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The 'Dance of Human Passions': Shakespeare's Treatment of Melancholy, Jealousy and Repentance

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Abstract

This thesis investigates Shakespeare's treatment of melancholy, jealousy and repentance in *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Othello* and *The Winter's Tale.* It aims to understand the complexity of Shakespeare's dramatic portrayal of these passions by historicising and contextualising their significance in the plays and the wider culture. Since the publication of the First Folio in 1623, Shakespeare's reputation as the supreme poet of the human passions has perpetuated. As such, Shakespeare's works offer a productive source and means for investigating a cultural history of emotions in the early modern period. This study disentangles the complexity of these compounded passions by situating them in their historical and cultural context. The early modern period was rich—intellectually, culturally, religiously and educationally—and the chief contributors to this richness were the cultural and religious movements of the Renaissance and the Reformation. Thousands of English and European treatises, conduct books and didactic pamphlets, along with classical works in their original Latin or Greek and in translation, were prolifically published on passion during the lifespan of Shakespeare. This research is primarily focused on how all these factors shaped Shakespeare's treatment and portrayal of these human passions in all their dazzling complexity.

In this way, the thesis provides both a comprehensive history of the three passions as well as a concomitant history of the wider cultural determinants and trends of his age. This research demonstrates that early modern theatre and Shakespeare's drama in particular are not only effective instruments to understand the particular characteristics of melancholy, jealousy and repentance in the period but also suggests the enduring relevance of Shakespeare as a means to trace the origins and development of emotional understanding in our own times. With the recent upsurge in interest in the history of emotion, the frontiers of the field are advancing. In this context, this research attempts to answer such questions as: how did Shakespeare acquire an insight into these social and cultural attitudes fundamental to the portrayal of these passions? What factors made him an acclaimed expert in the anatomy of the passions, as well as an emotional historiographer? How do these passions correlate to one another in the religious and secular discourses of the time? This study opens up further avenues to approach Shakespeare and his contemporaries from the perspective of the passions and contributes a new chapter to this still-burgeoning field of study in the humanities.

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Introduction

This study historicises Shakespeare's understanding and treatment of melancholy, jealousy and repentance through a close examination of *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *Macbeth* and *The Winter's Tale*.[1] Early modern attitudes and approaches to these passions emerge from a rich cultural and historical context that was nourished by a wide variety of intellectual, religious, political, educational and theatrical determinants in the wake of the Reformation and the Renaissance. These factors, intertwined with Shakespeare's familial and personal circumstances, provided an insight into these passions and shaped his understanding of them. In this way, his treatment of melancholy, jealousy and repentance is situated in the historical and social context of the period. For this reason, this thesis will encompass various factors prevalent in Shakespeare's society that enabled him to portray these passions in their unique early modern character.

Shakespeare's reputation as a poet of emotion has a long history. Writing in 1598, his contemporary, Frances Meres, identified Shakespeare as one of 'the most passionate' poets who understood '*the perplexities of Loue*'.[2] That same acute understanding of one of the strongest passions found in the poetry also finds expression in the drama as a cause of both melancholy and jealousy, as examined in the following chapters.

The publication of the First Folio in 1623 served to further cement this aspect of Shakespeare's reputation as a poet of 'feeling'. Contributing his own tribute in the prefatory poems, Leonard Digges writes:

> Nor shall I e're beleeue, or thinke thee dead
> (Though mist) vntill our bankrout Stage be sped
> (Impossible) with some new straine t' out-do
> Passions of Iuliet, and her Romeo;
> Or till I heare a Scene more nobly take,
> Then when thy half-Sword parlying Romans spake.
> Till these, till any of thy Volumes rest
> Shall with more fire, more feeling be exprest,

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[1] This choice of Shakespeare's plays does not imply that melancholy, jealousy and repentance are not portrayed in other plays, which may well be referred to accordingly.

[2] Francis Meres, *Palladis Tamia Wits Treasury Being the Second Part of Wits Common Wealth* (London: Printed by P. Short, 1598), p. 284.

Be sure, our Shake-speare, thou canst neuer dye,
But crown'd with Lawrell, liue eternally.[3]

Thus the celebrated immortality of the Bard and his works became intrinsically bound up with the 'fire' of Shakespeare's passion, expressed through the vivid portrayal of the passion of his characters. The deification of Shakespeare in the Victorian period continued and reinforced this tradition. For Thomas Carlyle, Shakespeare's 'all-seeing intellect' meant that 'he not only sorrowed, but triumphed over his sorrows', thus attesting Shakespeare's ingenuity in handling human passions.[4] Conversely and ironically, the correlation also fed the authorship controversy in the opposite trajectory. If the works displayed such an acuity of understanding of the human passions, then how could they have been authored by William Shakespeare of Stratford?

Historicising the three passions in four of Shakespeare's plays, as stated above, is the focus of this research. Although the entirety of Shakespeare's canon exhibits a comprehensive interest in early modern passions, these four plays in particular demonstrate a fascination with the complexity of melancholy, jealousy and repentance in their historical and cultural contexts. The passions analyzed in this study are of signal importance: firstly, for their high performative value from a theatrical perspective, the 'dance of human passions' in Ludwig Wittgenstein's phrase evoked as the title of this thesis; secondly, their complex history due to their pluralistic nature that incorporates prevalent attitudes and understanding, popular in oral and literary traditions of the time; and finally, their complex interconnectivity.[5]

With regards to melancholy, *Hamlet*, the 'Mona Lisa' of literature is the study of 'Renaissance England's most renowned case of melancholia'.[6] The play, thus, offers 'a cultural apotheosis of early modern melancholy', and hence this disease is the representative of all other instances of this passion portrayed elsewhere, for example, in *The Merchant of Venice* or *As You Like It* to name but two other plays.[7] Furthermore, *Hamlet* also reflects some

[3] William Shakespeare, *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies Published According to the True Originall Copies* (London: Printed by Isaac Iaggard, and Ed. Blount, 1623), A6^{r}.
[4] Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History* (London: Longman, 1906), p. 239.
[5] Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Culture and Value*, trans. by G. E. M. Anscombe and ed. by Anthony Kenny (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), p. 42.
[6] Julia Lupton and Kenneth Reinhard, *After Oedipus: Shakespeare in Psychoanalysis* (Aurora: The Davies Group, 2009); Mary Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) p. 77.
[7] J. F. Bernard, *Shakespearean Melancholy Philosophy, Form and the Transformation of Comedy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), p. 217.

autobiographical elements that resonate with the protagonist's melancholy connected to the loss of a father and a son. Similarly, *Othello* and *The Winter's Tale* are also carefully chosen because they represent 'the most flamboyant' portrayal of different kinds of jealousy that this research has identified.[8] In addition to other kinds of jealousy, Othello's Moorish features of this passion find their roots in Anglo-Islamic interactions during the second half of the sixteenth century, the close enactment of which is not found in other plays. There are almost 'sixty' references to the Moor in this play; and out of 'forty-odd Ottoman references' in the whole of Shakespeare, 'almost half of them are in *Othello*'.[9] Therefore, no other play could have been a better choice in this regard. Likewise, in the highly-charged environment of the Reformation, *Hamlet*, *Macbeth* and *The Winter's Tale* emphatically engage with the passion of repentance. Shakespeare, in these plays, portrays prevalent religious trends, glossed in Catholic and Protestant ideology, pertaining to the practice and observation of repentance in the early modern period.

In this way, the four plays provide an ideal research opportunity to historicise and contextualise these three passions owing to their comprehensive dramatisation of the prevalent attitudes.

As Erin Sullivan has pointed out, as long ago as 1882, Friedrich Nietzsche called for a more 'probing' investigation of the emotional aspect of the human condition although, despite his call, a history of emotions has not been undertaken until relatively recently.[10]

Little really changed since Carlyle and the nineteenth-century critics' writings until the publication of *Emotionology*, the ground-breaking 'manifesto' of 'Peter Stearns and his psychiatrist/historian wife Carol Stearns' in 1985.[11] Since then, the study of the history of emotions has gathered an increased momentum. Writing in 2013, Sullivan noted 'a wide-ranging history of emotions' which, had started looking 'at the contours of feeling across a dizzying variety of times, places, cultures, and contexts'.[12] This research follows on from that observation and aims to make its own contribution to the history of the human passions,

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[8] Harold Bloom, *Shakespeare: The Invention of the Human* (London: Fourth Estate, 1999), p. 88.
[9] Mark Hutchings, *Turks, Repertories, and the Early Modern English Stage* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), p. 188; John Draper, 'Shakespeare and the Turk', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 55.4 (1956), 523–532 (p. 523).
[10] Erin Sullivan, 'The History of the Emotions: Past, Present, Future', *Cultural History*, 2.1 (2013), 93-102 (p. 93).
[11] Barbara Rosenwein, 'Worrying About Emotions in History', *The American Historical Review*, 107.3 (2002), 821-45 (p. 823).
[12] Sullivan, 'The History of the Emotions', 93-102 (pp. 93-94).

through an analysis of the social and cultural attitudes to melancholy, jealousy and repentance. Shakespeare's works provide a particularly lucrative source for investigating this history as will be explained in the following chapters.

The idea that emotions have a history was first promulgated by Norbert Elias who argued that 'people's behaviour and emotions change' when 'their forms of living change' and gained further momentum during 1980s.[13] The Stearnses' '*Emotionology*' introduced a new landscape for research, however, 'the history of emotions as a field of research is coming of age' and it still remains an area which is 'remarkably understudied'.[14] Therefore, the fundamental purpose of contextualising and historicising Shakespeare's treatment of these passions is to acknowledge the fact, as outlined by Keith Oatley, that a history of emotions is also 'a history of ideas and social movements' and raises the questions of 'how did they affect people then?'.[15] This can be approached, as argued by the Stearnses in their seminal work, by examining the history of 'emotional standards' of a society by studying 'formal writings on emotion', 'more popularized literature, like the sermons directed at family behavior' along with 'behavioral patterns' and by the study of 'advice literature—such as moral tracts and sermons', 'conduct and etiquette manuals', and 'advice books for wives, husbands, farmers, gentlemen, youth, and so forth—as well as by the study of law and literature'.[16] This research aims to investigate such breadth of literature in order to trace back the history of emotions to understand Shakespeare's handling of the three passions in the relevant plays. Moreover, this study intends to resolve a double challenge: firstly, to disentangle the complex treatment of emotions in Shakespeare's work and secondly, to understand the dramatisation of those emotions in their historical context.

Although this study takes into account certain experiences from Shakespeare's family and personal circumstances, the premise of this research is largely separate from biographical questions. Rather, Shakespeare's handling of the three passions, understood in their historical and cultural contexts, is the critical focus of this study. The rationale for this approach is based on the fact that 'Shakespeare was deeply immersed in the world around him,' and was

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[13] Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, rev. edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), p. 172.
[14] Stearns and Stearns, 'Emotionology', 813-836 (p. 813); K. Steenbergh, 'What Is the History of Emotions?', *Social History*, 44.1 (2019), 116-49 (p. 116); Linda Pollock, 'Anger and the Negotiation of Relationships in Early Modern England', *The Historical Journal*, 47.3 (2004), 567-90 (p. 568).
[15] Keith Oatley, *Emotions: A Brief History* (Backwell Publishing, 2004), p. x.
[16] Stearns and Stearns, 'Emotionology', 813-836 (pp. 814,824,825); William Reddy, 'Historical Research on the Self and Emotions', *Emotion Review* 1.4 (2009), 302-15 (p. 304).

'responding to the work of immediate predecessors and early contemporaries', as Stanley Wells argues.[17] Further to this, the research considers Shakespeare's albeit distant, but significant predecessors with whom his works engage. Therefore, the period 'from the beginning of the century to Shakespeare's retirement' provides a critical insight in understanding Shakespeare's treatment of the three passions and makes his work more 'historically intelligible', for his works are anchored in his age.[18]

Moreover, this research will consider Shakespeare's own intellect and artistic innovation as a factor in his treatment of these passions. This approach is based on the simple premise that, alongside an individual's nurture or environment, nature or the 'genetic factor [also] plays a major role in determining personality, particularly in relation to what is unique in that individual'.[19] Exploring passions from the perspective of Shakespeare's personal intellect and innovative approach in conjunction with the social and cultural background not only provides a fertile ground for investigating human passions, but also reflects that his 'creativity' in the portrayal of these passions 'was of a distinct and special kind' that 'made his work particularly attractive to later ages'.[20] Therefore, considering both nature and nurture, this research illuminates the fact that these passions have a rich history, rooted both in the 'emotional standards' of Shakespeare's society, as argued by Peter Stearns and Carol Stearns, and in his acumen, reflected in his dramatic art.[21]

Shakespeare lived through a period of intense intellectual fervour amid a sustained growth of literacy and its reciprocity with oral traditions of the age. The influence of the Renaissance that had started in the fourteenth century was at its peak in England when Shakespeare's writing career began; and just forty-seven years before the birth of Shakespeare, Martin Luther had issued his *Ninety-Five Theses* dated '31 October 1517' which, according to Scott Dixon, 'was the moment when the Reformation began'—the second most influential movement after the Renaissance.[22] Therefore, what preceded and succeeded Shakespeare's writing career became the base for a highly productive time in English and European history

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[17] Stanley Wells, *Shakespeare and Co.: Christopher Marlowe, Thomas Dekker, Ben Jonson, Thomas Middleton, John Fletcher and the Other Players in His Story* (London: Penguin, 2007), pp. 231, 4.
[18] Emrys Jones, *The Origins of Shakespeare* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), p. 266.
[19] Lawrence Pervin and Oliver P. John, *Personality: Theory and Research,* 7th edn (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1997), pp. 9-10.
[20] Wells, *Shakespeare and Co.*, p. 105.
[21] Peter Stearns and Carol Stearns, 'Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards', *The American Historical Review*, 90.4 (1985), 813-36 (p. 814).
[22] *OED*, see entry for 'reformation, *n*.1'; Scott Dixon, 'Luther's Ninety-Five Theses and the Origins of the Reformation Narrative', *The English Historical Review*, 132.556 (2017), 533-569 (p. 535).

benefitting many literary figures, including Shakespeare. Both these movements provided rich intellectual nourishment to Shakespeare; and the manner in which he incorporated 'the prevailing ideas of the humanists in regard to passion', especially melancholy, jealousy and repentance, is explored in the following chapters.[23] Therefore, the social conventions of the day and popular understanding of these passions that had become second nature to a contemporary audience, are imperative to locate Shakespeare's treatment of the three passions in context. In this respect, the whole discussion of melancholy, jealousy and repentance will be carried out in the light of the Renaissance and the Reformation and their special characteristics: the extensive availability of English and European literature, including works, in addition to the ones mentioned above, on 'language and literature [...] philosophy [...] logic, physics, law, and theology [...] military science, botany, alchemy, physiognomy, geography, and on every other more or less learned subject'; political and religious conflicts; the social conditions of a multicultural society; and the Tudor education system.[24] All these factors, in conjunction with rich oral and literary traditions, enhanced by flourishing print culture of the age, acted as fertile external determinants to shape Shakespeare's understanding and depiction of human passions.

An example of the fertility of the literary tradition is evident in Thomas Wright's didactic book *The Passions of the Minde in Generall* (1604), written to instruct the reader to understand that 'THe internall conceits and affections of our minds, are not only expressed with words, but also declared with actions' and how 'externall actions' lead us to discover 'internal passions, as in playing, feasting, going [out], drinking, praising, apparelling, conuersing, and writing'.[25] This book also lists factors affecting the emotions and enumerates around one hundred and twenty problems concerning the substance of the soul with regard to the emergence of human passion. Furthermore, the book also discusses the emotions of beasts and knowledge of baser creatures that creep on earth in order to understand human passions, providing a uniquely early modern perspective. This is just one example of how detailed analysis was presented on an array of topics, including passions, corroborating the conclusion that 'early modern English men and women inherited a rich and complex cultural heritage on emotions, and would have found plenty of reading material available'.[26] Shakespeare's

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[23] Lily Bess Campbell, *Shakespeare's Tragic Heroes: Slaves of Passion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930), p. vii.
[24] Walter Jackson Ong, 'Latin Language Study as a Renaissance Puberty Rite', *Studies in Philology*, 56.2 (1959), 103-124 (p. 104).
[25] Thomas Wright, *The Passions of the Minde in Generall* (London: Valentine Simmes for Walter Burre, 1604), pp. 124, 125.
[26] Pollock, 'Anger and the Negotiation', 567-590 (p. 569).

portrayal of the deepest recesses of his characters' minds and their inward stimuli or emotional lives indicates his active engagement with a rich literary environment. Furthermore, in the light of modern behaviourist psychology, 'one can learn about another individual's internal mental structures, *schemas*, by direct observation of that individual's behavior' which is simply 'outward signs of mental life' or inward stimuli.[27] The extent to which this is applicable to the analysis of Shakespearean drama will be investigated in the following chapters.

i. 'The Age is Grown so Picked': Prevalent Theories of Emotions in the Early Modern Period

Before engaging with melancholy, jealousy and repentance, a brief synopsis of the prevalent theories of emotions is required.[28] Early modern authors, philosophers and theologians were influenced by the primary theories of emotions, namely Humourism or Galenism, Stoicism, Neo-Stoicism and Thomism. Apart from these major theories, there were subsidiary theories of emotions including Epicureanism, Scholasticism and Calvinism which also played their role in shaping the early modern approach to human passions. Shakespeare's works find a resonance with both primary and subsidiary theories of emotions of his period originating in classical antiquity.

Aristotle, who was revered as 'the Monarch of all Modern Learning' by Michel de Montaigne, exerted an important influence on early modern understanding of passions as well as subsequent theories of emotions.[29] Furthermore, Aristotle's works on emotions offer 'the earliest systematic discussion of human psychology' that reflect occasional Platonic exegesis in the interpretation of emotion.[30] For Aristotle, emotions were *pathos* [pl. *pathe*] that were considered 'passive conditions' and 'not themselves normally voluntary'.[31] Nonetheless, because of these involuntary movements, '*pathe*' in Aristotle's words, 'people come to differ in their judgements' based on their reasoning and reactions to outer stimuli.[32] In this way,

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[27] Susan C. Nurrenbern, 'Piaget's Theory of Intellectual Development Revisited', *Journal of Chemical Education,* 78.8 (2001), 1107-1110 (p. 1108); Robert Billington Joynson, *Psychology and Common Sense* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974), p. 21.

[28] For a detailed study of the theories of emotions, refer to the works of these authors in Bibliography: Thomas Wright, Edwards Reynolds, Descartes, Susan James, Peter King, Gail Kern Paster, William Reddy, Lawrence Babb, Peter and Carol Stearns, Rob Boddice, Paul Ekman, Noga Arikha, Sybil Hart and Thomas Dixon to name a few.

[29] Michel d. Montaigne, *Essays,* trans. by Charles Cotton, Esq (London: Printed for T. Basset and M. Gilliflower and W. Hensman, 1685), p. 235.

[30] Aristotle, *On Rhetoric: A Theory of Civic Discourse*, trans. and intro. by George A. Kennedy, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 113.

[31] Amelie Rorty, 'Aristotle on the Metaphysical Status of "Pathe"', *Review of Metaphysics*, 37.3 (1984), 521-546 (p. 523).

[32] Aristotle, *On Rhetoric*, p. 113.

Aristotle establishes a 'comfortable relation between the emotions and reason'; however, he argues that 'the *pathe* are not themselves virtues or vices' but depend on the reaction of the person undergoing these *pathe*.[33] In the highly charged religious environment of Shakespeare's society, Aristotle's pagan views had to be religionised to be acceptable to a wider audience in the wake of the Reformation. In this context, St Augustine's approach to emotions was invariably imbued with religious concerns and remained 'influential for later Christian writers, although he himself was indebted to 'Neoplatonists, who were developing a Christianized version of Platonism'.[34] Augustine linked passions to the 'Passion of Christ' and explained that 'the Christians passions are causes of the practise of vertue, not Inducers vnto vice' in an attempt to Christened his theory of passions.[35] The second most influential figure, after St Augustine, who tried to harmonise classical antiquity's emotional paganism with Christian passions, was Erasmus. He 'endeavoured to fuse his version of classically inspired moral education with a philosophia Christia – a philosophy focused on Christ'.[36]

Humourism, also known as humoral theory or Galenism emphasises that the physical and psychological health is determined by the correct balance of the four fluids of the body: blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile. This is the theory that left a permanent impression on Shakespeare's approach to human passions as has been recognised by critics. In this context, 'a recent surge of scholarship has sought to uncover the fundamental importance of the emotions to early modern society, culture, and lived experience, with much work focusing on the inseparability of emotions from the humors and bodily processes'.[37] The humoral theory is widely accredited to Hippocrates, known as the 'father of medicine', and then later to Galen.[38]

As a physician and scholar, Galen appreciated the psychological aspect of passions, while acknowledging that, 'physiological processes also accounted for emotions'.[39] His approach to passions was inspired by Plato's model in which various spirits or functions were assigned to different parts of the body. In this way, Galen became the figurehead for a

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[33] Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, *Ancient, Medieval and Renaissance Theories of the Emotions* (2016) <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/emotions-17th18th/LD1Background.html> [accessed 30 June 2018].

[34] Noga Arikha, *Passions and Tempers: A History of the Humours* (New York: Ecco Press, 2007), p. 49.

[35] Augustine, *St. Augustine, of the Citie of God With the Learned Comments of Io. Lod. Viues,* trans. by I.H (London: Printed by George Eld, 1610), pp. 370, 338.

[36] Jerry Brotton, *The Renaissance: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 51.

[37] Katharine Craik, 'The Reformation of Emotions in the Age of Shakespeare', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 69.4 (2016), 1584-586 (p. 1584).

[38] Wesley Smith, 'Hippocrates', *Encyclopedia Britannica* (2020) <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Hippocrates> [accessed 09 March 2020]; *OED*, see entry for 'Hippocrates, *n*'.

[39] Arikha, *Passions and Tempers*, p. 58.

physiological approach to the processes of emotions, widely accepted by English and European writers alike and reflected in their works. Montaigne writes:

> *Plato* hath seated reason in the braine; anger in the heart; lust in the liver; it is verie likely, that it was rather an interpretation of the soules motions, then any division or separation he ment to make of it, as of a bodie into many members.[40]

Similarly, in accordance with Galenic traditions, Robert Burton also links '*Braine, Heart, Liver*' to '*Naturall, Vitall, Animall*' spirits or functions.[41] Shakespeare reflects these popular ideas in Hamlet when the prince regrets being 'pigeon-livered and lack gall' (*Hamlet*: 2.473).[42]

Sandra Clark notes that in 'Galen's conception of humoral psychology, which persisted throughout the early modern period despite challenges from the "so-called chemical medicine", both physical and mental health were determined by ascertaining the correct balance of humours in the body'.[43] This theory was so influential that, according to Angus Gowland, when Burton wrote his book, 'practical anatomy was almost always accommodated within the existing Aristotelian-Galenic framework of explanation, and only rarely provoked a questioning of that framework'.[44] Likewise, recent criticism has outlined that 'humoral theory was the essential model for understanding the emotions in the period'.[45] Hamlet's melancholy primarily stems from pervasive humoral theory and offers substantial examples of Galenic traditions, which will be explored in further depth in Chapter 1.

Another influential and prevalent theory was that of Stoicism, founded by Greek philosopher Zeno of Citium, which emphasised that 'passions are the sickness of the Soul' and owing to such approaches, Stoics were branded 'enemies unto Passions' by some.[46] Cicero and Seneca transmitted the Stoic doctrine of antiquity and they, like Aristotle, believed emotions to be passive. Stoics believed that 'a wise man should be […] without all maner of passions

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[40] Michel d. Montaigne, *Essays Written in French,* trans. by Iohn Florio (London: Printed by Melch. Bradwood, 1613), p. 304.
[41] Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (Oxford: Printed by Iohn Lichfield and Iames Short, 1621), p. 22.
[42] All citations are from William Shakespeare, *The New Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works*, ed. by Gary Taylor and others, modern critical edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017) unless otherwise stated.
[43] Sandra Clark, 'Macbeth and the Language of the Passions', *Shakespeare*, 8.3 (2012), 300-11 (p. 302).
[44] Angus Gowland, *The Worlds of Renaissance Melancholy: Robert Burton in Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 36.
[45] Richard Meek and Erin Sullivan, eds, *The Renaissance of Emotion: Understanding Affect in Shakespeare and His Contemporaries*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), Introduction, (p. 1).
[46] Jean Francois Senault, *The Use of the Passions*, trans. by Henry Earl of Monmouth (London: Printed for J.L. and Humphrey Moseley, 1649), pp. 4, 60.

and perturbations whatsoeuer'.[47] Likewise, Pierre Charron, an 'associate of Michel de Montaigne', also reports that 'Stoicks *banished* Affections from wise men', but on the other hand that they 'themselves confessed, that wise men might be affected with *sudden perturbations* of Feare or Sorrow'.[48]

Jean Francois Senault considers passions to be analogous to venom and 'venom is no evil, since it is natural to Scorpíons and Vipers, and that they die when they lose it'.[49] Therefore, for Senault, passions are part of human beings as venom is part of scorpions and snakes, and necessary provided that they are governed by reason. Shakespeare also entertains Senault's ideas on passions and implies that if passions are not governed by reason, as in the case of Macbeth, Leontes and Othello, they are as equally harmful as venom, for the person experiencing them or for those who are close to him; if they are governed by reason, as in the case of Leontes in the later part of the play, their destructive nature can be overcome.

Stoicism also gained strength in England after the publication of Montaigne's *Essays*, in which he cites Seneca frequently; and these essays were translated by an important Renaissance figure John Florio in 1603.[50] Montaigne, Shakespeare's contemporary and an influential Renaissance figure, draws heavily from previous proponents of emotional theories and criticises Stoics bitterly. He suggests that 'Passions […] disturb the Tranquility of Body and Soul' and acknowledges the role of the Soul 'in the exercise of its Passions' thus implying that the passions have interiority, an aspect that resonates in Shakespeare's portrayal of human passions.[51]

In order to purify stoicism of its pagan elements, 'neo-Stoicism' emerged as a 'late Renaissance philosophical movement that attempted to revive ancient Stoicism in a form that would be acceptable to a Christian audience'.[52] Justus Lipsius, considered to be the most famous neo-Stoic, 'one admired greatly by Montaigne, attempted to align Stoicism with 'Christian theology' in his influential book '*On Constancy in Times of Public Troubles* [*De*

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[47] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 120.
[48] John Sellars, *Neo-Stoicism* (2020) < https://www.iep.utm.edu/neostoic/> [accessed 10 March 2020]; Edward Reynolds, *A Treatise of the Passions and Faculties of the Soule of Man* (London: Printed by R. Hearne and John Norton, 1640), pp. 50, 49.
[49] Senault, *Use of the Passions*, p. 110.
[50] Sarah Hutton, 'Platonism, Stoicism, Scepticism and Classical Imitation', in *A Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture*, ed. by Michael Hattaway (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), pp. 44-57 (p. 55).
[51] Montaigne, *Essays* (1685), pp. 443, 31.
[52] Sellars, '*Neo-Stoicism*'.

Constantia in publicis malis], often shortened to *On Constancy*, first published in 1584' which went through 'more than 80 editions and translations over the next two centuries'.[53]

Juan Luis Vives in the book three of his '*De Anima et Vita* (1538) treats psychology and education, and includes a seminal discussion of the emotions, combining Galenist medicine with observational material' but he also 'shared the Stoic view connecting emotions and cognition', emphasising 'the physiological aspects of emotions' with greater force.[54] It can be noted that 'the Renaissance revived anti-Stoicism as well as Stoicism. The two strands exist in opposition and complex interaction throughout the period'.[55] Shakespeare espouses the anti-Stoic school of thought because he depicts the protagonists of the plays washed away in a flood of passions.

Thomism or Thomistic doctrine is the theology of Thomas Aquinas, regarded as the greatest figure of scholasticism—'the predominant theological and philosophical teaching of medieval academic institutions or the "schools", based upon the authority of the Bible and Christian Fathers and the logic and philosophy of Aristotle and his commentators'.[56]Aquinas's most important achievement was the introduction of the work of Aristotle and Galen to Christian Western Europe in his seminal work *Summa Theologicae*. As Aristotle notes that 'the soul is observed to originate movement in the body' likewise, Aquinas also believes that the 'Passions of the soul can also be identified with certain bodily changes' through 'changes in the distribution of bodily temperature, and particularly alterations in the movements of the heart'.[57] In this way, Aquinas inherited the soul-body connection from antiquity and bequeathed it to later theorists and scholars. Montaigne was also inspired by these ideas and acknowledged the 'conjunction of the body and soule' in his essays.[58] It is because of the pervasiveness of such ideas that Michel Foucault observed that 'before Descartes […] passion continued to be the meeting ground of body and soul'.[59] Therefore, like ancients and his most

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[53] Stanford Encyclopedia.
[54] Stanford Encyclopedia.
[55] Richard Strier, 'Against the Rule of Reason: Praise of Passion from Petrarch to Luther to Shakespeare to Herbert', in *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion*, ed. by Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe and Mary Floyd-Wilson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), pp. 23-42 (p. 23).
[56] *OED*, see entry for 'scholasticism, *n*'.
[57] *The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation*, ed. by Jonathan Barnes, 2 vols (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), I, p. 647; Stanford Encyclopedia.
[58] Montaigne, *Essays*, (1613), p. 361.
[59] Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in The Age of Reason*, trans. by Richard Howard (London: Routledge Classics, 2001), p. 80.

influential contemporaries, 'Shakespeare himself was exceptionally aware of the body mind connection'.[60]

Aquinas is also responsible for the division of passions into those of the 'vital soul "irascible" and the vegetative soul "concupiscible"' based on Aristotelian and Galenic traditions of passions and in this way, he is highly indebted to his predecessors.[61] Thus in Aquinas, the ingredients of almost all the principal theories of emotions prevalent in the early modern period are found. Features of his division are also discernible in *Macbeth*, *Hamlet* and *Othello*, a distinction of which will be explored in relevant chapters. Approaches to passions from Aristotle to Aquinas can be summarised as below:

> To leap from Aristotle to Aquinas, from the work of a pagan Greek living in the fourth century BC to that of a Christian monk of the thirteenth century AD, may at first sight appear unhistorical, but the shift can readily be justified. In his *Summa Theologiae* Aquinas takes over Aristotle's philosophy as he understands it and incorporates it into a systematic account of the place of humanity in God's creation.[62]

When Shakespeare started writing, Aristotelian and Aquinian philosophy about passion was part of the cultural and intellectual milieu.

Calvinism, according to Linda Pollock, 'conceived of virtue as being based on the sensation of, rather than the restraint of, such extreme passions as fear, shame and despair' which is the opposite of the stoic philosophy of emotions.[63] A similar argument is presented by Nicholas Coeffeteau, an early modern writer, when he says that 'the wisest cannot exempt themselues from the motions of naturall Passions, and yet their vertue is nothing diminished or made lesse perfect', implying that expression of passions is not a vice, as mentioned by Senault above in his venom analogy.[64] Calvinists, therefore, are anti-Stoic in their approach to emotions and more akin to some of the depiction of emotions in Shakespeare's *Macbeth* and *Othello*.

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[60] Kenneth Heaton, 'Body-Conscious Shakespeare: Sensory Disturbances in Troubled Characters', *Medical Humanities*, 37.2 (2011), 97-102 (p. 97).
[61] Arikha, *Passions and Tempers*, p. 38.
[62] Susan James, *Passion and Action*: *The Emotions in Seventeenth-Century Philosophy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p. 47.
[63] Pollock, 'Anger and the Negotiation', 567-590 (p. 570).
[64] Nicolas Coeffeteau, *A Table of Humane Passions* (London: Printed by Nicholas Okes, 1621), p. 54.

Epicureanism, as observed by Montaigne, 'lodg'd all Judgment in the Senses, and in the Knowledge of things, and in Pleasure' and proclaimed 'that the gods are not to be feared since they do not concern themselves at all with human affairs'.[65] Although Epicureans did not mainly focus their attention on emotions, nonetheless, 'the presentation of their views on pleasure and the good life [...] were important enough to early modern philosophers' and 'the Epicureans did not dismiss passion as such from the good life'.[66]

These were some of the most influential theories of emotion prevalent during Shakespeare's lifetime, with their origin in classical antiquity. Inevitably, they evolved with time and Renaissance philosophers aligned them according to the changing conditions of early modern society. From the discussion presented above, 'it is clear that early modern theories of the psychophysiology of the emotions derive from an understanding of the workings of the body [are] very different from our own, and that these theories generate their own language' or 'diverse linguistic categories describing feelings' which 'exhibits considerable diversity'.[67] This perspective also refers back to the idea promoted by Elias, as noted earlier, that when a society's circumstances change, emotions or passions also change, thus creating not only a history of social movements, but a parallel history of emotions. This research historicises Shakespeare's treatment of melancholy, jealousy and repentance from this perspective. Although Shakespeare benefited from all, his greatest inspiration was the humoral theory as is clear from his treatment of these three passions in this study. That is why T. S. Eliot wrote of Shakespeare as being of all his contemporaries 'most conspicuously' under the influence of the Stoicism of Seneca and Montaigne.[68]

ii. 'The Nurse of Frenzy': Melancholy in Context

Melancholy is a prolonged state of sadness and sorrow, but for the early moderns, melancholy was a disease and an inclination or mood caused by an imbalance of bodily humours—a theory based on ancient wisdom found in the classical literature, either in its original Latin or translation. The theory was founded on the idea that all bodily ailments were governed by 'a humeral imbalance resulting in the excess of black bile', which is one of the

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[65] Montaigne, *Essays,* (1685), p. 403; *OED*, see entry for 'Epicureanism, *n*'.
[66] Stanford Encyclopedia.
[67] Clark, 'Macbeth', 300-11 (p. 309); Pollock, 'Anger and the Negotiation', 567-590 (p. 569); Anna Wierzbicka, *Emotions Across Languages and Cultures: Diversity and Universals* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 306.
[68] T. S. Eliot, *Selected Essays* (London: Faber, 1932), p. 139; See also Julia Lupton and Kenneth Reinhard, *After Oedipus: Shakespeare in Psychoanalysis* (Aurora: The Davies Group, 2009), p. 74.

four body fluids, known as humours, including blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile.[69] Melancholy was understood by Elizabethans to have multiple aspects. As Ilit Ferber notes, ‘melancholy’s meanings extend from the personal to the collective, from body to soul, and from pathology to inclination’.[70] Ferber’s argument implies that there were two distinctive features of melancholy known to the Shakespeare’s society: one as a bodily ailment, with its particular symptoms; and the other as an ‘inclination’ or ‘mood’.[71]

Early modern literature records different causes of melancholy, both pathological and non-pathological along with its recognisable symptoms as will be discussed briefly below, and in detail in Chapter 1, to establish their link to Shakespeare’s treatment of this malady. Although the causes of melancholy comprise a very long list of factors, they are, according to contemporary authors, to name but a few: ‘death of friends’, ‘incests’, ‘Loue’, ‘hatred’, ‘desire of revenge’, ‘Weakness of faith’, ‘Rigid ministers’, ‘the Divell and his ministers’, ‘Witches’, ‘Starres’, ‘Old age’, ‘Bad aire’, ‘Sleeping and waking’, ‘Education’, ‘ouermuch study’, ‘Scoffes’, ‘Bitter iests’, ‘plagues, warres, rebellions’, political persecutions and ‘for feare of being hanged’, or ‘vndoubted expectation of execution’ or religious persecutions in which a person would ‘come neare a fire, for feare of being melted’, or simply ‘to thinke that he can neuer be secure, but still in danger, sorrow, griefe, and persecution’.[72] This list, in *Anatomy* particularly, might have been compiled from Shakespeare’s works or other contemporary works as such beliefs were common knowledge, in both literary and oral traditions. The significance of these factors in relation to Shakespeare’s work will be further explored in Chapter 1.

Many writers were interpreting and explaining societal and anatomical links with melancholy. In particular, Timothie Bright, Thomas Wright, Francis Bacon and Robert Burton were acclaimed authors on the subject in the early modern age. First published in 1586, Bright’s *A Treatise of Melancholie* was a foundational work in the understanding of melancholy and its attendant emotions. Written by a physician and clergyman, this book formally and carefully investigated the malady, listed its symptoms and offered its remedy; and hence it was supposed to be an authority on the subject. Bright was among the very first people to write on this subject,

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[69] Ilit Ferber, *Philosophy and Melancholy: Benjamin’s Early Reflections on Theater and Language* (Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 2013), p. 2.
[70] Ferber, *Philosophy and Melancholy*, p. 2.
[71] Ferber, *Philosophy and Melancholy*, p. 2.
[72] Burton, *Anatomy*, pp. 211,540,495,129,138,772,55,71,73,78,107,118,192,168,196,44,234,248,144; Bright, *Treatise*, p. 107.

and his pioneering work was commonly cited. According to Bright, melancholy is a disease caused by the humour called 'blacke choller' and it is a 'a doting of reason'.[73]

Likewise, Burton, a physician and clergyman, also noted that melancholy was the result of abnormality in the 'blacke Choler' and a '*Dotage,* or *Anguish of the Mind*'.[74] There were others for whom melancholy was 'an inclination or mood (in the Renaissance)'.[75] Although, Burton was Shakespeare's contemporary, his *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, a bible on this subject, did not appear until 1621. Although Burton's published work did not appear until after Shakespeare's death, his work stands as a compilation and codification of prevailing attitudes towards melancholy. Burton relied heavily on contemporary writings and debates on the topic to compile his *Anatomy* in an encyclopaedic style and 'to write his book Burton ransacked about 1500 classical texts'.[76] His book might therefore be properly considered a compendium of existing early modern professional expertise on melancholy. Discussing *Othello*, Ania Loomba puts the case thus:

> Written after *Othello*, Burton's *Anatomy* could not have been an inspiration for the play but in fact may well have been influenced by it. Moreover, the overlap between the two texts indicates the nature of contemporary beliefs […] especially as Burton draws freely upon other texts and commentaries. [77]

Although Loomba's observation relates to *Othello*, as a contemporary of Burton, Shakespeare's works may well have inspired Burton more comprehensively. The fact that *Anatomy's* 'genuinely encyclopaedic inclusiveness' which makes sure that 'it should display the entirety of the existing range of scholarly knowledge about melancholy' is compelling evidence that it has also been influenced by Shakespeare.[78] It is useful to note that this 'scholarly knowledge' was rooted in classical antiquity and when Burton compiled his book, 'practical anatomy was almost always accommodated within the existing Aristotelian-Galenic framework of explanation, and only rarely provoked a questioning of that framework'.[79] This

[73] Bright, *Treatise*, p. 3.
[74] Burton, *Anatomy*, pp. 45, 46.
[75] Ferber, *Philosophy and Melancholy*, p. 2.
[76] German Berrios, 'The Anatomy of Melancholy by Robert Burton', *The British Journal of Psychiatry*, 208.5 (2016), 428 (p. 428).
[77] Ania Loomba, *Shakespeare, Race, and Colonialism* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002), p. 98.
[78] Gowland, *Worlds of Renaissance Melancholy*, p. 33.
[79] Gowland, *Worlds of Renaissance Melancholy*, p. 36.

implies that Shakespeare also transferred the classical wisdom and understanding that he had acquired at school and from his self-study of his predecessors to Burton which then became the part of his *Anatomy*, creating the overlap of contemporary beliefs.

In this way, the proliferation of pathological, non-pathological (mostly religious) literature on human passions, in England and beyond, made it a common knowledge for the populace and a source of inspiration for the writers of the time, including Shakespeare. Sir Francis Bacon in his *Essays* (1597); Ben Jonson in his *Every Man in His Humour* (1598) and *Every Man Out of His Humour* (1599); and Thomas Wright in *The Passions of the Minde in Generall* (1604) contributed considerably on the subject in England. Beyond England, Montaigne was active in France and influenced both contemporary writers and philosophers of the Renaissance. Both Bacon and Montaigne, in their essays, wrote on different aspects of melancholy and both believed in the humoral theory. According to Horowitz, 'Montaigne never applied sceptic questioning to the theory of humours and complexions prevalent in the Renaissance', the effects of which are explored in Shakespeare's humoral treatment of melancholy and jealousy in Chapters 1 and 2.[80] The availability of such works encouraged wider discussion of melancholy and its various aspects and provided Shakespeare with the intellectual conditions to enable him to present this malady, also later known as 'the Elizabethan disease'.[81]

In Chapter 1, a detailed analysis of Shakespeare's treatment and presentation of melancholy as an ailment and inclination is presented through a close analysis of the plays. Further, in the following paragraphs, some of the causes of melancholy are highlighted as a particular product of a society in the aftermath of 'the English reformation [that] took place from 1529 to 1559'.[82] Shakespeare's first-hand knowledge of the shocking experiences of the Reformation, resulting in an epidemic level of melancholy, are reflected in his works.

Considering the tumultuous religious environment, Burton aptly claims that religious melancholy is the most dangerous disease as it 'doth more harme, wrought more disquietnesse to mankind, and hath more crucified the soule of mortall men (such hath beene the diuells craft)

[80] Maryanne Horowitz, 'Montaigne and Melancholy: The Wisdom of the Essays', *The Sixteenth Century Journal,* 15.4 (1984), 516-17 (p. 516).
[81] Emily Anglin, '"Something in Me Dangerous": Hamlet, Melancholy, and the Early Modern Scholar', *Shakespeare*, 13.1 (2017), 15-29 (p. 21).
[82] Frank Kermode, *The Age of Shakespeare* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2004), p. 10.

then warres, plagues, sicknesses, dearth, famine, and all the rest'.[83] The discussion below both elucidates and validates Burton's claim that religious melancholy is the most dangerous of all.

Outrageous religious extremism ensued when the Act of Supremacy (1534) officially solemnised England's divorce from the Church of Rome. According to Ivor Brown, the extent of this antagonism can be understood by the fact that 'the Catholics said that the Reformation was a sin against God: the extreme Protestants, called Puritans, said that the reforms had not gone far enough'.[84] During the reign of Elizabeth I, this religious extremism acquired an international dimension. For Catholics at home and beyond England, Elizabeth was 'an outlaw and a bastard' and 'she would be bitterly attacked by successive Popes, who would first excommunicate her and then openly invite her assassination'.[85] This triggered an unstoppable 'influx of continentally trained seminarians and missionaries from abroad' and according to historical evidence, 'between 1574 and 1603 about 600 seminary priests were sent over, and about 460 are known to have worked in England'.[86] Bill Bryson also agrees with the number of Jesuit entrants into England and notes that Robert Parsons and Edmund Campion 'were said to have converted (or reconverted) twenty thousand people on a single tour'.[87] This clearly suggests that although the number of Jesuits who entered England was small, it was their vehemence and the effectiveness with which they converted thousands and that was a source of apprehension for the protestant government. Along with the influx of Jesuits, Elizabeth particularly was genuinely apprehensive of 'an international Catholic conspiracy against Protestantism' heightened by the news of 'the infamous St Bartholomew's Day Massacre on 24 August 1572, when over 3,000 Huguenots were slaughtered on the streets of Paris, and thousands more in the rest of France', an incident which sent Elizabeth's court 'into mourning'.[88] The height of violence and barbarism could be imagined from the fact that the King of Spain, 'Philip II announced that the massacre "was one of the greatest joys of my life"'.[89] In such a critical situation where the Catholic enemy was in the ascendency both inside and outside the country, the 'influx of Jesuits and seminary priests' especially from Catholic die-hard Spain and France, converting people, inciting Catholics against Protestant beliefs and

[83] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 707.
[84] Ivor Brown, *Shakespeare in His Time* (London: Nelson, 1960), p. 19.
[85] Bill Bryson, *Shakespeare: World as a Stage*, (London: Harper Perennial, 2007), p. 27.
[86] Frederick Smith, 'The Origins of Recusancy In Elizabethan England Reconsidered', *The Historical Journal*, 60.2 (2017), 301-32 (p. 301); Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society Under the Tudors* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 261.
[87] Bryson, *World as a Stage*, p. 57.
[88] Jerry Brotton, *This Orient Isle: Elizabethan England and the Islamic World* (Milton Keynes: Penguin Books, 2017), p. 66.
[89] Brotton, *Orient Isle*, p. 67.

a Protestant queen and 'the seditious actions of Robert Persons and Edmund Campion', led to a precarious religious and political state of affairs.[90]

In 1588, political and religious antagonism reached its climax in the form of the Spanish Armada. This prolonged, bitter rivalry between Protestants and Catholics in the name of faith caused immense trauma and resulted in persecutions and executions. The charge of heresy was frequently levelled against religious and political opponents who were routinely hanged, drawn and quartered. It was a time, according to Richard Simpson as cited by Richard Wilson, 'when words and even thoughts might make a man a traitor'.[91] John Foxe's martyrology *Actes and Monuments* also known as *Foxe's Book of Martyrs*, first published in 1563—only one year before Shakespeare's birth—records detailed accounts of the suffering of Protestants at the hands of the Catholic Church. On the other hand, Parsons's *An Epistle of The Persecution of Catholickes In Englande* (1582), a book that might be considered a Catholic equivalent of Foxes's *Actes*, 'provided a detailed account of the conditions of living under a persecutory government'.[92] Consequently, these accounts, whether Catholic or Protestant in nature, give an idea of the cruelty inflicted by both denominations of Christianity, which Burton identifies as the major cause of religious melancholy. The simple act of reading such works as those of Foxe or Parsons could cause melancholy. Those who lived and experienced such anguish, according to Burton, had enough reasons to exhibit signs of melancholic dispositions, for almost every family was affected by this religious strife. The constant danger and continuous anxiety of living through these times, when anyone could be branded a heretic or exposed of one's true identity, would be enough to cause an epidemic of melancholy among the general public.

Apart from religious extremism and animosity between Protestants and Catholics in the wake of 'the dual Protestant and Catholic Reformations', religious tenets themselves, according to Burton, were a source of melancholy.[93] The idea of punishment for one's sins, purgatory, and then facing inferno in the hereafter; 'Priests' keeping lay-people in awe to 'tyrannise ouer mens consciences' for their 'commodity and gaine' resulted in a state of fear and sorrow—

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[90] Natalie Mears, 'Public Worship and Political Participation in Elizabethan England', *Journal of British Studies*, 51.1 (2012), 4-25 (pp. 9-10).

[91] Richard Simpson, 'The Political Use of the Stage in Shakespeare's Time', *New Shakespeare Society Transaction*, (1874), pp. 371-95, cited in Richard Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare: Studies in Theatre, Religion and Resistance* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2004), p.14.

[92] Donna Hamilton, 'Theological Writings and Religious Polemic', in *A Companion,* ed. by Hattaway, pp. 589-99 (p. 594).

[93] Alexandra Walsham, 'The Social History of the Archive: Record-keeping in Early Modern Europe', *Past and Present*, 230. Suppl 11 (2016), 9-48 (p. 12).

principal characteristics of melancholy, from which there was no escape.[94] 'Too much moral rigor, too much anxiety about salvation and the life to come were often thought to bring on melancholia', argues Foucault.[95] In Chapter 1, these factors and religious concepts will find more space to explain Shakespeare's portrayal of religious melancholy in Hamlet, Claudius and to some extent in Macbeth. Moreover, as part of wider society the theatre-goer was also familiar with concepts relating to religious melancholy since 'every aspect of daily life had been consonant with the liturgy, and the ways in which religious doctrine was taught'.[96] To sum up, these factors were not only evident in practice, but also in the oral and literary traditions from which Shakespeare formed his dramatic imagination.

The gruesome consequences of religious extremism in which Shakespeare's teachers and their relatives or associates were involved, which caused melancholy, were unavoidable experiences for Shakespeare even during his school years. According to Stephen Greenblatt, 'several of Stratford schoolmasters had connections to distant Lancashire, the part of the country where adherence to Catholicism remained particularly strong'.[97] Simon Hunt, who taught Shakespeare 'from the ages of seven to eleven', had strong clandestine Catholic connections and left Stratford in 1575 only to be 'enrolled at Douai' to become one of the 'first recruits' as a Jesuit; another teacher Thomas Jenkins was an Oxford graduate and had a letter of recommendation from the Catholic founder of St. John's College for his job; Jenkins would have known and studied with Edmund Campion, a die-hard Catholic scholar, who was later executed for his religious beliefs.[98] Another Oxford graduate John Cottam also had very strong Catholic connections whose Catholic brother Thomas Cottam was executed on 30 May 1582. John Cottam might have taught Shakespeare's siblings, but Shakespeare must also have been acquainted with him and his ideals.[99] Witnessing religious animosity from such close quarters and the melancholic fate of his teachers must have been hard lessons for Shakespeare. Greenblatt notes it thus:

> The Roman Catholic Church had invited the English Catholics to rebel, and the meaning of this invitation was made explicit in 1580, when Pope Gregory XIII proclaimed that the assassination of England's

[94] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 725.
[95] Foucault, *Madness and Civilization*, p. 204.
[96] Kermode, *Age of Shakespeare*, p. 11.
[97] Stephen Greenblatt, *Will in the World: How Shakespeare Became Shakespeare* (London: Pimlico, 2004), p. 103.
[98] Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare*, p. 50.
[99] Greenblatt, *Will in the World*, pp. 96-97.

> heretic queen would not be a mortal sin. The proclamation was a clear license to kill. It was precisely at this time when the priest Thomas Cottam (brother of John Cottam, the schoolmaster in Stratford grammar school), with his small packet of Catholic tokens, was arrested on his way to the vicinity of Stratford. Small wonder that his brother's tenure as the town's schoolmaster was abbreviated: John Shakespeare and his fellow council members—and particularly those who had close Catholic kin—must have felt queasy. The trial could quite easily have led to them.[100]

Furthermore, religious conflicts haunted Shakespeare's family on other fronts too. During the Elizabethan era 'many Protestant theologians' agreed with the opinion that 'Catholic mass was tantamount to the worst form of idolatry' and superstition.[101] For that very end, 'royal injunction had instructed town councils to enforce the removal of all signs of idolatry and Superstition, from places of worship […] and houses', and in Stratford, 'it was John's duty to vandalise images' that covered walls, windows and other places.[102] For John Shakespeare, whose Catholic origins are unequivocal for scholars and historians, the vandalization of those images would have been an act of heresy against his own religious beliefs and enough reason to cause him melancholy, giving Shakespeare direct knowledge of the malady. When Shakespeare was sixteen, the family once again came close to religious persecution when in 1580, Jesuit Edmund Campion 'passed through Warwickshire on his way to the more safely Catholic North. He stayed with a distant relative of Shakespeare's, Sir William Catesby, whose son Robert would later be a ringleader of the Gunpowder Plot'.[103]

Although politics and religion are different factors in the causation of melancholy, in Shakespeare's time, they were so closely knit that they were difficult to demarcate as the 'English Renaissance cannot be separated from the English Protestant Reformation'.[104] Religion was a strong driving force behind all political manoeuvres in post-Reformation England. Historians argue that living and 'working under harshly despotic regimes' was like

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[100] Greenblatt, *Will in the World*, p. 99.
[101] Robert Harkins, 'Elizabethan Puritanism and The Politics of Memory in Post-Marian England', *The Historical Journal*, 57.4 (2014), 899-919 (p. 900).
[102] Michael Wood, *In Search of Shakespeare* (London: BBC, 2003), p. 8.
[103] Bryson, *World as a Stage*, p. 57.
[104] Alistair Fox, *The English Renaissance: Identity and Representation in Elizabethan England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), p. 218.

'walking on eggs'—a source of continuous melancholy and care.[105] Elizabeth's government machinery was tightly controlled by ruthless privy councillors like William Cecil, Francis Walsingham, the spymaster, and Robert Dudley, the 'compendium of iniquity' and 'monster of crimes'.[106] Apart from these figures, Francis Bacon was 'the only English lawyer' who 'asserted that torture was permissible in English juridical practice'.[107] With such a political approach, English politics was directly synonymous with violent persecution in the period of Shakespeare's life.

Besides to gruesome manners of torture, 'public executions' were yet a 'kind of theatre in Elizabethan England' to 'terrify and intimidate' both political and religious opponents.[108] Recourse to such a cruel and 'disgusting violence' and the 'appalling theatre of punishment enacted on gallows' has an historical context.[109] Although 'severe penalties' were 'laid down in the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity of 1559', Queen Elizabeth 'initially displayed great unwillingness to proceed against Catholics for their religious beliefs' but after 'the promulgation of the papal bull of 1570 which excommunicated the queen' and 'in 1580, when Pope Gregory XIII proclaimed that the assassination of England's heretic queen would not be a mortal sin', which was tantamount to giving Catholics a 'license to kill', the Elizabethan government dealt ruthlessly with any cases of high treason or religious antagonism.[110]

London, where Shakespeare spent his career, was the heart of political action. Concerning the ever-present horrific sights in London, Ivor Brown notes:

> The people of London were used to this parade of skulls from which the birds of prey had plucked the flesh long ago, and Shakespeare, whether he walked or took a ferry from his lodgings to the Globe Theatre in Southwark, must have been well accustomed to this decoration of the

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[105] Robert Adams, 'Despotism, Censorship, and Mirrors of Power Politics in Late Elizabethan Times', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 10.3 (1979), 5-16 (p. 14).
[106] Alexandra Walsham, '"And Touching Our Society': Fashioning Jesuit Identity in Elizabethan England by Thomas M. McCoog', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 101.3 (2015), 655-657 (p. 656).
[107] Elizabeth Hanson, 'Torture and Truth in Renaissance England', *Representations*, 34.34 (1991), 53-84 (p. 55).
[108] Wood, *In Search,* p. 163.
[109] Peter Lake and Michael Questier, 'Agency, Appropriation and Rhetoric under the Gallows: Puritans, Romanists and the State in Early Modern England', *Past & Present*, 153 (1996), 64-107 (pp. 70, 72).
[110] Claire Cross, 'Orthodoxy, Heresy and Treason in Elizabethan England', *Revue Française De Civilisation Britannique*, 18.1 (2013), 1-9 (p. 1); Greenblatt, *Will in the World*, p. 99.

> London sky. The practice of skull-showing on the bridge continued for some sixty years after his death.[111]

Brown paints a gruesome picture of the political reality of Shakespearean society. It is no surprise that living in such times required extreme caution to avoid one's head to becoming an item of 'decoration of the London sky' and one would become especially careful and sorrowful when one's family members were executed thus. When Shakespeare arrived in London, he 'was possibly greeted by the heads of two of his distant kinsmen, John Somerville and Edward Arden, who were executed in 1583 for a fumbling plot to kill the Queen'.[112] Many critics have agreed that the Somervilles were linked to Shakespeare's family as 'Somerville's father-in-law [...] Edward Arden' was 'the head of Shakespeare's mother's family'.[113] Stanley Wells claims that Somerville was 'driven apparently to madness by his religious tensions'—the same religious melancholy noted by Burton—and that is why he claimed to shoot the Queen.[114] Shakespeare and his fellow Londoners witnessed heads on pikes, including their relatives' in some cases and were traumatised by fearful and sorrowful sights which inevitably resulted in melancholic dispositions by the received wisdom of the day. Human 'visual perception', according to modern psychological research, is the 'best developed sense' and it is 'estimated that 80 per cent of the information we receive about the external world reaches us through vision'.[115] The flagrant spectacle of violence witnessed by Shakespeare and his society was commonplace sensory perception and a potential cause of melancholy.

Shakespeare's awareness of such a melancholic scenario and Elizabethan torture and execution themes are reflected in various plays. In *The Winter's Tale* Paulina's reference to 'wheels, racks, fires? What flaying, boiling / In leads or oils?' (III.2.173-4) and in *Julius Caesar*, Brutus's words 'To cut the head off and then hack the limbs' (II.2.1.163) vividly invoke the torture apparatus of Elizabeth's government. Shakespeare here exhibits the general awareness that every Elizabethan 'must have seen gibbets with bodies hanging exposed'.[116] Living in an environment where death, torture and executions are the part of everyday life, is

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[111] Brown, *Shakespeare*, p. 97.
[112] Bryson, *World as a Stage*, p. 50.
[113] Wood, *In Search,* pp. 88-89; Greenblatt, *Will in the World*, pp. 157,158; Stanley Wells, *Shakespeare for All Time* (London: Macmillan, 2002), p. 24.
[114] Wells, *Shakespeare for All Time*, p. 24.
[115] Gillian Butler and Freda McManus, *Psychology: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 16; Richard Gross, *Psychology: The Science of Mind and Behaviour,* 7th edn (London: Hodder Education, 2015), p. 77.
[116] Ifor Evans, 'Shakespeare's World', in *Shakespeare's World,* ed. by James Sutherland and Joel Hurstfield (London: Arnold, 1964), pp. 9-26 (p. 21).

psychologically devastating and a cause of deep melancholy, as summarised by Foucault in these words:

> People do not in fact go mad, but are driven mad by others who are driven into the position of driving them mad by a peculiar convergence of social pressure.[117]

Therefore, to sum up such a melancholic atmosphere as outlined above, it is clear that 'few places in history can have been more deadly and desirable at the time as London in the sixteenth century', and such a society offers the background to Shakespeare's portrayal of melancholy.[118]

According to early modern literature, the deaths of friends and relatives, were another cause of melancholy and high mortality rates were an accepted part of life in Shakespeare's time. Whether by execution, burning at the stake or the wider casualties of war or plague, most families, including Shakespeare's, were affected by death, as reflected in the London Bills of Mortality. For example, 'between the accession of Henry VIII and the death of Elizabeth I, just fewer than 600 English subjects were put to death as the penalty for suspicions aroused by their religious beliefs'.[119] Apart from religious executions, unhygienic living conditions wreaked havoc in the form of various plagues that would spread out frequently, killing large proportions of the English population. According to Peter Thomson, there were both major and subsidiary outbreaks of bubonic plague in London 'in 1563, 1574, 1577, 1578, 1581, 1593, 1603, 1625 and 1636' and during these outbreaks, London theatres were closed 'when registered deaths reached forty in any one week'.[120] The 'outbreaks in 1563 and 1603 were the most ferocious, each wiping out over one quarter of London's population'.[121] In 1564, the year of Shakespeare's birth, 'bubonic plague, killing fully a sixth of the population before the winter' left Stratford devastated.[122] These historical records reflect the fact that the plague was 'virtually always present' and 'flared murderously' causing a huge number of the population to succumb to these plagues.[123] Commenting on the tragic outcome of the plague of 1603, Thomas Dekker, the playwright and prolific pamphleteer, vividly and theatrically personifies

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[117] Foucault, *Madness and Civilization*, p. viii.
[118] Bryson, *World as a Stage*, p. 44.
[119] Gabriel Glickman, 'Early Modern England: Persecution, Martyrdom – And Toleration?', *The Historical Journal*, 51.1 (2008), 251-267 (p. 251).
[120] Peter Thomson, 'Playhouses and Players in the time of Shakespeare' in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare Studies*, ed. by Stanley Wells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 67-83 (p. 67).
[121] Amanda Mabillard, *Worst Diseases in Shakespeare's London*, (2020) <http://www.shakespeare-online.com/biography/londondisease.html> [accessed 24 March 2020].
[122] Greenblatt, *Will in the World*, p. 93.
[123] Bryson, *World as a Stage*, p. 44.

death 'like a Spanish Leagar' or like a 'stalking Tamberline […] hath pitched his tents' to 'kill, kill'.[124]

Shakespeare also faced the tragedy of his only son's early death from bubonic plague. Hamnet's death was a 'shattering blow in his life' and proved to be 'a turning point in the poet's art' in a way that 'the great tragedies followed, plumbing "the well of darkness"'.[125] The state of Hamlet's mind could also be suggestive of Shakespeare's own grief for John Shakespeare, hence reflecting some autobiographical elements. Therefore, in *Hamlet*, as in Burton's words, 'an aged father [is] sighing for a sonne, or a forlorne sonne [Hamlet] for his deceased father'.[126] In the twentieth-century, Freud thought similarly about which Julia Lupton says: 'According to Freud, Shakespeare figures himself in Hamlet as mourner; at the same time, in naming the hero after his son Hamnet, Shakespeare, who according to legend played the Ghost, also takes the position of the dead father.'[127] Death, or fear of death, which is a strong source of melancholy, is repeated multiple times in *Hamlet* and in his other works. To sum up, such an overwhelming presence of death and a sustained threat to one's life, results in extreme feelings of melancholy which 'cause death' evidence of which is 'also present in the London Bills of Mortality […], weekly municipal death records collected in the city from the early 1600s onwards' and 'between 1629 and 1660, the Bills record more than 350 deaths from grief in the city'.[128] Grief, according to the early modern literature outlined in the above paragraphs, is a major component of melancholy and the death of friends and family is frequently cited as the cause of immense grief.

Incest is another cause of melancholy, as it brings intense 'SHame and Disgrace' which 'cause most violent passions, and bitter panges', thus vitiating the black bile.[129] Shakespeare would have known *Oedipus Rex* and other examples of incest in widely and easily available versions of classical literature. According to Jessica Winston, Seneca, Ovid and Cicero were the 'most frequently translated classical authors in the 1560s' whose experiences guided and enlightened many writers of the early modern period.[130] She points out that Seneca 'lived through the reigns of five rulers' namely 'Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero'

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[124] Thomas Dekker, *1603. The Wonderfull Yeare: Wherein is Shewed the Picture of London Lying Sicke of the Plague* (London: Printed by Thomas Creede, 1603), D1^r.
[125] Wood, *In Search,* p. 166.
[126] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 416.
[127] Lupton and Reinhard, *After Oedipus*, p. 16.
[128] Erin Sullivan, 'Shakespeare and the History of Heartbreak', *The Lancet*, 382.9896 (2013), 933-934 (p. 933).
[129] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 133.
[130] Jessica Winston, 'Seneca in Early Elizabethan England', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 59.1 (2006), 29-59 (p. 29).

witnessing 'incest', along with many other evils, 'at closer range'.[131] Another testimony of benefiting from classical figures, Seneca in particular, comes from Shakespeare's contemporary Thomas Nashe who in 1580s 'accused contemporary dramatists of a lack of originality, describing them as "triviall translators" who did little more than copy the "good sentences" and "tragicall speeches" out of Seneca'.[132] This also entails that Shakespeare was not alone in benefiting from classical sources. The accusation of derivativeness might be traced to Nashe's jealousy and prejudice as Shakespeare's originality in portraying human passions has been confirmed by many critics.

In addition to classical examples, English history also provided a recent example of incest in the form of Henry VIII's marriage with Catherine of Aragon. Marrying one's brother's wife was sinful and incestuous, and as a result of doubts about the legitimacy of Henry's first marriage, Mary was considered an illegitimate child. Conversely, there were also some who thought Elizabeth herself to be an illegitimate child. These ideas gained further prominence when the English Parliament passed the first Act of Succession 1533, declaring Mary illegitimate; the second Act of Succession 1536, declaring 'Anne's marriage void' and 'Elizabeth illegitimate'.[133] Shakespeare demonstrates his awareness of these pervasive ideas when he portrays Hamlet's melancholy caused by his mother's incestuous marriage with his uncle and explores concepts of incest in this play, which will be examined in more detail in Chapter 1.

In the early modern period, people believed that 'ouermuch study' or 'too much learning' and all the hard work attached to it can render a person melancholic, which is why melancholy was sometimes called the 'scholar's disease'.[134] There were two main reasons for being attracted towards learning and scholarship. First, as a result of the Renaissance, 'England did enjoy a phenomenal energizing of literature'.[135] Secondly, 'there was an explosion of interest in Italian literature in the 1560s and 1570s that quickly developed into a major era of Italianate literary imitation during the 1580s and 1590s'.[136]

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[131] Winston, 'Seneca', 29-59 (p. 37).
[132] Winston, 'Seneca', 29-59 (p. 29).
[133] *The Oxford Companion of British History*, ed. by John Cannon and Robert Crowcroft, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 329.
[134] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 168; Anglin, 'Hamlet, Melancholy', 15-29 (p. 15).
[135] Michael Hattaway, ed., *A Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), Introduction (p. 3).
[136] Fox, *English Renaissance*, p. 22.

> Italianate literary imitation [was] a phenomenon in Elizabethan England. Between the mid-1560s and the early 1660s over 400 separate titles were translated from the Italian, representing over 200 authors, and this does not even begin to take into account the hundreds of original compositions that were based on direct or indirect imitation of Italian sources.[137]

The underlying reason for the dynamizing of literature was the development of the printing industry, described as 'the printing revolution', as well as an 'unacknowledged revolution' by Elizabeth Eisenstein in her seminal work.[138] Shakespeare's was the age of print which had already been started with William Caxton's successful launching of the printing press, first publishing Geoffrey Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales* (1476). By the time of Shakespeare's birth, printing and publishing was a thriving industry 'which aimed to preserve and transmit the knowledge of classical antiquity, but it also produced a vast amount of lower matter […] such as *A Hundred Merry Tales* or *Scoggin's Jests*' and 'rouge literature' years after year.[139] Because of this 'spread of printing', says Adam Fox, 'on average, around 300,000 volumes were published every year between 1576 and 1640'.[140] It was because of the proliferation of print that, in the early modern period, many genres of popular writing flourished including proto-novels and novellas, poetry (all kinds of ballads, elegies, sonnets, epics, satire, metaphysical, love), drama, diaries, letters, polemics, travel narratives, official records, libels in literary traditions; and street performances (miracles, moralities and mysteries), popular speech, proverbial wisdom, old wives tales and nursery lore, history, local customs and, rumours and news in oral form.[141] This diversified range of literary and oral forms transformed society and encouraged scholarship which then resulted in the melancholic disposition about which Burton says:

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[137] Fox, *English Renaissance*, p. 15.

[138] Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 313, 339; Walsham, 'The Social History' 9-48 (pp. 26-27); Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 3.

[139] Stuart Gillespie and Neil Rhodes, eds, *Shakespeare and Elizabethan Popular Culture* (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2014), Introduction (p. 8).

[140] Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 14.

[141] This list of different genres of literature is mentioned by Adam Fox, Ania Loomba, and Peter Womack. Although novel was not fully developed in Shakespeare's age, yet its proto form was available, for example, Robert Greene's novel *Pandosto* and Cinthio's novel the *Hecatommithi*, sources of Shakespeare, according to some critics.

> *Many men* […] *come to this malady* [melancholy] *by continuall study, and night waking, and of all other men Schollers are most subiect to it* […] *Marsilius Ficinus* puts Melancholy amongst one of those 5 principall plagues of Students, t'is a common maul vnto them all. [142]

In Burton's view most of the scholars, for example Seneca and Tully, were melancholic because of their abstemious study habits and isolation from society, traces of which can be found in the character of Hamlet and discussed in Chapter 1.

The second reason for this excessive interest in Italian or the Renaissance literature was that the early modern people idealised Italian humanist values, culture and learning and for them Rome was the '*most flourishing city*'.[143] The English tried 'to ape the fashions of their Italian counterparts […] the values of this Renaissance Italian culture—especially as expressed in the racy literature that flooded into England from the 1560s onwards'.[144] Whether, it was the availability of abundant native or Italian literature or it was imitating Italian ideals, the passion for learning and scholarship was thought to be a cause of melancholy for the reasons stated in Burton's observations above. Hamlet is a very good example of a victim of this scholarly disease which reflects Shakespeare's awareness of this phenomenon.

> Faced with two rival value systems—the religious system of English state Protestantism and the aesthetic, epistemological and intellectual systems of Renaissance Italian culture—many English people felt an urgent need to find a way of locating themselves in relation to both that would allow them to obey the imperatives of their religion while still participating in the humane outlook of the Italian Renaissance.[145]

Fox's observation is a very important summary of the state of affairs in the wake of the Reformation and the Renaissance. Aspiring to meet the requirements of two rival value systems, general public and writers were affected, trying to strike a balance and assimilate both: religious and modern. Probably, that is why a mixture of secular, religious and humanist values

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[142] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 167.
[143] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 17.
[144] Fox, *English Renaissance*, p. 6.
[145] Fox, *English Renaissance*, p. 6.

are found in Shakespeare. Above all, this aspiration for learning in a highly charged literary environment was a factor in causing melancholy.

Melancholy may also be caused by hatred and revenge as in the case of Hamlet whose strong antipathy toward Claudius and Gertrude's incestuous actions change his disposition into one of melancholia. Hatred of all kinds creates anger and 'thereof springeth, malice'.[146] This concept is also personified in *Othello* and *Macbeth* in which the protagonists develop extreme malice as a result of their anger for specific reasons. Othello is mad with the idea of being a cuckold and he wants the object of his love, Desdemona, and the rival, Cassio, to be annihilated. Othello's hatred, rage and malice create a melancholic disposition under the weight of which he collapses at the end. Similarly, Macbeth, out of his hatred towards all those whom he considers a hindrance to his greatness, inflicts his wrath in murderous ways. This approach makes him melancholic along with other reasons which are discussed in detail in the relevant chapter.

As understood in the early modern period, hatred is a potent emotion which affects the melancholic humour and thus 'riseth heauinesse of hart, and disposition of sadnesse'.[147] In consonance with early modern understanding, hatred and revenge cause an imbalance in the bodily humours thus creating a melancholic disposition in the person who experiences them. The theme of 'the growing of sorrow into hatred and of lamentation into a desire for revenge' finds a strong echo in Shakespeare.[148] Chapter 1 presents a detailed analysis of Shakespeare's treatment of melancholy as both an ailment and inclination in *Hamlet* and other plays.

iii. 'The Finest Mad Devil': Jealousy in Context

The next emotion that this research examines is the passion of jealousy, as a predominantly male disease, with special reference to *Othello* and *The Winter's Tale*. As Shakespeare's focus in these two plays is mainly, but not exclusively, on jealousy between a husband and a wife or between lovers, his understanding and treatment of jealousy cannot be understood in isolation from the patriarchal society in which the poet lived in. Although much scholarship is available regarding the patriarchal nature of early modern society, this thesis differs in that it engages with specific but relevant patriarchal nuances that caused the monstrosity of jealousy, an aspect that is predominantly found in Shakespeare's treatment of

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[146] Bright, *Treatise*, p. 84.
[147] Bright, *Treatise*, p. 82.
[148] Jones, *Origins of Shakespeare*, p. 99.

this passion. Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that the patriarchal conditions of jealousy are only one aspect of the passion, not the exclusive focus of this research as there are various other kinds and contextual elements to jealousy that this study encompasses. The Renaissance, Reformation, Shakespeare's personal experiences and the Tudor education system are other factors that shaped Shakespeare's understanding of jealousy and will be analysed in detail in Chapter 2. However, a brief background is presented here to underline some of the most important aspects of societal influences with regards to jealousy.

The 'patriarchal domination' of early modern society gave rise to 'gender inequality' in which a woman 'was typically a kind of property of a male head of a household'.[149] A woman could never be an equal to a man in any way irrespective of her personal traits. This gender discrimination gave birth to an intense and violent form of the passion of jealousy in men, which in most cases caused women to be 'plunged into depression' and put them 'at the mercy of their parents or husbands'.[150] Accordingly, this passion was considered to be a mortal flaw and an imperfection in a man. In other words, jealousy was known primarily as a male disease in early modern society as evinced in Shakespeare's portrayal of this violent passion in the plays selected for this study; and hence, the male experiences are the prime focus of the study. Nonetheless, this passion was also experienced by women as is discussed later in Chapter 2.

In a thoroughly male-dominated society, wives were expected as well as required to regulate their behaviour to please their husbands. A woman was advised to 'take heede, that she giue not men occasion to thinke hardly of her, either by her Deedes, Words, Lookes or Apparell' because these four aspects of a woman's personality reflected her true character and were examined as a yardstick of a woman's chastity.[151] Additionally, these four 'aspects of women' were '"texts" which men need [ed] to read', as they were 'the interpreters of women' and women were 'texts' in early modern patriarchal society.[152] This masculinist attitude had a long history and unbroken connections to the 'shame culture' that preceded early modern society, as noted by Mark Breitenberg.[153] The chief characteristic of the shame culture was that men's pride and honour controlled women's behaviour. This patriarchal narrative was further strengthened by the introduction of Senecan 'stern Stoic moralist' ideals into the education

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[149] Loomba, *Shakespeare,* p. 7; Oatley, *Emotions*, p. xi.
[150] Lawrence Stone, *The Past and the Present Revisited* (London: Routledge, 2005), p. 277.
[151] *The Court of Good Counsell* (London: Printed by Raph Blower, 1607), D3[r].
[152]Mark Breitenberg, 'Anxious Masculinity: Sexual Jealousy in Early modern England', *Feminist Studies*, 19.2 (1993), 337-398 (pp. 386, 392).
[153] Breitenberg, 'Anxious Masculinity', 337-398, (p. 389).

system that were meant 'to make the young boy manly and courageous'.[154] Contrary to these ideals, the ethos for women was founded on the principles of humility and passivity, taught and propagated through conduct books—the detail of which follows in Chapter 2.

Moreover, the proliferation of chauvinistic advice literature to warn men of women's wickedness and trickeries made men more suspicious and jealous of their wives or other female members of the family. Women were given lessons on modesty, chastity and, according to Jonathan Bate, were taught that 'a woman's reputation was her most precious commodity' to keep them on the right path as conceived by men.[155] This could also be generated by male anxiety regarding sexual betrayal on the part of women. This anxiety not only found its place in Shakespeare's society but also in the literature and particularly the drama of the day as noted by Katharine Maus:

> Anxiety about sexual betrayal pervades the drama of the English Renaissance […] cuckoldry or the fear of cuckoldry becomes a tragic theme as well in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[156]

In addition to the patriarchal standards of Shakespeare's society 'that shaped him and his attitude' to an extent, the availability of Renaissance literature on the subject of jealousy, including Arabic, Italian, French and Classical literature, both original and in translations, in the wake of the Renaissance provided inspiration.[157] Furthermore, interaction with Moors in London's multicultural society, familiarity with the royal court and awareness of the concepts of jealousy shared by his society and his audience were additional factors in Shakespeare's understanding of jealousy and its dramatic treatment, briefly discussed here.

During this period, many works by English and Continental authors introduced the passion of jealousy to the English reader. Benedetto Varchi's *The Blazon of Iealousie* (1615), Robert Burton's *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621) and Nicholas Coeffeteau's *A Table of Humane Passions* (1621) are to name but a few of the most celebrated works of the period on the passion of jealousy reflecting the cultural trends and awareness of the subject. Varchi's

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[154] Ong, 'Latin Language', 103-124 (p. 115).
[155] Jonathan Bate, *Soul of the Age: The Life, Mind and World of William Shakespeare* (London: Viking, 2008), p. 180.
[156] Katharine Eisaman Maus, 'Horns of Dilemma: Jealousy, Gender, and Spectatorship in English Renaissance Drama', *ELH*, 54.3 (1987), 561-583 (p. 561).
[157] Wood, *In Search,* p. 191.

Blazon was considered to be the most complete study of jealousy in the Renaissance, while Burton's *Anatomy* was a highly acclaimed work in England.

It was by courtesy of the Renaissance that Shakespeare learned about the Moorish character and, particularly with regard to *Othello*, early modern literature had enough to offer. According to critics, three works are considered to be sources for *Othello* which helped Shakespeare to create a character who suffers from acute jealousy. These works are 'Cinthio's *Gli Hecatomithi*' (1565); 'Raleigh's *Discovery of Guiana* (1596)' and Leo Africanus's *Della descrittione dell'Africa*, which was published in London in English under the title of '*A Geographical Historie of Africa, Written in Arabicke and Italian by Iohn Leo a More...translated and collected by Iohn Pory*' in '1600'.[158] In accordance with Lois Whitney's viewpoint, John Pory's translation of Leo Africanus 'should have come to Shakespeare's attention' because 'the book contains so much which throws light on the character of Othello that it is hard to believe that Shakespeare was not acquainted with it'.[159]

Other writers that could have inspired Shakespeare's treatment of jealousy included Cervantes whose novella titled *The Jealous Old Man from Extremadura* (1613) is his 'most intense examination of the jealous husband' and introduces Jews, Moors and questions of race, just like *Othello*.[160] Apart from Cervantes, Lope de Vega and Luis de Góngora, authors which were most probably known to Shakespeare and shaped his understanding, also wrote on the passion of jealousy.

In addition to the above factors, Shakespeare, like his contemporaries, particularly Marlowe, Kyd, Peele and Greene, introduced foreign characters (Othello, especially for jealousy) to a London that had already become 'an increasingly important centre of commerce' which had 'changed enormously during Elizabeth's reign' thus attracting many foreigners, and Moors being the most distinguished because of the newly established commercial and military alliances between the two nations.[161] This 'commercial and military expansion' of England, in the wake of latest political ties with the Moorish and the Ottoman empires was a pressing need

[158] Maus, 'Horns of Dilemma', 561-583 (p. 562); Elmer Stoll, 'Othello The Man', *The Shakespeare Association Bulletin*, 9.3 (1934), 111-124 (p. 117); Lois Whitney, 'Did Shakespeare Know Leo Africanus?', *PMLA*, 37.3 (1992), 470-483 (p. 474).
[159] Whitney, 'Did Shakespeare Know Leo Africanus?', 470-483 (pp. 474-75).
[160] Steven Wagschal, *The Literature of Jealousy in the Age of Cervantes* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2006), p. 98.
[161] Kermode, *Age of Shakespeare*, p. 27.

for Elizabeth for two reasons: first, her state had accrued 'a national debt of nearly £300,000 incurred by her late father's wars with France, poor harvests and a slump in the cloth trade'; and second, growing antagonism in Catholic Spain for Elizabeth and her protestant state.[162] These were highly precarious challenges for Elizabeth during 1586, and the only possible solution was to tie a political knot with the Moorish and the Ottoman empires. This earned England lucrative financial incentives; for example, 'the profits on some voyages were estimated at over £70,000, producing returns of nearly 300 per cent' thus 'benefiting enormously from the trade, and the strategic anti-Spanish military alliance that came with it'.[163] Thomas Sprat, in *The History of the Royal-Society*, also confirms this by claiming England as being 'the richest and most powerful' country and London as 'the head of a *mighty Empire*'; according to Paul Slack, 'the trade and wealth of England did mightily advance between the years 1600 and 1688'.[164] With these advancements in trade and commerce, London saw a frequent and increasing presence of the Moors of Africa who then shared commercial and military interests with Elizabethan England against their joint Catholic enemy, Spain. Frank Kermode narrates Londoners' exposure to the Moors:

> Londoners had first-hand experience of Moors, for an embassy from Barbary, on the coast of North Africa, remained in London for six months from August 1600. These visitors to the Elizabethan court were Mediterranean Muslims, and Shakespeare might well have encountered them.[165]

In the context discussed above, Shakespeare's interaction with Moors in London is beyond any doubt and Kermode's observation seems to contribute to the formulation of Othello's character. In such a cultural milieu, it is impossible for him and his contemporary playwrights to remain indifferent to the latest development in the domestic and international political arena, of which London was a microcosmic representation. That is why Ottoman and Moorish worlds 'had preoccupied Shakespeare and his contemporaries throughout the

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[162] Nabil Matar, *Britain and Barbary, 1589-1689* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), p. 111; Brotton, *Orient Isle*, p. 51.
[163] Brotton, *Orient Isle*, p. 135.
[164] Thomas Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society of London, for the Improving of Natural Knowledge* (London, Printed by T. R., 1667), pp. 400, 87; Paul Slack, 'Government and Information in Seventeenth-Century England', *Past & Present*, 184 (2004), 33-68 (p. 67).
[165] Kermode, *Age of Shakespeare*, pp. 133-34.

1590s'.[166] Along with that, there was a growing 'fascination with the mixture of faith, ambition and ethnicity', themes with performative aspects, already exploited by Marlowe, Kyd, Peele and Greene as a 'theatrical fodder throughout the 1590s' on the London stage.[167] Jerry Brotton paints the cultural milieu thus:

> As almost every Elizabethan dramatist attached to an acting company began to include despotic sultans, deceitful Moors, renegade Christians, murderous Jews and vulnerable princesses in their plays. An endless variety of recusants, pagans, converts, apostates and atheists parading the political and personal power of their beliefs (or lack of them) became central to the commercial success of Elizabethan theatre.[168]

Hence, there is compelling circumstantial evidence that Shakespeare met ambassadors from Moorish Africa and performed in front of them, keeping in view that he was the favourite dramatist of Queen Elizabeth and James I. According to Bill Bryson, Shakespeare's company 'would perform before the King 187 times, more than all other acting troupes put together'.[169] With such a frequency of performing at the court, especially against the backdrop of prolonged Anglo-Moroccan interaction, Shakespeare could not have missed an encounter with the Moorish ambassadors and officials during his recurrent visits to Elizabethan and Jacobean courts. Although James I's reign saw a decline in Anglo-Moroccan close ties that Elizabeth had established, the Moors remained a part of English history beyond her rule:

> The alliance came to an abrupt end with Elizabeth's death and her successor James I's decision to make peace with Catholic Spain, but the presence of Muslims like al-Annuri, Ahmed Bilqasim and more modest individuals like Chinano and Mary Fillis remain a significant but neglected aspect of Elizabethan history.[170]

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[166] Brotton, *Orient Isle*, p. 234.
[167] Brotton, *Orient Isle*, p. 176.
[168] Brotton, *Orient Isle*, p. 176.
[169] Bryson, *World as a Stage*, p. 132.
[170] BBC Magazine, *The First Muslims in England* (2020) <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-35843991> [accessed 06 May 2020].

Othello's character, traits and appearance match those of the Barbary officials who were present in London at the time.

The availability of travel narratives is another important factor that must have shaped Shakespeare's understanding of foreign characters in general and Moors and their jealousy in particular. In Shakespeare's lifetime, 'travel narratives became an important English phenomenon' and there was a very specific political reason for this genre to flourish.[171] During Shakespeare's life, England was 'a small place, nothing compared with the great contemporary powerhouses of civilisation: Moghul India, Safavi Iran, Ottoman Turkey and Ming China', therefore, for 'a small and relatively insignificant state' compared especially to the Ottoman and the Moroccan empires in its 'military power, political organization and commercial reach' there was a fascination to know about these exotic lands.[172] Accordingly, gaining 'intelligence [...] about their neighbours' had become a growing ambition for England like 'all governments needed' in the sixteenth-century; and owing to this urgency, 'the English political arithmeticians opened up wholly new terrain for exploration and exploitation'.[173] Elizabeth's government machinery, as a result of this political necessity, devised a scheme to equip the state with 'political intelligence gained by travel'.[174] Knowledge of these powerhouses and other lands of interest through travel and travel writing, incorporated with spy missions, was readily available to Shakespeare and his society. Richard Hakluyt is the most celebrated Elizabethan figure who devoted 'some twenty years to collecting accounts of global travel by Englishmen' and was able to compile 'about two hundred such narratives' which 'appeared in '*Divers Voyages to America* in 1582' and in '*Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffics and Discoveries of the English Nation*, published in three volumes in 1598–1600'.[175] Richard Hakluyt's successor and acquaintance, Samuel Purchas, also extensively published travel literature. His first publication *Pilgrimage* came out in 1613 and went through multiple improved versions. '*The Pilgrimes* (as it is usually known) was the culmination of almost twenty years' collecting oral and written accounts of travels in Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas.'[176] Along with their clandestine agenda of collecting intelligence for the state, these travel writings also introduced foreign cultures, behaviour and customs to the English which

[171] Loomba, *Shakespeare,* p. 12.
[172] Wood, *In Search,* p. 11; Brotton, *Orient Isle*, p. 305.
[173] Slack, 'Government and Information', 33-68 (p. 34).
[174] Nicholas Popper, 'An Information State for Elizabethan England', *The Journal of Modern History*, 90.3 (2018), 503-35 (p. 521).
[175] Peter Womack, 'The Writing of Travel', in *A Companion,* ed. by Hattaway, pp. 148-64 (p. 152).
[176] David Armitage, *Purchas, Samuel* (2007), *DNB* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22898> [accessed 25 May 2020].

helped them and Shakespeare to comprehend other nations, with a particular influence on contemporary understanding of their passions.

A very specific example of such travel-cum-spy missions is presented here in order to understand how Shakespeare acquired knowledge of foreigners and Othello in particular. Nicholas Popper discusses the case of 'Powle and Wotton' who were two spies, disguised as travellers, commissioned to execute espionage missions inside Italy.[177] In the course of a lengthy narrative on espionage, Popper gives details of Powle's method of collecting information, which is strikingly similar to the one in *Hamlet* in Scene 6 (1-71), when Polonius advises Reynaldo, his spy, to collect information about Laertes.[178] It was because of this expanding interest in travel writing as well as Elizabeth's government's interest in political expansion that resulted in wide dissemination of knowledge about other nations. London at that time was the epicentre of the news because 'the city tended to serve as a melting-pot for information from all parts of the country' including foreign news that mostly spread by 'word of mouth'.[179] That is why Shakespeare portrays a wide variety of foreign characters and their interiority which can only be mastered by knowing about them and their culture:

> The Dutch, Danes, Norwegians, Poles, Russians, Turks, American natives, Indians, Arabs, Persians, Saracens, Tartars, and Africans, are all mentioned in the plays. The long list proves that Shakespeare was alive to the interest a foreign character has for English people, more especially at such a time of expansion, sea-faring, and adventure as his own. He has revealed an insight into certain alien mentalities which is remarkably true and appreciative considering the small opportunity he could have had of personal acquaintance with them.[180]

Shakespeare 'was a man familiar with the learning of his day, a student of philosophy, and a purposive artist' who must have consulted travelogues to portray the psychological aspect of his foreign characters.[181] As argued above, spies might be disguised as travellers, therefore

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[177] Popper, 'Information State', 503-535 (p. 531).
[178] Popper, 'Information State', 503-535 (p. 521).
[179] Richard Cust, 'News and Politics in Early Seventeenth-century England', *Past and Present* 112.1 (1986), 60-90 (pp. 70, 65); Adam Fox, 'Rumour, News and Popular Political Opinion in Elizabethan And Early Stuart England', *The Historical Journal*, 40.3 (1997), 597-620 (p. 598).
[180] Clark Cumberland, *Shakespeare and Psychology* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1936), p. 103.
[181] Campbell, *Shakespeare's Tragic Heroes*, p. vii.

travelogues often doubled as proxy spy-reports, focusing mainly on human behaviour and psychology to find people's weaknesses in order to exploit them. Apart from that, his understanding of foreign characters, Moors especially, and the passion of jealousy must have been the result of his interaction with 'the courts and the great households of the nobles' and the people 'he met in the taverns travellers from distant lands full of wonderful tales of their adventures' and 'he hobnobbed with scholars versed in ancient lore' for example Ben Jonson, Marlowe and other writers of his age including the University Wits.[182] From this fertile breeding-ground, 'Indians, gypsies, Jews, Ethiopians, Moroccan, Turks, Moors […] uncivil Tartars' were 'repeatedly conjured up on public as well as private stages' and Shakespeare's stage was one of them.[183]

Ania Loomba cites Swiss visitor Thomas Platter as saying that the English 'do not much used to travel, but prefer to learn of foreign matters and take their pleasures at home' by passing their time and 'learning at the play what is happening abroad' and in this way 'the theatre deeply shaped English imagining of outsiders' including Shakespeare's.[184] The theatre for the English was a microcosmic representation of the world as argued by Richard Wilson:

> The Globe Theatre would have been for Shakespeare the pattern of the universe, the idea of the macrocosm, the world stage on which the Microcosm acted his parts. All the world's a stage. The words are in a real sense the clue to the Globe Theatre.[185]

In short, Shakespeare also acquired knowledge of the Moors and jealousy through travelogues available to him, through his interaction with various kinds of people and through the world of the stage.

Early modern scholars of human passions, especially Burton, also believed jealousy to be a princely disease as it is 'a secret disease, that commonly lurkes and breeds in princes families'.[186] Political struggles, intrigues and conspiracies are part and parcel of the ruling class and Shakespeare's close interaction with two monarchs—Elizabeth I and James I—makes it

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[182] Cumberland, *Shakespeare and Psychology*, p. 10.
[183] Loomba, *Shakespeare,* p. 8.
[184] Loomba, *Shakespeare,* pp. 7, 8.
[185] Richard Wilson, *Worldly Shakespeare: The Theatre of our Good Will* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016).
[186] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 664.

plausible that he witnessed this princely disease growing and resulting in persecutions, executions and violence. This is evident from the plays in which Shakespeare portrays jealousy in royal settings—Othello being the commander in chief of the Italian forces dealing with the upper class: the Duke, Desdemona, Brabanzio, Iago, Roderigo; and Leontes, who himself is a king and the net of his jealousy is woven around his own queen and his friend, Polixenes, another king. Moreover, the concept of princely disease was mainly inspired by English interaction with the Islamic powerhouses of the age where jealousy played a vital role in shaping political manoeuvres to stay in power as recounted in popular narratives of the East. Knowledge of these political intrigues was available to the English due to cultural and literary exchanges between English and Islamic lands, discussed in further detail in Chapter 2.

From the discussion above, it is evident that Shakespeare's society provided ample opportunities to understand and study jealousy through different genres including conduct books, plays, poetry and travel writing. As well as mining theoretical sources, he also learnt empirically about jealousy from his close interaction with royalty, aristocracy, the middle and lower classes whom he met during the course of his day-to-day affairs. As William Reddy compellingly argues, 'emotion is culture', and Shakespeare drew inspiration from a culture that was rich and replete with a nuanced understanding of this passion.[187] This also confirms, as this study has argued, that early modern concepts of jealousy as portrayed by Shakespeare are thoroughly situated in his society. Therefore, while dealing with Shakespeare's drama, it is best to appreciate the concept of jealousy in its social context as a violent, aggressive, monstrous and male-oriented malady.

iv. 'Contrite Sighs unto the Clouds': Repentance in Context

The next passion that this study focuses on is repentance, a complex passion incorporating guilt, remorse, fear of God and sorrow as discussed in Chapter 3 in detail. Unlike melancholy and jealousy, repentance has a purely religious character in early modern terms. Shakespeare's portrayal of repentance, which also affirms Shakespeare's affinity with the scholastic approach, is further affected by the heavily polarised religious environment owing to the theological schism between Protestants and Catholics, together with the internecine struggle among followers of the same denomination. When Shakespeare was at the peak of his writing career, the aftermath of Reformation still agonised society. In such a religious

[187] William Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. ix.

ambience, the passion of repentance was known as a religious tenet to early modern society without any other connotation. Correspondingly, Shakespeare portrayed the doctrinal aspect of repentance as known to him, his society and the theatre-goer.

In the wake of the Reformation, in Shakespeare's society Protestant and Catholic religious doctrines found strong preachers. As a result of this highly charged religious environment, there was an abundance of theological tracts available to the followers of both creeds. In print, for example, 'unauthorized copies of sermons delivered by celebrated Protestant preachers that circulated scribally' as well as Catholic written testaments disseminated by Jesuit missionaries; the oral tradition gave all kinds of religious beliefs an 'axiomatic status'.[188] As a result, Shakespeare's treatment of repentance reflects both Protestant and Catholic features. Although antagonistic denominations were bitterly opposed to each other in certain religious tenets, repentance in early modern society was a 'Christian term' and Catholic and Protestant concepts of repentance were fundamentally similar, albeit with slight differences in practice.[189] Regardless of these differences, repentance remained at the heart of early modern theological debate lending Shakespeare an awareness of these dimensions as portrayed in his drama.

Shakespeare was, as critics have acknowledged, 'deeply immersed in the world around him' and it was a highly charged religious world.[190] Apart from his immersion in such an environment, his possible active contribution to theological works also appears to have been a potential agent in his apprehension of the doctrinal perspective of repentance. The King James Bible was 'the product of nearly fifty men of learning' and Shakespeare qualifies as a likely contributor for two reasons: first, he had, by 1604 when the translation project started, acquired fame as a playwright and an established writer; secondly, he was one of the King's Men.[191] Even if he did not participate in the writing project, according to Piero Boitani, he used 'the King James Bible, published in its entirety in 1611' along with other published religious works published as discussed in the following paragraphs.[192]

[188] Walsham, 'The Social History' 9-48 (p. 25); Garth Fletcher, 'Psychology and Common Sense', *American Psychologist*, 39.3 (1984), 203-213 (p. 205).
[189] Patrick Gray, 'Shakespeare Versus Aristotle: Anagnorisis, Repentance, And Acknowledgment', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 49.1 (2019), 85-111 (p. 10).
[190] Wells, *Shakespeare and Co.*, p. 231.
[191] Brown, *Shakespeare*, p. 205.
[192] Piero Boitani, *The Gospel According to Shakespeare*, trans. by Vittorio Montemaggi and Rachel Jacoff (Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2013), pp. 2, 29.

From a theological perspective, religious reformers and clergymen wrote prolifically on the passion of repentance and the emotions attached to it, for the awareness and education of the populace throughout the Elizabethan and Jacobean eras. In England for example, William Tyndale (1494-1536), Thomas Becon (1512-1567), John Dod (1550-1645), William Bishop (1553-1624), Richard Hooker (1554-1600), Roger Fenton (1565-1616), Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) and Thomas Swadlin (1599/1600-1670) are some of the important figures who contributed to writings on the passion of repentance. Commenting on this rich literary environment, Richard Meek and Erin Sullivan argue that religious literature was widely published and read:

> Given the centrality of religion in Renaissance and Reformation culture […] theology and devotion played a central role in the experience of a wide variety of emotions […] nearly eleven thousand books and papers published in the Elizabethan period, about 40 per cent were religious in nature.[193]

Apart from English works, a wider range of Renaissance European and classical works were also available to the English reader, including William Shakespeare. For example, outside England, there were many who wrote on the passion of repentance: Pierre de La Primaudye (1546-1619) and René Descartes (1596-1650) are the two most influential French figures to explore different aspects of repentance. Pierre de La Primaudye's '*L'Academie Française*' (1586,1594)*,* otherwise known as *The French Academie* in its English translation, particularly known as an encyclopaedia of body and soul from a doctrinal perspective and Christian philosophy and one crucial source of Shakespeare.[194] Both English and French writers mentioned above will find more space in Chapter 3 in order to provide the context for a close analysis of the passion. Along with rich religious literature, the extensive availability and pervasive influence of classical literature encourages some critics, for example David Bromwich, to believe that ancient learning also contributed towards Shakespeare's understanding of repentance. It is because in Aristotle, 'recognition (*anagnorisis*)' is a fundamental concept of a tragedy that 'takes place in the mind of the protagonist' towards his tragic end.[195] Contrarily, there are critics, such as Patrick Gray, who argue that it is

[193] Meek and Sullivan, *Renaissance of Emotion*, Introduction (p. 7).
[194] Stuart Gillespie, *Shakespeare's Books: A Dictionary of Shakespeare Sources* (London: Athlone, 2001), p. 277.
[195] David Bromwich, 'What Shakespeare's Heroes Learn', *Raritan*, 29.4 (2010), 132-48 (p. 146).

Shakespeare's inclusion and 'desirability of repentance [which] distinguishes his drama from Senecan tragedy' or the classical in general.[196] These conflicting criticisms form the background to Shakespeare's treatment of repentance to be discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

Other than the literary traditions of Shakespeare's society, pervasive oral traditions, strengthened by government policies, made the concept of repentance not only well-known to every individual but a part of early modern religious and political life. It was a widely held religious belief that any calamity, whether in the form of a plague, war, disease or famine, was sent by God as a punishment for people's sins. In such a situation, the government would demand the practice of repentance and observance of prayers on a national level, intermingling politics and religion. For example, 'between 1535 and 1643, there were ninety-four occasions of nationwide special prayers, fasts, and thanksgivings ordered in England and Wales, thirty-two of them in Elizabeth's reign alone'.[197] These instances of nationwide public worship and repentance ensured people's religious and political participation in matters of national interest. Writing in 1600, Huw Roberts, a Welsh theologian, explains this national attitude in these words:

> For euerie plague, everie calamitie, sudden death, burning with fire, murther, strange sicknesses, famine, euerie flood of waters, ruine of buildings, vnseasonable weather: euerie one of these and of the like aduersities, as oft as they happen in the world, are a sermon of repentance to all that see them, or heare therof. [198]

In this way, various occasions of holding 'special worship' were employed as a 'formal means of political activity' in order to 'resolve the realm's political problems'.[199] Furthermore, conducting such sessions also conveyed the underlined idea that repentance was an early modern passion with religious connotations.

v. 'Schoolmasters Will I Keep Within My House': The Tudor Education System

The Tudor education system, which introduced the wisdom of the classics and contemporary writers from Europe, was a revolutionary step that had enduring effects on

[196] Gray, 'Shakespeare versus Aristotle', 85-111 (p. 27).
[197] Mears, 'Public Worship', 4-25 (p. 7).
[198] Huw Roberts, *The Day of Hearing: Or, Six Lectvres Vpon The Latter Part of The Thirde Chapter of The Epistle to The Hebrewes* (Oxford: Printed by Ioseph Barnes, 1600), p. 110.
[199] Mears, 'Public Worship', 4-25 (p. 22).

society and Shakespeare in particular on his approach to human passions. It is in this context that this research will engage with certain aspects of the Tudor education system. This system was strongly affected by the Renaissance and the Reformation movements. The revolutionary education policy implemented by Edward VI in the mid sixteenth century which later resulted in 'an astonishing expansion of education between 1560 and 1640', transformed England into 'the most literate society the world has ever known'.[200] These benefits, practices and effects of the Tudor educational system find an allusion in *Hamlet* when the prince says, 'the age is grown so picked' (*Hamlet*: 18.111), referring to the refinement and sophistication that learning brought to society. As Lawrence Stone observes:

> It was precisely between 1590 and 1690 that England boiled and bubbled with new ideas as no other country in Europe. What is so striking about this period is not the appearance of individual men of genius, who may bloom in the most unpromising soil, but rather the widespread public participation in significant intellectual debate on every front. It is no accident that the monarchs, Elizabeth, James I, Charles I and even Charles II, were more interested in things of the mind than any before or since; that James was even flattered to be called 'King of the Academicians'.[201]

The overall intellectual and educational culture of English society in the early modern period was heavily dominated by Latin, which was the medium of learning and communication. As noted by Greenblatt, '"All men," wrote Queen Elizabeth's tutor Roger Ascham, "covet to have their children speak Latin"' and 'the queen spoke Latin […] so did her diplomats, counselors, theologians, clergymen, physicians, and lawyers'.[202] Rich people of the age were drawn to learning Latin and, hence, classics as a status symbol, whereas, the poor were given an incentive that education would enable them 'to discover for themselves the contents of the Bible'.[203] Funded by the gentry and aristocratic philanthropists of the age, free education in Grammar schools was an additional incentive to attract the poor to learning. Although anyone could benefit from this culture of Latin scholarship, learning the Latin language was a

[200] Lawrence Stone, 'The Educational Revolution in England, 1560-1640', *Past & Present*, 28 (1964), 41-80 (pp. 69,68).
[201] Stone, 'Educational Revolution', 41-80 (p. 80).
[202] Greenblatt, *Will in the World*, p. 24.
[203] Stone, 'Educational Revolution', 41-80 (p. 42).

'Renaissance puberty rite' of the male.[204] Whether students went to schools as a status symbol or to learn the Bible, 'the goal' of the education system was 'to Latinize the student' and achieve 'faithful transmission of values at the end of the process'.[205] Irrespective of the motives behind the propagation of a Latinised culture, Shakespeare's world was 'a Latin-writing, Latin-speaking, and even Latin-thinking world', thus bringing it closer to the teachings of the ancients.[206]

As religious teachings were in Latin, the official language of the Bible and of authority, it helped to inculcate religion and classical wisdom effectively. The teachers were 'clergymen' who 'were taking an active part in teaching Latin grammar', which suggests that a part of education was influenced by Reformation ideology, and 'assiduously school authorities worked to inculcate Christian precepts in their students'.[207] With regard to Shakespeare's teachers, critics agree that 'four of the six teachers in Shakespeare's time' at Stratford Grammar School 'had Catholic leanings'.[208] Therefore, it is easy to deduce that the system was thoroughly influenced by the ideals of the Renaissance and the Reformation through the use of Latin as a medium of instruction and that the clergy were employed as a tool to implement Latinisation. Consequently, 'the Christian and the classical, the academic and the popular, are perpetually blended in Shakespeare' in his treatment of human passions.[209]

According to Lawrence Stone, there were three different levels or forms of the Tudor education system. 'The first was the teaching of basic literacy to the bulk of the population'; the second level of schooling 'prepared children for apprenticeship by teaching them greater facility in the use of English and a working knowledge of the more practical aspects of mathematics and account-keeping'; and the third level was 'the grammar school proper, whose curriculum was almost entirely restricted to classical linguistics and grammar, together with the usual religious instruction'.[210] It is the third level of schooling of the Tudor education system, influenced by Desiderius Erasmus, that this research particularly focuses on in order to investigate its contents and impacts on students and, in particular, Shakespeare's

[204] Ong, 'Latin Language', 103-124 (p. 104); Greenblatt, *Will in the World*, p. 26; Barbara Correll, 'Schooling Coriolanus: Shakespeare, Translation and Latinity', in *Shakespeare and the Translation of Identity in Early Modern England*, ed. by Liz Oakley-Brown (London: Continuum, 2011), pp. 22-45 (p. 28).
[205] Correll, 'Schooling Coriolanus', 22-45 (p. 25).
[206] Ong, 'Latin Language', 103-124 (p. 108).
[207] Stone, 'Educational Revolution', 41-80 (pp. 42, 47); Lynn Enterline, *Shakespeare's Schoolroom: Rhetoric, Discipline and Emotion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), p. 122.
[208] Wood, *In Search,* p. 54.
[209] Jones, *Origins of Shakespeare*, p. 266.
[210] Stone, 'Educational Revolution', 41-80 (pp. 42, 44).

understanding of human passions. For this reason, it is very important to explore further the ideals of Erasmus to understand the effect of the education system in developing Shakespeare's approach to passions, particularly the ones chosen for investigation in this study.

Desiderius Erasmus, the 'chief architect of Renaissance humanist educational theory', was a Dutch humanist, social critic, teacher and a theologian, who played a significant role in shaping the intellectual outlook of the English society, as well as Shakespeare's.[211] His acclaimed expertise in classical scholarship made him 'the presiding genius of Tudor school education' and 'superlatively important for Tudor civilization' for his constructive contribution through his Latin writings and translations of the ancients.[212]

> Erasmus's educational and literary theories were put into practice at St. Paul's, and St. Paul's soon became the prototype of many, perhaps most, Tudor grammar-schools. In this way Erasmian ideals, values, and practices quickly spread to the country to affect a large number of those who received the grammar-school education. Among these must be included Shakespeare at Stratford. Erasmus and his followers are the inaugurators of the classical, or neo-classical, phase of our literature, which lasted for nearly three hundred years.[213]

This demonstrates Erasmus's lasting impact on society and some critics go to such an extent as to assert, 'Without Erasmus, no Shakespeare'.[214] This may be debateable, but it accentuates the value of an education system that provided Shakespeare with indispensable insights into melancholy, jealousy and repentance. Erasmus's works had far-reaching effects and they were widely used and recommended, especially his *De ratione studii* (1521), a book about grammar school pedagogy. But 'the most significant was *De Utraque Verborum ac Rerum Copia*', which was 'written in 1512 at the request of Colet, for use in his school at St. Paul's [...] ran into over a hundred editions during the sixteenth century', and 'was translated, epitomized, and pirated, and became the standard work in grammar schools all over Europe'.[215] Not only that,

[211] Bate, *Soul of the Age*, p. 126.
[212] Jones, *Origins of Shakespeare*, pp. 96, 9.
[213] Jones, *Origins of Shakespeare*, p. 9.
[214] Paul Dean, 'Tudor Humanism and the Roman Past: A Background to Shakespeare', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 41.1 (1988), 84-111 (p. 98).
[215] Gillard Derek, *Education in England: A History* (2018) <www.educationengland.org.uk/history/chapter02.html > [accessed 04 September 2019]; Kenneth Charlton, *Education in Renaissance England* (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1965), p. 111.

Erasmus's 'ten editions of *Adages* printed between 1500 and 1536' is a collection of 'a total of 4,251 quotations, tags, and proverbs gathered from ancient Greek and Latin authors' making them a part of literature and oral tradition of the early modern period which according to Neil Rhodes was a 'capsule form' of learning.[216] In this way, Erasmus endeavoured to use Latin education as a medium to bring students into contact with the ancients because he had declared the ancients 'to be the sources of practically all human knowledge', including human passions. In this way, 'the Renaissance educator' in 'preparation for the future' made use of the wisdom 'available from past experience'.[217] Along with contemporary scholarship, Erasmus himself and his works became a link between Shakespeare's society and the classical antiquity.

Another important factor that this research underlines, in the context of Shakespeare's treatment of human passions, is the significance of the learning environment of Stratford which has long been understudied, and therefore underestimated. There are some 'who seek to maintain that Shakespeare, being a Stratfordian, came from a village of illiterate peasants' claims which 'are far from accurate'.[218] The expansion of education in Tudor England affected the country and Stratford was not an exception. Growing up in the midst of such a renaissance of learning, it is most probable that Shakespeare was also a beneficiary of an education which would provide the foundations for a profound psychological insight into human passions.

> There was a good school in the town and a collection of books was no rarity. The parson who christened the infant Shakespeare on 26th April 1564, John Bretchgirdle, had a considerable library and left a legacy of books to a local draper and his son, which he would hardly have done if they could not read them. [219]

As a matter of fact, during Shakespeare's time, Stratford was teeming with learning and scholarship 'opportunities [for education] were greater'; whereas, according to Ivor Brown, 'Birmingham was 'yet an infant' in its literary environment.[220] It might be because of the fact that most teachers that were appointed to teach at Stratford Grammar School, like Thomas

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[216] Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture*, p. 117; Neil Rhodes, 'Shakespeare's Sayings', in *Popular Culture*, ed. by Gillespie and Rhodes, pp. 155-173 (p. 155).
[217] Ong, 'Latin Language', 103-124 (p. 103).
[218] Brown, *Shakespeare*, p. 36.
[219] Brown, *Shakespeare*, p. 36.
[220] Wells, *Shakespeare for All Time*, p. 8; Brown, *Shakespeare*, p. 36.

Jenkins and John Cottam, were graduates of Oxford University. To give an idea of the educational standards of Stratford grammar school, Bate writes:

> A measure of the quality of the Stratford education is that Richard Field, a near contemporary of Shakespeare, began an apprenticeship in London after leaving school and rapidly became one of England's best printer of the classical texts—his work included an important annotated edition of the *Metamorphoses* published in 1589. It was to Field that Shakespeare turned a few years after this for the printing of his *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*.[221]

Understanding the content and practices at Tudor grammar schools—'the "grammar" here was Latin grammar'—is vital in understanding Shakespeare's treatment of human passions.[222] Throughout his writing career, Shakespeare displayed his skills 'in Latin grammar and rhetoric', learnt at grammar school and 'the habits he acquired as a "grammarian" persisted throughout his work, early and late'.[223] It is in this context that a brief overview of grammar school practices is important to gain an insight into Shakespeare's understanding and approach to human passions.

When 'St Paul's School in 1510 in London, a grammar school with a strongly humanist curriculum' was founded by Dean Colet, it soon 'became a model for grammar schools throughout England' in which 'Colet, Erasmus and the school's first headteacher, William Lily, collaborated in establishing the curriculum of the school'.[224] Later, grammar schools' Latin curriculum was 'prescribed by law' in which Lily's '*Introduction of the Eight Parts of Speech*, otherwise known as the '*English accidence*', and a Latin grammar's book 'entitled *Brevissima Institutio*' were 'printed jointly as the Short Introduction of Grammar' by 'a royal proclamation of Edward VI', thus becoming the official coursebook for grammar schools 'throughout England for generations to come'.[225] In addition, Terence, Aesop's *Fables*, Virgil's *Eclogues* and *Aeneid*, Tully's *Epistles* and *Offices* [*De Officiis*], Sallust, Ovid, the *Commentaries* of Caesar, and Erasmus's *Copia Verborum et Rerum Erasmi* were part of set texts.[226]

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[221] Jonathan Bate, *Shakespeare and Ovid* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 19.
[222] Ong, 'Latin Language', 103-124 (p. 108).
[223] Enterline, *Shakespeare's Schoolroom*, pp. 1-2; Jones, *Origins of Shakespeare*, p. 28.
[224] Mary Thomas Crane, 'Early Tudor Humanism', in *A Companion,* ed. by Hattaway, pp. 13-26 (p. 20).
[225] Bate, *Soul of the Age*, p. 83.
[226] Bate, *Soul of the Age*, pp. 83, 95.

In order to train pupils, two pedagogic principles were applied during the long school hours. First the students had 'an immense amount of learning by rote'; and secondly, they were taught 'to show their skill through innumerable like-yet-unlike imitations' or 'similar treatment of dissimilar material, and dissimilar treatment of similar material'.[227] As a consequence, students were able to produce imitations of classical texts. Likewise, Shakespeare was one of the beneficiaries of these skills learnt at school albeit he transformed 'classical material in a completely personal way'.[228] Moreover, the humanist or non-religious element of the school curriculum also seems to have fascinated Shakespeare to a greater extent as is eminent in his treatment of human passions. Nonetheless, both religious and humanist 'grounding' at school gave him a consolidated insight into the workings of the human mind with which he was able to portray melancholic, jealous and repentant characters that are not mere imitations but are 'spectacularly at odds with classical authority' and this may be Shakespeare's 'active response to the cultural constellation of translation, transmission and subject formation', thus bringing a 'critical difference' in his response to classical authority.[229] This observation also implies that he was not an absolute product of culture and history but retained his own innovative individuality in his approach and experimentation in depicting human passions.

Outside the realm of school, 'all the extant Greek tragedies were made available in editions and in Latin translations during the sixteenth century' for anyone to read and learn from them who could understand Latin; and Shakespeare knew both Greek and Latin that enabled him to self-study classical writers beyond school years as well.[230] Encompassing the effectiveness of grammar school pedagogical practices, Stanley Wells says:

> A boy educated at an Elizabethan grammar school would be more thoroughly trained in classical rhetoric and Roman (if not Greek) literature than most present-day holders of a university degree in classics.[231]

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[227] Jones, *Origins of Shakespeare*, pp. 12, 24.
[228] Jones, *Origins of Shakespeare*, p. 25.
[229] Correll, 'Schooling Coriolanus', 22-45 (pp. 30, 31).
[230] Jones, *Origins of Shakespeare*, p. 91.
[231] William Shakespeare, *The Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works,* ed. by Stanley Wells and others, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), Introduction (p. xvi).

Stanley Wells is not alone in his claim. Other critics also believe that grammar school education 'was roughly equivalent to a university degree today, with a better facility in Latin than that of a typical classics major'.[232] Discussing the benefits of this fluency achieved by a grammar school pupil 'even in small towns like Stratford', Wells argues that a pupil could 'both read and enjoy the great literature of the past'.[233] This overall increase in Latinised learning of the period initiated an increased awareness of classical writers to a wider extent. Such a rich Latin culture is exemplified by the fact that 'by the 1590s then, Ovid had become for many writers, readers, and playgoers a source of poetic and even licentious delight'; and it 'has been widely agreed that Shakespeare's favourite classical author' was 'Publius Ovidius Naso'.[234] This also reflects playgoers familiarity with classical authors, Ovid in particular. It is probably because of these societal and Latinised cultural trends that Bate had to say that Shakespeare 'did not need more than an Elizabethan grammar school education in order to write his plays' and in particular to portray his understanding of human emotions as this research emphasises.[235]

Stanley Wells, Jonathan Bate, Helen Hackett, Bill Bryson, James Shapiro, Emrys Jones, Lynn Enterline, Ivor Brown are among several influential critics who believe that Shakespeare went to the Stratford Grammar School and had a rigorous training in Latin and classical writers. He was, therefore, the 'product of a grammar school' that introduced him to the wisdom of ancient and classical philosophers in Tudor grammar schools, thus giving him an insight in his treatment of human passions under discussion. As the Mayor of Stratford, John Shakespeare, 'was entitled to send his son to the town's free school, once attached to the guild, but now, in the mid-sixteenth century, a grammar school financed by the corporation', which leaves no other option for young Shakespeare but to attend the Stratford Grammar School.[236]

Grammar school developed his skills that remained with him throughout his life. He is believed to have developed a study habit of reading a wide range of authors beyond his school years. According to 'recent Shakespearean scholarship', it has now become clear that 'Shakespeare's engagement with the Classics was both extensive and original' because of his schooling and the fact that 'he was a bookish person' and being a 'voracious reader', it can be judged that 'books played their part' in his art.[237]

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[232] James Shapiro, *Contested Will: Who Wrote Shakespeare?* (London: Faber and Faber, 2010), p. 312.
[233] Wells, *Shakespeare for All Time*, p. 14.
[234] Bate, *Shakespeare and Ovid*, pp. 32, vii.
[235] Jonathan Bate, *The Genius of Shakespeare* (London: Picador, 1997), p. 13.
[236] Wood, *In Search,* p. 47.
[237] Danijela Kambaskovic, '"Of Comfort and Dispaire': Plato's Philosophy of Love and Shakespeare's Sonnets', in *Shakespeare and Emotions: Inheritances, Enactments, Legacies*, ed. by R. S. White, Mark Houlahan and

> Shakespeare read many books other than those that supplied him with stories, and of course he heard, and learned, roles in plays other than his own. He may well, like many of his contemporaries, have kept a commonplace book in which he jotted down memorable sayings and observations that might come in useful for future use: 'My table, / My table, meet it is I set it down'.[238]

In that case, 'he did not need more than an Elizabethan grammar school education' to gain psychological insights into the treatment of human passions because 'the raw material was there in a readily accessible source' and 'the method of *lively turning* such material was learnt in school'.[239] Bate sums this up in these words:

> Shakespeare was a product of the educational revolution in which Vives played a part: he was trained to value the classics and he was glad to use the new translations of them, such as Sir Thomas North's version of Plutarch's *Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romanes.* As a dramatist and hence a student of what Vives calls the 'human passions', he was especially interested in the classical text in which the extremes of emotions were explored. Among those, none was more congenial to him than Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.[240]

The whole point of referring back to the Tudor education system is not to encompass its traits and effectivity in its totality, but to demonstrate that the Latin education system, with its origins in the past, linked Shakespeare directly to classical knowledge, particularly with that relevant to melancholy, jealousy and repentance and prevalent theories of emotion discussed earlier. For a comprehensive understanding of the Tudor education system, its content and its expansion have been comprehensively studied in relevant literature.[241]

Katrina O'Loughlin (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 17-28 (p. 276); Oatley, *Emotions*, p. 142; Wood, *In Search,* p. 275.

[238] Wells, *Shakespeare for All Time*, p. 150.

[239] Bate, *The Genius*, p. 13.

[240] Bate, *Shakespeare and Ovid*, p. 6.

[241] See Lawrence Stone, *The Educational Reforms in England, 1560-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); W. K. Jordan, *Philanthropy in England*, *1480-1660* (London: Routledge, 1959 and 2013); Kenneth Charlton, *Education in Renaissance England* (London, Routledge, 1965 and 2013).

vi. 'I Have / Immortal Longings in Me': Shakespeare's Individual Circumstances

Critics, apart from those of the Anti-Stratfordian school of thought, unanimously agree that Shakespeare was an exceptional individual in terms of his mental faculties, keen observation and linguistic acuity. From his bitterly snobbish contemporary critics like Robert Greene to latter Bardolators like Bloom, all concede that his mind was an exceptional gift. Greene called him 'johannes factotum' which means 'Jack of all trades, universal genius, a Mr Do-it-all'; for Emrys Jones, he is a 'great natural genius'; for Jonathan Bate, he is 'the greatest genius'; for Stanley Wells, he is 'the greatest of poets as well as the greatest of dramatists'; for Neema Parvini he is 'a writer of extraordinary insight into the workings of the human mind'; and according to Dryden, he 'understood the nature of the Passions'.[242] It has been established through recent research into psychological realities that an 'ordinary person has a great and profound understanding of himself and other people' and a writer whose personal magnificence has been established by acclaimed critique must have the ability to approach passions more sophisticatedly.[243] That is why Neema Parvini rightly believes that Shakespeare 'demonstrates an implicit understanding of human thinking that anticipates the findings of recent psychological studies'.[244] When considering other factors that shaped Shakespeare's understanding of the passions under discussion, it would be unscientific and biased to ignore the personal traits of the author whose treatment of human passions is the focus of this study, although proving Shakespeare to be an uncontested genius is not the purpose of this research. Like other factors, as discussed above, his intellect, skills learnt at school and individuality also played a vital part in the treatment and understanding of human passions and ignoring his personal skills would render this study scientifically incomplete.

Along with his personal traits, Shakespeare's personal experiences, gained from his particular circumstances or surroundings, are equally important in shaping his understanding of human psychology, thereby portraying the 'dance of human passions' in Wittgenstein's memorable phrase.[245] It is known that 'things alien fascinated Shakespeare' and the London he

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[242] Brian Vickers, '"Upstart Crow?" The Myth of Shakespeare's Plagiarism', *The Review of English Studies*, 68.284 (2017), 244-67 (p. 246); Wood, *In Search,* p. 144; Jones, *Origins of Shakespeare*, p. 2; Bate, *The Genius*, p. 79; Wells, *Shakespeare for All Time*, p. 152; Neema Parvini, *Shakespeare and Cognition: Thinking fast and Slow Through Character* (London: Palgrave Pivot, 2015), p. 64; John Dryden, *Troilus and Cressida, Or, Truth Found Too Late a Tragedy* (London: Printed for Able Swall ..., and Jacob Tonson .., 1679), b2[r].

[243] Harold Kelley, 'Common-Sense Psychology and Scientific Psychology', *Annual Review of Psychology*, 431.1 (1992), 1-24 (pp. 3, 4).

[244] Parvini, *Shakespeare and Cognition*, p. 64.

[245] Joachim Schulte, 'Did Wittgenstein Write on Shakespeare?', *Nordic Wittgenstein Review*, 2.1 (2013), 7-32 (p. 12); David Beauregard, 'Shakespeare And the Passions: The Aristotelian-Thomistic Tradition', *Heythrop Journal*, 52.6 (2011), 912-25 (p. 912).

lived in gave him ample opportunities to interact with alien cultures, Moors to be specific, especially during his visits to the royal courts of Elizabeth and James, in order to know their thought processes and gain a first-hand knowledge of their jealousy, as was popularised in the prevalent literature.[246] In addition to that, Shakespeare's close interaction with the monarchy of his time also gave him opportunity to understand jealousy as a princely disease. According to Richard Wilson, Elizabeth 'sponsored only ninety court performances in the years 1590-1603, when Shakespeare was writing, compared with 300 James sponsored between 1603 and 1616' in which his acting company 'would perform before the King 187 time'.[247] These visits to the courts were inevitable for Shakespeare and acting troupes because of the fact that 'Queen Elizabeth, and later King James, never attended public playing spaces–the theatre went to them, not they to it'.[248] As 'Shakespeare possessed an extraordinary ability to understand human thought processes from "the inside out"', such visits not only gave him an opportunity to observe the royals and courtiers but also study the princely disease—jealousy—from very close quarters which is then represented 'in the display of interiority' in the case of Othello and Leontes.[249]

Other than his interaction with royalty, Shakespeare also acquired psychological acumen and a meticulous appreciation of human passions through his mingling with the lower class. Greenblatt paints a picture of Shakespeare's London and the people he came into contact with in these words:

> With its crush of small factories, dockyards, and warehouses; its huge food markets, breweries, print shops, hospitals, orphanages, law schools, and guildhalls; its cloth makers, glassmakers, basket makers, brick makers, shipwrights, carpenters, tinsmiths, armorers, haberdashers, furriers, dyers, goldsmiths, fishmongers, booksellers, chandlers, drapers, grocers, and their crowds of unruly apprentices; not to mention its government officials, courtiers, lawyers, merchants,

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[246] Wood, *In Search,* p. 204.
[247] Wilson, *Worldly Shakespeare*, p. 79; Bryson, *World as a Stage*, p. 132.
[248] Stanley Wells, 'Shakespeare's Theatrical Scene', *Linguae &. Rivista Di Lingue E Culture Moderne,* 3.2 (2013), 7-22 (p. 10).
[249] Neema Parvini, *What Did Shakespeare Understand About the Human Mind?* (2016/21)<https://evolution-institute.org/article/what-did-shakespeare-understand-about-the-human-mind/> [accessed 24 October 2019]; Laura Kolb, 'Playing with Demons: Interrogating the Supernatural in Jacobean Drama', *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 43.4 (2007), 337-350 (p. 345).

> ministers, teachers, soldiers, sailors, porters, carters, watermen, innkeepers, cooks, servants, peddlers, minstrels, acrobats, cardsharps, pimps, whores, and beggars, London overflowed all boundaries. [250]

This is the kaleidoscopic picture of Shakespeare's London. According to modern research, psychology is the study of 'man's self-understanding' in a given situation.[251] Apparently, this seems contradictory with the understanding of others' psychology or interiority, but psychologists have believed, for decades, that psychology is 'the scientific study of people, the mind and behaviour' or 'behavior' in response to a social event or happening.[252] Once an individual understands his or her own response to a particular incident in society, he or she can decode fellow citizen's behaviour too. Additionally, after understanding others' behaviour, it is easy for a person to judge others' emotions because the next step in understanding people is 'the study of emotions' and 'social factors affect how emotions are elicited and expressed' as well as 'social influences permeate emotion more insistently, more effectively'.[253] Although in Shakespeare's age, psychology was not known and developed as a separate discipline as it is today, the principles of human psychology are universal and have been practiced, knowingly or unknowingly, since social life began. Keeping these psychological facts in view and Shakespeare's mental and personal intellect as mentioned above, it can be deduced that he went through the stages of self-understanding, or in early modern terms, applied the maxim of '*Nosce teipsum*' or 'Know thy selfe' and hence made himself able to know others, their behaviour and ultimately their passions.[254] However, from an early modern perspective, 'know thy self' meant 'understanding one's humoral constitution', therefore, 'to know one's humoural self was, in effect, to know oneself'.[255] The representation of melancholy and jealousy in Chapters 1 and 2 respectively as per the pervasive humoral notions suggests Shakespeare's awareness as well acceptance of the dictum of '*Nosce teipsum*'. Pierre Charron elaborates in detail the benefits of knowing ourselves; and Pierre de La Primaudaye, in his highly acclaimed

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[250] Greenblatt, *Will in the World*, p. 164.
[251] Joynson, *Psychology*, p. 102.
[252] Gross, *Psychology*, p. 3; The British Psychological Society, *What is Psychology*?, (2020) <https://www.bps.org.uk/public/what-is-psychology> [accessed 09 April 2020]; B.H. Bode, 'What is Psychology?' *Psychological Review*, 29.4 (1922), 250-258 (p. 253).
[253] Catherine Lutz and Geoffrey White, 'The Anthropology of Emotions', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 15 (1986), 405-436 (p. 407); Arlie Russell Hochschild, 'Emotion Work, Feeling Rules, and Social Structure', *American Journal of Sociology*, 85.3 (1979), 551-575 (pp. 554, 555).
[254] Pierre Charron, *Of Wisdome: Three Bookes Written in French*, trans. by Samson Lennard (London: Edward Blount & Will Aspley, 1608), p. 2; Campbell, *Shakespeare's Tragic Heroes*, p. 49.
[255] Michael Slater, 'The Ghost in the Machine: Emotion and Mind–Body Union in Hamlet and Descartes', *Criticism*, 58.4 (2016), 593-620 (p. 596); Arikha, *Passions and Tempers*, p. 173.

work *The French Academie* (1594), emphasises the importance of self-knowledge in these words:

> *SENECA* the Philosopher reporteth (gentle Reader) that the looking glasse was first inuented to this end, that man might vse it as a meane to know himself the better by.[256]

From this analysis, two ideas can be inferred: first, that the early modern belief of 'know thy self' concords with the latest research in human psychology in regard to a level of self-understanding leading to understanding of social behaviour and emotions; and second, the concept of *Nosce teipsum* was imperative to Shakespeare and early modern people because they believed that 'the knowledge of our selues and our humane condition' was the actual 'foundation of Wisdome'.[257] Based on these arguments and the fact that Shakespeare interacted with almost all strands of his diverse society, he was fully capable of learning and portraying human passions of a galaxy of diverse characters that he created. However, learning does not always have to be conscious learning. Some kinds of learning 'do not involve conscious effort or formal instruction', and Shakespeare's lack of formal learning beyond school years meant that he learnt rather through '*contingencies*—what goes together with what; *discrepancies*—differences from the norm; and *transactions*—interactions with others'.[258] This kind of learning was an integral part of Shakespeare's daily life, immersed as he was in his bustling society, as noted by Greenblatt above; and like a 'sponge' he absorbed 'stories of the street, things he saw, people he met, news of the day, sermons and tracts' and depicted them in a way that his 'life and his art were always feeding off each other'.[259]

Shakespeare's society's oral and literary traditions mixed with his personal traits and experiences gave him confidence to break the rules of the established mystery and miracle plays of his time which only depicted good and evil sides of characters. Instead, Shakespeare equipped his characters with 'incredibly complex […] human emotions such as guilt and remorse' along with a display of good and evil characteristics.[260] The traditions of his society, also made him well 'versed in the mythology of ancient Greece and Rome' and he could

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[256] Pierre de La Primaudaye, *The Second Part of The French Academie* (London: Printed by G. B[ishop] R[alph] N[ewbery] R. B[arker], 1594), A5r.
[257] Charron, *Of Wisdome*, ¶1v.
[258] Butler and McManus, *Psychology*, pp. 29-30.
[259] Wood, *In Search,* pp. 275, 207.
[260] Roni Jay, *Shakespeare: A Beginner's Guide* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2000), p. 13.

balance his mind 'between Catholicism and Protestantism, old feudal ways and new bourgeois ambitions, rational thinking and visceral instinct, faith and scepticism'.[261] That is why, Shakespeare's portrayal of passions and repentance in particular, reflects both Catholic and Protestant approaches.

vii. Conclusion

From the above discussion it is clear that the 'environmental', 'cultural' and 'social' determinants made a significant contribution towards the orality and literacy of Shakespeare's society; and it was this revolutionary and dynamic culture that interacted with Shakespeare's personal traits and experiences to shape his understanding of the passions in their special context.[262] In the wake of the twin movements of Renaissance and Reformation, from his schooling to his acting and writing career; from his family circumstances at home to his acquaintance with monarchy in the capital city; from his village to bustling London; and from domestic politics to the international political scene, there were ample opportunities to learn and contribute to the production of his culture because 'the person is a processor and producer of culture'.[263] From the 'most acrimonious of literary battles' between Catholics and Protestants to the harshest of pamphleteering between rival poets and playwrights; from being labelled as an 'upstart crow' to becoming the King's man; from a countryman to a gentleman, Shakespeare experienced, witnessed and absorbed the prevalent ideas of passions of his time resulting in the 'dance of human passions' in his plays, an area that has seen a revival of interest in recent years.[264] Shakespeare's individuality in treating these passions is prominent in his works and at the same time, he was also influenced by his oral and literary environment in treating and portraying melancholy, jealousy and repentance in his plays in a way that 'the Christian and the classical, the academic and the popular, are perpetually blended in Shakespeare' when it comes to his treatment of human passions.[265]

The research also appreciates that 'all societies have emotional standards' and that 'societies differ, often significantly, in these standards'.[266] The following chapters present a close analysis of these factors in the chosen plays and will examine Shakespeare's treatment of

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[261] Bate, *Soul of the Age*, p. 18.
[262] Pervin and John, *Personality*, p.14.
[263] John Lee, 'Shakespeare, Human Nature, and English Literature', *Shakespeare*, 5.2 (2009), 177-90 (p. 182).
[264] Cross, 'Orthodoxy', 1-9 (p. 7).
[265] Jones, *Origins of Shakespeare*, p. 266.
[266] Stearns and Stearns, 'Emotionology', 813-836 (p. 814).

these passions by contextualising and historicising them against the background set out in this chapter to bring forth a new reading of these plays.

Chapter 1: Shakespeare's Treatment of Melancholy

This chapter historicises Shakespeare's treatment and portrayal of melancholy, its symptoms, various causes, and its harmony with the early modern perception of this passion as a malady, with special reference to *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *The Winter's Tale* and *Othello.* The focal point of this chapter is an examination of Shakespeare's portrayal of melancholy assiduously contextualised in his cultural attitudes to this malady. In other words, Shakespeare's works evince a close symbiosis between his depiction of the malady and contemporary sources and practices. The representation is so close at times, as this research has found, that it blurs the boundaries between Shakespeare's dramatic representation of the malady and its contemporary theorisation, outlined in early modern discourses and treatises of melancholy. However, Shakespeare also employs innovative approaches to the passion, wherever it is required to adapt to his dramatic requirements. To achieve such adaptations or to digress from his social definitions of melancholy, Shakespeare must have to be immersed in the abiding melancholic culture, rich in widely circulated discourses and practices of melancholy. That is why, before engaging with the plays themselves, a brief synopsis of such axiomatic literary and social traditions is outlined below.

1.1.The Prevalence of Early Modern Melancholy

Shakespeare's depiction of this malady manifests the attitudes and understanding of an era, described by J.F. Bernard as the 'golden age of melancholia'.[1] It was an age, in which, according to Lawrence Babb, melancholy 'was very much in vogue' and early moderns were 'fascinated by the vagaries of the mentally diseased'.[2] Therefore, melancholy was quickly identified not only when 'indicated by melancholic behaviour', but also when manifested in the 'forms, moods, [and] shapes of grief (*Hamlet*:1.2.82)'.[3] This provided Shakespeare an 'ample opportunity for […] observation' and aligning the display of this malady with his society's ubiquitous approaches in his plays.[4] Melancholy gained wider currency owing to the richness of oral and literary traditions of the society. Although a vast array of literature was produced on the topic of human passions, including melancholy, some of the prominent works treating melancholy merit mentioning here, for example, Thomas Elyot's *The Castel of Helth*,

[1] Bernard, *Shakespearean Melancholy*, p. 14.
[2] Lawrence Babb, *The Elizabethan Malady: A Study of Melancholia in English Literature from 1580 to 1642* (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1951), pp. vii, 91-92.
[3] Ross Knecht, '"Shapes of Grief": Hamlet 's Grammar School Passions', *ELH*, 82.1 (2015), 35-58, (p. 41).
[4] Babb, *Elizabethan Malady*, p. 72.

(1539); Robert Greene's *Arbasto: The Anatomie of Fortune* (1589) and *Menaphon* (1589); Thomas Nashe's *Terror of the Night* (1594); Francis Bacon's *The Essays* (1597,1612); Ben Jonson's *Every Man in His Humour* (1598); *Every Man Out of His Humour* (1599); William Perkins's *The Cases of Conscience* (1604) and *The Whole Treatise of Cases of Conscience* (1606); and Thomas Wright's *The Passions of the Minde in Generall* (1604) are but to name a very few. All these works mentioned above owe to Timothie Bright's quintessential *A Treatise of Melancholie* (1586), a seminal work that influenced almost all the later studies of melancholy. As a pioneering work, it shaped people's understanding of melancholy and hence, initiated others to engage with this passion. Later, Robert Burton's highly acclaimed work *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621) proved to be a landmark study and with 'its genuinely encyclopaedic inclusiveness' it displayed 'the entirety of the existing range of scholarly knowledge about melancholy'—a disease that had achieved 'epidemic proportions in his society'.[5]

Besides those in English, there were many Continental works, for example André Du Laurens' *A Discourse of the Preseruation of the Sight: Of Melancholike Diseases* (1599), Montaigne's *The Essays* (1603, 1613) and Jacques Ferrand's *A Treatise of Lovesickness* (1623) that contributed immensely to the theory of melancholy from both humoral or medical and psychological perspectives. Montaigne in particular, who was inspired by 'the theory of humours and complexions prevalent in the Renaissance', influenced scholars and the general public alike in England and Europe.[6] Du Laurens was a physician and his book, a 'medical compendium', is known as the French equivalent of Bright's *Treatise* and provides an authentic discourse on melancholy.[7] Ferrand's highly acclaimed *Treatise* also reflects Bright's far-reaching influence. In addition, fifteenth-century Italian writer Marcilio Ficino's works on melancholy were also available to English readers, raising general awareness of the malady.

In this way, both English and European physicians, clergymen, medical doctors, moralists and playwrights engaged with melancholic concepts, adding to the existing literary and medical output on the malady, commonly known as 'the Elizabethan disease'.[8] This was the intellectual environment incorporating England and the Continent, in which Shakespeare created Hamlet, 'the prince of melancholy' and endowed the Macbeths, Othello, Leontes,

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[5] Gowland, *Worlds of Renaissance Melancholy*, p. 33.
[6] Horowitz, 'Montaigne and Melancholy', 516-517 (p. 516).
[7] Bernard, *Shakespearean Melancholy*, p. 16.
[8] Anglin, 'Hamlet, Melancholy', 15-29 (p. 21).

Laertes, Ophelia and other characters with a melancholic disposition which will be examined below.[9]

There is a very important distinction that needs to be made here regarding the intellectual environment. As 'during the Renaissance, physiology and psychology' were not 'separable', medical or scientific, fictional, moralistic and literary works of the time also had no strict demarcation.[10] Hence, there was a reciprocity of ideas and concepts across different genres and disciplines. The portrayal of 'physical and mental degradation', induced by the effect of violent passions, 'would not have appeared in the drama if the playwrights had not been influenced, directly or indirectly, by the pathology of grief [a major component of melancholy] expounded in scientific works'.[11] Consequently, melancholic characters that appeared in the Renaissance literature in general and Shakespeare's in particular have 'an adequate basis in scientific lore, and none of them would have existed if there had been no psychological theory'.[12] Therefore, this study will use the term literature to encompass scientific or medical and wider discourses that inspired Shakespeare to portray melancholy in his works.

Shakespeare had access to such discourses of melancholy as listed above, particularly the works of Bright, a clergyman and a doctor, who 'probably exerted an influence on Shakespeare, in forming the character of Hamlet to some extent'.[13] This observation by Noga Arikha is amply evidenced as the psychological and physiological aspects of melancholy in *Hamlet* and other plays chosen for this research, exhibit parallels with Bright's description. However, the influence of other contemporary scholars who worked on the subject cannot be ignored. For this very reason, Bright's *Treatise* and Burton's *Anatomy*, the former being a pioneering work and the latter being an encyclopaedic collection produced very much under the influence of Bright, will be key to the historicisation of Shakespeare's depiction of melancholy. The theatre-goer's familiarity with melancholy and consequent expectations also facilitated Shakespeare's depiction of the malady in its social context.

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[9] Lupton and Reinhard, *After Oedipus*, p. ix.
[10] Babb, *Elizabethan Malady*, p. 1.
[11] Babb, *Elizabethan Malady*, p. 118.
[12] Babb, *Elizabethan Malady*, p. 118.
[13] Arikha, *Passions and Tempers*, p. 157.

1.2.Early Modern Understanding of the Malady

In the early modern period, melancholy was understood as a bodily disease, a malady, caused by an imbalance of the black bile or melancholic humour. Not only did Renaissance literature engage with melancholy in terms of a disease in theory, but there were also physicians and medical doctors who treated this malady in their clinics with great care because of its lethal potential. Renaissance theorists and medical practitioners warned people of its dire consequences. For example, Thomas Wright, in his famous work *The Passions*, advises his reader to 'Expell sadnesse farre from thee; For sadnesse hath killed many, neither is there any profite in it'.[14] Physicians, for example, Thomas Elyot, also warned people of the dangers of sadness and grief, chief components of melancholy, a 'daungerous disposition', with mortal consequences and cause of 'corrupted bloud' if not avoided.[15] Similarly, Stephen Bradwell, a Jacobean doctor, believed that sorrow must 'be beaten off' because it 'afflicts the Heart, disturbes the Faculties, melts the Braine, vitiates the humours, and […] sometimes sinkes the Body into the grave'.[16] Lawrence Stone also records a practicing consultant in London by the name of Simon Forman, who in 1597, diagnosed a woman as: 'Much subject to melancholy and full of fancies'.[17] In this way, 'sadness and grief were by far the worst' of all the passions for early modern theorists, physicians and doctors whose diagnoses were supported by the London Mortality Bills which recorded '350 deaths from grief in the city' alone 'between 1629 and 1660'; and grief was the chief component of melancholy according to Bright, Burton and other contemporary writers.[18] This number would have been far higher in the whole of the country. This is the most striking and tangible evidence for the deadly seriousness with which melancholy was treated and records such as these attest to the fact that melancholy was a well-known bodily disease in society. Therefore, engagement with melancholic concepts, both in prevailing theory and ongoing practice, along with its glamourous Aristotelian character as discussed below, added to its importance as both a malady and social performance. Both these aspects gave it a visible but sombre performative character that inspired Shakespeare, as well as other playwrights, to stage this malady.

Understanding of melancholy was bifurcated into two major branches: one based on medical or scientific grounds and the other on moralistic grounds. With regards to

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[14] Wright, *Passions of the Minde*, p. 63.
[15] Thomas Elyot, *The Castel of Helthe* (London: In ædibus Thomæ Bertheleti typis impress, 1539), pp. 9, 64.
[16] Stephen Bradwell, *Physick for the Sicknesse* (London: Printed by Beniamin Fisher, 1636), pp. 37, 34.
[17] Stone, *Revisited*, p. 280.
[18] Sullivan, 'History of Heartbreak', 933-934 (p. 933).

melancholy's medical or scientific aspect, it was rendered as being either of a 'physiological' or a 'psychological character', meaning that 'melancholy's meanings extend from the personal to the collective, from body to soul, and from pathology to inclination' or 'mood', with defined symptoms and shapes in both cases.[19] This classification can be further simplified as physical or mental degradation. The physiological aspect had its basis in Galenic traditions that 'grew synonymous with a humoral philosophy of melancholy' and according to Gail Kern Paster, the Galenic Theory of Humours was a 'dominant physiological paradigm' of the age, not only in literary works but also in 'medical literature of the Renaissance'.[20]

Similarly, the moralistic aspect of melancholy was itself also subdivided into two branches, thought of as either a 'divine frenzy' or as a '*Balneum Diaboli*, the Diuels bath' as the Roman '*Agrippa* proues', which has its basis in Greek and Roman philosophy, represented by Aristotle and Agrippa respectively.[21] This spiritual aspect was more popular in literary works and among aristocratic circles. Therefore, melancholy was either understood from a Galenic or an Aristotelian perspective. Despite these contradictory approaches to melancholy, 'Englishmen were not troubled by the opposition between the two concepts of melancholy. They accepted both', as evidently did Shakespeare.[22] This acceptance was possible because physicians, who were clergymen as well, universally tried to Christianise the paganistic concepts of the ancients. For example, Bright's *Treatise* oscillates between 'a medical oeuvre' and 'theological discourse' to create a 'portrait of English melancholy' and Ferrand, demonstrating Bright's influence, adopts a 'moralistic view of melancholy' representing a general scholarly trend.[23] Nonetheless, the followers of Galenic and Aristotelian traditions accepted melancholy as a malady and Shakespeare conflates both perspectives in the portrayal of melancholic characters as this study examines.

In this sense, melancholy in its early modern context, unlike the modern equivalent known as a 'major depression', has a history that combines its physiological and moralistic elements as propounded in Galenic and Aristotelian traditions.[24] Compounding physiological and psychological aspects of this malady, Thomas Wright explains:

[19] Babb, *Elizabethan Malady*, p. vii; Ferber, *Philosophy and Melancholy*, p. 2.
[20] Gail Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1993), p. 2; Babb, *Elizabethan Malady*, p. 67.
[21] Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity*, p. 70; Burton, *Anatomy*, pp. 269, 773.
[22] Babb, *Elizabethan Malady*, p. 180.
[23] Bernard, *Shakespearean Melancholy*, p. 19.
[24] Oatley, *Emotions*, p. 120.

> If blood, fleugme, choller, or melancholy exceede the due proportion required to the constitution and health of our bodies, presently we fall into some disease: even so, if the passions of the Mynde bee not moderated according to reason (and that temperature vertue requyreth) immediatly the soule is molested with some maladie.[25]

Commenting upon this conflation, Gail Kern Paster maintains that 'this similarity explains not only how passions could originate within the body and then express themselves externally but also how a body's reaction, whether to an external stimulus acting upon the senses or to an internal prompting of memory or imagination, necessarily entailed the humors'.[26] Furthermore, for early moderns, 'the imagination retained its pathological associations. The faculty could corrupt the body and bewilder the mind'.[27] In other words, imagination or brooding causes an imbalance in bodily humours. For this and aforementioned reasons, the early modern understanding was that 'emotions were corporeal' or bodily diseases.[28]

According to Bright, melancholy is a disease caused by the humour called 'blacke choller' and defining the disease he says 'the melancholie passion is a doting of reason through vaine feare procured by fault of the melancholie humour'.[29] Likewise, Burton also notes that melancholy is the result of abnormality in the 'blacke Choler'.[30] He also believes that melancholy is the '*Madness*', '*commotion of the mind*' and '*Dotage,* or *Anguish of the Mind*'.[31]

Both Bright and Burton agree that melancholy is not just an ordinary state of depression or sadness, as in its modern sense but much more than that. According to Burton, '*feare* and *Sorrow* are the true Characters, and inseparable companions of *Melancholy*'.[32] Similarly, Bright says that 'the perturbations of melancholy are for the most parte, sadde and fearefull'.[33] Other than fear and sorrow, which are the main features of melancholy according to an early modern understanding, there are some other very visible 'forms, moods, shapes of grief' (*Hamlet*: 2.82) and easily recognizable features of melancholy, for example, '"dejected

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[25] Wright, *Passions of the Minde*, pp. 16-17.
[26] Gail Kern Paster, *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), p. 150.
[27] Suparna Roychoudhury, 'Melancholy, Ecstasy, Phantasma: The Pathologies of Macbeth', *Modern Philology*, 111.2 (2013), 205-30 (p. 206).
[28] Arikha, *Passions and Tempers*, p. xvii.
[29] Bright, *Treatise*, p. 3.
[30] Burton, *Anatomy*, pp. 11, 45.
[31] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 46.
[32] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 47.
[33] Bright, *Treatise*, p. 82.

looks" […] vertigo, light-headedness, "little or no sleep"'; 'fearefulle dreames'; 'sicknes full of fantasies' and the patient claims that to 'here or to sée that thing that is not heard nor séene'; 'strange imaginations'; 'things whiche in deede are not so'; or 'strange things'.[34] Burton summarises by saying that '*Sorrowe*' is 'An inseparable companion […] *The mother and daughter of Melancholy, her Epitome, Symptome, and chiefe cause*', whereas, '*COsen german to Sorrow is Feare*'.[35] Similarly, Thomas Nashe also argues that 'melancholy is the mother of dreames, and of all terrours of the night whatsoeuer'.[36] This discussion underscores the humoral or Galenic aspects of melancholy outlined in the literature of day and summarised by French philosopher of human passions, Jean-François Senault in these words:

> Very strange are the effects of so Melancholick a Passion; for when she is but in a mean, she makes them eloquent without Rhetorick; she teacheth them Figurative speeches, to exaggerate their Discontents: and to hear them speak, the greatest pains seem to be less, than what they suffer: but when she is Extream, by a clean contrary effect she astonisheth the Spirit: she interdicts the use of the Senses; she dries up Tears, stifles Sighes; and making men stupid, she affords Poets the liberty of feigning, that she changeth them into Rocks: when she is of long continuance, she frees us from the earth, and raiseth us up to Heaven; for it is very hard for a man in misery to covet life, when it is full of pain and Sorrow; and when the Soul hath great conflicts for a Body, which doth continually exercise her patience.[37]

The second major reason for melancholy's prominence in the Renaissance was its Aristotelian or Italianate character linking 'melancholia' to 'Platonic furor' which 'was theorized by Marsilio Ficino', thus this malady was identified with 'genius, and the intellectual temperament' and 'with something of somber philosophic dignity, something of Byronic

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[34] Jonathan Bate, 'The Anatomy of Melancholy Revisited', *The Lancet*, 389.10081 (2017), 1790-1791 (p. 1790); Elyot, *The Castel*, p. 31; Andrew Boorde, *The Breuiarie of Health* (London: By Thomas East, 1587), p. 78; Philip Barrough, *The Methode of Phisicke* (London: Thomas Vautroullier, 1583), pp. 35-37; Lewes Lauaterus, *Of Ghostes and Spirites Walking by Nyght and of Strange Noyses*, trans. by R.H. (London: By Henry Benneyman, 1572), p. 14; Foucault, *Madness and Civilization*, p. 96.
[35] Burton, *Anatomy*, pp. 129, 131.
[36] Thomas Nashe, *The Terrors of the Night* (London: Printed by Iohn Danter, 1594), Civ[v]
[37] Jean-Francois Senault, *The Use of Passions*, trans. by Henry Earl of Monmouth (London: J.L. and Humphrey Moseley, 1649), p. 483.

grandeur'.[38] This idea was attractive for Renaissance authors and most of them engaged with the Aristotelian concept of melancholy as a divine frenzy and made it popular in literature. According to such literature, melancholics were portrayed as full of sorrow and gloom, yet they were 'most witty' and in 'the exercise of their wittes', they were 'indefatigable' with their wits in 'naturall readinesse' to act.[39] Playwrights were equally impressed by the performative nature of this aspect of the malady. That is why the Macbeths, Claudius and Iago all demonstrate these traits more than other melancholics in the plays. Yet it is Hamlet who is the apotheosis of Aristotelian intellectual melancholy.

The fascination with the intellectual aspect of melancholy was so intense in Elizabethan and Stuart England that 'many men were more than willing to declare themselves affected' resulting in 'the vogue of melancholy' in 'Italy and in England'.[40] Some of the most prominent literary figures, for example, Sir Philip Sidney, Francis Bacon, Robert Greene, Thomas Nashe and George Chapman proudly declared themselves melancholics.[41] This mindset was nourished by the influx of Italian manners and culture, associated with scholarly attributes and sophistication of learning.

> As continental travel became more popular, young Englishmen began to imitate the Italian affectation of melancholy that had been current among scholars and artists there since the fifteenth century.[42]

Owing to such pervasiveness of the Aristotelian tradition, in literature as well as in the imitation of Italian culture, especially among the upper class, melancholy became 'a public practice'; and in England particularly, it 'carried connotations of aristocracy' and 'Italicism' as reflected in *Hamlet*.[43] The Elizabethan era was rich in learning and the Queen herself was highly learned therefore 'the fashion for melancholy in London under Elizabeth was a social performance'.[44] Whether melancholy's association with genius was 'the principal reason for the popularity of melancholy' as Babb believes, or not, yet it certainly added more glamour to its public practice and as well as to its literary representation.[45]

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[38] Roychoudhury, 'Melancholy', 205-30 (p. 220); Babb, *Elizabethan Malady*, p. 184.
[39] Burton, *Anatomy*, p.246; Bright, *Treatise*, p.130.
[40] Babb, *Elizabethan Malady*, pp. 66-67.
[41] Babb, *Elizabethan Malady*, p. 181.
[42] Anglin, 'Hamlet, Melancholy', 15-29 (p. 22).
[43] Knecht, 'Shapes of Grief', 35-58 (p. 41); Anglin, 'Hamlet, Melancholy', 15-29 (p. 22).
[44] Anglin, 'Hamlet, Melancholy', 15-29 (p. 22).
[45] Babb, *Elizabethan Malady*, p. 184.

Acknowledging the pervasive nature of melancholy in literary traditions and social practices, its Galenic and Aristotelian aspects and its early modern definitions based on the most prominent works of the day, the following paragraphs present a close analysis of Shakespeare's treatment of melancholy in four central plays with special emphasis on *Hamlet* whose hero became a literary celebrity and 'Renaissance England's most renowned case of melancholia'.[46]

1.3. Melancholy in *Hamlet* and Other Plays

Before the focus is first shifted to Shakespeare's treatment and portrayal of melancholy in *Hamlet*, and to exploring the 'psychological depths of the philosophical prince', it would be useful to understand Bright's description of a melancholic, noted in his *Treatise*, 'the most important work on the subject' of 'sadness and abnormal psychology' which has 'striking parallels with the play' and the 'subtle and complex portrayal of Hamlet'.[47] Bright says:

> Feare, sadnes desperation, teares, weeping, sobbing, sighing, as follow that mournefull traine, yea ofte times, vnbrideled laughter, rising not from any comforte of the heart, or gladnes of spirit, but from a disposition in such sorte altered, as by errour of conceite, that gesture is in a counterfet maner bestowed vpon that disagreeing passion, whose nature is rather to extinguish it selfe with teares, then asswaged by the sweete breath of chearefulnes, otherwise to receiue refreshing.[48]

Although Bright's list is not exhaustive, yet it is a very comprehensive mapping of the most prominent features of a melancholic available to Shakespeare and his society. Consequently, it would have been very easy for an Elizabethan theatre-goer to recognise a melancholic character on the stage. Likewise, Burton also notes some of the main symptoms of a person afflicted with this malady, along with fear and sorrow, which he claims to be the chief ingredients of melancholy and which seem to have been inspired by Shakespeare:

> For besides that *Feare* and *Sorrowe,* which is common to all melancholy, anxiety of mind, restles thoughts palenesse, leanenesse,

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[46] Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity*, p. 77; Arthur Little, 'Re-Historicizing Race, White Melancholia, and the Shakespearean Property', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 67.1 (2016), 84-103 (p. 93).

[47] The British Library, *Bright's Treatise of Melancholy, 1586* (2020) < https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/brights-treatise-of-melancholy-1586> [accessed 01 March 2018].

[48] Bright, *Treatise*, *VIII^{v}, *VIII^{r}.

> meagernesse, neglect of businesse and the like, these men are farther yet misaffected, and in an higher straine.[49]

These observations by Bright and Burton above encompass the repercussions of melancholy on a person resulting from different causes, for example: 'death of friends', 'incests', 'Loue', 'hatred', 'desire of revenge', 'Weakness of faith', 'Rigid ministers', 'the Divell and his ministers', 'Witches', 'Starres', 'Old age', 'Bad aire', 'Sleeping and waking', 'Education', 'ouermuch study', 'Scoffes', 'Bitter iests', 'plagues, warres, rebellions', political persecutions and 'for feare of being hanged', or 'vndoubted expectation of execution' or religious persecutions in which a person would 'come neare a fire, for feare of being melted', or simply 'to thinke that he can neuer be secure, but still in danger, sorrow, griefe, and persecution'.[50] It is also important to note that *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Othello* and *The Winter's Tale* demonstrate virtually the whole range of these causes of melancholy. In this way, these plays are a microcosm of Shakespeare's society and the police state of England in general. *Hamlet*, in particular, stages its protagonist as a victim of the police state that might have inspired Burton to compile his encyclopaedic list of the causes of melancholy inclusive of a cultural and societal awareness of this passion. In addition to the causes mentioned above, the literature also lists 'Iealousie' and 'Ambition' as resulting in melancholy and indeed any other passion that is 'immoderate' enough to 'consume the spirits', for example repentance, which causes 'Anxiety', sorrow and fear, as portrayed in *Othello*, *Macbeth* and *The Winter's Tale*.[51] A comprehensive examination of jealousy and repentance is presented in Chapters 2 and 3, respectively, although these two passions are relevant here as a cause of melancholy. By portraying these causes, Shakespeare provides a personification of melancholic features that his audience could relate to. The result had a lasting effect and contributed to the success of Shakespeare's work in the fiercely competitive world of London theatre.

1.4.Melancholy Caused by Mortality and Bereavement

Hamlet's first appearance in Scene 2, reveals that the death of his father is an initial cause of Hamlet's melancholic state. The sorrow of the bereaved prince has often been read as a reference to John Shakespeare's death in 1601. In the play, 'Hamlet, Ophelia, Laertes, and Fortinbras experience the violent deaths of their fathers […] Mirroring the many facets of

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[49] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 681.

[50] Burton, *Anatomy*, pp. 211,540,495,129,138,772,55,71,73,78,107,118,192,168,196,44,234,248,144; Bright, *Treatise*, p. 107.

[51] Burton, *Anatomy*, p.128.

Shakespeare's own grief and confrontation with death'.[52] The concept of melancholy caused by bereavement also reflects their filial love for their parents, discussed at length later in this chapter. Hamlet's state of mind could also be a reflection of Shakespeare's own tragedy in 1596 when his only son Hamnet died, and the play *Hamlet* could well be considered as an elegy written to the young boy. This connection between Shakespeare's son Hamnet and Hamlet finds its origin in Freud which is echoed by critics like Stanley Wells, Stephen Greenblatt, Julia Lupton, Keverne Smith and historians like Michael Wood equally. There are two factors that make this connection plausible. Firstly, 'the name Hamnet is another form of Hamlet' because these two names were 'interchangeable' in Shakespeare's day.[53] There could be no greater proof of this fact other than Shakespeare's own will in which he leaves 'a bequest to Hamlett Sadler to buy a ring' which was 'witnessed by Hamnet Sadler'.[54] Secondly, naming *Hamlet* after his son provides psychological proof of Shakespeare's filial love, bereavement and his melancholic state, because according to Freud 'the correlation of melancholia and mourning seems justified'.[55]

On an emotional level, naming and writing *Hamlet* after his dead son could have been an instrument of catharsis of mournful feelings:

> Contemporary research suggests that writing *Hamlet* was profoundly therapeutic for Shakespeare. Although he lacked a companion like Horatio to help process the pain of bereavement, Shakespeare had an outlet in his writing, the world of his dramatic art.[56]

This implies that Shakespeare and Hamlet are emotionally identical: Hamlet expresses his grief to Horatio or to the audience in the form of soliloquies; whereas, Shakespeare has no Horatio, so he expresses his grief through his play that he uses as a proxy for Horatio and his soliloquy of grief and melancholia to the universal audience. As Hamlet was deprived of proper mourning because of his mother's hasty marriage, so was Shakespeare deprived of mourning and

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[52] Diane Dreher, '"To Tell My Story": Grief and Self-Disclosure in Hamlet', *Illness, Crisis & Loss*, 24.1 (2016), 3-14 (p. 6).
[53] Wells, *Shakespeare for All Time*, p. 20; Keverne Smith, *Shakespeare and Son: A Journey in Writing and Grieving* (California and Oxford: Praeger, 2011), p. 75.
[54] Smith, *Shakespeare and Son*, p. 75.
[55] *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. and ed. by James Strachey and others, 24 vols (London: The Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, 1953-1974), XIV (1957), p. 243.
[56] Dreher, 'To Tell My Story', 3-14 (p. 11).

bereavement because of his circumstances. In such a situation, writing *Hamlet* must have been therapeutic. It is therefore aptly argued by Julia Lupton, that 'in naming his play after his dead son, Freud's Shakespeare makes the drama into an epitaph'.[57] Hamnet's death was a 'shattering blow in his life' and this proved to be 'a turning point in the poet's art' in a way that 'the great tragedies followed, plumbing "the well of darkness"'.[58] It was the '*de profundis* period' in Shakespeare's life when he was 'confronting the mystery of mortality' after the death of Hamnet in 1596 and his father in 1601.[59] Although *Hamlet* is clearly not an autobiographical work in any straightforward sense, yet 'grievers need self-disclosure' and Hamlet, from the above textual traces, represents 'the despair and disillusionment of a poet who has been plunged into melancholy by events in his own life as well as by the spirit of the time'.[60]

When Hamlet first appears on the stage, he is, in Bright's words, 'carying […] melancholicke signes' which would have been easily recognisable to the audience and general public.[61] He is dressed in black, which is not only mourning dress worn in memory of the death of his father, but it is also associated with the colour of melancholic humour—black bile. Besides, there are other references to the Elizabethan understanding of melancholic characteristics in Claudius and Gertrude's speeches.

KING How is it that the clouds still hang on you? (*Hamlet*: 2.66)
QUEEN Good Hamlet, cast thy nighted colour off,
And let thine eye look like a friend on Denmark.
Do not forever with thy vailèd lids
Seek for thy noble father in the dust. (*Hamlet*: 2.68-71)

The King and the Queen use metaphorical language to ask Hamlet to cast away his melancholic state of mind. The words 'clouds' and 'nighted colour off' represent the colour of melancholic black bile. Such melancholic allusions are also frequently found in *Macbeth* and *Othello*, for example at the very beginning of these plays, when Macbeth and Banquo face the 'instruments of darkness' (*Macbeth*: I.3.119) at the end of a dark thunderous day; and in *Othello*, both Iago and Roderigo wake Brabanzio in the middle of the night ('To start my quiet' *Othello*: I.1.100).

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[57] Lupton and Reinhard, *After Oedipus*, pp. 6-7.
[58] Wood, *In Search,* p. 166.
[59] Dreher, 'To Tell My Story', 3-14 (p. 6).
[60] Dreher, 'To Tell My Story', 3-14 (p. 8); Richard Wheeler, 'Deaths in the Family: The Loss of a Son and the Rise of Shakespearean Comedy', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 51.2 (2000), 127-53 (p. 127).
[61] Bright, *Treatise*, pp. 270-71.

Iago also mentions darkness when he refers to Othello by saying ‘an old black ram / Is tupping your white ewe’ (*Othello*: I.1.87), underlining the racist designation of blackness, but also referencing the colour of melancholic humour and foreshadowing the tragic development of events.

Gertrude refers to some signs of melancholy when she indicates that Hamlet is looking down to the ground: ‘seek for thy noble father in the dust’, reflecting the ways in which a melancholic person would show the signs of ‘morning, weeping’ and ‘hanging downe’ when this malady takes its effect.[62] In Shakespeare’s day, the reformers enjoined that ‘mourning should be moderate, rational’ because it was ‘un-Christian to display excessive grief’ which, according to Claudius and Gertrude, Hamlet does.[63] Shakespeare was aware that ‘Moderate lamentation is the right of the dead,’ not ‘excessive grief’ (*All’s Well*: I.1.42-43), however, both Claudius and Gertrude are ‘dismayed by what they perceive as Hamlet’s excessive mourning, violating the traditionally moderated and circumscribed performance of grief for a lost parent’.[64] This is acknowledged by Hamlet in response to the Queen’s remarks ‘Why seems it so particular with thee?’ (*Hamlet*: 2.75). He becomes emotional and lists some more signs of melancholia linked with mourning, proving that his grief is more than a moderated grief:

> **HAMLET** ‘Seems’, madam? Nay, it is. I know not ‘seems’.
> ’Tis not alone my inky cloak, cold mother,
> Nor customary suits of solemn black,
> Nor windy suspiration of forced breath,
> No, nor the fruitful river in the eye,
> Nor the dejected haviour of the visage,
> Together with all forms, moods, shapes of grief,
> That can denote me truly. (*Hamlet*: 2.76-83)

The symptoms described by Hamlet strongly suggest that Shakespeare, whose passion for close reading of contemporary literature seems certain, is directly referencing ‘wateri’, ‘drencheth’ eyes with melancholic ‘moysture’ in them and the ‘windy melancholy’ cited by Du Laurens,

[62] Bright, *Treatise*, p. 124.
[63] Smith, *Shakespeare and Son*, p. 1.
[64] Knecht, ‘Shapes of Grief’, 35-58 (p. 45).

Bright, Elyot and Burton as melancholic signs.[65] This also suggests that Hamlet's grief, in consonance with his social context, is authentic. Bright says that those suffering from melancholy are 'giuen to weeping […] sighing, sobbing, lamentation, countenance demisse, & lowring' as is clear from a mourning Hamlet.[66] Not only he, but Claudius, later in the play, also acknowledges that his father's death has shattered the bereaved prince. Claudius says:

> **KING** Oh, this is the poison of deep grief. It springs
> All from her father's death. (*Hamlet*: 15.72-73)

Despite the fact that Claudius is portrayed as a cold, passionless villain, it can be noted that his description of the psychology of grief conforms to the popular understanding of these concepts. Shakespeare wants to convey the idea that even cold villains and murderers can empathise with the bereaved. Furthermore, in one of the play's many moments of retrospectivity, Claudius knows what it is like to have a father killed, so he can empathise with Hamlet, just as he does with Ophelia in the above speech. However, regardless of these realisations, he still wants to murder Hamlet for his own safety and to hide his own sin. Claudius's actions are based in fear for his life, his kingship and his secret, making him one of the melancholic characters in the play, as fear is itself an aspect of melancholy.

'Death of friends' and loved ones, or bereavement and 'losses' are strong sources of melancholy and these causes are repeated multiple times in the play.[67] Hamlet's tragedy of losing his father left him shattered in a way that he lost interest in worldly affairs so that to him everything is 'weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable' (*Hamlet*: 2.133). Burton also notes melancholics to be 'weary of their liues'.[68] In the graveyard scene, Hamlet's remarks, 'Alas, poor Yorick!' (*Hamlet*: 18.151); 'Alexander died, Alexander was buried, Alexander returneth to dust' (*Hamlet*: 18.170-171); and 'Imperious Caesar, dead and turned to clay' (*Hamlet*: 18.174), truly represent Hamlet's melancholic mood brought on by the death of his father. In this connection, Burton says that 'if parting of friends alone can worke such violent effects, what shall death doe, when they must eternally be separated, never here to meet again?'[69]

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[65] André Du Laurens, *A Discourse of the Preseruation of the Sight: Of Melancholike Diseases; of Rheumes, and of Old Age*, trans. by Richard Surphlet (London: Imprinted by Felix Kingston, 1599), p. 194; Bright, *Treatise*, p. 147; Elyot, *The Castel*, p. 81; Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 53.
[66] Bright, *Treatise*, p. 135.
[67] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 211.
[68] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 780.
[69] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 211.

Although the focus here is on losing a father, yet if ‘parting of friends’ can result in violent effects in Burton’s views, the death of a close relative, a father in this case, may cause greater grief than the parting of a friend. Not only Hamlet, but Ophelia, Laertes and Fortinbras also lose their fathers through terrible acts of murder, thus deepening the melancholic atmosphere as well as gesturing towards Shakespeare’s own grief for his dead father. Other than fathers, several major characters in *Hamlet* also lose their friends and loved ones causing more melancholy:

> Laertes experiences the suicidal death of his sister; Hamlet experiences the death of his beloved Ophelia; Claudius commits fratricide; Gertrude experiences the sudden death of her first husband; and Horatio witnesses the violent death of his dear friend, Hamlet.[70]

Nine characters die in *Hamlet* during the course of the play and three before the play begins (Yorick, Fortinbras Senior and King Hamlet). Moreover, the deaths of Alexander and Caesar are also mentioned. Hamlet’s brooding over various deaths in the graveyard scene supports the idea that ‘death lay from the beginning in the background of Hamlet’s mind’, adding to the brooding melancholic ambience hanging over the whole play.[71] That is why, when Fortinbras, whose father was also killed, leads an invading army, Hamlet, whose ‘imaginatiue facultie’ is ‘*corrupted with melancholy*’, sees the apparent death of those soldiers in his imagination.[72] He says:

> **HAMLET** The imminent death of twenty thousand men,
> That for a fantasy and trick of fame
> Go to their graves like beds. (*Hamlet*: 14.57-59)

Apart from the deaths onstage, mention of possible deaths off stage present *Hamlet* as a microcosmic reflection of Shakespeare’s society in which death was omnipresent. Such deaths were recorded and published, for example, in the London Bills of Mortality, thus theoretically engendering more grief and hence more deaths.

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[70] Dreher, ‘To Tell My Story’, 3-14 (p. 6).
[71] Bate, *The Genius*, p. 262.
[72] Du Laurens, *Discourse*, p. 4; Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 104.

The irony is that the same London Bills of Mortality recorded 'grief' as one of the causes of death. This grief was caused either by the death of friends or relatives or for the fear of death because for early moderns 'the feare of death is worse then death it selfe' in that it caused excessive grief or melancholy.[73] This is reflected in *Hamlet,* as well as in *The Winter's Tale,* when the Servant announces Mamillius's death by saying that 'The prince your son, with mere conceit and fear / Of the Queen's speed, is gone' (*TWT*: III.2.141-42), and it was grief that 'cleft the heart' (*TWT*: III.2.193) of the young prince. In *Othello*, Brabanzio's death is also 'directly attributed to sorrow' or melancholia.[74] Graziano acknowledges this concept thus:

> **GRAZIANO** Poor Desdemon, I am glad thy father's dead.
> Thy match was mortal to him, and pure grief
> Shore his old thread in twain. (*Othello*: V.2.201-03).

These examples demonstrate the calamity of grief or melancholy for being 'mortal' by breaking the victim's heart in 'twain'. Thus, Shakespeare holds the 'mirror up to nature' (*Hamlet:* 9.17-18) demonstrating that people were 'affected with *sudden perturbations* of Feare or Sorrow' due to a large number of deaths, initiating an imbalance of the black bile and melancholic disposition.[75] With regard to *Hamlet*, David Beauregard summarises the ways in which melancholy is caused by death and death by melancholy:

> Additionally, there is the players' recounting of the grief of Hecuba over the death of Priam, Ophelia's grief over the death of her father Polonius, and Hamlet and Laertes grieving over the grave of Ophelia. And in the final scene the stage is littered with the bodies of Gertrude, Claudius, Laertes and Hamlet himself, along with the report of the deaths of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern. All of this is cause for grief.[76]

And grief, as has been demonstrated, is one of the major components of melancholy, a cause of death and an integral part of Shakespeare's treatment of this malady in his works.

[73] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 215.
[74] Sullivan, 'History of Heartbreak', 933-934 (p. 933).
[75] Reynolds, *Treatise of The Passions,* p. 49.
[76] Beauregard, 'Shakespeare And the Passions', 912-25 (p. 920).

Death or bereavement as a cause of melancholy has a presence in *Macbeth*, *Othello* and *The Winter's Tale* too, albeit it is not as emphatically displayed as in *Hamlet*. *Macbeth* starts with the 'hurly-burly' (*Macbeth*: I.1.3) and there is a description of Macbeth killing the enemy in the battle, then there is the news of Cawdor's death. As in *Hamlet*, death permeates *Macbeth,* once again reflecting the tragic realities of Shakespeare's society in which political and religious persecutions gave way to 'warres, rebellions' to cause innumerable deaths, or at the least the 'vndoubted expectation of execution' as is depicted in Cawdor's execution.[77] As the sense of bereavement makes Hamlet disgusted with the world and its affairs are 'weary, flat, and unprofitable' for him, similarly, Macbeth, whose mind is pre-occupied with the guilt of the King's murder, who is his 'worthiest cousin', 'peerless kinsman' (*Macbeth*: I.4.14,58) as well as a guest, finds the affairs of this world 'full of sound and fury, / Signifying nothing' (*Macbeth*: V.5.26) when learns about his wife's death. He mourns and is melancholic.

Leontes also displays a melancholic disposition because of the death of his family members. Hermione's apparent death and the death of his son Mamillius result in his 'weeping, sighing, sobbing', recognisable symptoms of his melancholic state of mind.[78]

LEONTES One grave shall be for both. Upon them shall
The causes of their death appear, unto
Our shame perpetual. Once a day I'll visit
The chapel where they lie, and tears shed there
Shall be my recreation. (*TWT*: III.2.233-37)

Similarly, when Paulina finds out about her husband's tragic death, she declares, out of her melancholy caused by bereavement, that she would 'Lament till I am lost' (*TWT*: V.3.136). Paulina acts as the chief counsellor of Leontes and represents St Paul, an idea that receives more attention in Chapter 3, and her melancholy suggests that even the wisest are susceptible to melancholic perturbations.

On the other hand, Othello, who is reputed as a brave soldier and cannot be moved by death, as perceived by his Venetian elders, is also unable to bear the loss of Desdemona and collapses under the grief caused by her death. In a society in which, according to Erasmus, it was 'womannisshe, to cast foorth teares', when he weeps, Lodovico, on seeing the loss of his

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[77] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 44; Bright, *Treatise*, p. 107.
[78] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 232.

wits, a melancholic feature, is startled: ‘Are his wits safe? Is he not light of brain?’ (*Othello*: IV.2.20).[79] Othello himself, in his account, mentions the difficult times he went through courageously during his battles, however, the death of a loved one is a fatal blow to a soldier whose job has been killing. His piteous shrieks ‘O Desdemon! Dead Desdemon! Dead! O! O! (*Othello*: V.2.278), reflect how helplessly he weeps and sighs, which according to early modern literature are visible melancholic symptoms.

Hermione’s melancholy, however, is innovatively juxtaposed by Shakespeare with the melancholy of characters above because she does not display the outward recognisable signs of the malady. She does not weep, cry, sigh and sob but it is her speech that drips blood, black bile and melancholic humour when she declares that ‘I am now unhappy; which is more / Than history can pattern’ (*TWT*: III.2.32-33). For Hermione, ‘Griefe in the heart, is like a moath [moth] in a garment’ first at the separation and then the death of her son and apparent murder of infant Perdita.[80]

HERMIONE And first fruits of my body, from his presence
I am barred, like one infectious. My third comfort,
Starred most unluckily, is from my breast,
The innocent milk in it most innocent mouth,
Haled out to murder. (*TWT*: III.2.94-98)

She is melancholic and to her life seems meaningless and ‘full of sound and fury, signifying nothing’ because when Leontes, during court proceedings, holds her accountable for her dishonesty, she counts her misfortunes and then says, ‘Tell me what blessings I have here alive, / That I should fear to die?’ (*TWT*: III.2.104-05). She is weary of her life and the idea of losing her life, in case the King’s justice issues her sentence to death for adultery, does not frighten her at all because her losses have made her ‘*buried aliue*’ *or* ‘*betwitched or dead*’ already.[81] She is bereaved like Hamlet, Macbeth and even her own son Mamillius.

In this way, Shakespeare not only portrays the visible or apparent signs of melancholy and its performable character, but he also draws on the non-visible features of melancholy as in the case of Hermione’s. Shakespeare implies that death and bereavement cause melancholy,

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[79] Desiderius Erasmus, *The Praise of Folie*, trans. by Sir Thomas Chaloner Knight (London, Thomas Berthelet, 1549), Pii^{r}.
[80] Reynolds, *Treatise of The Passions,* p. 232.
[81] Burton, *Anatomy*, pp. 40, 247.

irrespective of its visible or non-visible symptoms, to 'astonisheth the Spirit' of a scholar (Hamlet), a wise person (Paulina), kings (Claudius and Leontes), queens (Gertrude and Hermione) and soldiers (Othello and Macbeth).[82]

1.5.'Thou Incestuous' / 'That Adulterate': Melancholy Caused by Incest and Adultery

Another immediate reason for Hamlet's melancholic state of mind, at the beginning of the play, is his mother's hasty marriage, which he calls incestuous. Hamlet uses the word multiple times while referring to his mother's marriage with Claudius, for example, 'incestuous sheets' (*Hamlet*: 2.157); 'incestuous pleasure of his bed' (*Hamlet*: 10.90); and 'thou incestuous' (*Hamlet*: 19.283) just before killing Claudius; and the Ghost also refers to Claudius as 'that incestuous, that adulterate beast' (*Hamlet*: 5.42) when it discloses the secret of murder to Hamlet. In addition, Hamlet, in the closet scene, tells his mother that if she carries on with her incestuous relationship, she will stop feeling guilty of her sin:

> **HAMLET** Goodnight—but go not to my uncle's bed.
> Assume a virtue if you have it not.
> That monster custom, who all sense doth eat
> Of habits evil […] (*Hamlet*: 11.156-59).

Debate around incest gained particular prominence in the wake of Henry VIII's marriage with Catherine of Aragon since 'in Shakespeare's time, a widow's marriage to a brother of the deceased was considered incestuous' which is the reason that 'Gertrude's remarriage and shallow reaction to her husband's death has been seen as evidence of adultery before the murder'.[83] Consequently, some believed that Henry's marriage to his brother's widow was incestuous and Mary an illegitimate child. Yet there were also some who thought that Elizabeth was an illegitimate child. These ideas were further endorsed when the Parliament of England passed the first Act of Succession 1533, declaring Mary to be an illegitimate; the second Act of Succession 1536, declaring 'Anne's marriage void' and 'Elizabeth illegitimate'.[84] Against this background, Shakespeare explored concepts of 'incest' and 'incestuous' in this play.

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[82] Senault, *The Use of Passions,* p. 483.
[83] Dreher, 'To Tell My Story', 3-14 (p. 7).
[84] *The Oxford Companion of British History*, p. 329.

In the closet scene, when Hamlet reveals the mystery of his father's murder and explains that her relationship with Claudius is incestuous, Gertrude is shocked and realises the truth of Hamlet's words so much so that she cannot bear to listen more. She implores:

> **QUEEN** O Hamlet, speak no more.
> Thou turn'st my very eyes into my soul,
> And there I see such black and grievèd spots
> As will leave there their tinct. (*Hamlet*: 11.87-90)

These are the initial signs of the development of melancholy in Gertrude as she mentions the 'black and grievèd spots' of her sins. Towards the end of the closet scene, she herself confesses 'O Hamlet, thou hast cleft my heart in twain' (*Hamlet*: 11.153). Gertrude takes these charges to her heart so deeply and feels ashamed of her incestuous marriage to the extent that in her own words, she has 'no life to breathe' (*Hamlet*: 11.195). According to Burton, 'many are ashamed, many vexed […] and there is no greater cause or furtherer of melancholy', and Gertrude incarnates these symptoms.[85]

In an environment in which modesty, chastity and good reputation were highly valued, incest was surely a cause of deep melancholy, both from religious and secular perspectives. From a religious perspective, 'a woman's reputation was her most precious commodity', chastity was a great virtue and incest was a fatal sin against God.[86] Some might argue that Hamlet is melancholic because of his mother's sin. It is a psychological fact that people's actions do affect others, and in the case of Hamlet, it is none other than his mother, in a relationship with his uncle. If Hamlet feels sorrow at his father's murder, being sorrowful on seeing his mother in a relationship that he calls incestuous multiple times in the play is but normal. In addition, Hamlet is not alone in being affected by others' actions: Mamillius, whose case is discussed shortly, dies of melancholy when his mother apparently loses her chastity. According to Thomas Aquinas's assessment, 'Grief is caused by the loss of some good and / or the presence of an evil' which in Hamlet's case is the loss of a father 'So excellent a king' (*Hamlet*: 2.139), of his mother's chastity and Ophelia's betrayal and death later; whereas, the presence of incestuous and adulterate 'satyr' (*Hamlet*: 2.140) on Danish throne represents the

[85] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 198.
[86] Bate, *Soul of the Age*, p. 180.

presence of an evil.[87] William Baldwin, an influential author, literary innovator and printer, argues that ‘A wyseman oughte not to sorrowe for his losses, but to be careful to kepe the rest of his goodes’.[88] This applies to Hamlet to some extent in a way that he has lost his father for whom he grieves. According to Baldwin he should resist ‘sorrowe’, but when he tries and fails to protect his mother (‘rest of his goodes’) from an incestuous relationship, his melancholic fits become stronger, thus transforming them from ‘naturall’ melancholy to ‘vnnaturall’ as explained by Bright.[89] Referring to Bright’s taxonomy of melancholy, Lily Bess Campbell argues that ‘at the beginning of the play Hamlet is changed from his natural humour to excessive grief. He is become melancholy, but he is the unnatural melancholy induced by passion’.[90] In the heat of this unnatural or excessive melancholy, he says, ‘married with my uncle, / My father’s brother’ (*Hamlet*: 2.151-52), he not only reminds the audience of the historical context of Henry VIII’s marriage and the subsequent Acts of Succession, but also mourns the loss of ‘his goodes’, that is the chastity and good name of his mother.

From a secular perspective, ‘Reputation, men of vertuous, and couragious disposition tender as their liues’, especially if such men are from a royal family in a patriarchal society.[91] That is why Hamlet is in a pathetic psychological state with his ‘mind oppressed with melancholy’ and as a prince and heir to the throne, he feels shame and fears that his royal image could be tarnished because of his mother’s incestuous relationship and ill-fame, for he must face the public.[92] According to Burton, ‘SHame and Disgrace cause most violent passions, and bitter panges’ and by ‘giuing way to these violent passions of feare, griefe, shame’, a melancholic’s—Hamlet’s—life is ‘torne in peeces’, which ‘causeth this malady’.[93] And the reason, as mentioned by Bright, is that violent passions result in ‘the force of heat in bloud, that it turneth that milke sweet taste into an itchy brakishnes’.[94] Bright ‘compares scorching of melancholy humour in particular to the boiling of milk’ and this causes Hamlet melancholy.[95] Thus, Shakespeare portrays Hamlet as a conscientious character who worries about the morality of his age and his reputation in the minds of his people. Such ‘MEn in *Great Place*’,

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[87] Beauregard, ‘Shakespeare And the Passions’, 912-25 (p. 920).
[88] William Baldwin, *A Treatise of Morall Philosophy Contaynyng the Sayinges of The Wyse* (London: Edward Whitchurch, 1547), Ni^{v}.
[89] Bright, *Treatise*, p. 1.
[90] Campbell, *Shakespeare’s Tragic Heroes*, p. 113.
[91] Bright, *Treatise*, p. 251.
[92] Slater, ‘The Ghost’, 593-620 (p. 60).
[93] Burton, *Anatomy*, pp. 133, 129.
[94] Bright, *Treatise*, p. 113.
[95] David Wood, ‘“He Something Seems Unsettled”: Melancholy, Jealousy, and Subjective Temporality in “The Winter’s Tale”’, *Renaissance Drama*, 31 (2002), 185-213 (p. 188).

writes Bacon, 'are thrice *Seruants:* Seruants of the Soueraigne or State; Seruants of Fame; and Seruants of Businesse'.[96] That is why, in his death scene, he requests Horatio to live on to 'Report me and my cause aright / To the unsatisfied' (*Hamlet*: 19.297-298) and 'To tell my story' (*Hamlet*: 19.307). These last words, just before his death, reflect Hamlet's worry about his legacy and support the idea that he took his mother's relationship with his father's brother to his heart from a secular perspective too. The following soliloquy gives an insight into his troubled interiority, owing to both religious and secular perspectives of chastity:

> **HAMLET** Or that the Everlasting had not fixed
> His canon 'gainst self-slaughter. O God, God,
> How weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable
> Seem to me all the uses of this world!
> [...]
> Let me not think on't—frailty, thy name is 'woman'—
> [...]
> It is not, nor it cannot come to, good.
> But break my heart, for I must hold my tongue. (*Hamlet*: 2.131-159)

This soliloquy provides an example of the psychological uproar in Hamlet's melancholic mind instigated by the 'incestuous' marriage of his mother. Further to its emotional depth and intensity, this soliloquy implies four kinds of melancholic thought processes that are crossing Hamlet's mind: firstly, Hamlet thinks of suicide; secondly, Hamlet considers the affairs of the world as 'weary, stale and unprofitable'; thirdly, Hamlet issues his misanthropic condemnation against the whole of the womankind after his mother's incestuous marriage and Ophelia's dubious role; and lastly, Hamlet decides to hold his tongue, that is to say, he would be 'silent' and go into 'solitarines', which are acknowledged symptoms of melancholy.[97]

Hamlet's decision to adopt silence suggests the act of disguising his inner murderous thoughts, triggered by the actions of his adulterous uncle, as a political manoeuvre which according to some critics is the main motivation for pretending melancholia. As is clear from this soliloquy, Hamlet is utterly appalled by the idea of incest and laments his mother's

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[96] Francis Bacon, *The Essayes or Counsels, Ciuill And Morall, of Francis Lo. Verulam, Viscount St. Alban* (London: Printed by Iohn Haviland, 1625), p. 54.

[97] Bright, *Treatise*, p. 124.

marriage. When Hamlet says that it ‘cannot come to good’, he might be imagining the killing of his mother or the king, a melancholic ‘phantasie’—similar to that which Macbeth also reveals when he imagines killing Duncan, saying ‘whose murder yet is but fantastical’ (*Macbeth*: I.3.135) and his ‘Present fears / Are less than horrible imaginings’ (*Macbeth*: I.3.133-34) that they ‘doth unfix my [Macbeth’s] hair’ (*Macbeth*: I.3.131).[98] This is how their ‘melancholy humor’ has ‘engendreth many mishapen obiects in’ their ‘imaginations’.[99] In this way, both Hamlet and Macbeth prove that ‘All melancholike persons haue their imagination troubled’.[100]

Revealing such a thought process is inviting a ‘sea of troubles’ therefore, ‘solitarines’ appears to be the best course of action. Hamlet also knows that the King and the Queen have noticed his melancholic mood, therefore, he probably anticipates that a network of spies would be cast around him by the King, so he, just like Macbeth who does not reveal his murdering thoughts to Banquo (‘Our fears in Banquo / Stick deep’, *Macbeth*: III.1.49-50) or to his own wife, decides to hold his tongue for his own safety. This also mirrors the paranoid culture of spies under the supervision of Elizabeth’s spymaster, Sir Francis Walsingham, organised to counter political or religious opposition, upon which a huge sum of ‘£12,000 a year’ was spent.[101] In such a culture where ‘one man’s Nicodemus was another’s wolf in sheep’s clothing’ and a ‘source of violent anxiety’, Hamlet, as a representation of the paranoid melancholic victim of the police state, decides to keep his own counsel.[102]

As argued above, chastity, for women, was a valuable treasure and incest and adulterous relationship both meant loss of chastity. Mamillius in *The Winter’s Tale* also reflects early modern adherence to the concept of upholding a woman’s chastity, just as Hamlet does. When Leontes, in the heat of his tyranny, levels a charge of adultery and misconduct against his queen, it breaks the heart of the young prince. In other words, he suffers from a ‘*tremor cordis*’ (*TWT*: I.2.110) because the very idea of Hermione being unchaste is a thought too ‘high for one so tender’ (*TWT*: III.2.193). Hamlet only contemplates of dying and that only if the ‘the Everlasting had not fixed / His canon ‘gainst self-slaughter’; however, young Mamillius dies for he cannot tolerate the thought of his mother being an adulteress. In this way, Mamillius is

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[98] Nashe, *The Terrors*, Cii^{v}.
[99] Nashe, *The Terrors*, Cii^{v}.
[100] Du Laurens, *Discourse*, p. 87.
[101] Amanda Mabillard, *Shakespeare and the Gunpowder Plot* (2020) <http://www.shakespeare-online.com/> [accessed 08 February 2018]; Bryson, *World as a Stage*, p. 90; Greenblatt, *Will in the World*, p. 101.
[102] Glickman, ‘Persecution, Martyrdom’, 251-267 (p. 254).

portrayed as a mini-Hamlet, although their course of action post-adultery charges is different. Mamillius's melancholy overpowers him for the worst and the tyrant who is the cause also knows that:

> **LEONTES** To see his nobleness,
> Conceiving the dishonour of his mother!
> He straight declined, drooped, took it deeply,
> Fastened and fixed the shame on't in himself;
> Threw off his spirit, his appetite, his sleep,
> And downright languished. (*TWT*: II.3.11-16)

The last two lines of Leontes's speech exhibit a harmonious symbiosis between Shakespeare's depiction of melancholy and recognisable signposts of melancholy according to the three distinguished early modernists, namely Bright, Burton and Du Laurens. According to them, this malady is a '*vexation of their soules*' because 'passions force the soule' into an 'unhappy and miserable' ('Threw off his spirits') life.[103] The excess of the black bile, '*ouerthrowes appetite'* ('his appetite'). In this way, melancholics, like Mamillius and Hamlet, retain a 'melancholy dull spirit' in their bodies which 'offer violence to the soule' ('downright languished) and hence this humour causes insomnia and '*disturbeth the sleep of melancholy persons'* ('his sleep'), sometimes to an extent that melancholics can spend 'three whole moneths without sleepe'.[104]

Hermione, who is, 'on every post / Proclaimed a strumpet, with immodest hatred' (*TWT*: III.2.98-99), goes into a melancholic state because of her loss of chastity in the eyes of her husband to the extent that she becomes, like Hamlet, 'weary' of her life. During the trial scene, she asks rhetorically why she 'should fear to die. Therefore proceed' (*TWT*: III.2.105), which reflects her desperation and disappointment at the loss of her honour and reputation. Ironically, Leontes, who wrongly believes that Hermione is an adulteress, himself develops mild symptoms of melancholy at this particular point and has 'Nor night nor day, no rest! It is but weakness' (*TWT*: II.3.1) referring to the melancholy brought on by his morbid jealousy so that he '*can take no rest in the night*'.[105] This perturbation springs from the concept of chastity

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[103] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 272; Bright, *Treatise*, p. 39.
[104] Burton, *Anatomy*, pp. 360, 343; Bright, *Treatise*, pp. 39, 131; Du Laurens, *Discourse*, p. 94.
[105] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 272.

that Shakespeare's society attached to womanhood and keeps haunting Leontes's family after their final reunion, so that '*Euen in the middest of laughing, there is sorrow*' for them.[106]

> For Leontes and Hermione, it is, at best, a partial restitution: Mamillius, their son is dead; Hermione has aged—as Leontes notes—and there will be no more children; it is impossible that they will regain their former contentment. There are 'deep strains of melancholia' that underwrite the 'measured celebrations'.[107]

1.6.'Most Holy and Religious Fear': Melancholy Caused by Religious Beliefs

According to Burton, religion also poses various reasons that might lead to a melancholic state of mind and 'God himselfe is a cause for the punishment of sinne' so that humans '*attempt no euill thing for feare of the Gods*'.[108] The fear of eternal damnation keeps haunting human beings, thus disturbing their black bile with continuous worry. These ideas are promulgated from the pulpit repeatedly, writes Burton, by 'thundering Ministers' or 'Rigid ministers' who are 'a most frequent cause' of 'this malady' because they keep the followers in awe, resulting in a melancholic state of fear and sorrow from which there seems to be no escape.[109] He argues:

> *Carnificinam exercent,* one saith, they [Priests] tyrannise ouer mens consciences, more than any other tormentors whatsoeuer. Partly for their commodity and gaine, for soueraignty, credit to maintaine their state and reputation.[110]

This tyranny is not possible until religious leaders inculcate in the mind of the lay people the idea that God and their direct link has been broken and that they are the intercessors to reconnect them with God. 'As *Bright & Perkins* illustrate', Burton argues 'Melancholy alone againe may be sometimes a sufficient cause of this terror of conscience' that '*God hath*

[106] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 17.
[107] Gregory Currie, 'Agency and Repentance in The Winter's Tale', in *Shakespeare and Moral Agency,* ed. by Michael Bristol (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2016), pp. 171-183 (p. 171).
[108] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 723.
[109] Burton, *Anatomy*, pp. 775, 772.
[110] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 725.

forsaken them'.[111] Burton further emphasises that religion also teaches that there is no escape for people either in this world as 'all those creatures which God hath made, are armed against sinners' or in the hereafter, as 'that ferall melancholy which crucifies the Soule in this life, and euerlasting torments in the world to come'.[112] Macbeth expresses precisely such fear of the hereafter when he says 'We'd jump the life to come' (*Macbeth*: I.7.7), should he kill the king. Michel Foucault argues that religious beliefs regarding torments in the hereafter and its dread creates melancholy: 'too much moral rigor, too much anxiety about salvation and the life to come were often thought to bring on melancholia'.[113]

Before meeting the Ghost, when Hamlet is not aware of the murder of his father, even then suicidal thoughts cross his mind at the very idea of 'incestuous sheets'. He is utterly appalled by events after the death of his father that he yearns to commit suicide. But he finds himself in a dilemma: whether ending his life would relieve him of his current anguish and melancholy or whether it will trap him into a more perilous situation. He is worried, fearful and in a melancholic state of mind to the extent that he can only conclude, if the 'everlasting had not fixed / His canon 'gainst self-slaughter' (*Hamlet*: 2.131-32), he might have ended his life. However, Hamlet avoids self-slaughter either because of 'despair of salvation' or in 'diuine meditations and contemplations of Gods iudgements' ('Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought', *Hamlet*: 8.86), as preached by the religious leaders, which for the 'most part accompany this Melancholy'; or for his strong religious beliefs, like those die-hard preachers in Shakespeare's time who preferred death to compromising their religious beliefs—Edmond Campion being one of those Jesuits of Shakespeare's circle who died for his religious beliefs.[114] His education also gave him an understanding of his limitations in this life and knowledge of the hereafter. According to Jonathan Bate, the dread of punishment after death and its mystery preoccupies Hamlet as in the soliloquy 'To be or not to be' (*Hamlet*: 8.57-91), 'Hamlet has worried about the hereafter'.[115] For Hamlet, 'to die, to sleep' (*Hamlet*: 8.65) is a great puzzle because he does not know whether in that 'sleep of death what dreams may come' (*Hamlet*: 8.67). Toward the end of this soliloquy, he says:

HAMLET But that the dread of something after death,

[111] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 773.
[112] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 5, 536.
[113] Foucault, *Madness and Civilization*, p. 204.
[114] Babb, *Elizabethan Malady*, p. 50; Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 774.
[115] Bate, *Soul of the Age*, p. 409.

> The undiscovered country from whose bourn
> No traveller returns, puzzles the will,
> And makes us rather bear those ills we have
> Than fly to others that we know not of. (*Hamlet*: 8.79-83)

The 'dread of something' reflects the element of fear over a long period of time ('There's the respect / That makes calamity of so long life', *Hamlet*: 8.69-70), and this fear is an inseparable component of the melancholy. Moreover, as Hamlet is a scholar, he is more prone to melancholy which makes a person 'heavy, dull, solitary' and 'sluggish', responsible for causing indecisiveness ('puzzles the will') as well.[116] This is Hamlet's depressed and melancholic state of mind, known as religious melancholy.

Claudius also demonstrates early modern features of religious melancholy. In Scene 10, Claudius is alone in his chamber and laments, repents and mourns his sin, realising the gravity of it. He says:

> **KING** O, my offence is rank! It smells to heaven.
> It hath the primal eldest curse upon 't,
> A brother's murder. (*Hamlet*: 10.37-39)

Claudius is aware of his crime and attaches religious significance to it. His soliloquy is full of remorse and lamentation. Although he tries to seek forgiveness, he is also aware that his prayers will not be answered as he has issued his verdict for Hamlet's murder prior to his prayer. Due to his repentance and guilty conscience, he is trapped in a situation from where he yearns to escape because 'it is so harsh and bitter that you cannot abide it, it makes you heauy and melancholly, it pinches, it cuts, it rents your hearts, it crucifies your sweet affections' and 'it is so vnsauory you cannot abide it'.[117] Claudius, in his confession, acknowledges that he did not 'conforme […] to Gods word' and gave 'reines to Lust, Anger, Ambition, Pride' to follow his 'owne wayes' by which people 'degenerate into beasts' and in this way he 'provoke[s] God to anger' and suffers from '*Melancholy*' as a punishment for '*sinners*' in this world.[118] Claudius understands his melancholic predicament thoroughly.

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[116] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 243; Wood, 'He Something Seems Unsettled', 185-213 (p. 186).
[117] Roger Fenton, *A Treatise Against the Necessary Dependance Vpon That One Head, And the Present Reconciliation To The Church Of Rome* (London, Printed by *Edward Griffin for Nathaniel Butter,* 1617), p. 121.
[118] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 8.

A very similar melancholic thought process is shared by Leontes, who out of his repentance, as taught by religion, believes himself the murderer of Hermione:

> **LEONTES** She I killed? I did so. But thou strik'st me
> Sorely to say I did; it is as bitter
> Upon thy tongue as in my thought. (*TWT*: V.1.17-19)

Although Leontes has not killed Hermione, the mere idea of murder makes him melancholic with such 'immoderate perturbations of the mind' which dry up his humours.[119] According to Protestant and Catholic religious tenets, further discussed in Chapter 3 on repentance, 'guiltie soule of a sinner' is necessary for forgiveness but the presence of such a sore and bitter thought in one's mind over a 'wide gap of time' (*TWT*: V.3.155) causes 'drying and cooling of our bodies' or melancholy, that even Camillo has to acknowledge that Leontes 'sorrow was too sore laid on, / Which sixteen winters cannot blow away' (*TWT*: V.3.49-50).[120]

Shakespeare also portrays early modern features of religious melancholy in the character of Lady Macbeth. Although notorious for her 'unsex me' soliloquy, she reveals that her conscience is alive to her part in the crime, a deadly sin. Later, she is unable to avoid guilt and 'such kinde of thoughts doe assaile the hart', and the thought of 'being guilty of so great sinne' drives her into a deep melancholic state.[121] Burton sums up her plight thus:

> Feare, sorow, suspition, *substructicus pudor,* discontent, cares, and wearinesse of life, surprise them on a sudden, and they can thinke of nothing els: continually suspecting, no sooner are their eyes open, but this infernall plague of melancholy seaseth on them, and terrifies their soules, representing some dismall obiect to their mindes, which now by no meanes, no labour, no perswasions they can avoide.[122]

Soon after 'the deed' (*Macbeth:* II.2.14), she loses her mental balance as she has 'become heauie and full of melancholie' and imagines 'being alone, miraculous and straunge things', for example, blood spots on her hand that do not go away, although she tells Macbeth that a

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[119] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 255.
[120] Bright, *Treatise*, p. 184; Du Laurens, *Discourse*, p. 172.
[121] Bright, *Treatise*, p. 230.
[122] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 116.

little water can wash them away.[123] She is 'troubled with thick-coming fancies' (*Macbeth*: V.3.41) and a deep 'rooted sorrow' (*Macbeth*: V.3.44) that give her 'troubled sleep, insomnia, and visual and auditory hallucinations' which were 'known symptoms' of melancholy.[124] With regards to Lady Macbeth's somnambulism, Sandra Clark argues that it is a 'sort of condition produced by humoral disturbance'.[125]

Shakespeare, through Lady Macbeth, in her 'unsex me' soliloquy, also refers to the invocation of the evil spirits to 'Make thick my blood' (*Macbeth*: I.5.39), a well-known feature of melancholy. According to early modern definitions, melancholy 'thickens the blood' and 'thicke blood' was 'a prime indication of dominance' of 'black bile of melancholy'.[126] Both Bright and Burton agree with this concept and believe that 'the bloud' is 'thickened into melancholie'.[127] This is a significant indication by Shakespeare of melancholy's physiological, psychological and moralistic connotations of the malady because there could be two reasons for Lady Macbeth to ask for thickening of her blood: either she wants a transformation into a cold villain so she could not feel the pangs of her conscience of which she is fully conscious; or she wants the Aristotelian aspect of melancholic disposition to enhance her intelligence and wits to execute 'the deed' (*Macbeth*: II.2.14), successfully. In both cases, Lady Macbeth's invocation to the evil spirits certainly reflects her anxiety that stems from the idea of regicide—a monstrous sin against the shadow of God. Therefore, on the one hand, Lady Macbeth incarnates the idea of religious melancholy; and on the other hand, she personifies Essex's attempt to overthrow Elizabeth in 1601. Given that Essex's episode was unsuccessful and regicide being a dangerous enterprise, Shakespeare devises a dramatic compensation for Essex's failed reality by introducing an invocation to the supernatural that results in a successful attempt to overthrow the monarch in the play. Thus, Lady Macbeth's religious melancholy also serves as Shakespeare's flashback to historical realities of his society.

1.7.'Made with the Fume of Sighs': Melancholy Caused by Love

Love, according to early modern understanding, was 'a frequent cause of melancholy' because of disappointments in love, sorrow of parting, fear of losing one's beloved and continuous worry about the affairs of love for which Burton believes that it 'deserues much

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[123] Lauaterus, *Of Ghostes and Spirites*, p. 10.
[124] Roychoudhury, 'Melancholy', 205-30 (p. 218).
[125] Clark, 'Macbeth', 300-11 (p. 307).
[126] Burton, *Anatomy*, pp. 130, 92; Wood, 'He Something Seems Unsettled', 185-213 (p. 196).
[127] Bright, *Treatise*, p. 256.

rather to be called burning lust, then by such an honourable title'.[128] As being a violent passion, love was known to be a 'furious disease' and 'madness it selfe' because of the fact that it was 'a Motion of the blood […] through the hope of pleasure' referring to the idea of 'the relation of mind and body' or psychosomatic connection 'inherited by the early moderns from the ancients' of which Bright is a chief supporter.[129] Burton, too, upholds the idea of this relationship in these words:

> For as the distraction of the mind, amongst other outward causes and perturbations, alters the temperature of the Body, so the distraction & distemperature of the Body, will cause a distemperature of the Soule, and t'is hard to decide which of these two doe more harme to the other.[130]

These early modern concepts about love, like other passions, imply that this passion causes melancholy, depending upon an individual's mental and bodily responses to disappointment, sorrow and fear accompanying love. That is why melancholy was 'one of the most serious forms of mental affliction of the era', implying a close relationship between physiology and psychology of passions.[131] A lovesick person afflicted with love melancholy becomes 'negligent, refusing the light and frequency of men, delighted more in solitarines & obscurity'.[132] Hamlet alludes to the effects of this mental infirmity when he says:

> **HAMLET** I have of late, but wherefore I know not, lost all my mirth, forgone all custom of exercises; and indeed, it goes so heavily with my disposition that this goodly frame the earth seems to me a sterile promontory. This most excellent canopy the air, look you, this brave o'erhanging firmament, this majestical roof fretted with golden fire, why it appeareth nothing to me but a foul and pestilent

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[128] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 539.
[129] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 543; Ferrand, Jacques, *Erōtomania or A Treatise Discoursing of the Essence, Causes, Symptomes, Prognosticks, and Cure of Love, or Erotique Melancholy* (Oxford: Printed by L. Lichfield, 1640), p. 28; Mary Isabelle O'Sullivan, 'Hamlet and Dr. Timothy Bright', *PMLA*, 41.3 (1926), 667-79 (p. 668); Roychoudhury, 'Melancholy', 205-30 (p. 208).
[130] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 220.
[131] Gowland, *Worlds of Renaissance Melancholy*, p. 33.
[132] Bright, *Treatise*, p. 124.

> congregation of vapours. […] Man delights not me. (*Hamlet*: 7.249-260)

This is a transformation from a normal social person to a solitary melancholic, in which Hamlet lists some of the striking features that determine a melancholic disorder in a person—he has lost all his mirth, interest in the world around and lost his delight in mankind. The reason for 'choosing solitarinesse' which Hamlet alludes to, is 'that so he may entertaine his Melancholy thoughts with the greater freedome', which further deepens the effects of this humour. That is why Levinus Lemnius, an early modern physician, is reported to have argued that 'of all the humours, melancholy was the worst'.[133]

Although Claudius rejects love as the cause of Hamlet's dejection, Polonius and Ophelia are certain that Hamlet is a love melancholic. Despite this difference of opinions between the characters in the play itself, Hamlet presents all those symptoms, fraught with emotional intensity, that are associated with love melancholy as it was believed that 'Loue is a species of Melancholy'.[134] Ophelia, in particular, paints a picture of a lovesick Hamlet as per the early modern conception of the humour:

> **OPHELIA** My lord, as I was sewing in my closet,
> Lord Hamlet, with his doublet all unbraced,
> No hat upon his head, his stockings fouled,
> Ungartered, and down-gyvèd to his ankle,
> Pale as his shirt, his knees knocking each other,
> And with a look so piteous in purport
> As if he had been loosèd out of hell
> To speak of horrors, he comes before me. (*Hamlet*: 6.75-82)

Here, Ophelia presents a picture of an early modern love melancholic with 'pale, amazed, astonished' outlook.[135] Concurrently, this description of a dishevelled person also matches the apparent signs of melancholia associated with genius and men of letters. However, after listening to Ophelia's narrative, Polonius concludes that 'This is the very ecstasy of love /

[133] Jacques Ferrand, *Erōtomania,* p. 68*;* Sullivan, 'History of Heartbreak', 933-934 (p. 933).
[134] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 495.
[135] Ferrand, *Erōtomania*, p. 113.

Whose violent property fordoes itself' (*Hamlet*: 6.100-101), thus equating Hamlet's condition with 'Heroicall Loue' or 'Heroicall Melancholy'.[136] Ophelia's dialogue also suggests that Shakespeare's understanding of the symptoms of love melancholy are deeply rooted in their social context. Describing love, Ioan Culianu says that this 'illness called *heroes* is melancholy anguish caused by love for a woman. The *cause* of this affliction lies in the corruption of the faculty' and as this 'entails continuous contemplation, it can be defined as melancholy anguish'.[137]

Hamlet's love melancholy or 'The pangs of despisèd love' (*Hamlet*: 8.73) is because of rejection in love despite the fact that both loved each other sincerely as is clear from Hamlet's love letter to Ophelia which Polonius recites to Claudius and Gertrude. Although Ophelia is not solely responsible for their breakup, she does play a part due to her innocence and tender age under the influence of imperious commands of her father and brother, a feature of Shakespeare's patriarchal society. Before Ophelia meets with a dishevelled Hamlet, Laertes and Polonius manipulate her and advise her to reject Hamlet's advances, based on a misconception that Hamlet's love is 'a fashion, and a toy in blood' (*Hamlet*: 3.6) and his love 'springes to catch woodcocks' (*Hamlet*: 3.114) because of his royal status. On the contrary, Ophelia tells her father that Hamlet's advances are 'the holy vows of heaven' (*Hamlet*: 3.113), but her opinion is not accepted, reflecting the idea that in Shakespeare's society, it was the man whose verdict was upheld. Moreover, Polonius also commands her to return Hamlet's letters and other tokens of love to discourage him. Therefore, Ophelia conforms to the patriarchal expectations and harmonises her wishes with the commands of the male members of her family and informs her father thus:

OPHELIA No, my good lord; but as you did command
I did repel his letters, and denied
His access to me.
POLONIUS That hath made him mad. (*Hamlet*: 6.106-109)

[136] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 527; Ferrand, *Erōtomania*, p. 17.
[137] Ioan P. Culianu, *Eros and Magic in the Renaissance*, trans. by Margaret Cook (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1987), p. 20.

In this way, Ophelia's rejection at the insistence of her father and brother results in Hamlet's melancholic fits which, according to Polonius himself, made him mad. This evaporates Hamlet's trust in the womenfolk that has already been damaged by Gertrude's 'frailty'.

Ophelia's love melancholy parallels that of Hamlet for the same reason: rejection. Besides, Polonius and Laertes are also responsible for causing Ophelia's acute melancholy by separating her from Hamlet, which later leads to Polonius's murder, further deepening her melancholy twofold because of the death of her father. In this way, Ophelia is like 'many women' in the early modern era who 'were plunged into depression by their oppressed lot as females in a patriarchal society, at the mercy of their parents or husbands', implying that melancholia was not merely the 'great affliction of the elite and intellectual' but 'it was equally common lower down the social scale'.[138] Both Hamlet and Ophelia are trapped in identical melancholic circumstances, that is, Hamlet's father is murdered, so is Ophelia's; Hamlet loses his love (Ophelia) and Ophelia loses her love (Hamlet). Consequently, their melancholy stems from common reasons of love and bereavement. This melancholy remains with both of them till the end: 'Ophelia dies singing songs of lost love and dirges for dead fathers'; and Hamlet declares 'I loved Ophelia. Forty thousand brothers / Could not with all their quantity of love / Make up my sum' (*Hamlet*: 8.232-234) in the graveyard scene and then avenges his father's death by killing Claudius with these words: 'Here, thou incestuous, murd'rous, damnèd Dane' (*Hamlet*: 19.283).[139]

More than rejection in love, it is the deception in love that adversely affects Hamlet's mind and humours. In the nunnery scene, Ophelia returns him the letters and tokens of love by saying:

> **OPHELIA** My lord, I have remembrances of yours
> That I have longèd long to redeliver.
> I pray you now receive them. (*Hamlet*: 8.94-96)

Hamlet is dejected as well as doubtful of her intentions. Whether Hamlet's overhears Polonius's plot to use Ophelia as a bait to find out the reason for his melancholy, or madness, is not explicit; however, Hamlet's pun on words in the nunnery scene provides compelling

[138] Stone, *Revisited*, p. 277.
[139] Dreher, 'To Tell My Story', 3-14 (p. 10).

proof that he is aware of the fact that Polonius and Claudius are eavesdropping behind the curtain. Hamlet then declares, as if to make them overhear:

HAMLET I am very proud, revengeful, ambitious, with more offences at my beck than I have thoughts to put them in, imagination to give them shape, or time to act them in. (*Hamlet*: 8.122-25)

It appears as if Hamlet is conveying his revengeful intentions to the King to agitate him to disrupt their plot of eavesdropping. But when this does not work, he asks Ophelia 'Where's your father?' (*Hamlet*: 8.127)—the very question that betrays the fact that Hamlet is certain of Polonius's presence behind the curtain. To his question, she replies that he is 'At home, my lord' (*Hamlet*: 8.128). Hamlet knows it is a lie, a deception and that she has betrayed him by being the part of her father's plot to catch his 'conscience'. Hamlet, implicitly, calls her a cheater in these words:

HAMLET God hath given you one face, and you make yourselves another. (*Hamlet*: 8.138-39)

Hamlet, who is already disgusted with womenfolk because of his mother's incestuous marriage, is heartbroken by Ophelia's betrayal which increases his melancholic disposition. Therefore, when he commands Ophelia to 'Get thee to a nunn'ry' (*Hamlet*: 8.120) and threatens her to give her 'plague for thy dowry' (*Hamlet*: 8.132), Hamlet actually is implying that he will not marry her because of her foul play, just like Leontes who, out of his melancholy and his false conceit that Hermione deceived him, although in a different manner, decides that he will 'have no wife' (*TWT*: V.1.69) for as long as he lives.

Like Hamlet, Othello also reflects a similar thought process regarding deception in love and is utterly disappointed with his wife whom he loved dearly. When Othello supposes that his love, Desdemona, is corrupted, he regrets to have married her in these words:

OTHELLO She's gone, I am abused, and my relief
Must be to loathe her. O curse of marriage. (*Othello*: III.3.261-62)

In the case of Hamlet and Othello, it is love or rather a lost love that results in Hamlet's misanthropic frame of mind and Othello's regret of loving Desdemona. About this transformation, Bright, as also quoted by Mary O'Sullivan, says:

> Nowe as it is not possible to passe from one extreme to an other, but by a meane; and no meane is there in the nature of man but spirit: by this only the bodie affecteth the mind: and the bodie and spirits affected, partly by disorder, and partly through outward occasions, minister discontentment as it were to the mind.[140]

Othello's condition is particularly reflective of the idea that the melancholic mind affects the body adversely by drying up the vital spirits. Despite the fact that Desdemona is chaste, Iago's insinuations paint her as a sexually rapacious Venetian leading Othello to imagine both, Desdemona and Cassio, meeting 'Noses, ears, and lips' (*Othello*: IV.1.39). In this way, Othello also is melancholic because of deception, however, this deception is different from Hamlet's because in Othello's case, the object of his love, Desdemona, is not involved, whereas Ophelia has some part to play, willingly or unwillingly, which Hamlet considers deception. Furthermore, Hamlet relies on his own judgement in Ophelia's matter, but Othello trusts 'honest Iago' (*Othello*: I.3.289) who is bent on destroying him. Therefore, Othello's deception is the direct result of Iago's psychologically lethal suggestions.

Roderigo is another victim of Iago and yet another case of the personification of the early modern concept of melancholy caused by the false idea of deception in love. Desdemona's beauty, along with Iago's manipulation, drives him into this malady about which Iago says 'Whom love hath turned almost the wrong side out' (*Othello*: II.3.42). Brabanzio finds him 'in madness' (*Othello*: I.1.97) because of the fact that 'melancholy […] corrupteth all the blood, and is the causer of lunacie'.[141] This madness, according to Roderigo himself, was so strong that 'it is not in my virtue to amend it' (*Othello*: I.3.310). Iago's cleverly woven net of 'false imagination' traps Roderigo completely and this 'causeth feare and sorowe of hart'.[142] In this state of grief and helplessness, Roderigo threatens that 'I will incontinently

[140] Bright, *Treatise*, p. 38.; O'Sullivan, 'Hamlet and Dr. Timothy Bright', 667-79 (p. 669).
[141] Nashe, *The Terrors*, D1^r.
[142] Bright, *Treatise*, p. 161.

drown myself' (*Othello*: I.3.300), recalling Ophelia, who drowns herself out of her love melancholy. Such an acute obsession with the love of women is presented by Burton:

> IN the precedent Section mention was made amongst other pleasant obiects, of this comelinesse & beauty which proceeds from women, which causeth *Heroicall,* or loue melancholy, and is more eminent aboue the rest, and properly called *Loue.* The part affected in men is the liuer, and therefore called *Heroicall,* because commonly Gallants & Noble men, the most generous spirits are possessed with it.[143]

Shakespeare concludes that whether deception in love is genuine or false, it has the potential to cause melancholy as reflected in the cases of Othello and Roderigo, also referring to the mind body interdependence in the humoral theory.

Similarly, melancholy, caused by deception in love is also presented in Brabanzio. However, it is the father who is deceived by his daughter in this case, thus causing him melancholy which proves fatal. When Brabanzio finds out that Desdemona has fled with Othello, he calls it 'treason of the blood!' (*Othello*: I.1.165) referring to melancholy humour and then utters his condemnation, like Hamlet did against women, by saying 'Fathers, from hence trust not your daughters' minds' (*Othello*: I.1.166) because he believes 'she [Desdemona] deceives me' (*Othello*: I.1.161). This sorrow, which according to Bright and Elyot, is the initial mild stage of his melancholy, known as 'naturall' melancholy.[144] With the passage of time, this grief develops to an extent that Brabanzio claims that his grief 'Is of so floodgate and o'erbearing nature / That it engluts and swallows other sorrows (*Othello*: I.3.57). The oppressive weight of his melancholy, which is 'vnnaturall[e]', proves 'mortal to him, and pure grief / Shore his old thread in twain' (*Othello*: V.2.202-03).[145]

Love melancholy, caused by storge, familial and filial love, finds an emphatic representation in *Hamlet*, *Othello* and *The Winter's Tale.* In *Othello*, Desdemona mourns the loss of her love, which is both familial and romantic. She witnesses Othello's transforming from a loving husband into a jealous beast because 'Iealosie is the greatest' of all those bitter potions' that 'Loue-melancholy afford'.[146] This not only transforms Othello into a melancholic

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[143] Burton, *Anatomy*, pp. 527-28.
[144] Bright, *Treatise*, p. 1; Elyot, *The Castel*, p. 9.
[145] Bright, *Treatise*, p. 1; Elyot, *The Castel*, p. 9.
[146] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 681.

(‘Thou hast set me on the rack.’ *Othello*: III.3.299) but also makes Desdemona excessively sorrowful. Like Ophelia, who dies singing a song for her lost love, Desdemona sings the saddest song in Shakespeare—the willow song which is ‘a mournful folk ballad, in which a lady laments her lost love’ thus foreshadowing her loss of love and death.[147] Moreover, like Hamlet and Ophelia, she also has lost her father and his fatherly love. All these incidents cause her melancholic as is reflected in the choice of a mournful ballad at her death bed.

In *The Winter's Tale*, Hermione also suffers from love melancholy, which she calls ‘honourable grief’ (*TWT*: II.1.111) and thus shares some traits of Desdemona’s loss of love. In this way, their ‘melancholy is due to disappointment in love’.[148] However, Hermione also suffers melancholy because of her love for her lost children, in addition to losing Leontes’s love, expressed thus:

HERMIONE The crown and comfort of my life, your favour,
I do give lost, for I do feel it gone
But know not how it went. My second joy,
And first fruits of my body, from his presence
I am barred, like one infectious. My third comfort,
Starred most unluckily, is from my breast,
The innocent milk in it most innocent mouth,
Haled out to murder. (*TWT*: III.2.91-98)

There are three losses that she mentions here: loss of husband’s love, separation of Mamillius and apparent murder of Perdita. The passion that links Hermione to all three relations is love that she has lost. This makes her so melancholic that Antigonus claims that ‘I never saw a vessel of like sorrow’ (*TWT*: III.3.20). Therefore, Hermione’s melancholy is because of losing her romantic love, bereavement and the absence of filial love as Mamillius is dead and Perdita is lost.

Shakespeare also presents love melancholy because of the strong presence of filial love. In this regard, *Hamlet* is replete with this concept and its melancholic effects on many characters in the play: Hamlet and Ophelia in the lead to portray strong filial love as argued

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[147] Shakespeare’s Birthplace Trust, *Shakespeare’s Saddest Song*, (2020) <https://www.shakespeare.org.uk/explore-shakespeare/blogs/shakespeares-saddest-song/> [accessed 24 June 2020].

[148] Babb, *Elizabethan Malady*, p. 121.

above in detail. In addition, Laertes also suffers from acute sorrow because of the deaths of his father and sister. His filial love renders him 'resolute desperatnes' of a 'melancholick' that he invades the castle and confronts Claudius by challenging him: 'O thou vile king, / Give me my father' (*Hamlet*: 15.12-13) and he is ready to 'dare damnation' (*Hamlet*: 15.130).[149] Such a 'desperate furie' is also presented in Fortinbras who is 'ambition puffed' (*Hamlet*: 14.46) and is prepared to risk 'The imminent death of twenty thousand men' (*Hamlet*: 14.57) for his 'honour's at the stake' (*Hamlet*: 14.53).[150] Such a desperation as is presented above at the loss of a father in the case of Hamlet, Ophelia, Laertes and Fortinbras not only reflects their filial love melancholy, as understood in early modern period, but it also discloses Shakespeare's own grief at the loss of his own father and his filial love and duty.

1.8.'O What a Noble Mind is Here O'erthrown': Melancholy Caused by Learning and Scholarship

In the early modern period, people believed that 'ouermuch study', 'too much learning' and 'education' at home or at school, 'haue great force to procure melancholie' especially if these 'labours of the mind' are 'vehement, and of difficult matters, and high misteries'.[151] For this reason, melancholy was known as the 'scholar's disease'.[152]

> *Many men* […] *come to this malady* [melancholy] *by continuall study, and night waking, and of all other men Schollers are most subiect to it* […] *Marsilius Ficinus* puts Melancholy amongst one of those 5 principall plagues of Students, t'is a common maul vnto them all.[153]

According to Galenic traditions, the human mind contains refined vapours known as '*Vitall Spirits*' which are rare and refined form of bodily humours 'made in the Heart' and 'transported to all the other parts' of the body 'by the Arteries', including the brain.[154] These vital spirits provide a 'link between mind and body' or the corporeal and incorporeal, thus providing a base for mind-body relationship.[155] 'As fire is in a torch' says Burton, 'so are spirits in the blood';

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[149] Bright, *Treatise*, p. 202.
[150] Bright, *Treatise*, p. 111.
[151] Burton, *Anatomy*, pp. 168, 192; Bright, *Treatise*, p. 243.
[152]Anglin, 'Hamlet, Melancholy', 15-29 (p. 15).
[153] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 167.
[154] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 22.
[155] Babb, *Elizabethan Malady*, p. 8.

and their function is to provide heat and moisture to the body.[156] However, as studies and learning are the 'action of the mind' and when this action is 'vehement & continuall' it 'maketh great wast of' the vital 'spirit, and heate' because studies 'farre more toyleth the bodie' than other things, resulting in the loss of 'moystening and warming', leaving behind a cold and dry 'melancholicke bodie'.[157]

Hamlet is a scholar who has just come out of the University of Wittenberg, therefore he 'should be more subiect to this malady then others' because of the reason that students, especially when their routine is more strenuous, 'liue a sedentary, solitary life […] free from bodily exercise' that are strong causes of melancholy.[158] Moreover, his academic knowledge is still intact—uncorrupted by the vices of the practical world that he enters. His academic knowledge (theory) is juxtaposed with the real word (practical) around him, which presents a striking contrast between his two worlds. Consequently, Hamlet finds it difficult to accept his reality, particularly his father's murder; his mother's hasty marriage, which he considers incestuous; his uncle sitting on the royal throne to which Hamlet is the legitimate heir; and his friends from his alma mater spying on him. In Bright's words above, this 'vehement & continuall' contemplation and 'intent thinking' ('Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought', *Hamlet*: 8.86) about these realities that are 'weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable' (*Hamlet*: 2.133) 'diminisheth the spirits', cause an imbalance of his humours and thus 'produceth Melancholy' in his personality.[159] His first soliloquy ('O that this too too sullied flesh would melt', *Hamlet*: 2.129-59) is a catharsis of his emotions in which he is 'weeping, sighing, sobbing, blushing, trembling, sweating, swooning', authentic symptoms of his melancholic state of mind.[160] About Shakespeare's close presentation of the philosophical prince's scholarly thought process, Neema Parvini argues that 'Shakespeare's strength as a writer and storyteller' lies in his precise depiction of 'insights into human thinking' of his characters.[161]

The portrayal of Hamlet's intellectual and scholarly persona epitomises a rich intellectual and learning environment as well as indicating signs of melancholy. Regarding the availability of books, Ann Blair notes, citing Conrad Gesner's *Bibliotheca Univeralis* (1545),

156 Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 28.
157 Bright, *Treatise*, pp. 245, 259.
158 Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 168.
159 Bright, *Treatise*, p. 245; Babb, *Elizabethan Malady*, p. 24; Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 168.
160 Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 232.
161 Parvini, *What Did Shakespeare Understand*, [accessed 23 June 2017].

that there was a 'confusing and harmful abundance of books' during the early modern period.[162] Since the compilation of Gesner's work in 1545, the number of printed books, during the lifetime of Shakespeare and beyond that, increased when the printing business thrived as is detailed in the Introduction. In such an overwhelming abundance of printed scholarship, 'advice about reading widely and differentially rather than always thoroughly coexisted with equally long-lived advice to read carefully from a narrow canon of the "best books"'.[163] Shakespeare is, similarly, believed to have been an 'extensive' reader who read 'many books other than those that supplied him with stories'.[164] Conversely, there are critics who believe that he did not read widely and extensively, but thoroughly. Both extensive as well as deep reading habits co-existed in the early modern period. Hamlet's intellectual superiority over other characters, even Horatio, who is a scholar ('Thou art a scholar', *Hamlet*: 1.40), is a miniature reflection of scholars and learning approaches of the society on the one hand; and on the other hand, as argued above, a source of melancholy as well.

The availability of a huge number of the books made it compulsory for learners to make notes whilst reading as it was impossible to retrieve information otherwise. Scholars, theorists and educationists devised the idea of note-taking and commonplace books 'as an educational device and a handy aide-memoire' and the idea of 'commonplace book diffused itself widely within European society and must be regarded as one of the contemporary arts of remembrance'.[165] Many early modern scholars, for example, George Chapman and Thomas Nashe along with John Webster and Ben Jonson are known to have kept commonplace books.[166] With regards to Shakespeare having kept a commonplace book, Stanley Wells argues that Shakespeare 'may well, like many of his contemporaries, have kept a commonplace book'.[167] There is compelling evidence for this possibility since Shakespeare's works 'contain 4,684 proverbs and proverbial allusions', more than Erasmus's '4,251' collected in 'in ten editions of *Adages*'.[168] This was only possible because of the pedagogical approaches of the grammar schools in which 'youngsters were instructed to lodge in their minds the wise sentences and witty proverbs garnered from reading' in their 'commonplace book[s]' and critics agree about Shakespeare that 'the habits he acquired as a "grammarian" persisted throughout his work, early

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[162] Ann Blair, 'Reading Strategies for Coping with Information Overload Ca.1550-1700', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 64.1 (2003), 11-28 (p. 99).
[163] Blair, 'Reading Strategies', 11-28 (p. 14).
[164] Kambaskovic, 'Of Comfort', pp. 17-28 (p. 17); Wells, *Shakespeare for All Time*, p. 150.
[165] Walsham, 'The Social History' 9-48 (pp. 35-36).
[166] Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture*, p. 36.
[167] Wells, *Shakespeare for All Time*, p. 150.
[168] Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture*, pp. 36, 117.

and late'.[169] Therefore, commonplace books were kept to write important details 'unmixed with baser matter' (as there was a lot of baser literature also published) in order to make use of it later or to generally enhance one's scholarly outlook, both for the purpose of learning and for establishing an association with the learned or genius—a melancholic feature of the time to portray oneself more Italianate. When Hamlet hurries to note down the Ghost's 'commandment' in his commonplace book, Shakespeare alludes to the contemporary learning environment in his protagonist's words:

> **HAMLET** Remember thee?
> Yea, from the table of my memory
> I'll wipe away all trivial fond records,
> All saws of books, all forms, all pressures past,
> That youth and observation copied there,
> And thy commandment all alone shall live
> Within the book and volume of my brain,
> Unmixed with baser matter. (*Hamlet*: 5.96-103)

During Shakespeare's age, to read a book thoroughly, make notes along and understand its content in depth with an ability to offer critical analysis on the subject matter was not only a pedagogical practice, but a popular approach. Secular theorists and educationists propagated the idea of reading and taking notes, as well as religious scholars, for example, 'the Jesuit Jeremias', also propagated the idea that "Reading is useless, vain and silly when no writing is involved"'.[170] The activity of note taking was known to the early modern people as 'hard study' and they believed that a learner must 'read like a Turk by tearing the heart out of a book'.[171] This is where marginal notes come into practice, which Shakespeare is also believed to have resorted to while writing his plays. Hamlet's words 'My tables. Meet it is I set it down' (*Hamlet*: 5.106) refer to this fact. Most early modern writers employed marginal notes while reading any work which later became a scholarly norm. This practice was not only meticulous, involving arduous 'action of the mind', but also very time-consuming forcing learners into an isolated 'sedentary, solitary life' that was 'free from bodily exercise' because of their abstemious study

[169] Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture*, p. 123; Jones, *Origins of Shakespeare*, p. 28.
[170] Blair, 'Reading Strategies', 11-28 (p. 19).
[171] Blair, 'Reading Strategies', 11-28 (p. 13).

habits.[172] This was one of the reasons, which according to early modern theorists, caused melancholy and Hamlet personifies these features.

1.9.'Blood and Revenge are Hammering in My Head': Melancholy Caused by Revenge and Hatred

One of the causes of melancholic disposition is the 'violent passions' of 'revenge, hatred' that 'causeth this malady'.[173] In this regard, Hamlet, Othello, Macbeth, Leontes and Laertes all share the same melancholic traits that stem from their feelings of hatred and revenge in their hearts. Othello, Macbeth and Leontes fall into the category of those 'that haue hard and cold hearts' therefore, they 'receiue sorrowe and griefe very soone'.[174] Burton's description of melancholic traits encompasses all these characters who are:

> Prone to revenge, and most violent in all their Imaginations: and yet of a deeper reach, excellent apprehension, iudicious, wise and witty, of profound iudgement in somethings.[175]

Hamlet's melancholy also stems from his feelings of revenge and strong hatred toward Claudius and the actions of Gertrude. For Hamlet, the former has turned an 'adulterate beast' (*Hamlet*: 5.42) and the latter worse than a beast for Hamlet because 'a beast that wants discourse of reason / Would have mourned longer' (*Hamlet*: 2.150-51). Therefore, '"the growth of sorrow into hatred and of lamentation into a desire for revenge" finds a strong echo in Shakespeare'.[176] This hatred creates anger and 'thereof springeth, malice' which in Burton's words '*cause this malady*'.[177] As a result, this malice leads a person to take revenge on the object of hatred, which in Hamlet's case is his own uncle and the King; in Leontes's case, it is his own royal friend; in Othello's case, it is his own lieutenant and confidant and in Laertes's case, it is Hamlet first and then Claudius upon the discovery of the truth. Thus, Shakespeare incorporates the early modern idea that hatred affects the melancholic humour and thus 'riseth heauinesse of hart, and disposition of sadnesse'.[178]

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[172] Bright, *Treatise*, p. 245; Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 168.
[173] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 129.
[174] La Primaudaye, *The French Academie* (1594), p. 231.
[175] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 138.
[176] Jones, *Origins of Shakespeare*, p. 99.
[177] Bright, *Treatise*, p. 84; Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 136.
[178] Bright, *Treatise*, p. 82.

When the Ghost intends to disclose the secret of his murder, Hamlet instantly becomes so full of hatred for his father's murderer that he wants his name to be disclosed quickly:

> **HAMLET** Haste me to know't, that I with wings as swift
> As meditation or the thoughts of love,
> May sweep to my revenge. (*Hamlet*: 5.29-31)

But upon learning that the murderer is none other than his own uncle, he is in a state of utter shock and appears to be collapsing because of the fact that the newly assigned duty of killing a King on the throne is a challenging task. Being a prince himself, Hamlet has a very clear idea that 'regicides do not generally live to enjoy their triumph': an idea that resonates in *Macbeth* where the protagonist acknowledges that he could not 'find example / Of thousands that had struck anointed kings / And flourished after' (*Macbeth*: I.2.355-58).[179] Consequently, for Hamlet, killing a king equates 'to take[ing] arms against a sea of troubles' (*Hamlet*: 8.60). The inner turmoil caused by the awareness of these pervasive realities is resounding in his speech:

> **HAMLET** O all you host of heaven, O earth—what else? —
> And shall I couple hell? O fie! Hold, hold, my heart;
> And you my sinews, grow not instant old,
> But bear me stiffly up. (*Hamlet*: 5.91-94)

This lamentation is the mark of his extreme melancholy which results in such an intense hatred and malice that in the same breath he jumps to desperation and decides that he would forget all other petty and 'baser matter' and only the ghost's 'commandment all alone shall live / Within the book and volume' (*Hamlet*: 5.101-02) of his brain. The words of the ghost, 'a couch for luxury and damnèd incest' (*Hamlet*: 5.83) also aggravate Hamlet's melancholy that 'breedeth anger' of revenge.[180] The ghost continues to remind Hamlet of the horrible crime that has been committed and 'keepes his […] Wounds greene' as this was the only way Hamlet could spur to the challenging task of regicide.[181] This is also an allusion to the unsuccessful attempt at regicide by Essex to dethrone the queen towards the end of Elizabeth's reign. Therefore,

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[179] Catherine Belsey, 'Shakespeare's Sad Tale for Winter: Hamlet and the Tradition of Fireside Ghost Stories', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 61.1 (2010), 1-27 (p. 14).
[180] Bright, *Treatise*, p. 83.
[181] Bacon, *The Essayes*, p. 21.

Hamlet finds himself surrounded by murder, incest and the newly assigned duty of regicide: ‘the perturbations thus moue’ the prince.[182] As regicide is a challenging task and Hamlet is aware of his melancholy which affects ‘bones, grisles and sinews’, he metaphorically requests his sinews to provide him strength.[183] Shakespeare’s awareness of the political development and ‘Essex’s notoriously melancholy persona’, as noted by Amily Anglin, ‘was surely an influence on Shakespeare’s characterization of the melancholy student-prince’.[184]

From the first meeting with the ghost in which Claudius’s secret is disclosed in the play to the last scene where he kills Claudius, Hamlet is unable to get rid of the passions of revenge and hatred and with every sight of the murderer, with every smile, comment, glance that Claudius and Gertrude exchange that Hamlet witnesses, his hatred grows further and the desire to take revenge becomes stronger, thus making him more vulnerable to melancholic attacks, averse to company and fond of solitude, leading to loss of the mind.

Regarding Hamlet’s melancholic state, it must be noted that it develops systematically and gradually, impacting differently at its different stages.

> Hamlet’s melancholy advances through a series of stages in a familiar and recognizable pattern: first sadness, then lack of appetite and sleeplessness, then fatigue and light-headedness, and finally madness.[185]

When the play begins, Hamlet mourns the death of his father with visible signs of sadness in his disposition. But then there are successive events that deepen this sadness and turn it into melancholy. Hamlet’s disappointment in love, his awareness of his father’s murder, his obligation to take revenge, his mother’s hasty marriage, Polonius’s murder, Ophelia’s death, Rosencrantz and Gyldensterne’s disloyalty and death, Claudius’s murder plan for Hamlet and how he betrays Hamlet, Laertes and the Queen in the final scene are events that add to his melancholic disposition in a way that, in the words of Knecht, Hamlet reaches the level of madness.

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[182] Bright, *Treatise*, p. 81.
[183] Thomas Walkington, *The Optick Glasse of Humors* (London: Imprinted by Iohn Windet, 1607), p. 67.
[184] Anglin, ‘Hamlet, Melancholy’, 15-29 (p. 17).
[185] Knecht, ‘Shapes of Grief’, 35-58 (p. 40).

In *The Winter's Tale* and *Othello*, almost similar events lead to Leontes and Othello's hatred and feelings of revenge. Leontes's hatred is fired by 'whispering […] leaning cheek to cheek […] meeting noses […] Kissing with inside lip' and 'Skulking in corners' (*TWT*: I.2. 284-85,86,89); whereas Othello's hatred reaches bestial monstrosity with the 'ocular proof' (*Othello*: III.3.354) Iago provides him when Othello encaves himself. Both Leontes and Othello, like Hamlet, are 'torne in peeces' by their 'passions' after visual proofs that cause them melancholic.[186] Owing to this, they lose interest in their worldly affairs to an extent that Leontes promises to mourn for sixteen years, thus justifying the 'correlation of melancholia and mourning' in Freud's words; and Othello declares 'Farewell! Othello's occupation's gone' (*Othello*: III.3.351).[187]

> *Hatred* which ariseth from excessive *Melancholy,* which maketh men sullen morose, solitary, averse from all society, and Haters of the light, delighting onely like the Shrieke Owle or the Bitterne in desolate places, and monuments of the dead.[188]

These signs of melancholy springing from hatred, as described by Reynolds, are found in the melancholic characters mentioned above, most conspicuously in Hamlet.

1.10. 'Supernatural Soliciting': Melancholy Caused by the Supernatural—The Ghost

According to Burton, as noted above, the supernatural, ghosts, 'witches' and 'the Divell and his ministers' were also a cause of melancholy and this finds its representation in *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*. If put in its historical context, 'there are indications that early audiences saw *Hamlet* as a ghost story', then the role of the Ghost from the perspective of passions and in causing Hamlet's melancholy by giving him constant thinking and bringing about pathological change in the young prince's humoral balance, has been fairly neglected.[189] Whether the Ghost has any 'physiological stimuli for its passions, mechanical or otherwise' is not pertinent, but 'clearly the ghost has a healthy appetite for vengeance', causing Hamlet's doom.[190] It is imperative to acknowledge that the Ghost infuses excessively violent passions in Hamlet's mind with its multiple appearances and reminders and does not allow Hamlet to part with these

[186] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 36.
[187] *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, p. 243.
[188] Reynolds, *Treatise of The Passions,* p. 130.
[189] Belsey, 'Shakespeare's Sad Tale', 1-27 (p. 2).
[190] Slater, 'The Ghost', 593-620 (p. 606).

negative passions as well as the sense of his presence, which could well be linked to ever present memory of Shakespeare's father that never left him as he was 'haunted by the spirit of his Catholic father' like Hamlet does.[191] These psychological perturbations then deteriorate Hamlet's humoral balance making him furious at the discovery of his father's murder at the hands of Claudius in the first place and then this '*Anger* [...] which carries the spirits outwards [...] prepares the body to melancholy'.[192] Hamlet then proceeds from anger to vengeance, hatred, melancholy, misanthropy and revenge.

This meeting between incorporeal and corporeal worlds or dimensions in the form of the Ghost and Hamlet also suggests the popularity of the early modern concept of mind-body union and Shakespeare's treatment and awareness of this theme in *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*. Although Descartes and Louis de La Forge explored this relationship between the mind and the body in greater depths in the seventeenth century, the debate had already been started in Shakespeare's time. Jeremy Schmidt believes that melancholy is 'a pattern of thought, mood and behavior' that 'was determined not only by the condition of the body, but also by the state of the soul'.[193] Therefore, the mind-body discussion prevalent in Shakespeare's society also find its way into his works.

Hamlet's father's ghost, an incorporeal entity which represents the passion of vengeance, interacts with Hamlet, the corporeal or physical entity, and moves the humours in his body, creating violent passions. In other words, this is an interaction between the ethereal and corporeal worlds. This also suggests that passions have history because ghosts, according to early modern belief, 'belong to the past, to a history that should have closed with their death, and yet they reappear to trouble the present and change the future'.[194] Consequently, from an early modern perspective, there are two conclusions that can be drawn from the portrayal of the Ghost and melancholic Hamlet. Firstly, the incorporeal Ghost's interaction with corporeal Hamlet suggests the idea of mind-body union; and secondly, the Ghost also belongs to the past and tries to change the future or the natural order of things, suggesting that passions have history. Hamlet's current melancholic situation and his future doom is infused by the Ghost, as argued below.

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[191] Stephen Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), p. 279; Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare*, p. 2.
[192] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 141.
[193] Jeremy Schmidt, *Melancholy and the Care of the Soul: Religion, Moral Philosophy and Madness in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p. 2: Frank Swannack, 'Melancholy and the Care of the Soul: Religion, Moral Philosophy and Madness in Early Modern England', *Parergon*, 25.1 (2008), 250-252 (p. 250).
[194] Belsey, 'Shakespeare's Sad Tale', 1-27 (p. 5).

Much emphasis on the widely held criticism that the tragedy of *Hamlet* is driven by the young prince's inaction has surely eclipsed the negative role of the Ghost from the perspective of passions and the extent to which it shares the responsibility of Hamlet's tragedy. As aforesaid, the Ghost is full of revenge, a violent passion that causes, according to humoral theory, the vital spirits to dry up and result in melancholy. Shakespeare, thus, treats the supernatural in a distinctive way by portraying the Ghost as a melancholic too. In this manner, the melancholic Ghost of the father infects the son with melancholy, converting Hamlet's humour into 'cool and sluggish', thus causing inaction and delay in order to allow the monstrosity of revenge to ferment to monstrous limits.[195] Had the Ghost not urged 'his son to commit high treason, even against a murderer' or regicide, Hamlet's melancholy might not have transformed from 'naturall' to 'vnnaturalle', but 'when the English ghosts are incorporated into the action of the play, they incite the living to acts of violence' as is seen from the contribution of the Ghost to incite the violent events of *Hamlet* as witches do in Macbeth.[196] In this way, the tragedy of Hamlet, due to his melancholic disposition, originates from the continuous incitement of his father's ghost that moves his passions and leads him to his doom.

> But his meeting with the Ghost changes the terms of the protagonist's situation in more ways than one. The specter brings Hamlet face to face with death itself. Moreover, in calling for revenge, the Ghost demands that Hamlet incur the possibility of his own extinction sooner rather than later. [197]

The above argument with regards to the Ghost brings forth another aspect of the supernatural that adds to the melancholic humour of Hamlet: the Ghost being an instrument of evil to bring doom on humans and a fear of an early death, a certain cause of melancholy as argued above. With regards to ghosts, there were three popular versions pervasive in early modern society: Catholic, Protestant and classical manifestations. Firstly, most Catholics believed that ghosts from Purgatory, not hell, can come back. The fact that the Ghost in *Hamlet* comes from purgatory is a thoroughly Catholic idea as Reginald Scot, who wrote against the presence of ghosts ('I have heard, but not believed, the spirits o'th' dead May walk again',

[195] Wood, 'He Something Seems Unsettled', 185-213 (p. 186).
[196] Elyot, *The Castel*, p. 9; Belsey, 'Shakespeare's Sad Tale', 1-27 (pp. 6, 17).
[197] Belsey, 'Shakespeare's Sad Tale', 1-27 (p. 13).

TWT: III.3.15-16) and witches in his famous work *Discovery of Witchcraft* (1584,1651) mentions that some people think 'soules and spirits may come out of heaven or hell, and assume bodies, beleeving many absurd tales told by the schoolemen and Romish doctors to that effect' and terrifying stories of 'mothers maids', referring to oral tradition.[198] Secondly, Protestants, on the other hand, believed that ghosts cannot come back, it is the devil that adopts shapes. Such claims are influenced by many seminal works of the day. For example, James I, in his famous *Daemonologie* (1597), writes that 'the soule once parting from the bodie, cannot wander anie longer in the worlde', but the devil may 'rauishe [peoples'] thoughtes, and dull their sences' to 'represente such formes of persones […] as he pleases to illude them with' in order to make its victims believe that the ghost of the deceased has come back, which according to James is nothing but 'the Deuils craft'.[199] William Perkins also endorses the Protestant narrative that visiting of ghosts is 'indeede the opinion of the Church of Rome, and of many ignorant persons among vs'.[200] Lastly, physicians and anatomists believed that imbalance in the black bile causes a melancholic to see visions, or 'sorriest fancies' (*Macbeth*: III.2.11). When Hamlet calls the Ghost a devil, he 'demonstrates a proper awareness of Protestant theology' and humourism.[201]

> **HAMLET** The spirit that I have seen
> May be the de'il, and the de'il hath power
> T' assume a pleasing shape; yea, and perhaps,
> Out of my weakness and my melancholy,
> As he is very potent with such spirits,
> Abuses me to damn me. (*Hamlet*: 7.494-99)

Hamlet demonstrates acute uncertainty concerning the categorisation of different manifestations of the Ghost along with his own vulnerability, for 'the Deuil' could 'intyse [him] to his seruice' because of his 'desperat desire of reuenge' initiating a 'great miserie' or melancholic disposition.[202] For Shakespeare and his society ghosts were '*vncleane spirits*

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[198] Reginald Scot, *The Discouerie of Witchcraft* (London: by [Henry Denham for] William Brome, 1584), pp. 532, 152; Reginald Scot, *Scot's Discovery of Witchcraft* (London: Printed by R.C., 1584; repr. 1651), pp. 381, 113
[199] James I, King of England, *Daemonologie in Forme of a Dialogue, Diuided into Three Bookes* (Edinburgh: Printed by Robert Walde-graue, 1597), p. 41.

[200] William Perkins, *A Discourse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft* (Cambridge: Centrel Legge, 1608), p. 115.
[201] Belsey, 'Shakespeare's Sad Tale', 1-27 (p. 13).
[202] James, *Daemonologie*, p. 32.

setled' in the '*bodies* […] *mixt with* […] *melancholy humours*' and '*sport themselues*'.[203] Hamlet understands that if his father's ghost is a devil then he, being a melancholic, is an ideal victim of the devil that manipulates the 'Phantasie' of a melancholic 'by mediation of humours'.[204]

Hamlet is not alone in considering the ghost a devil. It was a widely held notion and Shakespeare represents that through other characters too. Horatio also tells Hamlet that the Ghost 'harrows me with fear and wonder' (*Hamlet*: 1.42) and it 'might deprive your sovereignty of reason, / And draw you into madness?' (*Hamlet*: 4.74-75). Hamlet also acknowledges that he is more prone to damnation because of his melancholy which is the 'ordinary engine by which he [devil] produceth this effect' and this worries him.[205] Both Hamlet and Horatio, being scholars, represent contemporary scholars' attitudes towards ghosts, particularly those deriving from Protestant doctrine. However, these concepts were popular in every section of the society. Marcellus, who represents the lower class, also warns Hamlet of not responding to the Ghost's beckoning by saying 'You shall not go, my lord' (*Hamlet*: 4.81) and later he says, 'Something is rotten in the state of Denmark' (*Hamlet*: 4.93), implying the fact that the belief of appearance of ghosts or devils caused melancholy in Shakespeare's society. Furthermore, the Ghost tells Hamlet of its purgatorial sufferings, which is Catholic in nature but strangely enough, as noted by Belsey, it 'does not request prayers for his soul: instead, he wants revenge, a demand for gratification scarcely likely to increase his chances of salvation', which furthers Hamlet's doubts about the Ghost being a devil. [206]

The above discussion does not intend to prove that the Ghost is evil or Catholic: it draws on the idea that if it is evil or devil, as Hamlet fears, then Hamlet can foresee that 'the devil hath the power' to 'abuse me to damn me'. Hamlet's 'dread of something after death' (*Hamlet*: 8.79) because of a possible damnation by a devilish ghost has been repeated multiple times by the prince, particularly in his famous 'To be, or not to be' soliloquy, and is also reflected in his invocation 'Angels and ministers of grace defend us!' (*Hamlet*: 4.42). In a highly charged early modern religious environment, the concept of damnation in the hereafter was used to 'tyrannise ouer mens consciences' and it was continuous source of fear causing melancholy. Hamlet, in this sense, is a true reflection of the melancholic disposition of society, a mirror to his age.

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[203] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 69.
[204] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 68.
[205] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 773.
[206] Belsey, 'Shakespeare's Sad Tale', 1-27 (p. 11).

In terms of passions, Shakespeare's portrayal of the supernatural as a source of melancholy and as an instrument of evil in *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* is compellingly identical and also reflects the prevailing concepts in this regard. Like the Ghost in *Hamlet*, the witches infuse the violent passions of ambition and jealousy in Macbeth's mind which dry up his bodily humours, resulting in his melancholic frame of mind. Macbeth's melancholy, then, is transferred to Lady Macbeth as well. In this way, the witches also have significance from passion's perspective like the Ghost. Similarly, Macbeth's meeting with the witches is also an interaction between the corporeal and incorporeal, as in *Hamlet*, operating in two different worlds or dimensions and vanished 'Into the air; and what seemed corporal melted' (*Macbeth*: I.3.76). Apart from portraying the fact that the supernatural has a role to play in bringing melancholy to the Macbeths, Shakespeare again reminds the audience of the mind-body discussion of his time, an important aspect of humoral theory.

As in *Hamlet*, the idea of the supernatural as evil and fear of damnation because of them also finds a strong echo in *Macbeth*. Both Macbeth and Banquo are doubtful of the witches' good intentions and share the same dilemma as Hamlet. For Macbeth, the 'supernatural soliciting / Cannot be ill, cannot be good' (*Macbeth*: I.3.126-27) and for Banquo, these are 'The instruments of darkness' (*Macbeth*: I.3.119), referring to the colour of the bile or melancholy humour and he calls these witches 'devil' (*Macbeth*: I.3.102). At the end of the play, Macbeth clearly sees the devilish trap in which he is trapped by the apparently well-wisher witches. That is why he declares that 'these juggling fiends no more believed' (*Macbeth*: V.10.20), as they have caused damnation to the Macbeths, the thought of which makes them melancholic.

1.11. Symbolism of Melancholy

There is a symbolic representation of melancholy in the plays selected for this chapter that again resonates with an early modern nuance. For example, in *Hamlet*, the opening scene of the play, on a platform in front of the Elsinore Castle where night watchmen are deployed, depicts a melancholic atmosphere. From the beginning of the play, with allusions to ''Tis bitter cold, And I am sick at heart' (*Hamlet*: 1.6-7) and references to the appearance of apparition, for example, ''tis but our fantasy' (*Hamlet*: 1.21), 'illusion' (*Hamlet*: 1.126), 'has this thing appeared again tonight?' (*Hamlet*: 1.19), 'For it is as the air, invulnerable' (*Hamlet*: 1.143), 'what seemed corporal' (*Macbeth*: I.3.76), Shakespeare sets the melancholic tone. *Hamlet*, *Macbeth* and *Othello* begin in a dark setting of the night, night being black—the colour associated with melancholy humour, black bile. Furthermore, for Shakespeare's society,

seasons also affected different humours. For example, 'the humours haue their courses' and 'melancholie' has its course in autumne' which is cold and dry; and 'the *Autumne* is most Melancholy' because of its 'Bad aire', especially when it is 'too cold and dry, thick, fuligenous, cloudy, blustering, or a tempestuous Aire'.[207] About the English weather and its correlation with melancholy, Foucault says:

> The melancholy of the English was easily explained by the influence of a maritime climate, cold, humidity, the instability of the weather; all those fine droplets of water that penetrated the channels and fibers of the human body and made it lose its firmness, predisposed it to madness.[208]

The colour black, associated with black bile, is consistently present in *Hamlet* and is mentioned in the opening scenes of *Macbeth* and *Othello*. Hamlet first's appearance on the stage, clad in 'nighted colour' (*Hamlet*: 2.68) or 'inky cloak' (*Hamlet*: 2.77) is also suggestive of the melancholic state that Shakespeare intends to portray him in. Macbeth's 'black and deep desires' (*Macbeth*: I.4.52) and Lady Macbeth's invocation 'Make thick my blood' and 'Come, thick night' (*Macbeth*: I.5.39, 46) also refer to the black melancholic humour. Furthermore, books (Hamlet and Ophelia reading books), skulls, graveyards, ghosts, witches, multiple deaths during the course of these plays, solitariness, unlaced clothing, poison and prison are some of the recurring topoi in these plays that are associated with melancholy according to the early modern literature.

The symbol of prison is very significant in *Hamlet* which the prince mentions to Rosencrantz and Gyldensterne, his university fellows who were assigned the duty of spying on him. Claudius, who is himself imprisoned in the prison of his own guilt and fear, tries to find out, through his spies, whether Hamlet's melancholy is because of him or not. Shakespeare's mention of the 'prison' in the play is the symbol of the political state of affairs as well as a symptom of this malady. First its symbolic significance is discussed. About Denmark, Hamlet says:

[207] Bright, *Treatise*, p. 114; Burton, *Anatomy*, pp. 49, 107, 108.
[208] Foucault, *Madness and Civilization*, p. 10.

HAMLET Why, then, 'tis none to you, for there is nothing either good or bad but thinking makes it so. To me it is a prison. (*Hamlet*: II.2.250-53) [209]

A person's melancholic state of mind determines the atmosphere around him for the reason that 'knowledge of the soul is not direct, but only by reflection'.[210] This implies that human behaviour or mood in the physical world is the reflection of the inner reality. The 'prison metaphor' is the reflection of 'Hamlet's claustrophobic sense' and situation in which he is trapped by the King in Denmark; this could be a 'prison' for Claudius who is trapped in his guilty conscience as is seen just before the closet scene where he confesses his crime and feels remorseful but could not ask for forgiveness; and it could be a 'prison' for Gertrude whose heart is 'cleft […] in twain' (*Hamlet*: 11.153) as a result of her awareness of the incestuous crime for which she resists acknowledging in closet scene.[211] The 'prison' is also a symbolic representation of Shakespeare's England with all its political and religious frenzy, at the cost of human lives, happiness and freedom of conscience.

On the other hand, 'prison' could be taken as a symptom of melancholy. Hamlet's dialogue above reflects the popular concept that a melancholy person suffers from such a mental 'deformitie' that his own house or place of residence 'seemeth vnto the melancholicke a prison or dungeon, rather than a place of repose or rest'.[212] Based on this argument, for Hamlet, who is entangled in his melancholic thoughts, Denmark is a prison because of his particular circumstances lately. However, for Rosencrantz and Gyldensterne, the reality is different because their thought process is different from Hamlet's and their melancholic humour, black bile, is not imbalanced. For them, Denmark is not a prison, and therefore, they are bewildered with Hamlet's prison metaphor, upon seeing which the prince educates them that 'there is nothing either good or bad but thinking makes it so' (*Hamlet*: II.2.251-52). This refers to the early modern concept that 'intent thinking', which Burton calls 'intent cares and meditations' and Shakespeare terms it as 'the pale cast of thought' (*Hamlet*: 8.86), dries up bodily spirits and causes melancholy.[213] Hamlet's melancholic mood could be, to some extent, a reflection of

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[209] William Shakespeare, *The Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works,* ed. by Stanley Wells and others, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
[210] Georges Canguilhem, 'What is Psychology', trans. by David M. Peña-Guzmán, *Foucault Studies*, 21 (2016), 200-13 (p. 206).
[211] Walter King, *Hamlet's Search for Meaning* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011), p. 54.
[212] Bright, *Treatise*, p. 263; The British Library, *Bright's Treatise of Melancholy,* [accessed 01 March 2018].
[213] Babb, *Elizabethan Malady*, p. 24; Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 372.

Shakespeare's personal circumstances or it could be the representation of the general sentiment under the police state of Elizabeth that was full of cruelties and bitter atrocities.

With regard to *Hamlet*, arguments have continued to rage that 'Hamlet both is and pretends to be melancholic'.[214] This contradiction arises from within the play itself: Hamlet decides to 'put an antic disposition on' (*Hamlet*: 6.170); whereas Polonius thinks about his disposition that 'though this be madness, yet there is method in't' (*Hamlet*: 7.200). Similarly, Claudius remarks also herald of Hamlet's melancholy to be real when he concludes saying:

> **KING** Nor what he spoke, though it lacked form a little,
> Was not like madness. There's something in his soul
> O'er which his melancholy sits on brood. (*Hamlet*: 9.157-59)

Foucault, citing the authority of Thomas Sydenham, known as the father of English medicine, supports Polonius and Claudius's observations that melancholiacs in Aristotelian traditions 'are people who, apart from their complaint, are prudent and sensible, and who have an extraordinary penetration and sagacity. Thus, Aristotle rightly observed that melancholics [sic.] have more intelligence than other men'.[215]

On the other hand, critics who argue that Hamlet's melancholy is pretended, assume that the prince wants 'to construct a private space around himself that Claudius is unable to interpret or penetrate' in order to disguise his revengeful objective for 'self-protective ends'.[216] Such arguments are propped up against Shakespeare's fondness of disguise. Supporters of pretended melancholy associate symbolic representation of 'Hamlet with the rebellious Earl of Essex' who tried to overthrow Elizabeth.[217] However, under Elizabeth's despotic rule, playwrights faced rigorous censorship under the Master of Revels and they 'dare not hint at dictatorial abuses in Elizabeth herself.'[218]

Regardless of these contradictions, the symptoms of melancholy that Bright, Burton and other contemporary writers have outlined in their works, conform to the ones found in *Hamlet* and performed by the character Hamlet, irrespective of whether Hamlet's melancholy is real or pretended. These symptoms also matched the expectations and interests of the

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[214] Anglin, 'Hamlet, Melancholy', 15-29 (p. 17).
[215] Foucault, *Madness and Civilization*, p. 112.
[216] Anglin, 'Hamlet, Melancholy', 15-29 (p. 16).
[217] Anglin, 'Hamlet, Melancholy', 15-29 (pp. 15-16).
[218] Adams, 'Despotism', 5-16 (p. 5).

audience for whom Shakespeare wrote; and in his society 'it was possible [...] to allude to the hallucinations of the melancholic and be instantly understood'.[219] Hence, there could only be two possibilities in this regard: either Hamlet is genuinely suffering from this malady with its physiological, psychological and moralistic implications outlined in the literature of the day; or Hamlet is portrayed as a manipulative character who performs those symptoms down to the minutest details as a disguise or a self-protective political manoeuvre. In either case, Shakespeare's treatment of melancholy in *Hamlet* and in other plays originate from early modern literary and oral traditions in which the malady gained an axiomatic presence.

1.12. Conclusion

From the above discussion of early modern interpretation of melancholy, its causes and symptoms, and the representation of melancholy in *Hamlet, Macbeth, Othello* and *The Winter's Tale*, it can be concluded that the prevalent early modern concepts of this malady are significant to the works chosen for this study. Particularly, this malady is central to *Hamlet*, making the play a unique case in which Shakespeare synthesises almost all forms of early modern understanding of melancholy as this research has identified in this chapter. In this way, *Hamlet* provides an all-inclusive study of this malady and represents myriad instances of melancholy depicted elsewhere in Shakespeare.

Shakespeare's environment was charged with religious and political frenzy where religious and political victimisations, deaths and executions were common. Living in those times was full of risks, continuous worry, fear and sadness—factors that cause melancholy. As discussed, Shakespeare's own family members, the Catsbeys, who had connections with the Gunpowder Plot, were put on trial and Robert Catsbey's head was 'stuck on the roof of the House of Commons'; his Catholic teachers were persecuted and Thomas Cottam, his teacher John Cottam's brother, was executed.[220] His father John Shakespeare, 'undoubtedly a covert Catholic' and 'friends with William Catesby' the father of Robert Catesby, was on the list of those 'whom Lucy and the other Warwickshire officials were attempting to destroy' through a network of spies.[221] This also implies that political maladies could also be the result of an imbalance of humours because of the environmental phenomena as a society is simply made

[219] Roychoudhury, 'Melancholy', 205-30 (p. 210).
[220] UK Parliament, *Robert Catesby* (2020) <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/evolutionofparliament/parliamentaryauthority/the-gunpowder-plot-of-1605/overview/people-behind-the-plot/robert-catesby/> [accessed 07 June 2020].
[221] Mabillard, *Shakespeare and the Gunpowder Plot* [accessed 08 February 2018]; Greenblatt, *Will in the World*, p. 101.

up of human beings and their overall thought process and mood. This is only a minor portrayal of a bigger, but gruesome picture of Shakespeare's circumstances that, although, are not completely identical to those in which Hamlet or other protagonists in the selected plays are trapped in, yet strong enough to give him an idea of melancholy and its recognisable forms or symptoms that find their depiction in these plays, indicating the influence of the poet's environment in the portrayal of melancholy.

Moreover, such turbulent times were amplified by the effects of the Renaissance. Literature was available abundantly, either in Latin or in English translations, and experts like Timothie Bright were contributing to the awareness of their society. Along with the Renaissance literature from Europe, especially from Italy, Italian ways, as argued above, were also in fashion and melancholy was not only understood but performed with recognisable features.

With all that observed, Shakespeare's chosen works for this chapter carry 'melancholicke signes' as noted by Bright and other early modernists mentioned in this chapter that were well known to Shakespeare and his society in Galenic and Aristotelian traditions.[222] It has also been proved that Shakespeare's engagement with contemporary literature on melancholy and its social practices is very profound and the popular ideas of this malady are effectively and intricately woven into the fabric of the plays and exhibited through their incarnation into the characters. The popularity of the humoral theory in early modern England and its fascination for Shakespeare is fundamental to understanding his handling of melancholy. The same fascination underpins his dramatic treatment of jealousy as explored in the next chapter.

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[222] Bright, *Treatise*, pp. 270-71.

Chapter 2: Shakespeare's Treatment of Jealousy

This chapter focuses on Shakespeare's treatment of jealousy, in its specific early modern context, with special reference to *Othello* and *The Winter's Tale*, plays which reflect multivalent aspects of jealousy through the 'flamboyant' portrayal of Othello and Leontes and other characters.[1] Although the plots of *Othello* and *The Winter's Tale* revolve around the kind of jealousy that 'belongs to married men, in respect of their owne wiues', this is not the only form of jealousy that Shakespeare engages with in these plays. There are 'many other *Iealosies*', that have been overshadowed by the predominant criticism focusing upon sexual jealousy.[2] Therefore, along with a fresh approach to situate sexual jealousy as a marital disease in its social context, this research examines Shakespeare's treatment of other categories of jealousy which have been critically neglected.

Apart from its marital aspect, Shakespeare portrays other kinds and aspects of jealousy in these plays including: jealousy as a male disease with its monstrosity, bestiality and violence, interwoven with patriarchal and religious attitudes and mindset of the society; jealousy because of 'reputation and honour'; jealousy because of 'property or right' to claim the ownership over a woman; Moorish jealousy with its ethnic and geographical aspects; jealousy as a 'tyrant of the mind' with its power to incapacitate reason resulting in misinterpretations; '*Iealousie*' as 'a certaine signe of *Loue*' or a desired passion; jealousy as 'a mortall plauge' or an undesired passion; jealousy as a princely disease, a form that emerged out of Anglo-Islamic cultural exchange; professional jealousy; and female jealousy.[3] For this reason, Shakespeare's treatment of jealousy cannot be understood in isolation from the patriarchal, historical and cultural constructs of his society in which the plays were formulated.

With regard to jealousy as sexual or a marital disease, a distinction about the focus of this research needs to be made here. Shakespeare's approach to sexual jealousy, as argued in this research, is based on the pre-existing English understanding of this passion before Anglo-Moroccan interaction and its Moorish signs and attitudes in the wake of close political and economic ties between England and Moorish empires.

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[1] Bloom, *Shakespeare: The Invention*, p. 88.
[2] Burton, *Anatomy*, pp. 668, 663.
[3] Benedetto Varchi, *The Blazon of Iealousie*, trans. by R. T. Gentleman (London: Printed by T. S., 1615), pp. 21, 16; John Dryden, *Love Triumphant, Or, Nature Will Prevail A Tragi-Comedy as It Is Acted At The Theatre-Royal By Their Majesties Servants* (London, Printed for Jacob Tonson, 1694), p. 32; Coeffeteau, *A Table*, p. 175; Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 671.

The Anglo-Moorish conceptions of jealousy arose because of the overlap of English and Moorish cultures that affected English attitudes, along with other aspects of life, toward passions which is the focal point of this chapter. As a result, Leontes and Othello not only personify English and Moorish attitudes to jealousy, but they also represent its new shape—its Anglo-Moorish persona.

Moreover, the cultural effects of the Reformation and the Renaissance and the abundant availability of literature, both original and in translations, also inspired Shakespeare to portray jealousy with all its early modern character and complexity. Hence, examining jealousy from an early modern perspective against the political, religious and literary background means that jealousy, like melancholy and repentance, is properly understood as a passion that 'has a past' making it 'a proper topic for historical study'.[4] Therefore, this chapter explores jealousy from a contextual and historical perspective in *Othello* and *The Winter's Tale*. However, jealousy, in all its varieties in the early modern England of Shakespeare was a 'dangerous Disease', which was a '"monstrous" passion of 'extraordinary complexity'.[5]

2.1. 'Ah, What a Hell is Fretful Jealousy!': Jealousy in the Early Modern Period

Shakespeare and his society had access to a number of seminal works, English and European alike, on the topic of jealousy, which formulated a specific understanding of this passion, reflections of which are found in *Othello* and *The Winter's Tale*. These works included significant treatises, for example, Pierre de La Primaudaye's *The French Academie* (1586) and *The Second Part of The French Academie* (1594); Anonymous, *Tell-Trothes New-yeares Gift* (1593); Anonymous, *Fancies Ague-fittes, or Beauties Nettle-bed* (1599); Pierre Charron's *Of Wisdome: Three Bookes Written in French* (1608); Benedetto Varchi's *The Blazon of Iealousie* (1615); Robert Burton's *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621); Nicolas Coeffeteau's *A Table of Humane Passions* (1621); Anonymous, *The Jealous Old Dotard: or, The Discovery of Cuckoldry a Pleasant New Song* (1680) and John Dryden's *Love Triumphant* (1694). All these works encompass the prevailing concepts of the malady and explore the passion of jealousy as a disease from a humoral perspective. The ground-breaking treatises by Varchi and

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[4] Peter Stearns, 'Jealousy in Western History from Past Toward Present', in *Handbook of Jealousy: Theory, Research, and Multidisciplinary Approaches*, ed. by Sybil Hart and Maria Legerstee (Blackwell: Wiley, 2010), pp. 7-26 (p. 7).
[5] Varchi, p. 34; Stearns, 'Jealousy in Western History', pp. 7-26 (p. 7); Peter Goldie, *The Emotions: A Philosophical Exploration* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 220.

subsequently Burton not only inspired contemporary writers, but they also influenced all subsequent works on the passion of jealousy.

Of Shakespeare's European contemporaries, Miguel de Cervantes closely engaged with this passion as 'jealousy plays an important role in Cervantes's novels and novellas'.[6] In this regard, his novella entitled *The Jealous Old Man from Extremadura* (1613) is the 'most intense examination of the jealous husband', which also depicts Jews, Moors and the racial purification of his country.[7] Shakespeare's *Othello* resonates with Cervantes's ideas, particularly with racial prejudices against the Moors as portrayed in the character of Othello, an outsider in a Venetian setting. Apart from Cervantes, Lope de Vega and Luis de Góngora were two other renowned Hispanic writers who also explored the theme of jealousy. According to Steven Wagschal, 'Cervantes's foremost literary rival, Félix Lope de Vega, composed six dramas that contain the word jealousy in the title. Scores more treat plots of love and intrigue in which people suffer or are motivated to kill'.[8] The consonance between Shakespeare, Cervantes and other authors points towards the wider European cultural context from which Shakespeare drew inspiration for his dramatic art. Nonetheless, at the same time, Shakespeare was also 'content to improvise a part of his own within its orthodoxy'.[9]

Shakespeare's handling of jealousy from both geographical and ethnographic perspectives owes mainly to two extremely important works: Leo Africanus's *A Geographical Historie of Africa, Written in Arabicke and Italian* (1600) and Richard Knolles's *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603). These two works exert a great degree of influence on Shakespeare because there are striking parallels between these accounts and the portrayal of jealousy, especially from its Moorish perspective in *Othello*. Discussing depiction of the peoples and cultures on European and New World maps in the Renaissance, Surekha Davies, in her cartographic study, argues that 'the peoples of Asia and Africa did not receive the same iconographic attention, innovation or geographical specificity on Renaissance maps' as did the people of the Atlantic world.[10] As a result, Africanus's and Knolles's textual works filled in the gap to compensate for the iconographic representation of the Moors and the Turks. Consequently, for Shakespeare and his society, Africanus's and Knolles's treatises, along with

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[6] Wagschal, *Literature of Jealousy*, p. 1.
[7] Wagschal, *Literature of Jealousy*, p. 98.
[8] Wagschal, *Literature of Jealousy*, p. 1.
[9] Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), p. 253.
[10] Surekha Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human: New Worlds, Maps and Monsters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), p. 18.

similar such literature, represented the Moors and the Turks in the same way maps and the 'picturing of peoples and cultures' represented the Americans and the Europeans in the iconographic study in the Renaissance.[11]

From a humoral perspective, jealousy or the '*iealous humour*' was known as a 'furious passion', as it is sometimes called by characters in both *Othello* and *The Winter's Tale,* and a 'sore vexation, a most intollerable burden, a frenzie, a madnesse it selfe'.[12] Dissecting different human emotions, Burton comes to the conclusion that out of all human passions, 'Loue is most violent' and 'of all those bitter potions […] Iealosie is the greatest', which is nothing but 'a bitter paine, a fire, madnesse, plague, hell'.[13] Jealousy, due to its association with melancholy, was also known as a 'blacke Curse', 'Death, and Hell to Loue' as well as 'a bastard branch or kinde of Loue-melancholy'.[14] The close relationship between jealousy and melancholy was so strong that Burton concludes that 'melancholy men are apt to be iealous, and iealous, apt to be melancholy'.[15] The author of *The Passionate Morrice* (1593) argues that 'Loues most iniurious enemie [is] Ielousie' and considers it as 'the chiefe procurer of greatest miserie'.[16] These concepts are very closely portrayed in *Othello* and *The Winter's Tale* in which both the protagonists' jealousy, for various reasons, results in catastrophic events and brings misfortune to other characters. In line with the early modern nature of jealousy, Shakespeare highlights that this disease was 'a combination of the two primary "appetites", concupiscence and irascibility' as evident in Othello and Leontes.[17]

Having examined the particularly melancholic aspects of jealousy in Chapter 1, this chapter will focus on other kinds and aspects of this passion. In all its forms jealousy, as per its contemporary definitions, was a mortal flaw or imperfection in a man in particular. As most definitions of jealousy of the period applied to men only, this notion of jealousy as a masculine flaw was also shared by Shakespeare and his fellow playwright Ben Jonson. According to Katharine Maus, 'Shakespeare and Jonson perhaps most insistently, connect sexual jealousy with a flaw in masculine self-knowledge or with its loss'.[18] In this connection, the anonymous author of *Fancies Ague-fittes* says that 'when a man is Iealous without a cause […] it is a verie

[11] Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography,* p. xix.
[12] Burton, *Anatomy*, pp. 665, 662, 669.
[13] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 681.
[14] Varchi, A3^{v}, p. 41; Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 662.
[15] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 671.
[16] *The Passionate Morrice* (London: Imprinted by Richard Jones, 1593), A2^{r}, I4^{r}.
[17] Maus, 'Horns of Dilemma', 561-583 (p. 563).
[18] Maus, 'Horns of Dilemma', 561-583 (p. 570).

great blemish to him'.[19] Such a blemish was a kind of tragic flaw in a man as is introduced by Shakespeare in Othello and Leontes in this specific case. In *Natvral and Morall Questions and Answers,* another famous work of the period, the author points out that 'louing too much turneth' to 'Ielousie' which he calls 'mortall hatred'.[20] Othello and Leontes incarnate this early modern concept of jealousy. Othello's passionate love for Desdemona turns into a 'mortall hatred' because of his jealousy and he not only kills her but ends his own life. On the other hand, although Leontes does not kill his wife or is directly involved in any murder, his monstrous jealousy results in the deaths of his own son and Antigonus; whereas, he loses the company of his wife and his friend for many years. Thus, both characters go through different stages of jealousy, a kind of transformation as propounded by Burton. Jealous people, if they are not 'relieued, proceed from suspition to hatred, from hatred to frensie, madnesse, iniury, murder, and despaire'.[21] From a mere suspicion to such monstrosity that ends in homicide and suicide is a stage-by-stage transformation that is consonant with the stages of jealousy of Othello and Leontes.

In Shakespeare's masculinist society, jealousy had patriarchal connotations and its victim was the man tied in the bond of marriage suffering from sexual jealousy. Therefore, jealousy or rather 'sexual jealousy is typically the weakness and prerogative of the male'.[22] In the case of Othello and Leontes, it is men who are suffering from an intense form of jealousy that 'conuert[s] marriage into a most miserable and wretched estate' only because of their unfounded suspicion.[23]

> Jealousy in the early seventeenth century, though linked to sexual heat and to melancholy, was understood primarily as a state of paranoid suspicion.[24]

In *Othello* and *The Winter's Tale*, Shakespeare presents jealousy as a male disease, as discussed in detail later in the chapter, with Othello and Leontes as the main sufferers; however, it is the women (Desdemona, Hermione and Perdita) who have to pay the real price because of their

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[19] *Fancies Ague-fittes, or Beauties Nettle-bed* (London: G. Simson, 1599), H1^{v}.
[20] A.P., *Natvral and Morall Questions and Answers* (London, Printed by Adam Islip, 1598), Diiii^{v}.
[21] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 687.
[22] Maus, 'Horns of Dilemma', 561-583 (pp. 563-564).
[23] Robert Cleaver, *A Godlie Forme of Householde Gouernment* (London: Printed by Felix Kingston, 1598), p. 186.
[24] Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity*, p. 132.

low status in society dominated by men. Therefore, 'women are sufficiently curbed in such cases, the rage of men is more eminent, and more frequently put in practise', particularly when jealousy overpowers men.[25] As women were considered 'fraile and easie to fall', a 'perpetual masculine anxiety displayed in sexual jealousy' remained a constant feature of early modern society.[26] Consequently, due to this pervasiveness of jealousy, it was also a popular idea in the theatrical world of London:

> Sexual jealousy fascinates English Renaissance playwrights not only because it is a psychologically and socially interesting phenomenon, but because the dynamic of sexual jealousy provides a complex analogy to theatrical performance and response in a culture that tends to conceive of theatrical experience in erotic terms, and of certain sexual impulses as highly theatrical in character.[27]

Shakespeare's fascination with the idea of portraying jealous characters on the stage and exploring various aspects of the passion of jealousy in his plays *Othello* and *The Winter's Tale* is now examined via close analysis of these plays.

2.2. 'The Green-Eyed Monster': Shakespeare's Treatment of Jealousy in *Othello* and *The Winter's Tale*

According to prevalent attitudes, monstrosity and male jealousy, in all its forms and manifestations, were synonymous. On the other hand, although female jealousy was '*heauier then death*' to suffer in silence, it lacked the element of monstrosity.[28] Therefore, monstrosity was a characteristic of male jealousy in particular because it was 'A hell tormenting feare', 'deadly poyson fedde' 'a vertue drowning flood', 'A hellish fire, not quenched but with blood' and these traits were '*ferall vices*' which Burton calls the '*monsters of the minde*'.[29] As a humoral disease, it was known to be a strong passion capable of drying up bodily spirits; however, the monstrosity of this disease owes chiefly to secular attitudes—in the form of prevalent patriarchy—and religious teachings, defining male and female status. Thus, jealousy,

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[25] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 684.
[26] *Fancies*, H2^{v}; Breitenberg, 'Anxious Masculinity', 337-398, (p. 394).
[27] Maus, 'Horns of Dilemma', 561-583 (p. 563).
[28] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 669.
[29] Burton, *Anatomy*, pp. 671, 55.

like most early modern passions, also has both secular and religious connotations attached to it, which are examined in conjunction with its humoral aspects.

One of the reasons for the monstrosity of jealousy was because of male anxiety about the sexuality of the wife. This anxiety stemmed from the extensive dissemination of conduct literature painting women as wicked and diabolical creatures, capable of deceiving their husbands, like 'the deuill' who can transform into an 'Angell of Light' and as a commodity owned by the man who was her lord, master and owner.[30] These concepts, in conjunction with the religious emphasis on woman's 'Christian modesty', chastity and virtuousness made her vulnerable to inequality at the hands of men and rendered monstrosity to a husband's jealousy in case of any deviation from these accepted concepts of virtuousness.[31] These attitudes are tied into the fabric of *Othello* and *The Winter's Tale* since, as Coppelia Kahn has argued, Shakespeare understood 'masculine anxiety about the uses of patriarchal power over women, specifically about men's control over women's sexuality, which arises from this disparity between men's social dominance and their peculiar emotional vulnerability to women'.[32] Both Othello and Leontes are anxious to the point of madness about the sexuality of their wives that leads to all the subsequent tragic incidents in the plays. However, this anxiety is not abrupt. Their thought process, regarding their wives, is underlined with the notions of women's wickedness and men's obsession with wives' chastity, pervasive during the period. With such a mindset, suspicion is easy to insinuate into men's mind, which, according to Varchi, is the starting point of male anxiety about the sexuality of their wives culminating in the monstrosity of jealousy:

> IEALOVSIE is a certaine suspition which the Louer hath, of the party he chiefely loueth, least she should be enamoured of another […] IEALOVSIE is a fearefull and timerous suspicion or Doubt in the Louer, least the Woman whom hee affecteth, and whom hee would not

[30] Alexander Niccholes, *A Discourse, of Marriage And Wiving: And The Greatest Mystery Therein Contained: How To Choose A Good Wife From A Bad* (London: Printed by N[icholas] O[kes], 1615), p. 8; See also: *A Mirrhor Mete for All Mothers, Matrones, and Maidens, Intituled the Mirrhor of Modestie* (1579); *A Godlie Forme of Householde Gouernment* (1598); *The Court of Good Counsell* (1607); *The Araignment of Leuud, Idle, Froward, and Vnconstant Women* (1615).
[31] Lisa Jardine, *Still Harping on Daughters: Women and Drama in the Age of Shakespeare,* 2nd edn (London: Harvester Press, 1983), p. 37.
[32] Coppelia Kahn, *Man's Estate: Masculine Identity in Shakespeare* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), p. 12.

> haue to be common with any other man, should lend her body vnto another.[33]

Women's image as wicked and diabolical creatures is also compared to a sea of evils in the Renaissance conduct literature that finds its representation in *Othello*. According to Alexander Niccholes, 'a wicked woman is a sea of euils, and in her tyde more full then that element of monsters'.[34] In *Othello*, the uneasy sea 'with high and monstrous mane' (*Othello*: II.1.13) in a 'high-wrought flood' (*Othello*: II.1.2) upon which Othello travels to Cyprus is a symbolic representation of a wicked woman, for whom Othello will be trapped into 'the tempest of iealousie' ('violent tempest', *Othello*: II.1.35), thus foreshadowing multiple deaths at the end of the play.[35] Keeping in view Othello's Moorish background, Shakespeare also foretells his death owing to his jealousy as 'The desperate tempest hath so banged the Turks / That their designment halts' (*Othello*: II.1.21-22) because 'The Moor himself [is] at sea' (*Othello*: II.1.29). As a wicked woman was a sea of evil and jealousy was a monstrous tempest for Shakespeare's society, Montano's apprehensions also predict Othello's fatal end:

> **MONTANO** A fuller blast ne'er shook our battlements.
> If it hath ruffianed so upon the sea,
> What ribs of oak, when mountains melt on them,
> Can hold the mortise? (*Othello*: II.1.6-9)

Although Desdemona is chaste, hence not the sea of evil, yet it is Iago who, metaphorically, portrays her as a sea of evil, travelling upon which Othello is unable to hold his 'mortise'. Shakespeare, in this way, 'has linked female sexuality to one of the most fearful (and in another sense, unknowable) elements of the Renaissance imagination—death and loss at sea'.[36]

The idea of female wickedness led the man to fear that an evil and wicked woman could deceive him in a surreptitious and indiscernible way. Othello reflects this anxiety, dominant in Shakespeare's society, for it was a very difficult task to, first, judge a woman whether she was unfaithful and, secondly, if she really was, to stop her from engaging in an extra-marital

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[33] Varchi, *The Blazon*, pp. 11-12.
[34] Niccholes, *A Discourse, of Marriage*, p. 5.
[35] Charron, *Of Wisdome*, p. 175.
[36] Niccholes, *A Discourse, of Marriage*, p. 5; Breitenberg, 'Anxious Masculinity', 337-398, (p. 393).

relationship. About this thought process of the Elizabethan man, the author of *Tell-Trothes New-yeares Gift* says:

> If she meanes to deceiue thee, her invention is hard to be prevented, for, watch her never so narrowly, she will finde a time to performe her knavery. The siliest creatures are sildome catcht in ordinary trappes: and can women want wit to frustrate a common stale? If it were possible to know their thoughts, it were likely their practices might be hindered; but as long as secreta mihi reignes, the rains of their liberty are at their own pleasures.[37]

Othello is not sure whether Desdemona has been unfaithful or not, therefore he asks Iago for proof and tells him that 'I'll see before I doubt […] And on the proof, there is no more but this: / Away at once with love or jealousy' (*Othello*: III.3.186-88). At this point, Iago devises the napkin episode to provide the Moor with a proof and decides that he will 'in Cassio's lodging lose this napkin, / And let him find it' (*Othello*: III.3.315-16) and will make Othello see it in Cassio's hands. However, Iago, according to the prevailing early modern concepts regarding the credulous nature of Moors discussed later in the chapter, knows that even before seeing the actual proof the Moor will succumb to jealousy. According to Iago, 'Trifles light as air / Are to the jealous confirmations strong / As proofs of holy writ' (*Othello*: III.3.316-18). As the events unfold, Iago proves to be right and his 'trifles' create an emotional cyclone in Othello, living in a culture that warned men of a woman's character and her 'meanes to deceiue' her husband. Once Iago manipulates Othello so as to believe that Desdemona is unchaste, it is easy for him to create jealousy in his heart, with which he wants to destroy him, because 'If a husband haue suspition of his wife, that her gouernment is not good or agreeable to his liking, he is sayde to be iealous'.[38] Othello's development of jealousy is indicated thus:

> **OTHELLO** O curse of marriage,
> That we can call these delicate creatures ours,
> And not their appetites! (*Othello*: III.3.262-64)

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[37] *Tell-Trothes New-yeares Gift* (London: Robert Bourne, 1593), E4^{r}.
[38] *Fancies*, G6^{r}.

Othello's feelings at this particular point in the play demonstrate striking consonance with Varchi's work and his regret appears to be 'this mournfull and mestfull Elegie

> My Wench is gone and stollen away,
> Whom I did loue so deare,
> And art my Friend, and yet forbidst,
> That I from teares forbeare?'[39]

As predicted by Iago, Othello concludes, even before seeing the 'ocular proof' (*Othello*: III.3.354), that his wife is 'stollen away' and hence his marriage is a curse. Othello's hasty conclusion about Desdemona, who is innocent, also reflects the deep impact of the Renaissance conduct literature that nourished doubts in the mind of men by painting women as wicked and diabolical creatures, capable of deceiving their husbands secretly. As jealous people start seeing things wearing 'rose-colored glasses' and their 'emotional states color' the 'perception of [the] world', they believe that they cannot control the 'appetites' of these 'delicate creatures' or discern whether their appetites exist for their husbands or for their lovers.[40] Othello finds himself in the same dilemma when he concludes that his marriage is a curse that results in subsequent 'marital violence'.[41] His perception changes and the honey of married life is destroyed, as is noted by Charron:

> It is likewise the Gaule that corrupteth all the Hony of our life: it is commonly mingled with the sweetest and pleasantst actions, which it maketh so sharpe and sower as nothing more: it changeth loue into hate, respect into disdaine, assurance into diffidence.[42]

The aforesaid cultural attitudes generated by male anxiety about female sexuality, portrayed in *Othello* and *The Winter's Tale*, are summarised by Niccholes in his book *A Discourse, of Marriage and Wiuing* (1615). Niccholes didactically advises men on how to choose a good wife in Chapter IIII [sic], titled: *How to Choose a Good Wife from a Bad* in these maritime terms:

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[39] Varchi, *The Blazon*, p. 18.
[40] Gerald Clore, 'Why Emotions Are Felt', in *The Nature of Emotion: Fundamental Questions,* ed. by Paul Ekman and Richard J. Davidson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 103-111 (p. 105).
[41] Millicent Bell, 'Othello's Jealousy', *The Yale Review*, 85 (1997), 120-136 (p. 122).
[42] Charron, *Of Wisdome*, p. 92.

> THis vndertaking is a matter of some difficulty, for good wiues are many times so like vnto bad, that they are hardly discerned betwixt, they could not otherwise deceiue so many as they do, for the deuill can transforme himselfe into an Angell of Light, the better to draw others into the chaines of darkenesse, so these, his creatures, themselues into the shape of honesty, the better to intangle others in the bonds of repentance: If therefore the yoke of marriage be of such perpetuity, and lasting euen *Vsque ad naecem,* and the ioyes or grieuance thereon depending of equall continuance therwith, either to make a short heauen or hell in this world, is not therefore to bee vndergone but vpon the duest regard, & most aduised consideration that may be, and because it is such a sea, wherein so many shipwracke for want of better knowledge and aduise vpon a Rock, that tooke not better counsel.[43]

With such a diabolical representation of the woman in the conduct literature, marriage, in Othello's opinion, is a curse or a 'shipwracke' as per its contemporary definition. In a patriarchal setup, a man would feel more devastated by the idea of being deceived by his wife whom he considered inferior to him in social status. Such a thought created the intensity of male sexual anxiety and, hence, monstrosity of jealousy. Although Desdemona is not unfaithful, Othello wrongly considers that she is a devil transformed into an 'Angell of Light'. His fear and anxiety originate from the fear of a wicked deceiving wife that not only prevailed in Shakespeare's society, but also 'pervades the drama of the English Renaissance' as evident in *Othello* and *The Winter's Tale*.[44] Moreover, the sea imagery above reflects the idea that finding a good wife is like cruising on a sea where lack of knowledge may result in imminent destruction. This concept is represented in *Othello* in which the protagonist journeys through a troubled sea and then the shipwreck [murder and suicide] happens at the end of the play, owing to Othello's lack of knowledge, regarding Desdemona's faithfulness and Iago's deceitful counsel.

Another reason for the monstrosity of jealousy in early modern England was the stark contrast between the social status of men and women. Both patriarchy and religion are

[43] Niccholes, *A Discourse, of Marriage*, pp. 8-9.
[44] Maus, 'Horns of Dilemma', 561-583 (p. 561).

responsible for this monstrous contradiction between the role of both genders as outlined in the literature of the day. From a patriarchal perspective, the man was raised to the position of lord over the woman, demanding complete submission and passivity.

> For they say, that the man beeing the head of his wife as much to say, as Lord ouer her, she standeth the more obliged in keeping of her fayth and loyalty: If then she fall to violate that strict bond, so much the more shame and damagement dooth the man sustayne in his goodes.[45]

The author appreciates that being faithful and loyal is imperative in the 'strict bond' of marriage. However, he also emphasises that it is mainly the woman's obligation in order to protect the good reputation of her husband. Such instructions were further strengthened by religionising them and then imposing them on the woman in order to avoid any challenge to the contemporary masculine attitudes:

> As the Church is in subiection to Christ, euen so *(saith the Scripture)* let the wiues be to their husbands in euery thing. For the husband is the wiues head, euen as Christ is the head of the Church.[46]

As a consequence of the man's privileged status, he was considered to be the judge of his wife's conduct; and acted as an executioner if his wife was guilty of unfaithfulness or even suspicious of any disgraceful undertaking, as is portrayed in *Othello* and *The Winter's Tale*. Contrary to the man's position, the woman was expected to be obedient, 'meeke, quiet, submissiue' in order to be accepted as a faithful and loyal wife.[47] Furthermore, she was advised that 'a woman must take heede, that she giue not men occasion to thinke hardly of her, ryther by her Deedes, Words, Lookes or Apparell'.[48] In early modern society, these four aspects of the woman's behaviour reflected her conduct and were considered as 'texts' which men needed to read, so that women were 'to be "correctly" interpreted by men'.[49]

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[45] *Fancies*, G7^{v}.
[46] Pierre de La Primaudaye, *The French Academie* (London: By Edmund Bollifant, 1586), p. 512.
[47] William Watley, *A Bride-Bush: or A Direction for Married Persons* (London: By William Iaggard, for Nicholas Bourne1617), p. 38.
[48] *Court of Good Counsell*, D3^{r}.
[49] Breitenberg, 'Anxious Masculinity', 337-398, (pp. 392, 389).

Desdemona desperately tries not to provide any opportunity for Othello to 'thinke hardly of her' after the Moor demonstrates signs of jealousy in his behaviour. Additionally, the woman was instructed to stand in awe of her husband, the lord and a Christ like figure as argued above, and use 'milde speech' while talking to him and 'if he chide she must hold her peace' because 'the answere of a wise woman is silence'.[50] Not only this, if her husband, the Lord, was angry with her, 'she must ouercome him by humilitie'.[51] Desdemona and Hermione follow this advice throughout to reconcile their jealous husbands. In such an environment, it was the man's prerogative to demand submission, obedience, humility and loyalty in his wife. Any deviation from this established standard, particularly in terms of extramarital affairs, resulted in the monstrosity of jealousy and extreme rage.

Although 'extra marital sexual activity of whatever kind was in social theory abhorred as hateful to God' and 'subject to legal penalty', this applied only to the early modern woman.[52] On the other hand, the man had freedom in this regard:

> A man is the head and Lord of the woman, therefore she hath no power at all ouer him, and so consequently it is lawfull for him, without any contradiction to abandon her and giue himselfe to all voluptuous pleasures.[53]

The idea of male 'voluptuous pleasures' juxtaposed with forceful emphasis on female chastity, outlined in conduct literature and religious tenets, created a 'double standard for sexual behaviour' in which 'men are expected to have extensive sexual experience; whereas in women' it was 'dishonest'.[54] It is for this reason that 'fornication and adultery were more seriously regarded in the female than in the male' because in the period 'sexual reputation was more central to the female persona'.[55] Therefore, patriarchal, religious and legal principles, directly or indirectly, nourished the man's pride and honour and his expectations to faithfulness, loyalty and chastity irrespective of his own voluptuousness. From raising a man to the status of a lord first and then equating him with Christ, the woman was emphatically

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[50] Joseph Swetnam, *The Araignment of Leuud, Idle, Froward, and Vnconstant Women* (London: George Purslowe, 1615), p. 55.
[51] *Court of Good Counsell*, E1^{v}.
[52] Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 125.
[53] *Fancies*, G7^{r}.
[54] Jardine, *Still Harping*, p. 130.
[55] Ingram, *Church Courts*, p. 302.

advised to be obliged to her lord. Any action by the woman that brought shame and disgrace to the man was nothing less than high treason and heresy and both these violations were treated with atrocious ruthlessness in Shakespeare's England, a microcosmic reflection of that is found in *Othello* and *The Winter's Tale.*

Shakespeare's acceptance of jealousy as a monster finds an emphatic echo, especially in *Othello*. When the 'complex genius of Iago' tries to trap Othello using cleverly woven suggestions regarding unfaithfulness of Desdemona, he associates some more features to the monster of jealousy.[56] Iago warns the Moor thus:

> **IAGO** O, beware, my lord, of jealousy.
> It is the green-eyed monster which doth mock
> The meat it feeds on. (*Othello*: III.3.161-63)

Calling jealousy a 'green-eyed monster' is significant and this is not the first time Shakespeare associates the colour green with jealousy. In *The Merchant of Venice,* Shakespeare uses the term 'green-eyed jealousy' (*Merchant*: III.2.110), thus becoming the first person to assign the colour green to the monster of jealousy. Moreover, 'envy also is associated with the color green in English cultures' and 'the expression that a person is "green with envy"' is well-known, which has its origins in ancient Greece as Ovid also used it in the sense of 'undried, unburnt, unfired' suggesting its freshness.[57] Apart from envy, malice has also been associated with the colour green in early modern literature as Thomas Wright mentiones 'greene in mallice' in his discussion of passions.[58] More importantly than assigning 'green' colour to passions, Wright describes its significance in terms of a changed perception:

> The imagination putteth greene spectacles before the eyes of our witte, to make it see nothing but greene, that is, serving for the consideration of the Passion […] because a clowdy imagination interposeth a miste.[59]

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[56] Bloom, *Shakespeare: The Invention*, p. 71.
[57] Robert Creo, 'Green: The Color of Money, and the Color of Envy', Alternatives *to the High Cost of Litigation*, 36.6 (2018), 89-91 (p.89); *OED*, see entry for 'green *adj*. and *n*.1'.
[58] Wright, *Passions of the Minde*, p. 96.
[59] Wright, *Passions of the Minde*, pp. 51-52.

Thus, the colour green, from a contextual perspective, represents diseased opinion of a jealous person in this case as is clear from its representation in the plays. Long before Shakespeare, green had been used in England 'of the complexion' as being a symptom of 'ill humour', with a 'greenish discoloration of the skin' which rightly resonates with the humoral theory in which the excess of yellow bile represents choleric humour that renders the skin a greenish-yellow tinge.[60] Choleric humoral disorder creates excessive aggression and anger. From a modern perspective, green is 'a color associated with youth and hence with rashness'.[61] Green also represents freshness which may imply that Iago means that jealousy keeps the passions of anger, hatred, and aggression fresh in the heart of the victim as it keeps feeding on 'the meat', referring to a jealous person's heart because 'it is not external object but an internal state of being'.[62]

Emilia similarly refers to jealousy as monstrous suggesting the popular understanding of jealousy in early modern period.

> **EMILIA** But jealous souls will not be answered so;
> They are not ever jealous for the cause,
> But jealous for they're jealous. It is a monster
> Begot upon itself, born on itself. (*Othello*: III.4.148-151)

This is when Desdemona confesses to Emilia that she never gave Othello any cause to be jealous ('Alas the day, I never gave him cause', III.4.147). Upon this confession, Emilia tells her that jealousy is a monster which does not need any cause to be born. Emilia's lines reflect Shakespeare's close familiarity with Varchi's seminal work *The Blazon of Iealousie* in which the author addresses jealousy [care] thus: 'Care, thou that nourishest thy selfe', which seems an imitation of 'monster begot upon itself'.[63] Moreover, there are two very subtle points implied in Emilia's lines. Firstly, she knows that Othello's jealousy has no cause, no reason and it 'Begot upon itself' as Othello is merely a victim of a 'jealous toy concerning' (*Othello*: III.4.146) Desdemona, who, according to Emilia's judgment, is innocent. Iago's jealousy of the Moor and Cassio is also without any reason, as some Shakespearean critics believe. Secondly, both Emilia and Iago, being husband and wife, believe that jealousy is a monster. Even

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[60] *OED,* see entry for *'*green *adj.* and *n.1'.*
[61] Bruce Smith, 'Hearing Green?', in *Reading the Early Modern Passions*, ed. by Paster, Rowe and Floyd-Wilson, pp. 147-168 (pp. 149-150).
[62] Smith, 'Hearing Green?', 147-168 (p. 150).
[63] Varchi, *The Blazon*, p. 10.

Desdemona, in her prayer 'Heaven keep the monster from Othello's mind' (*Othello*: III.4.152) acknowledges the monstrous aspect of jealousy. Shakespeare, in this way, depicts a widespread awareness of jealousy among households as a monster at the time.

Another kind of jealousy originates form the man's attachment to 'honour', 'his authoritie and reputation' that was strongly associated with the virtuous conduct of his wife.[64] This attitude was the result of longstanding patriarchy, whose roots could be traced back 'to the "shame cultures" that precede it' in which behaviour was controlled by 'concepts of pride and honour'.[65] Therefore, 'jealousy, in the Middle Ages or in early modern Europe, could of course mean an emotion attached to love' but it was also 'an emotion spurred in defence of power or honor'.[66] As a result of these cultural attitudes, in which pride and honour ruled human behaviour, most men were anxious about their wives' dishonesty that could bring them 'great shame and infamy' which lead them to 'mistrust their wiues behauiour'.[67] Therefore, the early modern man believed that 'a dishonest woman cannot be kept in' under observation as well as in marital bond.[68] When Cassio mourns for the loss of his reputation ('Reputation, reputation, reputation! O, I have lost my reputation', *Othello*: II.3.241) for a completely different reason, Shakespeare emphasises that for the early modern man, reputation was 'the immortal part' (*Othello*: II.3.242) of his being. For his honour, Othello is ready to kill a woman about whom he says 'excellent wretch! [...] I do love thee' (*Othello*: III.3.89-90) and his confession 'For nought I did in hate, but all in honour' (*Othello*: V.2.291) attaches significant importance to the perception of honour in which 'no other people can goe beyonde' the Moors.[69] This also confirms that Othello's monstrous jealousy is more the result of his strong and stereotypical perception of honour than because of his sexual anxiety.

In *The Winter's Tale*, Leontes's jealousy emanates when, in his opinion, his honour and reputation of his royal persona is destroyed by his wife's involvement with Polixenes. He desires that 'she were gone, / Given to the fire, a moiety of my rest / Might come to me again' (*TWT*: II.3.7-8), which may recompense his lost honour. With regards to Perdita, his new-born baby, he is anxious that 'this bastard kneel / And call me father?' (*TWT*: II.3.153-54) which

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64 Varchi, *The Blazon*, p. 16; Cleaver, *A Godlie Forme*, p. 186.
65 Breitenberg, 'Anxious Masculinity', 337-398, (p. 389); Hugh Lloyd-Jones, *The Justice of Zeus* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1983), p. 26.
66 Stearns, 'Jealousy in Western History', pp. 7-26 (p. 9).
67 *Court of Good Counsell*, C2^v.
68 *Court of Good Counsell*, C3^r.
69 Leo Africanus, *A Geographical Historie of Africa, Written in Arabicke and Italian*, trans. by Iohn Pory (London: Printed by Eliot's Court Press, impensis Georg. Bishop, 1600), p. 40.

would be a disgrace to his royal image in the future. To protect his honour and to avoid disgrace in the future, he commands Antigonus to 'bear it / To some remote and desert place' (*TWT*: II.3.173-74).

Apart from Hermione, Leontes also considers Polixenes, his royal friend, responsible for bringing him disgrace and dishonour. Polixenes is also aware of this when he says:

> **POLIXENES** As he does conceive
> He is dishonoured by a man which ever
> Professed to him, why, his revenges must
> In that be made more bitter. (*TWT*: I.2.452-55)

As the man's honour and reputation were closely associated with chastity, Shakespeare's patriarchal society valued it highly.

> *THE greatest ioy, and* sweetest comfort, that a man may haue in this worlde, is a louing, kinde, and honest wife: Contrariwise, there is no greater plaque, nor torment to his minde then to be matched with an vntoward, wicked, and dishonest Woman.[70]

Even if a woman were falsely accused of being unchaste, despite her acquittal, she would lose her good reputation and such a woman was disowned by her husband. This was because of the 'tightened regulation of morality' in which 'notions of honor that moral regulation tended to advantage men over women'; and if women 'approached the courts for protection against seducers, they were now more likely to be condemned for fornication. Penalties for adultery were harsher for women'.[71] Desdemona and Hermione represent these ideas as well. The early modern concept was that 'a woman of suspected chastity liueth but in a miserable case, for there is but small difference by being naught, and being thought naught'.[72] Shakespeare encapsulates this belief in these words:

> **OTHELLO** I had been happy if the general camp,
> Pioneers and all, had tasted her sweet body,

[70] *Court of Good Counsell*, B1r.
[71] Reddy, 'Historical Research', 302-15 (p. 305).
[72] Swetnam, *The Araignment*, p. 54.

So I had nothing known. (*Othello*: III.3.339-41)

In these ironical remarks, Othello does not mean that he would have been happier if all the army men would have tasted her 'sweet body', but he yearns for ignorance in this regard because honour as well as the perception of honour matter. In Othello's opinion, the knowledge that Desdemona is not chaste is shared by Iago, Emilia and Cassio, and hence, it is a challenge to his honour. Therefore, as an archetypal representation of early modern patriarchy, he is unable to bear this intolerable disgrace and wishes that he were ignorant in these matters.

When Iago persuades Othello that Desdemona is unchaste, the Moor is not ready to forgive her for bringing him shame and tarnishing his honour, for 'Honors are but the torches of enuie, iealousie' in this period.[73] Forgiveness in adultery cases was a very rare phenomenon.

> God is more readie to pardon and forgiue a sin, then man is, he forgets (withall) a sinne so soone as he hath pardoned it, but a man dooth continually remember it, in regard that honour is like to a glasse, which beeing once broken can neuer be made whole agayne.[74]

Othello's honour is like a broken glass which cannot be made whole again as the author of *Fancies Auge-fittes* observes, therefore he entertains no possibility of forgiveness, and his monstrosity is conspicuous especially because it is Michael Cassio, his subordinate and a long-time acquaintance, with whom Desdemona is said to be involved. Similarly, Leontes's royal persona values honour and reputation more emphatically and before he is enlightened with the truth, his unforgiving behaviour destroys Hermione's good reputation and tragic incidents follow, as this chapter will later discuss.

The degree of importance attached to chastity and virtue can be understood from the fact that Elizabethans believed that 'a vertuous woman is a hauen of beauty' as opposed to a wicked woman or a sea of evil.[75] In *Othello* and *The Winter's Tale,* both Othello and Leontes suffer from the pangs of jealousy and lament the lack of the heavenly quality of chastity, a false belief deriving from their diseased opinions.

[73] Charron, *Of Wisdome*, p. 518.
[74] *Fancies*, H8v.
[75] Niccholes, *A Discourse, of Marriage*, p. 5.

Another aspect of jealousy that resulted in the monstrosity of this passion was the concept of ownership. Rebecca Olson argues that 'the discourses of early modern jealousy depended on the institution of private property, and often aligned women with objects, property, or commodities'.[76] The woman was divided, as a commodity, into three categories in early modern discourses in England: 'the delight of mankind', 'laudable' and 'the dregges and scumme […] of woman kinde', whereas there was no such classification for men.[77] If the early modern man believed that his wife, upon whom he had a 'Clayme, which one challengeth to any thing as his owne' and 'wherein no other can (truely) demand any share or part' is a 'scumme', his jealousy was inevitable as in the case of Othello and Leontes who believe, owing to their jealousy, that someone else has a share in what is owned by them.[78] Peter Stearns, discussing the contextual perspective of jealousy in Western history, elaborates that 'jealousy […] may conjure up emotions such as sadness (loss), anger (betrayal), fear / anxiety (loneliness)' in a situation that Othello finds himself in because in early modern patriarchal society, losing a partner who was regarded as husband's property or at least a claim to have 'some kind of entitlement over another person' triggered monstrous passions of jealousy.[79]

> IEALOVSIE springeth from the Propertie or Right that wee haue, when we (enioying our Lady or Mistresse) would haue her soly and wholy vnto our selues […] that another man should haue any part or interest in her, any way, or at any time.[80]

Losing one's property, or wife in this context, leads to the concept of cuckoldry or fear of sexual betrayal that 'pervades the drama of the English Renaissance' and 'cuckoldry or the fear of cuckoldry becomes a tragic theme […] in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries'.[81] Moreover, 'female sexual fidelity ran high in English Renaissance culture' and 'terms cuckold, whore, and whoremaster account for most of the defamation suits brought in sixteenth century church courts' are a part of the history of England.[82] Shakespeare, in line with the theatrical and historical traditions of his society, also represents cuckoldry as a strong agent

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[76] Rebecca Olson, '"Too Gentle": Jealousy and Class in Othello', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 15.1 (2015), 3-25 (p. 9).
[77] C. N., *An Apology for Women*: *Or, Womens Defence* (London: Printed by Edward Griffin, 1620), pp. 4, 5, 6.
[78] Varchi, *The Blazon*, p. 19.
[79] Stearns, 'Jealousy in Western History', pp. 7-26 (pp. x-xi); Aaron Ben-Ze'ev, 'Jealousy and Romantic Love', in *Handbook of Jealousy*, ed. by Hart and Legerstee, pp. 40-54 (p. 44).
[80] Varchi, *The Blazon*, p. 19.
[81] Maus, 'Horns of Dilemma', 561-583 (p. 561).
[82] Maus, 'Horns of Dilemma', 561-583 (p. 562).

of jealousy in both *Othello* and *The Winter's Tale.* Therefore, historicising the concept of cuckoldry before its close examination and its link to Shakespeare's treatment of jealousy is imperative.

Cuckoldry, for early modern people, was considered as a 'contagion'.[83] They also believed that it was the 'worst earthly suffering imaginable' in which 'cuckolds wear their horns plain' as Othello and Leontes attest which will be discussed shortly.[84] However, the concept of cuckoldry did not apply to women. Shakespeare portrays the concept of cuckoldry from this perspective, especially in the two plays which are the focus of this chapter as Kahn elucidates:

> Cuckoldry is something that happens to husbands, not wives, and it happens to them because they are husbands. A man whose mistress is unfaithful does not become a cuckolder, and a man who is unfaithful to his wife does not confer upon her the peculiarly galling identity of erring wife confers upon her husband. [85]

Although Othello and Leontes are not cuckolds, yet their false perceptions persuade them to believe that they are. Shakespeare adopts this paradoxical technique to capitalise on the opportunity to portray their jealousy as well as to emphasise that not all women were unfaithful: 'Othello is manipulated by means of jealousy into believing he is a cuckold; Leontes follows the same sequence but is self-deluded.'[86] Without the representation of cuckoldry, the depiction of jealousy might not have been as powerful as it is now in these plays and the events might not have that effect which have enchanted the viewer and reader over the centuries. Othello believes, until the truth is revealed at the end, that he has been cuckolded and his outbursts 'I will chop her into messes! Cuckold me?' (*Othello:* IV.1.184) and 'I have a pain upon my forehead here' (*Othello*: III.3.278) clearly reflect this. Othello's acceptance of this lie is the direct result of Iago's ability to blind him with jealousy, as Kahn argues:

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[83] *The Character of a Quack Doctor, Or, The Abusive Practices of Impudent Illiterate Pretenders To Physick Exposed* (London: Printed for Thomas Jones, 1676), p. 4.
[84] Breitenberg, 'Anxious Masculinity', 337-398, (p. 384); *The Complaisant Companion, Or, New Jests, Witty Reparties, Bulls, Rhodomontado's, And Pleasant Novels* (London: Printed by H. B., 1674.), p. 6.
[85] Kahn, *Man's Estate*, pp. 120-121.
[86] Kahn, *Man's Estate*, p. 128.

> In *Othello*, cuckoldry is a lie, but it convinces Othello because it confirms the fears he already has about women. At an unconscious level, the lie is believable to Iago, too, who made it up. He uses it to create a bond between himself and the Moor based on their mutual fantasy of women as betrayers of men as sexual rivals. Together they consummate this fantasy and give birth to themselves as monsters of jealousy. While Iago himself is a sick man, warped by hatred and envy, insofar as he uses the idea of cuckoldry to pursue his ends, he only takes to hand attitudes commonly held in his society, and in effect demonstrates their inner workings. Man's fear of cuckoldry is his primary weapon, and he always works indirectly, pitting another man against Othello as a sexual competitor, while at the same time he falsely binds himself to Othello as a brother.[87]

Iago also represents the mindset of a patriarchal society, otherwise he could have told Desdemona that the Moor slept with Emilia ('I do suspect the lusty Moor Hath leap'd into my seat', II.1.269-70), but he does not, because men's adultery was not taken as seriously as women's. Simply put, Desdemona would not have succumbed to monstrous jealousy which would not have led events to such a sinister ending had Othello's jealousy not precipitated them. The reason is that she was not the dominant sex and was taught to be submissive and accept men's follies. Furthermore, portraying Desdemona as a furious jealous character would have been against the established concept of jealousy as a male-oriented malady in early modern England.

In *The Winter's Tale,* Leontes is no different to Othello, at least, in believing that he is a cuckold. Although he is 'self-deluded', he shows true signs and symptoms of cuckoldry as known by Shakespeare's contemporaries. He says:

> **LEONTES** Thou want'st a rough pash and the shoots that I have,
>
> To be full like me. (*TWT*: I.2.128-29)

And

[87] Kahn, *Man's Estate*, p. 140.

> There have been, Or I am much deceived, cuckolds ere now. (*TWT*: I.2.189-90)

Leontes mentions 'shoots' which refers to horns that a cuckold was supposed to wear on his head at the time and 'cuckold' to proclaim, like Othello, that he is a cuckold. In both plays, the protagonists believe that they are cuckolds, blame it on their closest friends. In *Othello* it is Cassio who is blamed; in *The Winter's Tale*, it is Polixenes, however they just falsely believe they are cuckolded.

> Men are either actually cuckolded or else their projection constructs a scenario in which they believe they are cuckolded; jealousy either has a referent, or it is a floating signifier propelled by paranoia.[88]

Not only is cuckoldry mentioned in Renaissance literature, but it also finds detailed discussion. For example, the author of *The Cobler Of Caunterburie* (1590) divides cuckoldry into eight kinds and Othello and Leontes can be easily categorised based on this classification. Only two categories are mentioned which directly relate to Othello and Leontes, nonetheless, *The Cobler Of Caunterburie* can be consulted for a detailed discussion of other kinds of cuckoldry.

One kind of cuckold is 'Cuckold *Hereticke*' who is 'hauing a faire wife'.[89] A major part of the tragedy of Othello revolves around the early modern racial differences between the black and the white. Iago exploits the idea of a fair wife to make Othello a cuckold 'hereticke' when he informs Brabanzio that an 'old black ram / Is tupping your white ewe' (*Othello*: I.1.87) or 'a fair woman!' (*Othello*: IV.1.165-66), as Othello calls Desdemona. Iago knows that when 'hee that is deformed hirsute and ragged, and very vertuously giuen, will marry some very faire niec piece', it is 'eminent cause of iealousie' because the popular awareness was that 'Beauty and honesty haue euer beene at oddes'.[90] It is this background that Shakespeare uses to explore the concept of cuckoldry in these plays.

When Leontes becomes jealous because of his 'fair queen' (*TWT*: I.2.62), he also reflects that 'a Kings crowne and a faire woman is desired of many'; and it is normal for kings

[88] Breitenberg, 'Anxious Masculinity', 337-398, (p. 388).
[89] *The Cobler Of Caunterburie, Or an Inuectiue Against Tarltons Newes Out Of Purgatorie A Merrier Iest Then A Clownes Iigge, And Fitter For Gentlemens Humors* (London: Printed by Robert Robinson, 1590), p. 14.
[90] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 674.

to seek other kings' property, whether it be in the form of 'a mightie state, a rich treasure' or 'a faire wife'.[91] In Leontes's case, it is none other than his royal friend and the King of Bohemia, a position that makes him a perfect target for Leontes's jealousy because Hermione is not only fair but a rich treasure for him, as Desdemona is for Othello. Jealousy and turning into a cuckold 'hereticke' are further described in the early modern literature thus:

> Whose horse is white, and wife is faire,
> His head is neuer voide of care.[92]

The word 'care' in this verse refers to a continuous worry and male anxiety about wives having sexual relations with others and being a chief cause of jealousy.

The second kind of cuckold was known as a 'Cuckold *Lunaticke*':

> Cuckold *Lunaticke,* is he that being a Cuckold conceiues such inward griefe, that he suffers his passions to take no rest, but as a man distrackt from his senses doth all things so out of order, as though he were Lunaticke: and therefore hath this title for his humours frenzie.[93]

This definition of a 'Cuckold Lunaticke' strikingly matches the portrayal of Othello and Leontes and their jealousy. Both suffer from inward grief, both have no rest, and both are turned into 'Lunaticke[s]' to a degree to inflict physical and mental torture on others. Because of their jealousy, all things turn out to be so 'out of order' that in *Othello* not only Desdemona but the protagonist also loses his life along with other tragic events; in *The Winter's Tale*, Mamillius and Antigonus lose their lives; and Hermione, Perdita and Polixenes go through turmoil.

There is another belief recorded in the early modern literature that finds its consonance in *Othello*. Shakespeare has used Iago to convey this to his audience that old people are more prone to being cuckold as their wives, if young, tend to find lovers. Othello is referred to as an 'old black ram' (*Othello*: I.1.86) and his wife as having 'youth and maidhood' (*Othello*: I.1.168). Although there are multiple pieces of evidence in the play that make it clear that Othello is an old man now, the strongest testimony comes from Othello himself when he says

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[91] Swetnam, *The Araignment*, p. 7; Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 666.
[92] Niccholes, *A Discourse, of Marriage*, p. 10.
[93] *The Cobler Of Caunterburie*, p. 15.

'I am declined into the vale of years (*Othello*: III.3.259-60), therefore, he 'spies some fault in himself which displeasing, begetteth Jelosy'.[94]

> Tis fit that all old Men should Cuckolds be,
> Who think young women Love a sapless Tree.[95]

Portraying Othello as an old general married with a young 'white ewe' translates this early modern concept into the play. Shakespeare's 'superb psychologist', Iago, understands that old men, married to young fair wives, can be infected with jealousy easily.[96] That is why he believes that Desdemona 'must change for youth' once she is 'sated / with his body' (*Othello*: I.3.334-35). He also insinuates in Othello's mind that Desdemona may fall to someone of Italian origin who 'May fall to match you with her country forms / And happily repent' (*Othello*: III.3.232-33), hence making Othello conscious of his old age as well as his Moorish background.

Additionally, familiarity with Italianate traditions and literature in the wake of the Renaissance created an image of Venetian women's licentiousness as noted by William Davies:

> Also in this Countrey their women are very lewde and wicked, for euen in that ancient Citie of Rome, there are many thousands of lewd liuing women that pay monethly vnto the Pope for the sinnefull vse of their wicked bodies.[97]

Based on his awareness of Italian women's licentiousness, as noted by Davies above, and Desdemona's conversation charged with sexual innuendo while waiting for Othello in Cyprus in which she asks Iago: 'What wouldst write of me, if thou shouldst praise me?' (*Othello*: II.1.117), Iago builds a 'lewde' image of Desdemona as a bait to trap Othello. Moreover, Desdemona's remarks 'This Lodovico is a proper man' (*Othello*: IV.3.33) also affirms Iago's opinion about her to some extent when at her death bed she is thinking of a man other than her husband. That is why Iago reiterates Davies's remarks:

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[94] *Tell-Trothes*, D4^{v}
[95] *The Jealous Old Dotard: Or, The Discovery of Cuckoldry A Pleasant New Song* (London: Printed for P[hilip]. Brooksby, 1672-1696), unnumbered page.
[96] Bloom, *Shakespeare: The Invention*, p. 444.
[97] William Davies, *A True Relation of The Travailes And Most Miserable Captiuitie Of William Dauies, Barber-Surgion Of London,* (London: Printed by Thomas Snodham, 1614), B1^{v}.

> **IAGO** I know our country disposition well.
> In Venice they do let God see the pranks
> They dare not show their husbands; their best conscience
> Is not to leave't undone, but keep't unknown. (*Othello*: III.3.197-200)

Considering Othello's old age, Desdemona's youth and her being a white Italian of potentially 'lewde' nature, Iago seizes upon the opportunity to persuade Othello that he is an old cuckold.

The possibility of Othello's awareness of these prevailing concepts is also based on circumstantial evidence for he has lived in Venice, loved Desdemona and has seen her stance against her father's will to marry him. According to Loomba, 'Whether Othello imbibes these beliefs from Iago, or Iago only plays upon what Othello already believes', in both cases 'male jealousy hinges upon racial difference as well as upon female infidelity', which is stronger considering the age difference with Othello and Desdemona along with the question of race.[98] Therefore, Iago, seeing the perfect situation, decides to entangle Othello in the net of jealousy using the cuckoldry trap, about which he claims:

> **IAGO** I put the Moor
> At least into a jealousy so strong
> That judgement cannot cure. (*Othello*: II.1.274-276)

Later events in the play prove the truth of Iago's belief and Othello's 'judgement cannot cure' his monstrous jealousy that Iago puts him into. Othello realises this at the end, but it is too late to avert the tragedy. The point is that Iago successfully sets a very sinister trap and brings Othello down despite his strong love for Desdemona.

If jealousy was a monster, a jealous person, under the influence of this monster for all the reasons stated above, was known as a beast in the early modern period, and he could turn marriage into a curse:

> What comfort or contentment can a poore woman haue, to be accompanyed with such a beast [jealous husband], as is euery houre

[98] Loomba, *Shakespeare,* p. 99.

> watching her, holdes his wife as a prisoner, cannot endure shee should
> speake to anie one, because he reputes her fraile and easie to fall?[99]

This description of jealousy by the author of *Fancies Ague-fittes,* and its outcomes truly reflect the miserable states of Desdemona and Hermione, whose husbands have transformed into beasts and made their lives a vexation. Both Othello and Iago admit, in the following dialogue, that a cuckold is a monster and a beast because of sexual jealousy.

> **OTHELLO** A hornèd man's a monster and a beast.
> **IAGO** There's many a beast then in a populous city,
> And many a civil monster. (*Othello*: IV.1.58-60)

The author of *Fancies Ague-fittes,* notes that a jealous husband keeps a very strict eye on his wife, makes her life like a prisoner's and cannot tolerate that she speaks to anyone. All these qualities make him a beast and his partner's life a living hell because he would resort to violence and aggression, as demonstrated in *Othello* and *The Winter's Tale*. Othello keeps a very vigilant eye on Desdemona on the instructions of Iago first and later, on his own purpose, notes her moves and even asks Iago to use Emilia as a spy. In Act IV, Scene 1 of *Othello*, Iago advises Othello to hide ('Do but encave yourself', IV.1.78) and listen and watch Cassio's 'fleers' and 'gibes' (*Othello*: IV.1.79) to find any traces of affair with Desdemona. Iago's planning is to ask Cassio questions about Bianca to make him smile and jeer at, which is misinterpreted by Othello. These are the first steps to transform Othello into a beast.

> **IAGO** As he shall smile, Othello shall go mad;
> And his unbookish jealousy must construe
> Poor Cassio's smiles, gestures, and light behaviour
> Quite in the wrong. (*Othello*: IV.1.97-100)

According to Iago, Othello's jealousy is 'unbookish', that is ignorant, because he does not or will not know the real reasons for Cassio's smile and gibes. Iago reiterates the same notion here, mentioned by Emilia in her speech above that jealousy is begotten without any cause. Therefore, without any genuine cause, Othello's 'unbookish' jealousy leads him to

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[99] *Fancies*, H2^{v}.

conclude from Cassio's reaction, which is not meant for Desdemona, that he is a cuckold. About Cassio's smiles he says, 'they laugh that wins' (*Othello*: IV.1.118), thus fulfilling Iago's prediction that the Moor will go mad and he will take every move 'quite in the wrong'. Soon after Cassio dismisses himself from the scene, Othello comes out of his hiding, transformed into a beast now.

> **OTHELLO** How shall I murder him, Iago? (*Othello*: IV.1.158)

Similarly, Leontes, in *The Winter's Tale*, keeps a close eye on Hermione and her movements around Polixenes; and notices them kissing, whispering, meeting noses and footing, and concludes that his wife is unfaithful despite the fact that they do not mean anything wrong. Hermione reminds him that she gave Polixenes 'honour he required' (*TWT*: III.2.60), because 'yourself commanded; / Which not to have done I think had been in me / Both disobedience and ingratitude' (*TWT*: III.2.63-65). Misinterpretation, as argued below in detail, is one of the major symptoms of jealousy, and Leontes misinterprets everything just like Othello, who is deceived by Cassio's laughs at Bianca's jokes. When Camillo tells Leontes that Hermione is chaste, Leontes replies:

> **LEONTES** Is whispering nothing?
> Is leaning cheek to cheek? Is meeting noses?
> Kissing with inside lip? Stopping the career
> Of laughter with a sigh? —a note infallible
> Of breaking honesty. Horsing foot on foot?
> Skulking in corners? (*TWT*: I.2.284-89)

Camillo instantly understands that Leontes has misinterpreted everything so much so that he advises Leontes to 'be cured / Of this diseased opinion, and betimes' (*TWT*: I.2.296-97) because he realises that Leontes has become the victim of the monster—jealousy, and 'tis most dangerous' (*TWT*: I.2.298) for him and for everyone around. Leontes turns into a beast and thinks of extreme consequences for Hermione, for example, burning her at the stake, and for those who are begotten of her—Perdita and Mamillius. This is the worst kind of bestiality when a beast like Leontes threatens his own spouse and progeny of burning despite the fact that he himself asks his queen to request Polixenes to prolong his stay. In addition to this,

contemporary literature advises the man to 'make not thy friend too familiar with thy wife' but Leontes ignores this advice with tragic results.[100] In *The Winter's Tale* and *Othello*, the protagonists provide an opportunity to their friends to breed familiarity with their wives which later transforms them, as Steven Wagschal notes, citing the authority of Juan Luis Vives, into 'most ferocious beasts' or 'a cruel beast'.[101]

One of the reasons for associating bestiality with a jealous person was that in the early modern period, it was believed that 'iealousie belongs aswel to bruit beasts as to men'.[102] According to the Renaissance literature on the topic, 'many sencelesse and brute beastes are Iealous' for example 'Buls', 'Lyons' and 'Horses' just to name a few.[103] This comparison between humans and brutes suggests that jealousy is a bestial passion in which judgments and reason is blinded and jealous become 'sencelesse'.

Therefore, the reason that jealousy converts a person, especially a person with authority, position, pride and honour like Othello and Leontes, into an aggressive tyrant and morbid beast is that it incapacitates the reason. 'This subjection of reason to passion was, in the Elizabethan view, what made a monarch a tyrant.'[104] In *The Winter's Tale*, Leontes 'is proclaimed to be a [jealous] tyrant by the oracle of Apollo' which is a godly attestation of his tyranny; and the Elizabethans believed that 'the tyrant is inevitably punished'.[105] This means that the subjection of reason to passion was synonymous with destruction. Leontes's predicament in the form of separation from his wife and daughter for years, his son and close confidant's deaths and his own mental agony over a long period of time is a punishment for his jealousy. Othello's punishment is worse than Leontes's because he allows his monstrous passion to incapacitate his reason completely resulting in his own as well as Desdemona's death.

When a person is infected with jealousy, he becomes a beast, his sound judgement is blinded and misinterpretations follow, thus intensifying the monstrosity of his jealousy. Such a person 'will take euery thing in the worse sense, interpreting all whatsoeuer he eyther heareth or seeth, in a sinister and bad sense' and 'his Disease (in time) commeth to be desperate' as in

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[100] Niccholes, *A Discourse, of Marriage*, p. 48.
[101] Wagschal, *Literature of Jealousy*, p. 7; Juan Luis Vives, *An Introduction to Wysedome,* trans. by Rycharde Morysine (London: In ædibus Thomæ Betheleti typis impress, 1544), Dvii^{v}.
[102] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 666.
[103] Varchi, *The Blazon*, pp.56-57; Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 667.
[104] Paul Siegel, 'Leontes A Jealous Tyrant', *The Review of English Studies*, 1.4 (1950), 302-307 (p. 303).
[105] Siegel, 'Leontes A Jealous Tyrant', 302-307 (p. 302).

the case of Othello and Leontes.[106] Shakespeare also portrays the early modern anxiety that '*Iealousie* makes bad interpretations, not onely of her actions, but euen of her very thoughts'.[107] That is why Desdemona, after losing her handkerchief, tells Emilia that if Othello were jealous, this loss of handkerchief might have 'put him to ill thinking' (*Othello*: III.4.23), unaware of the fact that Othello has already been infected with jealousy and has conceived it thoroughly because of Iago's suggestions. He misinterprets Desdemona's losing of her handkerchief, he misinterprets Cassio's meeting with his wife, his wife's advocacy for Cassio's cause and he misinterprets seeing Desdemona's handkerchief in Cassio's hands. All these events, woven around him deliberately by Iago, and misinterpreted by Othello, lead him to believe that Desdemona and Cassio are involved in an affair. At this point, his 'jealousy is triggered by the threat of separation from, or loss of, a romantic partner' because he can see 'the possibility of the partner's romantic interest in another person'.[108] When Othello discerns, at the end of the play, the trap that Iago set, he understands that whatever he has been made to believe about Desdemona was nothing but his misinterpretations. He asks those who attend him in the last scene 'why he hath thus ensnared my soul and body?' (*Othello*: V.2.298).

In *The Winter's Tale*, Leontes is similar to Othello in misinterpreting. When, at his own request, Hermione is able to persuade Polixenes for a longer stay in their country, Leontes misinterprets everything. The very first instance of misinterpretation because of Leontes's jealousy is noted in his first aside:

LEONTES *[aside]* Too hot, too hot:
To mingle friendship farre is mingling bloods.
I have *tremor cordis* on me. My heart dances,
But not for joy, not joy. (*TWT*: I.2.108-111)

After that, he keeps a close eye on Hermione and Polixenes out of his jealousy and their simple actions of courtesy in such a negative way that he equates them with 'mingling bloods', which result in '*tremor cordis*', that is the quivering of the heart, a physical or medical condition known to the people of the day. Here, Leontes mentions the adverse effects of jealousy on his

[106] Varchi, *The Blazon*, p. 24.
[107] Coeffeteau, *A Table*, pp. 177-178.
[108] Don Sharpsteen and Lee A. Kirkpatrick, 'Romantic Jealousy and Adult Romantic Attachment', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 72.3 (1997), 627-640 (p. 628).

heart, which 'dances' due to his jealousy despite the fact that their affair has not yet been proven. At one time, he himself explores the possibility that Hermione's actions could derive from her generosity which may have come 'From heartiness, from bounty, fertile bosom' (*TWT*: I.2.108-113), but their act of 'paddling palms and pinching fingers […] and making practised smiles' (*TWT*: I.2.115-16) makes him fearful of losing her, which his 'bosom likes not' (*TWT*: I.2.119) and thus he feels a '*tremor cordis*' out of his 'Iealousie' which is 'a feare […] a man hath, lest an other whom hee woulde not, should enjoy something'.[109] In this way, his misinterpretations of Hermione's actions dominate his diseased mind and he asks his son: 'Mamillius, art thou my boy?' (*TWT*: I.2.119-20). In this way, according to early modern understanding, jealousy could deprive anyone of sound judgement, despite the fact that Leontes's closest confidant, Antigonus, tells him that Hermione is a chaste person:

> **ANTIGONUS** For every inch of woman in the world,
> Ay, every dram of woman's flesh is false
> If she be. (*TWT*: II.1.137-39).

For Antigonus, Hermione is the epitome of chastity and truth; and he believes that if she is not chaste, no woman is chaste, not even his own wife. Later in the play, even Paulina also confirms that Hermione is a 'gracious, innocent soul' (*TWT*: II.3.28) and Leontes is 'jealous' (*TWT*: II.3.29). Moreover, the officer who brings the oracle from Delphi confirms that 'Hermione is chaste' (*TWT*: III.2.130) and 'Leontes a jealous tyrant' (*TWT*: III.2.131), but even then Leontes relies on his judgement, which is infected by jealousy, although after the death of his son, he appreciates some truth in the oracle. In short, almost every prominent courtier could see that Hermione is chaste, but Leontes is jealous, so his judgement is biased. He is unable to see the truth. Similarly, in *Othello*, Emilia tells the Moor that Desdemona 'is honest' (*Othello*: IV.2.10) and like Antigonus, Emilia also believes that if 'she [Desdemona] be not honest, chaste, and true / There's no man happy' (*Othello*: IV.2.15-16), meaning that there is no chaste woman. Therefore, Desdemona is the epitome of chastity for Emilia like Hermione is for Antigonus and Paulina in *The Winter's Tale.* Apart from that, Desdemona tells Othello that 'I never did / Offend you in my life, never loved Cassio' (*Othello*: V.2.59-60); and when Leontes calls his wife an adulteress, Hermione reminds him that 'You, my lord, / Do but mistake' (*TWT*: II.1.80-81). In this manner, both Desdemona and Hermione deny the charges of unchastity and

[109] La Primaudaye, *The French Academie* (1594), p. 320.

affirm their faithfulness to their husbands, but instead of believing in theirs and their well-wishers' statements, Othello and Leontes's judgment is blinded. They misinterpret everything because of their jealousy and the 'repeated denials of infidelity' by their wives provokes 'extreme anger and violence'.[110]

Not only Antigonus, but Camillo, Paulina and other courtiers also believe that it is Leontes's monstrous jealousy that has incapacitated his sound judgement. Although, Leontes keeps an eye on their 'whispering', 'leaning cheek to cheek', 'kissing', 'laughing with a sigh' (*TWT*: I.2.284-85,86,87), 'too hot, too hot' and 'mingling bloods' (*TWT*: I.2.108-09) and interprets them in a sinister way, yet some time later, he himself acknowledges that it is his jealousy that has diseased his imagination resulting in his misinterpretations, thus suggesting that the early modern man was aware of the monstrosity of this malady as well as unsure about the ways a woman could deceive her husband for they are 'sildome catcht in ordinary trappes'.[111]

> **LEONTES** Affection! thy intention stabs the centre.
> Thou dost make possible things not so held,
> Communicat'st with dreams—how can this be? (*TWT*: I.2.138-40)

Leontes affirms that jealousy makes impossible things look possible, but at the same time he also describes the monstrosity of his 'affection' or jealousy and its ability to 'stab the centre' or initiate a '*tremor cordis*' (*TWT*: I.2.110) on the victim because this monster of jealousy, 'doth mock / The meat it feeds on'(*Othello*: III.3.162-63). In short, in Burton's words, a jealous monster '*misinterprets every thing is said or done*'.[112] This is equally true for Othello and Leontes.

> This hellish Hag makes men to wayle and rue,
> Through false suspect, as well as for what's true.[113]

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[110] Michael Kingham and Harvey Gordon, 'Aspects of Morbid Jealousy', *Advances in Psychiatric Treatment*, 10 (2004), 207-215 (p. 211).
[111] *Tell-Trothes*, E4^{r}.
[112] Burton, *Anatomy*, pp. 681-682.
[113] Varchi, *The Blazon*, p. 50.

To sum up, such misinterpretations as argued above pose 'a perceived threat to the marital relationship[s]' of, respectively, Othello and Leontes.[114]

Keeping in view the monstrosity and bestiality of early modern jealousy, Burton asserts that 'If the Braine be hote, the animall spirits are hote, and madnesse followes, and violent actions' as portrayed in *Othello* and *The Winter's Tale*.[115] The extremity of the 'marital violence' that Shakespeare portrays, is such ravaging fire that cannot be 'quenched but with blood'.[116] Such a violence develops gradually when a jealous husband, according to the writer of *Fancies Ague-fittes,* watches every move of his wife, makes her a prisoner and in the words of Camillo has a 'diseased opinion', he turns into a beast and then, like a beast, becomes violent and aggressive, for 'jealousy in this context may be used to justify violence towards a partner who is perceived as unfaithful'.[117] Therefore, violence and aggression are the 'most dangerous' outcomes that Camillo alludes to, especially when there is too much love there would be too much bitterness in violence and aggression. This is also appreciated by Polixenes who fears Leontes bitter revenge because of Leontes's too strong an attachment to his wife and even to himself.

POLIXENES This jealousy
Is for a precious creature. As she's rare
Must it be great; and as his person's mighty
Must it be violent; and as he does conceive
He is dishonoured by a man which ever
Professed to him, why, his revenges must
In that be made more bitter. (*TWT*: I.2.449-55)

This implies two ideas: the intensity of jealousy and, as a result, the bitterness of violence and aggression. Once again, these ideas are backed by the belief system of the day that if someone 'loueth any thing dearely, feareth the losse thereof, and takes it more grieuously when it is lost'.[118] As was known in the early modern period ,'IEALOVSIE […] encreaseth and decreaseth, according vnto the Party for whose sake we are Iealous', likewise, Polixenes knows

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[114] Bram Buunk, 'Jealousy as Related to Attributions for the Partner's Behavior', *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 47.1 (1984), 107-112 (p. 110).
[115] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 51.
[116] Bell, 'Othello's Jealousy', 120-136 (p. 122); Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 671.
[117] Kingham and Gordon, 'Aspects', 207-215 (p. 210).
[118] *Fancies*, I2^r.

that Leontes jealousy is for someone who is a 'precious creature' and 'rare', hence he expects it to be intense.[119] Secondly, Polixenes mentions Leontes's love for him, and even Camillo tells Archidamus in the beginning of the play that between Leontes and Polixenes there is 'such an affection, which cannot choose but branch now' (*TWT*: I.1.18). Although 'branch now' proves to be ironical later, Polixenes has a clear idea that Leontes revenge would be severe because of his bestial jealousy, therefore, he leaves the country secretly at Camillo's advice.

As Leontes's love for Hermione was great, so is his jealousy and hence, his violence. He says:

> **LEONTES** Say that she were gone,
> Given to the fire, a moiety of my rest
> Might come to me again. (*TWT*: II.3.7-9)

AND

> My child?
> […]
> Take it hence,
> And see it instantly consumed with fire. (*TWT*: II.3.130-32)

In these two speeches, Leontes's revenge and jealousy reach such violent limits that he threatens to burn his faithful wife and his newly born daughter, an early modern punishment for heretics. This also implies that Leontes considers Hermione's adultery, as per his judgment, a heresy against religion as writers and theologians of the period rendered marriage a religious bond, upholding loyalty in this bond a wife's religious obligation and made 'the husband […] the wiues head, euen as Christ is the head of the Church'.[120] In this way, Leontes's jealousy, both religious and sexual, results in bestial violence towards his family.

When Othello becomes jealous, his rage, frenzy and violence are far greater than Leontes's as when 'jealousy gives rise to fatal violence against the partner, this may be followed by suicide'.[121]

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[119] Varchi, *The Blazon*, p. 27.
[120] La Primaudaye, *The French Academie*, (1586), p. 512.
[121] Kingham and Gordon, 'Aspects', 207-215 (p. 211).

OTHELLO I will chop her into messes! Cuckold me? (*Othello*: IV.1.l84)

Jealousy could be 'murderous or suicidal' and Othello's jealousy is both.[122] He not only threatens to kill his wife, unlike Leontes, he actually kills her and then commits suicide. Othello's transformation into a violent monster is even surprising to Lodovico.

LODOVICO Is this the noble Moor whom our full senate
Call all-in-all sufficient? Is this the nature
Whom passion could not shake, whose solid virtue
The shot of accident nor dart of chance
Could neither graze nor pierce? (*Othello*: IV.1.246-250)

Lodovico uses the term 'passion' for jealousy. According to the literature on jealousy, 'It [jealousy] made one ill and it made one kill', which are the traits of a monster and a beast.[123] Lodovico knew Othello as a very strong man who could not be affected by any disaster, 'accident', 'graze' or 'dart'. However, it is a surprise for him to see Othello's collapse under the weight of his jealousy.

The following section of this chapter focuses on the type of jealousy exemplified particularly in Othello and to some extent in Leontes. The portrayal of both characters draws on Moorish stereotypes of jealousy outlined in the literature of the day. Such a portrayal underscores the prevalent cultural and literary output in England from the exotic Islamic lands in the wake of Anglo-Islamic encounters, spread over a period of two decades, from 1578 to Elizabeth's death in 1603. These cultural exchanges introduced a world to Shakespeare and his countrymen that was completely different to their own in terms of language, culture and religion. The literature generated by this encounter also offered a fascinating performative aspect to the Moor figure, which seems to have occupied Shakespeare's dramatic imagination with particular regard to jealousy. A further source of fascination for Shakespeare was the Moor figure as an outsider, and a broader knowledge of the Moorish ethnographical literature was integral for Shakespeare's dramatisation of the cultural construct of the Moor figure. The abiding environment during the period in which Anglo-Islamic commercial, political and

[122] Wagschal, *Literature of Jealousy*, p. 189.
[123] Wagschal, *Literature of Jealousy*, p. 2.

military alliance flourished set the background to the presentation of Othello, the Moor and his monstrous jealousy.

Before a deeper analysis of the Moorish features of Othello's monstrous jealousy, the terms 'Moor' and 'Turk' need disentangling owing to their intrinsic fluidity in an early modern context . In spite of the fact that *Othello* is subtitled *The Moor of Venice*, there has been a debate around its ethnographic features and the 'anomaly' of its being designated a 'Turk play' because of the Turk references whilst describing Othello's jealousy.[124] Such intersectionality of these terms and these figures in Shakespeare's drama has two dimensions: historical and theatrical.

From an historical perspective, Shakespeare's blending of the Moorish and the Turkish aspects of Othello's jealousy have their origins in the on-going Anglo-Islamic interaction with both Moroccan and Ottoman Empires as has been detailed in the Introduction. These political and economic ties became such an abiding culture that they also acquired a currency in the theatrical world. Both Moors and Turks were familiar stock figures although their identities might be elided. This distinction between the 'ethnic / religious identity (from an anthropological perspective)' of the Moor and the Turk 'on the one hand and its representation and reception in theatrical performance on the other' might not have been imperative for the early modern playgoer who witnessed both 'Moors' and 'Turks' not only on the stage but also on the streets of London as outsiders, irrespective of the ethnicity.[125]

From a theatrical perspective, the intersection of 'Moors' and 'Turks' owes to the prevailing practices of early modern theatre. As Hutchings postulates:

> *Othello* may well have been written in part to appeal to playgoers whose curiosity about the Islamic world in general had been stimulated afresh by the visit to London of the King of Barbary's ambassador.[126]

This implies that the stage lineage, before *Othello*, was already dominated by such plays featuring Turks. Hutchings notes that playgoers were aware of any reference to 'the Turk' because 'for twenty-odd years the playhouse had exploited the awareness in numerous plays', as is discussed later in this chapter in more detail.[127] Such an awareness and depiction of the

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[124] Hutchings, *Turks, Repertories***,** p. 187.
[125] Hutchings, *Turks, Repertories***,** p. 4.
[126] Hutchings, *Turks*, *Repertories***,** p. 192.
[127] Hutchings, *Turks*, *Repertories***,** p. 2.

Turk motif depicted in plays over decades made it natural for Shakespeare to incorporate some of the Turkish traits in his Moor figure. However, Shakespeare distances himself from engaging with the religious and ethnic identities, which also separates his drama from that of his predecessors. Shakespeare relies on some intersecting commonalities between the Moors and the Turks in *Othello*. Firstly, for Shakespeare and his audience the Moors and the Turks were outsiders and exotic others. Secondly, this otherness was synonymous with barbarity, especially in their jealousy, a commonality shared by Moors and Turks according to Africanus, Knolles and other such writers of the time, mentioned during the close analysis of the plays later in this chapter.

Along with the aforesaid reasons, Shakespearean criticism has also contributed to the intersecting or overlapping identities of the Moor and the Turk figures. Scholars have used 'a variety of descriptors' such as 'Turks', 'Oriental' and 'Islamic' for the Ottoman outsiders and 'each of these choices testifies to the problem of classification'.[128] Such broad definitions of Turks may also include Moors into their folds to some extent as they were outsiders and Islamic too. Consequently, this entanglement or intersection of identities arises in the portrayal of Othello since Shakespeare draws on established conventions, cultural exchanges and the image of Moors and Turks found in contemporary literature. Moreover, he also employs his own innovation in conflating these identities from a theatrical perspective, a perspective which draws upon but does not straightforwardly reproduce prevailing stereotypes. Such an approach resulted in a 'fluidity that reflected complex external realities'.[129] It is for this reason that the 'reportorial value of Othello' lies 'not in its specificity but its opacity'.[130] The terms 'Moor' and 'Turk' are used advisedly in this thesis in the light of this historical and theatrical context.

As a result of political and commercial engagements with the Islamic empires, during the Elizabethan era, there was a huge influx of Moors in England in the form of delegations as well as the literature that focused on Moors and Moorish culture. Like any other Londoner, Shakespeare's interaction with the Moors is beyond any doubt who were rendezvousing with the English monarch at the time. In the wake of Elizabeth's excommunication in 1570, she and her government needed a strong ally who would share her political and religious aspirations

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[128] Hutchings, *Turks, Repertories*, p. 3.
[129] Africanus, *Historie*, p. 6.
[130] Hutchings, *Turks*, *Repertories*, p. 192.

against the Catholic idolaters. Likewise, the Moors also preferred 'the Protestant Christianity of England more than the Catholicism of France or Spain'.[131]

> Elizabeth was building strong commercial and diplomatic ties with the Ottoman and Moroccan Empires—so strong that she was the first monarch to welcome Muslim ambassadors to England and to receive them with all due pomp and ceremony in her royal palaces.[132]

Nabil Matar notes that at this time in English history, 'Britons had extensive interaction with Turks and Moors' and from among the 'non-Christian people' none other 'interacted more widely with Britons' than the Berber and the Ottoman Empires.[133] Because of this close interaction between these nations on military, trade, travel and diplomatic levels, a great understanding and familiarity with each other developed. English and Scottish people were frequently seen in Ottoman and Moorish lands. Similarly, 'the Moors and Turks were "everywhere,"' ('Of here and everywhere', *Othello*: I.1.133), 'not just in the literary imagination of English dramatists and poets, but in the streets, the sea towns, the royal residences, the courts'.[134] At the same time, Shakespeare was very much familiar with the court and his access might have given him an opportunity for face-to-face interaction with the Moorish ambassadors or officials from Barbary that gave him an opportunity to understand them to portray them and their jealousy. Even if Shakespeare did not meet any of the Moorish ambassadors, which appears highly improbable from a historical and contextual perspective, knowledge of the Moorish people was readily available:

> London was full of travelers, sailors, diplomats, merchants and wandering entertainers whose stories about distant lands and different peoples were told and retold on the streets as in the court, in sermon as in sonnet, in love poetry as in theological diatribe.[135]

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[131] Matar, *Britain and Barbary*, p. 3.
[132] Gerald Maclean and Nabil Matar, *Britain And the Islamic World, 1558–1713* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 1.
[133] Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors and English Men in the Age of Discovery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), p. 19.
[134] Matar, *Turks, Moors*, p. 39.
[135] Matar, *Britain and Barbary*, p. 12.

Seeing an overwhelming engagement as well as fascination with the Moorish culture at the government level down to the general public level, many playwrights, including Marlowe, Kyd, Peele, Greene, Spencer and Thomas Dekker, were obsessed with the Moorish themes in various forms to the extent that ‘of more than sixty plays featuring Turks, Moors and Persians performed in London’s public theatres between 1576 and 1603, at least forty were staged between 1588 and 1599’ and ‘of the 38 extant plays […] performed in England between 1587 and 1593, 10 show clear debts to *Tamburlaine*’.[136] In this way, the literary and London’s theatrical world were pre-occupied with the Moorish themes to an extent that according to Jerry Brotton, ‘London turns Turk’ as well, from which Shakespeare draws substantially.[137]

From Marlowe’s *Tamburlaine* to Thomas Dekker’s *Lust’s Dominion* (1600/1601), also known as *The Spanish Moor’s Tragedy*, most plays revolved around the Moorish culture, set in various places. However, George Peele’s *The Battle of Alcazar* (1589) was the first play ‘set exclusively in Morocco to put a Moor on the English stage’.[138] In this sense, *Alcazar* can be seen as the true predecessor of *Othello* that Shakespeare began to write ‘towards the end of 1601, a few months after al-Annuri’s return to Barbary’.[139] It is in this way that Shakespeare, who witnessed London turning Turk, was ‘responding to the work of immediate predecessors and early contemporaries’; however, Shakespeare’s engagement with Moors was at a deeper level of their passions, transforming them into ‘figures of empathy, insight and deep pathos’, as is portrayed in *Othello*, a feature that was missing in the plays of other dramatists as a result of which ‘most of these plays have since fallen into obscurity’.[140]

Although Marlowe’s *Tamburlaine* influenced later plays, *Alcazar’s* purely Moorish representation had a lasting impact on playwrights who were inspired by the idea of portraying dark Moorish characters with distinct language, features and cultural identity. Shakespeare, as implied by Matar, was the last playwright of his age to portray a Moorish character for which he could have ‘picked up’ the prevailing allusions ‘from plays about Turks that had appeared on the London stage’; however, his Moor was ‘Christian […] the first ever on the Elizabethan stage’, unlike his predecessors whose Moors were Islamic, but Shakespeare’s innovation focused on ‘rather his [Othello’s] color’ than his religion.[141] Furthermore, along with colour, it

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[136] Brotton, p. 179; Peter Berek, ‘Tamburlaine’s Weak Sons: Imitation as Interpretation before 1593’, *Renaissance Drama*, 13 (1982), 55-82 (p. 58).
[137] Brotton, *Orient Isle*, p. 154.
[138] Brotton, pp.166-7.
[139] Brotton, *Orient Isle*, p. 12.
[140] Wells, *Shakespeare and Co.*, p. 4; Brotton, *Orient Isle*, p. 182.
[141] Matar, *Britain and Barbary*, pp. 30, 32.

was the Moorish features of jealousy that offered a promise of deeper and complex theatrical advantage to capitalise. Therefore, Shakespeare's inspiration to create Othello comes from the available literature as well as his first-hand knowledge of the Moors and their jealousy, for there are convincing contextual and historical pieces of evidence as argued in detail below.

In the wake of the Armada, Anglo-Islamic alliances gained more strength that increased the English 'appetite for books describing the North African Muslim world of al-Annuri and the Ottoman Empire' which equipped London dramatists, including Shakespeare, with knowledge to portray a true to life representation of 'Moors, Turks and Persians on to the Elizabethan stage'.[142] Therefore, not only the Italian sources, but also the literature that came from Moorish lands or about Moorish lands contributed to the creation of Othello and his jealousy. As argued above, three works, according to critics, are considered to be the source of *Othello* that helped Shakespeare to create a character who suffers from jealousy. These works are 'Cinthio's *Gli Hecatomithi*'; 'Raleigh's *Discovery of Guiana* (1596)' and Leo Africanus's *Della descrittione dell'Africa* which was published in London in English under the title of '*A Geographical Historie of Africa, Written in Arabicke and Italian'* translated by '*Iohn Pory*' in '(1600)'.[143] With regard to Cinthio's work, Matar makes the following observation:

> In *Hecatommithi*, Shakespeare found the story of a Moor serving in a Christian army. But Cinthio mentioned nothing about Turks or Mediterranean battles and sieges: his story described a domestic affair [...] In *Othello*, Shakespeare retained the domestic tragedy but moved it into the vast and confrontational world of the Mediterranean.[144]

As far as John Pory's translation of Leo Africanus's work is concerned, Lois Whitney believes that it 'should have come to Shakespeare's attention' because 'the book contains so much which throws light on the character of Othello that it is hard to believe that Shakespeare was not acquainted with it'.[145] The compelling parallels between Shakespeare's character Othello and Africanus's work and also his historical figure strongly suggest Shakespeare's close acquaintance with his *Historie*. Furthermore, Africanus's description of jealous characters and

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[142] Brotton, *Orient Isle*, p. 11.
[143] Maus, 'Horns of Dilemma', 561-583 (p. 562); Stoll, 'Othello The Man', 111-124 (p. 117); Whitney, 'Did Shakespeare Know Leo Africanus?', 470-483 (p. 474).
[144] Matar, *Britain and Barbary*, p. 28.
[145] Whitney, 'Did Shakespeare Know Leo Africanus?', 470-483 (pp. 474-475).

jealousy are so strikingly similar that it seems that Africanus is describing Othello or Shakespeare is reading Africanus, a symbiosis which is examined later in this chapter while close analysis of the play. In this way, a rich environment and various resources shaped Shakespeare's understanding of this dark 'vnspeakable bloudy […] damned Feare, or hellish Suspect, or rather vncurable Plague, and deadly Poyson, cleped IEALOVSIE'.[146]

Apart from the three sources mentioned above, Knolles's 'enormously influential' *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603) 'was consulted by Shakespeare while writing Othello', which is supported by three compelling pieces of circumstantial and textual evidence: firstly, it was a seminal work on Turks and was widely quoted by the writers of the time; secondly, its publication date is very close to Othello's; and thirdly because of the textual similarity between Knolles's mention of two 'Greek borne' ladies 'faire *Irene*' and 'faire Manto', one 'beheaded by Mahomet the Great' and the other 'slaine' by her husband Bassa and Othello's strangling of Desdemona, a fair lady.[147] Knolles's account reports that both Mohomet the Great and Bassa murdered their wives out of their monstrous jealousy that Shakespeare reincarnates in the form of Othello. As argued above, these examples demonstrate that both Moors and Turks were perceived to be ruthless in jealousy. Shakespeare alludes to such stereotypical Turkish and Moorish traits as being 'cruel, savage, barbarous' when he has his protagonist curse himself as a 'circumciseèd dog' (*Othello*: V.2.353) and a 'malignant and a turbaned Turk' (*Othello*: V.2.351).[148] Moreover, this conflation is significant more from the perspective of theatrical practices, rather than from purely historical or ethnographical considerations, underlying the key position of this study that Shakespeare was not an historiographer, but a playwright. As an entertainer, his main focus was to modify and accommodate the available material for the purpose of entertaining his audience. And yet, at the climactic moment of Othello's suicide his words draw attention to the fundamental conflict of his identity as both Moor, Venetian and 'Turk' within.

In addition to the literature mentioned above, travelogues also provided Shakespeare with an awareness of the Moors. English diplomats and merchants travelled far and wide in the Moorish lands and brought back with them fascinating stories about the exotic culture that enthralled the English imagination. In this connection, 'Edmund Hogan, William Harborne and Thomas Dallam' were very popular names whose travel accounts were widely circulated in

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[146] Varchi, *The Blazon*, pp. 5-6.
[147] Loomba, *Shakespeare,* pp. 94, 95; Richard Knolles, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (London: Printed by Adam Islip, 1603), pp. 350, 559, 1178.
[148] Draper, 'Shakespeare and the Turk', 523–532 (p. 523).

London 'by gossip and word of mouth'; however, 'Sir Anthony Shereley, an English knight' was the most prolific of all travellers whose 'adventures were the subject of gossip throughout London' so much so that Shakespeare acknowledges awareness of his adventures and person in the form of Sir Toby Belch in *The Twelfth Night*.[149]

Othello's identity is not only founded on the contemporary literature, but it is also drawn from Shakespeare's interaction with Al-Annuri and his understanding of Africanus's personality. Both Al-Annuri and Africanus appear to be identical twins in terms of their strikingly similar circumstances, which are conflated in Othello. Thus Shakespeare combines reality with fiction in Othello's character who, like Al-Annuri, 'is simultaneously admired and feared by his Christian hosts'; is considered a 'a military asset' yet 'denigrated as an outsider'; a "Morisco" (Spanish-born Muslim convert)' just like Othello, a convert living in a Christian world.[150] Likewise, Africanus, was also 'converted to Christianity after being captured by Christian pirates while returning to Fez from Cairo in 1518'.[151] His captivity story shares features of Othello's that he narrates to the Duke in Act I, Scene 3 of the play. Shakespeare does not just intend to create a similar character to Al-Annuri and Africanus, rather he intends to manifest his inner passion of jealousy for which he has no parallel as per the Renaissance literature in general and Africanus's work in particular. There was a reason for that. Shakespeare noticed other plays going into oblivion that had just engaged with an exotic character portrayal, without exploring the depths of his passions. Shakespeare, therefore, not only portrays a foreign character on the London's stage, but also engages with his jealousy, predominantly Moorish in its outlook, that is the focus of this chapter.

All these factors mentioned above, created a popular understanding of the Moors. However, Africanus's works had a deeper influence on the English mind regarding the image of the Moor. The Moors, according to Africanus are, 'extremely jealous of the chastity of their wives'.[152] Africanus says that the Moors 'beare a most sauage minde, being so extremely possessed with ielousie, that whomsoeuer they finde but talking with their wiues, they presently goe about to murther them'.[153] This idea is accurately presented in *Othello* when the Moor decides to kill Desdemona and later, when he finds them talking to each other first, and then sees Desdemona's handkerchief in Cassio's hands, plots Cassio's murder: 'How shall I murder

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[149] Brotton, *Orient Isle*, pp. 233, 235.
[150] Brotton, *Orient Isle*, pp. 12, 129.
[151] Brotton, *Orient Isle*, p. 290.
[152] Whitney, 'Did Shakespeare Know Leo Africanus?', 470-483 (p. 482).
[153] Africanus, *Historie*, p. 49.

him, Iago?' (*Othello*: IV.1.158). Shakespeare reflects his insight into the psychology of the Moors when Iago predicts that 'As he [Cassio] shall smile, Othello shall go mad' (*Othello*: IV.1.97). After the arranged episode in which Cassio smiles and displays Desdemona's handkerchief in his hands, Othello is infuriated and asks Iago to find methods to murder him. This is because 'the inhabitants of the cities of Barbarie' are 'very proud and high-minded, and woonderfully addicted vnto wrath' so much so that they 'will deeply engraue in marble any iniurie be it neuer so small, & will in no wise blot it out of their remembrance'.[154] According to Africanus, who himself was a converted Moor, writes that 'no nation in the world is so subiect vnto iealousie' as they are.[155]

Another striking feature of Othello's character trait that exactly matches the description of Africanus is the mental faculties or aptitude of the Moorish people. He says, 'Their wits are but meane; and they are so credulous, that they will beleeue matters impossible, which are told them', a testimony with which Knolles also agrees.[156] In simpler words, the Moors' judgement is completely blinded by their monstrous jealousy and they act unwisely. Before examining these claims about the credulousness of the Moors and their representation in Othello's character, it is important to note what Othello himself says about his own character:

OTHELLO Then must you speak
Of one that loved not wisely but too well,
Of one not easily jealous but, being wrought,
Perplexed in the extreme; Of one whose hand,
Like the base Judean, threw a pearl away
Richer than all his tribe. (*Othello*: V.2.341-46)

This speech appears to be the Shakespearean version of Africanus's above mentioned description because Othello himself confesses of his 'own weak merits' (*Othello*: III.3.183), that he is unwise (loved 'too well' but 'not wisely') and that his credulity to believe everything told to him ('being wrought'). Emilia calls him a 'dull moor' (*Othello*: V.2.222) and Iago is also aware of this weakness of the Moor that is why he believes that his 'medicine work! / Thus credulous fools are caught' (*Othello*: IV.1.41). These opinions by other characters about

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[154] Africanus, *Historie*, p. 41.
[155] Africanus, *Historie*, p. 40.
[156] Africanus, *Historie*, p. 41; Whitney, 'Did Shakespeare Know Leo Africanus?', 470-483 (p. 482).

Othello's credulity and vulnerability to monstrous jealousy establish Shakespeare's familiarity with Africanus's text in particular and contemporary literature on the Moors in general. In this way, Shakespeare's depiction of the Moorish jealousy matches the prevailing attitudes as well as expectations of his audience. Furthermore, in the above confession by Othello about his own personal features, he regrets that he ended up 'perplexed in the extreme', which is equivalent to saying, in Africanus's words 'addicted vnto wrath' as argued above.

With regard to Moors being credulous, especially when there are rumours against their wives, Othello's representation is accurately consonant with Africanus's description of the Moorish people who reports that the Moors 'beleeue matters impossible' when they are poisoned with such things. In Act III of the play, Iago initiates his revenge on the Moor by creating doubt, and hence jealousy, about the chastity of his wife in his mind.

> **IAGO** Did Michael Cassio,
> When you wooed my lady, know of your love? (*Othello*: III.3.92-93)

It is important to note that the Moor has been acquainted with Michael Cassio longer than his newly wed wife and he promotes him as his lieutenant earlier in the play. This reflects Othello's trust in Cassio's integrity, yet he instantly starts believing the impossible matter because of his credulous nature. Furthermore, Iago's delay in revealing more of the matter, a psychological strategy to trap the Moor, creates further doubts in Othello's mind and he believes that 'yet there's more in this' (*Othello*: III.3.127). This determines that he is a credulous person who is expecting, without any sound basis, some foul play to be told unto him regarding Cassio and his wife by Iago.

Once the Moor develops signs of doubt and jealousy, which was Iago's intention because he is aware of the Moor's vulnerability in such matters, he intensifies his attack by calling Othello a cuckold who does not know the true nature of Desdemona and Cassio's affair. By saying 'O, beware, my lord, of jealousy' (*Othello*: III.3.161), Iago tries to give him indirect suggestions and reminds him of jealousy. In addition to this, he continues with his psychological attack by saying 'I see this hath a little dashed your spirits' (*Othello*: III.3.210). Iago's trap is so powerful that at the end of the Act III, Othello, because of his credulous nature, starts believing that there is something wrong and that Desdemona can change ('And yet how nature, erring from itself', III.3.222). Othello, at this point, demonstrates mild signs of regret

in his marriage (‘Why did I marry?’, III.3.237) which, according to the early modern concept, is turning into a ‘shipwracke’.[157]

These are the first genuine signs of becoming the victim of jealousy because of his credulous nature, which according to the general understanding was stereotypical of the Moors. That Othello started believing what Iago told him is also clear from his comment in which he implies that he is a cuckold. Soon after Iago leaves, Desdemona appears before him. She asks him why his spirits look so dull to which he answers: ‘I have a pain upon my forehead here’ (*Othello*: III.3.278), referring to cuckolds having horns on their heads. This proves that even without seeing any proof, he believes the impossible and his ‘jealousy feeds, precisely, upon what is *not* [sic] witnessed but only imagined’.[158] A very similar thought is found in Iago’s lines:

> **IAGO** The Moor is of a free and open nature
> That thinks men honest that but seem to be so,
> And will as tenderly be led by th’ nose
> As asses are. (*Othello*: I.3.370-73)

Iago’s observation is strongly rooted in Africanus’s description:

> Most honest people they are, and destitute of all fraud and guile; not onely imbracing all simplicitie and truth, but also practising the same throughout the whole course of their liues.[159]

Africanus’s observation about the Moors and their strikingly identical portrayal in *Othello* strongly suggests Shakespeare familiarity with Africanus’s material with which he wanted to create his character—Othello. Although ‘his use of the [Africanus’s] book can be regarded only as a possibility, […] it seems to be altogether too much of a possibility to be ignored’.[160]

According to early modern understanding, ‘possessive jealousy’ was considered a desired passion with its roots in the Moorish culture because Moors were believed to be much

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[157] Niccholes, *A Discourse, of Marriage*, pp. 8-9.
[158] Bell, ‘Othello’s Jealousy’, 120-136 (p. 120).
[159] Africanus, *Historie*, p. 40.
[160] Whitney, ‘Did Shakespeare Know Leo Africanus?’, 470-483 (p. 476).

'enclined vnto Loue naturally'.[161] This implies that possessive jealousy stems from love. Varchi categorises desirable and undesirable jealousy thus:

> Wee condemne not IEALOVSIE it selfe, but the Excesse, and the too-too much of the same, as we find not fault with eating & drinking moderately, and other such naturall desires; but the abuse thereof, through too much glutonie.[162]

These claims by Varchi are open to debate, yet in Shakespeare's day, not the possessive jealousy, but its monstrosity was undesirable as is portrayed in *Othello* because early modern writers would link jealousy with honour in the Moors. However, despite the fact that 'iealousie' would 'bringeth with it great mischiefes' for being a 'wicked, and hurtfull plague', some early modern writers argued that in the matters of honour, whosoever 'feares not what men may saye of him, (as *Caccro* sayeth) is wicked and destestable' and 'blame them for not beeing iealous, although not of their wiues, yet of their honour'.[163] In this way, in matters of jealousy, the expectations of Moorish and English cultures in Shakespeare's society reflect the overlap and integration of two different cultures, the representation of which are found in *Othello* and *The Winter's Tale.*

Almost all writers who wrote on jealousy 'affirme that [love] and Jelosy are brothers, and that the one cannot bee without the other', as these passions are 'coupled together'.[164] Another way to describe this relationship is that 'Iealousie' is the 'effect of Love' and that there is '*no loue without a mixture of Jealousie*'.[165] From Varchi's viewpoint, 'Loue (truly) we cannot, vnlesse there be some spice of IEALOVSIE therein'.[166] These early modern attitudes to love are found in *Othello* and *The Winter's Tale* in which the protagonists, 'seem to play out the possibility that love and jealousy are indeed inseparable'.[167] Varchi's observation also implies that Othello and Leontes love their wives truly that is why they develop such an 'intollerable burden' and 'a frenzie' in their hearts that leads to the tragic incidents in these plays.

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[161] Wagschal, *Literature of Jealousy*, p. 19; Varchi, *The Blazon*, p. 23.
[162] Varchi, *The Blazon*, pp. 57-58.
[163] La Primaudaye, *The French Academie* (1594), p. 320; Varchi, *The Blazon*, p. 9; *Fancies*, G6^{v}.
[164] *Tell-Trothes*, D4^{r}; Varchi, *The Blazon*, p. 5.
[165] Reynolds, *Treatise of The Passions,* p. 105; Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 662.
[166] Varchi, *The Blazon*, p. 53.
[167] Breitenberg, 'Anxious Masculinity', 337-398, (p. 387).

However, love and jealousy are so strong that they cannot exist concurrently in a sufferer in equal intensity: 'at the gate where suspition commeth in, loue goeth out' and jealousy is a fearful suspicion as argued above.[168] This paradoxical relationship between these two violent passions suggests that both of them cannot afflict the victim at the same time: if love dominates the motions of the body, then reconciliation is possible; in case jealousy reaches monstrosity, it may 'ruine *Loue,* like vnto a thicke smoake which smothers the brightest flame' if a jealous person could 'expell it not' despite the fact that jealousy is the sign of true love.[169] Shakespeare portrays this paradox with subtle effectiveness. In *Othello*, the Moor's jealousy ruins his true love in the form of Desdemona's and his death; in *The Winter's Tale* Leontes's jealousy is expelled after receiving the Oracle and he is able to reconcile.

In Shakespeare's society, jealousy was also understood from a geographical perspective in the sense that 'those iealous husbands' who 'tyrannise ouer their poore wiues', are from hot countries, for example '*Greece, Spaine, Italy, Turkey, Africke, Asia*' for the reason that 'the starres' were 'a cause or signe of this bitter passion' along with 'the country or clime'.[170] Such notions, based on the overlap of the two cultures, gave rise to an aspect of jealousy that was of a complex nature in its own right. Renaissance literature outlined that people's passions were due to the specific location of a country or region and governed by certain stars. The roots of these notions emerge from Galenic traditions, based on which the literature of the day established a connection between humours or elements of body and the stars. As '*Melancholy,* is likned to *Earth, Flegme* to *water; Blood* to *Ayre; Choller* to *Fire*', early modern theorists believed that the movement of stars created the movement in these elements, thus affecting humour, altering tempers and resulting in the production of passions, also known as the motions of the mind.[171] Based on such conceptions, Varchi and Burton argue that the Moorish people, because of the location of their countries or regions, are more prone to extreme form of jealousy than other nations. These factors rendered a performative aspect to jealousy as well as a diversity of concepts and character that not only inspired Shakespeare, but other playwrights to portray Moors on the stage. Varchi also claims that people who 'dwell in hot Regions are very Iealous'.[172] Referring to Renaissance psychology regarding different climatic zones, Davies endorses the concept that 'extreme environments were thus potentially capable

[168] *Court of Good Counsell*, C2^{v}.
[169] Coeffeteau, *A Table*, pp. 183-184.
[170] Burton, *Anatomy*, pp. 684, 669
[171] Nemesius, *The Nature of Man,* trans. by Geo: Wither (London: Printed by Miles, 1636), p. 217.
[172] Varchi, *The Blazon*, pp. 22-23.

of deforming souls or their capacity to understand nature or the divine' thus turning them into 'beasts'.[173] Othello is a Moor from Africa and Shakespeare's knowledge of African culture and Othello's identity are explicitly consonant with the Renaissance literature:

> The Southerne Nations, and such as dwell in hot Regions are very Iealous; eyther because they are much giuen and enclined vnto Loue naturally: or else for that they hold it a great disparagement and scandall, to haue their Wifes, or their Mistresses taynted with the foule blot of Vnchastitie: which thing those that are of contrary Regions, and such as liue vnder the North-Pole, take not so deepe at the heart.[174]

Such observations by early moderns about different regions have a history. The prevalent knowledge and awareness regarding the distribution of the world into different climatic zones and their effect on inhabitants originate from highly influential 'fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century manuscripts of Ptolemy's *Geography*' that 'marked latitudes and climatic zones (*climata*) on each map'.[175] On a metaphorical note, Charron argues that 'The Southerns die with iealousie', however, Shakespeare enacts the difference between the Southerners and the Northerners literally: Othello dies of his jealousy, whereas Leontes does not.[176]

Early moderns believed that jealousy had a very special link to the upper class of society because 'the Sonnes of *Knightes, Barrons, Earles, Dukes,* and *Princes,* & many of them, as ready to hazarde their liues, for their honour & Country', which Shakespeare portrays in *Othello* in which the Moor is sent to confront the enemy across a turbulent sea to Cyprus.[177] This also refers to the conflict between Catholic and Moorish empires in Cyprus and it is 'most grieuous when it is for a kingdome it selfe, or matters of commodity, it produceth lamentable effects'.[178] Furthermore, the conflict between Othello and Iago that concludes with multiple deaths at the end of the play could be a representation of early modern awareness of the 'terrible examples […] amongst the Turkes, especially many iealous outrages' in which '*Selimus* killed *Carnutus* his youngest brother, fiue of his nephewes, *Mustapha Bassa,* and

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[173] Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography,* p. 34.
[174] Varchi, *The Blazon*, pp. 22-23.
[175] Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography*, p. 29.
[176] Charron, *Of Wisdome*, p. 166
[177] *The English Courtier* (London: Richard Iones, 1586), D1^r.
[178] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 664.

many others'.[179] These are some of the main reasons that for early modern society, jealousy was 'a secret disease, that commonly lurkes and breeds in princes families' and Shakespeare's *Othello* and *The Winter's Tale* deal with royal settings—Othello being the commander in chief of the Italian forces dealing with the upper class: the Duke, Desdemona, Brabanzio, Iago, Roderigo; and Leontes, who himself is a king and the net of his jealousy is woven around his own queen and his friend, Polixenes, another king.[180] In this way, the Turk or the Moorish figure, as Shakespeare appears to draw on the complexity of these common traits of their jealousy, becomes a means for figuring jealousy, again reflecting the impact of Anglo-Islamic interactions and cultural overlap which benefited both.

Apart from the protagonists Othello and Leontes, Shakespeare presents some other characters who suffer from nuanced form of jealousy as have been the subject of relatively little attention. These various forms are explored, chiefly in *Othello*, for example in the characters of Iago, Bianca and Roderigo; whereas, in *The Winter's Tale*, Leontes's jealousy dominates the whole series of events, and there are no significant examples of jealousy other than Leontes. Iago suffers from jealousy and envy at the same time and according to early modern literature 'IEALOVSIE is a Spice or Species of Enuy', which means these two passions are closely interconnected.[181] Despite the fact that they are similar, there is a subtle difference as explained by Charron:

> IEalousie is a passion like almost, both in nature and effect, vnto Enuie, but that it seemeth that Enuie considereth not what is good, but in as much as it is in the possession of another man, and that we desire it for our selues; and Iealousie concerneth our owne proper good, whereof wee feare another doth partake.[182]

Keeping in view these early modern concepts regarding these twin passions, Iago's jealousy, encompassing racial, professional and sexual elements, and envy are examined simultaneously for they overlap in the play. Shakespeare, however, portrays Iago as a complex character with a mixture of various forms of jealousy. There are three main people that are the reason for Iago's jealousy and envy: the Moor, Desdemona and Cassio.

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[179] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 665.
[180] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 664.
[181] Varchi, *The Blazon*, p. 12.
[182] Charron, *Of Wisdome*, p. 91.

Iago is jealous and envious of the Moor for being the commander of the Venetian army despite his Moorish background—a racist idea of the time against the Moors as noted by Matar and Loomba, for Iago might have been envisioning himself in Othello's place. During the last days of Elizabeth, the harmonious relationship with Barbary saw a decline which 'under James I and Charles I […] deteriorated' further and in this way, 'the Moor had moved from a towering figure in the Elizabethan period to a criminal pirate'.[183] Based on these changing notions during the last days of Elizabeth's rule and 'the political anxiety about Moors in London', playwrights started 'to blacken them [moors]' to link them to 'inhabitants of Africa' or refer to them as the "race of Ham", who was Noah's son and according to biblical authority, 'God punished him for disobeying his father by making his descendants black in colour'.[184] This is how the colour black became the target of hatred and represents danger and evil in early modern England as reflected by Iago's attitude towards Othello.

Long before Shakespeare, Christian theologians 'from the eleventh century and onwards' presented the Islamic faith 'as a scourge sent by a Christian God to test his followers' faith' and painted Muslims as 'barbaric, licentious and gluttonous'.[185] Knolles also refers to the Moors as 'the great scourge of Christendome'.[186] In addition to these ideas from the middle ages, Erasmus and Luther also propagated the idea that the Moors and Ottomans were the 'race of barbarians' who are 'buried within the heart of all believers', thus equating them with evil, as expressed by Iago: 'Nay, it is true, or else I am a Turk' (*Othello*: II.1.114).[187] This was the early modern religious prejudice against the Moors and the Turks personified in Iago, the equivalent of 'St James or Santiago […] the Moor Killer' and expressed through his jealousy of Othello.[188]

Additionally, Iago is jealous of the Moor because he has a fair wife; and a black ram having a white ewe shows his sense of 'loss, distress, anxiety and anger', chief characteristics of jealousy.[189] This also reflects that he is envious of the Moor for having a fair wife that is why he says 'The Moor—howbe't that I endure him not—' (*Othello*: II.1.262) despite his 'constant, loving, noble nature' (*Othello*: II.1.263). In this matter, Iago resembles Roderigo,

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[183] Matar, *Britain and Barbary*, pp. 172, 8.
[184] Matar, *Britain and Barbary*, p. 33; Loomba, *Shakespeare,* p. 35.
[185] Brotton, *Orient Isle*, p. 25
[186] Knolles, *Historie of the Turkes*, p. 432.
[187] Brotton, *Orient Isle*, pp. 31-32.
[188] Barbara Everett, '"Spanish" Othello: The Making of Shakespeare's Moor', *Shakespeare Survey*, 35 (1982), 101-12 (p. 103).
[189] Parrott Gerrod and Richard H. Smith, 'Distinguishing the Experiences of Envy and Jealousy', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 64.6 (1993), 906-920 (p. 906).

not only in his envy and jealousy but also in his racially derogatory remarks when Roderigo says, ‘What a full fortune does the thick-lips own / If he can carry’t thus!’ (*Othello*: I.1.64-65) referring again to ‘the sons of the cursed Ham with thick lips and rolling eyes, fearful “to look on” (*Othello*, 1.3.98)’.[190]

Moreover, Iago claims to be in love with Desdemona ‘I do love her too’ (*Othello*: II.1.265) and where there is love there is jealousy, especially when Iago also believes, falsely, that the Moor slept with his wife Emilia. The events in the play do not hint towards Othello sleeping with Emilia and this could be Iago’s jealousy that blinded his own judgment. In other words, he became the victim of jealousy that blinded him like the way he wanted Othello to be blinded so that ‘judgement cannot cure’ (*Othello*: II.1.276). He is trapped in the same trap that he used for Othello.

IAGO As I confess, it is my nature’s plague
To spy into abuses, and oft my jealousy
Shapes faults that are not. (*Othello*: III.3.143-45)

Therefore, the idea of the Moor sleeping with his wife is his jealousy that is , in his own words, ‘shaping faults’ and it is not Iago’s dilemma specifically; it was a common perception at the time. In this connection, Niccholes’s advice is important: ‘auoide Iealousy that vnresolued vexation, that labours to seeke out what it hopes it shall not finde.’[191] Modern criticism also endorses this idea that jealousy has no ‘rational cause’ and that ‘its fantasies are created out of nothing, otherwise it is not jealousy’.[192] Nonetheless, this notion increases the monstrosity of his jealousy towards the Moor that he decides to use it as a catalyst to take revenge on the Moor.

IAGO But partly led to diet my revenge
For that I do suspect the lusty Moor
Hath leapt into my seat—the thought whereof
Doth, like a poisonous mineral, gnaw my inwards,
And nothing can or shall content my soul

[190] Matar, *Britain and Barbary*, p. 33.
[191] Niccholes, *A Discourse, of Marriage*, p. 45.
[192] Currie, ‘Agency and Repentance’, pp. 171-183 (p. 173).

Till I am evened with him, wife for wife. (*Othello*: II.1.268-73)

There are certain phrases in this soliloquy, for example 'my revenge', 'lusty Moor', 'gnaw my inwards' and 'nothing can or shall content my soul' that reflect Iago's extreme hatred towards the Moor for the reasons stated above. This thought process finds an exact match in the following excerpt from Charron:

> Iealousie is a weake maladie of the soule, absurd, vaine, terrible and tyrannicall, it insinuateth it selfe vnder the title of amitie; but after it hath gotten possession, vpon the selfesame foundation of loue and good will, it buildeth an euerlasting hate. Vertue, health, merit, reputation, are the incendiaries of this rage, or rather the fewell vnto this furie.[193]

With regard to Cassio, Iago tells Roderigo that he hates the Moor because he chose Cassio to be promoted to be the second in command despite the fact that 'three great ones of the city' (*Othello*: I.1.7) favoured his (Iago) name but the Moor said: 'I have already chose my officer' (*Othello*: I.1.15). Iago believes that Cassio, like Othello, also slept with Emilia, and the idea of Cassio wearing his 'nightcap, too' (*Othello*: II.1.281) compounds his morbid jealousy for Cassio. For this reason, Iago, right from the start of the play, is bent on destroying both Othello and Cassio.

There is another reason for Iago's jealousy and envy for Cassio as is stated by Iago himself.

IAGO If Cassio do remain,
He hath a daily beauty in his life
That makes me ugly. (*Othello*: V.1.18-20)

Cassio is handsome, young, and a man of character and if he lives, Iago's plot could come to light. If that happens, not only Othello's choice of Cassio as his second in command is justified, but it will also bring more notoriety to Iago. Iago's acknowledgment that Cassio has a 'daily beauty in his life' reflects his 'feelings of inferiority, longing, resentment' which demonstrates

[193] Charron, *Of Wisdome*, pp. 91-92.

that he is envious of Cassio. At the same time, Iago is afraid of losing his reputation and revealing his ugliness, which makes him anxious and angry, and this represents his jealousy.[194]

Changing the focus from the male experience of jealousy, the following section examines female responses to jealousy in early modern society. From among the minor characters, Bianca also shows signs of jealousy in the play and Shakespeare uses her jealousy as a yardstick to compare a female's jealousy with a male's; to convey that 'iealosie is much more hurtfull in a man, then woman'.[195] Jealousy, as it has a 'somewhat different meaning for males and females' according to modern research, was, to some extent, the same in the England of Shakespeare.[196] When Cassio gives her the handkerchief to copy the pattern, she thinks that it has come from Cassio's mistress.

BIANCA O, Cassio, whence came this?
This is some token from a newer friend.
To the felt absence now I feel a cause.
Is't come to this? Well, well. (*Othello*: III.4.169-72)

This is a clear example of jealousy because in the very next dialogue, Cassio denies these allegations and tells her 'you are jealous now' (*Othello*: III.4.142). However, this jealousy, felt by a woman (Bianca), is not violent, aggressive and monstrous compared to jealousy felt by an early modern man (Othello or Leontes). Othello and Leontes's jealousy is bestial, monstrous and violent; whereas Bianca's jealousy is mild and harmless. It was a disease, 'most eminent in men' with a capacity to wreak havoc as represented by Shakespeare in these two plays.[197] Female jealousy existed by all means as is portrayed by Shakespeare. However, as women had passive and submissive roles, especially in matters of love and marriage, their jealousy was mild like Bianca's. She uses just a few harsh words for Cassio thus: 'There, give it your hobbyhorse! […] Wheresoever you had it, I'll take out no work on't' (*Othello*: IV.1.143-145). Despite all that, she asks Cassio to 'come to supper tonight' (*Othello*: IV.1.148), which demonstrates a mild reaction that could not have been possible in the case of a male's jealousy, regarding his wife or mistress. Shakespeare thus juxtaposes Othello and Leontes's monstrous

[194] Gerrod and Smith, 'Distinguishing the Experiences', 906-920 (p. 906).
[195] *Fancies*, H6^{r}.
[196] Buunk, 'Jealousy as Related', 107-112 (p. 107).
[197] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 667.

jealousy with Bianca's mild jealousy in order to underscore his distinctive approaches to this passion in relation to gender.

Although most conduct books in the early modern period focused on educating the woman in wifely 'obedience', 'serving', 'duty', 'silence' and warning the man of her sexual promiscuity as she was considered a weaker sex and vulnerable to distraction, certain books advised the man to behave in a more humane and a discreet way in situations in which he finds any fault with his wife; and not to allow jealousy—the 'tyrant of the mind'— if he finds any misgovernment in her behaviour.[198]

> Now if the husband, chaunce to espy any fault in his wife, eyther in words, gesture, or doings, he must reprehend her, not reproachfully nor angerly, but as one that is carefull of her honesty, and what opinion others carry of her, and this must alwayes be done secretly betweene themselues, remembring the saying, that a man must neyther chide, nor play with his wife, in the presence of others.[199]

As opposed to this early modern antidote for jealousy explained by the author, both Othello and Leontes do the contrary. They expose their wives' so-called faults in public, directly or indirectly. Although Othello does not make his vexation public directly, he seeks Iago's help to find the truth and asks him to 'Set on thy wife to observe' (*Othello*: III.3.235) Desdemona. Leontes disgraces Hermione in front of his courtiers, discusses the matter with Camillo, Antigonus and Paulina. He also sends a messenger to Delphi to seek the oracle from gods, even though Leontes tells Camillo that 'I'll give no blemish to her honour, none' (*TWT*: I.2.341). Because of all this, Hermione complains in the trial scene that 'You thus have published me' (*TWT*: II.1.98), hence bringing public disgrace to her good reputation. Hermione's complaint could also suggest that like a published book, her disgrace is disseminated far and wide to shame her publicly to bring his revengeful jealousy and rage 'a moiety of my rest' (*TWT*: II.3.8). Shakespeare implies that if established standards are challenged aggressively, destruction must follow.

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[198] Jardine, *Still Harping*, p. 59; Dryden, *Love Triumphant,* p. 32.
[199] *Court of Good Counsell*, C4^{v}.

2.3. Conclusion

As this study has outlined, jealousy in early modern terms was a complex and pluralistic passion with nuanced connotations. The study of early modern concepts of jealousy is also the study of the classical, religious, racial, political and commercial movements of the time in which Shakespeare's society was deeply immersed. Patriarchal traditions of Shakespeare's society heavily influenced the understanding of this violent passion. In the wake of the Reformation and the Renaissance, abundant literature was available including classical literature, conduct manuals, medical and religious treatises in English and European languages. Apart from that, literature mediating the East was also abundantly available which also raised awareness of jealousy. Due to the on-going Anglo-Islamic interactions, various forms and definitions of jealousy, anchored in political and historical contexts, emerged and became popular not only in English society but also on the stage. The most prominent features of monstrous jealousy, linked to both Moors and Turks, became a permanent feature of the theatre, which, like other factors mentioned above, contributed to Shakespeare's understanding of jealousy and his portrayal of Othello, the Moor of Venice. Along with the male experiences of jealousy in early modern society, the chapter has also focused on female jealousy as was understood in Shakespeare's society and portrayed in his drama. In historicising jealousy, the chapter draws heavily from various social movements and underscores the early modern nature of the passion which Shakespeare called 'the green-eyed monster'.

To some, 'emotion is culture' with a history of its own, and Shakespeare engaged with jealousy in its rich context with a clear understanding of this passion.[200] Therefore, Shakespeare's treatment of jealousy in *Othello* and *The Winter's Tale* as an early modern violent, aggressive and male-oriented malady is a comprehensive study of the history of this passion and its most prominent and visible features known to the society. Burton's diagnosis of jealousy effectively summarises its treatment in Shakespeare's drama:

> Iealosie […] begets vnquietnes in the mind night and day: he hunts after euery word he heares, euery whisper, and amplifies it to himselfe, with a most iniust calumny of others, he misinterprets every thing is said or done, most apt to mistake and misconster, he pries in euery corner, followes close, obserues to an haire: Besides all those strange gestures

[200] Reddy, *Navigation of Feeling*, p. ix.

> of staring, frowning, grinning, rolling of eyes, menacing, gastly looks, broken pace, interrupt, precipitate, halfe turnes.[201]

Othello and Leontes embody all these traits. On a deeper level, Burton might have drawn inspiration from Shakespeare's works to create such a comprehensive list of different symptoms of jealousy. Therefore, as argued in this study, Shakespeare not only drew inspiration from various factors prevalent in his society to shape his dramatic imagination, he, likewise, was 'content to improvise a part of his own within its orthodoxy' which 'enriched and complicated the emotional culture that he inhabited'.[202]

Out of the three passions that are the focus of this research, melancholy and jealousy, as investigated in Chapters 1 and 2 respectively, receive humoral treatment in Shakespeare's drama with all their underlining complexity, anchored in his social context. As a result, the first two chapters of this research have contended that Shakespeare's approach to these two passions is thoroughly grounded, predominantly, in the widespread Galenic or humoral traditions of the day and in Aristotelian traditions to some extent. This also reflects the deeper impact of the humoral theory of passions on Shakespeare. In contrast, Shakespeare's treatment of repentance, as has been argued in Chapter 3, exhibits his approach from a purely religious perspective, thus confirming his close affinity to Scholasticism or Thomism. This approach links his treatment of repentance to the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas, the leading figure of Scholasticism, and to Aristotle, who remained influential figures throughout Shakespeare lifetime and even beyond. In this way, Shakespeare's treatment of repentance shares this commonality with melancholy and jealousy that all three emerge from the prevailing approaches and attitudes to passions. Therefore, the next chapter explores Shakespeare's treatment of repentance predominantly from its uniquely religious perspective.

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[201] Burton, *Anatomy*, pp. 681-682.

[202] Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, p. 253; Meek and Sullivan, *Renaissance of Emotion*, Introduction (p. 10).

Chapter 3: Shakespeare's Treatment of Repentance

In his treatment of repentance, Shakespeare portrays it from an early modern doctrinal perspective, intermingled with a secular and unethical political struggle for power. The 'passion of repentance' was, to Shakespeare's society, one of the primary ways to attract divine attention in order to seek forgiveness for sins.[1] However, this passion, like melancholy and jealousy, was a pluralistic passion that incorporated guilt, remorse or contrition of the heart, 'feare of God' and 'godly sorrowe' or grief, discussed in detail later in the chapter.[2] Although the Catholic Church still retains repentance as a doctrinal tenet, in modern times, repentance, and the emotions attached to it, hold a secular interpretation outside the ecclesiastical domain unlike that held by early modern culture. Therefore, a contextualised analysis of Shakespeare's treatment of repentance is presented in this chapter with special reference to *Macbeth*, *Hamlet* and *The Winter's Tale*.

Shakespeare's portrayal of repentance incorporates features of both Catholic and Protestant ideology—sometimes a mixture of both of them—as the playwright witnessed his society transform from a Catholic to a Protestant country in the wake of the Reformation. This transformation was not merely religious, it was political too, forcefully implemented by the political might of both Tudor and Stuart monarchs of the time. Taking an oath of allegiance under the Church of England was mandatory. Those who refused were first fined and later made subject to high treason. Sarah Beckwith mentions that 'the goal was for subjects to accept the king as head of church and state and so implicitly to reject the dominion and authority of the pope and his spiritual jurisdiction'.[3] In this highly polarised religious and political atmosphere, it was impossible for anyone to stay outside the domain of any denomination of Christianity. Whether Shakespeare himself was a Catholic or a follower of the Church of England is not directly germane to the argument here. The important thing is that 'there is contradictory evidence in favor of either hypothesis,' which reflects the influence of religio-political environment of his society on Shakespeare, and consequently discernible in his plays.[4] Because of this profound religious impact on the society enforced by political agency, repentance was a 'Christian term' for both Catholics and Protestants and their concepts of

[1] John Dod, *Foure Godlie And Fruitful Sermons* (London: Printed by TC., 1611), p. 36; Fenton, *A Treatise Against,* p. 124; Thomas Hobbes, *Hobbs's Tripos In Three Discourses* (London: Printed for Matt. Gilliflower, Henry Rogers, and Tho. Fox, 1684), p. 51; Thomas Swadlin, *Sermons, Meditations, And Prayers, Upon the Plague* (London: Printed by N. and Io. Okes, 1637), p. 87.
[2] A.P., *The Compasse of a Christian* (London: Imprinted by Iohn Wolfe, 1582), pp. 17, 112.
[3] Sarah Beckwith, *Shakespeare And the Grammar of Forgiveness* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), p. 21.
[4] Boitani, *The Gospel*, p. 2.

repentance as a doctrinal tenet were fundamentally similar, even though they had their differences in practice.[5]

Repentance was commonly understood as a passion bestowed upon humans by God to seek forgiveness. Both religious denominations agreed that repentance is God's 'benefite' and a 'gift' to purify oneself of sins.[6] Protestant preachers like the puritan Arthur Dent believed that 'repentance is the free gift of the grace of God, who giveth it to every man'; whereas Catholics, on the other hand, believed that 'repentance is the rare gift of God, & it is given but to a fewe'.[7] Nonetheless, both believed that 'the vertue of Repentance in the heart of Man is Gods handy-work'.[8]

However, both the efficacy and manner of repentance were serious matters of contention between the two denominations of Christianity. As a result, 'the primary issue for Shakespeare and his contemporaries was not *if* but *how* sins should be repented', and exploiting such a difference, both Catholic and Protestant polemicists debated the issue prolifically in that 'age of polemic'.[9] David Steinmetz claims, as noted by Beckwith, that 'the Reformation began almost accidentally as a debate about the word for "penitence" with the Reformation's 'preference for the term "repentance" over "penance"'.[10] A background of religious discordance like this, which was driven by theologians and polemicists and which remained 'a characteristic of the sixteenth century', did a lot of damage and 'resulted ultimately in an increased sectarianism within English religious society among both Catholics and Protestants'.[11] Therefore, it would be very useful to highlight the differences between the Catholic and Protestant schools of thought as far as the practice of repentance is concerned. Richard Hooker, in his book *Of The Laws Of Ecclesiasticall Politie* (1666), considered to be the first major work to deal with the theology, philosophy, and political thought of the Church of England, explains:

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[5] Gray, 'Shakespeare versus Aristotle', 85-111 (p. 10).
[6] A.T., *A Christian Reprofe Against Contention* (Amsterdam: Successors of G. Thorpe,1631), pp. 344, 448.
[7] Heather Hirschfeld, *The End of Satisfaction: Drama and Repentance in the Age of Shakespeare* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014), p. 27.
[8] Richard Hooker, *Of the Lawes Of Ecclesiasticall Politie, The Sixth and Eighth Books* (London: Printed by Richard Bishop, 1648), p. 8; Richard Hooker, *Of the Lawes Of Ecclesiasticall Politie, Eight Books* (London: Printed by Andrew Crooke, 1666), p. 328.
[9] Paul Stegner, *Confession and Memory in Early Modern English Literature: Penitential Remains* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), p. 2; Hattaway, *A Companion*, Introduction (p. 4).
[10] Beckwith, *Grammar of Forgiveness*, p. 131.
[11] Hamilton, 'Theological Writings', pp. 589-99 (p. 598).

> It is not to be marvelled that so great a difference appeareth between the Doctrine of *Rome* and Ours, when we teach Repentance. They imply in the Name of Repentance much more than we do; We stand chiefly upon the due inward Conversion of the Heart, They more upon Works of external shew; We teach, above all things, that Repentance which is one and the same from the beginning to the World's end; They a Sacramental Penance, of their own devising and shaping: We labour to instruct men in such sort, that every Soul which is wounded with sin, may learn the way how to cure it self; They clean contrary would make all Soars seem incurable, unless the Priests have a hand in them.[12]

Irrespective of the teachings of both religious denominations, it seems clear that the basic tenets of repentance remain at the heart of early modern theological debate which seep into all layers of cultural life, including those of literature and the stage. Shakespeare's drama directly engages with the intellectual and spiritual questions prompted by these fissures.

In early modern terms, repentance was a complex passion, involving guilt, remorse and 'sorrow of repentance'.[13] In terms of religious doctrine, 'when God hath called the heart from sinne, it melts into teares, and is smitten with a holy remorse'—because repentance allows individuals to be ashamed of their sins and seek forgiveness, hence closeness to God.[14] Repentance was a 'contrition' and a 'vexation' for early modern society and an individual would repent 'with grief and hatred of his sin, turn from it unto God'.[15] Explaining the early modern concept of repentance, Patrick Gray describes it as an 'internal metanoia', which is an afterthought or change of heart, also mentioned in the New Testament and that 'it cannot be secured by any kind of external "compulsion"'.[16] With regards to sinning against God, the author of *The Compasse of a Christian* explains that 'our owne conscience doth tell vs, that [...] we haue greatly offended him, and prouoked his euerlasting curse to be powred vpon vs' and this 'consideration [...] stirreth vp in vs greate care; much and earnest prayer, euen with groning sobbes, and bitter teares; feare' to avoid God's judgments which otherwise could be

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[12] Hooker, *Ecclesiasticall Politie* (1648), pp. 82-83; Hooker, *Ecclesiasticall Politie* (1666), p.357.
[13] Thomas Adams, A *Commentary Or, Exposition Vpon The Diuine Second Epistle Generall* (London: Printed by Richard Badger, 1633), p. 140.
[14] Adams, *A Commentary*, p. 210.
[15] Adams, *A Commentary*, p. 683; Joseph Alleine, *A Most Familiar Explanation of The Assemblies Shorter Catechism* (London: Printed for Edw. Brewster, 1674), p. 126.
[16] Gray, 'Shakespeare versus Aristotle', 85-111 (pp. 2, 3, 25).

'executed vpon vs'.[17] In this way, the early modern concept of repentance was an intellectual decision to change one's behaviour following a step-by-step process which included: the acknowledgement of one's sin, contrition of the heart because of godly sorrow for committing sin against God, 'feare of Gods iudgements' and restitution or the amendment in behaviour in order to seek remission or God's forgiveness.[18] Repentance, however, must not be confused with guilt that is a feeling arising from a moral wrong. It was not a pluralistic passion and did not have the elements of repentance as stated above. To sum up, repentance included guilt, but guilt did not include repentance in its early modern doctrinal form. Therefore, repentance in its early modern context was an active decision on the part of the sinner, whereas guilt was a passive condition, blaming one's self only.

The didactic literature of the day tried to inculcate the notion of repentance, like any other religious tenet, in the mind of the general public in an understandable and effective way—in the form of 'shorter catechism' with 'larger answers broken into lesser parcels'.[19] Apart from engaging the educated reader with lengthy discussions on religious topics, Joseph Alleine explains the concept of repentance thus:

> Q. Is there never true repentance without real grief for sin?
> A. No.[20]

For an early modern individual, the true passion of repentance meant grief or contrition of the heart; and it was a painful feeling to endure. Roger Fenton mentions repentance as being 'so harsh and bitter that you cannot abide it, it makes you heauy and melancholly, it pinches, it cuts, it rents your hearts, it crucifies your sweet affections, I know it is so vnsauory you cannot abide it'.[21] Explaining at length this afflictive concept of repentance, Descartes, in 1649, comments on and endorses the idea of grief, attached to repentance, by saying that 'it [repentance] is a species of Sadness which comes from believing oneself to have done some bad action; it is very bitter, because its cause comes from us alone'.[22] John Bodenham discusses repentance and the emotion of grief and maintains that 'After minds guilt, doth inward griefe begin'.[23] In Shakespeare's day, 'many of the most influential theorist of "passion" and

[17] A.P., *The Compasse*, p. 25.
[18] A.P., *The Compasse*, p. 68.
[19] Alleine, *Most Familiar Explanation*, A1^{r}.
[20] Alleine, *Most Familiar Explanation*, p. 127.
[21] Fenton, *A Treatise Against*, p. 121.
[22] René Descartes, *The Passions of the Soul: An English Translation of Les Passions de l'âme*, trans. by Stephen Voss (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1989), p. 122.
[23] John Bodenham, *The Garden of The Muses* (London: Imprinted by F. K., 1600), p. 8.

"affections" had been moral philosophers, clergymen, or both' who wrote prolifically for the awareness and education of people on the passion of repentance and emotions attached to it, exclusively from theological perspective that provided repentance its religious character.[24]

Shakespeare lived in this 'muddied theological world' and wrote under the 'abiding cultural influence of Christianity'.[25] Therefore, clear theological traces of the impact of this milieu are dominant in Shakespeare's treatment of repentance in his works because the expression of 'emotions depend on language, cultural practices, expectations, and moral beliefs' and 'every culture thus exerts certain restraints while favoring certain forms of expressivity'.[26] Also, as William Reddy puts it, emotions are shaped 'by the environment in which the individual lives' because culture is 'a set of overlearned cognitive habits'.[27] Although the impact of cultural context cannot be denied, yet it is noted that this narrative that 'culture makes man' must be considered as 'only a half truth. Each person is molded by an interaction of his environment, especially his cultural environment, with the genes that affect social behaviour'.[28] Critics, like Richard Meek and Erin Sullivan, who oppose the idea of an absolute impact of culture on writers believe that there is some space for a writer's individuality and that early modern 'writers such as Shakespeare had the capacity to shape their culture, rather than simply being shaped by it' because 'Shakespeare seems to have played a particularly important role in creating new words and vocabularies for expressing emotional states, which in turn enriched and complicated that emotional culture that he inhabited'.[29] Henceforth, repentance in Shakespeare's plays presents a close observation of the cultural attitude to this emotion, but the playwright also digresses to introduce innovation—that is he blends Catholic and Protestant ideals of repentance to either hide his religious identity, or to serve the purpose of the scene (art for art's sake)—for he was a creative playwright and entertainer, not an historian.

Regarding Shakespeare's innovation in portraying repentance as a blend of Catholic and Protestant ideals, some critics support the idea that apart from being influenced by the oral tradition of his culture, Shakespeare used different versions of the Bible available at the time that enriched his understanding of the passion, that is to say that his emotional intelligence was

[24] Thomas Dixon, '"Emotion": The History of a Keyword in Crisis', *Emotion Review*, 4.4 (2012), 338-44 (p. 342).
[25] Stegner, *Confession and Memory*, p. 107; Gray, 'Shakespeare versus Aristotle', 85-111 (p. 10).
[26] Rosenwein, 'Worrying About Emotions', 821-845 (p. 12).
[27] Reddy, *Navigation of Feeling*, p. 34.
[28] Edward Wilson, *On Human Nature* (London: Harvard University Press, 1978), p. 18.
[29] Meek and Sullivan, *Renaissance of Emotion*, Introduction (p. 10).

also influenced by the literary traditions of his time.[30] In other words, both the 'orality and literacy' of his culture shaped Shakespeare's understanding of the passion of repentance.[31] In Gerald Hammond's view, 'not only Shakespeare, but probably every literate Elizabethan owned and read the Geneva Bible'.[32] Piero Boitani claims that sometimes 'Shakespeare uses the Geneva Bible, the great English Protestant translation of 1560' but he also seems to have benefited from 'the Douai-Rheims version (1582–1610), that is, the Catholic translation' and last but not least, he uses 'the Anglican one, namely, the King James Bible, published in its entirety in 1611'; however, Boitani professes that Shakespeare 'always approaches the Bible obliquely'.[33] This clearly demonstrates why Shakespeare's treatment of repentance incorporates Catholic, Protestant and mixed ideologies and why he is able to present and 'explicitly hybrid religious setting[s]'.[34] This is precisely the focus of this chapter: to investigate Shakespeare's treatment and portrayal of the abstract, doctrinal understanding of repentance, intermingled with that of the concrete, secular, political struggle for power.

3.1. 'Though Thou Repent, Yet…': Repentance in *Macbeth*

Macbeth, as compared with *Hamlet* and *The Winter's Tale,* is shaped by a predominantly Protestant treatment of repentance, although a Catholic version of the passion also finds its place in the play. When the Scottish general's ambition is further nourished by the prediction of the three witches, especially at the fulfilment of their first prophecy of Macbeth's becoming the Thane of Cawdor, he starts seeing the prospects of becoming the king of Scotland and begins thinking on those lines. This happens just after his first encounter with the supernatural, which is reflected when he calls his wife 'partner of greatness' (*Macbeth*: I.5.8) and proves the truth of the early modern belief that 'He that hath enough seekes for more'.[35] Apart from being an individual seeking for more, he is a character who is fully aware of the concept of sin and punishment and shows clear marks of turbulence troubling his mind at the very idea of regicide. In his soliloquy ('If it were done […] And falls on th'other', *Macbeth*: I.7.1-27), not only does Macbeth recall the good nature of Duncan, but being his host and a subject, he finds it a sinful idea to commit murder and knows that it will be punished here on earth:

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[30] For a detailed study of oral and literate culture see: Adam Adam, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002).
[31] Gillespie and Rhodes, *Popular Culture,* Introduction (p. 10).
[32] Gerald Hammond, 'Translations of the Bible', in *A Companion,* ed. by Hattaway, pp. 165-175 (p. 166).
[33] Boitani, *The Gospel*, pp. 2, 29.
[34] Stegner, *Confession and Memory*, p. 107.
[35] *The Passionate Morrice*, E2^{v}.

MACBETH But in these cases
We still have judgment here, that we but teach
Bloody instructions, which, being taught, return
To plague th' inventor. (*Macbeth*: 1.7.7-10)

Ironically, Macbeth is predicting his downfall and behaving like the witches who also indirectly predict his fall. However, there is no supernatural agency involved in Macbeth's prediction, rather it is Shakespeare's theological knowledge reflected in Macbeth which was part and parcel of his society: 'Repentance for the forgiveness of sins would be preached to all nations' (Luke 24:46–7), and Shakespeare's nation was not an exception. In addition to this, Macbeth also seems to be aware of the fact that whosoever commits a sin, will have to repent because 'Christ himselfe saith, the whole haue no neede of the phisitian, but they that are sick. I came not to call the righteous […] but sinners to repentance'.[36] Therefore, he knew that if he carries out the 'bloody instructions', he will have to repent as an 'even-handed justice / Commends th'ingredience of our poisoned chalice / To our own lips' (*Macbeth*: I.7.10-12).

Guilt, remorse and grief lead sinners to repentance. In the case of Macbeth, this journey to repentance starts with strong feelings of guilt even before committing the vicious crime of killing his guest and a king who, according to Macbeth himself, is noble, free of corruption and his benefactor: 'Duncan / Hath borne his faculties so meek, hath been / So clear in his great office' (*Macbeth*: I.7.16-17). It was believed in Shakespeare's day that a person 'Who climbes [up the ladder of sin] too soone, oft time repents too late'.[37] Macbeth clings on to the false hope given to him by the witches too soon. In terms of time, his repentance does not start too late but in terms of his bloody action of killing his own king, it is too late to reverse it.

MACBETH Is this a dagger which I see before me,
[…]
A dagger of the mind, a false creation,
Proceeding from the heat-oppressèd brain? (*Macbeth*: II.1.33,38,39)

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[36] A.L., *Spirituall Almes A Treatise Wherein Is Set Forth the Necessity, The Enforcements, And Directions of The Duty of Exhortation* (London: T. S. for Samuel Man, 1625), p. 346.
[37] Bodenham, *The Garden*, p. 109.

As Macbeth's mind is already 'heat-oppressèd' with guilt, he sees the dagger with blood stains on it. In Act III, during the feast, Macbeth sees Banquo's ghost which he calls a dreadful sight to witness and orders it thus: 'Hence, horrible shadow; Unreal mock'ry, hence!' (*Macbeth*: III.4.104-05). The dagger and the ghost of Banquo are the embodiment of Macbeth's guilt and remorse. Both hallucinations ruin his mirth and give him fits of sorrow and grief because, as theologian and Archbishop of Canterbury George Abbot wrote, 'the pleasure [of a sin] is soone gone, but the guilt remaineth'.[38] After Banquo's ghost disappears and Macbeth comes back to senses, Lady Macbeth requests the thanes to depart and blames her husband who destroyed 'the mirth, broke the good meeting, / With most admired disorder' (*Macbeth*: III.4.107-08), thus causing grief all around.

Macbeth, out of his guilty conscience, starts to repent from the very first moment of doing the 'deed'. As soon as he comes out of the chamber after murdering Duncan, he asks Lady Macbeth 'Didst thou not hear a noise?' (*Macbeth*: II.2.14). This indicates that from the very beginning of committing regicide, a monstrous sin against the shadow of God, he starts listening to noises which could very well be only inside his 'heat-oppressèd brain'. That is why he is so remorseful that he tells Lady Macbeth that 'every noise appals me' (*Macbeth*: II.2.55). Here he behaves like a Catholic penitent in the process of 'auricular confession' which, 'of course, must be to a priest', and Lady Macbeth represents a priest in this scene.[39] Looking at his bloody hands, which is a 'sorry sight' (*Macbeth*: II.2.18) for him and for everyone like him who hates sin, he is wondering whether he would be able to purge himself of the guilt of regicide or no. This is Macbeth's 'acknowledgment', that is 'the sacrament of penance', according to Catholic beliefs.[40]

> The connection between ritual confession and Roman Catholicism constitutes the common theme in the majority of early modern dramatic representations of the rite. The presence of the sacrament of confession in these plays often signals religious, historical, and social differences between Protestant England and Catholic countries.[41]

It also implies that Shakespeare might be presenting a challenge to traditional Catholic religious rites as both Macbeth, the penitent, and Lady Macbeth, the priest-like symbol, are impure and

[38] George Abbot, *An Exposition Vpon The Prophet Ionah (*London*:* Imprinted by Richard Field, 1600), p. 487.
[39] Beckwith, *Grammar of Forgiveness*, p. 126.
[40] Beckwith, *Grammar of Forgiveness*, p. 9.
[41] Stegner, *Confession and Memory*, p. 107.

accomplices in regicide. One of the major reasons for breaking away from the Church of Rome, in the view of Protestants, was that the Roman Church was morally depraved, with the clergy being chiefly responsible for its corruption. Therefore, Shakespeare's representation of Macbeth and Lady Macbeth who are morally corrupt and sinners reflects a Protestant attitude to the Old Church. Regardless of Shakespeare's implications in this scene, he presents Macbeth as one who feels sorry for what he witnesses and signs of repentance on his crime can be marked:

> **MACBETH** Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood
> Clean from my hand? No; this my hand will rather
> The multitudinous seas incarnadine,
> Making the green one red. (*Macbeth*: II.2.57-60)

In this indirect reference to the Bible, Macbeth expresses the severity of his crime and understands the magnitude of his sin, which is a form of confession or acknowledgment—an integral part of repentance.[42] Although he starts his sinful journey with the hope of enjoying kingship, yet that hope soon vanishes in the air and grief replaces it. Hooker, explaining Protestant belief, says that 'as an inordinate delight did first begin sin, so Repentance must begin with a just sorrow, a sorrow of heart'.[43] Macbeth, in a hyperbolic expression, considers his sin so great that he believes that his bloody hands could turn green seas into red. This is his situation in this world which is thoroughly Protestant. On a different level, Macbeth's sorrow could derive from the idea of damnation in the hereafter for his crime; and the appearance of witches and ghosts, hallucination and horrifying visions might be, for Macbeth, signs of God's anger and a tiding of a promised doom for sinners. Alexander Alesius, a Wittenberg graduate and a bitter critic of the Catholic creed, explains Protestant belief that 'a man maye dye in deedly synne without repentance in all those cases: and if he do soo, he shall not be saued'.[44]

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[42]Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool. (Isaiah: 1:18). All citations are from *The Holy Bible, Conteyning the Old Testament, and the New: Newly Translated out of the Originall tongues: & with the former Translations* (London: Robert Barker, 1611) unless otherwise stated.
[43] Hooker, *Ecclesiasticall Politie* (1648), p. 15; Hooker, *Ecclesiasticall Politie* (1666), p. 331.
[44] *A Treatise Concernynge Generall Councilles, The Byshoppes Of Rome, And the Clergy* (London: In Ædibus Thomæ Bertheleti Regii Impressoris Excus, 1538), Dv^{r}.

Additionally, Macbeth might be imagining the physicality of his head on a stake for killing the king. Hence, he sees no salvation in either worlds, which adds more sorrow to his heart.

However, in the above soliloquy (*Macbeth*: II.2.57-60) Macbeth's tone is one of disappointment and it looks as if he has no hope of forgiveness probably because both 'forgiveness and repentance are hard-won and precarious psychic states, and that both call for considerable struggle and pain'.[45] Confessing regicide is a precarious situation and does not seem to be a possibility for Macbeth and forgiveness of such a vicious crime, as per Catholic doctrine, without any mediation (of a priest), is impossible. 'That no man which sinneth after Baptisme, can be reconciled unto God, but by their [priests] Sentence.'[46] This causes grief, hopelessness and repentance. On the contrary, according to Protestant belief, 'Contrition or Inward Repentance doth cleanse without Absolution'.[47]

> THat God alone absolueth & truly penitent, and onely forgeueth the synnes of so many as with vnfayned fayth and harty repentaunce conuerte.[48]

Macbeth's vulnerability to these contrary Catholic and Protestant beliefs that Shakespeare blends in a mere span of fifty lines ('Who's there? […] Making the green one red', II.2.8-60) is at its height and renders him confused. In this confusion and perplexity, he loses hope of the divine 'gift' of repentance, which according to early modern belief, was a blessing to save him from eternal damnation. He alludes to these apprehensions when he tells Lady Macbeth that the attendants who see Duncan being killed and later get killed themselves seek God's blessings for themselves and the other says 'Amen', but Macbeth could not say Amen:

> **MACBETH** But wherefore could not I pronounce 'Amen'?
> I had most need of blessing, and 'Amen'
> Stuck in my throat. (*Macbeth*: II.2.28-30)

Robert Abbot, a bishop favoured by James I, explains that 'As hunger prouoketh a man to desire meate, so repentance stirreth him to seeke forgiuenesse of sinnes'.[49] Shakespeare equips

[45] Bernardine Bishop, '"The Visage of Offence": A Psychoanalytical View of Forgiveness and Repentance in Shakespeare's Plays', *British Journal of Psychotherapy*, 23.1 (2006), 27-36 (p. 27).
[46] Hooker, *Ecclesiasticall Politie* (1648), pp. 83-84; Hooker, *Ecclesiasticall Politie* (1666), p. 357.
[47] Hooker, *Ecclesiasticall Politie* (1648), p. 109; Hooker, *Ecclesiasticall Politie* (1666), p. 367.
[48] Thomas Becon, *The Castell of Comforte,* (London: By Ihon Daye, 1549), A8v.
[49] Robert Abbot, *A Mirrour of Popish Subtilties* (London: Printed by Thomas Creede, 1594), p. 53.

Macbeth with this cultural attitude that he needs blessing desperately, but the heavens seem to be so angry at his folly that the word 'Amen' is stuck in his throat. This strengthens his feelings of remorse and grief, keeps incapacitating his nerves to a point that he falls into hallucinations, hears damned messages like 'Macbeth does murder sleep' (*Macbeth*: II.2.33) and 'Macbeth shall sleep no more' (*Macbeth*: II.2.40). These reflect Protestant tenets of repentance as John Dod, a Church of England clergyman, mentions: 'The first step to true and sound repentance is to bee wounded and disquieted in our hearts for sinne, vntill our soules bee pierced, and as it were strucke through with the feeling of our corruption, and of Gods displeasure.'[50] Macbeth's soul appears to be severely pierced with feeling of corruption. His mental state also shows the seriousness with which early modern society took the concepts of evil and punishment.

With this prevailing mindset towards sin and repentance, it is natural to think that Macbeth will seek forgiveness from God and try to better himself by repenting on the monstrous sin he has committed, because true repentance is 'nothinge els, then a continuall striuing to better our manners', and it is a 'detestation of wickedness, with full purpose to amend the same, and with hope to obtain pardon at Gods hands'.[51] On the contrary, Macbeth goes deeper and deeper into the sea of sin and orders the murders of Banquo, Fleance and Macduff's family, implying that his repentance is not genuine as per the Catholic articles of the faith of the day because he has lost hope of forgiveness and of becoming morally upright again. 'Macbeth "strives to repel" this "oppressive knowledge," rather than accept it, "by eliminating those in whom it is seemingly invested."'[52] This oppressive knowledge of guilt, of his sin, is a form of his repentance, but it leads him to the wrong way. Macbeth has his own explanation or justification in this matter when he says that 'Things bad begun make strong themselves ill' (*Macbeth*: III.2.56). For this very reason, Macbeth knows that he will be punished by God and 'blood will have blood' (*Macbeth*: III.4.120). To save himself from the repercussions of his evil deed, he tries to eliminate anyone who could act as an agent of a punishment from God, thus fighting with the fate. He says, 'I am in blood / Stepped in so far that, should I wade no more, / Returning were as tedious as go o'er' (*Macbeth*: III.4.134-36). Despite his awareness of repentance, his guilt and his grief of murdering 'gracious Duncan'

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[50] Dod, *Foure Godlie*, p. 2.

[51] A.P., *The Compasse of a Christian*, p. 81; Hooker, *Ecclesiasticall Politie* (1648), p. 20; Hooker, *Ecclesiasticall Politie* (1666), p. 332.

[52] Gray, 'Shakespeare versus Aristotle', 85-111 (p. 15).

(*Macbeth*: III.1.66), Macbeth continues on his killing spree and notwithstanding the fact that 'God respecteth repentance', he invokes God's punishment which results in his tragic fall.[53]

> He that covereth his sins shall not prosper: but whoso confesseth and forsaketh *them* shall have mercy. (Proverbs 28:13)

Macbeth not only tries to cover his sins, but is also bent on murdering those who could pose any danger in exposing his sins, hence he is deprived of confession, an integral part of repentance without which it is incomplete. This means no mercy for Macbeth. The play's end suggests Shakespeare's close study of the *King James Bible*, as has been noted by Boitani above.

Although Macbeth is crowned as the king of Scotland after Duncan's murder, he is not at peace, neither is his wife, Lady Macbeth. His mind is 'full of scorpions' as 'Banquo, and his Fleance, live' (*Macbeth*: III.2.37). Macbeth's peace of mind is lost because he cannot accept the prophecy of the weird sisters that Banquo's issues will be kings.

> **MACBETH** For them the gracious Duncan have I murdered'
> Put rancours in the vessel of my peace
> Only for them […]? (*Macbeth*: III.1.66-68)

In this soliloquy, Macbeth's regret further intensifies at the thought of his sin for which he is doomed, whereas the benefits of his action will be enjoyed by Banquo's issue, not his. This increases his guilt and repentance, apart from jealousy and rage, because he thinks that he has borne all the trouble to benefit Banquo's progeny. With these thoughts in mind, he orders Banquo and Fleance's death whereupon Banquo is killed but Fleance escapes. Banquo's murder brings more scorpions to his mind and instead of getting peace, he suffers from more fits of hallucinations. Sin after sin drags him deeper and deeper into an evil life and it becomes more difficult for him to return to the path of virtue and unto God.

Despite all the sinful crimes Macbeth engages in, it can be seen that he is not morally dead, though morality and good conscience are present in a weaker degree in his character. Since Shakespeare's villainous characters are never simply villains but have a wider moral

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[53] A.T., *A Christian Reprofe*, p. 480.

dimension, some critics believe that 'Shakespeare's tragedies are closer to morality plays' and his characters, for example Macbeth in this case, are 'not without an ethical' and 'theological dimension'.[54] Macbeth's remorse and sorrow for his crimes in 'auricular confession' in his private soliloquies authenticate this fact.[55] Shakespeare's hybrid doctrinal setting is once again strikingly prominent here because Macbeth's auricular confession is a Catholic rite; whereas contrition in private with a remorseful heart is thoroughly Protestant in nature because 'God hath no pleasure in the outward Ceremony, but requireth a contrite and humble Heart, which he will never despise, as David doth testifie'.[56]

MACBETH Better be with the dead
Whom we, to gain our peace, have sent to peace
Than on the torture of the mind to lie
In restless ecstasy. Duncan is in his grave.
After life's fitful fever he sleeps well.
Treason has done his worst. Nor steel, nor poison,
Malice domestic, foreign levy, nothing
Can touch him further. (*Macbeth*: III.2.21-28)

Suicide was forbidden in religion, but Macbeth's wish to 'be with the dead' reflects his pain and repentance and 'detestation of wickedness'. The torments of guilt at the act of regicide are strong enough to provoke his mental agony. He compares his state with that of Duncan who is at peace and incorruptible in death. On the contrary, Macbeth is susceptible to all the torments of life after murdering the king.

Lady Macbeth has been considered, by some critics, to be the actual driving force behind Macbeth's bloody spree, hence an evil character. Nonetheless, traces of repentance and remorse are also found in her character—displayed through her speeches. Interestingly, in her very first and famous 'unsex me' soliloquy in Act I, which is taken as the epitome of an evil incarnate, Lady Macbeth not only mentions 'remorse' but also implies that like women in a thoroughly religious society, she is vulnerable to pangs of guilt and remorse. In other words,

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[54] Gray, 'Shakespeare versus Aristotle', 85-111 (pp. 27-28).
[55] Stegner, *Confession and Memory*, p. 107.
[56] *Certain Sermons or Homilies Appointed to Be Read In Churches In The Time Of Queen Elizabeth Of Famous Memory And Now Reprinted For The Use Of Private Families, In Two Parts,* (London: Printed for George Wells, 1687), pp. 562-563.

like her husband, she seems to be fully aware of the concept of sin, repentance and the mental agony induced by remorse. She confesses this thus:

> **LADY** Make thick my blood.
> Stop up th'accèss and passage to remorse,
> That no compunctious visitings of nature
> Shake my fell purpose. (*Macbeth*: I.5.39-42)

This soliloquy effectively blends classical and theological influences. Lady Macbeth's invocation to the supernatural agency to 'thick[en]' her blood reflects the classical influence of humoral theory suggesting that she is aware of the fact that in normal physical conditions, a sin that she was planning in her mind—Duncan's murder—could make anyone feel guilty and suffer from the contrition of the heart. Thickening of the blood could be suggestive of hardening of her heart, for she does not want to feel remorse. Representing theological influence, she acknowledges that human compunctions, that is 'the vertue of Repentance in the heart', could come in between her 'fell purpose' and conscience and that she might find herself unwilling to carry out her cruel plan to persuade Macbeth to kill Duncan.[57] For this very reason, she desires this numbness, caused by the thickening of blood, which in present day terminology might be termed anaesthesia. Her conscience does not seem to be totally dead because she wants the spirits to protect her from being swayed by her morality and to prevent her scheme. Shakespeare's inclusion of this ethical aspect of Lady Macbeth's character is in line with the Protestant doctrine that the gift of repentance is universally given to everyone without exception.

During the course of the play, Lady Macbeth's morality and her knowledge of repentance dominate, and she is burdened by her guilty conscience, as she references in her first soliloquy. This comes true, her conscience prevails and her invocation to the evil spirits to make her blood thick does not seem to happen, since she does indeed become remorseful and sleepwalks. This means that God's gift of repentance overpowers the evil forces that she invokes. When Macbeth refers to his hands as a 'sorry sight' (*Macbeth:* II.2.18), she mocks him for not behaving like a man and says that some water will wash those spots. But when guilt overcomes her, she cannot withstand its pressure.

[57] Hooker, *Ecclesiasticall Politie* (1648), p. 8; Hooker, *Ecclesiasticall Politie* (1666), p. 328.

> **LADY** *[rubbing her hands]* Out, damned spot; out, I say! —One, two: why then, 'tis time to do't. Hell is murky. Fie, my lord, fie, a soldier, and afeard? What need we fear who knows it, when none can call our power to account? Yet who would have thought the old man to have had so much blood in him?
> (*Macbeth*: V.1.30-34)

Her hallucinations and sleepwalking caused by her guilty conscience are the result of the remorse that she invoked the evil spirits to suppress in her. This reflects the idea that Lady Macbeth, though considering Macbeth's nature as being full of the 'milk of human kindness' (*Macbeth*: I.4.13), has no less kindness. Had she been deprived of kindness and good conscience, she would not have undergone such a severe bout of remorse and repentance to the extent that, in her sleepwalk, she starts penitential utterances, more akin to a Catholic during penance. Even the doctor, when he listens to her sorrowful sigh, confirms that Lady Macbeth's 'heart is sorely charged' (*Macbeth*: V.2.44). Despite her strong guilt, sorrow and fear, major components of repentance, she has no hope of forgiveness and commits suicide, thus collapsing under the heavy weight of her guilty conscience. About a guilty conscience, Burton says that '*A good conscience is a continuall feast,* but a gauled conscience is a great torment as can possibly happen, another hell'.[58] Lady Macbeth's conscience is indeed 'gauled'. The doctor realises that Lady Macbeth's 'disease is beyond my practice' (*Macbeth*: V.2.49) and she needs a different remedy for that:

> **DOCTOR** Foul whisp'rings are abroad. Unnatural deeds
> Do breed unnatural troubles. Infected minds
> To their deaf pillows will discharge their secrets.
> More needs she the divine than the physician. (*Macbeth*: V.1.49-52)

In these lines, Shakespeare makes the doctor a mouthpiece of his age, one who comprehends the theology of sin and repentance in addition to physical diagnosis. The word 'divine' could be a direct reference to a priest to whom Lady Macbeth could open up her heart for confession and absolution, because in Catholic practice, 'auricular confession, of course, must be to a

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[58] Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 776.

priest'.[59] In the words of the doctor, Lady Macbeth's infected mind has nothing to do with pathology, but with theology; for sin and repentance are religious not medical issues. 'Therein the patient / Must minister to himself' (*Macbeth*: V.3.49). In an early modern context, the word 'minister' meant a minister of religion as well as a person looking after a patient. The Doctor says this to Macbeth when he asks him to cure Lady Macbeth's mental disease, implying that the queen's illness is rather a religious matter and hence, she could seek salvation herself if she believes in Protestant rite by ministering the sacrament herself through repentance or through a religious minister—a priest—if she believes in Catholic rites. From a secular perspective, 'the patient / Must minister to himself' would mean that Lady Macbeth must cure herself of her guilt, which resonates with the modern implication where the mind can heal the body. In both cases, religious or secular, the doctor apologises to Macbeth that Lady Macbeth's 'disease is beyond my practice' (*Macbeth*: V.2.49). This indicates Shakespeare's astuteness and a meticulous understanding of Catholic and Protestant theological approaches to repentance as well as the secular interpretation of the word minister that he has capitalised to portray the passion of repentance.

From the above discussion, it is clear that both Macbeth and Lady Macbeth represent the cultural teachings of Catholic and Protestant denominations of Christianity according to which a sin would always meet its punishment, either in this world or the world hereafter, if repentance is not completely observed as per the religious tenets. But Shakespeare's representation of repentance, although incomplete, in both these characters is slightly different. Macbeth's repentance is conscious and he suffers while awake, whereas Lady Macbeth's repentance is subconsciously expressed through her dreams and sleepwalking. By presenting both conscious and subconscious levels of their guilt, Shakespeare suggests through contextual interpretation that it is not possible to escape remorse and repentance, no matter how determinedly someone may try to avoid it.

3.2. 'I Do Confess it and Repent': Repentance in *Hamlet*

In *Hamlet*, Shakespeare portrays the theme of repentance in lesser detail in contrast to *Macbeth*. The ghost of Hamlet, Hamlet the young prince and Gertrude repent for different reasons that will be discussed shortly, but it is Claudius whose repentance is clearer to note, despite the fact that he is portrayed as a monster, an equivalent to Lady Macbeth. As discussed,

[59] Beckwith, *Grammar of Forgiveness*, p. 115.

repentance was considered as a blessing for the sinner as an opportunity to repent and secure a safe place in heaven under the mercy of God. Hamlet is preoccupied with these ideas and is worried about others' repentance (his mother's in particular), more than his own, throughout the play.

The very first instance of a sinner not to have a chance to repent comes from the Ghost of Hamlet's father, who is in 'prison-house' (*Hamlet*: 5.14) or Catholic purgatory. Through the speeches of different characters in the play, we know that the elder Hamlet was a noble king; and in the words of young Hamlet himself he was 'So excellent a king, that was to this / Hyperion to a satyr' (*Hamlet*: 2.139-40). But that is the apparent view of the things; the knowledge of hereafter is not disclosed to the world. To personify this religious belief, Shakespeare introduces the supernatural agency to communicate the knowledge of the other world, especially what happens to a soul in purgatory by portraying the Ghost, although visible only to the learned ones in the play who may represent saints and clergymen in the actual world. Hamlet is one of those who see the Ghost in the play about which Greenblatt says that the 'young man from Wittenberg, with a distinctly Protestant temperament, is haunted by a distinctly Catholic ghost'.[60] Nonetheless, the actual state of the elder Hamlet is declaimed by his Ghost:

GHOST I am thy father's spirit,
Doomed for a certain term to walk the night,
And for the day confined to fast in fires,
Till the foul crimes done in my days of nature
Are burnt and purged away. (*Hamlet*: 5.9-13)

The Ghost confesses that he is 'doomed' and 'confined to fast in fires' because of his sins, 'foul crimes' done in his day which are yet to be purged away. The Ghost's words 'cut off even in the blossoms of my sin' (*Hamlet*: 5.75) once again emphasise his dilemma. In accordance with early modern teaching, sins could only be purged through repentance.

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[60] Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory*, p. 240.

> Christ can haue no enterance into vs, nor we any way vnto him, except the path be first prepared by repentance, by an vnfayned acknowledginge of our sinnes.[61]

The reason for the Ghost's torment in the hereafter is that he could not get a chance to repent and gain 'way vnto him', that is God. The Ghost is furious at Claudius who cut short his life and deprived him of heaven unto which the path is 'prepared by repentance'. This is one of the reasons that Hamlet is melancholic as his father is 'fast in fires' because Claudius did not allow him time to repent and seek forgiveness for his sins. Consequently, Hamlet is now worried about his mother to repent before it is too late for her too.

Hamlet's anxiety about the 'rank corruption' (*Hamlet*: 11.145) of Gertrude's sinful life, apart from his father's death, keeps haunting him. He might have known this Protestant maxim that sinners 'will neuer feare any thing, till they be in hell fire, when it will be too late to repent'.[62] The religious aspect of the young scholar does not allow him to be at rest when he witnesses Gertrude in an incestuous marital bond. In the closet scene, 'Hamlet's exhortations to Gertrude to repent her sins' present him a 'priest manqué', and a 'ghostly father' because of the way he exacts the penitent—his mother—to stay away from her sinful life and repent on what she has been doing so far.[63] Here, Shakespeare turns the young prince and graduate of Wittenberg into a Catholic priest, thus presenting once again a hybrid doctrine. This behaviour of Hamlet may also be suggestive of the forceful ways with which Catholic priests at the time of confession and theologian or ecclesiastical writers in Shakespeare's day would exhort general public to repent because there was:

> No contrition or grief of heart, till the Priest exact it; no acknowledgement of Sins, but that which he doth demand; no Praying, no Fasting, no Alms, no Recompence or Restitution for whatsoever we have done, can help, except by him, it be first imposed. It is the Chain of their own Doctrine, No remedy for mortal sin committed after Baptism, but the Sacrament of Penance only; No Sacrament of Penance, if either matter or form be wanting; No wayes to make those Duties a

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[61] A.P., *The Compasse*, p. 88.
[62] Arthur Dent, *The Plaine Mans Path-Way to Heauen* (London: Printed For EDW. BISHOP, 1607), p. 149.
[63] Stegner, *Confession and Memory*, p. 106.

> material part of the Sacrament, unless we consider them, as required and exacted by the Priest. Our Lord and Saviour, they say, hath ordained his Priests, Judges in such sort, that no man which sinneth after Baptisme, can be reconciled unto God, but by their Sentence. [64]

After Hamlet's priestly lecture, which is full of disgust for her sexual relationship with his uncle, Gertrude is remorseful and becomes consciously aware of the sin that she has been living with so far.

> He [Hamlet] expresses disgust at her sexual activity with Claudius. This causes Gertrude to feel intense shame. As she repents, the next transformation occurs. She emotionally deserts Claudius and re-establishes her attachment relationship with her son.[65]

She tells Hamlet that he 'hast cleft my heart in twain' (*Hamlet*: 11.153) with his speech and she feels so guilty that she has 'no life to breathe' (*Hamlet*: 11.195). Hamlet makes her realise that the sinful pleasures must be abandoned because 'their first entring is counterfeit and deceitfull, and their departure is griefe and repentance'.[66] This is evident when Gertrude accepts that her heart has been split 'in twain'—a kind of Catholic confession before a priest. Hamlet finds this a suitable opportunity to bring the sinner, her mother, to repentance just like a priest who knows when to tell a confessor to repent and ask for forgiveness.

> **HAMLET** Confess yourself to heaven,
> Repent what's past, avoid what is to come,
> And do not spread the compost on the weeds
> To make them ranker. (*Hamlet*: 11.146-49)

Hamlet is trying to shrive his mother exactly like a Catholic priest in Shakespeare's day would have done; he would have called the sinner to repentance when the sinner acknowledges that he or she has committed a sin. Gertrude might not have been conscious of her hasty marriage

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[64] Hooker, *Ecclesiasticall Politie* (1648), pp. 83-84; Hooker, *Ecclesiasticall Politie* (1666), p. 357.
[65] Oatley, *Emotions*, p. 144.
[66] A.P., *Natvral and Morall Questions*, Bi^{r}.

with her deceased husband's brother, but following the closet scene, she palpably feels guilt and 'emotionally deserts Claudius' as noted by Keith Oatley above.

The closet scene also precipitates Hamlet's own repentance when he kills Polonius, hiding himself to spy on the young prince. Hamlet feels and expresses remorse upon killing Polonius:

> **HAMLET** For this same lord,
> I do repent. (*Hamlet*: 11.169-178)

Hamlet confesses that he repents his crime and this 'auricular confession in *Hamlet* in many ways reflects the general trend on the early modern stage'.[67] Now he takes the role of a penitent and Gertrude acts like a priest; however, he does not lament of this crime later as he does of Claudius and Gertrude's actions. This is more of a truncated form of repentance, rather than true repentance. According to widely expressed early modern belief 'true repentance is of strength to purge them [sins] all away and make vs pure in the sight of God'.[68] However, Hamlet's seems to be a short-term repentance, and this is not the only time that he feels remorseful for a short time. When Hamlet mentions how he orchestrated the death of Rosencrantz and Gyldensterne, he also shows signs of temporary remorse and repentance:

> **HAMLET** Sir, in my heart there was a kind of fighting
> That would not let me sleep. (*Hamlet*: 19.4-5)

These words suggest a character who values the lives of others. However, this image of a penitent Hamlet is shattered when he himself confess that the murder of Rosencrantz and Gyldensterne is 'not near my conscience' (*Hamlet*: 19.58), thus contradicting the idea of 'true repentance' by acknowledging his sin after which a person makes himself 'pure in the sight of God' as mentioned above. This might be because he considers the murder of his father by Claudius and his mother's incestuous marriage with his uncle more serious sins than his own which, according to his understanding are decreed by the heavens to punish Rosencrantz, Gyldensterne and Polonius for spying on him—high treason against the Royal Prince if seen from the historical perspective of Tudor England. Therefore, traitors meet the punishment they

[67] Stegner, *Confession and Memory*, p. 107.
[68] A.P., *The Compasse*, p. 78.

deserve, and Hamlet does not acknowledge their death as his sin, whereas in true repentance, 'a man need but acknowledge his Fault, and he is sure to obtain pardon for it'.[69]

Shakespeare portrays the idea of repentance, forgiveness and ascent to heaven in Scene 10 in a thoroughly explicit manner, through Hamlet. On his way to see his mother, Hamlet finds Claudius praying and repenting at the altar at which point he suspends his plan to execute him there and then for the reason that he does not want him to go to heaven straightaway. In this scene, Hamlet represents a Protestant temperament and Claudius a Catholic one because he is 'the only one who tries to pray' a Catholic prayer.[70] By bringing Hamlet and Claudius together in this scene, Shakespeare may actually be trying to portray the macrocosmic theological reality of his time through this microcosmic scene, that is the Catholic and Protestant denominations colliding. But Hamlet's decision to leave without murdering Claudius could also suggest a reconciliation between Catholic and Protestant denominations that Shakespeare might have envisaged during his lifetime. Sparing Claudius's life is also reflective of the Protestant moral victory over Catholics, cherished by Elizabeth early in her reign to strategically manoeuvre to reconcile bitter antagonism between followers of both denominations in the wake of the Reformation in England.

HAMLET Now might I do it. —But now 'a is a-praying. —
And now I'll do't,
[*He draws his sword*]
and so 'a goes to heaven,
And so am I revenged. —That would be scanned.
A villain kills my father, and for that,
I, his sole son, do this same villain send
To heaven. (*Hamlet*: 10.73-78)

The religious and 'intellectual Hamlet's' biblical knowledge, which was part and parcel of Shakespeare's society, is very eloquently expressed by a disappointed Hamlet.[71] His knowledge of repentance clearly tells him that true repentance is sure to be rewarded by God's forgiveness and mercy, according to both Catholic and Protestant tenets. Therefore, he is truly

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[69] Senault, *The Use of Passions,* p. 505.
[70] Bishop, 'The Visage of Offence', 27-36 (p. 32).
[71] Bate, *The Genius*, p. 256.

disappointed at the idea that the person who deprived him of his father and rendered his mother an adulteress should be sent to heaven while repenting and praying. He seems to entertain no doubts that repentance can be denied. Hence, this 'presence of multiple doctrinal systems in Shakespeare', portrayed in *Hamlet* in particular and other plays in general, and present in his society, through the teachings of the Bible and the literature of Reformation, was an historical reality.[72]

The character that is a near-true representation of Catholic and Protestant form of repentance, remorse and grief is Claudius who is traditionally regarded as a treacherous villain and inveterate monster by most critics. There are some critics, however, who have completely different and positive opinions of Claudius because of the morality, sense of remorse and the repentance that he displays in his soliloquies and asides.

> King Claudius is a superb figure [...] almost as great a dramatic creation as Hamlet himself […] Claudius is often regarded as a moral monster.[73]

Although analysis of Claudius's character has tended to emphasise his unmitigated monstrousness, it is his penitence which offers a more complex portrayal of a moral character. The author of *Natvral and Morall Questions and Answers* writes that a 'guilty conscience' is 'alwaies without rest' and Claudius is a good example of this till his end.[74] One such instance is when Polonius gives Ophelia a prayer book to read just before meeting Hamlet: a planned scheme in which Polonius and the King would hide to discover the real cause of Hamlet's melancholic disposition. Polonius tells Ophelia to read on from the prayer book where it says 'And pious action we do sugar o'er / The devil himself' (*Hamlet*: 8.49-50). Claudius's guilty conscience makes him confess in his aside:

> **KING** *[aside]* O, 'tis too true.
> How smart a lash that speech doth give my conscience.
> (*Hamlet*: 8.51-52)

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[72] Stegner, *Confession and Memory*, p. 108.
[73] Bernice Kilman and James Lake (eds), *The Tragedy of Hamlet: Prince of Denmark*, 2nd edn (Indianapolis: Focus, 1967), pp. xxi-xxii.
[74] A.P., *Natvral and Morall Questions*, Bi^r.

This reflects the Protestant aspect of Claudius's character and his approach to repentance: he is not dead morally. He confesses his own crime in an aside, not heard by anyone else, thus feeling the twinges of guilt privately. This leads him to repent and to seek God's forgiveness in such a 'hartie prayer' that Hamlet, upon seeing his cravings, spares his life.[75] His deeply penitential soliloquy truly reflects biblical and early modern teachings on the subject of sin and repentance:

> **KING** O, my offence is rank! It smells to heaven.
> It hath the primal eldest curse upon't,
> A brother's murder. Pray can I not.
> Though inclination be as sharp as will,
> My stronger guilt defeats my strong intent. (*Hamlet*: 10.36-40)

Reference to the primal sin of Cain, who murdered his own brother Abel, and Claudius's effort to kneel while praying makes this soliloquy a true scenario of Catholic confession with only the priest missing: the reason for a priest being absent is that the monarch was the head of the Church of England, a priest in himself. Therefore, Claudius himself is the penitent and he himself is the priest, seeking confession from himself. To him, a brother's murder is such a cruel offence and a sin that he finds himself unable even to pray and his 'stubborn knees' (*Hamlet*: 10.70) refuse to bend before God. This is why he calls it a curse that when he needs the mercy of God the most, he is unable to ask for it because of his deadly crime. But like a sinner, he still entertains a hope in the heart of his hearts and asks, 'Whereto serves mercy / But to confront the visage of offence?' (*Hamlet*: 10.46-47). This belief in hope of God's mercy for the sinner is fully backed by the biblical teachings of the day, particularly Protestant ones ('Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy loving kindness', Psalm 51:1), and is endorsed by early modern literature as noted by the author of *Spirituall Almes*: 'God will giue them repentance, that they may recouer themselues out of the diuels snare, who are taken captiue by him at his will.' [76]

The essence of Claudius's prayer is Catholic in nature—the traditional sacramental confession—but his hope for forgiveness and approach to repentance is Protestant. Macbeth

[75] James Balmford, *A Short Catechisme, Summarily Comprizing The Principall Points of Christian Faith* (London: Imprinted by Felix Kyngston, 1607), p. 17.
[76] A.L., *Spirituall Almes*, p. 383.

also shares features of Claudius's repentance, that is a mixture of both Catholic and Protestant forms of confession and contrition; Hamlet's repentance is mostly reformed, though his confessions also show signs of Catholicism. This is a complex hybrid religious situation, a microcosmic representation of Shakespeare's hybrid macrocosm.

> The complex representation of confession in the play corresponds to the changed penitential landscape after the English Reformation: on the one hand, a general shift away from sacramental auricular confession toward an unmediated, faith-centered confession to God, but on the other, a retention of remnants of traditional confessional practices.[77]

Another feature of repentance that Claudius shares with Macbeth and Lady Macbeth is that he cannot forget his bloody hands and wonders if the blood could be washed away in any way.

> **KING** What if this cursèd hand
> Were thicker than itself with brother's blood,
> Is there not rain enough in the sweet heavens
> To wash it white as snow? (*Hamlet*: 10.43-46)

Reference to the washing of blood from his hands symbolises the remorseful sorrow that he suffers from; it is also a direct reference to the Bible, which means that despite his cruel deed, he still sees a hope that he will be forgiven, because a sinner is granted forgiveness only when he repents as noted in the Bible: 'Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool' (Isaiah 1:18).

Despite the fact that Claudius appears to be knowledgeable of matters of religion and the teachings of the Bible, he is profoundly perplexed—a true representation of English subjects, torn by the transformation of their society from the Church of Rome to the Church of England in the wake of the Reformation. Although he acknowledges that his only hope for salvation is God's mercy for his past crime (a brother's murder) and his current sin (incestuous marriage); he knows that he will not be forgiven because he cannot overcome his lust for power

[77] Stegner, *Confession and Memory*, pp. 107-108.

and maintaining his marriage with his murdered brother's wife. Therefore, he accepts that the fault is in his character, not in God's mercy.

> **KING** That cannot be, since I am still possessed
> Of those effects for which I did the murder;
> My crown, mine own ambition, and my queen.
> May one be pardoned and retain th' offense? (*Hamlet*: 10.53-56)

According to early modern orthodoxy, a man must 'earnestlye repent and gladlie forsake [his] former wickednesse' to seek forgiveness and attract God's mercy, he must turn away from his old sins to be truly blessed.[78] But turning away from his sins is either impossible for Claudius, like Macbeth who said that he has walked into blood quite far, or he does not want to lose his crown and his queen whom he claims to love. At this point he turns away from the true spirit of repentance and stays in this 'wretched state' with 'bosom black as death!' (*Hamlet*: 10.67) till the end when 'time is lost, repentance is but vaine'.[79]

3.3. 'Full of Repentance, / Continual Meditations, Tears, and Sorrows': Repentance in *The Winter's Tale*

In *The Winter's Tale*, Shakespeare portrays Leontes as the true embodiment of the early modern definition of repentance, one that is almost purely Catholic, that is 'earnestlye' repenting and 'gladlie' forsaking former sins—a complete opposite of that of the Macbeths, Hamlet and Claudius. It is noted that such repentance as we see in *The Winter's Tale* bears Leontes fruit and his sin seems to be forgiven in the form of reconciliation at the end of the play.

From being a powerful king, Leontes turns into a jealous monster, a conspirator, a murderer and an arrogant tyrant, confirmed by the oracle of Delphi. This is the sinful or wicked part of Leontes's life earlier in the play. When he realises that he has committed a grievous sin not only against his own chaste wife but also against his children, his friend Polixenes and his trustworthy courtiers, Camillo in particular, he is able to acknowledge his fault publicly—a feature of Catholic auricular confession and acknowledgement that are fundamentals of the

[78] Mordecai Aldem, *A Short, Plaine, and Profitable Catechisme* (London: Imprinted by R.B. for Richard Watkins, 1592), E8v.
[79] Bodenham, *The Garden*, p. 217.

sacrament of penance. This is the moment of Leontes's anagnorisis or 'tragic discovery' by the protagonist, as Kathy Eden puts it.[80] The only way out of this situation is his true repentance, which means 'A forsaking of our sinnes and turning to God, by amendment of life'.[81] In the end, he gains forgiveness and happiness in the form of re-union with all his lost relations.

Leontes's peace of mind is destroyed when he misunderstands Hermione's courteous behaviour with his close friend and king, Polixenes. Monstrous jealousy floods his biased mind and his reason is incapacitated totally. In this fury, he accuses his wife of being unchaste and denounces her as an adulteress. Not only this, but he also imprisons his wife, refuses to accept his new-born baby, Perdita, and orders her to be removed to a distant land to die; later, he threatens to burn his wife ('she were gone, / Given to the fire.' *TWT*: II.3.7-8), his new-born baby and Paulina. He breaks his relationship with Polixenes and commissions to murder him. His young son takes charges of adultery directed at his mother to heart and dies instantly.

According to the author of *The Passionate Morrice*, 'hastie bargaine bringes ouer late repentance'.[82] In *The Winter's Tale*, Leontes's 'hastie bargaine' of declaring his wife and his friend adulterers, without any proof, shatters everything to pieces. When the Oracle of Delphi reaches the court confirming that 'Hermione is chaste, Polixenes blameless, Camillo a true subject, Leontes a jealous tyrant […] his innocent babe truly begotten' (*TWT*: III.2.130-32), Leontes, at first brands the message as 'mere falsehood' (*TWT*: III.2.138), but no sooner he is informed about the death of Mamillius, than he starts seeing the truth. By that time, because of Leontes's jealousy and arrogance, Antigonus faces a horrible death and Perdita is cast away to a far-off land. Upon listening to the Oracle, which symbolises the sacrament of penance, or a visible symbol of God, read out by the Officer, representing an ordained priest to absolve sins of a faithful person, Hermione in this case in front of Leontes who acts like a judge and could symbolise the Church itself. Hermione faints, is removed from the court and is apparently declared dead to Leontes. Therefore, three deaths (those of Hermione, Mamillius and Antigonus), a discarded child, a lost friend and fled confidant (Camillo) are sufficient 'bargaine' to bring about remorse and repentance in the heart of Leontes.

LEONTES Apollo, pardon
My great profaneness 'gainst thine oracle.

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[80] Kathy Eden, *Poetic and Legal Fiction in the Aristotelian Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), p. 9.
[81] Balmford, *A Short Catechisme*, p. 17.
[82] *The Passionate Morrice*, E2^{v}.

I'll reconcile me to Polixenes,
New woo my queen, recall the good Camillo,
Whom I proclaim a man of truth, of mercy;
For being transported by my jealousies
To bloody thoughts and to revenge. (*TWT*: III.2.150-56)

These lines are spoken in the court that represent the Catholic sacrament of penance; the court symbolises the altar; the courtiers symbolise priests and Leontes a confessor. He makes confessions of his guilt and like a penitent at the time of absolution, he promises, with a contrite heart, to amend his behaviour and compensate for the damage he has caused. As 'conscience requires provocation; it needs to be nudged' and Leontes gets a nudge in the form of the death of his son soon after the Oracle is read out in the royal court. He considers it a punishment for himself from God for his crimes and for refusing to accept the authority of the message at first.[83] He identifies his deeds as 'blacker' (*TWT*: III.2.169) and vows to repent.

Leontes repents for sixteen years and in this time keeps on mourning the death of his wife and his son according to the true spirit of repentance. Like elder Hamlet's Ghost, who is in purgatory 'fast in fires' to purge away his foul deeds, Leontes's sixteen years also serve as a purgatory for him to recompense his injustices about which Boitani says that 'he then went through the purgatory of a life lived with guilt and of atonement through repentance'.[84] As the Ghost in *Hamlet* tells Hamlet how he is doomed in purgatory, Leontes mentions his purgatorial life thus:

LEONTES One grave shall be for both. Upon them shall
The causes of their death appear, unto
Our shame perpetual. Once a day I'll visit
The chapel where they lie, and tears shed there
Shall be my recreation. So long as nature
Will bear up with this exercise, so long
I daily vow to use it. (*TWT*: III.2.233-39)

[83] William Hamlin, "Conscience and the God-Surrogate in Montaigne and Measure for Measure," in *Shakespeare and Renaissance Ethics*, ed. Patrick Gray and John Cox (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 237-260 (p. 244).
[84] Boitani, *The Gospel*, p. 88.

His courtiers ask him to stop languishing, thus trying to shrive the king as a priest does after hearing a penitent's confession. This is because they think that Leontes has performed 'a saint-like sorrow' (*TWT*: V.1.2), which in Shakespeare's day was also known as 'godly sorrow'; and request him to marry again, yet he does not stop and vows, at the instigation of Paulina, that he will 'have no wife' (*TWT*: V.1.69).[85] Apart from mourning, his repentance also makes him soft towards his courtiers and once an arrogant ruler now thinks that he deserves 'All tongues to talk their bitt'rest' (*TWT*: III.2.213) to him. The most important and widely taught element of the early modern concept of repentance was to acknowledge one's fault before it was forgiven. Even today, it is believed by some critics that 'recognition [acknowledging] and repentance enable and reinforce each other; self-knowledge and acknowledgment turn out to be inseparable' whether repentance is taken theologically or secularly.[86] Leontes, despite the fact that he did not actually kill Hermione, thinks that it was his jealousy and cruelty that lead to her death, acknowledges that 'She I killed? I did so' (*TWT*: V.1.17) and 'Destroyed the sweet'st companion' (*TWT*: V.1.11), thus displays recognition and repentance or self-knowledge and acknowledgment to seek forgiveness from God. A true penitent is sure to meet forgiveness and for that, sometimes one needs a moral teacher:

> Leontes is freed from his rage-filled belief in Hermione's guilt, spending the next sixteen years in off-stage repentance under the moral tutorship of 'good Paulina'.[87]

Paulina's name is very significant here and it is not a mere coincidence that she gets this name. In Paulina's character, Shakespeare intends that '[St] Paul coverts to Paulina' to defend Hermione relentlessly without any fear of the tyrant Leontes like St Paul would stand up authoritatively to defend tenets of his faith.[88] This 'Good Paulina' (*TWT*: V.1.49), who is 'meant to recall St Paul', helps Leontes, along with other priest-like-courtiers, to go through, step by step, the Catholic 'sacrament of penance' that involves 'contrition, confession, absolution and works of satisfaction'.[89] Therefore, like St Paul, she 'accompanies the penitent

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[85] A.P., *The Compasse*, p. 145.
[86] Gray, 'Shakespeare versus Aristotle', 85-111 (p. 49).
[87] Currie, 'Agency and Repentance', pp. 171-183 (p. 177).
[88] Stevie Davies, *The Idea of Woman in Renaissance Literature: The Feminine Reclaimed* (Brighton, Harvester, 1986), p. 166.
[89] Eric S. Mallin, *Godless Shakespeare* (London and New York: Continuum, 2007), p. 69; William Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale* ed. by John H. P Pafford, 4th edn, The Arden Shakespeare (London: Methuen, 1963), p. xlii; Bruce Demarest, *The Cross and Salvation: The Doctrine of Salvation*, (Illinois: Crossway Books, 2006), p. 433.

king' all through his journey of repentance till the last moment when she brings the queen back to life—resurrection, thus helping Leontes like a priest to find his salvation.[90]

> It is interesting to ponder why Shakespeare gave Paulina her name. It is a female version of Paul, and it is interesting to note that, like Saint Paul, she advocates salvation through penitence and faith, telling Leontes (in Act V, sc iii) that 'It is requir'd / You do awake your faith.'[91]

In Leontes's case, Shakespeare has presented the subtle idea that if the passion of repentance is genuine and its requirements of acknowledging one's sin and promising not to commit that again is fulfilled, forgiveness is granted and God's mercy shows itself in the form of happiness and self-satisfaction. For Leontes, 'Hermione represents the grace of heaven towards Leontes' and her return in the form of a happy family re-union as forgiveness is granted by God. [92]

3.4. Conclusion

In the three plays selected for this chapter, it has now become clear that Shakespeare presented the passion of repentance as being deeply immersed in the theological context of his society with some traces of classical influence. As mentioned in the Introduction, Protestants believed that repentance is a gift of God granted to everyone whereas, Catholics believed that it is only granted to a few. The characters examined in this chapter represent both these beliefs.

The tragic end of the Macbeths, Hamlet, Gertrude and Claudius imply that their repentance is not accepted by God, irrespective of any denomination of Christianity they represent. Based on the textual evidence in the plays, it is evident that these characters show contrition, acknowledge, have godly sorrow, express fear of damnation in the hereafter, but they are unable to achieve restitution or recognition, hence are not forgiven, thus rendering their repentance incomplete. It is understood that all these characters faced punishment for their heinous crimes in this world. As far as the hereafter is concerned, the situation of Hamlet's father's Ghost personifies the idea that these sinners will have to be purged of all their sins before they are forgiven. Until then they will stay confined 'fast in fire' as per Catholic doctrine,

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[90] Stevie Davies, *The Feminine Reclaimed: The Idea of Woman in Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton* (Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 1986), p. 171.
[91] *Paulina* (2020) <https://crossref-it.info/textguide/the-winters-tale/10/1186> [accessed 31 January 2020].
[92] Currie, 'Agency and Repentance', pp. 171-183 (p. 177).

decreeing that, 'in repentance a man need but acknowledge his Fault, and he is sure to obtain pardon for it'.[93] The problem with the Macbeths, Hamlet, Gertrude and Claudius is that they acknowledge their faults and repent but only temporarily until the time that they are misled by the devil and commit further sin, thus nullifying their own recognition and repentance. In addition to this, they 'don't hope for forgiveness' because of their heinous crimes as all of them (Macbeth, Lady Macbeth, Claudius) mention it either in their soliloquies or asides.[94] It is one of the devil's traps to make sinners hopeless of a merciful God.

On the other hand, Leontes is not a lesser monster than the Macbeths or Claudius in terms of the series of sins he commits. Nonetheless, his end is unlike the Macbeths and Claudius because his repentance and acknowledgement are true in their nature and lead him to renounce his crimes. After Leontes's initial criminal spree in which his wife, his children, his friend and his courtiers suffer, his public acknowledgement of his faults stops him from committing another crime; rather he vows to repent and makes amends by godly sorrow over his past misdeeds. Such a remorseful and sorrowful repentance as Leontes's is what God respects and Leontes is granted happiness and reconciliation unlike other characters under discussion. Shakespeare suggests that this is the difference between those who are cursed to suffer God's punishment even after repentance and those who are blessed. This refers back to Tudor England and reflects the notion that forgiveness is granted to those who repent sincerely. 'Nothing but true repent [sic] cleares conscience'.[95] The Macbeths, Claudius and Gertrude die with a guilty conscience whereas, Leontes's conscience is clear at the end and he is reconciled with reunion of his family and friends.

Some might argue, based on the apparent impression that Shakespearean drama reflects strong classical influence, that the Macbeths, Hamlet, Gertrude and Claudius are characters from tragedies, so their tragic ends are inevitable, whereas Leontes is a character from a romance, hence his happy ending is not a surprise and has nothing to do with repentance. Such a critique as this does not encompass the fact that Shakespeare never misses an opportunity to deviate from blindly following his predecessors and set conventions of the drama through his creativity and innovation. Therefore, this study does not challenge the generic differences between *Macbeth*, *Hamlet* and *The Winter's Tale*. On the contrary, it focuses on the fact that

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[93] Senault, *The Use of Passions,* p. 505.
[94] Bishop, 'The Visage of Offence', 27-36 (p. 32).

[95] Bodenham, *The Garden*, p. 9.

Shakespeare separates his drama from an absolute classical influence by putting repentance at stake in these plays.

> Shakespeare's strong emphasis on the possibility and desirability of repentance distinguishes his drama from Senecan tragedy, the most influential form of classical tragedy in the England of his day.[96]

Considering Gray's conclusion that 'tragedy for Shakespeare is a sinner's failure to repent', the genres of *Macbeth*, *Hamlet* and *The Winter's Tale* [being a later play, retains all the elements of a tragedy despite a happy ending] do not matter because a tragedy or romance, for Shakespeare, depends on how the characters behave.[97] In other words, it is the anagnorisis that determines the fate of the protagonists as well as whether a play is a tragedy, comedy or a romance.

Another aspect of Macbeth, Lady Macbeth, Gertrude and Claudius's tragic end could be the fact that they, unlike Leontes, do not get the chance to pour out the passion of repentance in the form of a formal confession. This inability to confess their crimes is very painful for their conscience because 'we seem intrinsically motivated to open up to others and confess mistakes'.[98] In that religious atmosphere, where repentance and confessions were hand and glove, forgiveness does not seem to be possible with one of them absent. The question is: why do the Macbeths, Othello, Hamlet and Claudius not confess but Leontes does to Paulina and some other courtiers. The answer is to be found in wider early modern literature:

> The repentance of the partie must bee proportionable to the offence, viz. if the offence be publike, publike, if priuate, priuate, humbled, submissiue, sorrowfull, vnfeined, giuing glorie to the Lord.[99]

Macbeth's and Claudius's murderous deeds were perpetrated in private so they repent in private, which is more Protestant in its nature. Both commit regicide and historically speaking, confession of regicide could result in extremely terrible consequences, therefore formal Catholic confessions on the part of Macbeth and Claudius seem improbable. On the other hand,

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[96] Gray, 'Shakespeare versus Aristotle', 85-111 (pp. 26-27).
[97] Gray, 'Shakespeare versus Aristotle', 85-111 (p. 27).
[98] Michael Lowe and Kelly Haws, 'Confession and Self-Control: A Prelude to Repentance or Relapse?', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 115.4 (2018), 1-20 (p. 1).
[99] Richard Alison, *A Plaine Confutation of a Treatise of Brownisme* (London: Printed by Thomas Scarlet, 1590), pp. 97-98.

Leontes denounces his queen in public which gives way to other crimes, so he acknowledges and repents in public like a Catholic penitent, and promises with Paulina, his priest like figure, that he will not marry and visit his queen's grave every day because 'Repentance without Restitution is a vapour'.[100] In this way, the representation of repentance and the portrayal of characters like Macbeth, Lady Macbeth, Hamlet, Gertrude, Claudius and Leontes in all three plays is culturally and historically contextualised by Shakespeare against the fully charged didactic atmosphere of the Reformation.

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[100] Hirschfeld, *End of Satisfaction*, p. 33.

Conclusion: 'In the Very End of Harvest'

The focus of this research has been to historicise and contextualise the complex passions of melancholy, jealousy and repentance in *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Othello* and *The Winter's Tale*, selected plays for this research. This 'dance of human passions' in the plays emerges from Shakespeare's immersion in early modern society that offered a profound engagement with human passions according to different theories prevalent.[1] These theories of emotions gathered further momentum in the wake of the twin movements of the Reformation and the Renaissance, hence were readily available to Shakespeare and his society. Therefore, the purpose of this study has been to investigate melancholy, jealousy and repentance to situate them contextually and to ascertain factors that enabled Shakespeare to portray the psychological demeanour of his characters, conflating particular intrinsic and extrinsic factors, causes and stimuli, with such complexity as is displayed in the chosen works.

The Introduction has presented the hypothesis that Shakespeare's treatment of these three passions reflects early modern attitudes and they 'have histories'.[2] Nevertheless, such crossroads are found in this study where Shakespeare's contextual approach to passions and modern approach to emotions intersect with each other. Although exploring similarities between early modern passions and modern emotions was beyond the scope of this research, yet such similarities imply the proleptic nature of passions as well as Shakespeare's prescient dramatic imagination in displaying the inner recesses of the human mind and its workings in a certain situation. In this way, Shakespeare's sophisticatedly neoteric approach and handling of these passions, without obliterating their contextual and historical character, has challenged, fascinated and interested the inquisitive researcher ever since. Starting with this proposition, this study encompasses factors or causes that equipped Shakespeare with such 'an intimate understanding of human emotions' that makes his works a matter of perpetual interest, despite the fact that they are grounded in his social context.[3]

Shakespeare was not a god or a magician that he would go into a deep state of meditative trance and then transpire a comprehensive understanding of melancholy to depict Hamlet; raging jealousy to inculcate in Othello and Leontes; and deep-rooted repentance,

[1] Schulte, 'Did Wittgenstein Write on Shakespeare?', 7-32 (p. 12); Beauregard, 'Shakespeare And the Passions', 912-25 (p. 912).
[2] Steven Mullaney, *The Reformation of Emotions in the Age of Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 17.
[3] Caroline Brown, *Shakespeare and Psychoanalytic Theory* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), p. 1.

drenched in Catholic and Protestant ideologies, to instil into the Macbeths and Leontes. Shakespeare's own contemporaries, Leonard Digges and John Milton as noted by Bate, claimed that he 'was born, not made' and that his lines are 'Delphic', 'inspired' and thus 'coming straight from Apollo, god of poetry'.[4] Even for Greenblatt, one of the most influential modern critics, his plays are replete with content that is 'so astonishing, so luminous, that it seems to have come from a god and not a mortal'.[5] These observations by Shakespeare's contemporaries and modern critics may well be classified as obeisance and eulogies out of their respect and awe of the poet, although somewhat hyperbolic, however, they cannot be taken in their literal sense of meaning. This research has not aimed to prove Shakespeare a demigod like figure. The reality is much more nuanced and fascinating than the weight of reputation has allowed. Therefore, being a human being, Shakespeare could not be said to have divine inspiration to depict such astonishing materials with regard to passions as discussed in the whole of the thesis. There is, then, only one option and that is the only option: Shakespeare acquired his understanding of these passions from his societal factors, and, in the words of Thomas Carlyle, because of his 'superiority of Intellect', he absorbed the prevailing concepts of passions, adapted them to his dramatic art and portrayed them in a way that they still attract a huge amount of criticism and research opportunities.[6]

The research has concluded that Shakespeare's presentation of melancholy, jealousy and repentance reflect three different species of passions with their distinctive features and levels of complexity, as well as their intersectionality. This typological handling of these passions contains early modern secular, religious, intellectual, racial and political perspectives, implying that Shakespeare draws inspiration from various factors that could serve his purpose. This literary diversity in the presentation of these three passions is not only a distinctive prowess, but it was also a requirement for the entrepreneurial Shakespeare to pursue the imperatives of commercial success and to keep his diverse audience alive to his art and entertain them with panache. Any kind of monotonous or superficial approach to passions and their presentation on the London stage, where the population was between '200,000 by 1600' and anywhere near 'four hundred thousand', an incredibly huge and diverse population by the standards of the day, would have not only been unrealistic from the standards of the day, but

[4] Bate, *The Genius*, p. 160.
[5] Greenblatt, *Will in the World*, p. 13.
[6] Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-worship and the Heroic in History* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1840), p. 124.

unable to attract the huge audience as he did.[7] Moreover, the theatre 'was attended by a broad cross-section of the London populace' and to entertain all of them, Shakespeare was bound to rely on diverse cultural, ethical, ritual and linguistic elements in his treatment of passions.[8]

> The 'upstart Crow' wrote for audiences who arrived in the playhouse with a headful of cultural expectations—based on their everyday and theatrical experiences—of being present at a certain kind of story and indulging in familiar emotions.[9]

It was Shakespeare's conformity and adaptability to the growing needs of the diverse cultural populace that formed him not only as a successful dramatist but also a successful entrepreneur. Carlyle's claim regarding Shakespeare's superior intellect, as mentioned above, also finds empirical evidence in the fact that had he not been gifted with a superior intellect, he would have been financially destitute like the arrogantly snobbish university wits as 'all his rival playwrights found themselves on the straight road to starvation'.[10] For example, Robert Greene died 'penniless' and was '£10 in debt'; Ben Jonson could not make 'more than two hundred pounds by writing plays' in his whole life.[11] Robert Greene, Shakespeare's bitter critic, 'claimed that Shakespeare had put the scholar playwrights out of business'.[12] Historically speaking, all of the university wits had died by 1601 in a pathetic condition, except for the 'upstart crow', who was successful enough to buy one of the largest houses, New Place, in Stratford-upon-Avon in 1597. The reason for this success was Shakespeare's sharp intellect and observation with which he 'had to engage with the deepest desires and fears of his audience' and portray the labyrinth of their emotional selves in order to achieve his literary diversity, excellence and success and leave a financial and literary legacy that his contemporaries could not compete with.[13]

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[7] Brown, *Shakespeare*, p. 3; Kermode, *Age of Shakespeare*, p. 98.
[8] Robert Shaughnessy, *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare and Popular Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007), p. 6.
[9] Ruth Lunney, '"The Tears of Ten Thousand Spectators": Shakespeare's Experiments with Emotion from Talbot to Richard II', in *Shakespeare and Emotions*, ed. by White, Houlahan and O'Loughlin, pp. 95-107 (p. 96).
[10] Greenblatt, *Will in the World*, p. 12.
[11] Zoe Bramley, *William Shakespeare in 100 Facts* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2016), p.30; L.H. Newcomb, *Greene, Robert* (2020), *DNB* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11418> [accessed 18 Aug 2020]; Brown, *Shakespeare*, p. 169.
[12] Evans, 'Shakespeare's World', pp. 9-26 (p. 18).
[13] Greenblatt, *Will in the World*, p. 12.

Nonetheless, portraying different passions also gave Shakespeare an opportunity to include a wide variety of perspectives prevalent in his society, sometimes their roots stretching back to classical antiquity owing to his 'familiarity with classical texts that formed the basis of the grammar school curriculum of his time' and provided pupils with 'influential emotion scripts'.[14] To put this argument in a nutshell it can be said that in presenting melancholy, jealousy and repentance in his plays, there is a 'Shakespearean mix of exotic and domestic, classical and demotic', which results in the display of a Catholic Shakespeare, a Protestant Shakespeare, a classical Shakespeare, a reformist Shakespeare, a royalist Shakespeare, a commoner Shakespeare and an observant Shakespeare who was familiar with English atrocities, treacheries, Italianate learning and imitation, international politics and combined them with his imagination into his plays.[15] It is this protean Shakespeare, known to Coleridge as 'myriad-minded Shakespeare', whose observation and awareness of various societal, psychological, physiological and philosophical concepts are reflected in the treatment of these three passions.[16]

As mentioned above, the three passions reflect different contextual perspectives, therefore, this study has investigated them in three different chapters, thus analysing their specific contextual conceptions known to the people and factors germane to each of these passions. There could not be a single criterion to examine all three passions. Nonetheless, all those factors that nourished Shakespeare's understanding of these passions were part of his diverse society and they originated from various reasons. Shakespeare classified those factors or causes prevalent in his society under the headings of melancholy, jealousy and repentance in his works depending upon their pertinence to these passions, giving them distinctive identities and anatomizing them based on the learning of the day.

The richness of Shakespeare's society that equipped him with ideas of passions was precipitated by some of the landmark changes in society as well as in Shakespeare's personal experience. The most critical movements that left an enduring impact on early modern society were the Reformation and the Renaissance which have been discussed in detail in their relevant places in this thesis and their considerable influence on the society as a whole. It is important to acknowledge that these twin movements, which were thriving when Shakespeare's schooling and then writing career began, influenced, directly or indirectly, almost every walk

[14] Wells, *Shakespeare for All Time*, pp. 14-15; Meek and Sullivan, *Renaissance of Emotion*, Introduction (p. 9); Enterline, *Shakespeare's Schoolroom*, p. 26.
[15] Gillespie and Rhodes, *Popular Culture,* Introduction (p. 12).
[16] Samuel T. Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria* (Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 2005), p. 151.

of life, including approaches and attitudes to human passions. Despite this fact, however, the study has explored various other factors, both societal and personal, which impressed on Shakespeare's understanding of these passions keeping in mind that all these factors, to a certain degree, were influenced by the Reformation and the Renaissance. These factors include the early modern education system, pedagogical approaches, political struggles, society's polarised religious outlook, easy access to classical antiquity, theological animadversions, plagues, wars, ambitions of the English monarchs to be recognised internationally, interaction with Ottomans and Moors, oral and literary traditions of his society and their reciprocity, family circumstances, Shakespeare's personal experiences, including his London life, interaction with the monarchs of his time and interaction with the lower strands of his society are all significantly crucial factors to facilitate an understanding of melancholy, jealousy and repentance to present them from their contextual and historical perspectives.

In Chapter 1, after examining definitions, interpretations, causes and symptoms of melancholy, based on early modern sources and the close analysis of their representation in *Hamlet, Macbeth, Othello* and *The Winter's Tale*, it is clear that Shakespeare portrayed the malady in its early modern understanding and character. Shakespeare's environment was accentuated by religious and political antagonism where deaths, executions and victimisation, based on religious and political grounds, were common. Generally speaking, in the whole of the country, 'every aspect of daily life had been consonant with the liturgy, and the ways in which religious doctrine was taught'; whereas, 'Warwickshire' in particular 'was viewed by the government, and by the ecclesiastical authorities in Worcester, as an ungodly region, a stronghold of Catholicism and notoriously reluctant to implement the wishes of Elizabeth's ministers'.[17] This gruesome picture of Shakespeare's county in the eyes of Protestant authorities brought the existing friction between various religious and political groups to the door steps of the Shakespeares.

An in-depth analysis of Shakespeare's environment in Chapter 1 has revealed that 'in a fear-laden atmosphere, anyone who looks, acts or speaks differently is subject to suspicion'.[18] This suspicion led to fear of death by torturous executions and victimisation of opponents, which was the currency of the day. Such an environment held a significant potential to instil continuous worry, fear and sadness, major components of melancholy, in the minds of the people. When a society is charged with such a life-threatening cruelty, unjust exploitation and

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[17] Kermode, *Age of Shakespeare*, p. 18; Wood, *In Search,* p. 35.
[18] Dick Stoute, *Understanding Fear: The Key to a Brighter Future* (Reading: Revive Publications, 2011), p. 101.

oppression, it transforms into a social expedient to promote melancholy. Such was the outlook of the society that affected people far and wide and Shakespeare's awareness of this cultural currency is supported by the available evidence of Shakespeare's personal and family experience as Stratford offers a prime example of religious and political altercations.

> We need to remind ourselves that Stratford was marked by serious rifts between a town population that was largely Catholic and a local rural gentry that was strongly Puritan, and that it was highly litigious.[19]

It has been argued in detail that Shakespeare's own family members, the Catsbeys, were linked to the Gunpowder Plot, were put on trial and Robert Catsbey's head was 'stuck on the roof of the House of Commons' for he 'masterminded the Gunpowder Plot'; his maternal relatives, John Somerville, Edward Arden and later 'Arden's wife Mary, their daughter Margaret and Somerville's sister were all thrown into the Tower' and were beheaded thereafter; his Catholic teachers were persecuted and Thomas Cottam, his teacher John Cottam's brother was executed.[20] Chapter 1 also deploys historical evidence of Shakespeare's father who, according to some critics, was 'undoubtedly a covert Catholic' and 'friends with William Catesby'—the father of Robert Catesby—which indicates that the Shakespeares could become easy targets of political and religious victimisation. The government was set to terminate any opponent through 'Lucy and the other Warwickshire officials' through a network of aggressively inquisitive spies, upon which the government 'spent £12,000 a year—a fabulous sum—spying on its own citizens'.[21] In such a precarious scenario, in which every move by a citizen was watched 'By God, by Satan, and by the apparatus of the state', it was impossible to avoid fear of death and persecution, as is portrayed by Shakespeare in *Hamlet* in which the prince is worried about his safety and decides to 'put an antic disposition on' (*Hamlet*: 6.170).[22] This not only suggests Shakespeare's own thought process but also represents wider early modern treatment of melancholic dispositions owing to the dangerous gruesome living circumstances discussed in detail in the relevant chapter. Other than these factors, incest and love also cause melancholic disposition, as has been observed. Hamlet and other characters' melancholic

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[19] Leah Marcus, 'Shakespeare and Popular Festivity', in *Popular Culture*, ed. by Gillespie and Rhodes, pp. 42-66 (p. 45).
[20] UK Parliament, *Robert Catesby*, [accessed 07 June 2020]; Wood, *In Search,* p. 91
[21] Mabillard, *Shakespeare and the Gunpowder Plot* [accessed 08 February 2018]; Bryson, *World as a Stage*, p. 90; Greenblatt, *Will in the World*, p. 101.
[22] Bate, *Soul of the Age*, p. 342.

disposition, in essence, display all recognisable forms or symptoms of melancholy which are depicted in these plays, indicating the influence of Shakespeare's immediate environment in the portrayal of melancholy, thus providing a contextual relationship with early modern attitudes to melancholy.

Shakespeare was not alone in engaging with the subject of melancholy and portraying melancholy and melancholic characters in his plays, as discussed in this study. His contemporary playwrights as well as 'prudent Physitians' and 'profound doctors' also addressed the subject, for example and most prominently Timothie Bright and Robert Burton represent a multitude of acclaimed authors in this regard.[23] Moreover, in the wake of the Renaissance, literature on melancholy, both European and English, was profusely published and readily available, either in Latin or in English translations, from which Shakespeare benefited himself in his handling of the passion and its representation in his plays.

The Renaissance not only encouraged the influx of Italian literature on melancholy, but it also inculcated in the English mind the importance and sophistication of Italianate learning, which then resulted in idealising Italianate ways of life. In conjunction with literary traditions, early modern accounts reveal that continental travel became a fashion in English society, encouraging English young men and women to imitate 'Italian affectation of melancholy that had been current among scholars and artists there since the fifteenth century, largely due to the Italian writer Marsilio Ficino's influential association of melancholy with genius'.[24]

Shakespeare's society connected a melancholic person with genius after Italian fashion, therefore, melancholy was generally known as the 'scholar's disease' and 'carried connotations of aristocracy' and 'Italicism' in England.[25] Shakespeare reflects this concept in *Hamlet*, owing to his close interaction with Elizabethan and Jacobean courts, thus reflecting his first-hand knowledge and observation of the aristocracy and their melancholic interiority in his plays *Hamlet*, *Macbeth* and *The Winter's Tale*. In this way, Shakespeare acquired his insight into the melancholic mind because of his awareness of societal attitudes, the availability of abundant English and European literature, his interaction with different strands of society combined with his personal observation and his knowledge of the humoral theories of emotions which renders his treatment and portrayal of melancholy a thoroughly contextualised character.

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[23] Wright, *Passions of the Minde*, p. 184.
[24] Anglin, 'Hamlet, Melancholy', 15-29 (p. 22).
[25] Anglin, 'Hamlet, Melancholy', 15-29 (pp. 15, 22).

Chapter 2 establishes the fact that jealousy in the early modern period was a complex multifaceted passion of extraordinary monstrosity and bestiality; its undesirable and desirable aspects have simultaneously been argued. For Shakespeare and his society, jealousy was known, in all its forms and shapes, to be a male-oriented disease, however, it was not always a sexual disease in its larger environmental context. Jealousy for early moderns originated from challenges to a man's reputation and honour and his right of property along with his fear of cuckoldry and fear of being impotent and aged. According to widely held notions, jealousy was also known as an animal passion because various discourses theorised that baser creatures also felt jealousy. The concept of bestiality, capable of incapacitating reason, in the treatment of jealousy finds echoes in Shakespeare. Furthermore, jealousy, for early moderns, also stemmed from the question of race, geography and the stars, a conception that was the outgrowth of Anglo-Islamic interaction in the wake of the Reformation and the Renaissance. Additionally, jealousy was also known as a disease particularly affecting the upper class: 'the Sonnes of *Knightes, Barrons, Earles, Dukes,* and *Princes,* & many of them' because they were 'ready to hazarde their liues, for their honour & Country', out of their jealousy for their counterparts or because of their states, which Shakespeare portrays in *Othello*, *The Winter's Tale* and *Hamlet*.[26] Contrary to these undesired aspects and kinds, jealousy was also known as a desired passion and a sign of love as is reflected in *Othello* and *The Winter's Tale.* In both its forms, whether an undesired or desired passion, it was a male-oriented disease, nourished by patriarchal ideologies, shame culture and religious tenets that provided it the monstrosity, bestiality and tyranny of the mind owing to the intensity of 'furie', 'rage', 'euerlasting hate' and 'suspition'.[27] This research has established a connection between Shakespeare's treatment of jealousy and the prevalent patriarchal, scientific and ethnological aspects that he draws upon in portraying this passion.

Regarding sexual or marital jealousy, Shakespeare capitalises his society's thorough patriarchal and religious outlook to create Othello and Leontes, jealous characters who epitomise pervasive concepts of gender inequality, anxiety about the chastity of the woman and as a result of this, diseased monstrosity and bestiality of the man. 'The idea of marital equality' claims Linda Woodbridge, 'was foreign, strange, hardly capable of entering the mind.

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[26] *The English Courtier*, D1^{r}.
[27] Charron, *Of Wisdome*, pp. 91-92; Burton, *Anatomy*, p. 687.

And this extended to all relationships between sexes, not only marriage'.[28] The Renaissance discourse summarises this inequality in these words:

> Wiues must be modest, wise, chaste, keepers at home, louers of their husbands, and subiect vnto them.[29]

With this mindset deeply rooted in masculine superiority, an affair outside the bond of marriage for a woman would disturb the entire set of ideals and challenge a man's masculinity. Such an unchaste behaviour by the woman that would bring shame and disgrace to a man's name and his reputation was also denounced with vehemence in religious teachings. In this way, both patriarchy and religion supported each other as well as aggravated inequality between genders. This polarisation resulted in intense form of jealousy, followed by monstrous violence that Othello and Leontes represent. Chapter 2 has observed the way Shakespeare pulls various strands together to create a dramatic personification of all prevailing concepts of jealousy emerging out of multiple factors in the shape of Othello and Leontes.

In this way, Chapter 2 not only historicises Shakespeare's treatment of jealousy, but it also emphasises that jealousy was a culture of its own nature in early modern England with its distinctively recognisable features defined in the Renaissance literature. Physicians, doctors and theorists anatomised this passion from a scientific premise, combining different aspects of the disease, symptoms and remedies in their discourses. Prose writers and playwrights, on the other hand, were more interested in jealousy's performative aspect, for the passion had exaggerated visible features, suitable for the stage to captivate the audience. Shakespeare, however, conflates and reappropriates scientific and performative aspects of the malady to stage it, thus combining the history of this passion and a Shakespearean spin without obliterating its pervasive anatomical characteristics. This study has covered a range of such literature on jealousy that was pervasive during Shakespeare's lifetime that inspired the playwright to handle this passion in his works and reflect the intellectual and historical context simultaneously. In essence, jealousy was a dominant passion in literature and oral traditions of the day, owing to which various aspects of jealousy or jealous characters found their way to the English stage time to time.

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[28] Linda Woodbridge, *Women and the English Renaissance: Literature and the Nature of Womankind,1540-1620* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1986), p. 131.
[29] La Primaudaye, *The French Academie*, (1586), p. 512.

Shakespeare's treatment of jealousy was also nourished by political and commercial development in an age in which the English monarchs interacted with the Ottomans and the Moors. Owing to the contemporary diplomatic expansion beyond English borders into the Moorish lands, frequent visits of the Moorish people to the English courts became an increasingly regular phenomenon that introduced a new culture, a new language, a new Moorish persona and a whole new world to the English. This exposure to the Moorish culture, or a real cultural encounter as per historical records, might have started first in the form of marches through the streets of London and then later on to the stage in the form of Othello and other such characters, a dramatic representation of the real, by the playwright:

> No other non-Christian region wielded as much direct influence on English imagination as did Barbary—an influence that informed plays, poems, novels, autobiographies, memoirs, travelogues and histories, in English as well as in translation from French, Spanish and other European languages.[30]

With this new culture came the new perspective of jealousy, stereotypically specific to Moorish mindset, as is presented in *Othello*, which shows deep traces of 'cultural histories of race, gender, and European imperialism'.[31] This thesis has covered an extensive amount of literature, for example Leo Africanus's *A Geographical Historie of Africa, Written in Arabicke and Italian* (1600) and Richard Knolles's enormously influential *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603) are but two examples out of many of those seminal works that unveiled the Moorish character to the English, particularly their credulousness, suspicion and pride which results in extreme, acute and credulous form of jealousy. These Moorish ideas are portrayed through the character of a black moor in *Othello* as opposed to jealous Leontes, who finds some sense as the events unfold themselves and develops a better understanding of the truth regarding his wife Hermione. English and Moorish interaction during the Elizabethan and Jacobean eras gave rise to an understanding of jealousy that was a mixture of domestic and international concepts of this malady. Shakespeare demonstrates this duality of Moorish and English features of jealousy in *Othello* and *The Winter's Tale*. In addition to the dualistic nature of jealousy, as Chapter 2 has observed, Shakespeare adds humoral characteristics, as well as

[30] Matar, *Britain and Barbary*, p. 167.
[31] Paster, *Humoring the Body*, pp. 25-26.

the question of mind body connection, to the treatment of this passion in his works that makes them a comprehensive anatomy of early modern jealousy.

In this way, the study implies that jealousy in early modern England was linked to historical and actual cultural encounters and these characteristics were dominant in the display of this monstrous passion. Therefore, an examination of jealousy in early modern period is also the examination of the foundational history of different ideas and social movement prevalent in Shakespeare's society because jealousy emerged from patriarchy, shame culture, religious and political landscape of England and specific racial attitudes.

As hypothesised in the Introduction, out of all the prevalent theories of emotions, humoral theory, along with other factors as argued in Chapters 1 and 2, was the main source of inspiration for Shakespeare in treating melancholy and jealousy. Therefore, Shakespeare's treatment of melancholy and jealousy is mainly based on Galenic traditions of his society. On the contrary, after a close contextual analysis of *Macbeth*, *Hamlet* and *The Winter's Tale* in Chapter 3, the study concludes that it is the Scholastic approach that Shakespeare adopts in portraying the passion of repentance because for Shakespeare and for his society, repentance had theological outlook. Although Shakespeare presents cultural, historical and political contexts in the portrayal of repentance, with some traces of classical influence, the religious character of the passion is dominant in Shakespeare plays, like it was in his society. The reason for this dominance was that 'theology and devotion played a central role in the experience of a wide variety of emotions' in his society and repentance was a major one of them.[32] Repentance was inflected by Protestant and Catholic doctrinal approaches, as has been argued. In this way Shakespeare represents the true picture of his society in the matters of repentance.

A profound examination of both Protestant and Catholic tenets with regard to repentance has revealed that it was a desirable passion and, if practised appropriately, as per the defined approaches of Protestant and Catholic denominations, accepted by God and the sinner is purged of his or her sins. However, the research underpins the difference between ways to repent in both denominations of Christianity. Nonetheless, despite their differences in terms of methodology of repentance, both denominations were unanimous that repentance nullifies devilish acts committed in the past and reconciles the penitent to God, thus bringing peace and harmony in life. However, if the correct approach, prescribed by each denomination, in the practice of repentance was not employed and the path of sin not left altogether, there was

[32] Meek and Sullivan, *Renaissance of Emotion*, Introduction (p. 7).

no forgiveness nor any hope of salvation in the hereafter according to both denominations. This was broadly the early modern understanding of the passion of repentance, taught by religious leaders from their pulpits and addressed by theologians in their treatises as 'Church had become thoroughly accustomed to disseminating its message through text' and staged by the playwrights of the time, including Shakespeare.[33]

Although there are various aspects and minute details of the passion of repentance as have been thoroughly examined in the relevant chapter, yet there are only two outcomes: either repentance is accepted by God and penitent is forgiven or repentance is rejected by God and the sinner faces damnation in this world and in the hereafter. Whether God accepts or rejects anyone's repentance of sins is something beyond human knowledge. Nevertheless, according to early modern religious and secular literature on the passions, there are not only ways mentioned for repentance to be acceptable, but also such conditions which inform about damnation of sinners both in this world and the hereafter. Shakespeare's depiction of both kinds of beliefs and scenarios are deeply rooted in Renaissance literature and theological tracts. In the downfall of the major characters in *Macbeth* and *Hamlet* Shakespeare makes clear that their repentance is not accepted by God despite their apparent signs of repentance and hence it is a punishment from God in this world for not following the religious teachings regarding the true spirit of repentance. According to the early modern belief, 'in repentance a man need but acknowledge his Fault, and he is sure to obtain pardon for it'.[34] One of the ways to acknowledge faults is to leave devilish actions to seek or to hope to seek God's bounty in the form of forgiveness. Macbeth, Lady Macbeth, Claudius and Gertrude show signs of repentance but at the same time they follow the devil in their actions, thus nullifying their own repentance, removing any chance of invoking God's mercy. Hence, they face the wrath of God in the form of their downfall in this world. As far as the hereafter is concerned, Shakespeare introduces Hamlet's father's Ghost to embody the idea that sinners, according to early modern Catholic doctrine, will have to be purged of all their sins by being 'fast in fires' (*Hamlet*: 5.11) for a specific period of time before they are forgiven. This, as argued, has been one of the anxieties of early modern people in whose minds, as Burton observes, 'Rigid Ministers' developed a fear regarding the life hereafter and tyrannised over their mind in the name of religion. Such doctrines emphasised the need of repentance and made it an integral part of Shakespeare's society from which stems his treatment of this passion as has been the focus of this study.

[33] Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture*, p. 13.
[34] Senault, *The Use of Passions,* p. 505.

On the other hand, Shakespeare, in the character of Leontes, also portrays the possibility of forgiveness through genuine repentance as per the religious convictions of the day. Leontes is not a lesser monster than the Macbeths or Claudius in terms of a series of sins he commits. Nonetheless, his end is unlike the Macbeths and Claudius because his repentance and acknowledgement, or confession in orthodox theological terminology, are true in their nature and lead him to renounce his evil actions as well as evil intentions of burning some and murdering others. When Leontes realises the gravity of his sins, he is courageous enough to acknowledge and confess them publicly in the same manner he committed them publicly. Not only that, he also engages himself in such a deep and sincere godly sorrow over his past misdeeds that even his courtiers request him to end his solitude by marrying again. Such a remorseful and sorrowful repentance and acknowledgement of one's sins, according to early modern theological treatise, were the true signs and ways to repent which was bound to win God's forgiveness and mercy upon sinners. Observing such remorseful sorrow over a long period of time by Leontes is respected by God and results in his reunion with his family and reconciliation with his friends as a sign of forgiveness and acceptance of his repentance, thus corroborating the early modern doctrine that 'Nothing but true repent [sic] cleares conscience'.[35] By contrasting Leontes's character with the Macbeths, Claudius and Gertrude, Shakespeare manifests the prevailing attitudes with regard to repentance as well as the difference between those who are cursed to suffer God's punishment even after repentance and those who are blessed.

It has, therefore, been observed as exhibited in Shakespeare that true repentance is accepted by God and that which does not meet the required standards of repentance as mentioned in the contemporary literature, is rejected. In other words, a penitent must observe a 'contrition' of the heart to make it acceptable before God.[36] Within the course of *Macbeth*, and *Hamlet*, the protagonists, the Macbeths, Claudius and Gertrude, display a contrition and vexation of their hearts, yet their downfall, as being the harbinger of their damnation before God, means they are not forgiven. On the other hand, Leontes's contrition and vexation of the heart results in his forgiveness and he is reconciled with his family at the end of the play. The question arises as to why there is this disparity of outcomes although all characters display contrition of their hearts. Shakespeare's portrayal of this apparently conflicting paradigm exhibits the subtlety with which he approaches the societal attitudes towards repentance. This

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[35] Bodenham, *The Garden*, p. 9.
[36] Hooker, *Ecclesiasticall Politie* (1648), p. 109.

means that contrition of the heart is a valid form for repentance to be accepted but with that, there is something else that is required too as expounded in Richard Alison's 1590 treatise:

> The repentance of the partie must bee proportionable to the offence, viz. if the offence be publike, publike, if priuate, priuate, humbled, submissiue, sorrowfull, vnfeined, giuing glorie to the Lord.[37]

This observation concludes that the confession and repentance must match the magnitude and context of the sin to be acceptable and forgiven by God. Leontes's repentance is acceptable for the reason that his sin is committed in public in which he blames God's innocent creature to be adulterous and he repents in public. As he is the king, he is himself a judge of his actions and intentions. Therefore, he confesses in public in front of his courtiers without having any fear of severe penalties for kings and queens in those days were above the law. Moreover, he encourages 'All tongues to talk their bitt'rest' to him' (*TWT*: III.2.213) because he understands that the magnitude of his crime is huge which cannot be compensated by his private contrition and vexation alone. Along with that, he repents for sixteen years and thus equalises the proportion of his sin and his repentance with a contrite heart, an action that wins him God's forgiveness in the form of reconciliation at the end. Leontes in this manner is an incarnation of Catholic confession rite.

On the other hand, the Macbeths and Claudius do repent in private for their crime, which is more Protestant in its nature, but their tragic deaths imply that their repentance is not acceptable, hence they are punished in this world. The reason is that both commit regicide, a mortal sin against the Shadow of God that leads them to commit more and more mortal sins to hide their original sin. Although they are remorseful and show signs of contrition, yet their killing spree does not allow them an opportunity to repent with remorse proportionate to the magnitude of their sins. Such a magnitude of their sin would have demanded confession which was impossible for them, hence eliminating the possibility of restitution or 'forsaking of […] sinnes and turning to God, by amendment of life' without which repentance is unacceptable.[38] Therefore, their end is without forgiveness since 'Repentance without Restitution is a vapour'.[39] Furthermore, Leontes's remorse for his sin publicly is not as perilous as the

[37] Alison, *A Plaine Confutation*, pp. 97-98.
[38] Balmford, *A Short Catechisme*, p. 17.
[39] Hirschfeld, *End of Satisfaction*, p. 33.

Macbeths and Claudius's remorse may be, because regicide, in Shakespeare's society invited more risks and it was 'a sea of troubles' (*Hamlet*: 8.60) for which confession in public was almost impossible. Therefore, their repentance is unacceptable before God which is reflected in the form of their tragic falls at the end. Thereby, Shakespeare's representation of repentance carries both Protestant and Catholic character, combined with the necessity of political compromises in the matters of remorse and confession. In this way, Macbeth, Lady Macbeth, Hamlet, Gertrude, Claudius and Leontes and their attitudes to repentance comprehensively reflect the cultural and historical context of the fully charged didactic atmosphere of the Reformation.

To sum up, this thesis has contextualised and historicised Shakespeare's treatment of melancholy, jealousy and repentance as portrayed in *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *Macbeth* and *The Winter's Tale* based on early modern literary resources, particularly pertinent to various theories of passions prevalent during Shakespeare's lifetime, along with the oral traditions of his society to establish their link with Shakespeare's chosen works. It is his plays that reflect the societal trends and attitudes as well as indirectly reflecting Shakespeare's understanding of the prevailing concepts of these passions. This establishes a triangulated relationship in which Shakespeare's 'environmental', 'cultural', 'social' and 'family' determinants stand at one corner of this triangle; Shakespeare's understanding of these cultural attitudes mixed with his dramatic imagination stand at the other corner; and the reflection of this combination of contextual elements and his understanding in the form of his treatment of these passions in his plays, the chosen ones for this research particularly, stand at the third corner of this triangle.[40] Therefore, it is not a straightforward process by which Shakespeare handled these particular passions in his plays. Amalgamating all these factors into three composites of passions to create a melancholic like Hamlet; jealous tyrants like Leontes and Othello; and penitents like Macbeth, Lady Macbeth and Leontes in his plays owes its existence to meticulously complex approach of Shakespeare in a complicated society that he lived in.

The analogy of a triangle above, however, does not, as the research has concluded, suggest that Shakespeare was an absolute product of his culture. It is a fundamental principle of this study that 'the person is a processor and producer of culture', and not a mere product because of the fact that culture is not a creator but created of human behaviour.[41] It is the overall result of collective attitudes of the members of a particular society, void of creating powers.

[40] Pervin and John, *Personality*, p. 14.
[41] Lee, 'Shakespeare, Human Nature', 177-90 (p. 182).

Nonetheless, a person born in a particular culture rich in certain types of attitudes is bound to gain some influence, but to what extent is impossible to determine. Moreover, Shakespeare also benefited from the accumulated wisdom of his predecessors available in the form of oral, print and script versions, but he deduced such psychological principles from the acquired wisdom that became an orthodoxy on its own and influenced his own culture. Therefore, the idea that an individual is the product of his or her social conditions is only half true. Although Shakespeare demonstrates this fact with multiple innovations introduced in the treatment of these passions in his plays, yet one example is presented here to underline this concept. According to the Tudor grammar school curriculum, as per Lily's ubiquitous *A Short Introduction of Grammar*, noted by Lynn Enterline, '"All barbary, all corruption, all Latin adulteration which ignorant, blind fools brought into the world […] and poisoned the old Latin speech of the early Roman tongue will not be allowed entrance to the school"'.[42] Nonetheless, Shakespeare was 'capable of inventing "barbarians" like Aaron or Othello' contrary to the fact that such content was not allowed in school curriculum and that Shakespeare was still capable of devising an innovation, in terms of characters and their psychological depths, for which he did not receive any training in school.[43] However, this research acknowledges this fact that Shakespeare received cultural influence, like every other writer of his age, yet he also contributed to this culture, for he was also the creator of a certain type of behaviour and attitudes through his literature because 'Shakespeare had the capacity to shape' his 'culture, rather than simply being shaped by it'.[44] If Elizabethan and Jacobean England's culture produced everyone and was an absolute influence, as some critics claim, an idea that has been proven a half-truth by this research, then there would have been no rebellious and critical minds like Marlowe and other playwrights and pamphleteers, religious figures like Tyndale, John Cottam and political figures like Essex and hence there would have been no executions, persecutions and torture upon which the government spent a substantial amount of money and efforts. That is why Reddy argues that 'heterodoxy remained the rule throughout this early modern period, not only in religious matters, but in the deepest structures of selfhood and feeling'.[45] Therefore, cultural and historical context is important, however, individualism cannot be ignored even under the most ruthless despotic culture. Consequently, the theoretical standpoint of this thesis might be considered as midway between new historicism and cultural

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[42] Enterline, *Shakespeare's Schoolroom*, p. 25.
[43] Enterline, *Shakespeare's Schoolroom*, p. 25.
[44] Meek and Sullivan, *Renaissance of Emotion*, Introduction (p. 10).
[45] Reddy, 'Historical Research', 302-15 (p. 305).

materialism, the two influential theories that were based on the idea that an individual is socially determined and an absolute product of a culture, driven by political agency. However, this research has found that this is not an absolute truth, particularly in the case of Shakespeare as recent critics have persuasively argued:

> Shakespeare was 'profoundly an Elizabethan in terms of style', he was 'also quite un-Elizabethan in the ways certain of his dramatic persons [...] conceive of their identity.[46]

This study has thoroughly examined the richness of Shakespeare's culture in the wake of the twin movements of Renaissance and Reformation and in such a rich culture, he advanced through different stages of his life, observing, learning and portraying along the way. It was this rich culture in which he was thoroughly immersed during his schooling years and it was his school training from which 'Shakespeare's representations of character and emotion most profit' because he learned how to employ 'eyes, ears, hands, tongues' to act out emotions ('Schoolmasters will I keep within my house', *The Taming of the Shrew*: 3.93) and during his acting and writing career.[47] From Stratford, compared to which 'Birmingham, was yet an infant' in intellectual maturity, to bustling arenas of London and then back to his village until his death, Shakespeare experienced interactions with the royals, courts, aristocracy, literary figures, laypeople as well as foreigners in the wake of the international political development.[48] He witnessed, and sometimes became the victim of literary jealousy and hatred, the 'most acrimonious of literary battles' between religious firebrands and contemporary playwrights.[49] From Stratford to London and from being branded an 'upstart crow' to becoming a gentleman and then the King's Man, it was a long and strenuous journey which was sure to leave marks on Shakespeare, but it was also an eye-opener for him. He learned along the way by experiencing and absorbing the prevalent ideas about human passions, along with his being 'a voracious reader' who 'read many books other than those that supplied him with stories' and this shaped his dramatic imagination.[50] This is evident from his works and his deductive powers that gave him 'the force of a conclusion drawn from life'.[51] Therefore, Shakespeare's treatment

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[46] Meek and Sullivan, *Renaissance of Emotion*, Introduction (p. 7).
[47] Enterline, *Shakespeare's Schoolroom*, pp. 3,8.
[48] Brown, *Shakespeare*, p. 36.
[49] Cross, 'Orthodoxy', 1-9 (p. 7).
[50] Wood, *In Search,* p. 275; *Shakespeare for All Time*, p. 150.
[51] Greenblatt, *Will in the World*, p. 68.

and presentation of melancholy, jealousy and repentance reflect his cultural attitudes, but at the same time, this representation also reflects Shakespeare's own innovation and mastery of language, his fecundity of imagination and intellectual prowess. The research also appreciates that 'all societies have emotional standards' and that 'societies differ, often significantly, in these standards'.[52] Early modern society and its emotional standards, pertinent to the three passions under discussion, are authentically portrayed by Shakespeare.

The emotional element that has been the focus of this study may lead future researchers to endeavour to investigate the emotional aspect of Shakespeare's drama, considering that 'Shakespeare in all his tragedies' as well as some of his romantic comedies with tragic elements, *The Winter's Tale*, 'was primarily concerned with passion rather than with action'.[53] In this way, this study will set a precedence for the future studies and will open up the possibility of approaching Shakespeare's plays from the perspective of passions, rather than from that of plot or character.

This study has made all efforts to encompass Shakespeare's treatment of melancholy, jealousy and repentance and the psychological insights these passions involve from an early modern perspective, yet the fact is that it is literally impossible to deal with every aspect at a judicious length in a single study. Any such attempt is not only against the spirit of research but also does not achieve the purpose. There were hundreds and thousands of treatises and other popular genres of writing, for example, poetry (ballads, elegies, sonnets, epics, satire, metaphysical, love), drama (miracles, moralities and mysteries), diaries, letters, polemics and travelogues published and printed in the early modern period owning to dramatic developments in the printing industry which are bequeathed to the modern day researcher and offer promising as well as challenging scope to investigate Shakespeare's treatment of human passions. This research could be a benchmark for the investigation of other passions, for example love, ambition, madness, revenge and friendship are but to name a few out of a vast array of human passions, or the 'dance of human passions', as have been 'performed, enacted and made visible' in other plays of Shakespeare for example in *Romeo and Juliet*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Julius Caesar*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *Troilus and Cressida* and *King Lear*.[54] How far human passions contribute to the 'universal appeal' of Shakespeare's works could also be an exciting area of research.[55] According to Stanley Wells, 'Shakespeare is so rich, so dense in texture [...]

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[52] Stearns and Stearns, 'Emotionology', 813-836 (p. 814).
[53] Campbell, *Shakespeare's Tragic Heroes*, p. vi.
[54] Schulte, 'Did Wittgenstein Write on Shakespeare?', 7-32 (pp. 12, 13).
[55] Greenblatt, *Will in the World*, p. 13.

that he is quite peculiarly elusive and therefore open to variety of interpretation', and it could be another area for future research to determine the role of passions in Shakespeare's elusiveness.[56]

Alternatively, this research could lead up to research passions in other dramatists of the age, Christopher Marlowe and Ben Jonson could be potential candidates, in order to gauge the similarities and difference in approaches to passions by Shakespeare and his contemporaries. Moreover, research can also be conducted in Shakespeare's treatment of human passion or passions in the context of present-day research in human mind and psychology to investigate parallels between early modern and modern approaches to human passions. In short, this thesis initiates various possible aspects of human passions or different passions for future research. As a final word, the research has found out that to investigate early modern human passions, 'Shakespeare is a good place to start'.[57]

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[56] Stanley Wells, *Literature and Drama: With Special Reference to Shakespeare and His Contemporaries* (London: Routledge, 2010), p. 108.
[57] Daniella Jancso, 'The Fallacy of "that within": Hamlet Meets Wittgenstein', in *Passions and Subjectivity in Early Modern Culture*, ed. by Brian Cummings and Freya Sierhuis (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 239-251 (p. 251).

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