarily also the author of the play or set of plays.

second frame, space, did not become fixed until the middle of the fifth century, when the first permanent theaters were built. But even with established performance space, the performer still had to explain where he was, what time the action was taking place, who his characters were, and so on. There were no helpful props: providing the time-frame for the story depended on the actor. The third frame, conventions, was genre-related. Performers of the Homeric poems dressed up in imaginative fancy costumes. For the audience, just seeing the costume defined who the performer was representing. The fourth frame, "drama," is the text to be performed, and of course this is the core point of many arguments. Did the Greek performers of the Homeric poems memorize written or oral texts or, as I argue, did they improvise? Many, unfamiliar with improvising performers, argue that such long texts *must* have been memorized: how else could the ancient language and its oral aspects have been preserved? However, the attraction of Schechner's framework is that it gives a plausible and practical explanation for continued improvisation. How a Balinese or Indian performer learns the performance language and maintains the oral style is described elsewhere.[18]

The fifth frame is the director. But performers of the Homeric poems did not have directors; it was not until tragedies and comedies took on their familiar (to us) shape that their authors became directors at the same time, and told actors what to do. Performers of Homer never had directors. We have now reached the center: the performer himself. If Schechner is correct, then the performer of Greek epic poetry would have had considerable freedom.

Conclusions

I will briefly restate the main points as they apply to ancient Greece, and move from more general to specific points.

The setting, or context, in which the performer during the Panathenaia found himself was a festival: an event that glorified the unity of the Athenians and their immediate neighbors, and which had as its underlying and unifying theme a more abstract and general concept, "Greekness." The entire festival was concerned with grouping people, ordering these groups, and uniting them into one large harmonious society by the end of the festival. The ultimate goal was to persuade all that they found themselves in the right place—socially (hierarchically), politically, and economically. Hierarchy, and respect for hierarchy, counted. Persuasion, especially in a *polis* that relied on consensus for its survival, counted as well.

The concept of materialization, developed by archaeologists, gives further substance to the above observations. The physical context of Athenian *polis* demonstrated the great emphasis that it placed on democratic rule. Consensus was expressed in massive buildings, especially after the Persian Wars had destroyed the city, and the Athenians found it necessary to "re-imagine" their city from the ground up. But the archaeological evidence associated with the Panathenaia also shows the persistence of aristocratic values, most clearly in the emphasis on the depiction of rank orders in the competitions, prizes, performances, processions, and so on. Societies concerned with equality, consensus, and democracy are not concerned with ranking; it is

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[18] See de Vet 1996:43-76.

therefore significant that Athenian society should have become so obsessed by it. The tone of the festival continued, or emphasized, the values held by the aristocracy of old, and the festival gained in size and glory just as the aristocracy was losing its unquestioned and direct economic and political supremacy.

Performances are "materialized" history, and it is in this sense that we should consider the increased importance given to the performance of the Homeric poems. It was not that the poems were unknown before the time of Pisistratus, but they gained in importance because they were able to deliver the aristocratic code in palatable fashion. If I am correct, then the ancient stories on how the Homeric poems were introduced into the city, or why they gained in prominence, become more understandable. The loss of political and military power drove the aristocrats to seek new venues in which to assert their power. This is the social context in which performances took place.

Schechner's framework theory further confirms the importance of context on the shaping of performances. Unlike Western theatrical performances, where the context and outer frames have very little weight and certainly do nothing to promote unity and a sense of belonging among its audiences, ancient performances played an important part in societal harmony. The constraint of having to please an audience by the appropriateness of the content of his performance can help us understand how a poet or performer under such circumstances would respond. Given that the performer found himself bound by the outer frames to a much higher degree than a present-day Western performer, we would expect him to be able to improvise. Like his later Balinese colleague, he may have had at his disposal multiple versions of the poems, both oral and written. The ancient performer commanded a performance language, and had stock characters, themes, masks, and fixed expressions at his disposal. All these were tools that could help him skirt the sensibilities of both *dêmos* and aristocrats. Rather than a relic from the past, or an indulgence of aristocratic nostalgia, the Homeric performances could be made relevant to matters immediately at hand. Competitions—and we know that there were competitions of reciters of the Homeric poems—would be made more exciting and interesting depending on the improvisational skills of the various performers.[19] How well could they highlight a certain conflict, for instance, so that it might shed light on current controversy? How well could a performer describe a battle, so that all the veterans in the audience were mentally brought back to similar traumatic events? How well could a performer postpone and lengthen recognition scenes, teasing the audience? The outlines of all the Homeric stories were known—as similar stories are known in Bali. Yet to tell these stories masterfully, again and again, requires improvisation and not repetition of the already known.

Two themes dominate events in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*: unity in the face of division and a respect for social hierarchy, even if, on some occasions, the characters seem about to rebel. The Homeric epics formed excellent vehicles for achieving the goals of unity: their underlying Pan-Hellenic theme ensured that even enemy cities and states could be shown to have (had)

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[19] Plato's *Ion* (530a-42b) is the most obvious example. When Ion encounters Socrates, the first question he is asked is about his performance at the competition in Epidaurus, and his prospects for the upcoming one on the occasion of the Panathenaia in Athens. Jenifer Neils (1992, 1996) examines the archaeological record and inscriptions about performances, contests, and prizes.

something in common. Moreover, the Greeks prided themselves on defeating the Persian army not so many decades ago—no wonder poems celebrating similar heroic acts gained such popularity. Participants and audiences from all over Hellas could enjoy and absorb any other messages that were also included besides unity against a common eastern enemy. On a less generic level, both poems strongly emphasize aristocratic values as a unifying theme. Singled out for praise is a special quality: respect for hierarchy. Although Achilles rebelled against personal injustice and insult, in the end he participated in the war. His death was not part of the poems, but every single audience member knew that he was doomed. The aristocratic code, reinforced by the poetry, would not let him escape.

The *Odyssey* delivers similar messages. The Pan-Hellenic theme of unity does not have to be foregrounded, because it is a given; Troy has been taken by the united force of the Greeks. Now the nobility returns to their respective homes. The return story or *nostos* of one Greek leader is chosen, Odysseus. His followers and minor nobility perish on the way home: most because of disobedience, and some unfortunate ones because of blind obedience—those who believed that nothing would happen when the ship had to sail between Scylla and Charybdis. It also shows, of course, the absolute power of the (aristocratic) leader. Once back on Ithaca, an additional number of noblemen are killed by three generations of Odysseus' clan for being unruly and disrespectful during his absence, for not remembering that Odysseus is their lord and master, and for not respecting hierarchy.

There was a further message in the *Odyssey* for the attending Athenian audiences: Odysseus is helped all along by Athena—in whose honor the Panathenaia took place. It was clear that the goddess favored clever aristocrats. But Odysseus had one major gift that made him an even better aristocrat than many others, including Achilles: he had the gift of suasion, which crosses social and geographical boundaries. Just as in the *Iliad* he had been able to stop the army from returning home, or in the Odyssey he could befriend a goatherd, or sway his wife, so he could, by the sheer rightfulness of his position and the help of the Goddess, reclaim his kingdom, and avoid his own killing at the hand of the relatives of the murdered suitors.

At the same time, the Athenian aristocrats also had to show that they were not high-handed; after all, their city (as many other cities) functioned on democratic principles and believed in consensus. Thus, while the poems emphasized aristocratic values, they left some room for seemingly democratic assemblies. I argue that the assembly scenes in the *Iliad* are not misremembered remnants from a once historical past when nobles supposedly used assemblies to agree on a joint course of action, but rather intrusions of a present riddled with assemblies as a standard for group participation and joint social action. The assembly scenes reassured democratic audiences that the old aristocracy had always firmly supported the principle of consensus.

Taken together, the different findings from anthropology, archeology, and performance studies help gain insights into the context of the Homeric poems and the possible influence of these contexts on continued performances. These findings also highlight the motives for the performance of this particular kind of poetry and the influence that the poems may have exercised. I suggested that the poems' important role in social cohesion would encourage *improvised* performances to fit the occasion rather than *memorized* ones. I also showed that improvised performance is not a characteristic of oral societies alone, but that performers in

highly literate societies are equally capable of taking advantage of the flexibility provided by oral improvised performance. Taken a step further, the possible existence of oral improvised texts alongside written ones raises further questions concerning text-fixation, and whether it is likely that such an event took place at the advent of the alphabetic writing system or a little later, or whether text-fixation (especially of such well-known poetry as the Homeric poems) could have occurred as late as the third century BCE. It also puts in question whether "text-fixation" in itself is a phenomenon that is universal—but the answer to that question exceeds the issues addressed in this paper, and forms part of the subject of my current book-length project.[20]

Comparative research has provided new insights into performance, context, and improvisation. Milman Parry, by going to the Former Yugoslavia in the 1930s, showed the importance and relevance of fieldwork. His investigations provided us with fascinating opportunities to explore the past as well as the present. But our work is not done: more and more "new traditions" (if this is not a contradiction in terms!) are being discovered and recorded, for the benefit of both scholars and the communities themselves. To me, Parry's work presented an open invitation to explore further afield, and to investigate the Balinese performance traditions to find out why their singers—literate, semi-educated, illiterate, talented or not so talented—continued to improvise in performance. The Balinese performers conformed to all the "rules" that Parry and Lord discovered among the South Slavic *guslari* for their improvisations, but they also relied on written texts and a literary tradition that could trace its roots to ancient India. In the end, it turned out that the role performance plays in Balinese society was the deciding factor.

Parry and Lord's willingness to examine living singers to shed light on past performers was daring: it gave rise to a vast re-examination of medieval poetry, folk poetry, and other traditions, like the Siri epic studied by Honko, for instance. And surely, much more remains to be discovered. So before we conclude that we have reached our goal and now know how Homeric performances and textualization "eigentlich gewesen"—or had really happened, in the famous words of the nineteenth-century German historian Ranke—we should perhaps be mindful of the equally worthy and philosophical words of Madé Tantra, spoken in the mid-1930s and quoted at the beginning of this essay: "It is not yet certain; the story has not emerged."

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[20] For modern oral poetry the impulse toward textualization appears to come from the outside, as Honko shows in his overview of eleven oral traditions and the scholars who recorded the songs, from Lönnrot and the *Kalevala* at the beginning of the nineteenth century to John D. Smith and the P_b_ji epic of Rajasthan during the 1980s (Honko 1998:169-215).

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