ABSTRACT

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THE HEROIC IDEAL IN DRYDEN'S LATER PLAYS

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This study regards Dryden's dramatic activity after 1688 as constituting a significant phase in his overall creative development. It concentrates on the two most serious works of this phase, Don Sebastian and Cleomenes, treating them as products of Dryden's continuing engagement with the heroic mode. It attempts to avoid the extremes of the approach through character and moral fable and the approach through selective illustration of intellectual tendencies, and to substitute the kind of holistic approach usually reserved for Dryden's poetic works.

Don Sebastian is compared in its large-scale structure and its fable with Dryden's earlier heroic plays, and then considered in relation to the techniques and topics of his polemic verse of the preceding decade. An elucidation of the central theme of the play is then attempted. Cleomenes is similarly treated: its large-scale organisation is contrasted with that of Don Sebastian, and its use of historical reference is related to its use of literary archetypes.

Finally it is argued that in these two plays divergences from Dryden's earlier practice in structure and in use of imagery and analogy (especially political analogy) reflect a gradual change of attitude towards the epic style and the hero, as the focus of that style, and that they are consistent with developments in the other works of Dryden's last decade.

THE HEROIC IDEAL

IN DRYDEN'S LATER PLAYS

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CONTENTS

Chapter I: DON SEBASTIAN AND ITS DRAMATIC PREDECESSORS.

As the first product of a new phase of dramatic activity, and as Dryden's first and possibly most considered post-Revolution work, as well as for its own intrinsic merits, Don Sebastian deserves particular attention, especially in any discussion of its author's linked intellectual and literary development. The context in which this work must be sited includes both its ostensible predecessors, the poet's earlier dramas, of which the last, The Duke of Guise, written in collaboration with Lee, had been completed in 1682, and the non-dramatic verse of the intervening period, which exhibits important new tendencies in Dryden's thought. In addition, the matter and scale of treatment, and sometimes also the manner, of Don Sebastian shows a return to the heroic style of drama abandoned after Aurengzebe, so that its relationship with such distant ancestors cannot be ignored.

The theme of the serious plot of Don Sebastian is a dual one: the downfall of a wilful tyrannic ruler is complemented by the vindication of a sympathetic military hero. This theme it shares with all Dryden's heroic dramas from The Indian Queen onwards. The hero is generally the tyrant's adversary in war, as well as his opposite in character; where this is not the case, as with Aurengzebe, and, intermittently, Almanzor, his superiority as a military leader makes him a threat to the tyrant's position. (1)

The presentation of the theme is typically both extensive and comprehensive, encompassing a wide range

both of character and opinion, and of theatrically striking incident. Particularly reminiscent of the earlier dramas are the semi-comic displays of perverted reasoning between Muley Moluch and his satellites. In the hyperbole of arbitrary power Muley Moluch rivals Dryden's most caricatured tyrant figures, Maximin and Morat. (2) The spectacular devices employed in Don Sebastian range from exchanges of rhodomontade to scenes of civil commotion. At times, as when Sebastian reveals his identity, (3) or Almeyda defies the Emperor, (4) incidents occur which resemble closely in contrivance and effect incidents in the rhymed heroic dramas.

The superficial resemblances between Don Sebastian and the early heroic dramas are clear enough, and one explanation of the reversion towards that diffuse and splendid style would be that it dissociates the play from its more informal immediate predecessors, The Spanish Friar and The Duke of Guise, both of which are plays with a specific political commitment. But since the resemblances with the earlier type of drama are unevenly distributed in Don Sebastian, and are particularly associated with the character of the tyrant, this would not seem to be a complete explanation. An accidental factor which would seem to be relevant is Dryden's enforced inactivity of 1688-9. The language of Don Sebastian, like its fable, (5) is more closely and carefully wrought than had been usual with Dryden; at the same time, the scale and seriousness of the play suggest that it provided an outlet for the poet's aspirations towards the Christian epic. In these circumstances, the theatrical machinery evolved earlier to convey a sense of the 'high' style could be an appropriate

adjunct to the new tragedy.

The downfall of the tyrant in Don Sebastian is brought about by a rebellion among his subjects, and the origins and progress of this rebellion take up much of the action of the play. Announced by Benducar in the opening scene, it culminates in the popular rising of the second part of Act IV. Dryden had already made an analysis of rebellion a leading theme in the most impressive of his rhymed heroic plays, the two-part Conquest of Granada; there the fluctuations of a rebellion planned in Part I (6) combine and alternate with those of the Spanish siege, ceasing only with the final peace settlement in Part II. (7) The popular stage of the uprising, like its conclusion, belongs to the second play, but the discussion of rebellion, like that of the other themes of The Conquest of Granada, is virtually completed in the first play; the second consists largely of action elaborating on established premises.

The course of the rebellions depicted in The Conquest of Granada and Don Sebastian is very similar. At the outset Dryden presents the ruler's unjust and unstable character as reflected in a government oppressive to his people; from general expressions of resentment by prominent characters the plot proceeds, through the formulating by the less honourable of justifications of rebellion based on their grievances, to an open revolt, initiated by the court, but involving in its final stages the general populace. The rising of the mob marks the beginning of a state of anarchy in which both parties fail of their ends, and sovereignty passes to a third power. (8)

In both plays, what Dryden offers as a sufficient account of rebellion is virtually a dramatic paradigm of

contemporary theory of sedition, and particularly of that theory as set forth by Thomas Hobbes in his treatise De Corpore Politico. Hobbes reduces the ingredients of the Medean broth of rebellion to three: 'discontent', the subjective emotion derived generally from a sense of imperfection in the common wealth; 'pretence of right', which involves the conception and adoption of revolutionary principles; and 'hope of success', regarded as a matter of organisation. 'When the same are all together', Hobbes concludes, rebellion is sure to follow:

> 'there wanteth nothing thereto, but a man of credit, to set up the standard, and to blow the trumpet.'

His assessment of the results of rebellion is the same as that presented in Dryden's plays:

> 'when eloquence and want of judgement go together, want of judgement, like the daughters of Pelias, consenteth through eloquence, which is as the witchcraft of Medea, to cut the commonwealth into pieces, upon pretence or hope of reformation, which when things are in combustion, they are not able to effect.'

Such a view of 'reformation' finds consistent support in Dryden's other works, and it may have influenced his adoption of a general psychology of rebellion modelled on that of Hobbes.

Hobbes's primarily analytical triad of the sources of rebellion also functions as a convenient sequential triad of revolutionary phases, and it is as such that Dryden uses it: the beginning, middle, and end of his dramatic representations of revolution are defined by successive stages of mistrust, formulation of grievances, and demagogical activity. Such an arrangement has advantages other than the obvious one of providing an effective climax to the drama. It conforms with the conventional account of human error which obtains in the heroic drama: discontent

and resentment engendered in the corrupt will subvert the higher faculties; and perverted reasoning issues in immoral action. Its application can thus relate the individual case of disloyalty to the general movement of rebellion. And for Dryden's audience, the existence of a firm logical basis for the dramatic spectacle of rebellion could enhance rather than lessen its value as a realistic phenomenon, by making that phenomenon accessible to the discriminating intelligence.

Hobbesian ideas were a favourite intellectual property in Dryden's rhymed heroic dramas, and the influence of Hobbes is naturally clearer and more schematic in The Conquest of Granada than in the later play. However, the occurence in both of the detailed subdivisions of Hobbes's three conditions of rebellion is a strong indication of Dryden's use of De Corpore Politico. A single scene in The Conquest of Granada which summarises the three conditions of rebellion as they appear in a single character can serve to demonstrate the debt. (10)

At the beginning of Act II (Part I), Abdalla, younger brother of the tyrannous king, appears merely as an unfortunate lover; the end of the Act shows him conspiring to seize the throne. The preconditions and stages of this transformation are meticulously indicated. A dialogue between Abdalla and his mistress Lyndaraxa exposes the prince's feelings of discontent - according to Hobbes the first pre-requisite for a rebel. Dryden follows Hobbes in distinguishing a particular kind of discontent afflicting

> 'them who otherwise live at ease, without fear of want, or danger of violence';

it is grounded on self-esteem. Abdalla propounds the theory

that he deserves the honour of Lyndaraxa's hand because his birth is superior to that of his rival:

> 'wisdom . . . . will show some difference
> Betwixt a private person and a prince'.

When rebuffed, he begins to speculate on the possibility of gaining the throne which his mistress so much desires, at first by innocent means:

> 'If I am king, and if my brother die',

and later by corrupt ones.

Further instances of a rebellion based on self-esteem (in Hobbes's negative formulation,

> 'a sense of their want of that power, and that honour and testimony thereof which they think is due to them')

occur in both plays. In The Conquest of Granada, Part I, Almanzor defects from Boabdelin's party when his orders about a prisoner are countermanded, exclaiming of the king:

> 'That he should dare to do me this disgrace!
> Is fool, or coward, writ upon my face?'

(12)
Later, finding himself undervalued by the opposing side, he again shifts his allegiance. (13) A sense of unrewarded desert is also given as Dorax's motive for quitting his master; in the first scene of Don Sebastian he tells the emperor's favourite:

> 'You know my story, how I was rewarded
> For fifteen hard campaigns! . . .
> . .'unblameable to all beside,
> He err'd to me alone:
> His goodness was diffus'd to human kind,
> And all his cruelty confin'd to me.'

The favourite is subsequently shown as trying to induce Dorax to rebel against the emperor on similar grounds.

Another detail relevant to the analysis of rebellion is revealed by the dialogue between Abdalla and Lyndaraxa cited above. That Abdalla should, under the influence of

his mistress, envisage illicit means of gaining the throne ('new paths'), demonstrates that he is, in Hobbes's phrase, a man 'of small judgement', one whose judgement is easily overruled by strong passions. According to Hobbes, all leaders of sedition are men inclined to follow their passions, and are also easily persuaded by precedent. They are

> 'such, as name things, not according to their true and generally agreed on names, but call right and wrong, good and bad, according to their passions, or according to the authorities of such as they admire, . . . who have given the names of right and wrong, as their passions have dictated.'

Abdalla's repentant soliloquy shows that Lyndaraxa's persuasions influenced only his immediate emotions;(14) a demonstration of the force of interested authority is provided by the ensuing dialogue with his mistress's brother. Prompted by Zulema's specious reasonings, as well as his appeal to the passions, Abdalla asserts the injustice of the chance of primogeniture:

> 'Had fate so pleas'd I had been eldest born,
> And then, without a crime, the crown had worn.'

The appeal to reason to justify an instinctive resentment is the first step towards its abuse for the formulation of seditious doctrine. (A similar plea that Fortune treats 'younger brothers' as 'but the draff of Nature' is put forward by Moley Zeydan to justify his planned rebellion.(15)) When Abdalla has assented to Zulema's argument that a man must make his own fate, his first demand:

> 'What face of any title can I bring?'

is simply a versification of Hobbes's second pre-requisite, the discovery of a 'pretence of right':

> 'that is when men have an opinion, or pretend to have an opinion, that in certain cases they may lawfully resist him, or them, that have the sovereign power.'

Overt reference to seventeenth-century philosophical doctrine

similarly adorns Dryden's Adam in The State of Innocence. When he accepts Zulema's offered 'pretence of right' Abdalla recognises that he is naming things 'not according to their true . . names':

'To sharp-eyed reason this would seem untrue;
But reason I through love's false optics view'.

Here again Dryden seems concerned to set his character-drawing firmly on the logical basis of Hobbesian psychology.

A pretence of right from the point of view of the Zegry faction has already been enounced by Zulema; it consists in the king's having acted in a way 'hurtful to the people'. Abdalla's, which depends on making the king a usurper, comes under Hobbes's last, and general, case 'that tyrannicide is lawful'. Almost the full list of 'pretences' given by Hobbes is reproduced in the Mufti's comic series of appeals to the mob in Act IV of Don Sebastian. (17)

The remainder of the scene under discussion deals with what Hobbes defines as the third condition for revolution, 'hope of success'. The establishment of a system of 'mutual intelligence' and the provision of sufficient forces ('numbers' and 'arms') are achieved by the planned council of the Zegrys(18); and Abdalla is shown acting as the necessary 'head', when he leaves to recruit Almanzor.

A slight elaboration of the Hobbesian scheme of rebellion in The Conquest of Granada is that Dryden derives from the 'discontent' of the eminent two types of rebel leader, one ambitious (positively dissatisfied) the other jealous (negatively dissatisfied) - a distinction quite in the spirit of Hobbes. In conceiving these figures Dryden was perhaps influenced by the philosopher's 'character' of a leader of rebellion: of the two leading traits mentioned there, 'little wisdom' and 'great eloquence', the first is associated chiefly with the jealous, and the second with the

(19)

ambitious malcontent. Hobbes's discussion in fact gives the shadow of a precedent for Dryden's subdivision. At the beginning of the chapter on sedition he has mentioned the 'man of credit' as the last requisite for success after the fulfilment of the three conditions; but when he comes to discuss 'hope of success' he treats the provision of a suitable leader as a section of this third condition, and the character he gives him, evidently influenced by recent events, is anything but creditable. By treating the 'man of credit' and the demagogue as separate characters, Dryden at once increases the dignity and the dramatic interest of his conspiracies.

While the accounts of the process of rebellion given in Don Sebastian and The Conquest of Granada clearly owe much to their common literary source, they cannot be said to show Dryden as a slavish imitator of Hobbes. Divergences from Hobbesian ideology in the interests of dramatic effectiveness occur, even in the earlier play. Thus the nobility is shown as the only source of rebellion, and the populace is drawn in only in the final stages of confusion; (20) Hobbes had shown the people as a primary factor, if not a primary agent, in the process of revolution. And Dryden, less absolutist in this respect than Hobbes, tends to admit the right of conscientious resistance to a monarch, (one of the 'pretences of right' which Hobbes is concerned to expose), though this is balanced by portraying the ruler as a heathen, as well as a tyrant.

But the most significant divergence is that in Dryden's plays only unworthy characters can be entirely accounted for by the Hobbesian type of motivation; and characters are presented as admirable when they transcend it, as when

Almanzor liberates the enemy general,(21) or Dorax is reconciled with Sebastian instead of seeking revenge against him.(22) Dryden's critical pronouncements, particularly his Defence of the Epilogue of The Conquest of Granada, claim the morally elevating effects of epic for the heroic drama; and for this purpose Hobbes's crudely pessimistic view of human nature could hardly be adequate.

What Dryden takes from Hobbes, then, is less an ideological scheme than a convenient summary of a psychology of rebellion which offers an organising principle for his dramatic treatment of the theme. This fact accounts for the particular form of the recurrence of Hobbesian elements in Don Sebastian. In both plays the general climactic pattern of rebellion remains the same, as a convenient formalisation of events actually chaotic. (A presentation of rebellion in its chaotic aspect is to be found in The Medall.) The process of rebellion is fully presented in The Conquest of Granada, which was written when the Hobbesian material was something of a novelty. In Don Sebastian much of it is indicated by allusion, and familiarity with the Hobbesian pattern is assumed. At the beginning of the later play the initial stages of the rebellion are supposed to be already past, though they are recalled both in the opening scene and in some later scenes involving Dorax.

The importance for the construction of The Conquest of Granada, Part I, of Dryden's attempt to map the landscape of sedition has already been mentioned. Another prominent feature of the play is its use of character-types such as the ambitious statesman, which

serve to crystallise a conception of a particular aspect of rebellion. Such features as the partnership of deluded prince and ambitious statesman, and the contrast between the statesman and the proud dissatisfied rebel, recur in Don Sebastian; and when they recur tend to carry with them fragments of their earlier context. Where, as in some cases mentioned above, this recurrence involves the use of similar topics of argument, resemblances between individual incidents in the two plays are enhanced.(23)

That similar figures reappear in similar contexts in Don Sebastian merely indicates the survival of a vocabulary of dramatic gestures originally evolved for the heroic play. The fact that some of the features of the landscape of sedition remain identical is quite compatible with a change of perspective in the later play. The existance of a change in the nature of Dryden's drama, and in its purport, are most clearly revealed through the patterns of structure which order the common features in the two plays.

For the broad differences to be expected in the scope and purport of a rhymed heroic play and that of a tragedy of 1690, one can refer to Rothstein's convincing account of the shift in taste and dramatic method during the period.(24) But the breadth of his treatment precludes much attention to the structure of individual dramas, which must be the source for any detailed assessment of dramatic strategy; and, in the complicated case of Dryden's dramatic output, some supplementary considerations must be admitted.

Rothstein's method is first to consider manifestations of dramatic theory in the period under discussion. He finds that Dryden's first allegiance is to what he calls the 'aesthetic' theory of tragedy, that which lays stress on the

pleasure derived from the playwright's skill.

A set of appropriate analogies was available for describing this conception of drama, and these appear regularly in Dryden's earlier critical writings.(25) A typical pair of associated images is used by Richard Flecknoe, writing in 1664;(26) the play should resemble a well-contrived garden, with

'Walks and Counterwalks, betwixt an alley and a Wilderness'

and

'our selves and Auditors . . . shu'd be led in a Maze, but not a Mist; and through turning and winding wayes, but so still as they may finde their way at last.'

A straightforward use of the garden/labyrinth image occurs in Dryden's essay Of Dramatick Poesy where Jonson is praised for his management of minor characters,

'all which he moves afterwards in by-walks, or under-plots'.

The ambivalence inherent in this dual analogy is expressed in Dryden's first piece of dramatic criticism, the Preface to his romantic play The Rival Ladies (1664). A passage which defines the playwright's task envisages the play as a kind of labyrinth. The poet undertakes

'to conduct his imaginary characters through so many various intrigues and chances as the labouring audience shall think them lost under every billow; and then at length to work them so naturally out of their distresses that when the whole plot is laid open, the spectators may rest satisfied, that every cause was powerful to produce the effect it had, and the whole chain of them was with such due order linked together that the first accident would naturally beget the second, till they all rendered the conclusion necessary.' (26)

Here the dramatist is regarded as both the architect of a planned confusion of dramatic incident, and the audience's guide to it. Similarly, the audience's response is envisaged as twofold: at the immediate level it is engaged in the successive waves of puzzling incident which

generate sympathy with the suffering characters; while a discriminating appraisal of the whole structure of the artifice is also demanded, but is only possible when the dénouement has extricated the audience from the labyrinth. In both kinds of appreciation the fable, regarded as a succession of incidents, is first, not only 'quoad fundamentum'(27) but also 'quoad dignitatem'; and the individual incident or encounter is the most significant unit of apprehension, whether in the retrospective assessment of the interdependence of 'causes' (the 'chain'), or in successive patterns of suspense, or tension, and relaxation.

The pleasure which Rothstein regards as typical of drama constructed according to the aesthetic theory, that of appreciating craftsmanship, 'requires the spectator to have a view of the play as a whole', and is identified with a

> 'recollection of order in the reflecting play as in the reflected world'.(28)

But the satisfactoriness of such a conclusion must depend on the prior establishment of an apparent absence of order. The Dryden passage quoted above suggests how this is to be achieved: the audience must submit to the same bewildering variety of experiences as the author's characters, incidentally involving itself sympathetically with the fate of those characters. This constitutes a quite distinct category of aesthetic effect, located in the single impressive incident. In Dryden's heroic plays before Aurengzebe skilful debates or fine descriptions of noble acts and romantic passions evoke an immediate response, either of bewilderment or enthusiasm, no less real for being, subsequently, deliberately checked by a compensating movement.(29) At least where Dryden is concerned, the

widely accepted antithesis between a detached response demanded by the heroic drama, and an engaged response demanded by pathetic tragedy, is misleading. As the Don Sebastian preface indicates, many aspects of the later 'affective' tragedy are still intended to be appreciated as the products of skilful artifice.

Dryden's changed theory of drama from the period of the Heads of an Answer to Rymer is identified by Rothstein (30) as lying between the fabulist and the affective: that is, it regards the end of tragic drama as the arousing of emotions of a beneficial tendency. It entails a view of dramatic construction which lays more stress on the parameters of drama, and on their interaction, that on consecutive developments within a single play. Dryden's denunciation of Bussy d'Ambois as a play effective only in the theatre, a 'cold dull mass' in the study, is consonant with this shift towards an interest in the processes of literary composition involved in the drama. Expectations of the nature of dramatic structure in Don Sebastian must be modified by the bias of Dryden's later dramatic criticism.

The sequence of military and amorous activity in The Conquest of Granada is parcelled out into acts very much as a prose-romance is divided into volumes. A typical act consists of a succession of quite self-contained incidents, each with its own resolution. In Act II of Part I, for instance, the first stage of successful revolt is presented from both sides, but in a series of clearly defined steps. These are separated by amorous dialogues and dialogues designed to reveal contrasted character types (two of each), and a musical interlude. The equal prominence of all these units enhances the effect of linear succession

in the Act. Since the career of the hero is presented in terms of a chronological progression from a state of natural savagery to his integration into a Christian nobility, this effect is particularly appropriate;[31] the incidents of the play can be seen as a series of hurdles in his path.

The organisation of The Conquest of Granada represents in fact a refinement on the episodic didacticism of Dryden's earliest heroic dramas. In these the single incident is generally the unit of moral perception, and incidents are ordered so as to indicate the moral significance to be read off from them. A typical instance is an incident in The Indian Emperor (Act II scene ii), where in the course of a battle Montezuma's two sons are presented with the choice of saving either their father or their mistress. Even in this very brief incident, the general issues involved are clearly indicated; Guyomar's question

'Their danger is alike, whom shall I free?'

is so phrased as to make the choice an absolute one, and the brothers' responses,

(Odmar) 'I'll follow Love -
(Guyomar) I'll follow Piety'[32]

assert a simple contrast between self-interested passion and selfless devotion. Here, as elsewhere in the drama, an event is contrived as a stimulus to provoke, in a single character or a group, two alternative responses, of which only one is morally acceptable.[33] In order to clarify the implications of each single act of choice, both alternatives must be fully expounded, either in the reactions of two contrasted characters, or in cruder oscillations in a single character's resolves. In either case the attention is focussed on the successive steps of

a chain of reasoning, that is, effectively, on a succession of disjunct instants. Specious logic, together with ill success, differentiates the villain from the virtuous man. In The Conquest of Granada the single contrived situation gives way to successive contrasted events and small illustrative parentheses as the main means of demonstrating moral status; but, whether in its earlier or its later form, the principle of rationally accessible demonstration entails the grouping, and constant re-grouping, of characters according to the import of each event. The fullest realisation of the static moral scheme of the drama is obtained by the maximum permutation of the characters who occupy definable points in it. Such consistently shifting characters are not adapted to sustain the coherence of the play, which depends on the sustained connection of incessant dramatic activity with a comprehensible moral order, and thus overtly on the ordering and arranging functions of the dramatist.

These brief observations on the nature of dramatic structure in the early heroic drama indicate one major kind of contrast between Don Sebastian and its predecessors in the grand style. A striking difference in the later play is the diminished importance of the individual incident; in fact, a surprisingly large number of the play's incidents are abortive. Their function would seem to be illustrative rather than didactic; they do not provide the necessary premises for the next plot development. The chess-board analogy invoked as an ideal in the discussion of Jonson's The Silent Woman in the essay Of Dramatick Poesy (33) was appropriate to the aims of Dryden's early drama, but is

but is irrelevant to the procedures employed in Don Sebastian.

The opening scene of the tragedy establishes a pattern which is to recur later. It consists of a dialogue between the brother and the favourite of the tyrant, exposing the military situation and a plan for revolution, interrupted by the approach of one of their purposed allies; this is followed by the favourite's soliloquy, revealing another layer of counterplot, and interrupted in turn by the arrival of the expected ally Dorax. This character shifts the grounds of discussion to his personal grievance against Sebastian, incidentally completing the picture of military affairs; and the ensuing dialogue is in turn interrupted by the arrival of the tyrant and his court. Each successive encounter remains indecisive, and this strategem prepares the audience for tensions of uncertainty and suspense on a large scale; at this early stage of the play it also serves to concentrate attention on a half-revealed central situation, of which the presented incidents are all equally subordinate aspects. Clearly, the basic structural unit in Don Sebastian is something other than the single incident.

The sense of dramatic 'enjambement' persists even after the central situation adumbrated in the opening scene has been fully presented. It is a prevailing effect in Don Sebastian, providing both a sense of precipitous forward movement throughout the varied course of the play, and a sense of generalised uncertainty. This point can be substantiated from the organisation of the action in the later stages of the play.

In the second section of Act I, the sacrificial ritual

announced is first interrupted by the discovery that only the meanest captives have been produced for sacrifice; then frustrated by the successive revelations of Sebastian's nobility and Almeyda's identity; and finally abandoned with the precipitate departure of the emperor.

Levels of discourse vary appropriately throughout the Act. The florid oratory proper to the emperor's planned sacrifice ('The purple present shall be richly paid') yields almost immediately to the language of cupidity and intrigue in the disput over the missing captives,(35) and the prosaic comments of the leader of the rabble underline the comic aspect of the situation. In fact, the form of this interlude between the emperor, Mufti and rabble-leader is a diminished reflection of the form of the whole main part of Act I (that is, the part from the arrival of the emperor and court). Both descend from the assertion of a standard of magnificence, through violent expressions of individual passion (on the large scale, at the end of the sacrifice scene) to inconclusive activity and private interests, as in the concluding slave-market scene, which resumes the topic of dispute between the Mufti and Mustapha revealed in the interlude. This scene also provides a comic diversion from the unrelieved tensions of the main situation. (A kind of parallel to this pattern of deflation in the main part of the Act can be seen in in the stylistic strategy of the introductory scene, which will be discussed later.)

The reflection of the larger form of the Act in a small verbal event is not the only instance of linguistic patterning used to articulate the play's first Act. After the decline of the undignified interlude described above, the formal

device of the lottery provokes a resurgence of heroic language, which culminates in the splendid utterance of Sebastian's defence. (36) The less consistent and more figured language of the Emperor's responses (37) gives way to the more tempestuous diction of the noble but vindictive princess, and thus prepares the relapse into the private concerns represented by the slave-market.

While the scene contains great variations of individual utterance, three main levels of discourse, which could fairly be described as the middle, the high and the low, emerge; and these are developed as a consistent feature of the play. The middle style is the barbed language of machination, rich in ironic undercurrents and sometimes the vehicle of deliberate satire, especially in Dorax. (38) The high style is a self-expressive language of intense feeling, moral or passional; it comes closest to the language of the earlier heroic drama, and in some form is common to all the characters with pretensions to nobility, though it is most consistent in Sebastian and Almeyda. A detailed discussion of the complexities of Dryden's manipulation of this general class of language would be out of place here. (49) The third level is the prose language of interested activity, whose double significances exist chiefly for the diversion of the audience. These three levels of discourse alternate, and, offering the equivalent of a social hierarchy, assist the illusion of the drama as microcosm. A departure from simple contrast between the language of the two sets of characters in a double-plot play had already been made in The Spanish Friar, where the language of romantic love is differentiated from the serviceable

language of the generals and the other characters of the serious plot. In Don Sebastian the sequence of levels of discourse serves to shape the individual act and contain its unresolved tensions of incident.

The structure of the act in its turn contributes to the largest level of dramatic form. The second Act opens, like the first, with a scene of conspiratorial debate, which takes up the subject of the relationship between emperor and favourite where it was left by the abrupt ending of the sacrifice scene. As in the first stage of Act I, the heroic allusions have an undercurrent of irony. The next stage of the scene, an attempt by the conspirators to subvert Dorax, is overtly satirical in tone; but Dorax's final denial rises to the level of moral energy associated with Sebastian, at one point making similar use of religious imagery.(40) The elevated level of discourse in Dorax's final speeches provides the transition to a scene involving the three sovereigns; this, like the corresponding climactic scene of Act I, is broken off at its highest pitch of intensity with the departure of the weakest character. The stage is then left clear for a discussion of personal issues between Sebastian and Almeyda, whose intensity is of a less striking theatrical cast. Its amatory interest prepares for the relapse into the lower style of Antonio's adventures, which rounds off the Act. Thus Act II shares with Act I a basic structure of crescendo and decrescendo, with Sebastian's appearance as the climax and pivot of the Act; although in Act II the structure is slightly elaborated by the lesser symmetrical climaxes of Dorax's encounter with Benducar and Sebastian's conference with Almeyda.

The familiar sequence is accelerated, but still clearly perceptible, in the third Act. The opening dialogue of the Emperor and Benducar, more intensely agitated than the preceding one, also contains satirical passages involving the Mufti; it moves rapidly into a scene between the Emperor and the lovers, whose action is more violent and language more strained than in corresponding earlier scenes. Its climax is Almeyda's appeal to the gods-

> 'O Pow'rs, if Kings be your peculiar care,
> Why plays this wretch with your prerogative?'

The appeal to traditional expectations of heroic drama contained in these lines is matched by the prevalence of the most magniloquent class of heroic diction.(41) The arrest of Sebastian and Almeyda in this scene is the first apparently decisive action between the three royal characters. That this is the midpoint of the action as well as the high point of a particular dramatic technique is emphasised by Dorax's monologue, which is effectively a pause in the action. An exchange between Dorax and Sebastian, and the attempted poisoning of the former, which tends towards the comic, form an extended anticlimax, and the Act terminates with a lively and agitated scene between the witty lovers of the sub-plot.

In the fourth Act, however, the status quo is overthrown both in the action and in the structure of the drama. The opening scene uses a variety of devices to create anticipation about the outcome of Benducar's conspiracy, but there follows, instead of the expected climax of heroic activity, the witty lovers' unsuccessful attempt at elopement. Confusion is increased when this private

intrigue suddenly expands into the completely new context of Mustapha's popular uprising. The appearance of Benducar and Almeyda in this comic and (predominantly) satiric scene completes the mingling of previously segregated elements. Only near the end of the scene, when order has been restored by a combination of chance and cupidity, do the heroic characters re-emerge and re-establish their typical diction.(42) The disruption of an established dramatic rhythm makes this Act, and particularly its second part, appear as the climax of the drama. Its implied warning against rebellion is enforced by the theatrical experience of anarchy at all dramatic levels. This effect, carefully prepared through all the preceding scenes, is also reinforced by the succeeding ones, since after the restoration of Sebastian a comparatively uniform elevated diction is established, along with a new focus on the individual concerns of the hero's immediate circle.

Plainly an important aim of the drama is to show rebellion from the point of view of the individual embroiled in it, as an intractable and terrifying phenomenon.(43) In contrast with this treatment, the presentation of rebellion in The Conquest of Granada amounts for the audience to no more than a recurrent opposition of power-seeking parties, and is merely one of a number of manifestations of warlike activity.

A precedent for the revolution-centred dramatic structure of Don Sebastian is in fact to be found in Dryden's two plays of political commitment, The Spanish Friar and The Duke of Guise. In the latter play Dryden was responsible for the fourth Act, which

depicts the popular stage of the revolution; in addition, the whole political argument of the play depends on treating this uprising as the climax of the League's activity, since it is the immediate cause of the king's just revenge depicted in Act V. Dryden's Act IV enacts the reversal of the natural order in a variety of ways. The rebellious burghers are first subdued by the king's officer, Crillon, who sentences some of them to hanging; the burghers, supported by reinforcements, then defeat the king's party, and sentence his officer to the same death, so that the action of the scene contains a full account of an unnatural reversal. In addition, the uprising is led by a demon, and the crowd is shown indulging in political debate, in which right reason is quite subverted. All this resembles the devices of the 'mob scene' of Don Sebastian.

Revolution is the catastrophe, if not so obviously the political climax, in The Spanish Friar, the last serious drama composed wholly by Dryden before the Revolution of 1688. In accordance with the political necessities of the time, Dryden's emphasis is on the influence of a regenerate monarch in averting the threatened disaster of revolution. The process by which the monarch and her consort become regenerate in fact occupies a good deal of the action, which is not the case in Don Sebastian; but in many respects the form of fable used in The Spanish Friar would seem to be a model for the later play.

In both plays a heroic character commits himself to the satisfaction of a personal passion, symbolised by a secret marriage, and is made to perceive the error of his decision by a father-confessor figure (Raymond in

The Spanish Friar and Alvarez in Don Sebastian). He then corrects his error by voluntary renunciation. The revolution presented as the disaster appropriate to the reigning monarch's misgovernment is controlled by an unexpected heroic act (Leonora gives up the throne and Torrismond his support of her claim to it; Dorax gives up his plan of revenge against Sebastian). Thus renunciation is presented as the proper solution to both private and public conflicts.

The import of such a fable belongs to a well-established tradition. It can be reduced to the commonplace that personal appetite (in the Hobbesian sense) can only be satisfied at the expense of social, and hence of moral, duties. The particular development of this theme in The Spanish Friar and Don Sebastian follows on that of Dryden's earlier plays. All for Love and Troilus and Cressida are both almost exclusively concerned with the hero's experience of a fatal passion; they present first the satisfaction of his individual will, thus emphasising its obsessive nature, and then how it leaves social imperatives unsatisfied.(44) What The Spanish Friar and Don Sebastian add to this theme is a developed political application of it.

In addition, there are parallels of detail between the plays which suggest self-borrowing. The most notable occur in the final scene of Don Sebastian: the section following the entry of Alvarez is clearly modelled on a dialogue between Torrismond and Raymond in Act IV, scene ii of The Spanish Friar. Both heroes liken their personal happiness to a calm at sea: 'my tide of joys' (Torrismond) and

'the skies are clear,
And the sea charmed into a calm'

(Sebastian). Both are warned by their mentors that this is merely the deceptive calm which precedes a storm; as Raymond says,

'This calm of heaven, this mermaid's melody,
Into an unseen whirlpool draws you fast,
And, in a moment, sinks you',

and in Alvarez' words:

'Just such she [the sea] shows before a rising storm
And therefore am I come . . .
To warn you into port'. (45)

The image is concluded in each case with an expression of dire anticipation, from Raymond in The Spanish Friar, (46) and from Almeyda in Don Sebastian, which introduces stormy denunciations of the two heroes' choice of mistress. The latter part of the same scene in Don Sebastian shows the two lovers at first bitterly opposed to Alvarez' attack on their family honour, finally conceding the justice of his intervention, and proposing a solitary religious life by way of expiation. It thus follows the form of a scene between Raymond, Torrismond, and Leonora (The Spanish Friar, Act V, scene ii) which begins with mutual recriminations, and ends with Leonora offering to retire into a cloister. Raymond, like Alvarez, is mollified by the lovers' repentance.

The similarities of fable and structure noted above would seem to indicate a certain continuity of conception between The Spanish Friar and Don Sebastian. As far as political attitudes are concerned this can be verified. But in spite of the resemblances concentrated in the last scenes of the two plays, the presentation of the conflict between the hero's private and public interests differs

considerably.

Torrismond enjoys at first an exemplary heroic career, achieving victory over the Turks, and finding his sudden passion for his ruler reciprocated. He discovers that the Queen, the daughter of a usurper, intends to have the deposed king murdered, but this does not deter him from contracting a secret marriage with her. This event is followed closely by the discovery that Torrismond is the deposed king's heir, and thus bound to avenge the murder by joining Raymond's plot against the usurping queen. The remainder of the play shows his attempts to reconcile the roles of prince and lover. It can be argued that the dilemma of the hero is essentially a tragic one, and that the fortuitous revelation which saves the lovers is a falsifying device imposed by Dryden's political allegiances. (47) But this can only be done by abstracting the dilemma from its dramatic context. This, in a tragi-comedy, properly includes the comic plot.

Dryden has provided in the soldier Lorenzo a comic hero whose adventures parallel closely thos of Torrismond. Lorenzo happily pursues adultery with the willing Elvira, renouncing his designs only on discovering that they are also incestuous. Torrismond is aware both of Leonora's unscrupulous plan to dispose of the true king, and of her prior betrothal to the courtier Bertran before his marriage is contracted, but only feels the appropriate revulsion, when, his filial loyalty invoked, he finds himself practically involved in the consequences of his passion. The parallel reveals his motivation as differing little

from that of the libertine Lorenzo. When Lorenzo agrees to aid the party opposed to his father in the rebellion, Torrismond has also aligned himself against his step-father, and, by implication, his true father. He is apparently vindicated by his success in supporting the de facto ruler against sedition, but that ruler is both usurper and wife. Thus, as shown in Torrismond, the conflict between private and public imperatives has a contingent, rather than an absolute significance. A contingent solution of his problems is fittingly provided.

If Torrismond's moral position is equivocal, so too is that of his mentor and supposed father Raymond, who, although employed as the representative of strict loyalty to the true monarch, is not above obtaining, from the de facto ruler, powers for her defence which he subsequently uses against her. He too has a comic counterpart in Lorenzo's mentor, the friar Dominic, who is the agent of domestic subversion. These parallels indicate a certain shabbiness, or at least looseness, of moral structure in the play.

A feature of The Spanish Friar which has sometimes been considered awkward is the presentation of the heroine as a vacillating and even shallow character. But her function to demonstrate the weakness of the popular tyrant, and hence the dangers of interfering with the succession, a function which arises from the contemporary situation which evoked the play. The shortcomings of Torrismond, however, cannot be ascribed to an ulterior political motive.

The difficulties posed by The Spanish Friar are minimised if one recognises that, at the level of the articulation of the fable, the ethos of romantic comedy still prevails,

despite Dryden's serious political purpose. This is shown by the emphasis (even quantitative) on the development of a comic plot which serves to modify the audience's assessment of the principal hero;(49) in the treatment of Torrismond's sudden and obsessive passion for his mistress; and in the doubling of the favourite conclusion of the rediscovery of missing persons. For the demands of heroic romance, in which the main interest lies in events, the slight moral structure indicated above could be sufficient; but it is quite inadequate to the moralising earnestness of Dryden's underlying political thesis. (At best it can be accepted as a function of the confusion attending on illegitimate government.) Conversely, the play's romanesque superabundance of coincidence and incident obscures both ethical and tragic implications, particularly those inherent in Torrismond's situation.

In the case of Don Sebastian, the moral import of the parallel plot elements is more rigorously realised. When Sebastian commits himself to marriage with Almeyda he is not represented as deliberately flouting ethical standards, as Torrismond is, yet, unlike Torrismond's, his action is not condoned by the conclusion of the drama: Alvarez' arguments again t the hero's passion are made incontrovertible. While the scene in which Torrismond decides to wed Leonora shows him simply as the victim of an amour d'inclination, the parallel scene in Don Sebastian indicates the preconditions for the victory of such a passion - both the mitigating factor of the lovers' precarious situation, which prompts them to look for an immediate remedy, and the element of arrogance in both which denies human and

supernatural opposition in favour of individual reason. Sebastian makes an apparently rationalising attempt to explain away the paternal prohibition of the marriage communicated through Alvarez:

'he knows not
Thou art a Christian; that produced his fear'.

But his reply to Almeyda's objection:

'thou shalt not plead
With that fair mouth, against the cause of love',

undercuts the pretence of reason. It is the same contingent kind of argument employed by Torrismond to exculpate Leonora:

'You are so beautiful,
So wondrous fair, you justify rebellion;
As if that faultless face could make no sin,
But heav'n, with looking on it, must forgive.'

In The Spanish Friar this level of justification is maintained up to the final scene, where Torrismond declares that the spectacle of Leonora's tears of contrition is sufficient atonement for her past errors:

'her every tear is worth a father's life!'

Where the grounds of an error are clearly exposed, the morally instructive drama is bound to develop the corresponding consequences. This is the case with the rebellion of Don Sebastian, and with that of The Spanish Friar in as far as it is shown as resulting from the weakness of Leonora's rule, although the lack of moral consequence in other aspects of the play compromises that of the political theme. A development in Don Sebastian, which could not be predicted from the preceding play, is the integration of the private with the public moral theme.

Indeed, the dramatic device which completes this effect is an innovation. After the settlement of the rebellion, when the serious plot of The Spanish Friar breaks off abruptly, that of Don Sebastian enters on a new phase which depicts the outcome of the heroic characters' earlier actions. The break in dramatic structure at this point has already been mentioned;(50) it has the effect of creating a twofold structure, and thus of inviting comparison between the two stages of the play. In The Spanish Friar there is clearly no precedent for this procedure. The simple continuity of Torrismond's diverse adventures is supported by the device of sustained reflection in Lorenzo's undeveloping activities, so that the play reads as a straightforward, partly parabolical sequence.

This difference argues a rather different attitude to the dramatic hero in the later play. In terms of dramatic material the two stages of action represent the two sides of the dichotomy between public and private identity prevalent under the classicising conventions which demanded that a serious, or 'great', action take place between 'great' characters. The segregation of the public and private issues means that the inevitable conflict between the central figure's two identities is not fully realised until the final stages of the play. In earlier plays, this conflict, displayed at an earlier stage , admits the possibility either of resolution (as in Almanzor's 'education' to self-restraint), or at least of a full exploration of the available alternative courses (as in the case of Dryden's Antony) in the course of the drama's main action. But in Don Sebastian the late emergence of the conflict precludes further development,

and the problems of the hero are to be seen as insoluble.

Thus, although Don Sebastian seems in many respects to invite comparison with The Spanish Friar, as in some respects it did with the rhymed heroic drama, in this case too structural innovations seem to indicate a change of purport in the common fable.

In Don Sebastian, Dryden's choice of formal elements to articulate a moral theme is an eclectic one, owing much to the experience of earlier dramatic works. But an understanding of the genesis of that theme itself must be sought outside the earlier drama, and particularly in Dryden's major work of the intervening period, his poems of political and religious engagement. This offers the prospect of another variety of eclecticism contributing to the complexities of Don Sebastian.

CHAPTER II: *DON SEBASTIAN* AND POLITICAL VERSE.

In order to define more closely the way in which the dramatic methods proper to the different aims of *Don Sebastian* contrast with those established for the heroic drama earlier in Dryden's career, it will be useful to look at the structure of the opening scenes of a few dramas. In the case of *Tyrannic Love*, an early but no longer experimental play, the traditional dictum that the heroic dramatist aimed at creating a detached admiration by the use of splendid details, seems to hold good. The scale is set in a series of narrative passages of solemn style and subject, accounts of Maximin's successes in Germany, of the hostility of the Consuls, of a mysterious prophecy connected with an imminent battle, and finally of Porphyrius' success against the forces of the 'Christian princess'. Altogether, the invocation of the traditional matter of the high style plays probably the most important part in raising the expectations of the audience. Such activity as takes place on stage is chiefly of a ceremonial nature.

For an advance on this technique which does not imply a significant difference of aim, one may turn to the first part of *The Conquest of Granada*. Here Dryden uses the more sophisticated method of reinforcing impressive narration with dramatic realisation of parallel material. After a few lines of purely utilitarian dialogue, a courtier launches into an extended account of a bullfight held by the king during the existing truce. Although

the narration is stylistically something of a hybrid (conceiving its subject in the terms of romantic, particularly Spenserian, epic, but adorning it with Virgilian recollection, rather in the manner of Annus Mirabilis), it is perfectly recognisable as an elevating style working to assure the acceptance of the protagonists as heroic figures. But the climax of the narrated incident is the intervention in the bullfight of a mysterious stranger who excels all the Moorish heroes. Shortly afterwards, the stranger is shown quelling a feud between two rival clans carried on in defiance of the king's commands. Thus the climax of the second phase of the scene is a demonstration of the hero's superior strength of character and body, and Almanzor, pre-eminent in both incidents, appears in the implied context of accelerating dramatic movement as the superlative hero.

These two openings show, through their disparate levels of skill, the same aim - that of a simple positive elevation and magnification of the heroic character which proceeds parallel with the establishment of a heroic diction; the same conception of the appropriate means - sustained magniloquence with allusions to portentous events, and in terms of action, a rapid and continuous sequence of representative incident, which creates the illusion of a complexity of issues and tensions. The question which must be asked about Don Sebastian is whether its opening scene embodies precisely the same ends and means in a more advanced technique,(1) or differs so radically as to entail

a quite different use of the heroic elements in the drama.

Solemn elevated utterance, like that of Maximin's narration (Tyrannic Love, Act I) or Boabdelin's address to Abenamar (The Conquest of Granada, Part One, Act I) has a place also in the opening scene of Don Sebastian. But it does not, except momentarily in a sonorous opening passage setting the historical context of the action:

('Now Africa's long wars are at an end;
And our parched earth is drenched in Christian blood'),

have the same effect of solid magnificence. Rather it appears merely as the most grandiloquent of the various types of blank verse whose rapid succession is the most notable feature of the introductory section. In fact the dialogue between the Emperor's favourite, Benducar, and his brother, Muley Zeydan, effects an immediate devaluation of the elevated style, for after lapsing into a cruder style in a confession of their usurping ambitions, the speakers resume the splendid style for an exchange of hyperbolic flattery. When in the next scene the tyrant himself is shown affecting (though with occasional bathetic lapses) a similarly elevated utterance, the status of the magniloquent style as the decorous language of purely public effusions is confirmed. Already the Emperor's use of this diction, associated with the faithless Benducar and Muley Zeydan, contributes to the necessary debasement of his character; whereas in the earlier plays the linguistic means to this end had been the manifest discrepancy between the tyrant's

regal diction and his immoral attitudes (as in Maximin) or his ineffectual actions (as with Boabdelin).

The range and flexibility of language displayed in the introductory section of Don Sebastian are remarkable. The extremes of variation are represented in Dorax's praise of Sebastian as

'Above man's height, even tow'ring to divinity',

and his contemptuous allusion to Almeyda:

'I hope she died in her own female calling,
Choak'd up with man, and gorg'd with circumcision',

while every change of speaker or of the premises of discussion is accompanied by some alteration in the verse. Obviously this scene displays a technical skill beyond that of the opening scenes of rhymed heroic drama described above at the same time it replaces the striving for a unified high style with the aim of displaying a virtuosic range of style. This would seem to be a reflection, on the verbal level, of the organisation of dramatic incident in Act I / outlined above, which depended on rapid shifts and frequent interruption to create suspense.

The rapid shifts of style offer a succession of contrasts

and surprises to engage the attention of the audience. Some of these verge on the comic: Benducar's abrupt change of tone on the departure of Moley Zeydan is one such surprise. A more pronounced bathetic effect is provided by the contrast between Benducar's laudatory 'character' of Dorax:

> 'That gloomy outside, like a rusty Chest
> Contains the shining treasure of a soul
> Resolv'd and bold'

and the unadorned contempt of Dorax's address to Benducar -

> 'Chief Minister,
> First Hangman of the state'.

Whereas the opening scenes of the two heroic dramas are used to create and fulfil expectations of continuity of style and coherence of dramatic mode, that of Don Sebastian seems repeatedly to build up such expectations in order to baffle them, thus obliging the audience to re-examine the ground of its responses. The device of building up an effect in order to puncture it is one familiar from Dryden's non-dramatic verse, since it is a valuable resource of satire. An example of Dryden's undercutting technique in satire which offers a close parallel with the method of the first scene of Don Sebastian is the opening of The Medal:

> 'Never did Art so well with Nature strive,
> Nor ever Idol seem'd so much alive;
> So like the Man; so golden to the sight,
> So base within, so counterfeit and light'.

The passage begins quite unexceptionably with the conventional panegyric praise for a work of art - that it almost excels nature. Examples of this ground of praise are frequent in Dryden's poems to fellow-artists; they occur for example, in the early address to Sir Robert Howard à propos of his translations from Virgil, and in the poem addressed to Sir Godfrey Kneller and printed in the Miscellanies of 1694. The four lines contain a gradual modulation from the language of aesthetic

criticism to that of moral judgement. After the simply aesthetic first line, 'Idol' introduces a jarring note, which the first line of the second couplet, a lower version of the topic of aesthetic praise, seems to contradict, apart from the suggestion in 'golden' of an extension of the 'Idol' image. The equivocation is terminated by the fourth line, which, in a formal repetition of the preceding line, shifts the ostensible ground of the poet's evaluation of the medal. (The maximum effect of shock is achieved by the use of the commonplace line of balanced comparisons, which creates the expectation of simple continuity, and by the shifting forward in the fourth line of the main stress before the caesura, which occurs in the second instead of the fourth syllable for the first time.) Similar small-scale examples of this technique abound in Dryden's non-dramatic verse. Even where they are extensively prepared, they often depend on the positioning of a single word. (In the quoted passage, the introduction of 'Idol' is crucial.) In the language of the theatre, designed for aural rather than visual reception, one would not expect such fineness of detail.

With the image of the golden artifact in the opening lines of The Medal one may compare the sustained image of fruition developed by Benducar in the opening scene of Don Sebastian. His first use of it to Moley Zeydan -

> 'His growth is but a wild and fruitless plant,
> I'll cut his barren branches to the stock
> And graft you on to bear' -

recalls Christ's parable of the unfruitful vine,(2) and the association tends to dignify Benducar's revolutionary proposals. But when Moley Zeydan has left the stage, Benducar's soliloquy takes up the image and identifies the harvest of revolt with the forbidden fruit of Genesis:

> 'To think that I would give away the Fruit
> Of so much toil, such guilt, and such damnation'.

This gives, with Benducar's account of his true intentions, an implied valuation of them, establishing an equivalence between Benducar and the original donor of the fruit, Satan. A purely factual extension of the soliloquy gives time for the resonances of the image to be felt.

The instance of the 'undercutting' device of satirical imagery just described is both simpler and less concentrated than typical instances from Dryden's non-dramatic verse; even so, its introduction in the heroic action of Don Sebastian is a significant innovation. The satirically manipulated imagery provides a class of oblique reference. It can thus supplement a lack which has made the rhymed heroic plays appear problematic - the lack of a means of articulating discriminations between admirable aspiration and risible excess in the heroic character. The development of this technique for drama can, conversely, be seen as fulfilling the pre-satiric tendencies observable in the heroic plays. But the introduction of a class of oblique referential frames in itself indicates a change in the status of linguistic effects in the dramatic work. For such techniques demand from the audience close attention and responsiveness to specifically linguistic effects, and invest the dialogue with greater significances than the straightforward couplet of the heroic plays had carried. Effects such as the elevation of heroic character, which in the early dramas depended on allusive narration or enactment supporting solidly splendid diction, are achieved largely by specifically poetic means in Don Sebastian. In the rapid flow of Dorax's vigorous utterance, his grudging and somewhat colourless praise of his erstwhile master stands out as a passage of sober and restrained movement. Neither qualified nor undercut by the general structure of the scene, it also stands out as (3)

a solid block of sentiment; and, in a scene which has already exposed the mendacity of fulsome praise in Benducar, the renegade's explicit qualification of his approval is actually an enhancement. Thus the contrast of language creates the sense of a contrast of quality between the absent hero and the presented personages; such a negative revelation of heroic character is the antithesis of the climax of pre-eminence constructed in The Conquest of Granada.

The general consequence for the structure of drama of the adoption of a flexible language like that of Dryden's satire is that the locus of the tensions, surprises, and resolutions which constitute the rhythm of the drama becomes primarily linguistic. Episodic interest is accordingly diminished. Although the opening scene of Don Sebastian reveals successive layers of intrigue - Moley Moluch's victory covers the threat of Moley Zeydan's revolt, itself the cover for Benducar's ambitions, and also thwarts the renegade's desire for personal vengeance on the common enemy - the only factual occurence is the Emperor's reported victory over Sebastian's allies, and the presented dramatic events are really individual projections based on this one existing situation.(4) (In contrast, the opening scenes of Tyrannic Love and The Conquest of Granada, Part I, contain a group of discrete factual situations, either narrated or presented, and create an expectation of their ultimate connection.

For all its wealth of incident, Don Sebastian has little of that kind of suspense which derives from the expectation of connections between initially unrelated incidents. The most prominent scenes of the play are not those which show a decisive incident, but rather those which show the interaction between different patterns of speech with their different implied assumptions - the scenes

which set Dorax's rough language against that of Moley Moluch's court, or against that of Sebastian as monarch. In fact, just as the character of Dorax functions as mediator between the other groups in the play,(5) so the character's range of language is central in the total range of the play. It thus tends to become the normative language of the play, and the location of this standard in a character with the satirist's function connects Don Sebastian with the polemic verse which preceded it.

In Dryden's non-dramatic verse, the fluctuating levels of satiric language are contained by clear-cut structures at higher levels. Two such controls are provided in The Hind and The Panther by intermittent reference to the beast-fable material, and by the treatment of the religious question on three different levels in the successive books of the poem. From a formal point of view, the revolution-centred structure of Don Sebastian can be interpreted as such a control, although not the only one provided.

In the earlier stage of the action of Don Sebastian the rapid evolution of action on a crowded stage created a semblance of movement towards a future crisis: the scenes remaining after the quelling of the rebellion, occupied largely with investigation of past events, lack this chronological impetus. The latter part of Act IV traces the past relationship between Sebastian and Dorax, thus illuminating some of the incidents in the immediate past of the action; the final scene reveals a relationship belonging to a more remote past, that between the parents of the hero and heroine. The consequences of this relationship are investigated, for the past as well as for the future of the characters concerned. The kind of reconstruction of past events which occurs in the two dialogues of the intervening scene, (between Dorax and Antonio and between Antonio and Morayma), is, in contrast,

contingent rather than exploratory. Such rehearsals of missing details of a complex action are not uncommon in Dryden's plays; in themselves, they have merely the effect of a pause, or backward glance, in a uniformly continuous action. In Don Sebastian, however, the more complex investigation of past events has the effect of arresting the progress established in the first part; the contrast thus produced is a factor in separating the two stages of the action.

Further differences of technique underline the discontinuity between the pre-revolution and post-revolution action of Don Sebastian. With the chief Moorish characters, Moley Moluch, Benducar and the Mufti (and, consequently, their characteristic bestial and physical imagery) eliminated from the action, and Dorax transformed into Alonzo, the sphere of the action is effectively narrowed from the world of heroic endeavour to the Portuguese court circle, of which Sebastian is the natural centre. In the action of the earlier part of the play, the titular hero is scarcely involved, and appears chiefly as the antithesis of the barbarous Emperor, that is, in a public capacity; even as the lover and the ally of Almeyda, he serves as a foil to his more active rival. During the stage of his dispossession he appears as the embodiment of the heroic monarch and lover; after his restoration, as a being engaged in individual relationships, and even modified by them. At the same time Dorax, originally the most prominent opponent of 'Moorish' values, suffers a comparative limitation of function.(6)

The actual moment of transition is carefully emphasised by a break in the stage action. When the rebels have yielded, Dorax first dismisses the mob, whom he addresses as

'mongrel work of Heaven, with human shapes,
Not to be damned or saved, but breath and perish',

that is, unworthy to be considered as moral or spiritual beings. He then formally clears the stage of other characters, requesting an interview with Sebastian. By a change of dress he emblematically transforms himself from the renegade to the courtier; meanwhile, Sebastian speculates in significant terms on his strange conduct:

> 'Reserved behaviour, open nobleness,
> A long mysterious track of a stern bounty.
> But now the hand of fate is on the curtain,
> And draws the scene to sight.'

The metaphor of theatrical providence will be found to recur in Dryden's later plays; used here to suggest the delayed revelation of hidden truths, it is a clue to the nature of the relationship to be seen between the two phases of the action. As comparison with The Spanish Friar suggested, the second phase functions as an extended coda to the first, explicitly political phase. More precisely, it simultaneously summarises the given material and develops its significance, through the re-assessment demanded of the audience, as of the characters, in the course of the final Act.

The scene which follows Sebastian's metaphor serves in fact to bring to light an accessible layer of truth concealed by misunderstanding, since it exposes the differences between Sebastian and Dorax which led to the latter's revolt from the Christian court to that of the Moors. At the same time, part of the business of this scene is to reconstitute the court milieu, if only at first in the embittered version of Dorax:

> 'This is not Lisbon; nor the circle this
> Where, like a statue, thou hast stood besieged
> By sycophants and fools, the growth of state'.

But the restoration of Sebastian's court is brought about chiefly by the restoration of a proper subject/monarch

relationship between the two protagonists. Even at the beginning of the scene, however, the relationship between Sebastian and his enemy Dorax, in which honourable hostility co-exists with covert regard, is the antithesis of that between Muley Moluch and Benducar, the two active intelligences of the Moorish court. And since the scene with Dorax shows Sebastian as capable of both justice and mercy in his regal capacity,(7) Sebastian's reconstituted court would appear to be the ideal alternative to that of Moley Moluch, depicted in the first part of the play. Such an idea is in fact expressed by Dorax in the speech which opens Act V. Beginning:

'Joy is on every face, without a cloud'

it goes on to liken the court to the newly-created terrestial paradise. But the re-establishment of an ideal court society is only the preparation for a further stage of the action. Sebastian's more ambiguous version of the image of restored happiness:

'The tempest is o'erblown, the skies are clear,
And the sea charm'd into a calm'

is capable of complete inversion, as Alvarez demonstrates. Dorax's first harsh description of the court is seen to be relevant, as it becomes apparent that the function of this scene is to expose a fundamental weakness in this apparently ideal court society, as the first part of the play had done in more detail for that of Muley Moluch.

The comparison between the two rulers continues to function in the final Act, though rather differently. When Alvarez suggests a political marriage between Almeyda and the new Emperor, 'mild Muley Zeydan', and then repeats paternal warnings against the marriage of Sebastian and Almeyda (earlier rehearsed and discounted by the two lovers), his advice is firmly rejected, as Dorax's appropriate advice had been rejected

by Moley Moluch in an earlier scene . Nor are the grounds of the rejection different. Although the lovers' defence is ostensibly reasoned, as when Sebastian maintains that his father must have consented to the marriage had he known of Almeyda's conversion to Christianity -

'His reasonings and his actions both were just,
And granting that, he must have changed his measures',

the abusive violence of their replies to Alvarez clearly indicates that they too are dominated by pride and unreasoning impulses. Only the physical proof of the matching rings offered by Alvarez finally forces the pair to admit the fact of their parents' adultery, which makes them brother and sister. Rather similarly, Moley Moluch's arrogant refusal to admit the instability of his mode of government leads to an irrefutable physical proof of his error in the form of insurrection. To show comparable states of self-deception in contrasted characters is a means of indicating the universality of error.

There are also in Act V of the tragedy smaller reflections of the preceding scene. After recounting Dorax' downfall, brought about by love and unreasoning jealousy, the scene shows the final stages of his expiation of the fault, a process which has been proceeding throughout the play. This successful repentance offers a hopeful analogy for the case of Sebastian, when, at the end of Act V, he undertakes to do penance for his incestuous marriage. In the scene with Dorax, too, Dryden touches on an idea which is central to his presentation of Sebastian's guilt: that of the impossibility of completely pure motivation in any human action, however apparently noble. The idea is first put forward by Sebastian in reply to Dorax' plea of slighted merit:

Dorax: 'I served thee fifteen hard campaigns
And pitched my standard in these foreign fields:
By me thy greatness grew, thy years grew with it,
But thy ingratitude outgrew them both'

Sebastian: 'I see towhat thou tend'st: but tell me first,
If those great acts were done alone for me?
If love produced not some, and pride the rest?' (IV.iii)

Dorax, in replying, accepts this limitation on heroic activity:

'Why, love does all that's noble here below';

Sebastian, in the following scene, does not. When Alvarez questions, if rather crudely, his father's motive for supporting the cause of Almeyda's family, he reverses his position of the earlier scene, and denounces Alvarez :

'Base, grovelling soul who know'st not honour's worth,
But weighs it out in mercenary scales!
The secret pleasure of a generous act
Is the great mind's great bribe.'

Eventually, since he cannot deny that his own love for Almeyda prompted the disastrous battle against the Moors, Sebastian is forced to extend the principle of interested fallibility to his own actions and to those of his royal father. Given the background of the treatment of the themes of interest in the scene with Dorax, one can see this final scene as enacting the lovers' sin of hubris, and supplying the sense of their error which is minimised in the earlier part of the play by the flattering juxtaposition with Moley Moluch.

If the two post-revolution scenes are intended to be seen as parallel treatments of the same material, the play must be interpreted as having three, rather than two, stages. A connection between the two main phases has already been indicated, and the assumption of a three-stage structure extends the significance of this connection; the flaws of pride and self-regard discovered in Moley Moluch's court and in Sebastian's private life are linked through the instance

of Dorax, in whom Dryden shows a complete cycle of lapse into pride and error, and subsequent regeneration, which involves both public and individual functions of the character. The external manifestation of rebellion in the Moorish court and in the renegade Dorax is connected, through the state of anarchy in Dorax himself, with the internal rebellion of pride in Sebastian.

Don Sebastian is thus designed to present three levels of rebellion: a political level, entirely contained in the stage action; an individual level of rebellion, in the Dorax/Sebastian relationship; and an internal level of rebellion in Sebastian himself. All three situations show a revolt, in Drydenian terms, of a reason corrupted by wilful self-interest against sanctions which, although intermediately human, are ultimately divine. At the first level, the rebellion is an entirely externalised and represented phenomenon, and is shown as almost fortuitously superseded by a more stable order in the state; the rebellion of the individual against his master is shown as capable of a peaceful conclusion based on a mutual recognition of human fallibility; but the outcome of the internal rebellion cannot, in the framework of the drama, be ascertained. The play further aims, by the kind of cross-reference indicated above, to present the three levels of the action as having a cumulative significance : that is to say, it has the form of a persuasive argument of a type familiar from Dryden's non-dramatic verse, the argument by selective use of analogy.

In this type of argument, an acceptable stereotyped analogy or association of ideas is made the foundation of an original and complex analogical structure of more specific, and less orthodox, import. In Don Sebastian, the foundation is the accepted analogy between the state and the individual

human body,(9) and the idea of the king as supreme representative of humanity, and conversely as the type of divine authority. From acquiescence in the collection of presented facts which makes up the political rebellion, which is not difficult because they represent a familiar enough interpretation of revolution, the audience is led to acquiescence in Dryden's conclusions about the other less accessible forms of rebellion.

Comparisons of structure between drama and non-dramatic verse are naturally tendentious, but in this case can serve to show that the habits of thought which shaped Don Sebastian are closer to those of the satires than to those of the earlier dramas.

Probably the most sustained example of a single persuasive structure in Dryden's political verse is Absalom and Achitophel.(10) Its argument develops through the extension and manipulation of familiar sermon typology, which equated Charles II with David, particularly at the Restoration when he was seen as the successor of his enemy Saul (literally, Cromwell).(11) Throughout the poem familiar matter involves the reader in assenting to Dryden's view of contemporary events by the extensions of the biblical parallel to cover contemporary public characters; Dryden's 'Shimei' is a particularly apt instance of this technique. At the same time a fuller exploitation of the material is made possible by the absence of a historical conclusion in the poem, which leaves room for the associations of the omitted conclusions of the biblical narrative. (Don Sebastian, rather similarly, develops from a basis in historical fact towards situations designed to bear certain significances.) In Absalom and Achitophel the historical conclusion is in fact replaced by a rhetorical conclusion; the poem is arranged as a climactic structure. The pre-judging terms of the analogy naturally enjoy the

status of fact, and the progress of the poem is from the presentation of this alleged fact to its discussion and interpretation. The material of the analogy is presented first as historical fact, in the passage which introduces its characters, David and his son, the Jewish people, and finally Achitophel.(12) The method then changes to a vivid dramatised treatment of the private discussion between Achitophel and Absalom, but it still pretends to the comparative impartiality of verbatim reporting. Among the remaining stages of the poem there is calculated symmetry: enumeration and discussion of Achitophel's supporters in the plot leads the reader further from the biblical situation and into a general summary of the political issues, which has a negative tone since it derives from consideration of the errors threatening the state; the balancing enumeration of the faithful few who support David leads to another summary, this time positive and specific, delivered by an omniscient voice, not that of the poet, who has already offered his own pessimistic summary, but that of the King himself. The effect of the final climax is heightened by the defeated expectation of conclusiveness in the earlier summary offered through the persona of the poet.

If Dryden's handling of an intricate dramatic structure in Don Sebastian derives generally from the large-scale persuasive techniques used in Absalom and Achitophel, its concluding device is almost an imitation of that of the poem. Both conclusions depend on a transposition of values already present in the piece: Charles's speech covers the ground of rebellion already traversed by Achitophel's speeches and the poet's summary of monarchist theory, but treats it from the point of view of 'Gods and God-like Kings'; while Sebastian's confession introduces a revaluation of the heroic ethos. The efficacy of both transpositions depends on their being placed as a final assessment at the end of a work cumulatively structured, since it is the structure of the work rather than any paraphrasable logical connection which binds together the unexceptionable premises of the work and its possibly debateable conclusions.

Instances of balance in structure contribute to the effect of the conclusion of Absalom and Achitophel, but in Don Sebastian the most important source of symmetry is the development of complementary treatments of the rebellion theme. Analogous developments had occurred elsewhere in the non-dramatic verse. The division of Religio Laici into two sections, a general discussion of natural and revealed religion, and a discussion of the problem of authority within the Christian church, is at least an endorsement of the twofold structure, even if the two parts were composed on different occasions. The historical survey of false opinions at the beginning of the poem is balanced by the later survey of Roman Catholic and extreme Protestant positions, between which the Anglican church provides a via media; so that the structure of argument is consistent throughout the poem. (13)

But the outstanding example of Dryden's control of distinct levels of argument on a single theme is The Hind and the Panther, which treats the Roman Catholic church as a theological entity; as a historical entity; and finally in terms of the current English political situation. The three books of the poem exploit successively the high, middle, and low styles as appropriate to the varying classes or argument brought forward in each.(14) (The full range of styles reappears in Don Sebastian, in alternation rather than juxtaposition.)(15) A consequence of the threefold method of treatment is that the Roman church itself, represented in its ideal aspect by the Hind, is also presented as a succession of pastors, and, in the Panther's fable, as the jarring community of swifts and swallows. Contemporary critics were quick to interpret these changes of perspective as incompatible, and evidence of incoherence in the poem. Prior's parody on the theme of the country mouse and the town mouse achieves its effect by focussing on concrete details of the analogical material; the most fruitful reading of the poem is to be gained by the converse method, that of treating detail as a function of the general persuasive structure.

With its three levels of argument, in addition to three styles, Don Sebastian has a complexity of structure similar to that of The Hind and the Panther. (The importance of the triad in this context would seem to be that it implies inclusiveness, rather than opposition between varying treatments; so that the choice of this inclusive scale can be regarded as a simulation of impartiality appropriate to the persuasive aim.) It exhibits also shifts of reference like those of the poem; at the political level of the plot, Muley Moluch is the legitimate ruler, however much of 'God's image' is 'blotted' from him, and rebellion against him is presented as a crime; at the same

time, when compared with Sebastian he is no more than a comic monster, and in himself, as an example of a wilfully anarchic character, he is a warning against the extreme form of Sebastian's error of pride. The capacity shown in Don Sebastian for creating a structure sufficiently complex and directed to hold in balance unresolved divergencies of reference is a new dramatic phenomenon, but it can be partly explained by the experience of creating a large-scale persuasive organisation gained from The Hind and the Panther. Accordingly, it would seem that the best way of comprehending conflicting detail, in Don Sebastian as in The Hind and the Panther, is by reference to the structural context in which it occurs.

The foregoing description of linguistic techniques in Don Sebastian which originate in Dryden's polemic poetry indicates some dependence on the earlier non-dramatic verse. This raises the question of how far Don Sebastian can be, or should be, regarded as a satirical work for the stage, since there is also a certain community of material between the drama and the satires which perhaps suggests community of intention.

The inclusion in the play of an independent satiric voice, in the person of Dorax, is a feature particularly reminiscent of political satire. Dryden's earlier plays had generally left ironic implications to be drawn by the audience, apart from occasional satiric asides which were an established habit of comedy, and which might / appear in a serious context without illuminating it at all. For instance, Lorenzo, the libertine of The Spanish Friar, accounts for his departure from the stage during a scene of court ceremonial by remarking:

> 'Here are nothing but lies to be expected; I'll e'en go lose myself . . .in some blind alley'. (16)

The only sustained use of this expressive language of social

criticism occurs in Dryden's Troilus and Cressida, where Shakespeare's Thersites is taken over and elaborated. But the characteristic method of satire in the earlier dramas was to have a character profess a ludicrous philosophy, or indulge in perverted reasoning, frequently of a voluntaristic character. The device is prominent in the characterisation of the tyrant in heroic plays.(17) A more sophisticated form of the device, alluding to current debates on political theory, appears in The Duke of Guise, the play which preceded Don Sebastian. In the opening scene, the council of the Guisards is seen discussing means of justifying rebellion against the King. Bussy proposes that :

> 'the king's included in the punishment, if he rebel against the people.

Polin : But how can he rebel?

Canon: I'll make it out: Rebellion is an insurrection against the government; but they that have power are actually the government; therefore, if the people have the power, the rebellion is in the king.' (18)

This is instantly recognisable as a parody of certain features of the Hobbesian position. In Act IV there occurs a political discussion between the rebellious citizens which has a more pronounced comic effect; but the commentary provided for the parallel scene in Don Sebastian, by Dorax's and Antonio's evaluations, is absent.

Dorax's satirical function is apparent from the first scene of Don Sebastian, where he establishes the extremes of the dramatic and social hierarchy, commenting on the rabble -

('Like dogs in times of plague; outlaws of nature,
Fit to be shot and brained, without a process')

and on the play's hero -

('A man/. . . ev'n towring to divinity').

The discrimination made in his speech on Sebastian resembles that introduced by Dryden in the passage on Achitophel for

the second edition of Absalom and Achitophel:

'The Statesman I abhor, but praise the Judge'.

In the course of the play, Dorax is allotted much material familiar from Dryden's satires. Apart from his ridicule of the masses, which resembles rather that of The Medall, he addresses to the Mufti a diatribe against the involvement of the priest in temporal affairs, and to the Emperor a critique of his management of clergy and people. Dorax characterises the Emperor's subjects:

'The genius of your Moors is mutiny . . .
Restless in change, and perjur'd to a proverb'

in terms similar to those used in Absalom and Achitophel:

'governed by the moon, the giddy Jews
Tread the same track when she her prime renews;
And once in twenty years their Scribes record,
By natural instinct they change their Lord.' (11.216-219)

The earlier satire was deliberately Horatian in tone, as Dryden pointed out; the character of the renegado, on the other hand, gives licence for the most extreme condemnation of political follies. So one finds in the second Act of Don Sebastian quite the most scathing of Dryden's attacks on the priesthood. The terms used for the Mufti here are close to those used for Shaftesbury in The Medall; both are represented as the reckless charioteers who will drive the state to ruin.(19) Shaftesbury is presented as a false prophet, establishing his temporal ascendancy by claiming spiritual authority:

'What else inspires the Tongues and swells the Breasts
Of all thy bellowing Renegado Priests,
That preach up thee for God; dispence thy Laws',

while Dorax threatens the Emperor with the same danger from his Mufti:

'Since he claims power from heaven, and not from kings,
When 'tis his interest, he can interest heaven
To preach you down.' (20)

If Dorax's topics of destructive satire associate the character with the Dryden of the earlier political satires, and with the specific historical issues represented in those satires, his positive functions in the drama enforce a broader view. The revolt of the Moors, depicted in Act IV, justifies Dorax's warnings to the Emperor, but in this phase of the actich he also acquires an important positive role: he is the chief author of a satisfactory political settlement, and, later, of Sebastian's moral regeneration. In this way the action endows him with the constructive and corrective functions which, ideally, can belong to the satirist. When, in this last stage of the action, Dorax demonstrates a fruitful interaction between critical consciousness and the surrounding society, he represents the ideal type of the satirist, rather than any single example of the type.

This kind of twofold reading of the function of Dorax, in terms of specific historical issues, and of idealised sa iric activity, may friutfully be extended to an incident in his career which has always been found awkward, the double attempt to poison him. This occurs at the end of Act III, scene i. A part of its difficulty lies in the extravagance (as opposed to the improbability) of the means employed in the incident. At this stge in the action, it is clearly important to introduce some uncertainty about the success of Dorax's attempt to reinstate the condemned Sebastian, and to strengthen Dorax's reasons for acting against his master. The minimum means to this end are present in earlier stages of the scene: there is an explicit disagreement between Dorax and the Emperor on state affairs, as well as over the treatment of Sebastian, and an implied threat to the renegade's life in the (wordless) conference between

Benducar and the Emperor which follows.

The elaboration of this incident must be assumed to carry a special significance for Dryden, either in respect of its contribution to the total effect of the drama, or of its referential relation to some material external to it, or perhaps in both respects. An obvious, if trivial, external model for the incident is the epigram of Ausonius which Dryden quotes in its defence. But it is simpler to start from the familiar material of the play and examine the effect of the incident in its dramatic context.

The attempt on Dorax's life, carried out by his 'friend', parallels other betrayals of trust occurring in the scenes which follow: the conspirators' treacherous attack on the Emperor, and the farcical, ostensibly accidental, attack made on the Mufti by his own servants. Its intermediate level of seriousness perhaps serves to link the two extreme versions of betrayal, and thus to generalise the situation.

More important are the evaluations of the incident made by different characters. Immediately after the poisoning incident, Dorax is given a soliloquy. He describes his sensations in terms of a civil war of contrarieties:

> 'Shiverings of cold, and burnings of my entrails
> Within my little world make medley-war,
> Lose and regain, beat, and are beaten back,
> As momentary victors quit their ground.'

In its immediate context, this is a vivid presentation of the familiar analogy between body and state; but in the ensuing scenes the conflicts of the revolution realise the content of Dorax's similitude: for rapid shifts from one contrary state to another characterise the progress of the

popular revolt, while the idea of sickness as a moral condition is concentrated in the head of the state; on his last appearance he uses physical imagery to describe a spiritual state. Finally, like Dorax, the state recovers its equilibrium. The poisoning of Dorax thus stands as a symbol of the national disorder.

This gives increased importance to the various interpretations of the poisoning and recovery. Benducar himself anticipates failure in his scene with the conspirator Haly; he blames the renegade's personal destiny for suspending the operation of the poison

' as if his stronger stars had interposed'.

The idea of superior'stars' is present in Ausonius' epigram:

'quum fata volunt, bina venena iuvant';

in the explanations that follow Dorax's reappearance the line from Ausonius is used in a slightly modified form:

'Thus, when heaven pleases, double poisons cure'.

A link with the play's religious imagery has already been set up a few lines earlier, when Benducar says:

'I'm sure I did my part to poison thee,
What saint soe'er had soddered thee again'.

His next remark, to the Mufti:

'Thou interposing fool, to mangle mischief,
And think to mend the perfect work of Hell !'

exposes the antithesis between the Satanic treachery which would have destroyed Dorax and the heavenly providence which has saved him. If regarded as the result of a providential dispensation, Dorax's survival is not impossible, but inevitable. The antithetical explanations of their methods given by Benducar and the Mufti emphasise the self-contradictory tendencies which render wickedness ineffectual. A conclusion imposed by the political phase

of the action is that divine providence will nullify the machinations of the wicked. And the attempted poisoning of Dorax is presented, in its sequel, as a specific and picturesque instance of that conclusion.

Just as the issues treated in satire by Dryden in the later part of Charles's reign still influence the satire of Dorax, the climate of that period of plot and counterplot informs the machinations of Benducar and the Mufti. In as far as the predicament of Dorax offers an image of public affairs, the unsuccessful intervention of the two statesmen must be seen as an equivalent of the plotting and counterplotting of conspirators against (and on behalf of) the Stuart monarchs. The vivid images of the concluding passage of The Medall, as well as ll.1012-1017 of Absalom and Achitophel, illustrate the pleasure that Dryden, as a Tory, took in observing how the mutually conflicting designs of the plotters served the ends of divine providence.

The Popish Plot and its sequels provided the most elaborate instances of self-defeating machinations, but over a longer time-span the career of Titus Oates fitted into the same pattern, as Dryden suggested in the conclusion of his 'Corah' passage in Absalom and Achitophel. He was not alone in singling out the mutual opposition of the conspirators for ridicule. A succession of mutually contradictory pamphlets offered conflicting interpretations of the Plot. In one of these, Elkanah Settle, 'converted' to the Tory cause, expressed himself forcibly on the contradictions of the Plot:

> ' through the whole Series of the Plot, we find not only the Motions of the Jesuits, but likewise

> the very Discoverers too, so notoriously excentrick, that the Liveliest Respresentation of the Whole, is, if one Pack of Phaetons were setting the World on fire, another Pack stept out to quench it.'

In discussing the supposed murder of 'Sir Edmond-bury' Settle builds the two conflicting testimonies into a 'double' murder (which,it is hinted, is therefore no murder):

> 'In all this admirable variety, mark how pat it falls out: as Sir Edmond-bury was found with those Two fold marks of Assassination about him, viz. both Strangled and Run Through; so likewise 'tis observable, that Two-fold was the way of Trapanning him, Two-Fold the Fatal Place, and Two-Fold his Murder (oh how insatiate is the Popish Revenge, that One Death could not suffice)'.

Renegades do not appear as characters in Dryden's earlier plays. But here again he may have received a hint from a historical incident of Charles's reign. The Turkish 'embassy' of 1682, which aroused much interest, had as its interpreter a Jewish renegade. This renegade moreover, had an important if indirect connection with an episode in the discrediting of Titus Oates. To the clergyman Adam Elliot his appearance in England 'seem'd an occasion which Providence offered into my hands to vindicate my own reputation, and to prosecute this false swearer'.(A Modest Vindication of Titus Oates,p.42) Among Oates's extravagant charges against Elliot was that

> 'he did give poison to his Master or Patron'

when enslaved by the Moors. But the arrival of the Moorish embassy demonstrated that Elliot's former master was still alive:

> 'the Secretary, Hamet Lucas... seiz'd me, crying out, That I was his Christian. and that he had bought me with his money'.

We have here a renegade,supposed poisoned, whose reappearance at a crucial point contributes to the collapse of the machinations of an enemy of the Court party. The incident corresponds in emotional colouring, and in some

details, with the incidents involving Dorax. Elliot's successful suit was much discussed. There is evidence that Dryden knew Elliot's tract as well as the events it describes: Scott suggests that the inspection of slaves which ends Act I of Don Sebastian derives from Elliot's experiences in the slave market. He could perhaps have extended the comparison; it is clearly Elliot's account of the maltreatment of captives on board ship, and their reduction to animal status ('like a pack of tired Hounds'(p.6))which sanctioned Dryden's bizarre scene of the 'breaking' of Antonio. And Elliot, like Alvarez, fetched a good price and was well treated because his captors believed that wealthy friends would ransom him (p.7).

The means taken by Elliot to escape from his master seem to have provided the germ of Oates's charge of poisoning. Having obtained from the French Consul 'a quantity of wine', he attended his master at a drinking party, attempting to dissimulate his anxiety, which had aroused some suspicion, ('I resolv'd to cashier all thoughtfulness...because I would give no occasion of jealousy'(p.12)) and counterfeiting inebriation until his master fell into a drunken stupor and he was able to escape unobserved. In Don Sebastian, the poison is administered to Dorax on the pretext of drinking the Emperor's health, in an atmosphere of dissimulated suspicion. To suggest that the scene in Elliot's narrative influenced, even distantly, that in Don Sebastian, implies a disjunction between two uses of the narrative; but this is a characteristically Drydenian economy. It would seem then, that Dryden perceived both the usefulness of Elliot's narrative as a source of local colour, and its wider import as an instance of providential confutation of the wicked, an idea much stressed by Elliot himself. In Don Sebastian both aspects of the narrative find their place, the romanesque events of Elliot's inspiring the most romanesque incident of Dryden's plot. In the case of the other characters, historical influence is more obviously present.

The Mufti, the principal butt of satire in Don Sebastian, has, in addition to precursors in the corrupt priests of Dryden's earlier plays, complicated antecedents in the satirical verse of Dryden and other writers. The Mohammedan, Turk or Moor, appears frequently in the imagery of contemporary satire. The characteristics traditionally ascribed to him are twofold. On the one hand, the Mohammedan is seen as representing the antithesis of all Christian values, as in a neutral

example from a poem celebrating James II's Declaration of Indulgence:

'Religion is God's work upon the soul . . . .

'Let Mahomet prescribe his Alcoran
To be advanced by arms, fast as it can;
Christ's gospel is a law of peace and love,
And by conviction on the heart doth move.'

Dryden has a long passage on this theme in the first book of The Hind and the Panther, beginning

'The full-fed Mussulman goes fat to heav'n'(ll.377-391).

This comic class of Turkish material is directly transcribed in the sub-plot of Don Sebastian, which exploits the Mufti's personal greed and sensuality, reflected in his unmanageable household. The Mahommedan sensual paradise is invoked in a speech of the Emperor:

'So when our prophet
Had long been hammering, in his lonely cell,
Some dull, insipid, tedious Paradise,
A brisk Arabian girl came tripping by;.....

'He took the hint, embraced the flying fair,
And having found his heaven, he fixed it there',(24)

which offers a close analogy with the passage on Mohammedanism in The Hind and the Panther. It is also presented in the play, since the subplot is set in the Mufti's garden, a veritable paradise of self-gratification complete with amorous females. At this level of the plot there exists a sustained comic misuse of religious terms, including those of 'Turk' and 'Christian', which implies that, at least in this self-gratifying type of existence, there is no real difference between Christian and Mohammedan.

The range of Mohammedan imagery was thus wide, and the topics to which it was applied were accordingly diverse. In an example quoted above, the metaphor of the genial Mohammedan was applied to the established clergy ('brisk Bishops'), and Dryden himself develops a similar parallel in The Hind and the Panther. In the first part the explicit analogy is between Mahommedanism and the Reformed church in general:

'The full-fed Mussulman goes fat to heav'n
For his Arabian prophet with delights
Of sense, allured his Eastern Proselytes.
The jolly Luther, reading him, began
T'interpret Scripture by the Alcoran:

'To grub the thorns beneath our tender feet
And make the paths of Paradise more sweet,
Bethought him of a wife, ere halfway gone
(For 'twas uneasy travelling alone,)
And in this masquerade of mirth and love,
Mistook the bliss of Heaven for Bacchanals above'.

But at the same time the context associates it with the passage on Henry VIII, and a later passage in the poem explicitly associates the sweetening of religion with the Anglican Church: assuming the _persona_ of a Pigeon, the poet explains that the Established Church prefers religion as a nymph -

'Religion frights us with a meen severe.
''Tis prudence to reform her into ease,
And put her in undress to make her please' -

rather than a nun:

'Sister Partlet, with her hooded head
Was hooted hence, because she would not pray a-Bed .')
(25)

The pigeon was associated with Mahomet, by a tradition to which Mustapha alludes in Act IV of _Don Sebastian_, (26) as the agent of false claims to direct heavenly inspiration.

Dryden's own practice, then shows that the metaphor of Mohammedanism was already available, and comprehensible, for satire on the Established Church. His Mufti has certain definitely Anglican features. He is seen as the representative of the state religion, arranging the public rejoicing of Act I and taking an official tithe of the captives (27); and later he is called on to advise the Emperor on the attitudes of the Mahometan law and the Moorish people to his projected marriage with Almeyda. In the same scene Dorax launches an attack on the political power of the clergy of an established church, which associates the Mufti closely with the politically engaged clergy of Dryden's day. He addresses the Emperor:

'Sir, let me bluntly say, you went too far,
To trust the preaching power on state affairs
To him, or any heavenly demagogue.' (28)

The Mufti's reply to the charges cites Wolsey as an example of the 'holy men' who were also 'famed in state affairs', so that the Emperor is fleetingly identified with Wolsey's master, Henry VIII, the

'Lion old
Obscene and furious made by lust'

of The Hind and the Panther, whom Dryden had similarly represented as intriguing to make his desired marriage legal. Dorax asserts that men like Wolsey were simply misplaced -

'Born to be statesmen, happening to be churchmen' -

and this, like the remarks quoted already, seems to be aimed at the Established Church, with its pretensions to political power. Dryden may have been aiming particularly at those bishops who supported the claim of William and Mary to an allegedly vacant throne, as well as expressing Catholic resentment against the desertion of James by the Anglican Church, after his Declaration of Indulgence.(29)

In the tense period after the acession of James, political verse sometimes associated the Turk as Antichrist with the Catholic, and converts to Catholicism could be termed renegades. One attack on Dryden's conversion addresses the poet as follows:

'Should Mahomet this Antichrist o'erthrow,
Thy crucifix would to the crescent bow.' (30)

James's much-criticised standing army, which contained many Catholic officers, had already been likened to the Turkish rulers' guard of janissaries, who were mainly renegades: a poem on the army, of 1687, repeats the image:

'Thus, when the faith has had mutation
We change its way of propagation.
So Mahomet, with arms and terrors
Spread over half the world his errors.' (31)

In Britannia Rediviva (1688), a poem on the birth of an heir

to James II, Dryden inverts the analogy by seeing the young prince as a second Constantine who will drive the Turkish armies out of Europe.(32)

The image of the Turk was equally available to Tory satirists as a means of caricaturing their opponents. Because of the well-known Whig sympathy for the Hungarian Protestant rebels, who had formed an alliance with the Turks against the Holy Roman Empire, 'Turk' appears, from about 1683, as an analogy for anti-monarchist. In this use the sinister and the comic aspects may co-exist. The third part of the Advice to a Painter (1684) applies the image to the subversive, and particularly to the Nonconformist clergy:

> 'Next paint our English Mufties of the tub . . .
>
> 'Draw me them praying for the Turkish cause,
> And for the overthrow of Christian laws' ,

and later:

> 'Next paint the Turks' seraglio; and then
> Paint our English Mufties entering in:
> That and rebellion is their darling sin.' (33)

Dryden neatly combines the two themes in his epilogue to Lee's Constantine the Great (1684); he first refers to the supporters of the Protestant rebellion in Hungary:

> 'They favoured even a foreign rebel's cause',

and, in the concluding turn of the piece, suggests a facetious reason:

> 'The Original Trimmer, though a friend to no Man
> Yet in his heart adored a pretty Woman;
> He knew that Mahomet laid up for ever
> Kind black-eyed rogues for every true believer.'

That the scope of Dryden's satire in the presentation of the Mufti was limited to the Anglican clergy is suggested by John Moore, in an article entitled Political Allusions in Dryden's Later Plays.(34) The summary

of obviously Anglican features given above by no means covers all the aspects of the Mufti's activity. Moore also makes the Mufti the arch-villain of the drama:

> 'even worse than the treachery of the chief minister . .. is the treachery of the Mufti, who like some prominent Anglican divines, uses his sacred office to secure wealth and power, preaches passive obedience until it thwarts self-interest, and agitates the mob by a pretense of religious zeal'.

Apart from the fact that the Mufti, although he may practise non-resistance (which as Antonio is made to observe, is 'never practised thoroughly, but when a man can't help himself'), does not actually preach it, this view of the character is insufficient: to treat him as the chief villain runs counter to the immediate impression given by Dryden's text, and to regard him simply as an Anglican entails overlooking some details of the satire.

The Mufti seems in fact to represent the full complexity of the Mohammedan imagery used by Dryden and his contemporaries. The insurrection scene of Act IV doubtless would have suggested to Dryden's audience the looting of Catholic houses after James II's flight, which was at least tacitly condoned by the Anglican clergy, as Moore suggests. But the scene also raises much older issues. The argument of the Mufti against the marriage of the Emperor and Almeyda is clearly the argument for the exclusion of heretical heirs to the throne:

> 'the natural effects of marriage are children: now upon whom would he beget these children? Even upon a Christian!'

This is a topic appropriate to the events of a rather earlier period, and must be taken together with the Mufti's remarks that the Emperor

> 'is now upon the point of marrying himself, and without your sovereign consent'

which sounds (as Moore perceives) like a sly allusion to the public distaste for James's secretive marriage with the

Catholic princess Mary of Modena, an event which had occurred in 1674. The Mufti also claims that the Emperor

'is taking your religion away',

a charge which had been made against James's attempts to introduce toleration for the benefit of his co-religionists.

The terms of the Mufti's appeal are, at times, pseudo-republican. References to 'the majesty of the people' and 'your sovereign consent' come very close to ideas attributed to Shaftesbury in The Medall, where the Whig leader is similarly seen as flattering the crowd in order to gain power for himself:

'He preaches to the crowd that pow'r is lent,
But not conveyed, to kingly government . . .
'Maintains the multitude can never err,
And sets the people in the Papal chair'. (ll. 82-87)

Other details of the scene seem to derive from the same period. The Mufti's open preaching of rebellion -

'pluck up your hearts, and pluck down the tyrant' -

suggests a parallel, not with the Anglican clergy at the flight of James, but with the fanatical Dissenting preachers of the period of the Whig conspiracy, who supported sedition: men such as the 'Judas' of Absalom and Achitophel Part II:(35)

'Who at Jerusalem's own Gates Erects
His College for a Nursery of Sects.
Young Prophets with an early Care secures,
And with the Dung of his own Arts manures.' (ll.325-328)

And the Mufti's slogan of

'three P's, self-preservation, our property, and our prophet',

is an imitation of Whig 'cries' such as 'Liberty and Property' and 'No Popery, no Slavery', which had been current in the period of dispute over the sucession. The remark of 'second rabble':

'I have seen for these hundred years, that religion and trade go together',

clearly alludes to the anti-monarchist mercantilism of some

City Whigs and Dissenters; Dryden's old victim, Slingsby Bethel, had published pamphlets on the theme.

The results of the Mufti's seditious preaching too are the same as those foreseen in The Medall, though the treatment in Don Sebastian has a strong element of comedy. In the earlier work, the poet concludes with a dire prophecy:

'The Presbyter, puft up with spiritual pride'
will
'The Civil power defy
And parcel out Republique Prelacy,
But short shall be his Reign; his rigid Yoke
And Tyrant Power will puny Sects provoke,
And Frogs, and Toads, and all the Tadpole Train
Will croak to Heav'n for help from this devouring Crane.
The Cut-throat sword and clamorous Gown shall jar
In sharing their ill-gotten spoils of War'. (ll.300-307)

The Mufti's power too is short-lived. One of the rabble soon observes that

'when his turn is serv'd, he may preach up loyalty again, and restitution',

and the leader of the rabble concludes for the forcible reformation of religion as well as government:

'Now I think on't, I am inspired already that 'tis no sin to depose the Mufti'.

Antonio adds a characteristically Drydenian warning on the precarious position of those who gain power by teaching the populace to rebel:

'when kings and queens are to be discarded, what should knaves do any longer in the pack?'

He thus recalls the fate foreseen for the aspirant to a publicly conferred monarchic power at the end of The Medall. The downfall of the Mufti is thus to be seen as the exemplary end to his career as a preacher of anti-Monarchist doctrine.

The Mufti's punishment, in fact, is one more appropriate to a fool than to a villain;(36) he is handed over to his own former slave, and the rabble, whom he had incited to looting, decide to sack his palace. This detail is connected

with satire on the Mufti's cupidity earlier in the play, which also has a certain topical reference. The cupidity of the independent preachers, or 'Saints', is a frequent theme of comedy in the Restoration period. The Mufti's daughter, Morayma, planning to steal her father's jewels and elope with Antonio, observes:

> 'I'll leave him his Alcoran, that's revenue enough for him; every page of it is gold and diamonds. He has the turn of an eye, a demure smile, and a godly cant, that are worth millions to him.'

What the Mufti reaps from his audience is clearly not tithes, but the illicit 'fruit' of the 'private spirit' which interprets the scriptures according to individual comscience or interest. (This misuse of the translated text of the Bible in the post-Reformation period is the subject of a long passage in Religio Laici.) Other incidents in the plot of Don Sebastian indicate that for the Mufti, as for all the seditious preachers portrayed in Dryden's satirical verse,

> 'profit is the loudest call of Grace'. (37)

But Dorax's attack on the Mufti in Act II, scene i, is consistent with neither an Anglican nor a Nonconformist interpretation of the figure; his general target is the priest who aspires to control public affairs through his private spiritual power over the ruler:

> 'Bloated with pride, ambition, avarice,
> You swell to counsel kings, and govern kingdoms'.

In this scene the Mufti is treated, unusually, as representing a serious threat to the state. But the terms of this attack on clerical power indicate a specific aim, for the Mufti's reply to Dorax's charge identifies him as the king's 'director of conscience':

> 'He prates as if kings had not consciences,
> And none required directors but the crowd' .

Dorax also argues that the Mufti is only concerned with

the king's conscience as it affects his public function:

'Nor would you care to inspect their public conscience,
But that it draws dependencies of power
And public interest which you long to sway',

and this is the kind of charge frequently brought against the Jesuits. In addition, the early part of Dorax's attack plainly alludes to religious communities (or perhaps to seminaries): the ambitious priests are originally

'Poor droning truants of unpractised cells,
Bred in the fellowship of bearded boys . . .

'There you live demure, with downcast eyes,
And humble as your discipline requires'.

Since it is discontinuous with the actual events of the play, especially with the scene in Act III which shows the relationship between the Mufti and the Emperor to be quite different from that implied here by Dorax,(38) this diatribe only makes sense if considered as a piece of special pleading. Its anti-Catholic tendency is not remarkable when one recalls a historical instance of abuse of clerical power which had distressed the poet: the domination of James II by his extremist Jesuit advisers, particularly Edward Petre. Dryden had already voiced the alarm of the moderate Catholics in The Hind and the Panther, Book III, where he depicts the king's confidential clerk as the Martin:

'Sooth to say, the Swallow brought him in,
Her household Chaplain, and her next of kin.'

The characterisation of the Martin agrees well with Burnet's description of Petre. When his vision of an earthly paradise for swallows is generally accepted, the Martin becomes the virtual ruler of the community:

'His point thus gained, Sir Martin dated thence
His pow'r, and from a Priest became a Prince.'

The unfortunate outcome of such extremist policies had already been predicted in the continuation of the fable of the Swallows; and the bitterness of the attack on priestly meddling in

Don Sebastian seems to reflect the recent fulfilment of those prophecies.

Thus the figure of the Mufti represents the wide range of themes and topics of Turkish imagery in satire, and more particularly, the various faults in the priesthood which Dryden had attacked in earlier works. The fact of the wide dissemination of such material precludes originality, and makes its use seem less deliberate in Don Sebastian. It can be argued, as for Absalom and Achitophel, that the interest of the work lies in the recombination of the material; but this, for Don Sebastian, entails treating the satire as general rather than historically specific. A hint of such an intention is actually given in Dorax's attack on the priesthood, which also contains a reference to the positive alternative to priestly meddling in politics. Dorax suggests that the proper use of spiritual power is in 'the province of the soul', which

> 'is large enough
> To fill up every cranny of your time',

a distant anticipation of Dryden's expansion of Chaucer's description of the parish priest into The Character of a Good Parso in the Fables of 1700.

Contemporary parallels suggest themselves for characters other than the Mufti. Benducar, the statesman and favourite, has been equated with Sunderland:

> 'Like Sunderland, he seeks to establish himself with the new sovereign, after deserting the old one.' (39)

This would make much of Benducar's career prophetic, or exemplary, since Sunderland was still in exile at the time when Dryden wrote the play. Benducar has also, on the slender evidence of his offer to Moley Zeydan in the play's first scene:

> 'Shall I adore thee? No, the place is public'

been equated with Judas.(40) In his case, as with the Mufti, such suggestions are relevant, but do not supply an exhaustive account of the character. Benducar's encouragement of Muley Moluch's barbarity seems a likely reference to Sunderland's encouragement of James's extreme policies; but Dryden had made the same kind of charge against Shaftesbury, and the fact that Benducar plans to gain the throne for himself offers a closer analogy with Shaftesbury, as seen by Dryden, than with Sunderland. As for the Judas analogy, that exists, if anywhere, in Act II, scene i, where Dorax reproaches Benducar with owing everything to the Emperor's indulgence:

> 'the bread thou eat'st, the robe thou wear'st
> Thy wealth and honours . . . .
> 'And would his creature, nay his friend, betray him?'

But this develops immediately into a general denunciation of ingratitude:

> 'Why then, no bond is left on human kind,
> Distrusts, debates, immortal strifes ensue,
> All must be rapine, wars and desolation,
> When trust and gratitude no longer bind',

which makes Benducar stand as a general archetype of the traitor. Dorax then remarks that such a man would earn the contempt even of the devils, and would be 'Whoop'd and hiss'd in Hell' - which could suggest Judas, but is also applicable to other inhabitants of Dante's lowest circle, and even to the Satan of Paradise Lost.(41)

But into Benducar's character have also gone details of the archetype of the evil statesman as developed by Dryden himself in his earlier works. The politician who had, in Dryden's view, consistently aimed at obtaining absolute power for himself was Shaftesbury; the fullest treatment of the idea is the account of his career in The Medall. Benducar, like Shaftesbury, is involved in more than one shift of

allegiance, and proceeds from flattering his king in the hope of gaining power over him, to planning direct revolution against him.(42) Benducar is shown persuading the Emperor of the existence of a plot against him , just as Shaftesbury had been the chief fomenter of agitation at the time of the Popish Plot. And in Act IV, Benducar is shown as raising the mob, ostensibly for the Emperor and in fact against him, which suggests both Shaftesbury's supposed 'Protestant Association' for the defence of the King(43) and his boasted ability to raise the London mob. The fate of Benducar, to 'march in quarters to the gates of the city' is the traitor's fate which other verse-writers beside Dryden had predicted for Shaftesbury.

Also active in the character of Benducar is the typology of Satan. This belongs to the realm of political reference in so far as it is connected with the Shaftesbury material, of which, in Dryden's satirical verse, it had formed a recurrent element. An unequivocal example is the reference to the creation in the opening paragraph of The Medall:

> 'Five daies he sat for every cast and look;
> Four more than God to finish Adam took.
> But who can tell what Essence angels are
> Or how long Heav'n was making Lucifer ?' (44)

Benducar's most frequent function is that of tempter. In one instance of the relationship, that with Moley Zeydan, there is a close imitation of the relationship of Shaftesbury to Monmouth represented in Absalom and Achitophel. Benducar claims, like Shaftesbury in the poem, that the present king is unfit to rule, and that the virtues of his victim make him the proper candidate for the throne; but he intends only to set up his victim as a popular monarch, and finally to dethrone him. The analogy is clinched by the reference to the 'fruit of damnation' (discussed earlier in this chapter).

Achitophel, who already enjoys a lawful power, is similarly represented as plucking the forbidden fruit of sedition, and recommending it to others; he

'Disdain'd the Golden Fruit to gather free
And lent the Crowd his Arm to shake the Tree.'

Otherwise, verbal parallels between Benducar in his role of evil statesman and the Shaftesbury of the satires are lacking; but since Benducar represents chiefly the hidden side of Shaftesbury's activity, this presents no great difficulty: the poet was at liberty to invent, as in Absalom and Achitophel, eminent examples of evil counsel.

The public aspect of Shaftesbury's activity has already been shown as appearing elsewhere in Don Sebastian, namely, in the Mufti. This means that the play comtains two figures corresponding to Shaftesbury. Although neither carries all the functions of Shaftesbury, and both carry some other significances, this fact makes an interpretation of the plot in terms of one-to-one correspondences with historical situations impossible.

The partial identification of the Mufti and Benducar with advisers of James II, particularly suggested by their appearances in Act II scene i, cannot mean, as Moore's article suggests, that Moley Moloch can legitimately be equated with James, even in his trusting attitude to priests. It is clear that the Emperor does not trust his Mufti. In Act III, after threatening the priest with instant death if he cannot invent a precedent for the desired marriage with Almeyda the Emperor observes:

'How happy is the prince who has a churchman
So learned and pliant to expound the laws'. (45)

But this, even in the generally unconscious tyrant, must be taken as ironic, coming as it does after the Mufti's abject capitulation, not as Moore suggests in quoting it as an

indication of trust. The parallel between Benducar and Sutherland perhaps comes closer to that statesman's relationship with James; but even here, an attempt by a pro-Stuart writer to portray James in the Emperor is excluded by the tone of passages such as the following: 'Benducar: You would not put a whole nation to the rack? Emperor: Yes, the whole world; so I be safe I care not'.(46) This shows the Emperor as a Turk of the medieval Herod type.

The extension of historical analogy in the play is also impossible: Muley Moluch as Sunderland's master would become James II, as Shaftesbury's master Charles II; and as the master betrayed by Judas within the play, he might even be equated with Christ. Thus although the material of Dryden's and other topical satires of the Stuart period is prominent, their kind of manipulated parallel with historical events, even in the complex form found in The Hind and the Panther, no longer accounts for the organisation of political material in Don Sebastian.

CHAPTER III: IMAGERY AND THEME IN DON SEBASTIAN.

The twofold serious action of Don Sebastian with its separate political and personal crises can be seen as reflecting the familiar analogy between the functioning of the body politic and that of the individual human body. As is usual with Dryden, the monarch appears as the type of the individual man, and an association between the qualities of a ruler and those of his reign is thus developed. This arrangement apparently provides an ideal framework for the exploration of political issues. And in addition to its major political theme, Don Sebastian contains much material derived from recent events, whether in the form of direct allusion or in the intermediate form of analogy. But examination of the multifarious political references in the play shows that a systematic correlation of its incidents and characters with those of the sixteen-eighties is impossible. The very frequency with which allusions recognisable to Dryden's audience (1) occur in irreconcileable contexts tends to make the events of the play more remote. Characters like the Mufti are burdened with such a weight of varied significances that they can only be regarded as typical vices. The play forces a generalised response to its theme, which has interesting consequences. Since, for instance, Muley Moluch is presented as a composite 'shining example' of a tyrant, his most important relationship is not that with his historical analogues, (2) but the antithetical relationship with Sebastian contained within the play. This relationship is of course largely independent of the play's tissue of contemporary reference, but closely linked with its intrinsically literary structure.

At this point it is useful to summarise the evidence

of political inspiration and intention in Don Sebastian, as a prelude to assessing Dryden's use of a political hero. Although there is no attempt at direct criticism of recent events, the general organisation of the drama does betray their influence. The themes of usurpation and disloyalty, in themselves controversial, are treated in such a way as to support the characteristically Stuart doctrine of absolute monarchy. Dryden even sees fit to point out in the preface a minor instance of his concern for the dignity of royalty.(3) While Moley Zeydan stands in much the same relationship to the Emperor as the Prince of Orange to James II,(4) he has nothing in common with the princely Buzzard of The Hind and the Panther, Dryden's detailed portrait of the aspiring successor. Throughout the play he is characterised as 'mild' and 'of easy temper'. Like the sympathetic Absalom of Dryden's earlier poem, he is 'naturally good', but misled by an unscrupulous adviser.(5) In addition, the monarch he proposes to overthrow is a brutal monster. In fact, Dryden has set up an extreme situation calculated to minimise the sin of rebellion; that rebellion is still experienced as pernicious and judged as mortally sinful (6) is a strong endorsement of the conservative theory of monarchy, and implies a critical attitude to the usurpation of 1688, which, at least according to Dryden's view, had occurred in far less extreme circumstances.

This simple reaffirmation of a discarded principle is the most evident, but not the only political preoccupation embodied in Don Sebastian. The poet's choice and conception of plot expresses, if less directly, his concern for James II. His admiration for the deposed king had never been uncritical; his opposition to James's adoption of extreme religious policies,

expressed in The Hind and the Panther, and reflected in two scenes of Don Sebastian,(7) is well known. Elsewhere in Dryden's poems on national affairs the enthusiastic praise accorded to James as representative of the Stuart dynasty is tempered by veiled admonitions on his duties as monarch. Threnodia Augustalis, written to commemorate the death of Charles and accession of James, confidently summarises Charles's achievements for his people in terms of Moses'

'The Chosen Flock has now the Promised Land in view'.

But the remainder of the poem hardly supplies the optimistic forecast for the new reign which the image of the Promised Land, as well as the conventions of panegyric, appears to demand. Dryden's character of James as monarch (Stanza XVII) is founded on the image of 'The Martial Ancus', the prince who maintains his country's glory by proud and inflexible treatment of her enemies. The tone of the final stanza shows that Dryden is not merely advancing a pleasant antithesis for its decorative effect, for in this poem the customary prophecy of future glory is made dependent on divine intervention -

'For once, O Heav'n, unfold thy Adamantine Book' -

which will reconcile Parliament with James:

'Let them not still be obstinately blind,
Still to divert the Good thou hast design'd,
Or with Malignant Penury,
To starve the Royal Vertues of his Mind'.

The climax of the passage is a plea for religious tolerance:

'Faith is a Christian's and a Subject's Test',

which applies equally well to the Protestant mistrust of James and to the new King's tendency to press the cause of the Catholic minority. The vision of the final lines is of a future improved by mutual tolerance, yet an alternative

vision is implicitly present in the two stanzas, in the suggestion that James's 'Royal Vertues' may be exhausted by opposition, and in the description of James as a just and inexorable enemy. The curious bias of Stanza XVII is calculated to diminish, without dissimulating, the alternative vision, by making foreign virtues out of characteristics of James generally seen as domestic faults.

Dryden's critical treatment of James' character in his last official piece, Britannia Rediviva (1688), is particularly relevant to Don Sebastian. The poem, in itself something of a 'holy Violence', in view of Dryden's forebodings about the consequences of the birth of James' heir, attempts intermittently to associate the infant prince with the infant Christ, as a being divinely ordained to restore sinners to grace. An example occurs in lines 188-191:

> 'Let his Baptismal Drops for us attone;
> Lustrations for offences not his own.
> Let Conscience . . . .
> 'In the Same Font be cleansed and all the Land Baptis'd.'

As well as reflecting the deteriorating political situation this choice of image sets up an association between the authority of James, obnoxious to the English, and that of the 'jealous' Jehovah, obnoxious to the children of Israel. The typology acquires significance from similar usage in earlier political verse.(8)

This association is relevant to the discussion of divine and regal attributes towards the end of the poem. The concluding 'character' of James develops a single theme:

> 'The Name of Great, your Martial Mind will sute,
> But justice, is your darling attribute',

Yet, since Dryden extols this attribute by describing its opposites, justice is made to appear something of a negative virtue. Although 'Justice is Heav'n's self',

a divine attribute, covert criticism of the character of James is clearly intended. The California editors see in the passage a play on the attributes of the Christian God as depicted in Dryden's poetry and those of James.(9) This they elucidate largely by external reference, but in fact the structure of the poem itself provides the criteria for assessing James's shortcomings.

In the couplet quoted above an application of the theological distinction between essence and attribute distinctly uncomplimentary to James is suggested. If the essential quality of the King's 'Martial Mind' is 'Greatness', he is hardly, as the panegyric appears at first sight to suggest, an adequate type of the Christian God, either for Dryden as an opponent of Calvinism, or in the terms set up in the poem. For throughout Britannia Rediviva Dryden repeatedly emphasises that divine mercy has been shown in the providential birth of the prince, warning his countrymen that

> 'we have sinn'd him hence, and that he lives,
> God to his promise, not our practise gives',

or referring to the child as

> 'A Blessing sent you in your own despite'.

And he follows up these allusions to the charity of heaven with an explicit recommendation of charity and mutual tolerance, culminating in

> ' 'Tis Godlike, God in his own Coyn to pay',

a line which applies with particular force to James as the type of divine power. The California editors appropriately connect ll.300-303 with the 'character' of James at the end of the poem, which omits all mention of mercy or charity. Thus the criticism of James would be implied in the contrst, and imbalance, between the brief 'mercy', and

protracted 'justice' passages. But the background effect of repeated allusion to the essential divine characteristics of mercy and providential wisdom shown in the birth of a mediator capable of restoring harmony to England seems equally important in creating a sense of insufficiency in the portrait of James, which relies on the other two divine attributes of justice and power. That the same effect appears at the level of external and of internal reference merely indicates its importance in Dryden's conception of the poem.

Two details in the panegyric illuminate the King's shortcomings with particular clarity. After demonstrating that the lesser attributes of God,

'Resistless Force, and Immortality',

do not by themselves constitute divinity, Dryden returns to a greater divine attribute, justice; and claims that it is inextricably connected with godhead:

' But Justice is Heav'n's self, so strictly He,
That could it fail, the God-head could not be'.

The couplet immediately affirms the divinity of James's characteristic virtue, while at the same time the second line indicates that any remission of this virtue in the King is 'so much of heav'n's image blotted' from him. But it is also central to the poem's opposition of divine and regal attributes; for if true justice is identical with, and inseparable from, Godhead, it must also involve the other essential attributes of the deity, wisdom and mercy, which throughout Britannia Rediviva are absent in James but present in the dispensations of Heaven. Apparently by way of extenuation, Dryden goes on to mention obstacles in the way of human aspiration to absolute justice:

'but Life and State,
Are one to Fortune subject, one to Fate',

thus dismissing the question of the earthly monarch's perfectibility.

The final line of the poem, addressed to James II, adds a further touch to Dryden's implied criticism. When the poet alleges

'Your self our Ballance hold, the World's our Isle',

he is clearly appealing to James to act so as to preserve the perilous equilibrium of the state. At the same time, the introduction at this stage of the idea of balance touches on the crucial failure of James's character, his obsessive concern with translating his own piety into political realities - a kind of playing at divine justice which precludes his sharing, even in human measure, in the complementary divine virtues of wisdom and mercy. The satisfactory ending of the poem is assisted by the assimilation of James's figure to that of the traditional emblem of Justice in the final lines. To the sword of the 'Martial' king already amply suggested, the poet adds the scales of Justice 'equal both to punish and reward', as he would have the king appear to his subjects. That the 'blindfolding' of James by unscrupulous advisers resulted in increased partiality, and not, like that of the emblematic figure of Justice, in impartiality, is not irrelevant to the functioning of the image: the image, like the final line, is in a state of precarious equilibrium between the desired and the actual, and thus appropriate to the tensions of the historical moment.

The problems which occupy Dryden in these political poems reappear in the imagined situations of Don Sebastian. In Britannia Rediviva Dryden had set up a scale of absolute divine justice, limited human justice, and tyranny without justice. The progressive unfolding of the plot in

Don Sebastian reveals these three standards of justice in reverse order, and in an extended form. Moley Moluch's court rests simply on force without justice. This permits a long-sustained and flattering comparison between the tyrannical Emperor and the Christian prince Sebastian (Acts I-III). The restoration of Sebastian represents that of a humanly just society; so that the revelation of his faults which comes in the final scene appears as no more than a demonstration of his common human limitations measured by the Christian scale introduced at this point.

The character of the hero himself represents, in part at least, an expansion of the material used in Britannia Rediviva. Sebastian's oustanding virtues are held to be piety (mentioned in the preface to the play, and derived from the historical character)[16]; and justice, which is the chief theme of Dorax's introductory characterisation (Act I, scene i):

'Just as the scales of heav'n that weigh the seasons', etc.

Indeed the general list of virtues in this passage -

'Brave, pious, generous, great and liberal' -

contains nothing that Dryden had not at some time attributed to James, himself also a martial hero. Sebastian's tragedy, like that of James, arises from an unwillingness to concede his own human insufficiency, which ultimately vitiates all his noble qualities. In the working out of the plot the purpose of this similarity becomes evident, for Sebastian is faced with problems like those of James.

This is the case in the relationship between Sebastian and Dorax, which though it deals with no historical event, develops the theme of the imperfection of human justice found in Britannia Rediviva. Dorax has rebelled against Sebastian's unjust condemnation largely because he believed

his king to be at once essentially capable of justice, and guilty of injustice as the result of a deluded partiality for Don Henriquez -

'Unblameable to all besides,
He err'd to me alone'.

In Dorax's submission to the rule of the totally unjust Muley Moluch such violent subjective reactions of honour are not involved because the possibility of justice is totally excluded.(11) A danger of which Dryden had more than once warned James, as in Britannia Rediviva, ll.300-303, was that of alienating the moderate and obedient majority of his subjects by the open display of partiality for his own co-religionists. Dryden shows Sebastian, unlike James, as admitting and overcoming his partiality, in a much-admired scene with Dorax.(12) The movement of thought in the scene is conceived in more detail than usual: when Sebastian confesses his error of judgement, and Dorax reaffirms the principle of loyal submission to the monarch, the imagery which Dryden finds appropriate is, significantly, that of a golden age restored. The solution of the problem is presented as an ideal one.

The point made by this scene is reiterated, if at a more profound level, by the following one (a further indication of the importance to be attached to it). Here Sebastian is made to recognise the universally corrupting influence of individual will; of this influence his alleged mis-judgement of Dorax is only one instance. The reduplication of the material sets it in the context of the play's broader moral teaching; for in the final scene Sebastian's error is related to the idea of original sin. His response to this revelation is again an ideal one: he accepts that, even for a sovereign, humility is necessary to salvation.

While there is no need to apply this scene

as a judgement on the moral inadequacies of James II, it does show how the limitations of kingly virtue mentioned in Britannia Rediviva

('Life and State
Are one to Fortune subject, one to Fate') (ll.357-358)

might be transcended in the ideal ruler.

On the more literal level, the final scene of Don Sebastian presents the audience with an ideal act of abdication. Two models for this incident immediately suggest themselves. The one, negative, model, which would be fresh in the minds of Dryden's audience, was the ignominious attempted flight of James II on the approach of William of Orange.(13) Against the background of this painful incident Dryden has projected its inverse form, an abdication voluntarily undertaken by the monarch in furtherance of a positive purpose. This is not to suggest that Dryden was attempting to dignify James's action by providing a laudable motivation for such a course. Sebastian's exile bears no relation to James's comfortable family life under the protection of Louis XIV; rather is it a metaphor for his entry on the path of spiritual development. The second model, then, is one from which Dryden could have derived, or at least where he seems to have found corroborated, his idea of the moral value of abdicating kingly power: the reply of Milton's Christ, in Paradise Regained, to Satan's offer of earthly sovereignty, in which Milton rates the resigning of earthly power higher than the just use of it.(14) Thus in the conclusion of Don Sebastian the historical event provides only the negative precedent, while the significance of the situation is the product of Dryden's idealising imagination, perhaps aided by the example of Milton's epic poem.

An oddly parenthetical passage in Act I scene i, is most satisfactorily explained as an expression of Dryden's preoccupation with the position of James II: interpolated into a scene glorifying Sebastian's resolution in adversity is a discussion of the monarch's responsibility for his subjects' sufferings in war. While rejecting the accusations of his captors, Sebastian accepts his duty of atonement before God:

> 'Not your false prophet, but eternal justice,
> Has destined me the lot; to die for these:
> 'Tis fit, a sovereign so should pay such subjects'.

The solution is a convincing one by virtue of the unstated analogy with the voluntary atonement made by Christ (compare The Hind and the Panther, Part II, ll.499-514), and it seems to be deeply felt. The issue is one which had been presented in the year of the play's composition by the sufferings of the loyal Irish in the Stuart cause;(15) James, like Dryden's hero, was open to the charge of having abandoned his supporters in their sufferings. The passage seems to offer Dryden's ideal justification for the monarch in James's position.

Inspiration from the events of James's reign is clearest in the general moral design of the play, which in terms of its discussion of monarchy is to present a duty of the monarch higher than mere acquiescence in the king's divinely-bestowed status, his duty as an individual Christian to aspire to the divine virtues. It was to this higher duty of the Christian monarch that Dryden had urged James in his appeals for religious tolerance.

Dryden's polemical intentions towards his audience are likewise very general; apart from the simple affirmation of divine right, only the play's 'general moral' has any prescriptive political significance. Overtly a reminder of

original sin, as an exhortation to the audience it clearly refers to future punishment for crimes as yet unrepented. Dryden apparently envisaged the eventual restoration of the Stuarts, if not in the person of James; so his veiled threat to the supporters of the Revolution is more than a gesture of loyalty.(16) In fact, because Dryden has treated the inherited sin of Sebastian and Almeyda as the tragic flaw which attracts sympathy as well as disapproval, this rather crude moral does not summarise the experience of original sin conveyed by the play. This makes its political dimension all the more obvious.

In this last respect the 'general moral' of the final quatrain resembles the other allusions to recent issues traced above (17): throughout the play these readily perceptible surface allusions are never closely co-ordinated with the general intentions of the drama, even where the latter show political inspiration. In his preface to Don Sebastian Dryden claims to have taken particular care with the play, and points to the organisation of its smaller parts:

> 'besides the general moral of it, . . . there is also another moral, which is couched under every one of the principal parts and characters , . . . And there may be also some secret beauties in the decorum of parts, and uniformity of design, which my puny judges will not easily find out'. (18)

The existence of parallel discussions of rebellion indicated in the preceding chapter tends to vindicate the poet's claim, at least as far as the general organisation of the action is concerned. So it is not unreasonable to surmise that when Dryden makes constant use of political allusions the device is functional and not simply habitual, and that they are intended as an integral part of the argument. Given the fragmented nature of the play's

political content, this involves the assumption of a dominant non-political context in which the final dramatic statement is not merely a reiteration of the theory of divine right. It is obvious that Dryden's political allusions in Don Sebastian have an immediate function as imagery, creating a general awareness of a political dimension, and evoking responses appropriate to different moments of the action. The organisation of prominent classes of imagery around a pervasive but recondite central metaphor is typical of Dryden's shorter poems. (It is illustrated by Roper's explications of poems as diverse as The Medall and the Epistle to Charleton on his theory of the origins of Stonehenge.) The question is whether such a system of significance can be detected in Don Sebastian. The possibility of its existence for the original theatre audience cannot be estimated, in view of the cutting of the stage version.

The most prominent class of imagery in the play apart from the political is that derived from religious experience. Two contrasting treatments of this area of imagery and analogy in Don Sebastian, those of Jefferson (19) and King (20), stress its importance, but neither gives it much credit as a cohesive force. Jefferson's article is chiefly concerned with identifying in Don Sebastian some characteristic features of Dryden's imagery; accordingly, although useful comparisons are made with religious imagery in other works, including The Hind and the Panther, all issues of dramatic function are avoided with an appeal to the idea of decorum. King, whose chapter on Don Sebastian is the most useful in his book, is interested in establishing the play as Dryden's most successful stage work, and gives some attention to

the language of religious experience in the relationship of Sebastian and Almeyda, which he sees as the most significant part of the plot.

It is evident that religious experience plays a part at different structural levels in the play, and it is therefore worth considering whether its language does not constitute a mode of relation between general import and surface allusion. One obvious feature of religious allusion in Don Sebastian is that it reduplicates the hierarchy of styles discussed earlier; this is not unimportant, since the functions of these different levels, as well as their distribution, vary. The use of religious language for comic effect in the sub-plot involving the Mufti has already been noticed. In the serious plot it has a counterpart in the innumerable incidental references to Heaven and Hell, conceived in Classical and heathen, as well as Christian, terms, which are a constant reminder of a spiritual dimension in man.(21) An extension of such incidental allusion is the type of imagery, traditional in the heroic drama, which associates the protagonist with the more spectacular features of the natural universe. While hardly religious, such imagery could be termed pantheistic, since it suggests a numinous element common to man and the forces of nature. In Don Sebastian it is applied indifferently to all the regal characters:(22) thus the defeated Sebastian is 'a setting sun', or Muley Moluch's passion for Almeyda is as irresistible as 'a spring-tide, blown in'.

Such pantheistic imagery must be distinguished from the more highly organised imagery of man's nature developed in the earlier part of Don Sebastian. The workings

of this second level of religious imagery are best shown in a dialogue between the three princely characters in Act III, scene ii. Jefferson, discussing Dryden's eccentric heavenly imagery, alludes to the contrast in this scene between Almeyda's conventionally romanesque view of death:

> 'How can we better die than close embraced,
> Sucking each other's souls while we expire?
> Which, so transfus'd and mounting both at once,
> The saints, deceived, shall, by a sweet mistake,
> Hand up thy soul for mine, and mine for thine',

and the crude threats of Muley Moluch:

> 'No, I'll untwist you . . . .
>
> 'Let him mount first, and beat upon the wing,
> And wait an age for what I here detain,
> Or sicken at immortal joys above,
> And languish for the heaven he left below.'

The latter he sees as instances of 'subversive' and 'incongruous' imagery, observing that

> 'the play of fancy pleases us at a non-dramatic level, and may deflect attention from the drama.'

Muley Moluch's vigorous 'untwist' effects a sudden transition from the ideal to the physical embrace, as also from intertwined to brutally simple syntax; this underlines the opposition between Almeyda's view of her passion as a function of the soul envisaged by means of a physical metaphor and the Emperor's idea of a purely physical connection. Dryden clearly relishes the opposition: it is immediately repeated, though in a plainer form. Almeyda paraphrases a familiar text -

> 'Thou wilt not dare to break what heaven has joined?' -

and Muley Moluch turns the sacramental link into a material chain with his reply:

> 'Not break the chain: but change a rotten link,
> And rivet one to last.'

Perversions of accepted ideas analogous with this of the Emperor's abound in the speech of immoral characters. Examples are Muley Moluch's image of the kingly lion[23], and Benducar's inversion of the vine and poplar marriage topos.

These differ from the inventive subversive expressions instanced by Jefferson, in that they draw attention to their expected alternatives. Although much of the extravagant language of the play may be said to exist for its own sake, such contrasts of language effect a sustained, if intermittent, differentiation of moral attitudes.

The full range of contrasts in the dialogue of Act III scene ii is not brought out by Jefferson. The 'unequivocal seriousness' of which he speaks elsewhere is also evident here in Sebastian's valuation of death:

> 'We shall be one again in thy despite.
> Life is but air,
> That yields a passage to the whistling sword,
> And closes when 'tis gone',

and this disregard of the physical is the antithesis of the Emperor's materialism. Consistent disregard for the limits of the physical in Sebastian's language is a trait which invites consideration of Dryden's king as a Stoic hero.(25)

The antithesis between these two types of imagery for man, Muley Moluch's and Sebastian's, persists as means of contrasting the two characters throughout the first part of the play.(26) Imagery expressing Muley Moluch's debased view of human nature is dominant, and there is much of what Jefferson calls 'body-soul' imagery:

> 'comic or near comic imagery of the creation and generation of the human species and of the relation between soul and body, in association with other images of similar tendency'.

As used expressively by Muley Moluch and Benducar, this language produces an effect different from that produced when it is used satirically by Dorax to describe the Moors.

Descriptions of the soul as 'a body in a body', or of thoughts as a 'close labyrinth', suggest the coherence of the soul with an essentially material being. The connection is explicitly made in the passage quoted above, where Muley Moluch expects

Sebastian's soul to 'languish' and 'sicken' if deprived of an earthly joy. The physical aspect of the human being is often expressed in terms of inanimate or dead, rather than living, matter. Benducar is the chief exponent of this conception of the human being as machine, notably in his last interview with the Emperor, in Act IV. Earlier in the same scene he summons up his courage:

'Now heart,
Be ribbed with iron for this one attempt;
Set ope thy sluices'.

Later, he soliloquises on Dorax's unexpected survival:

'How has this poison lost its wonted way?
It should have burnt its passage, not have lingered
In the blind labyrinths and crooked turnings
Of human composition'.

Such imagery aptly illustrates the domination of the characters who use it by their largely physical instincts. Jefferson makes a perceptive summary of Dryden's interest in this distorted type of imagery:

'he enjoyed the distorting effects of current materialist views on the traditional conception of man's spiritual status'.

This applies to the broader lines of characterisation in Dryden's plays as well as to verbal details. The use of materialist imagery offers a kind of analogy with the use of Hobbesian political theory to characterise evil figures.

A more conventional imagery of debasement which derives from the notion of man's place in creation, between brute beasts and angelic beings, is also applied to Muley Moluch. In Act II, scene i Sebastian implicitly places the Emperor among the beasts with his plea

'the she's even of the savage herd are safe',

Almeyda makes the placing explicit:

'Love is for human hearts and not for thine,
Where the brute beast extinguishes the man'.

The Emperor himself offers some sinister variations of the

theme of the lion as king among beasts, while the other characters associate him with such creatures as the 'viper', 'midnight wolf', or 'Gorgon' .

But in the imagery used by Sebastian the rational or intellectual aspect of man's nature is dominant. On his first appearance, Sebastian replies to the Emperor's exclamation:

'What shall I do to conquer thee?'

with an assertion of the superiority of the intellectual being:

'Impossible: souls know no conquerors'.

His valuation of death has already been cited above, and the brand of Christian Stoicism which he both advocates (when Almeyda proposes suicide) and practises (when sentenced to death by the Emperor) furthers the view of man as essentially intellectual being. Where Sebastian's view is juxtaposed with that of Muley Moluch it is clearly the more appealing and invites the audience's sympathy.

The account of the physical nature of man given by this view is an idealised one; although subordinate to the soul, the body is seen as being in harmony with it. Accordingly, Muley Moluch infers the quality of his captives' souls from that of their bodies:

> This is the porcelain clay of human kind,
> And therefore cast into these noble moulds'

Sebastian regards the body as the secondary structure:

> 'she's a temple
> Sacred by birth, and built by hands divine;
> Her soul's the deity that lodges there;
> Nor is the pile unworthy of the god.'

His image has biblical overtones; occurring as it does in a scene showing Almeyda's power over the two contrasted monarchs, it also recalls Adam's description of Eve to Raphael (in Paradise Lost, Book VIII, ll . 557-559) :

> 'Greatness of mind, and nobleness, their seat
> Build in her loveliest, and create an awe
> About her, as a guard angelic plac'd.' (22)

Although the theory of the primacy of the soul is so much more attractive, the two views clearly represent alternative distortions of the traditionally accepted antagonistic dualism of body and soul. The greater prominence of materialistic perverted imagery in Don Sebastian can be explained by several factors. One is simply statistical; the materialistic imagery of man has, as was indicated above, two uses, and it is appropriate to the milieu which provides a foil for the hero's isolated and exceptional virtues. And because the supremacy of the spirit is by no means an easy conception to realise in dramatic form, (witness the rather strained tone in Sebastian's first appearance, before a context of incident is established), Dryden's habitual enjoyment of grotesque and vigorous imagery tends to provide the dominant effects. A more fundamental reason for the importance of materialistic perverted imagery would seem to be that in the action of the play, if not in the avowed intentions of the characters, the supremacy of the spirit is compromised.

One product of the intellectual theory of man is Almeyda's description of her passion for Sebastian:

> 'Mine is a flame so holy and so clear,
> That the white taper leaves no soot behind;
> No smoke of lust; but chaste as sister's love,
> When coldly they return a brother's kiss.'

But against this must be set Benducar's description of the wedding ceremony, with its contrasting image of luminosity:

> 'The spouses kissed with such a fervour,
> And gave such furious earnest of their flames,
> That their eyes sparkled, and their mantling blood
> Flew flushing o'er their faces.'

Although the audience may allow for distortion in the report of a disappointed rival, some reaction to the intensity of Benducar's description is inevitable. And in the language of the hero himself at this stage there is some

hint of discrepancy between the ideal which he generally represents and the personal sentiments expressed. Both Jefferson and King remark on Sebastian's curious expression of lethargy on his next appearance (Act III, scene ii):

> 'My sense has been so deeply plunged in joys,
> The soul outslept her hour'.

This in fact anticipates Benducar's diagnosis of the amorous Emperor's sluggish state in Act IV, scene ii. As both critics remark, the hero's language here falls to the evidently corrupt level of the Emperor's, and they suggest that this is appropriate to the guilt which he has incurred by incest. Certainly this alteration in the hero's language indicates an alteration in his moral state, and precludes the interpretation of the final revelation of his guilt as an unjustified disaster. But in the context of the whole play the association of physical and material imagery takes on a rather different aspect. If, as the fable of the play indicates, Dryden's indulgence in gross and material imagery of sexual relations (25) is connected with a distrust of powerful sensual passions, then the attribution of incest to the hero is really a dramatic rationalisation of this distrust. It is in accordance with this that Sebastian's incest should be presented, not as an end in the development of the tragedy, but as the ground of the religious analogies which are introduced from this midpoint of the play.

The image used to articulate the change in the hero's moral state is that of the Last Judgement. It occurs on the hero's first appearance to express consciousness of virtue:

> Benducar: 'Sure he would sleep.
> Sebastian: Till doomsday, when the trumpet sounds to rise;
> For that's a soldier's call'.

In Act II scene ii it expresses an antithetical state of sinful unreadiness, though retaining its original military

terms:

> 'Not the last sounding could surprise me more,
> That summons drowsy mortals to their doom,
> When called in haste they fumble for their limbs,
> And tremble, unprovided for their charge.'

On its first appearance the image is part of Sebastian's solemn vindication of his defeat in terms of a Christian ideal of monarchy, to which defiance of the tyrant is merely incidental. On its second appearance it refers to the Emperor's unexpected approach, and fleetingly identifies the heathen tyrant in his relationship with Sebastian with the Divine Judge- a monstrous inversion of the moral situation in which the image was first introduced.

Clearly, Dryden intends the marriage with Almeyda to be seen as a crucial lapse on the part of his hero. The encounter of the two monarchs in Act III, scene ii presents the last opposition between Sebastian's transcendental and Muley Moluch's materialist language, necessarily since the antithesis is falsified by Sebastian's lapse into self-will. There is at his point no resolution of the contradiction between their two views of man; instead that evaluation is taken over by analogies of familiar import.

A new emphasis appears in single images after the restoration of Sebastian (29): the characters describe their states of mind chiefly in images of action, such as Alvarez' 'like a father, who himself had scaped/ A falling house' and 'if, on shipboard, I should see my friend/Grown frantic in a raging calenture'; Sebastian's 'I should break through laws .../And think them cobwebs'; and Almeyda s 'my honour, like a rising swan ... proudly plough the waves'. These dynamic images are adapted to the process of revelation and accompanying development of self-knowledge in the chief characters, which is the

subject of the final Act. That imagery based on opposing sets of assumptions about man should be replaced by imagery of a progressive nature is a reflection of the conclusion offered by the play[31]: that guilt must be purged by a process of expiation, and thus that the nature of man is susceptible of transformation.

In addition to the Last Judgement image discussed above, the earlier part of Don Sebastian contains scattered references to Christian contexts which carry an implicit valuation.[32] But the treatment of Sebastian's situation in Act III immediately suggests an extensive mythological parallel, that of the Fall of Adam. Dryden connects his hero's downfall with sensuality as well as pride, and Almeyda appears as both catalyst and temptation. This connection has already been made for the more explicit final act of the play[33], but there is an important qualification to be made: the version of the Fall used in Don Sebastian is that which had proved fruitful elsewhere in Dryden's works, and Sebastian's fall, like Dorax's, is recognisably Miltonic, though in a few particulars it seems to derive from Dryden's own reworking of the themes of Paradise Lost, rather than directly from the epic.

The shift in Sebastian's attitude to Almeyda from his commendation of her to the Emperor in Act II ('Her soul's the deity that lodges there') and his boast to the Emperor in Act III ('For such a night I would be what I am') is clear enough. It can be explained as mirroring the kind of change in relationship and rhetoric which occurs in Milton's Adam and Eve as a result of the Fall.[34] And the first information suggesting a change in Sebastian comes from Benducar, in his account of the marriage ceremony,

so that the hero's error seems to lie in the decisive gesture of the ceremony, rather than in the incestuous desire or consequent act of incest. In locating Sebastian's error in a decision of the intellect Dryden is again following the Miltonic pattern.(35) That Sebastian allows his better judgement to be overcome, like Milton's Adam, is evident in the interview with Almeyda (in Act II) which precedes his lapse. Dryden's hero, like Adam, isforewarned of the danger, and by supernatural as well as natural means. The warnings are rehearsed, but discounted. (This device recalls God's announcement of intention to Raphael in Book V of Paradise Lost: Adam must be conscious of his responsibility for sin,

'Lest wilfully transgressing he pretend
Surprisal, unadmonish'd, unforewarned.')

In the epic, the Fall is already foreshadowed when, after her Satan-inspired dream, Eve acquires the art of casuistry, and Adam accedes to her demands.(36) This stage too is represented in the interview between Sebastian and Almeyda. When the prohibitions against the marriage are argued away on the grounds of superior knowledge -

'He knows not
Thou art a Christian: that produced his fear' -

and the horoscope dismissed as 'impossible', one is reminded of Eve's reasoning:

'our foe,
Tempting, affronts us with his foul esteem
Of our integrity: - his foul esteem
Sticks no dishonour on our front, but turns
Foul on himself: then wherefore shunn'd, or fear'd,
By us? who rather double honour gain
From his surmise prov'd false; find peace within,
Favour from Heav'n, our witness, from th'event.'

Closer parallels of this thought occur in the final scene, which deals explicitly with the matter of the Fall, when Sebastian and Almeyda reject Alvarez' charges that they have

erred in discounting the prohibition.(57) The reasons given by Sebastian in this scene amplify that quoted above. There are other parallels between the two scenes which tend to align both with the Miltonic account of the fall into sin. Prominent in both is an element of pride in natural endowments, beauty (in Act II scene i) and noble descent (in both scenes). A similar self-deceiving pride is seen in Milton's Eve when she accepts the serpent's flattering valuation of her (in Book IX, lines 532-548, and prefigured in her account of the Satanic dream in Book V). And the conclusions which satisfy this pride are patently specious: Sebastian offers, and both lovers finally accept, an argument which denies his previous assertions about the primacy of the spiritual faculty in man:

> 'Thou can'st not die unperjur'd,
> And leave an unaccomplished love behind . . .
> 'The ties of minds are but imperfect bonds,
> Unless the bodies join to seal the contract.'

This argument forms an extension of the Christian-Stoic denial of suicide, and thus partakes of its force. In the final scene the conjunction of specious reasoning and a Christian view of suicide again occurs. When Sebastian's claims of innocence are finally overcome by Alvarez' proofs, he decides to resort to suicide. This resolve itself embodies specious reasoning:

> ('Ye cruel powers,
> Take me, as you have made me, miserable;
> You cannot make me guilty; 'twas my fate,
> And you made that, not I.')

The suicidal intention, which in this context constitutes the denial of the burden of original sin, is again averted by a character reasoning on a superior level. In the earlier scene the shift was from Almeyda's pagan reasoning to Sebastian's Christian Stoicism: in the later it is from a pagan Stoic to a fully Christian view of the issue. But the

conjunction of themes is an inverted one: where the fatalistic denial of suicide in the earlier scene led to erroneous conclusions about the purposes of life, in the later scene the consequences of such conclusions are redeemed by the hero's adoption of a Christian view of guilt and suicide. Thus there are close and complex thematic connections between the scene which presents the expulsion stage of the Fall analogy and that which has been claimed as revealing the preconditions of the Fall in the chief characters.

In the post-Revolution phase of the play, where the Fall analogy is made explicit,(38) Miltonic details continue to appear. To depict the relationship between Dorax and Sebastian Dryden utilises the material of the earlier books of Paradise Lost. The court of Portugal is equated with the pre-existing perfect society of the court of Heaven, marred by Lucifer's jealousy of the favoured son. Dorax' challenge to Henriquez introduces a hostility which leads to his expulsion; the analogy with Lucifer's fall is completed by Sebastian's claim that he had foreseen all the consequences of Dorax's rebellious pride:

> 'I knew you both; and (durst I say) as heaven
> Foreknew, among the shining angel host ,
> Who would stand firm, who fall.'

God's foreknowledge, both of the result of the War in Heaven, and of Satan's future intentions towards the new creation, is a function of Milton's interpretation of the Genesis myth.(39) The restored court of Sebastian is next described by Dorax in terms of the second created society by means of which, in Paradise Lost, the defection of Satan's party is to be compensated.

The whole staging of the final scene shows the influence of Milton's account of the expulsion of Adam and Eve

from their earthly paradise. Milton's two divine counsellors, the Son, and Michael, have equivalents in Dryden's Alvarez and Dorax. By Alvarez Sebastian and Almeyda are first brought to understand their guilt (as are Adam and Eve in Book X of Paradise Lost)[40]. Rather as Michael leads Adam to the top of the mountain to show him the universal consequences of his lapse, Dorax is said to lead Sebastian by his reasonings to the brink of hell:

> 'Oh thou hast given me such a glimpse of hell . . .
> 'That looking in the abyss, I dare not leap.
> And now I see what good thou mean'st my soul,
> . . .'thou hast indeed
> Appeared a devil, but didst an angel's work'.

Sebastian thus discovers both the individual consequences of his despair and the social perspective in which his sin must be set. Like Milton's Adam, he is then able to accept the need for physical separation from Eden (that is, from those things which constitute the 'paradise' of Dorax's recent image: the ideal social order of the restored Portuguese court, and individual happiness in his wife and friends) as a precondition of attaining the 'Paradise within':

> 'Heaven has inspired me with a sacred thought,
> To live alone to heaven'.

Finally, at the moment of parting Dorax draws the landscape of the expulsion:

> 'you must go,
> Where seas, and winds, and deserts will divide you.
> Under the ledge of Atlas lies a cave,
> Cut in the living rock by Nature's hands'.

When Dryden made his adaptation of Paradise Lost for the stage, he skirted the subject of Satan's unbounded capacity for evil by insisting on precise motives. On the one hand, he emphasised Satan's territorial, or political jealousy of the new creation; on the other he connects Satan's jealousy of Adam and Eve, in typical heroic fashion, with the attraction of Eve's beauty.[41] In Book V of

Paradise Lost Milton represents Satan as resenting the fact of being exluded from the possibility of companionship. In Don Sebastian, the motivation which served for Dryden's Satan does duty for Benducar; the statesman is jealous both of his master's power and Almeyda's beauty. The character is already associated with Shaftesbury (42), and thus quite naturally with Satan. He fulfils the Satanic function of tempter with Muley Zeydan and Dorax, as well as with his master, but he is not directly involved in the play's main Fall analogy, so that his Satanic function could almost be regarded as an off-shoot of his political function. But at the only point when he is brought together with Sebastian he is, quite gratuitously, assigned the role of tempter, in order to provide a basis for the vindication of Sebastian, so that here his function is analogous with that of the Satan of Paradise Regained. And since Dryden preserves the Miltonic discrimination between the two manifestations of Satan, as glorious rebel angel and as disfigured traitor (43), it may be assumed Benducar's Satanic aspect is not to be thought of as merely consequential.

The last section of Act IV applies the analogy of Lucifer's Fall to the rebellion of Dorax in some detail, but before this point he has been characterised as a rebal of the proud and resentful type, and, in an interesting scene with Benducar in Act II he distinguishes between his own variety of treason and Benducar's. The former was the result of an open antagonism -

'I but accepted war, which he denounced' -

and rather resembles Lucifer's open rebellion in Heaven ; Benducar's covert betrayal of trust is linked with Satan's treason against the human pair by Dorax's prediction of the contempt of hell, which echoes the 'dismal universal hiss ' which greets the returning Satan in Book X (ll. 504-509).

Although Dryden is clearly following Milton's account of the genesis of sin, his attention is focussed on the figure of the royal hero. This fact, and the principles of decorum peculiar to the heroic drama, explain the comparatively passive role of Sebastian's partner in guilt. Between the aims and methods of the tragic tradition in which Dryden is working, and those of a structure of analogy designed to enforce a moral perception, there is naturally a wide divergence. This appears as an unevenness of intention in the play. Most obviously, Acts II and III of Don Sebastian introduce tentatively the analogy of the Fall, while the action is directed towards the revolution catastrophe, and the traditional heroic forms continue to create the dominant effects. At the end of Act III, Almeyda is reduced to begging the tyrant to spare Sebastian's life, while the hero himself is disarmed by the tyrant's guards. Although this humiliation of the two lovers is, in terms of the analogy, an appropriate immediate effect of their lapse, it relates more obviously to the familiar class of scenes portraying unrelenting tyrants and heroic lovers in extremis. Indeed, certain elements of the play, notably the character of Moley Moluch, have no place in the scheme of analogy; and it is only when these are removed, with the revolution of Act IV, that the analogy of the Fall and Redemption becomes comprehensive and eminently explicable. From this point, too, dramatic incidents cease to occur. But even at this stage one cannot speak of a rigorous application of the analogical material. The 'Lucifer' of Act IV is redeemed and becomes the guardian 'angel' of Act V. Act V itself only dramatises the expulsion from the earthly paradise; but together with the last section of Act IV it runs through the analogical material from the fall of Lucifer onwards.

Dryden's habitual reliance on familiarity with the analogical material, and hence on the affective value of an elliptical reference to it, is one factor which must be taken into account. But the reason for his curious arrangement of analogical material must also be sought in the total moral economy of the play. In the pre-revolution stage of Don Sebastian, as Rothstein points out, a self-indulgent pagan world is depicted by the sub-plot.(44) Its extremely simple moral order is not susceptible of development, and it is clearly a complement to the morally responsible state finally posited by the drama. In the first stage of the action the characters of the main plot on the other hand constitute a sort of moral chaos, which is perfected by the fall of the Christian hero. The revolution ends this state of affairs. The pagan condition is then left aside as an irrelevance, and moral chaos is superseded by the construction ab initio of a strictly Christian cosmology, with its pre-existing Heaven, earthly paradise, and double Fall. It is within the terms of this cosmology that the moral problems already raised can be seen to be solved. The succession of moral states in the play is thus carefully balanced to enforce a Christian view of man, in accordance with the poet's own religious convictions. Stated thus, the organisation of Don Sebastian can be seen to involve a variety of Dryden's typical persuasive techniques on the moral as well as the political plane.(45) If one attempts to relate the play's political to its moral conclusions, the role of skilful suggestion in producing the audience's final impression becomes evident.

Parallels between political and individual life are built into the structure of the play, as has already been pointed out,(46) and they are also implied by the exhortation

of the final quatrain. In King's discussion, the analogy of the Fall occupies a prominent place, but is related only to the hero and heroine, in accordance with an interpretation of the tragedy which stresses the individual level of the action. In fact, the basic analogies of the Fall and Redemption already formed part of Dryden's stock in trade for polemic verse, since the patriarchal government of Adam was frequently invoked as the ideal form of monarchy, particularly by the supporters of the Stuarts. Dryden makes extensive use of it in The Medall, where the false state to be set up by the seditious Shaftesbury is equated with a monstrous new creation. A theatrical prologue addressed to the Duchess of York on her return from exile in Scotland (47) combines the idea of the first creation with that of the renewal of creation after the Flood. The first book of The Hind and the Panther contains an important passage establishing the parallel between Adam's and earthly rule (lines 250-290), while in Absalom and Achitophel there occurs a short passage particularly relevant to Don Sebastian, which uses the example of the inheritance of original sin from Adam to enforce the idea of an inherited divine right of kings derived from the same original, 'When Kings were made' :

> 'If those who gave the Scepter, could not tie
> By their own Deed their own Posterity,
> How then could Adam bind his future Race?
> How could his Forfeit on Mankind take place?
> Or how could heavenly Justice damn us all
> Who ne'er consented to our Father's Fall?' (ll. 769-774)

Other poems in which the Fall analogy or the material of Eden play an important part are discussed by Roper. (47a) With so much evidence of the political dimension of the Fall analogy in Dryden's non-dramatic verse, it would seem perverse to ignore it in Don Sebastian. Indeed, the scene between Sebastian and Dorax at the end of Act IV

spells out the interdependence of the personal and political aspects of Sébastian's restoration.

The general implication would seem to be that the political fall, like the fall of Dorax, is reversible. It has been shown that the image appears with this sense in the earlier political verse of Dryden.(48) The idea of the political fall as reversible is both appropriate to Dryden's vague hopes of a Stuart restoration, and necessary to the final exhortation to reform, inasmuch as it alludes to the collective guilt of Dryden's countrymen. The examples in the play of a rebellious people, the Moors, and a rebellious subject, Dorax, restored to the proper relationship with a legitimate monarch, reinforce this optimistic view; and serve as a model to the rebellious English.

This is the main impression left by the end of the political phase of the action. But the desirable suggestion that political rebellion is reversible, even if only through the redemptive offices of a heroic figure, is undercut in various ways in the final Act. The remaining characters explain in detail a political settlement, but this, since it depends on non-heroic rulers, and falls below the ideal level suggested by previous allusions to the earthly paradise, cannot appear either final, or entirely satisfactory. Under such rulers as the ambitious Portuguese Cardinal and the weak erstwhile rebel Moley Zeydan there seems to be no guarantee of an end to the state of political flux depicted in the play. The unsatisfactoriness of the conclusion results directly from the fact that the monarch presented as most nearly approaching the ideal has relinquished the political stage as unworthy of his highest efforts:

> 'A sceptre's but a plaything, and a globe
> A bigger bounding stone'.

At this point Dorax compares him favourably with the ambitious Cardinal who will assume the throne. While Sebastian has

'A soul fixed high, and capable of heaven',

the Cardinal is represented as eager to leave his religious solitude ('not so far enamoured of a cloister', etc.). And the higher virtues which Sebastian will cultivate in his solitude are those belonging to the spiritual development of the individual, which thus, by implication, are incompatible with the active political life of the hero. In order to 'live alone to heaven', he must 'die to' his previous passions and concernments.

At this point Dorax too expresses the desire to abandon his active role. Throughout the play he has been shown as fulfilling the redemptive function of the satirist; he has been the agent both of Sebastian's restoration and of his regeneration. Thus in the final scene, both the heroic figures depicted as capable of improving society prepare to detach themselves from it. This conclusion supports the curious splitting of the heroic function in the earlier part of the play, where Sebastian was represented as isolated from the political activities of the main plot, replaced as the critic of tyranny and engineer of revolution by Dorax. It must now be added that Dorax, in this state of heroic activity, is not yet represented as regenerate.

The positive value represented in Sebastian's resolve, the adoption of the goal of spiritual perfection, may be intended as a universal prescription. Dryden could, then, be taken as asserting the comparative irrelevance of the political fall or redemption. But even this is a less decisive conclusion than it appears at first sight. Individual responsibility for sin is emphasised, but this recognition is presented as the highest achievement of the heroic monarch, and even his fate

is, and will still be, in the balance. And the goal of spiritual perfection (as opposed to regeneration understood in a human and social sense) entails separation from the normal course of human life. It is possible to mitigate the rigour of this conclusion by claiming, using the analogy of Oedipus, that Sebastian's is a special case: that he is marked out for punishment by his sin of incest. But that is not how Dryden uses the Oedipus myth; it is invoked only in the dramatic form given by Sophocles, to justify the treatment of incest on the stage, and the use of portents in Act II. The effect of the structure of dramatic repetition involving Muley Moluch, Dorax and Sebastian, and still more of the use of the material of the Fall, is to suggest that the fault of arrogance and self-deception is universal; so that Sebastian is merely a pre-eminent exemplar of a general predicament.

CHAPTER IV: SUBJECT AND STRUCTURE IN CLEOMENES.

Scott, who enthuses over Don Sebastian, finds Cleomenes very much inferior, apparently on account of the plot

> 'in truth being only the question whether Cleomenes should or should not depart upon an expedition, which appears far more hazardous than remaining where he was.' (a)

This lack of 'great events' in Cleomenes possibly disguised from Scott the fact that the great issues of both plays are almost the same. The similarity of the premises on which they are founded is displayed in the initial stages of the action. Both arise from the recent defeat of the once invincible prince and hero, a defeat which has entailed his subjugation to a weaker king, and exile in a foreign court. Initially, at least, the defeat is represented as fortuitous. At this stage in the drama the heroic convention demands that the hero's reputation as a military leader be established. A defeat ascribed to hostile chance, although clearly incompatible with the traditional claim of the active hero to control fate, does not interfere with this function of the exposition; and, particularly when it is merely narrated, it is not unacceptable as the pretext for an interesting dramatic situation. In Cleomenes, as in Don Sebastian, the audience is eventually shownthat the initial defeat is more than a pretext, and that, by the terms of reference established in the course of the action, it is actually fitting. This kind of play on conventional expectations of the heroic in drama indicates some community of strategy between the two contrasting tragedies.

The method of exposition is also common to both dramas. The main business of this stage of the action, a prolonged one, particularly in Cleomenes, is to enforce by various means

a contrast between the defeated hero and his evidently inferior captors. A scene which describes the hero's past prowess and shows by implication the degeneracy of the tyrant's court is followed by one which realises the same information in a confrontation between hero and tyrant. Before the hero is introduced into the alien court, its workings are fully displayed.

Scenes between solitary heroes and powerful tyrants are frequent enough in heroic drama. In Don Sebastian and Cleomenes, however, a variation on the standard form of the device appears; the audience's perception of the hero's moral ascendancy in the encounter is reinforced by a similar perception on the part of the hostile characters. Both tyrants, recognising their own inferiority, publicly own their admiration for the exiled prince, and are compelled to change their policy towards him. Ptolemy and his advisers abandon their idea of using Cleomenes as a hireling, while Muley Moluch is moved to treat Sebastian as his equal. As Muley Zeydan and Cleanthes are made to observe, this deference to superior virtue can hardly be sustained. The encounter is in both plays an instance of abortive incident. Apart from dramatising expository information, the tyrant's isolated noble action suggests the possibility of restoring the ideal order of the heroic world under which virtue enjoys a political and military, as well as a moral, triumph over vice. Attention is diverted beyond the immediate dramatic question of the restoration of a prince to the issue of the divorce between virtue and political power.

The varying kinds of diction developed to this end in the opening scene of Don Sebastian have already been discussed.(b) In Cleomenes too a hierarchy of diction

is set up. The main division is between the language associated with Spartan ideals and the hero's past life, and the language of Egyptian politics. The high style, as a standard of noble diction to be emulated by all aspirants to heroic stature, is absent; unlike the Moors of Don Sebastian, the Egyptians have an idiosyncratic diction.(c) Its main characteristics are the absence of highly charged expressions and use of formal phraseology, and frequent dislocating changes of direction within speeches. These make for alternately flat or jerky rhythms: an exchange between Sosybius and Ptolemy on their first appearance gives a sample of the deliberate clumsiness of the style:

Sosybius: Be pleased to sign these papers; they are all
Of great concern.

Ptolemy: My pleasure is of more. -
How I could curse my name of Ptolemy!
For 'tis so long, it asks an hour to write it.
By heaven, I'll change it into Jove or Mars
Or any other civil monosyllable
That will not tire my hand.'

This passage also gives an indication of the dramatic usefulness of such a style; belonging chiefly to scenes of disputation, it reflects the quality of Egyptian action in the drama, the perpetual shifting of the two intriguers, Sosybius and Cassandra, and the ignoble interests of the court. At the same time, the transparency of the style makes it a good vehicle for the implicit Juvenalian satire.

Although of a lower style that Sebastian's and Almeyda's speech, that of the Spartans is, within the narrower range of effect attempted, the antithesis of the Egyptian style. It is capable of more sustained movement, shows greater vigour and dignity, and uses traditional imagery with classicising effect. Although its chief representative is the hero, it is reflected with decorous variation in his entourage, thus extending the contrast between heroic and degenerate character from the individual ruler to the national group.

Cleanthes, the loyal Egyptian friend, belongs to the linguistic group associated with Spartan values, and this provides a useful contrast of manners in those scenes where he appears with his Egyptian father. (d)

The language of the hero and his companions is itself divided into a diction connected with heroic activity or sentiment, as in the image of death given to Cleomenes:

> 'yet I will not go to ground,
> Without a noble ruin round my trunk;
> The forest shall be shaken when I sink,
> And all the neighbouring trees
> Shall groan, and fall beneath my vast destruction'),

and a diction used for commentary on the Egyptians, (at its most extreme in Cleanthes'

> 'Thou should'st have brought
> A soft pad strumpet for our monarch's use;
> Though, thanked be hell, we want not one at home, -
> Our master's mistress, she that governs all').

The difference between them is primarily one of tone, since both are recognisable as variants of a plain and forceful heroic diction for which the model would seem to be that of Dorax in Don Sebastian, with its similar variation between epic and satiric applications. (The community of language between Cleomenes and Dorax naturally suggests some similarity of function, an indication of divergency in the aims of the two dramas.)

Although in both plays Dryden continues to explore the major theme of the divorce between power and heroic virtue, making use of the common device of contrasting types of language and of favourite themes such as the corruption of the priesthood and the temptation of sexual passion, after the first encounter between hero and tyrant the structural resemblances between the two cease.

Don Sebastian has been shown to contain three

related types of structural patterning, repetition of form within the Act, with slight variation, combination of structured Acts to stress the climax of revolution, and dissociation of the action into two phases dealing broadly with communal and individual variants of the common theme of revolution. It has been suggested that this constitutes a persuasive structure.

In the case of Cleomenes, the situation is very different. Any account of the play's structure must begin from a feature established by the first Act, the uncompromising centrality of the titular hero. The play opens with a monologue, and characters are gradually introduced in dialogue with the hero; the presentation of the Egyptian court in Act II completes the picture. The pattern of the hero's predominance established in the first Act is maintained , and in the second, fourth and fifth Acts he is absent from the stage only for short periods. In the central portion of the play alone, attention is focussed on Egyptian intrigues.

The prominence of the hero dictates, to a large extent, the overall structure of the drama. The events of the play are almost exclusively generated by the protagonist: it is he who determines to continue his military career, approaches the Egyptians for aid, and takes the responsibility for the rebellion. Even Cleanthes and Cassandra, the most active of the minor characters, function only in response to the stimulus of his heroic qualities: Cleanthes' important part in the action derives from his desire to emulate, Cassandra's from her desire to overpower, the hero. In this way the hero acquires a kind of normative function. Everything else in the play is defined by its relation to Cleomenes. This point is made, in its most obvious applications, by various characters. In Act II, both Cleanthes and

Cassandra define Ptolemy's short-comings in terms of Cleomenes' regal virtues; while the insistence at various points on the resemblance between Cleonidas and his father asserts the hero's pre-eminence among Spartans.

The process of comparison implies an antithesis between that which is included in the existence of the hero, and that which is excluded by it. The articulation of this antithesis partakes of varied forms. Among the characters of the play, although there is no division by plot and sub-plot, there is a rigorous separation between a group homogeneous with Cleomenes (the family group) and the group opposed to Cleomenes (the Egyptian group). This is not only because the hero is equipped to act as the representative of the Spartan group in dealings with the Egyptians; alternate presentation of the two groups is a consistent feature of the dramatic organisation. The first Act can be summarised as establishing the hero's coherence with Spartan traditions of public and private relationships, the second as establishing his opposition to Egyptian versions of both. There follows (e) a section (comprising Act III and the first section of Act IV) which presents Egyptian reactions to Cleomenes, and Spartan assessments of those reactions, without any confrontation between the two groups. The remainder of the play depicts the working-out of attitudes assumed in the preceding part, particularly the working-out of Cleomenes' Spartan ideals of heroic activity in the Egyptian situation. At this stage the inherent opposition between the two groups is realised in the violent action of the rebellion scene. A small but telling example of antithetical structure appears in Act III; Cassandra's assessment of religious observance at the end of the temple scene:

'In vain at shrines the ungiving suppliant stands;
This 'tis to make a vow with empty hands:
Fat offerings are the priesthood's only care;
Without a bribe their oracles are mute;
And their instructed gods refuse the suit'

is followed immediately by a speech expressive of the hero's resignation to the will of the gods:

'The propositions are unjust and hard;
And if I swallow them, 'tis as we take
The wrath of heaven.
We must have patience, for they will be gods,
And give us no account of what we suffer.'

The general antithesis between Spartan and Egyptian is naturally supported by parallels. The beneficent relationships in which the Spartans are shown have Egyptian counterparts: the virtuous friendship between Cleomenes and Cleanthes is reflected in the hostility between Ptolemy and his virtuous brother; the marital relationship of Cleomenes and Cleora, in the vicious relationship of Ptolemy and Cassandra; and the relationship between parent and child exhibited by the three generations of Spartans finds a reflection in the relationship of Cleanthes and his father, which is vitiated by the statesman's self-interest. The events of the drama are often so ordered as to permit juxtapositions of these parallel features. Typical is a small-scale antithesis occurring in the third Act, where, while Sosybius appears upbraiding his son's virtuous inclinations and lack of filial respect, Cratesiclaea exhorts her son to prefer duty to personal ties. Similarly, the Spartan women educate the young Cleonidas in heroic legends, while Cassandra is shown expounding a picture of the rape of Helen.

While the most obvious example of an antithetical organisation, the opposition of Spartan and Egyptian is not, perhaps, the most fundamental to the structure of the drama. Scott's unenthusiastic summary explains the

tragedy as

> 'being only the question whether Cleomenes should or should not depart'.

That is to say that, in as far as the 'question' is one confronting the hero, the subject of the play is his choice of a course of action. The act of choice necessarily implies the existence of alternative possibilities. But these are not to be equated with the alternatives presented by Spartan and Egyptian civilisation, if only because all authentic value is vested in the Spartan term of the antithesis. The play contains a series of scenes showing the hero making decisions on his course of action, and these expose the values involved in his choice of departure. In the first Act the hero rejects the possibility of regarding his defeat as final, and proposes returning to make himself master of the whole of Greece. The decision involves abandoning, in part at least, the patriarchal role of the ruler (f), in order to pursue an individual destiny represented as appropriate to Cleomenes' Herculean descent (1). In Act III the terms of the choice proposed to the hero are slightly different: the condition of military aid from Egypt is the retention of his family as hostages. Cleomenes complains of the venality of the court in which he must leave his dependants, but his decision is reached already on his first appearance (2); and after a scene demonstrating the force of family affections, it is confirmed as the more noble choice in the hero's words to his mother:

> 'Once more you have erected me to man,
> And set me upright, with my face to heaven.'

The hero's first choices define his attitude to his people and to his dependants in relation to his

aspiration to the life of the active hero; his interview with Cassandra in Act IV restricts the area of choice further. What is offered in this scene is the same prospect of military glory, but it is now to be achieved by an act of dishonesty which affects only the hero's role as an individual: in addition to abandoning his family to the mercies of the Egyptian court, he is required to accept Cassandra as companion and mistress. Finally the hero's hesitant replies issue in an implied rejection:

'Be answered, and expect no more reply'.

In this way, the limitations on his pursuit of the heroic ideal have been defined. A change at this point, from expansive deliberation to rapid movement and violent action, marks a new phase in the development of the tragdy. In the following scenes, the consequences of the hero's choice are exemplified on both theatrical and ethical planes, with the establishment of an alternative form of virtue.

There is thus in the tragedy a level of 'choice' which is dramatically prior to the Egyptian/Spartan antithesis. The succession of choices offered to the protagonist focusses on a tension between the demands of the military heroic code and those of a responsible social existence. This tension is referable to a standard theme of the period, that of the dual nature of the monarch. (The theme had been a background motif of Dryden's major polemic poems, implied equally in the description of Charles/David in Absalom and Achitophel and of James II in The Hind and the Panther, Book III.) And the fact that two value systems are embodied in the plays extends the motif of conflict presented in the character of the protagonist.

The structures of antithesis which pervade the drama,

although dependent on the dual role of the hero, are not always so organised as to run parallel with it. Scenes depicting the exercise of one or other function of the hero do not necessarily coincide with discussion of that function; and this makes possible some counterpointing of antithetical patterns. The instance of the Egyptian and Spartan opposition has already been mentioned.

The dramatic structure of Cleomenes is thus more restricted than that of Don Sebastian, although it may be claimed as more explicit. It shows only in a rudimentary degree any of the structural patterns used to articulate significance, as well as circumstantial detail, in the complex action of the earlier play. The absence in Cleomenes of the microcosmic hierarchy of linguistic and 'social' groups precludes the kind of inclusive variety attempted in the act form of Don Sebastian. In Cleomenes, the only apparent restraints on the act form are those arising from the protagonist's centrality, which make it necessary both that the climax of each Act should coincide with an appearance of the protagonist, and that each Act should represent both the state of the protagonist's mind and that of the groups of characters who constitute his environment. So the overall form of the play cannot be described in terms of the pattern of its Acts, as was the case with Don Sebastian. Of the overall form of the play, it can be said that the protagonist's activity is most prominent in the first and last Acts, and that the Egyptians figure most in the central part of the play, But since their function is to provide the movement of intrigue, and the stages of the hero's greatest prominence are those of his first introduction. and final downfall,

this patterning can hardly be regarded as having great dramatic significance. Another characteristic of the overall structure is its climactic form: the sequence of incidents and events accelerates as the play progresses, and the effects of greatest intensity - pathetic, heroic, or merely theatrically spectacular - are concentrated in its final stages . (Sosybius is made, at the end of the play, to express this sense of climactic action:

('Let his armed figure on his tomb be set'....)
'Whose glories growing till his latest breath,
Excelled all others, and his own, in death.')

An important factor in sustaining this sense of a cumulative action through the earlier stages of the play is the expectation of heroic military action, and of an eventual clash between the hero and his Egyptian hosts. This is aroused in the first Act. But it is a feature more dependant on verbal reference than on theatrical strategy. And the same is to some extent true of the contrast between the public and private poles of the hero's activity, although their fusion in the last scene, set against their segregation earlier in the play, is the most important means of establishing the hero's death as a triumph of virtue. The alternation of epic and satiric modes, another important patterning in the tragedy, is also dependent on verbal reference.

With its rigorous progression towards the hero's death, Cleomenes lacks the dramatic and intellectual interest provided in Don Sebastian by the transposition of the rebellion theme in the second phase of the action. Only the overlapping of antithetical patterns introduces some variety into a structure which is otherwise somewhat rigid; and, in some manifestations, the antithetical

patterns are a poetic, or even polemic, rather than a purely theatrical, resource. By comparison with that of Don Sebastian the dramatic structure of Cleomenes is more unified; it seems to represent an effort to narrow and concentrate dramatic interest. There are distinct signs, in attempts at liaison de scène and limiting of speaking characters,(3) that a French dramatic model influenced the construction of the tragedy. But this influence cannot be blamed for the play's uniformity of device and emphasis, which, by comparison with the persuasive richness of Don Sebastian, can only be characterised as assertive.

The conclusion invited by such different dramatic structures erected on similar premises is that Dryden's interests, or even intentions, in depicting the heroic monarch had altered by the time he came to compose Cleomenes. But in the case of this particular drama, direct inference from dramatic structure to its general purport is hindered by two special factors which may have affected the change of technique: the play is closely based on literary source material, acknowledged in the preface; and it is a notably uneven work, of which the author apparently tired towards the end of its composition. (A letter from Dryden's friend Walsh, written in the summer of 1691, indicates that the poet had been considering embarking on a new project as an alternative to completing Cleomenes.)(4) On the other hand, it can perhaps be argued that these factors are symptoms, rather than causes, of his incipient withdrawal from the heroic mode, at least in its dramatic version and its conventional acceptance.

From the preface to Cleomenes it appears that Dryden

had considered the dramatic possibilities of the subject long before the Revolution ('seven or eight years since'). He recounts that Lord Falkland testified against the charges of political intention in the play:

> 'That in a French book, which I presented to him about that time, there were the Names of many subjects that I had thought on for the Stage, amongst which, this Tragedy was one.'

In the writing of the play, then, Dryden's pre-existing notions of the dramatic potential of the historical sources can be expected to have influenced his reading of those sources, and to have minimised the apparent limitations of adherence to a historical text.

Dryden cites two such sources for Cleomenes, Plutarch and Polybius. In fact, the play is so permeated with the details of plutarch's narrative that this can be said to be its sole considerable source. In relating play to source, reference will be made throughout to the English translation of The Life of Cleomenes made by Thomas Creech for the 1683 edition of the Parallel Lives, to which Dryden had contributed a biography of the historian.(5) This translation Dryden prefixed to his published play to forestall adverse comment; but it was also, as can be shown from the play itself, a version with which he was particularly familiar. In a number of instances he echoes Creech's actual phrases; some imitations are so slight as to seem unconscious, and suggest close acquaintance with the text.

Plutarch's biography provided Dryden not only with the characters and incidents for his tragedy, but also with a number of scattered details capable of contributing to a moral structure. The scope of the play is far more restricted than that of the biography, for

'The Action is but one, which is the Death of Cleomenes; and every scene in the Play, is tending to the Accomplishment of the Main Design',

but Dryden's compression of the material from Plutarch is strikingly inclusive. He includes, for example, the almost sociological detail of the entertainment offered to reprieved prisoners.(6) Nor does he confine himself to representing the details of the last stages of Plutarch's narrative; incidents and minor details widely dispersed in the original are transposed to the Egyptian setting (a notable example is the scene between Cleomenes and his mother, part of Dryden's Act III, scene iii, based on an expansive debate between the corresponding Plutarchan characters on the question of sending hostages from Sparta to Egypt). Other incidents of Cleomenes' Spartan career are suggested in allusion or narrative, for instance the death of Cleomenes' brother, which the hero describes to Ptolemy in Act II, scene ii.

Dryden's habit of assimilating relevant details from various sources into the presentation of a single idea or analogy, is familiar from the non-dramatic verse, and has also been seen in the construction of Don Sebastian. In these works the process depends for its effect on a certain awareness of the diverse sources, which ensures that the criteria or affects associated with them are imported into a reading of the text. In the construction of the fable of Cleomenes, however, the process of assimilation and recombination of material has a different focus: operating on a single class of material, explicitly acknowledged, it realises the (alleged) import of a sequence of events by recombination of its constituent details.(7)

A good example of Dryden's manipulation of his source material is his characterisation of the King of Egypt. Of

the two Ptolemies of Plutarch Dryden retains only one, the weak and vicious son. In Plutarch's account the young king 'shut up amongst his Women' is no more than an emblem of profligacy, and it is the older Ptolemy who belatedly recognises that Cleomenes is

> 'a Man of deep Sense, and great Reason, and . . . . that he did nothing unbecoming the greatness of his Birth, nor bent under Fortune . . . was asham'd, and repented that he had neglected so great a Man'.

This passage provided the basis for young Ptolemy's embarrassed contrition in his interview with the Spartan;(8) the last sentence is in fact paraphrased by Dryden:

> 'I have been to blame;
> And you have justly tax'd my long neglect.'

Adding together Plutarch's sketches of father and son seems an obvious and convenient compression. But Dryden also makes it the means to improving the balance of his tragedy and of extending his illustration of the nature of vice. Ptolemy, as king of the Egyptians, is the natural foil to the Spartan leader. By embodying in his Ptolemy the two kings' divergent impulses towards virtue and vice, Dryden gives the character the complexity and weight needed to balance the inevitable comparison with his hero. In this connection it is interesting to notice that in one scene, that of the sacrifice in the temple of Apis,(9) Ptolemy's slavish devotion to Cassandra is sympathetically presented: his ludicrously dignified private prayer includes unselfish supplications for his mistress' prosperity, and is flatteringly juxtaposed with the mistress' prayer for personal power and success. The depravity of Ptolemy, like that of Moley Zeydan, is shown as consequent on that of his associates. And by showing actual vice co-existing in the tyrant with the possibility of virtue, Dryden extends the account of the first minister's hostility given in Plutarch's narrative

'But Sosibius, the chief minister of state, thought that . . . .it was not safe to let him go, being an aspiring, daring man, and well acquainted with the diseases and weakness of the kingdom; for no presents, no gifts, could win him to compliance' .

In Dryden's version, the fear and hatred shown to Cleomenes by the Egyptian court are the result of his moral rather than political strength. Dryden thus connects the general depravity of the Egyptians with the conscious rejection of virtue by the corrupt will. The simple reorganisation of Plutarch's two allusions to the Egyptian kings contributes to the play's structure of antitheses by reinforcing the moral, as well as the dramatic, dimension of the antinomy between Spartan and Egyptian.

At one point Ptolemy is compared with the indifferent deity proposed by Epicurus:

'Disdaining care, and lolling on a cloud' . . . .

' . . . the thoughtless King returns
To native sloth, shifts sides, and slumbers on.' (10)

This is reminiscent of Plutarch's description of Leonidas of Sparta –

'The King minded nothing, designing, if nobody gave him any disturbance, to waste his time in Ease and Riot' –

and indicates that Dryden's Egyptian king comprehends all the failings of the ineffectual monarchs to whom Plutarch's Cleomenes opposed himself in the course of his career.

The association of the degeneracy of Egypt with that of Sparta before Cleomenes' rise to power is carried through, more significantly, in the treatment of the populace. Plutarch's indictment of Egypt had extended no farther than the court, while Dryden's play explicitly condemns the whole nation. (11) According to Plutarch, the state of Sparta before the intervention of Cleomenes was such that

> ''Twas dangerous . . . to mention the exercising and training of Youth and to set up for the ancient Bravery, and Equality, was Treason against the State'.

Here is the material both for Cleanthes' gibe:

> 'Would'st thou bring horses here to shame our men?
> The very words,of spirited and war,
> Are treason in our clime',

and Sosybius' mistrust of the valiant Magas:

> '..why this ostentation of his virtues,
> His bounty, valour, and his temperance.'

Cleanthes' frequent strictures on the Egyptians repeat the theme of national degeneracy.

This detailed expansion of Plutarch's censures on the Spartan people can be seen as a typical expression of Dryden's contempt for the mob. But it has also a larger significance when related to the stage of the play's action which involves the hero and the Egyptian populace, the abortive rising of Act V. In the earlier part of the play, the general depravity ascribed to the Egyptian nation serves not only to emphasise Cleomenes' moral isolation and thus to increase his stature, but also as an incitement to action. In Plutarch's biography, it is the young and inexperienced Cleomenes who is represented as instituting reform by military means,

> 'observing the citizens of all sorts to be debauched, the rich neglecting the public, and intent on their own fain and pleasure, and the poor being cramped in their private fortunes, grown inactive, cowards, and not inclinable to the Spartan institution and way of breeding!

Dryden adapts this description to the last days of Cleomenes, and so secures for his hero the moral lustre of the reformer, which alleviates the ultimate futility of the action. The rebellion of Act V , which in Dryden's original was an ugly and incidentally unsuccessful act of personal revenge, is made to express an urge to popular reform as well as defiance: Cleomenes' battle-cry of 'Liberty and Magas' explicitly promises

a better order. The ensuing defeat, as managed by Dryden, has dignity as well as pathos. Considerable prominence is given to the citizens' rejection of Cleomenes' battle-cry, and thus of the ideals it represents;(12) so that the defeat of the hero has the significance of the defeat of an ideal, of human dignity. (At the realistic level, the defeat can be seen as appropriate in the context of the poet's scepticism about all popular movements.) Here again, the compression of events sequential in the original answers to the poet's conception of their inherent import, as well to the conventions of the stage.(13)

The second direction of Dryden's modifications of his source is expansive. While the compressions outlined above serve to focus the figure of the Spartan hero, these serve to exploit the affective possibilities of his decaying fortunes. In the terms of Dryden's Heads of an Answer to Rymer, these elaborations extend the spectacle of 'virtue oppressed', which is the alternative tragic theme to that of 'vice punished'. Whereas the latter is fitted to arouse terror and admiration, the former is fitted to arouse pity. The development among Dryden's contemporaries of a taste for the sentimental drama(14) must be held partly responsible for the greater prominence of 'virtue oppressed' in Cleomenes.

The full tale of Dryden's elaborated ancillary characters is given in his preface. Of the most important group, the hero's family, it can fairly be said that their main function is to illustrate the pathetic aspects of the hero's situation. Their presence helps, of course, to provide the movement necessary to sustain dramatic interest. None of them is without some basis in Plutarch's narrative; and their genesis is worth examining, since it demonstrates

again the poet's responsiveness to his source, even when he is concerned to satisfy the demands of his theatre audience.

Cratesiclea, the stoical matriarch, appears in Plutarch as the promoter and exemplar of Spartan virtues; but two instances of this function in the play (her position as mentor to the hero's son, and the instruction in fortitude given to her fellow-victims in her final appearance) indicate that she subsumes two other examples of Spartan womanhood mentioned by Plutarch: the young Cleomenes' first wife, who instructed him by the virtuous example of her first husband; and the wife of Pantheus, who set an example of fortitude to the other dependants of Cleomenes when seized by the Egyptians. And in creating an additional character from the 'eldest boy' mentioned by Plutarch as attempting to commit suicide on his father's death, Dryden would seem to have been influenced by the description of the youthful Cleomenes in Plutarch's narrative:

> ' a spur of passion always galled him, and his eagerness to pursue that which he thought good and just was violent and heady' . . .

In particular, Pantheus' commendation of the child's spirit -

> 'If fortune takes not off this boy betimes,
> He'll make mad work, and elbow all his neighbours' -

which is followed by the image of the fighting cock -

> 'What wilt thou be, young cockerel, when thy spurs
> Are grown to sharpness?' -

echoes a pronouncement made about the young Cleomenes to the senate of a neighbouring hostile state:

> ' "If you have any designs upon the Lacedaemonians, begin before this young eagle's talons are grown." '

Both Cratesiclea and Cleonidas articulate values central to Plutarch's account of the Spartans. This cannot be claimed for the character of the young wife Cleora. On the

basis of an allusion in the Life of Cleomenes to 'a free-born woman taken from Megalopolis, after the death of his wife', Dryden undertakes to furnish his hero with a second wife, and the audience with the customary spectacle of beauty in distress. Plutarch had also mentioned a young woman as being executed with Cleomenes' family,

> 'Pantheus's wife, a very fair woman, and of a stately carriage, who had been but newly married, and suffered these disasters in the height of her love'.

This may have given a hint to the dramatist, for in the preface he describes Cleora in similar terms:

> 'Cleora was in the flower of her age, and it was yet but Honey-moon with Cleomenes.'

The parallel goes no farther, for Pantheus' wife, executed by the Egyptians, displays the fortitude of a Cratesiclea; while Cleora's range of feeling is that of the sentimental heroine - a typical utterance is her profession of devotion to her husband:

> 'For me, while I have you, and you are kind,
> I ask no more of Heaven'.

Dryden does not develop the character much farther, and one may assume that the reasons for her inclusion are mainly structural. A wife is necessary to complete the pattern of familial loyalties which distinguishes the Spartan group from the Egyptian. On a more practical plane, the customs of Dryden's theatre demanded some feminine interest in serious drama, and the pairing of a helpless victim with a harpy was a favourite device.(15) The exigencies of the general dramatic conception derived from Plutarch's narrative similarly determine the development, from the

allusions of the narrative, of other supplementary characters. But the investigation of supplementary material is beyond the concerns of this chapter.

Dryden's care in representing and manipulating the details of his source has already been demonstrated. The play also shows signs of concern for the integrity of its source. Although Dryden adds freely, he alters as little as possible; so that the balance of the narrative's final stages is retained in the play. He follows Plutarch in presenting his hero as abandoned by his Egyptian friend; an additional scene is needed to clear up the misunderstanding, so that the revolt can be represented, as in the original, as the work of a group of friends. Plutarch balanced the scene of Cleomenes' suicide with an equally full description of the execution of his descendants. Dryden spares the audience the execution, inserting instead the more pitiful prison scenes, and placing them as a prelude to the greater events of the rising. And the final tableau of the drama, like the final paragraph of the narrative, shows the hero's Egyptian enemies acknowledging his greatness.

In addition, two specific passages in Plutarch's narrative suggested larger features of Dryden's tragedy. One is the comparison between Cleomenes and the ox-god Apis, made by Plutarch's Sosybius, which becomes a recurrent image in the play, and will be discussed in the context of its patterns of imagery. The other is a debate concerning death and defeat between Cleomenes and his follower Thercyion, placed by Plutarch between the Spartan and Egyptian phases of the hero's career. The two speakers offer opposing views of the Spartan defeat and the hero's subsequent flight: the first, Thercyion, reviews the grounds for shame and despair in the Spartan position, and concludes

that suicide is preferable to the life of the defeated:

> 'Are we not still masters of our own swords? . . . shall we not here free ourselves from this disgraceful misery, and clear ourselves to those who at Sellasia died for the honour and defence of Sparta?'

Dryden opens his tragedy at this point in the hero's career, and the first scene follows the course of Therycion's speech: Cleomenes reviews the various circumstances of his defeat, falling finally into a similar expression of despair:

> 'O happy ghosts
> Of those that fell in the last fatal fight,
> And lived not to survive their country's loss!
> Base as I was, I should have fallen there too . . '

In Plutarch's narrative, the function of Therycion's despairing speech is to provide a point of departure for a vindication of Cleomenes; it culminates in a description of the conditions under which suicide becomes heroic. It thus anticipates the ending of the narrative, and pre-judges the hero's death. Dryden's remark in the preface -

> 'The action is but one, which is the death of Cleomenes; and every scene in the play is tending to the accomplishment of the main design' -

indicates that he has followed the climactic form of the Plutarchan dialogue. The conclusion reached by Plutarch's Spartan general is that

> 'a voluntary death ought not to be chosen as a relief from action, but as an exemplary action itself; and it is base either to live or die only to ourselves.'

To read this as a gloss on Dryden's final scene is valuable, since it explains the very elaborate staging of the hero's end.

The whole course of the drama, from the hero's despair to his justified death, is encompassed by the two speeches of Plutarch; but there are also detailed correspondences between the matter of the two works which make it possible to regard Dryden's play as an expansion of Plutarch. The topics of Therycion's speech are all developed and rejected, many of them in the first scene, and the successive forms of adversity described by Cleomenes are enacted in the course of the play. (16)

It is clear that Cleomenes faithfully represents a single source to an extent unusual in Dryden's drama. The only precedent for such close imitation is The Duke of Guise; but in that play the authors had drawn from Davila's history a univalent interpretation adapted to their political purposes. In the case of Cleomenes the relation of the finished play to its source has been shown to be rather more complex. The nature of the source used is different; the Greek historian's biography can be regarded as a work of imaginative literature. That Dryden actually saw Plutarch's work in this light is shown by his discussion of it prefixed to the edition of 1683. (14)

That in writing Cleomenes he was responsive to the literary qualities of Plutarch's 'Life' seems clear from the text's pervasive influence on the arrangement of scenes and dialogues in the play, and particularly from the development of the Plutarchan discussion of death and defeat into a central theme. In general, the treatment of the source seems to pursue the aim that

> 'the spirit of the author may be transfus'd, and yet not lost',

an aim proposed in the Preface in Ovid's Epistles of 1681 as that of the best translation. And since Dryden's theory of periphrastic translation includes the function of elucidation, often entailing at least implicit evaluation, it is perhaps legitimate to summarise the play's relationship with Plutarch as that between (theatrical) translation and original.

The evaluative element in Dryden's transposition of Plutarch indicated to at least some of his contemporaries implied criticisms of the political situation. The subject of the drama was immediately suspect, since the traditional requirement of noble characters and great events in tragedy,

coupled with the contemporary habit of reading history as analogy rendered tragedy particularly liable to political interpretation. That sensitivity to political innuendo was enduring as well as acute is demonstrated by Cibber's story of the curtailment, in 1710, of his production of Richard III, on the grounds that the fate of the deposed Henry might recall that of James II. Thus it is not surprising that Dryden's disclaimers of political intention were not entirely accepted, and that the play had to be cut for production. (18)

Clearly the political motivations involved in Cleomenes are most properly evaluated from the text as it stands, and from its relationship with its source. But certain external factors may also have influenced Dryden's contemporaries in their assumptions. The production of Cleomenes was inauspiciously timed, since it followed on the composition of a spate of unperformed political dramas (which included Southerne's suppressed Spartan tragedy). The play itself offered two main grounds of suspicion. Firstly, the theme of dispossessed majesty, as treated in Cleomenes, lacks the diversified incident and heroic trappings which seem to have made it acceptable in Don Sebastian. Dryden's sober concentration on this single theme seems to imply a didactic aim, which could easily be taken to be a political one. Secondly, the single plot defended by strict adherence to a respectable (and accordingly published) source had been used once before by Dryden, in The Duke of Guise, and this had offered an undisguised parallel with contemporary events; so that the use of the same method might be taken to indicate a similar strategy of parallelism, though this time an unavowed one.

In addition, Dryden had already offended the new government

in his Prologue to Betterton's opera The Prophetess, which had been banned because of its unflattering reflections on Mary's regency and the absence of William on his Irish campaign. It is possible that the Queen's advisers interpreted Cassandra's abuse of power in the absence of Ptolemy as another attack on the regency.(20) Dryden has certainly made use of the Egyptians to satirise hypocrisy, for instance in the Temple scene; and hypocrisy was a vice which he, like others, tended to associate with the assumed strictness of the new régime. An alternative suggestion which has been made is that Dryden's contemporaries equated the Egyptians of Cleomenes with those of Absalom and Achitophel, so that the play could be read as an account of James's exile at the French court, and a denunciation of the reluctance of the French King to support the re-conquest of Britain.(21) Since the passages excised were described as 'reflecting much on the government', it seems that the English régime saw itself as reflected in Dryden's Egyptians.

Given the play's demonstrable allegiance to a single literary precursor, and the internally explicable character of Dryden's alterations, a precise political intention seems less probable than general inspiration. Dryden's asides on political matters in this period are pertinent in this context.

The attitude to the English government expressed in the Preface to King Arthur is one of gratitude for their clemency to an inveterate opponent(22); in the dedication of the work he alludes apprehensively to the possible 'Invasion from the Gauls':

'I hope it is not coming to the trial'.

The publication of King Arthur in fact coincided with

the principal phase of work on Cleomenes; it is difficult to reconcile the pacific tone of the Preface with the assumption that Cleomenes' proposed return represents that of James II. The demand for military aid made by the Spartan serves, in the dramatic context, to uphold the fiction of heroic valour, and to contrast with Egyptian sloth. The same demand on the part of James, as a prelude to what Dryden calls 'Foreign Attempts' (25), could hardly have met with his approval. It seems unlikely, then, that Dryden intended to satirise the French for their slackness in giving James military support. And that the French régime could in fact carry a very different function for Dryden is shown by a passage in the Discourse on Satire (1692):

> 'though he is an enemy, the stamp of a Louis, the patron of all arts, is not much inferior to the medal of Augustus Caesar. Let this be said without entering into the interests of factions and parties, and relating only to the bounty of that king to men of learning and merit; a praise so just that even we, who are his enemies, cannot refuse it to him.'

The commendation is hedged about with much qualification, which perhaps reflects Dryden's marked tendency at this period to aesthetic patriotism, as well as political caution. But the image used for Louis, that of Augustus, Dryden's favourite example of the benevolent absolute monarch, is one which had hitherto been associated in Dryden's work only with Charles II. (It was later implicitly denied to William III by Dryden's refusal to permit the dedication of the Aeneid to him, and by the political typology adopted in the preface to the work.) Its use here is highly charged with personal animus, since to equate Louis XIV with the supreme patron of the arts implies an unflattering comparison with the inartistic and unsympathetic rulers at home. In this context, the King

of France is less a political entity than the locus of a projection of cultural values. The passage is of interest for two reasons: because its essential orientation is towards England, and because it demonstrates the subtle indirection of which Dryden was capable, in exploiting the tensions between the two nations. A preoccupation with the values of English life characterises Dryden's latest verse (24), and this fact makes against the assumption that the satire of Cleomenes is much concerned with the French. And it is difficult to reconcile the refinement of this use of France as England's antithesis, to express the poet's anti-Williamite inclinations, with the clumsy and scathing satire which results from simple identification of his Egyptians with either side.

A single identification is in any case discouraged by the form of the action. If the Egyptians are equated with the French, the final act depicts James as attempting to overthrow Louis: if they are equated with the English rulers, equations of James with Cleomenes and Mary with Cassandra are mutually incompatible. (This arrangement to defeat possible parallels may have been deliberate.) It therefore seems that, as with Don Sebastian, a synthetic interpretation of the satire is demanded.

The preface to the Examen Poeticum indicates where Dryden's scorn was chiefly directed, and suggests the most appropriate interpretation of the Egyptian characters of Cleomenes:

> 'No Government has ever been, or ever can be, wherein timeservers and blockheads will not be uppermost. The persons are only changed, but the same jugglings in State, the same hypocrisy in religion, the same self-interest and mismanagement, will remain for ever. Blood and money will be lavished in all ages, only for the preferment of new faces, with old consciences.'

This passage too was apparently construed as an attack on the government.(25) In fact, the factious and self-interested had always been the poet's favourite targets of satire. There is an appreciable difference in degree of virulence between the satire of Dryden's pre-Revolution polemic verse, and that contained in Cleomenes, but to regard this as directly and solely the result of pro-Stuart feelings would be to over-simplify. The experience of adversity afforded by the Revolution enabled the poet to concentrate and intensify his satire on the conduct of political affairs in a way that had not been possible earlier; for as long as his sympathies and interests were represented by the Stuart monarchy he was obliged to represent the country's political life in a comparatively optimistic light. Political corruption he had always shown as associated with hostility towards the authentic repository of values in political life, the reigning dynasty. (For example, in Threnodia Augustalis the fears felt by the moderate about James's intractability are expressed in terms of the monarch's possible exasperation with the stubbornness of the Commons.(26)) This constraint on the interpretation of evil in political life no longer obtained when Dryden wrote the passage from Examen Poeticum quoted above. Nor does it obtain in Cleomenes. A passage which closely resembles Dryden's utterance in his own persona is the Egyptian king's description of his council:

> 'a pack of bearded slaves
> Grave faces, saucy tongues, and knavish hearts,
> That never speak one word, but self at bottom;
> The scavengers that sweep state-nuisances,
> And are themselves the greatest.'

Other passages express a similar wholesale denunciation of public life, which may be connected with the doubtful manoeuvrings, both pre- and post-Revolution, of English courtiers

Within the play, the Egyptians function as an exemplar of communal depravity, and their apparent French or post-Revolution English features are to be considered as incidental to this function. For such a state of communal depravity only the religious beliefs of Dryden's later life afforded a framework. (27)

The question of Dryden's possible political intentions in Cleomenes is not exhausted in the relationship of the Egyptians to the protagonist, which indeed hardly figures in the first Act. It is in this opening stage of the play that its hero is most reminiscent of James II: two passages in particularly suggest allusions to contemporary events, though Plutarchan details are always present. Cleomenes' first speech justifies his leaving his country in the hands of foreign invaders, in terms which Dryden might have used to justify James's sudden departure on the approach of the militarily superior William:

> 'I fought the battle bravely, which I lost;
> And lost it, but to Macedonians,
> The successors of those who conquered Asia, . . .
> 'Greece like a lovely heifer, stood in view,
> To see the rival bulls each other gore,
> But wished the conquest mine.
> I fled; and yet I languish not in exile'.

The military action is minimised; the first line is so bald that the 'battle' is reduced almost to a metaphor, while the fact of defeat is relegated to a parenthesis, and linked by repetition to the mitigating circumstance presented in the third line. The most vivid effect of the passage is the metaphorical transposition of the battle, and here the choice of a Virgilian pastoral image has an enhancing effect it suggests not the organised warfare of Plutarch's biography, but the single heroic combat, while the defeat is merely an individual displacement ('I fled') embedded in the extenuating continuation of the metaphor -

'But here in Egypt whet my blunted horns'.
The attention focussed by the bull image carries the audience onto the easier ground of the protagonist's present heroic resolves. This is a familiar technique of justification. The conquerors are 'the successors of those who conquered Asia'; the topical word presents a tension between legitimate succession (the Macedonians are hereditary warriors and enemies of the Greeks) and domination by virtue of success in battle (they are Cleomenes' de facto successors). This is a clear case of deliberate use of a politically charged expression, but it is used to express the complexities of an abdication situation, and not to make a political judgement.

The speech seems to offer a parallel to passages noted in Don Sebastian which reflect an ideal form of James II's actions. There Dryden had been concerned with the topics of abdication and the sufferings of the defeated leader's followers. But in this speech of Cleomenes there are two points of stress; and while the first, the enduring value of the heroic temper even in defeat (ll.1-5), is appropriate to a commendation of James II, the second, the importance of a self-glorifying military revenge, is not. The whole course of the speech is more adequately accounted for by reference to the model of the Therycion/Cleomenes debate in Plutarch. At the same time Dryden could, without falsifying his source, have written a vindication of his hero's conduct rather than an apology; the choice of the latter suggests at least a preoccupation with the problem of James's flight and the question of the vacancy of the throne.

The counterpoise to Cleomenes' account of his departure is the report of Coenus on the state of Sparta, which occurs towards the end of Act I. This passage reveals that Cleomenes' subjects, like James's, prefer peace under a usurper to

legitimate rule with violence. Its content suggests the unopposed arrival of William of Orange, and Cleomenes has just described the horrors of organised warfare, horrors which James had spared his people by his flight. Coenus begins:

> -if you will imagine -think some king,
> Who loved his people, took a peaceful progress
> To some far distant place of his dominions' -

suggesting the paradox that a true king is one who benefits his people. The clemency of Antigonus to the Spartans, which included 'No law . . . changed, no Custom . . .controlled', Dryden has from Plutarch; but the description of the enthusiasm of the Spartans is his own -

> 'No noise was heard; no voice, but of the crier,
> Proclaiming peace and liberty to Sparta.
> At that, a peal of loud applause rang out,
> And thinned the air, till even the birds fell down
> Upon the shouters' heads: the shops flew open,
> And all the busy trades renewed their tasks ' -

and it reads like an account of a City celebration. (Coenus is of course a merchant.) Of the passages which suggest contemporary political issues this is by far the most circumstantial , and by association it enhaces the political content of the other passage in the play which depicts the relationship between populace and government (that which involves Cleomenes and the Egyptian adherents of 'bondage with ease'). Cleomenes' response to the passage describing the bloodless usurpation is to renounce his military aims in Sparta, a reaction appropriate to a vindication of James .

The proposal that Cleomenes should reconquer pacified Greece is attributed not to the hero, but to his 'favourite' Pantheus, though this means sacrificing the role of cynic philosopher sketched for the character in the preceding scene and reducing him to a second and strictly unnecessary

'fidus Achates'. This attribution may be made partly out of consideration for the possible contemporary relevance of the situation. Certainly it marks a major shift in the perspective of the drama. As the external action develops, even the intermittent hints of political reference cease, to be replaced by extended presentation of political manoeuvring. This account of political behaviour is ultimately dependent on the experience of the Stuart defeat; but it bears no more relation to contemporary issues than a general concurrence with the stress on court cabals and factions found in the verse satires of the time. It has no prescriptive force, since the tragedy offers no possibility of an alternative order (Cleomenes is portrayed as an a-political being). This contrasts with the evaluative precision of the first scene, at those points where it touches on contemporary issues.

The occasional and inconsequential use of political reference in Cleomenes is best understood by comparing it with the habits of Dryden's non-dramatic verse of the same period. In the year following the production of Cleomenes there appeared a volume of translations from Roman satirists, to which Dryden was the chief contributor. In addition to a complete translation of Persius' satires and the lengthy introductory discourse, he provided versions of Juvenal's first, third, sixth, tenth and sixteenth satires. Of these, all except the version of the satire on women (Juvenal's Satire VI) contain some reference to contemporary events. But sustained conversion of Roman material to English terms (as, for example, in Pope's version of Horace's second satire) is absent. For present purposes it is sufficient to note in what contexts contemporary references occur, and what their function is. Two distinct types of allusion appear. There are isolated direct references to English events and practices

which, while defensible in the terms of Dryden's preface as alterations designed to remove obscurities, attract attention to a specific situation and permit the reader to infer a judgement. Thus, the headnote to the (incomplete) sixteenth satire identifies Juvenal's subject with a familiar contemporary grievance:

> 'And if it be well observ'd, you will find he intended an Invective against a standing Army'.

In Satire X, he gives as the equivalent of Juvenal's 'panem/ et circenses' 'a Puppet show' which suggests an equation between the debased and servile plebeians and the citizens of London. The first satire contains a reference to 'Scandalum Magnatum'. (This type of use of a single charged expression for purely local effect has been noted in Cleomenes.) Although provoked by the original, the reference directs attention towards the English situation which inspired it. This is particularly clear in an instance which involves a change of Juvenal's emphasis: in the First Satire, while Juvenal's instances of bad verse ('Codrus Theseid', etc.) are retained, the passage justifying the writer of satire introduces an allusion to the English Laureateship:

> 'If Nature cou'd not, Anger wou'd indite
> Such woful stuff as I or S - - - -ll write.'
> (ll.121-122)

Juvenal has

> 'facit indignatio versum
> qualemcumque potest, quales ego vel Cluvenius.'

Dryden's version adds, with 'woful stuff', an ironic equation of his own talent with that of his successor. (The equivocal 'qualemcumque' is not fully rendered.)

In addition to these isolated English usages there are occasional expansions of the text which have an indirect

connection with contemporary events, since Dryden frequently envisages the situations of his text, and develops them, in terms of issues or events which figure in his original work. In this kind of sustained reference illustration of the original, rather than judgement of the contemporary issue is intended. Juvenal's Umbricius (Satire III) complains simply that it is impossible to earn an honest living in Rome:

> '"quando artibus" inquit "honestis
> nullus in urbe locus, nulla emolumenta laborum,
> res hodie minor est here quam fuit atque eadem cras
> deteret exiguis aliquid, proponimus illuc
> ire . . .
>
> "dum nova canities , dum prima et recta senectus . . .
> "cedamus patria." '

Dryden's version of Juvenal's lines 21-25 runs as follows:

> 'Since Noble Arts in Rome have no support
> And ragged Virtue not a Friend at Court,
> No profit rises from th'ungrateful Stage,
> My Poverty encreasing with my Age;
> 'Tis time to give my just Disdain a vent,
> And, Cursing, leave so base a Government',

while '"cedamus patria"' is rendered by a couplet in the same spirit:

> 'Now, now 'tis time to quit this cursed Place;
> And hide from Villains my too honest face.'

Clearly the exemplar of unrewarded honesty which generates the consistently modified English version is identifiable with the translator. The alterations to the original, consisting chiefly of re-ordering and expansions, are unobtrusive. In the fifteen lines by which Dryden renders Juvenal's nine, only two extraneous entities are introduced: the'Stage' and the 'Court', or its effective equivalent, the 'Government'. (The latter in a sense replaces Juvenal's 'patria', omitted by Dryden in its proper place, as the natural sphere of the exile.)

The scale of this type of imaginative re-interpretation, on the other hand, is often extensive. Satire X treats of the fall of Sejanus as an example of the insecurity of the great (11.61-89). Dryden's handling of this section is informed by his own recollections of popular unrest, and by the tone and terminology of its popular debate - for instance,

> 'There was a Damned Design, cries one, no doubt;
> For warrants are already issued out . . . .
>
> 'He's dipt for certain, and plays least in sight' -

while it is also informed more particularly by the recollection of his own polemical writings. Its actual inspiration seems to be the career of Titus Oates. Juvenal's remark on the masses (1173-75) becomes a characteristically Drydenian quatrain:

> 'How goes the Mob (for that's a Mighty thing.)
> When the King's Trump, the Mob are for the King:
> They follow Fortune, and the Common Cry
> Is still against the Rogue condemn'd to Dye.'

Similar formulations occur in the prose scenes of Don Sebastian and Cleomenes, and in The Medall, where the fickleness of the mob is a major theme. (28)

As can be seen in the passages cited above, the translation may be enriched by the imaginative activity of interpretation, which by importing its own vigorous diction can add a new mode of coherence to the rendering of a passage. With Juvenal, as with the Cleomenes material, one might infer that the poet chose to treat those topics most charged with possibilities of coherent reinterpretation. This choice would be necessarily, but indirectly, influenced by the poet's political concerns. To apply the analogy of the Juvenal translations, Dryden's concern with political issues can be seen issuing in Cleomenes on three levels: in the choice of a subject involving defeat and exile: in an imaginative reinterpretation of the Spartan's predicament in terms of

of James's, confined to the opening scene; and in the occasional use of charged terms to focus an issue.

The dominance of properly literary aims in Cleomenes will be the subject of the following chapter: as for political aims, Dryden's disclaimer is supported by the attitudes he expresses elsewhere. In the Essay Concerning Satire he warns against attempts to equate two civilisations:

> 'For to speak sincerely, the Manners of Nations and Ages are not to be counfounded'.

A similar respect for the delineation of Spartan characteristics in Cleomenes, together with the play's opposition of two differing cultures, suggests that he was already adopting this position in 1691. Such an interest would preclude close or consistent cross-reference between a historical source and contemporary concerns.

A parallel shift of interest is suggested by another device seen to be important to the construction of Cleomenes: the strict separation between the sphere of activity of a noble soul and that of the common world. In Dryden's most nearly contemporary poem, Eleonora, this device is a major feature of the panegyric. The eulogy, oscillating in the fashion of Donne's Anniversaries between heaven and earth, only once descends, in conclusion, to touch on the non-ideal world inhabited by the eulogist, where

> 'ev'n to draw the picture of thy Mind,
> Is satire on the most of Humane Kind'.

It is a world which virtue must relinquish:

> 'So bad, that thou thyself had'st no defence
> From Vice, but barely by departing hence' (29)

for her own preservation. Formulated in this way, the segregation of heroic virtue implies the inappropriateness of any cross- reference between actual and ideal worlds. In the case of Cleomenes, a panegyric on the isolated

independent hero is plainly at least a part of the play's purpose; and for this purpose the introduction of contemporary allusions has no particular relevance.

The habit of reinterpreting given material through the model of a familiar historical situation has been seen to occur at least once in Cleomenes, with a locally unifying effect. It occurs also, as will be shown in the following chapter, in a purely literary variety, which is particularly important for the construction of the play.

In Cleomenes, the presence, and occasional prominence, of matter with political overtones detached from any specifically political themes cannot be considered as an isolated and irrelevant aberration in a play of uneven quality; rather it should be seen as a consequence of the poet's way of approaching a literary model at this stage of his career. The inconsistent use of political material may reduce the play's coherence, (since the absence of any co-ordinating principle increases its obtrusiveness); but it must also be understood as representing a phase in a development which extends beyond the dramatic part of Dryden's later writing. In the context of the later work that development is not entirely negative.

CHAPTER V: CLEOMENES: HEROIC ARCHETYPES AND THEIR INTEGRATION.

Examination of the avowed literary source of Cleomenes and its supposed sources in political events has shown that, although Dryden's political sympathies seem to have influenced the choice and conception of the subject, the orientation of the text is primarily literary. This conclusion is confirmed when one examines the other methods of developing the Plutarchan original employed by Dryden: neither of the other two chief devices entails extra-literary frames of reference.

Where Dryden has added to, or elaborates on, the characters given by Plutarch , his additions can be described in terms of familiar literary archetypes. This has already been pointed out for some characters and situations in Don Sebastian. There Dryden's sources lay primarily in his own works. In Cleomenes, however, the only major borrowings from earlier works are the characters of Sosybius and Clearthes. Cassandra, his chief original contribution, is clearly a descendant, though a distant one, of Lyndaraxa, the villainess of The Conquest of Granada; but her kinship is rather with a character type established in the later pathetic tragedy, that of the slighted and vengeful princess. Of this type the most familiar example is Lee's Roxana.

Sosybius is the last of Dryden's portraits of the corrupt minister. His function is analogous with that of the Mufti and Benducar, the two specimens of the type in Don Sebastian, but his differentia are significant. The mere fact of compression is typical of the reduction of means observed already in the construction of Cleomenes; Sosybius effectively presents, and thus associates, the

errors of an idolatrous religion and those of an unprincipled government. Sosybius retains traits from both the statesmen of Don Sebastian. But the picturesque extremes of Benducar's Machiavellian ambition and the Mufti's farcical worldliness are eliminated; what remains is the influence and debating skill of Benducar grafted onto the open mendacity of the Mufti, a combination which barbs the comedy of the priest-stateman's equivocations, and makes him the most sinister version of the type in Dryden's drama. Behind this figure lies the Drydenian archetype of political corruption, the Shaftesbury of The Medal; and in his ambition of governing through the king Sosybius resembles the historical Shaftesbury in the early part of Charles II's reign.

Dryden has provided his hero with a slighter, but still noble, companion in the Egyptian friend mentioned by Plutarch, whom he renames Cleanthes. As a character, Cleanthes is quite unremarkable, and is endowed only with the qualities necessary for the virtuous lay figure: loyalty, fortitude, and a sense of honour. In satire his language is virtually indistinguishable from that of the hero. Cleomenes, on the other hand, is so much the centre of the tragedy that a second developed hero could only detract from the effectiveness of his rôle.(1) From a functional point of view, however, the secondary hero of Cleomenes is very important to the drama. In Dryden, as in Plutarch, the Spartan is essentially a military hero, although the play's subject deprives him of any appropriate form of activity. The remoteness of the hero's 'cause' of Greek liberation, and the lack of any worthy opposition in Egypt, make some show of activity

a necessity, and this is provided by showing the hero as involved in a relationship founded on recognition of heroic values. Particularly in the later stages of the play, the presentation of this relationship serves as a substitute for other forms of incident.

Accordingly, one finds that the rôle of the friend is elaborated in such a way as to make him a diminished reflection of the hero, and not only in language and attitudes. The secondary hero too is shown as involved in a conflict between familial piety and heroic aspirations, though the question at issue is the appropriately subordinate one, of whether he should remain loyal to his Egyptian father or support the Spartan.

Dryden's change in making the Egyptian friend prove faithful has a dual aim. It provides an opening for the inclusion of a favourite dramatic situation: a misunderstanding, quarrel, and reconciliation between two noble characters. This type of scene derives ultimately from literary models which are reviewed in the preface to Troilus and Cressida, where Dryden is defending an interpolation of this type in his Shakespearean adaptation. In Cleomenes, as elsewhere, it forms a major climax of the play: in Cleomenes, as among the other plays in Don Sebastian alone/ it also provides the ground of a considerable part of the action.

The scene of mistrust and reconciliation is given more prominence than in earlier plays, both as the pivot of the second half of the action, and as a crisis in the most important relationship between two characters. The device of misunderstanding serves to complete the hero's isolation. And the invention of the quarrel and reconciliation is the only suggestion of development in a reciprocal relationship between the play's characters. The structural as well as

emotional weight attached to the scene explains its comparative inferiority; the attempt to externalise the significance of the action at this point produces an over-intense diction, which even for Dryden's first audience must have verged on the extravagant.

That the dramatic situation designed to test and praise unselfish friendship should increase in importance, even at the expense of a decline in aesthetic effect, is consonant with a tendency which appears elsewhere in Dryden's work of this period: the tendency to elevate benevolence into the supreme virtue. A notable example occurs in the dedicatory epistle of Amphitryon:

> --'to proceed in the same tract of goodness, favour, and protection, is to show that a man is acted by a thorough principle: it carries somewhat of tenderness in it, which is humanity in a heroical degree; it is a kind of unmoveable good nature; a word which is commonly despised, because it is so seldom practised.' (2)

This, like some others among the post-Revolution dedications, was addressed to a patron of opposite political principles. It could seem that by professing his faith in friendship as an apolitical value, the poet demonstrated his withdrawal from the political scene. Ultimately, of course, to claim eminent virtue for the man whose friendship overlooks political divisions is to reaffirm those divisions. This intention is at work in the treatment of the relationship between Spartan and Egyptian heroes, as well as in the public addresses of the poet's dedications.

In Plutarch, the Egyptian friend of the hero is found to be true to his own degenerate race. The same is predicated of Cleanthes in Act IV, enhancing the denouement of Act V, which celebrates him as the sole instance of a virtuous Egyptian, in the public setting of an attempted heroic action. The action emphasises the motif of filial

affection as a concomitant of heroic virtue in the secondary hero, particularly in the final scene, where Cleanthes intervenes to save his father from the Spartans, and Sosybius is represented as still hoping to preserve his son by diplomatic means. This is an amplification of the theme of familial loyalty developed through the protagonist. At the same time it enhances the motif of heroic friendship; Cleanthes' support for Cleomenes involves a personal sacrifice in the alienation of his father, and the thwarting of his sole humane attribute, paternal affection. (This is brought out in Act III, scene i, where Sosybius expresses his resentment at his son's attachment to the Spartan, ending with the lines:

'Oh, so well I love thee,
That I could curse thee for not loving me!')

The clash between wilful father and virtuously-inclined son had appeared frequently in Dryden's earlier plays, most notably in Aurengzebe; theatrically striking instances of it occur between Leonidas and his supposed father Polydamas (in Marriage-à-la-Mode) and Torrismond and Raymond (in The Spanish Friar). (3)

But in Cleomenes, the heroic son's disobedience involves a political choice as well as a choice of virtue. This fact Sosybius's appeals underline (e.g. 'You must love your king and country more'). And here it is the corrupt statesman who demands reverence for the representative of monarchy,

'Whate'er he be,
I must not hear my master vilified',

and the virtuous man who is held to be justified in refusing it on ethical grounds. Since Cleanthes eventually acts against the king as institution, as well as condemning his private character, the standards invoked here are the inverse of those of the apologist of absolute monarchy. This apparent shocking reversal of the tenets of the polemical poems is

prefigured in the ending of Don Sebastian, which puts the moral qualities of the monarch before his political quality. The tendency may be associated with the (ultimately political) assertion, in the address to Leveson-Gower quoted above, that true nobility is the ability to overlook political differences. In Cleomenes, the two heroes' political allegiances are reduced to consequents of individual ethical decisions. While this monolithic presentation of heroic character would be at odds with a preoccupation with actual political minutiae, it is consonant with the simplicity of a dramatic structure based on antithesis. Within this restricting framework, Dryden apparently found the manipulation and even inversion of familiar material a useful expressive procedure.

The examples discussed so far have all been simple, involving the re-use of prominent surface features from the poet's own earlier work. But if it is true that in this play literary analogy has replaced political analogy as the primary source of dramatic conceptions, one might expect a more pervasive, and perhaps more recondite, use of literary models in dramatic invention, where the Plutarchan model is supplemented. (That is, pursuing the analogy with the methods of the Juvenal translation, a class of sustained and shaping reference to an unstated situation.)

One evidence of such a technique is the re-appearance in Cleomenes, with inverted significance, of a dramatic pattern used in All for Love. Among Dryden's plays, his version of the Antony and Cleopatra material comes closest to Cleomenes in its emphasis on the pathos of defeat and of love in adversity. In both plays the defeated hero is offered the possibility of recovering his former public status, or of contenting himself with the satisfactions of a private role, and each possibility is represented by a female character. The preface to the earlier

some
play admits to/misjudgement in the handling of the two female characters, which hindered the intended concentration of sympathy on the two chief characters:

> 'The greatest error in the contrivance seems to be in the person of Octavia . . . .I had not enough considered that the compassion which she moved to herself and the childran was destructive to that which I reserved to Antony and Cleopatra . . . . the dividing of pity, like the cutting of a river into many channels, abated the strength of the natural stream.' (4)

The later play's precisely reversed strategy, a complete segregation of the rival women, would seem to reflect this constatation. Both women in the earlier play partake of the same pathetic ethos, which in the later is associated only with Cleora. It is notable that Cassandra's soliloquies are drawn from the stock of assumptions about feminine psychology used by the scheming women of contemporary comedy. The inadequacy of such assumptions is revealed in the relationship of Cleora and Cleomenes. Sympathy is only invited by the sufferings of the two heroic lovers; the emotion aroused by the discomfiture of Cassandra (in the interview of Act IV) can be no more than a superior, Hobbesian, form of pity. (5) The theatrical segregation of the two avoids the problem posed by the fact that the independent scheming type of female is a more interesting fiction from the dramatic point of view. From the theatrical and ethical segregation of the rival feminine interests a powerful effect is derived in Act IV: Cassandra institutes a comparison between herself and Cleora which precipitates in the hero a conclusive revulsion against the king's mistress and the opportunities she represents.

In other areas of elaboration of the Plutarchan source the dramatic fictions of other writers are influential. An example is the debt to Fletcher's Bonduca shown in the invention of the character of Cleonidas, which is documented

by Scott. Fletcher's dialogue between the heroic child and his uncle is used twice in Cleomenes; the earlier part is the source for Cleonidas' remarks about starvation in the prison scene of Act IV, while the child's dying utterances are closely imitated in the final scene. But it is characteristic of the imaginative method of the play that even a specific debt to a single source does not preclude the operation of other, and more fundamental, models. That the addition of the character of Cleonidas is essentially a substitute for Plutarch's presentation of the youth of Cleomenes has already been suggested.(6) And the hero's child appears with the same general function in an earlier play, the adaptation of Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida. In this play Dryden introduced, along with Andromache, Hector's young son, Astyanax. The Trojan council of war is interrupted by the report of the child's demand that he be allowed to send a challenge to Achilles; it is Hector's shame at being outdone which prompts him to frame a challenge himself.(7) The child's aspiring courage illustrates the natural martial spirit of Troy, and this too is the function of Cleonidas' military boasts in Act I of Cleomenes. The most telling makes the comparison with Hector's child:

Cleonidas: But why did not Astyanax go with Hector?
Cratesiclea: Because he was a child . . . .

Cleonidas: . . . . But grant me this,
There are no Spartan children; we are born men'.

The function of inciting the hero to further acts of valour is frequently asssigned to Cleonidas also.

But Cleonidas is only one element in the closely-integrated unit of Cleomenes' family, which although its two female characters have some basis in Plutarch's narrative, is itself a considerably elaborated fiction. The hero as

paterfamilias had appeared briefly in Troilus and Cressida, and in a different sense in All for Love; but the matriarch Cratesiclea is, for Dryden, an innovation. But an instance of the extended heroic family in drama was available to Dryden as a model, that of Shakespeare's Coriolanus. Although Shakespeare's tragedy in its original form was ignored by the Restoration theatrical companies, its possibilities as a political drama appealed to the Tory writer Nahum Tate, and during the Exclusion crisis he produced an adaptation entitled The Ingratitude of a Commonwealth: or the Fall of Caius Martius Coriolanus. The date of its production is close to that of Tate's collaboration with Dryden on Absalom and Achitophel Part II. Since it seems unlikely that Dryden could have been ignorant of this acted version, it must rank with the Shakespearean text as a possible model for the fiction of the heroic family group in Cleomenes. The distinction is not an irrelevant one: Tate's adaptation exploits to the full the pathetic aspect of the family group, a feature already remarked in Cleomenes. Not confining himself to the scene of their appeal to Coriolanus, he has them reappear in the final scene as the victims of Aufidius's brutality. Among the deaths of the last Act, that of Coriolanus's child is particularly relevant for Cleomenes; he expires before his father's eyes after an affecting dialogue displaying infant piety, very much in the manner of the heroic children of Bonduca and Cleomenes.(8) The treacherous intervention of the father's personal enemy, a detail absent from Plutarch's account of the child's death, is shared by Cleomenes and The Ingratitude of a Commonwealth. Thus the affecting death of Cleomenes' son follows the general pattern of the child's death in Tate's drama, although foreground detail is supplied from Bonduca.

It remains to demonstrate the general correspondence between the function of the family group in Coriolanus and the use made of it in Cleomenes. In the triad of resolute mother, gentle wife and precociously heroic son, the matriarch is furthest from the writer's previous habits of characterisation. Allowing for a difference in the conception of domestic pathos, and for the exigencies of the Plutarchan original, there is considerable resemblance between Cratesiclea and Volumnia. Both represent the traditional ideals of a military race, and express them in terms of their ambitions for their sons. While the two heroes are the active embodiment of the military ideal, it is the traditional wisdom attributed to the mothers which explains and comprehends their motivation in the action of the drama. In Cleomenes at least the sufficiency of the mother-figure's insights endures throughout the tragedy. This close relation, almost of practice and theory, between the son's role and that of the mother, is dramatically expressed through the mother's function as counsellor. (In Dryden's plays, this function had been more usually assigned to the heroic friend, for example to Ventidius and Dorax.) Where they are specific rather than general, these maternal exhortations to heroic virtue may dictate the course of events. Volumnia persuades Coriolanus to put aside his scruples about presenting himself to the populace, and Cratesiclea instructs Cleomenes to abandon his family; each is used to promote a public manifestation of the military ideal against the resistance of the hero himself. Thus the potentially dehumanising demand for the sacrifice of individual values in the interest of the military ideal is partly credited to the mother, and to the tradition inherited through her.

In Coriolanus the family group functions collectively as a replica of the hero. The child's natural ferocity and the mother's stern pride are the leading traits of Coriolanus himself. Although the element of his character which corresponds to the tenderness of Vergilia is only exhibited fully in the scene where he relents towards Rome, the apparent change of heart has been prepared by presence of the gentle Virgilia. In Dryden this complementary function of the family is quite thoroughly and deliberately exploited, particularly in the first scene, with its discussion of what constitutes Spartan lineage, and its establishment of Cleomenes as the prime representative of Sparta. Cleora relates the qualities of Cleonidas to those of his father:

> 'Do you not view, my Lord,
> As in a glass, your darling fault, ambition,
> Reflected in your Son?'

Cleomenes' reply:

> 'My virtue rather'

invites the extension to the father's character of the evident moral ambiguity in the son's military enthusiasm. In Act II, scene ii, on the other hand, the reflection in Cleonidas of his father's contemptuous attitude towards the king's mistress is presented as an endorsement of Spartan rectitude.

Although the son is used for commentary on the values of the military hero, it is chiefly Cleora and Cratesiclea who extrude the essential conflict in the hero's character. When they first appear, Cleora commiserates in her husband's grief, while Cratesiclea urges action; again in Act III, Cleora voices Cleomenes' subjective reaction to the Egyptian proposals, while Cratesiclea urges the priorities of public glory. And Cleomenes himself, after rejecting at the beginning of the play the pathetic alternative represented by Cleora, embraces it in the changed language of submission of the first prison scene;

('Just such is death . . .
'She kisses cold;
But kind, and soft, and sweet, as my Cleora',

or

'Thou and I, as lovers should,
Will hand in hand to the dark mansions go'.)

The complementary function of the family is most important when, in the absence of the hero, it is used collectively to represent his qualities in the stage action. In the scattered plot of Coriolanus, this procedure is particularly important: Volumnia and Virgilia are used as Coriolanus' representatives in scenes in Rome. In the closer plot of Cleomenes the device is used only once, but in a position of considerable stress, reflecting the final separation between the hero and his family; when the hero leaves to begin his abortive rebellion, Cleora, Cratesiclea, and Cleonidas express contrasted reactions to the prospect of imminent death, covering in chorus-like commentary the range of response adapted to the hero's actions of the final scene.

Altogether, the range of dramatic uses developed for the family group in Cleomenes lies within that of Coriolanus; the only exception is that Dryden, like Tate, chose to emphasise pathos and suffering in his family group. The fact that Dryden has carefully elaborated on one major function, the scattered reflection of the hero's traits in his dependants, suggests that he may have been 'perfecting' a unifying device which had appealed to him in Shakespeare. But at least a dramatic precedent for the group evolved from Plutarch's narrative exists in the earlier play, offering a vehicle for the expression of the conflict between public and human demands in the military hero.

The construction of the family group in Cleomenes is an instance of a complex analogical conception. The scale and importance of such devices varies widely.

The pursuit of pre-existing literary forms involved in the construction of Cleomenes could be extended almost indefinitely; the purpose of the present account is simply to demonstrate how intermittent literary analogy tends to usurp the place of intermittent political analogy (like that in Don Sebastian) in the determination of the play's local dramatic effects.

Two final examples will illustrate the great variation in scale and importance of these literary analogies.

Following Plutarch's narrative, Dryden was obliged to represent Cleomenes' reaction to an account of the state of Greece after his flight. For the most part, the scene is derived from Plutarch, although the model of the English historical situation also appears as a forming influence. A completely original section of the scene is that in which Cleomenes falsely anticipates the arrival of bad news from Sparta:

> 'Then I shall hear of thee once more, dear country! . . .
> . .Then I shall hear of sacrilege and murders'

Accused by Pantheus of unbecoming impatience in anticipating Coenus' ill report, Cleomenes exclaims:

> 'Thou art a scurvy monitor; I am patient:
> Do I foam at lips,
> Or stare at eyes? Methinks, I am wondrous patient:
> Now, thou shalt see how I can swallow gall'.

But he again proceeds to tell Coenus' story for him, so that Pantheus' check and the hero's retort are repeated after a few lines. This time Cleomenes invokes the principle of decorum:

> 'I was but teaching him to grace his tale
> With decent horror.'

The passage, with its repetition, appears to be something of an excrescence. Although as a whole it builds up suspense before the anti-climactic revelation of Coenus, Cleomenes' first retort in particular has an obtrusive weight in a dramatic context which does not seem to demand so much assertion.

In his biography of Plutarch prefixed to the 1683 translation of the Parallel Lives Dryden gives an English version of an anecdote from the writings of Aulus Gellius. Refuting a slave's charge that he has acted with a passion unbecoming in a philosopher, Plutarch is made to say:

> 'I am not of opinion that my eyes sparkle, that I foam at mouth, that I gnash my teeth, or that my voice is more vehement, or that my colour is either more pale or more red than at other times; that I either shake or stamp with madness, that I say or do anything unbecoming a philosopher. These, if you know them not, are the symptoms of a man in rage.'

(9)

As it recurs in Cleomenes, the unity of the utterance is preserved, and its application is weakened not, as often, by over-explicitness, but by its comparative autonomy. Although both characters are defending the propriety of their behaviour, in the capacity of Spartan or philosopher, the literal content of the incident in which Cleomenes' defence is set is rather different.

At the other end of the scale, there are indications in Cleomenes of the operation of literary analogy in the conception and presentation of the hero. This constitutes a pattern as far-reaching as the underlying Satan/Christ/Adam analogy which had been detected in Absalom and Achitophel. The source in Cleomenes is again Miltonic, but here it is

Samson Agonistes. The broad community of theme between Samson and Cleomenes can be briefly stated: in both a once active and confident national hero is placed, apparently through his own failure, in the power of a degenerate and hostile people; reduced to despair by enforced inactivity, he doubts the validity of his alleged heroic destiny. The drama traces the steps by which he approaches his death as the only possible liberation. His violent end is stated to be a glorious vindication of his life, although the earlier stages of the

drama have not supported this conclusion unequivocally.

It could be argued that these resemblances can be accounted for by external factors. It is true that both works belong to a similar stage in the authors' careers, when the sufferings of advancing age and political adversity would make a preoccupation with the problems of defeat and frustrated aspirations quite natural. Although marginally relevant, this explanation is both inconclusive and shallow (in the sense that it can only be used to account for surface resemblance).

A more probable explanation would be that both dramas refer themselves to a Greek model - Sophocles' Oedipus at Colonus would seem the most likely original. But against this there are various objections. The first is that the only model invoked in Dryden's critical preface is the single-plot drama of contemporary French writers(10); and examination of his play in fact reveals the influence of this model in several places. And by a tragedy in the Greek manner Dryden seems to have understood something rather different from Cleomenes, judging by his remarks on the difficulty of producing a truly classical tragedy with chorus (in the preface to his translation of du Fresnoy's De Arte Graphica, 1695):

> 'A new theatre, much more ample and much deeper, must be made for that purpose, beside the cost of sometimes forty or fifty habits . . . 'Tis true, I should not be sorry to see a chorus on a theatre more than as large and as deep again as ours, built and adorned at a king's charges; and on that condition, and another, which is that my hands were not bound behind me, as now they are, I should not despair of making such a tragedy as might be both instructive and delightful, according to the manner of the Grecians.'(11)

This idea of the theatrical scale of Greek drama is borne out by the technique of Oedipus, the tragedy written by Dryden in collaboration with Lee. In this, the townspeople of Thebes are present as a chorus, and in Act III they participate in a religious ritual with music. The final objection to

the theory of Classical imitation is that it cannot account for the local importance of Miltonic parallels in the play, although it might explain their broad distribution.

It can be shown that the surface importance of the Miltonic parallels is greatest in the first Act of Cleomenes. Samson Agonistes opens with the protagonist's soliloquy, which is interrupted only by the arrival of the Chorus. The hero has withdrawn to an unfrequented place to meditate on his lot, and mingles factual details of his situation with the utterance of

> 'restless thoughts, that like a deadly swarm
> Of Hornets arm'd, no sooner found alone,
> But rush upon me thronging, and present
> Times past, and what I was, and what am now.' (ll.19-23)

The comparison between his glorious past and destiny and his miserable present leads on to the question of the purport of his experiences:

> 'Why was my breeding order'd and prescrib'd
> As of a person separate to God,
> Design'd for great exploits; if I must die
> Betray'd, Captiv'd, and both my Eyes put out,
> Made of my Enemies the scorn and gaze;
> To grind in Brazen Fetters under task
> With this Heav'n gifted strength?' (ll.30-35)

Samson's meditation leads him to a simple resignation:

> 'I must not quarrel with the will
> Of highest dispensation, which herein
> Happ'ly hath ends above my reach to know',

and the Chorus, seeking out the hero to offer comfort, allege that his situation is not uniquely desperate:

> ' wisest Men
> Have err'd, and by bad Women been deceived;
> And shall again, pretend they ne'er so wise.
> Deject no then so overmuch thyself'.

They continue (in lines 116-134 and 178-185), to attempt to alleviate his plight by discussing it in simple traditional terms.

All these features are paralleled in Dryden's opening scene. Cleomenes, like Samson, is discovered reviewing his recent downfall, a source of tormenting thoughts (ll.1-23):

'I fled; and yet I languish not in exile;
But here in Egypt whet my blunted horns,
And meditate new fights, and chew my loss',

and questioning the apparent injustice of his destiny:

'Ah! why, ye gods, must Cleomenes wait
For tardy helps of base Egyptian bands?
Why have not I, whose individual mind
Would ask a nation of such souls to inform it,
Why have not I ten thousand hands to fight
It all myself, and make the work my own?'

Here, the double rhetorical question picks up the form of Samson's speculations in lines 23-38; the typically reduced Drydenian periods express vigorously a sense of physical restriction comparable with Samson's.

('O glorious strength
Put to the labour of a Beast, debas't
Lower then bondslave! ') (12)

But atthis point Cleomenes' meditation is interrupted by the entry of Cratesiclea, Cleora and Cleonidas. With stage performance in mind, Dryden was bound to introduce some contrasting movement after the static opening of the play. In its use of this kind of varying device Cleomenes clearly differs from Samson , and its accelerated external development is accompanied by a slower rate of development in the protagonist's consciousness. Thus the topic of election raised by Samson in his opening meditation appears only towards the end of the first scene of Cleomenes, and then briefly,

(' 'Tis not to be endured,
That fate of empires, and the fall of kings,
Should turn on flying hours, and catch of moments')

and its fuller development comes only in the prison scenes. It is in the second prison scene too, that the resignation expressed in the early stages of Samson's deliberations is fully developed in Cleomenes (although it is suggested in a simile in Act III). When Cleonidas raises the question of the inappropriateness of destiny:

'You've often told me, that the souls of kings
Are made above the rest of human race;
Have they not fortunes fitted for those souls?
Did ever king die starved?'

Cleomenes, like Samson, asserts that providence is inscrutable:

'Yet still be firm in this, - The gods are good,
Though thou and I may perish'.....
... 'The rest is all unfathomable depth'.

In Cleomenes, changes in the hero's states of mind are made dependent on the intervention of external causes.

In a small way, this is seen in the continuation of the play's first scene. Immediately after the entry of his family the hero continues his laments, and like Samson, foresees an imminent death;(13) but the varying attitudes of the family group illustrate the displacement of moral interest in favour of perceptible activity. While Cleora offers to join in the lamentations of her lord:

'In deed it was a churlish kind of sorrow
. . . . 'to engross it all yourself,
And not permit me to endure my share'

(as Milton's Chorus intends 'to visit or bewail thee'), Cratesiclea's object in seeking out her son is to bring counsel rather than consolation, to demonstrate, as Samson's friends attempt the inappropriateness of his sorrow:

'This melancholy flatters, but unmans you.
What is it else, but penury of soul,
A lazy frost, a numbness of the mind,
That locks up all the vigour to attempt.'

But the energy she attempts to arouse is physical as well as moral, as her reply to Cleomenes' response

('That's something yet, an earnest of an action')

indicates. And where Samson responds to the Chorus' consoling remarks only by engaging in discourse, Cleomenes' final responses 'Well, I will live . . . . I'll try at least' indicate a preparation for active involvement in events, which is soon articulated by a change of method in the presentation of the hero. For although the central moral presence of the hero

is a consistent feature of the play, after the first Act he is no longer used as the fixed physical centre towards which all the other characters gravitate. The extreme of this movement away from (14) simplicity of organisation comes in the final Act, when the hero is shown pursuing the Egyptians through the city.

The form of the opening section of Cleomenes, as of that of Samson Agonistes, is that of a soliloquy interrupted by a dialogue which itself constitutes the first phase of the action. But it is also a form unique among Dryden's plays. In earlier serious plays, Dryden had used two forms of opening: the large scale set-piece scene , usually representing a court gathering and employed chiefly in the heroic plays, (although also, following Sophocles, in Oedipus) and in Troilus and Cressida; and the expository dialogue between two lesser characters, as in All for Love, The Spanish Friar and Don Sebastian. Dryden's two sources of inspiration among the 'Moderns', the French and the Shakespeare of the tragedies, both favour his second method. There remains the possibility of a Classical precedent for the opening of Cleomenes. But W.R. Parker has shown that the form of opening chosen by Milton (a soliloquy for the protagonist, interrupted only by the arrival of the Chorus) is without precedent in the surviving Greek drama, and this makes Milton's play the only possible Classicising (15) /source for the form.

Fainter and more general reflections of the structure of Milton's play pervade the later stages of Cleomenes. The first episode which interrupts Samson's dialogue with the Chorus is the arrival of the hero's father, Manoa, who proposes a quiet and dignified retirement among his own people as the best end

to the hero's career. Similarly, Cleomenes' friend Pantheus advises that contentment is to be achieved

'By but forgetting you have been a king'.

The dialogue with Manoa contains the most circumstantial and insufficient account of the hero's career; it also reveals a new and more distressing present circumstance which offers the possibility of a new development: the Philistines are celebrating the defeat of Samson as a victory for Dagon, and thus defying the god of Samson. In Cleomenes, circumstantial dialogue between the hero, his family, and Pantheus is followed by the arrival of Coenus, who also narrates new developments affecting the hero's public career. With Coenus' narrative Dryden uses the device of having the hero anticipate, falsely, the messenger's news, so that the discrepancy reveals something about his attitude to warfare. A similar use of the messenger occurs at the end of Samson Agonistes: Milton has Manoa anticipate the Messenger's remarks, so that Samson's actual end, terrible as it is, is seen as more fitting than the alternatives evoked by his father's erroneous conjectures.

The arrangement of characters around the hero in Cleomenes is close to that in Samson. Consideration of their functions in relation to the hero may suggest why this is so. Milton makes a point of retaining the chorus, with a precise and important function. Although they share Samson's slavery, they exhibit differentiated responses to it; significantly, they express themselves in generalisations based on ancestral beliefs ('God of our Fathers', etc.) and traditional wisdom. For they offer only sympathy rather than understanding, and although they act as confidant, and sometimes even as catalyst, in the struggle of the hero, they serve to emphasise the

isolation from the community which election entails. In Dryden's use of the family group in Cleomenes there is a similar insistence on the hero's pre-eminence, and, as the action develops, in his special responsibility for the fate of the Spartan community symbolised by the family of varied and partial characters, which is an isolating factor. The function of purveying traditional wisdom and representing traditional values is clearly shared by the family group in Cleomenes.(15) They approach most obviously to the traditional function of the Classical chorus in Act V, scene i, where they discuss the prospects for the rebellion after the hero's departure; and this scene corresponds to the section in Samson Agonistes in which the lesser characters are left to speculate on events in the city. (A common detail is that the sound of the decisive action reaches the ears of the waiting Chorus, and is discussed and interpreted.)

But the hero's final action is in both cases performed before the audience of his country's heathen enemies. When the family group of Cleomenes is disrupted by the calamities of the last act, there appears a kind of anti-chorus, the Egyptian mob, a degenerate and realistic community expressing the reverse of Cleomenes' heroic ideals ('We vulgar never fear the Gods'). The parallel scene in Samson Agonistes is a narrated one, but its tone is similar. Dryden may have perceived that, by continuing, in appropriately distorted form, the family group's role as a communal reflection of Cleomenes' endeavours, the Egyptian mob gave the end of the play a certain balance which facilitates comparison between the heroic ethos of the Spartans and that of an undignified reality. At any rate, it repeats the effect produced by the narration in Samson, that of focussing attention on the wider implications of the conflict between

chosen hero and decadent society, and particularly its relevance to events in England.

The other characters encountered by Samson all offer some temptation , some alternative course of action which will prevent the hero from fulfilling his destiny. Similariti between the functions of lesser characters in Cleomenes and those in Samson may be accounted for by resemblance between Cleomenes' choices of action and Samson's temptations to actio of Dryden's drama The choice of inactivity, represented by Pantheus in Act I/and Manoa in Milton's, has already been cited. When Samson's father mistakenly bargains with the Philistines for the release of his son from physical oppression, he has a Drydenian counterpart in Cleanthes, the faithful friend who uses less t heroic means to protect the hero from the Egyptians. He too is represented as optimistically preserving the hero's life against his will and to the detriment of his heroic honour, when he persuades Cleomenes to yield his sword as a proof of friendship, and then hands him over to Cassandra's gaolers. (

The role of the Philistine Dalila has a parallel in that of the Egyptian Cassandra. Each on her first appearance, Dalila with her train of damsels, and Cassandra with her court entertainment, creates an immediately dramatic contrast with the characters surrounding the hero. Their attributes o power and worldly prosperity, and the undercurrent of destruc passion revealed when each is rejected by the protagonist, enhance the innate dignity of the isolated hero who is capabl of despising their temptations. The advantages they offer, both material and sensual, are vitiated by the guilt they involve. Dalila offers freedom from Philistine slavery if Samson will accept her as his wife; this implies not merely the repudiation of his heroic destiny, but a relapse into the very weakness which he acknowledges as the cause of his

present suffering. To improve Cleomenes' position, Cassandra offers all her wealth and influence, together with

> 'That only she
> Who loves you best, for your Companion home;
> You know what she I mean',

and thus the opportunity of fulfilling his military aspirations as well as the promise of release from tribulation, though at the expense of patriarchal duty as well as heroic dignity. By conflating these two related temptations Dryden sacrifices the clarity of Milton's successive presentation of them in Dalila and Harapha; what is gained is an antithetical arrangement of all the issues, inviting a single choice from the hero. At the same time this arrangement involves adopting a dramatic psychology simpler than Milton's, since Cassandra, as the sole personified tempter, tends to become merely the villainous foil for Cleomenes' good qualities. This general antithesis is not enough to support a coherent account of the hero's moral position, and rather blurs the play's ending.

Milton's introduction of Harapha (the only character not demanded by the Old Testament narrative) permits discussion of the motives behind a heroic action, and thus provides, indirectly, the ultimate justification for the protagonist's warlike activity. Some demonstration of this nature is clearly intended in the final scene of Cleomenes, expressed in the action through an emphasis on liberation, and in the dialogue, derived from Plutarch, on the properly heroic death. With this evidence of an externalised version of something approaching the matter of the Harapha episode in Samson Agonistes, it cannot be assumed that Cassandra is a deliberate conflation of Milton's two tempters; the character seems rather to derive from the immediately theatrical

effects and tensions found in Dalila's interview with Samson.

Dryden's two chief innovations in Cleomenes are the characters of Cleanthes and Cassandra, and it is notable that both carry functions of characters who define the predicament of Milton's defeated hero. Additionally, in Act I Pantheus is seen playing a part very like that of Manoa, though the resemblance ceases abruptly with the cessation of the close structural resemblance with Samson. The forms of Miltonic influence found in Dryden's tragedy can be summarised as follows: in its general conception of the predicament of the defeated military hero Cleomenes coincides with Samson,[17] while imitation of the tone and structure of Milton's work is confined to the opening scenes. This is very much the pattern of influence found with the immediate historical experience of the Stuart defeat; the figure of the exiled James II, like that of Samson, appears to have influenced the choice and conception of subject, and, when the poet came to develop the figure of the undeservedly but unavoidably defeated hero, became the source of an image to be incorporated in the text. The figure of the abdicated king offered itself as an emblem of the content of the theme, as did Milton's opening of the most effective manner of conveying it. The fact that overt use of these two images of defeat is confined to the opening descriptive section of the play seems to confirm that they represent analogies on which the basic conception of the hero was formed; with the development of an action incompatible in content with these controlling images, and capable of projecting the conception of the hero, they become submerged.

The coherence of the drama is only supported by these analogies at the background level of their influence on the choice and conception of subject; the disruption which may occur when they appear on the surface of the drama is demonstrated by the dislocation of Act I. But in Don Sebastian it was not the surface analogies (i.e. the political analogies) which were found to contribute most to the coherence of the dramatic structure; and it would appear that the same is true of Cleomenes. The importance of the structural patterning of antithesis has already been indicated.

Any attempt to understand what Cleomenes conveys about the status of the hero, or of the heroic mode of literature, must take account of two cruces in the presentation of the protagonist. The first difficulty occurs in the transition between the first part of Act I and the scenes which succeed it; that there is a structural break or flaw here is sufficiently evident, and it may possibly represent some change of direction in the treament of the hero occurring in the process of composition. Acts II, III, and IV are straightforward enough; but the transition from the second prison scene to the rebellion is not easy of interpretation, while being vital to the final assessment of the hero. Further, any attempt to relate the final scene to the rest of the play raises the unfortunate question of whether a hand other than Dryden's could have been involved in its composition.

While Cleomenes is not a work which gives the impression of having been written continuously, it does not appear in any way un-Drydenian. The hypothesis, adopted in some form by all editors of the plays, that Thomas Southerne was in part responsible for the last Act, is based on a remark in the younger playwright's dedication to the Hon. Thomas Wharton of his comedy, The Wives' Excuse. Although the play was published in 1692, the dedication was omitted in printing, so that it did not actually appear in Dryden's lifetime.(18) But his approval is conveyed in a verse address (19) consoling Southerne for the comedy's slight success. The passage in question, not entirely unambiguous, similarly uses Dryden's name in defence of the comedy:

> 'upon the credit of this play with him, falling sick last summer, he bequeathed to my care the half of the last act of his tragedy of Cleomenes; which, when it comes into the world, you will find to be so considerable a trust, that all the town will pardon me for defending this play, which preferred me to it.'

Scott attempted to effect a plausible reconciliation between Southerne's claim and the manifest coherence of the text of Cleomenes by minimising the responsibility of the younger poet:

> 'It appears that Dryden was unable, from illness, to put the finishing strokes to Cleomenes. That task he committed to Southerne, now an intimate friend, and who, as may easily be imagined, felt himself much honoured by the task imposed upon him. This half of the fifth act was that upon which Southerne exercised this power of revisal and finishing; for that it amounted to no more, will, I think, be obvious to any who takes the trouble to compare that act with those which precede it'. (20)

He refers to Dryden's admission of responsibility for the crowd scene of Act V:

> 'The rabble scene, introduced, as the poet himself tells us, to gratify the more barbarous part of his audience, is deplorably bad.'

Scott's conclusions from the state of the text seem perfectly acceptable, and his interpretation of Southerne's state of mind is both attractive and appropriate to the context. But more recent writers have tended to assign a more important role to Southerne;(21) and in the absence, perhaps partly for this very reason,(22) of serious critical studies of the play as a whole, the basis for this assumption has not been closely examined.

Scott assumed that the indications of continuity between the last act and the preceding ones were self-evident, and did not specify them. So in this discussion of unifying verbal patterns in the play, particular attention will be paid to those which affect the disputed area of the text.

Since the Spartan character is essentially constant, and the diction invented for it one involving epic, and even Classicising similitudes, one might expect to find in the play fields of thematically related imagery. The first scene establishes the use of images from nature for Cleomenes and Cleonidas. The themes of the prison scenes are those of the

first Act - the integrity of the family relationship with its divine antecedents, and the potentially tragic disparity between inherited position and individual predicament - and the same imagery is used to clothe them. In the two prison scenes, as in the opening scene, images of natural development and thwarted natural development serve to convey the ironies in the condition of the natural unit of the Spartan family. In the first scene Cleomenes expresses his hopes for his son in terms of plant life:

> 'Let me but live to shadow this young plant
> From blights and storms, he'll soon shoot up a hero'.

This finds its only optimistic continuation in the child's image of himself ,

> 'Like a young plant that fastens in a storm
> And deeper drives the root',

in the brief scene between Cleomenes' dependants which precedes the 'rabble scene'. But on its second appearance this image of the thriving plant derives poignant undertones from an image used by Cleomenes in the last part of Act IV:

> 'Alas! thy manhood, like a forward spring
> Before it comes to bear the promised fruit
> Is blighted in the bud'.

The theme of wasting disease which destroys the life of the plant is used again in the second prison scene (Act V, scene i): Cleora, represented in the opening scene as the dependent 'vine' of the traditional marriage topos, has become

> 'A flower withering on the stalk for want
> Of nourishment from earth and showers from heaven'

The image of 'blight' in plants can be seen as an anticipation of the literal content of this scene, with its attempt to depict the approach of a lingering death. The other source of destruction envisaged by Cleomenes in his image of Act I, 'storms', then corresponds to the possibility of violent death. Within this context of vegetative imagery Cleomenes' prayer

in the second prison scene

'All I would ask of Heaven
Is, but to die alone; a single ruin'

has a special significance; it recalls the proud assertion expressed in the image of the falling tree in Act I:

'And yet I will not go to ground
Without a noble ruin round my trunk;
The forest shall be shaken when I sink
And all the neighbouring trees
Shall groan and fall beneath my vast destruction',

and thus points the change in the hero's mental perspective. In the later scene he seeks only the satisfaction of saving his dependants by self-immolation, whereas the earlier form of the image envisaged the public glory of death in battle. Both examples of the image refer back to a common, and more specific, original, Ventidius' image of the defeated and despairing hero:

'How sorrow shakes him!
So, now the Tempest tears him up by th'roots,
And on the ground extends the noble ruin.' (22)

Each use of the image is more elliptical than the last.

In the final scene the threat represented by the metaphoric 'storm' of Act I is realised, just as the image of blight found its realisation in the scene of trial by starvation. It is part of the climactic function of the scene to display the outward forms of activity denied to the hero in the earlier stages of the play, although fully discussed there. With this emphasis on the representation of incident rather than event goes an extremely simplified, if energetic, diction which precludes the use of epic similitude. Such traces of metaphoric language as do appear are both familiar and highly elliptical: Cleomenes says of the death of his son:

'Fate, thou hast done thy worst,
And all thou canst henceforth is but mean slaughter,
The gleanings of this harvest',

referring to the idea that man is 'as the grass of the field',

another form of the plant image of sudden death. When, in the concluding section of the scene, Sosybius tells Cassandra:

> 'this the king shall know,
> That thou may'st reap the due reward of treason',

the brief reference to Cleomenes' metaphor of harvest carries the implication that Cassandra will share the violent death of her Spartan victims. Against the background of plant imagery established earlier, [illegible] the minute allusions of the last scene can be perceived as contributing to the general sense of resolution. The principal vegetative image, that of the hero as falling tree, appears similarly diminished in the final scene. Cleomenes is allowed to speculate on the manner of his imminent death:

> 'Fortune, thou hast reduced me very low,
> To do the drudgery of fate myself.
> What; not one brave Egyptian! not one worthy
> To do me manly right in single combat!
> To fall beneath my fury? - for that's justice:
> But then to drag me after! - for, to die,
> And yet in death to conquer, is my wish.'

The situation envisaged is that of the image of death and conquest in Act I: the falling tree in a forest drags down its neighbours with it. Cleanthes emphasises this conception of death by reiteration:

> 'I would fall first ....
> And pull you after to make sure in death,
> To be your undivided friend for ever'.

(The slight inversion of the image, made more explicit in Cleanthes' speech, accords with the change of situation from the enforced self-defence imagined by Cleomenes in Act I; the hero is now obliged to initiate the sequence of events which will issue in an honourable death) As the stage action approximates to the content of the original image, the language associated with that image has become less obtrusive. The continuing presence of the underlying image of the hero as tree is again attested when Sosybius speaks of his son

'there he lies,
Extended by the man whom best he loved' ,

using the same verb employed by Ventidius in his description of Antony as a 'blasted oak'. Even a detail as small as the use of 'growing' in the final quatrain has its significance in the pattern of imagery: referring back to earlier plant images, it suggests why Sosibius' speech forms a satisfactory conclusion to the play. The literal situation ordained by the statesman (prostration of the Egyptians, and symbolic elevation of the hero) has a kind of symmetry with the literal content of the hero's image of his death in Act I (creation of a clearing of prostrate trees, consequent on the fall of the greatest); and this enriches the otherwise simple translation of a moral situation into physical terms.

The plant imagery for the hero and his family set up in Act I thus tends towards integration wth the action. It diminishes towards a complex stasis whose coincidence of literal, metaphorical, and moral significance ennobles the hero. The parallel class of natural imagery, the animal, is predominantly of the class which compares man with the inferior beasts, and is, naturally, associated with the Egyptians. As Cleomenes and Cleanthes point out to the merchant Coenus (in Act II, scene i), the nobler animals are inappropriate to the Egyptian mode of life, although, as part of thestock of epic simile, they are sometimes used to characterise the Spartans . Like the plant imagery, the animal imagery dwindles as the action develops. The earlier scenes contain much picturesque and explicit beast imagery in the satirical speeches of Cleomenes and Cleanthes: the cowardly king is called 'the kindest animal... the most giving creature in a fright', the Egyptian people crocodiles, according to the old theory of their origins 'The sun and Nile begot us'. These scattered images of Egyptian inferiority

are logically connected by the idea that Egyptian life represents a perversion of the natural hierarchy of creation. At an early stage this perversion is typified by a false relationship between the king and his people: Cleanthes says

> 'We are tools,
> Vile, abject things, created for his use,
> As beasts for men'.

Similarly, Sosybius calls himself Cassandra's 'beast of burden'. In Act III, the scene in the temple of Apis and Cleanthes' denunciation of the Egyptians as

> 'A people, baser than the beasts they worship,
> Below their pot-herb gods, that grow in gardens',

evoke a more radical perversion of the natural order. If the relation between the subject and the supposed type of divinity, the monarch, is that between beast and master, it is because the types of divinity themselves are envisaged as part of the brute creation. Cassandra's remark that 'the god that I adore is in my breast' illustrates the consequences of this reversed cosmology.

The last scene of the play represents the encounter between the representatives of Egyptian and Spartan values; Cleomenes states this fact in the form of an opposition between religious hierarchies as he leaves the stage to begin the rising:

> 'We'll drink a bowl of wine, and pour the rest,
> Not to the dog Anubis, but to Jove,
> The freer and avenger.'

When he confronts the Egyptians, the reference to Anubis is taken up again:

> 'Run, couch, you cowards, to your tyrant lords.
> A dog you worship, and partake his nature;
> A race of speaking spaniels.'

This sets up a specific equivalence between worshipper and worshipped. A later passage based on the metaphor of canine behaviour,

'the prisoners
Even guard their chains, as their inheritance,
And man their very dungeons, for their masters',

implies also the equation of the Spartan party with its deity, the 'freer and avenger' Jove, since what the currish Egyptians are said to fear is that

'godlike liberty, the common foe,
Should enter in'.

Again, the final image enforces the association between worshipper and divinity: while the Egyptians are still represented as spaniel-like :

'we, like slaves, lie grovelling at his feet' ,

Cleomenes assumes the semi-divine status of his ancestor Hercules, with a funeral

'Like the procession of a deity'.

In this way the narrowed and focussed Egyptian beast-imagery of the final scene supports, like the plant imagery, the final vindication of the hero.(23)

A special case of the epic similitude in the play is the image of the ox Apis, derived directly from Plutarch. It is fully stated by Sosybius early in Act III:

'Then I concur, to let him go for Greece;
And wish our Egypt fairly rid of him.
For, as our Apis, though in temples fed,
And under golden roofs, yet loathes his food,
Because restrained; and longs to roam in meads,
Among the milky mothers of the herd:
So Cleomenes, kept by force in Egypt,
Is sullen at our feasts, abhors our dainties,
And longs to change them for his Spartan broth.
He may be dangerous here'.

But a related Virgilian image is already associated with the hero, since the play's opening speech characterises Cleomenes and Antigonus as warring bulls. The hero sees himself as preparing, in his restraint, for renewed fight ('I . . .whet my blunted horns'); Cleanthes, in the following scene, speaks of the Egyptian king's subjects as sacrificial beasts:

'as oxen, draw the yoke,
And then are sacrificed.'

The constituent ideas of the Apis image are thus established well before the speech of Sosybius. But after his formulation of it the image does not recur. Instead, it is realised in the action in two ways: the temple scene uses the implied presence of the ox-god to provoke a spontaneous expression of the essential character of the two suppliants, Ptolemy and Cassandra, inviting valuation, as did the presence of the hero in an earlier scene. Later scenes show the hero, like Apis, placed under restraint, envisaging himself as the destined sacrifice to Cassandra's vengeance. Dryden's idea of having the Spartans deprived of food may be connected with the idea of the unwelcome feeding of the sacrificial ox, particularly since Cassandra alludes to starvation as resembling 'Spartan fare', and 'Spartan broth' is mentioned in Sosybius' version of Plutarch's image; at any rate, it represents an inversion of the fattening of the sacrificial beast. The use of the Apis image, then, like that of the plant imagery discussed above, embraces both similitude and dramatic fiction, demonstrating the kind of complex relationship between vehicle and tenor characteristic of Dryden's mature verse.

CHAPTER VI: CHANGES IN THE HEROIC MODE AND ITS STATUS.

So far, Don Sebastian and Cleomenes have been treated as dissimilar dramatic constructions erected on the same basic premises, and therefore as comparable. Sufficient evidence about the workings of the later drama has now been accumulated to permit the refining of this working hypothesis. In terms of method as well as structure the differences between the two works are so great as to call into question the assumption that community of subject implies community of import. This was suggested already by the contrast of effect between the two exposition stages discussed in Chapter IV above.(1) The exposition stage of Don Sebastian suggests the prospect of an unending succession of changes, in which the rehabilitation of Sebastian himself, although the chief subject of interest, does not appear as the end of the plot, but merely as one of its possibilities, while the subsequent action takes the form of a succession of instants qualitatively distinguished by the state of intrigue. The parallel stage of Cleomenes lacks this variety: its culminating points are the resolutions taken by the hero about his return to Greece, about his relationships with the Egyptian court and with Cassandra, so that the action is defined and circumscribed by the antithesis between hero and environment. Further investigation of dramatic methods and material only extends this general sense of contrast. Whereas the dramatic fictions of Don Sebastian are based on a wide variety of materials, including historical, political, and religious ideas, those of Cleomenes reproduce the proportions of its overt literary source. Only the satirical scenes with the Egyptian cabal can be claimed as an original conception: elsewhere, particularly in the characterisation of the hero, conceptions supplied by existing literary models supplement Plutarch's factual account of the exile.

As the poet's best mode of satire perpetuates itself in the only completely new material in the play, so his most usual subject, the House of Stuart, is its only shaping political analogy. With this exception, the drama refers only to literary precedents. The verbal patterning which unifies its dramatic structure shows a corresponding form of homogeneity. Instead of the large progressive analogy of the Fall which supersedes thematic imagery in Don Sebastian, Cleomenes has a group of recurrent images, (2) which have a highly developed internal reference, and virtually no external reference. Moreover, in the course of the play, image becomes closely identified with action, and the distinction between vehicle and tenor in the play's imagery is obliterated. Cleomenes thus represents in every respect a more closed system than Don Sebastian.

It would be possible to associate the contrast of method between the two plays with the contrast between a drama of detachment and a drama of commitment. But this is not a particularly fruitful approach, since neither play fits into either category, and Dryden's other most 'committed' drama, All for Love, is far less restricted in action and allusiveness than Cleomenes. Although the opening scenes include pathetic effects, and the prison scenes depend on them, there are still signs of the epic aspiration in the treatment of the hero. (3) His satiric function belongs to the active heroic mode, and the important final valuation of his virtues is organised by a characteristically Drydenian persuasive argument which makes little use of pathos.

This crucial climactic scene of the tragedy contains a vast amount of material in the form of incident. Each successive

incident summarises the play's version of a familiar theme. At the beginning of the scene, the hero and his party confront the Egyptian mob, exemplifying the Spartan/Egyptian antithesis in terms of the contrasted political activity of the responsible leader and the fickle populace. The brief exchange between Cleanthes and his father recapitulates earlier exchanges dealing with his divided loyalty, and touches on the favourite dramatic theme of a clash between heredity and the demands of virtue (a major theme also of Love Triumphant). The hero's parley with Cassandra follows the same course as the more extended interviews of the earlier stages of the drama, and both characters have now reached the logical extreme of the position implied in the earlier scenes: Cleomenes affirms the heroic paradox of liberty in death, while Cassandra demonstrates the destructive power of completely unbridled will. In the next stages of the scene, when Cleonidas attempts to share his father's danger, and Cleanthes rescues his father Sosybius from the Spartan Pantheus, the play's two contrasted filial relationships are summarised. This sequence of brief incidents has reviewed the various fields of social relationship, public and individual (both libidinous and familial) which have figured in the earlier stages of the tragedy. It has used a variety of situations which have familiar values attached to them, to demonstrate the superiority of virtue as found in both heroes. The treatment of these lesser themes can be almost elliptical, like the imagery, since it relies on allusion both to fuller discussions of the material earlier in the play, and to conceptions of character and social behaviour conventionally accepted in the heroic drama.

This scene reviewing the themes of the play is but a prelude to the actual catastrophe, which involves only the principal characters. This is presented in two further scenes,

with the death of Cleonidas and the deaths of the two heroic friends. These incidents mark a return to the pattern of an action centred on the hero established at the beginning of the first Act. Each has a rather less rapid movement appropriate to its importance, and a diction which does not deviate from the deliberately heroic except, in pursuit of a pathetic simplicity, in the final utterances of the child; each refers back to a more expansive treatment of associated themes in the previous scene.

The death of Cleonidas, something of a pathetic interlude in the action, represents the tragic culmination of the hero's role as paterfamilias. After rejecting Cassandra's offer of public glory at the price of private dishonour, the hero had adopted this role as his highest function, until his release by Cleanthes again offered him the prospect of military activity. And earlier in the scene Cleomenes' exchanges with Cassandra presented the paternal function and the military function as equal alternatives:

> 'My son, my mother, and my wife restored,
> 'Tis peace; if not, 'tis war' .

The child's death deprives the hero of this function at the same time as it completes the destruction of the royal line on whose divine descent the earlier stages of the play had placed so much emphasis.

While the death of the child terminates Cleomenes' role as patriarch in its noblest aspect, that concerned with succession and the replication of the heroic virtues, the death of the hero himself is presented as the supreme expression of the only remaining type of relationship, the comradeship of two heroes . The rationally inspired devotion of Cleomenes and Cleanthes reaches a paradoxical

culmination when each friend assumes the function of a worthy adversary for the other. Their mutual slaughter serves both to satisfy the heroic desire for honour, at the expense of individual affection, and to immortalise the friendship. The logical complexity (revealed in their preliminary debate) and the emotional complexity of the paradoxical situation are clearly intended to illustrate the sublimity of the hero's resolution.

But this assertion about the importance of the hero's manner of death is not supported by any special verbal devices: the language remains as plain as in the earlier part of the scene. That the poet did not have at his disposal the means of recreating in his verse a moment conceived as sublime is irrelevant to the question of authorship at this point, since no poet of the age, with the exception of Milton, could successfully embody experience of a supra-rational order in the language of drama, largely because their attitude to that language was rationalistic. To indicate that the event depicted was of more than rationally definable significance, the minor dramatists of the Restoration almost invariably resorted to language beyond the pale of reason; in fact, to violent, irrational, and less significant language. (This is perfectly justifiable in terms of decorum: experience outside the normal range of human existence requires language outside the normal range of human discourse.) (4)

What is of interest is the method which in Dryden's final scene replaces the usual reliance on excessive language. This is the organisation of incident on a large scale, throughout the disputed half-Act, to enforce his interpretation of the hero's death as a climactic triumph. The sacrifice of the two friends has been preceded by a review of the other themes and conclusions embodied in the drama. The very

rapidity of the succession of allusions invites and almost implies acquiescence, and this acquiescence accorded to minor conclusions tend to extend also to the main conclusions about heroic virtue as embodied in the chief protagonist. This offers a parallel with the arrangement of material in Absalom and Achitophel, summarised in an earlier chapter.(5) The death of Cleomenes, like the final pronouncement of 'David', is the climax of a cumulative movement reinforced by cross-reference within the work. As, in The Hind and the Panther, to approve the aptness of the beast portraits is half-way to sympathising with the cause of the Catholic Church; so, in Cleomenes, to agree with judgements on the heroic virtues and their opposites based on familiar dramatic conventions in the earlier part of the final scene, is to prepare to acquiesce in a major proposition of a wider import about the noblest human sentiments and their highest expression, which cannot be so easily verified by reference to conventional reactions. When Dryden argued for the cause of absolute monarchy, the overtly logical conclusion had a very large affective element, provided often by the operation of traditional extra-literary analogy: in the last scene of Cleomenes the emphasis is altered, the argumentative effort being directed towards immediate conviction of an overtly affective nature, and using precedents from familiar dramatic situations. Thus there is an appeal to the tradition of serious drama, as well as to the earlier stages of the present drama. But the method is still that of polemic verse.

Not only the structure of the final apotheosis of the hero, but also the nature of the qualities commended in his death, resists the interpretation of Cleomenes as an essentially pathetic drama. For in his last action the hero is called on to exhibit valour rather than fortitude, and the appetite

for revenge and glory, rather than the appetite for sympathy and affection. And the scale of the action in which he is involved, a struggle between two contrasted civilisations, also makes the hero an epic, rather than pathetic figure.

As an epic hero, Cleomenes naturally belongs to the Classical rather than the Christian tradition , and this involves a distinct type of character and ethic. But in so far as the idea of 'the epic' represented for Dryden and his contemporaries the highest style and most serious form of literary treatment, it implies a comparable level of endeavour in the two tragedies under discussion. This makes it possible, and even necessary, to compare the two protagonists; the comparison will define the kind of change in the status of the heroic which accompanies the outward shift from political to (roughly) literary preoccupations. This topic can be separated into two aspects: the nature of the heroic character in itself, and the status of the heroic character (or the heroic mode) in the drama as a whole.

Both Don Sebastian and Cleomanes take as their theme the almost paradoxical idea of the dispossessed monarch, and both explore in some detail the themes of defeat and monarchy, with results rather different from those of the pre-Revolution plays. Both plays posit a clear distinction between the de facto ruler and his genuine, heroic counterpart, which is dramatised in the early confrontation described above.(6) A difference of species is often implied, as when Ptolemy, meeting Cleomenes, seems

> 'Asham'd . . . to be miscalled
> A King, when this is present'.

Dryden's preface speaks of Sebastian as 'a king among kings'. The name of king is frequently invoked: the inferior

rulers connect it with the idea of absolute temporal power and public glory, while for the hero and his followers 'kingly' stands for pre-eminently honourable. Thus Cratesiclea complains of her son's private display of grief that it is not 'like the King of Sparta'. The endless debates on the attributes of the monarch found in Dryden's earlier plays are largely eliminated in Don Sebastian and Cleomenes, where the different interpretations are permanently embodied in the language of the characters. The language of Sebastian is generally, except at some moments of tension, distinct from that of Moley Moluch, particularly in its different use of imagery of the human body and spirit. In Cleomenes and Ptolemy the contrast is rather better developed. Among other elevated images in Act I, the hero uses that of creating Jove to express his pride in his heroic son:

> 'I am pleased with my own work; Jove was not more
> With infant nature, when his spacious hand
> Had rounded this huge ball of earth and seas,
> To give it the first push, and see it roll
> Along the vast abyss.'

The cumulative effect of such exalted language in the Spartan scenes of the first Act can be measured by the corresponding bathetic effect in Act II, when the peevish Ptolemy tries to glorify himself by heroic comparisons:

> 'How I could curse my name of Ptolemy!
> For 'tis so long, it asks an hour to write it.
> By heaven, I'll change it into Jove or Mars,
> Or any other civil monosyllable . . . . '

The effects may be associated with a greater refinement of technique which makes it possible for the poet to express by verbal means in the later plays what in the earlier heroic dramas would have been conveyed partly through stage action; this may be regarded as the technical legacy of the polemical poetry. But the segregation of language has the important consequence of emphasising the separation between the heroic and the non-heroic character,

thus weakening the correlation between nobility and virtue so prominent in the earlier heroic plays, and necessary wherever a heroic, or idealising, version of historical events is to be put forward. The differentiation of two linguistic spheres implies a differentiation of two ethical planes: the common, on which nobility and virtue are unrelated, and the ideal, on which they are necessarily connected.

In both plays the degree of linguistic difference separating the true and false kings in fact corresponds to the extent of possible interaction between the two. The language of Sebastian and Moley Moluch shares the aspiration towards heroic magnificence, and Sebastian's dealings with the Emperor reflect their shared interest in Almeyda, which constitutes a ground of parallel between them, later in in the play. The passages cited above show how a complete separation between the languages of Cleomenes and Ptolemy is exploited for comic effect; and by the second Act of the play that the heroic monarch should ever be associated with the world of political expediency around him begins to appear as unlikely as Ptolemy's reception on Olympus.

The separation of heroic from non-heroic also means that the earlier correlation between heroic virtue and public glory is superseded, since where the existing state is portrayed as corrupt separation from its activities becomes a virtue in itself. Sebastian is restored, not by his own action, but by the intervention of Dorax, as satirist and mediator between the two worlds of infidel and Christian; and only when so restored does he take on the functions of the publicly active hero. The dissociation from public life is more forcibly exemplified in the hero of the later play. When called to the Egyptian court, Cleomenes gives

moral counsel to an audience concerned only with political expedients;[7] and the highest test of his virtue is that he refuses to purchase public glory by characteristically Egyptian means.[8] To a large extent, then, the hero's virtue lies in avoiding those kinds of activity which produce theatrically effective incident - a prop of the earlier heroic plays. In Don Sebastian the activity of the other characters in the political plot compensates for the inactivity of the hero. In Cleomenes such activity is confined to the Egyptian side and the final mêlée is its only spectacular issue.

The language in which each hero expresses his sense of innate virtue offers a positive demonstration of his dissociation from the outward forms of monarchy. Sebastian confounds the Moorish Emperor's triumph by disparaging its physical limits:

> 'I beg no pity for this mould'ring clay;
> For, if you give it burial, there it takes
> Possession of your earth;
> If burnt and scattered in the air, the winds,
> That strow my dust, diffuse my royalty,
> And spread me o'er your clime: for where one atom
> Of mine shall light, know, there Sebastian reigns.' (9)

He suggests, as Cleomenes does to Ptolemy (Act II, scene ii), that to execute a rival is in fact to admit his superiority. Since Sebastian's indifference to the alternatives of life and death has already been shown in word and action, his execution would be a twofold victory, rather than the final defeat Moly Moluch intends. Enraged by Sebastian's contempt, the tyrant demands:

> 'What shall I do to conquer thee?'

Sebastian's brief reply

> 'Impossible!
> Souls know no conquerors'

dissociates his regal status completely from its physical manifestations. His monarchy is treated as a purely psychic function; and as monarch of himself he is vulnerable to no attack except that from within.

Similarly, the first monologue of Cleomenes asserts the independence and superiority of the monarch's 'individual mind':

> 'Dejected! no, it never shall be said,
> That fate had power upon a Spartan soul:
> My mind on its own centre stands unmoved,
> And stable, as the fabric of the world,
> Propped on itself; still I am Cleomenes.'

When the hero appears at the Egyptian court, the reactions of the other characters give great prominence to the physical aspect of the paradox of dispossessed majesty (e.g.

> 'He speaks
> As if he were in Sparta on his throne;
> Not asking aid, but granting'), (10)

and indeed the main direction of the plot is towards the enactment of the paradox: the hero is gradually stripped of opportunities, hopes, and individual relationships. Only at the end of the play, when the separation of the heroic spirit from its physical manifestation becomes literal fact, does he triumph over his enemies (in Sosybius' resolve 'to show how much I honour virtue'). The image of the hero as microcosm, quoted above, is particularly important in Cleomenes. For in spite of the conflicting endeavour, always illusory, and abandoned in the last stages of the tragedy, to create a situation answering to his own idea of his destiny, only the hero's idea of his innate majesty and its responsibilities maintain his stature. The scene of his last military action is itself an important illustration of this fact: in its military aspect the rebellion is entirely illusory, since the kind of heroic warfare desired by Cleomenes is impossible in

the Egyptian setting. Cleomenes himself expresses the idea that there is no object commensurate with his innate virtue,

'not one worthy
To do me manly right'.

So the hero's choice of death is the supreme instance of virtue in isolation. The static nature of the plot can be seen as a consequence of this tendency towards solipsism, in that the conflict between the hero's satisfaction in the self-sufficient power of virtue and the desire for its (impossible) concrete expression in heroic activity can only manifest itself in dramatic form as vacillation.

By renouncing its objective correlative, power, the hero makes his virtue immeasurable. Traditional heroic 'huffing' in the mouth of Sebastian :

'Let Fortune empty her whole quiver on me.
I have a soul, that, like an ample shield
Can take in all; and verge enough for more',

or Cleomenes:

'I, whose individual mind
Would ask a nation of such souls t'inform it',

takes on a new significance. Unalloyed by the crudity of prodigious practical application characteristic of the active heroic leader, such statements are to be understood as metaphors of the hero's state of mind. In this respect Almanzor's reply to the sentence of death passed on him by Boabdelin makes an instructive comparison with that of Sebastian quoted above.(11) The earlier hero's declaration :

' Know that I alone am king of me.
I am as free an mature first made man'

is also a defiance; and it begins a chain of sophisticated reasoning, ending in a practical assertion :

'I brought that succour which thou ought'st to bring
And so, in nature, am thy subjects' king',

which if accepted could actually compromise Almanzor's

boasted freedom. His speech is merely a stage in one of the brilliant debates in which the characters of the drama are concerned to demonstrate their rights by pseudo-logical justifications; it can be, and is, answered by another speech in the same vein. But Sebastian's reply must be taken as incontrovertible, since it is dissociated from the appeal to external verification. His audience responds not to the matter of his boast, but to its spirit. Heroic virtue is thus elevated into a kind of absolute referable only to itself. In Cleomenes this interpretation of heroic virtue is built into the plot in the form of the alien Egyptian environment, which is much developed by Dryden.

The reason for the initial defeat and exile of both heroes is now clear. The paradoxical kind of innate strength which makes the two heroes more kingly than their conquerors can only, for dramatic purposes, be demonstrated negatively: situations of defeat and isolation are essential to its fullest development. Political success or involvement like that of the earlier heroes implies a continuity between the qualities of a character and those of his environment. The conception of a self-contained hero as established in the opening scenes of Don Sebastian and Cleomenes is only consistent with a setting in which virtue is divorced both from prosperity and from effective action, which would compromise its absolute quality.(12) But this version of heroic virtue is not the best adapted to the necessities of the stage. In Cleomenes an attempt is made to overcome the problem of conveying innate and absolute virtue, by means of an antithesis between fixity (in the hero's constancy and fortitude) and flux (in the incessant activity and shifting motivation of the

Egyptians). Such a dramatic pattern was not one capable of fruitful development on a realistic stage, and has probably been a major factor in the comparative neglect of the play.

The very language which accentuates the hero's moral supremacy has an isolating effect, because it emphasises the uniqueness of his virtue. The hero is set above all existing kings: Cassandra, on seeing Cleomenes, exclaims

'This is the only King I ever saw',

and Muley Moluch:

'Sebastian! . . . . no other
Could represent such suffering majesty'. (13)

But this placing tends at the same time to diminish his humanity: the only appropriate comparisons for the virtue of the hero are superhuman ones. Thus Sebastian is likened to Jove:

'He looks secure of Death, superior greatness,
Like Jove, when he made Fate, and said thou art
The slave of my creation',

and Cleomenes, who is represented as literally descended from Jove, is often compared, and finally even assimilated, to the figure of his divine ancestor. Such terms prejudge the issue of the monarch's possible restoration; as Dorax's simile of the restored Paradise indicates, the reign of the superhuman hero is necessarily associated with an unfallen state of society. At the beginning of Don Sebastian and almost throughout Cleomenes the hero appears as a type of divinity, a status commonly accorded to the monarch by political theory, but usually to his function, rather than, as here, to his person. To attach this function to the individual seems rather the business of panegyric, with its divine similitudes, or of Virgilian epic with its semi-divine national hero. But there is in the two plays a kind of division, corresponding

with the distinction between the monarch as head of his people and the monarch/as individual, between the absolute significance of the hero and his individual presence in the changing circumstances of the drama. This is to be expected, if only because any involvement in events, although necessary to the dramatic form, is a limitation on his absolute virtue. But the distinction may also be a more finely directed one. At this point one passes from consideration of the nature of heroic virtue, to consideration of the status accorded to the heroic in each drama.

So far, the new characteristics of the hero introduced in Don Sebastian have been found to be shared by Cleomenes. The only difference has been that in the later play they tend to appear less obtrusively, since they are already assimilated into the structure of the plot. (That is, they are enacted rather than predicated.) From the point of view of the status of the heroic mode too Cleomenes may be considered as a continuation of Don Sebastian.

The first element of the paradoxical situation of the hero, his kingship, was discussed above. The second, his defeat, demands elucidation in terms of the fable of the tragedy. In the optimistic heroic dramas, defeat by force of numbers provided an interesting episode to delay the hero's inevitable success: every active hero was at some point disarmed by the guards of a tyrannic ruler. Both Don Sebastian and Cleomenes contain instances of this stock situation. But only in the two post-Revolution tragedies is defeat taken as the origin of the action.

In Don Sebastian, Dorax gives a circumstantial account of the course of the battle which explains the success of

Muley Moluch's army in realistic terms, so that it appears merely a necessary dramatic premise for the ensuing action. Later, Sebastian himself offers an interpretation of his defeat as king and general; the attempt made on behalf of his people:

'To give my loosened subjects room to play',

is entirely his responsibility as king:

'Not your false prophet, but eternal justice
Has destined me the lot, to die for these:
'Tis fit, a sovereign so should pay such subjects.' (14)

In this passage 'Fate' is equated with the justice of heaven, and this makes the defeat appear neither fortuitous nor simply physically determined. The suggestion, common among the heroes of the earlier drama, that the ability of heroic virtue to control fate relates to physical fact, is clearly eliminated. (It is of course replaced by the idea of invincible spirit.)

The place of Sebastian's initial defeat in the ordered universe which he posits is gradually revealed in the course of the play. When he admits the error of his affections in giving the hand of Dorax's betrothed to his own favourite, he establishes the duty of the monarch to repress personal inclination. But when Almeyda says, (in Act II, scene i):

'going to the fight,
You gave Almeyda for the word of battle',

after describing Sebastian's earlier victorious career, there is already a hint that Sebastian's defeat is due to having associated himself as general and monarch with the object of a personal inclination. Finally, when charged by Alvarez to

'Knock at your own breast, and ask your soul
If those fair fatal eyes edged not your sword
More than your father's charge, and all your vows?'

Sebastian admits that his war against the Moors had been the

act of a lover rather than that of a monarch. That his passion is represented as incestuous simply reinforces the error of allowing self-fulfilling passion to dictate actions of public consequence.

But the error which caused Sebastian's initial defeat is represented as an individual one, although universalised by the Adamic analogy, and as such it is to be expiated by the individual effort of the protagonist. The conclusion of the play is open, in that it shows the hero embarking on a course of penitence. Although the outcome of that course must be dependent on the favour of heaven, the validity of the continuing struggle towards perfection is endorsed by progressive elements within the drama itself: by the shift from outward to inward versions of rebellion, represented as a shift from peripheral to central concerns, and by the particular instance of Dorax' repentance.

In its political aspects, the resolution of the plot is by no means so open. The fact that the protagonist's concerns are shown to transcend the political naturally diminishes the importance of the political conclusion; but it also identifies the political sphere very definitely with the non-heroic sphere, in which there is no indication of human perfectibility. The characters whose wishes can be gratified in the non-heroic society are the limited and materialistic characters: Antonio, Morayma, and by implication, Moley Zeydan and the Portuguese cardinal. Almeyda and Alvarez follow Sebastian's example of withdrawal from society, and Dorax prefers such retirement to the gratification of his love for Violante.

Cleomenes has been described as having a more 'closed' form than Don Sebastian. The choice of a Classical

theme, with a hero who is also the exemplar of the highest development of a certain civilisation, suggests that a dynamic moral perspective like that of Don Sebastian is unlikely to emerge from the drama. Where the hero represents the highest possible human value, he can develop only if the frame of values presented at the beginning of the drama is transcended. An illustration of such a procedure is the final chorus of Samson Agonistes, where the images applied to the hero's last action tend to elvate him into a type of Christ.(15) With Cleomenes, then, the first consideration must be whether the tragedy contains any transformation of the frame of moral reference. In the absence of such a development, the significance of the hero's actions, and particularly of his defeat, must be estimated through the terms developed to characterise the two opposing civilisations in the drama.

Cleomenes gives his most extended account of himself and his defeat at the beginning of the openeing scene. Its cardinal idea is that of the hero as a microcosm, that is, as a consistent and independent being. This image may be roughly equated with the idea of Stoic virtue, which was often considered in the seventeenth century to be the best approximation to Christian virtue afforded by the pagan philosophies.(16) Military activity (of a Homeric cast) is the means by which the protagonist chooses to express this inherent virtue:

> 'Why have not I, whose individual mind,
> Would ask a nation of such souls to inform it,
> Why have not I ten thousand hands to fight
> It all myself, and make the work my own?'

But another manifestation of his 'Stoic' virtue is a responsible affection for his wife and mother, 'two twining vines about this elm'. It is clear that the very variety of virtue enshrined in the hero implies continuity and excludes change,

unless in the relative valuation of the contrasting forms of expression of his virtue.

It was maintained above that in his death the protagonist is represented very much as the epic hero. But Rothstein claims Cleomenes as a 'pastoral Epicurean', at least in Act IV.(17) This would seem to imply some kind of development in the consciousness of the hero, for 'pastoral Epicurean' is not a label that will cover all the attitudes manifested in the opening scene.

Any directed development, as opposed to variation, might be expected to reveal itself in the successive crises of choice faced by the protagonist. The first of these occurs early in the play. The opening scene has shown the hero tempted to despair by the absence of opportunities for warlike self-expression. At the end of the scene, the news that the enemy leader died, from natural causes, within a few days of defeating Cleomenes, leads him to question the constraints imposed on the hero by fate; and accordingly he accepts the opinion put forward by Pantheus, that the decrees of fate should be taken as a spur to action:

> 'Your fate, once more, is laid upon the anvil;
> Now pluck up all the Spartan in your soul,
> Now stretch at every stroke, and hammer out
> A new and nobler fortune'.

When Cleomenes comes to undertake the rebellion against Ptolemy, he does so in the same spirit:

> 'Now for a lucky pull
> At Fate's last lottery!
> I long to see the colour, black or white:
> That's the gods' work; and if I fall their shame,
> Let them ne'er think of making heroes more,
> If cowards must prevail.'

On meeting the Egyptian leaders, the hero reaffirms the ideal of disinterested military activity:

'to die killing, is a kind of conquest',

which echoes the sense of the later part of this image of the falling elm in Act I. This coincidence with a static pattern of imagery, like the persistence of the imagery itself, works against any sense of development in the protagonist's consciousness.

Act III had presented the hero with the crisis of a difficult choice between affection and self-realisation.(18) In Act V (at the end of scene i) the choice is reiterated in spatial terms. Cleomenes is about to leave the stage when Cleanthes detains him:

> 'Not that way, friend;
> It leads you to the women, and the boy'.

The issue of the crisis is the same: when Cleanthes has explained the military opportunity offered by the king's absence, the Spartan embraces it eagerly, and follows him from the stage.(19) The handling of the incident makes it quite clear that the hero values his dependants, 'those tender blessings', less only than the chance of glory. So the supreme value set on individual affection in the prison scenes, and particularly such formulations of it as the hero's analogy between Cleora and a merciful death, must be seen as a temporary departure from the principal mode of his existence, and the dramatic situation which engenders this interlude as the means of realising the class of values normally sacrificed by the protagonist.

Even in the relationship between protagonist and secondary hero, where violent changes are presented in Acts IV and V, the movement is a simulated one resulting in the restoration of the original position, and partly determined by its function as the basis for the final apotheosis of the friendship. With its emotional and physical violence, the scene represents the extreme development of the graduated series of crises which test

the protagonist's adherence to the code of personal honour. If one can speak of development through this series, it is only in the sense of continuance with intensification, made possible by the organisation of incident. Sosybius' claim that 'his glories growing to his latest breath/ Excelled all others' is validated by a process of gradual accretion of value, achieved by the presentation of a heroic vocabulary of attitudes in appropriate situations.

The political conclusion of the play is definite, pessimistic, and apparently in conflict with the high value attributed to the hero in his own actions. In Don Sebastian Dryden had preferred the open ending with its suggestion of mutability; but the ending of Cleomenes stresses finality. Cleomenes and Cleanthes, dying at one another's hands, remove the only representatives of honour and virtue from the political scene. The closing lines present the unchanged self-interested enmity of Cassandra and Sosybius still pervading their genuine grief for the two heroes. The play ends as it began, with power vested in a corrupt régime and the hero powerless to alter the situation. The only alteration in the political picture brought about by the events of the play is the demonstration, in the earlier stages of the rebellion of Act V, that the non-heroic Egyptians are essentially incapable of responding to the heroic ideals represented by the Spartan leader. So although Cleomenes, unlike Sebastian, suffers no internal moral defeat, he suffers two political defeats. If the drama offers an explanation of the hero's defeat, it is to be found in the comparison of these two incidents.

It has already been seen that the first Act of Cleomenes reveals a certain moral ambiguity in warfare as a means of self-expression. When the hero's young son welcomes a recital of Macedonian atrocities, 'for that's a soldier's work'; the ambiguity is revealed in terms of a tension between the patriarchal and the military expressions of the hero's virtue. Coenus' narrative reveals the ambiguity in cultural terms: instead of vengeance and destruction, the Macedonians have brought peace and prosperity to Sparta. At first Cleomenes resents this news as a hindrance to his return ('then farewell, Sparta'); but on hearing of Antigonus' death he resolves on re-establishing himself in Sparta, and later, on imposing Spartan rule on the whole of Greece. The contrast made in this first scene between the horrors of war and the blessings of peace suggests that the ideal of achieving personal glory by superhuman exploits is, in realistic terms, an illusory one; as Sebastian retired into the wilderness accompanied by the passion of incest which he had to purge, so Cleomenes has entered on his exile with the mistaken ideal of heroic achievement. In the course of the play he does not rid himself of this ideal; but a beneficial alternative to it is provided by the ideal of nobility in individual relationships, such as the paternal relationship. And success in the highest form of relationship, the comradeship of heroes, becomes in the catastrophe a substitute for success in martial activity. The fable thus imposes an association of public failure with private success.

But it is possible to identify the public failure more specifically. Coenus' narrative indicates that what has succeeded the Spartan virtue is compromise and diplomacy; (20) Antigonus, in his conquest and in his death, is portrayed

as a non-heroic ruler. This makes it possible to equate the non-heroic state of Sparta with the non-heroic state of Egypt. (How Dryden's account of Egypt conflates Plutarch's accounts of both civilisations was indicated in Chapter IV.) Then the two defeats would repeat the same import, and the analysis of the second defeat could be applied to the first; so that the warfare of Cleomenes may be seen to be no more appropriate to a pacified Sparta than to Egypt. The fable would thus be a dedmonstration of a historical process: the decline of a heroic civilisation and its replacement by a non-heroic civilisation; and the hero's ritual murder would be the last possible retreat into heroic absolutism, and the logical conclusion of his original flight from Sparta.

But Antigonus is also a 'modern' ruler; the account of his reception in Sparta, with its reminiscences of the reception of William of Orange in England, is the clearest instance of historical parallelism in the play. And it is the Egyptians, the other non-heroic social group, who carry the poet's general satire on public affairs, with its apparent contemporary overtones. The tension between heroic and non-heroic orders has, accordingly, an element of contrast between past and present states. From this point of view, the death of Cleomenes indicates that, in a non-heroic world, the heroic mode of life is incapable of fruitful integration: that it is a useless, if attractive, anachronism. What is shown to be true of the heroic mode in terms of fable may also be true of it as a literary genre; the exclusively literary cross-reference of the play facilitates this kind of inference. Within Cleomenes itself the Spartan epic style of diction gives way to the Egyptian. In this sense Cleomenes presents a parallel with the altered King Arthur as showing the impossibility of a valid epic mode in modern England. The ultimate basis for the idea of the defeated and unrepentantly military hero may be the literary, as well as political, frustration of the poet's epic ambitions.

One way of testing this hypothesis is to examine the use of the heroic mode in the dramatic works completed between the two tragedies. Of these the Amphitryon adaptation is the more significant, since the material for King Arthur was merely revised in the post- Revolution period.

Amphitryon is one of Dryden's attempts to improve on his predecessors by treating the subject more comprehensively. The main innovation is an extension of the secondary intrigue, in accordance with the poet's idea of ' the difference of our stage from the Roman and the French'. It introduces the established comic figures of the witty and disputatious lovers and the corrupt judge. In these characters the poet reinstates the hedonistic and materialistic comic ethos of Plautus' Amphitruo, and particularly its prosaic treatment of female character, which is confined in Molière's version to the slight sketch of Bromia. The comic touches in the Roman Alcmena duly reappear, much amplified, in Dryden's Phaedra. The scene in which the false Amphitryon cuts off Alcmena's lengthy reproaches about his sudden departure, by presenting her with a golden 'patera', is imitated when the false Sosia gradually silences Phaedra's appeals to Bromia with a glowing description of the golden goblet he has for her. And the theme of feminine cupidity, first stated as a general proposition by Jupiter, provides the material of the whole sequence of scenes involving Phaedra - among them one in which, like Plautus' Alcmena when a divorce is proposed, she demands a settlement from Mercury.(21)

At the same time Dryden follows Molière's example in presenting Alcmena and Amphitryon (and thus Jupiter as the feigned Amphitryon(22)) as heroic lovers. For their speeches he often follows Molière, paraphrasing and sometimes compressing

his dialogue, or elaborating an image from a hint in the French. But where Dryden adds, he accentuates character and intensifies language in accordance with his own practice in the dramas of heroic love.

Thus Alcmena, the most developed of the three characters, expresses sentiments typical of Dryden's earlier tragic heroines, such as willingness to immolate herself to secure her lover's safety, or disdain for an undistinguished existence.(23) The image with which she affirms her innocence to Amphitryon:

> 'know, the more thou would'st expose my virtue,
> Like purest linen laid in open air,
> 'Twill bleach the more, and whiten to the view',

is a variant on the theme of eminent natural whiteness used by Almeyda in similar circumstances:

> 'So should my honour, like a rising swan, (24)
> Brush with her wings the falling drops away'.

Where Molière's Amphitryon envisages with relief the possibility that his wife is out of her mind:

> 'Ah! fasse le Ciel équitable
> Que ce penser soit véritable,
> Et que pour mon bonheur elle ait perdu l'esprit!',

Dryden reinterprets this possibility in the spirit of the heroic lover, expressing in disjointed phrases the conflict between passion and honour:

> 'I'll try her once again; - she may be mad; -
> A wretched remedy; but all I have,
> To keep me from despair.'

But the most striking gain is in intensity of language, and it is particularly evident in those scenes involving Jupiter; for Molière's divertingly predictable gallant, Dryden substitutes a lover of the calibre of Sebastian or Almanzor, a true exponent of heroical passion.(25) Passages

such as the aubade of Act II, scene ii, with its appealing fusion of echoes from earlier love-poetry, indicate a continuing involvement with the ethos of heroic passion in the comedy.

Thus Amphitryon can be seen to incorporate amplification of the theme of heroic love, as well as of the comic themes, of its predecessors. The relationship between these two areas, and the special function of each, will indicate the status of the heroic mode. With the new sub-plot characters Dryden adds to the comedy of circumstance, on which the earlier versions tended to rely, a stratum of verbal comedy. The presence of a second group of self-conscious characters, capable of expressing a point of view differing from that of the heroic lovers, alters the scope of the play, as well as abolishing Molière's balance between the worlds of master and servant, which are antithetical and complementary, though differing in status. Various devices are used to emphasise continuity between the noble and comic groups. Gripus is ostensibly a link between the two groups, as uncle of Alcmena and lover of Phaedra. (The latter favours him because 'if he marries me, I shall take place of my lady'.) Phaedra is wooed by both divine and mortal lovers; her situation is contrived as a distorted reflection of Alcmena's. Though the maid consistently exploits the situation of which her mistress is the victim, both when allowed to choose between their lovers (a Drydenian innovation) make the same choice, preferring the god to the mortal: Phaedra for material, and Alcmena for emotional, reasons.

Regarded simply as unifying devices these external correspondences are unsuccessful; rather, they seem to provide the dual frame of reference appropriate to satire,

and to permit significant discrimination between the responses of the two groups of characters. This had been the pattern of Dryden's double-plot plays of the 1680s, The Spanish Friar and Don Sebastian, and also to a lesser extent of earlier plays such as Secret Love and Marriage-à-la-Mode.

In Amphitryon, in fact, the relationship between the groups of heroic lovers and lesser characters is confined, except in one scene, to comic juxtaposition. The heroic characters are almost exclusively concerned with private matters; the few general observations on man's lot offered by Alcmena in Act II are unrelated to the kind of existence presented in the sub-plot. Comment on the social order abounds, but it comes only from Phaedra and her associates. This is the first sign of an important difference from the two-plot arrangement of the play's immediate predecessor, Don Sebastian. There the involvement of the heroic characters with issues of public importance reinforced the general relevance of their private experience; so that heroic standards provided the measure of even the self-interested lesser characters, and Dorax, the character who represented the poet's satiric voice, was the mediator between the two groups.

Although in Amphitryon heroic matter is overshadowed by, and occasionally directly subordinated to, comic interest, (26) the balance between the two is not the appropriate converse of that in Don Sebastian. The point of view of the non-heroic characters may be dominant, but it is not comprehensive. Their satire is directed against those who, like themselves, are motivated by interest rather

than principle, whether Olympians ('Jupiter can swinge you off, if you swear by him, and are forsworn') or the great among mortals ('Gods, and great men, are never to be sued, for they can always plead privilege of peerage'). The only scene which provides anything like a sustained commentary on the different conventions in terms of which the two sets of characters exist is the scene of the 'settlement' between Mercury and Phaedra.(27) The difference is expressed in terms of a contrast between literary convention and everyday life. When Phaedra insists that her children's position should reflect their divine descent:

> 'I bargain that my eldest son shall be a hero, and my eldest daughter a king's mistress'.,

Mercury corrects her:

'That is to say, a blockhead, and a harlot, Phaedra '. The conclusion of the scene suggests that the two different conventions are simply incompatible; and this is endorsed by the disparity between Mercury's remarks and the sympathetic presentation of Alcmena and Amphitryon. There is no sign of the kind of qualifying commentary on the hero's weaknesses which connects Lorenzo's sub-plot with the fortunes of Torrismond, in The Spanish Friar.

Don Sébastian owed its remarkable unity to a political theme with both ethical and topical dimensions, which could afford a comprehensive moral perspective. The lack of such a perspective is a feature which Amphitryon shares with Cleomenes. It must now be shown that this apparent connection is the result of a consistent development, rather than merely a function of choice and conception of general theme.

When, in the Amphitryon prologue, the poet complains

of restrictions on

'That rage, in which his noble vigour lay',

one is tempted to acquiesce in his conclusion:

'He neither can offend ye now, nor please ye.
The honey-bag and venom, lay so near,
That both together ye resolved to tear;
And lost your pleasure, to secure your fear.'

and blame the prohibition of political satire for the lack of a single focus in the play. In fact, Dryden's complaint is partly a ruse; for despite the choice of an apparently innocuous political theme, the play contains a good deal of dispersed political comment.

Among the lower characters the political metaphor is a fairly common form of wit: Phaedra, extorting a bribe from her mistress, sees herself as a corrupt official:

'What, would you have your money out of the treasury, without paying the officers their fees? Go, get you together . . . . and then tomorrow morning I shall have another fee for parting you.'

Comments of this kind are an extension of the attitude of the lower characters to the social order; but Mercury's pseudo-prophecy about a race governed by 'interest' (a favourite term to cover the motivation of political opponents) alerts the audience to possible topical significance. References to recent events also occur, as when Phaedra attacks the cowardly Judge Gripus as a turncoat:

'Thou weathercock of government, that when the wind blows for the subject, pointest to privilege, and when it changes for the sovereign veerest to prerogative'.

Scott sees here an attack on those judges who belatedly identified themselves with the king's party when it appeared successful. But, while the corruption of such men may have contributed to the unpopularity of James II, the audience would also have recognised an allusion to the more recent changes of the Revolution period, and a criticism of those

whose
/opinions had veered towards the idea of a limited monarchy with the arrival of William of Orange, and who, unlike Dryden, had thus been able to continue in office.

Towards the end of the comedy, a comprehensive interpretation of the secondary intrigue is offered by Mercury:

> 'Such bargain-loves as I with Phaedra treat
> Are all the leagues and friendships of the great; . .
> 'Our iron age is grown an age of gold:
> 'Tis who bids most; for all men will be sold'.

Its tone of cynical disgust with public life is close to that adopted by Dryden in his prose of the post-Revolution period. This interpretation treats the world of self-interested activity as beyond the range of constructive reforming satire, and in its Juvenalian pessimism anticipates theindictment of public corruption in Cleomenes. A parallel passage in the tragedy is Ptolemy's account of the quality of his privy council; a wider form of the same view of humanity is Sosybius' comic atomism. (28)

The possibility of a positive moral perspective still exists, in the dramatic opposition of the heroic world of Alcmena's sufferings with the amoral world of Gripus. And historical context, a standard evaluative device, is provided for the heroic as well as the comic plot: the play's epilogue draws a parallel between Jupiter's reign and that of Charles II, using direct, if jocular, allusions (e.g.

> 'The treasury of Heav'n was ne'er so bare,
> But still there was a pension for the fair').

The most striking allusion here is a couplet modelled on the opening lines of Dryden's own most important work for Charles II:

> 'In all his reign, adultery was no sin
> For Jove the good example did begin'.

The lines recall the poet's involvement in the 'golden age' of Charles' reign; in this context the

final triplet becomes an open plea for the return of the Stuarts, since it expresses unrepentant adherence to the old religion:

'Then pagan gods may once again succeed:
And Jove, or Mars, be ready at our need,
To get young godlings; and so mend our breed'. (30)

Such provocative political comment is absent from the play itself. The potentially evaluative historical parallel suggested in the epilogue plays no part in the treatment of Alcmena,(31) or of Jove in his dialogues with her; support for it comes chiefly from a third centre of political awareness, the meeting of gods which Dryden devised as a prologue. The satirical prologue has the sanction of both his sources: Plautus' Mercury addresses the audience, while Molière's prologue is a dialogue between Mercury and the Night, exposing the more risible characteristics of the Olympians, and is clearly intended as a parody of the solemn adulatory prologues customary at French court entertainments.(32) From the French version Dryden derives his ridicule of the Olympians, while from the convention mocked by Molière he takes its central conceit, the equation of monarch and god, announced in Jupiter's first utterance:

'What, are you descanting upon my actions!
Much good may it do you with your politics:
All subjects will be censuring their kings.'

Given this initial equation, all the talk about Olympian affairs in the play, even when it is taken directly from Molière, can have contemporary resonances. But where these are realised it is not always with reference to Charles II. Mercury's remarks about 'old Saturn's' unpopularity seem particularly appropriate to Cromwell, but they might also apply to James, in a scene where an allusion to

the god's lack of external charms suggests a reference to William of Orange. Mercury's description of Apollo as a Whiggish squire, on the other hand, comes closer to the parallel of the Epilogue. As in Don Sebastian and Cleomenes, local historical reference is not sustained. But there is a notable contrast between the satirical material of main plot and sub-plot: while the former ranges over historical instances, general criticism of modern society is confined to the latter. This situation adumbrates the use in Cleomenes of two separate civilisations reflecting different kinds, rather than degrees, of human development.

The contrast in Amphitryon between two planes of existence is developed in the discussions of the gods. When Mercury enquires of Jove:

> 'what bird or beast you would please to honour,
> by transgressing your own laws in his likeness?'

he announces the special theme of the scene, the disparity between the public and private roles of the ruler; it is treated in some detail, and with particular reference to the example of Charles II. In terms of earthly monarchy and the projected adultery, Jupiter is justified by the same defences of natural exuberance and eugenic benefit used for Charles in Absalom and Achitophel. In addition, the frankness of his amours is favourably contrasted with the hypocrisy which would conceal such weakness in a prince,

> 'For to be secret makes not sin the less; . . .
> Maintains, perhaps the reverence due to princes
> But not absolves the conscience from the crime.'

Here the parallel between Jove and Charles II serves to launch an attack on the incipient reaction against impropriety influenced by Mary, which Dryden tended to

regard as hypocritical.

Jupiter's divinity implies an extension of the question of responsibility; his plea of destiny is unacceptable to Phoebus, who replies

'But what is fate?
Is it a blind contingent of events,
Or sure necessity of causes linked,
That must produce effects? Or is't a power
That orders all things by superior will,
Foresees his work, and works in that foresight?'

In the ensuing discussion of the absolute ruler's responsibility three strains of analogy are intermingled: that between Jupiter and Charles, the more general analogy between absolute monarch and deity, and the equation of Jupiter with the universal providence:

'Fate is what I/ By virtue of omnipotence have made it'.

The first and second of these are directed towards a vindication of Jupiter in terms of the dramatic situation; his son by Alcmena will

'redress the wrongs of injured mortals,
Shall conquer monsters, and redeem the world.'

The defence of absolute rule by the good results expected from it is comparable with that supplied for Charles at the end of Absalom and Achitophel.(33) The third analogy, however, has a separate, and even contradictory development, going beyond what seems necessary, or even appropriate for the plot as Dryden derived it from his sources. Jupiter's general claim that the workings of his providence are inscrutable:

'If thou could'st comprehend my ways,
Then thou wert Jove, not I',

has at least as much to do with man's relations with Providence as with the subject's relations with his monarch;

while Mercury's rejoinder;

> 'Our father made all those monsters for Hercules to conquer, and contrived all those vices for him to reform, there's the jest on't',

raises the fundamental issue of the existence of evil in a providentially ordered universe. Attention is quickly diverted from such speculations by Mercury's detailed caricature of a critic of government; but the discussion of fate and omnipotence remains obtrusive in its magisterial tone, and problematic in its relationship with the rest of the play. Apart from the contrast implied within the scene, between an enclosed moral system of relative values and an incomprehensible universe of absolutes, there is a contrast between the presentation of Jupiter in this scene and in the body of the play. (His appearance as deus ex machina, which alone approaches the solemnity of the first scene, offers a fuller version of the comfortable doctrine of historical justification.)

Dryden's purpose in allowing such a dialogue to stand at the beginning of his comedy is clearly not political, in the narrow sense in which the Epilogue parallel is. A possible explanation in political terms is that the passage on the mysterious ways of providence was suggested by the fall of the Stuarts, and offered as a consolation to their loyal adherents. But one recurrent feature of the scene militates against this as a complete explanation: the characterisation of the providential deity here is at variance with Dryden's usual interpretation of the Christian God as essentially wise or gracious, since the attribute most stressed is 'absolute power' or 'power omnipotent'. (For Dryden's own account of the shortcomings of this quality as essence, one may refer to the last part of Britannia Rediviva.)

However, such a view of the universe, as governed by a fate which is inexplicable, and thus, humanly speaking, blind, is appropriate to the tragic protagonist. The characters to whom the events preceding Jupiter's appearance as deus ex machina appear as tragic events are, of course, the heroic lovers Alcmena and Amphitryon. This point is already made in Plautus' lighter treatment of the legend, for his dénouement comes at the moment when Amphitryon makes to enter his house with drawn sword, intending to kill the adulterers. And Dryden emphasises the possibility of a tragic interpretation of events, by such devices as the attribution to Almeyda of a pessimistic view of providence:

> 'Ye niggard gods! you make our lives too long;
> You fill them with diseases, wants and woes,
> And only dash them with a little love,
> Sprinkled by fits, and with a sparing hand.'

Since the picture of providence in the first scene is derived from an ambiguity latent in the legend of Amphitryon, its possible relevance to recent historical events can be assumed to be secondary. The underlying concern of the scene would then be with the problematic status of the heroic ethic in the drama, rather than with the reign of Charles II. The equivalence is in any case so unequally distributed that the tension between desirable past and corrupt present, which is undeniably a factor in the drama, tends to present itself in terms of the heroic 'vehicle' rather than of the historical 'tenor'.

If the tension between the two sets of characters and values in Amphitryon is interpreted as a tension between literary modes associated with specific world-views, rather than as a tension between historical stages conventionally

associated with certain moral values,[34] the resemblance with Cleomenes is close. The passing of the golden age mourned in the Amphitryon Epilogue is, in these terms, the passing of the heroic as an effective ideal, and thus it is a slighter version of the theme of the final scene of Cleomenes. But without insisting too much on the parallels of import between the romantic plot of Amphitryon and the tragedy of Cleomenes, it can be shown that the universe represented in the tragedy is a developed form of that adumbrated by Jupiter and Alcmena. Cleomenes' human environment is incompatible with his heroic aspirations, and his gods are inscrutable.

The heroic mode in Amphitryon is characterised by continuing importance as the intellectual or organising centre of the drama; segregation from the topical in satire as in subject; and segregation from public interests (which associates it only with the life of the exceptional private individual). It is dominated by a satiric and comic plot portraying a non-heroic society(which is by implication contemporary society) from which most of the dramatic movement is derived. The resemblances are sufficient to indicate that Cleomenes is not an isolated work, and that instead of considering its import as the result of a choice of a pre-Christian subject, one should consider this kind of choice as the expression of a discontinuity between heroic ideals and the matter of contemporary life.

In Cleomenes, the divorce between the heroic and the actual was reflected in the use of a historical perspective in the action: Dryden's Spartan, like Milton's Israelite, is shown to embody the highest qualities of his epoch. In the case of Cleomenes, this removes limitations on the endorsement of the hero's attitudes. But Amphitryon,

with its manipulated ending which eclipses the pessimistic 'heroic' interpretation of earlier events, suggests an alternative result of the segregation of the heroic, a retreat into the convenient fantasies of dramatic contrivance. King Arthur demonstrates this alternative. With all the important incident and spectacular trappings of Tasso's epic, it is utterly lacking in moral import. The hero's stature is validated by his remarkable acts, but these acts are presented as dependent on the intervention of the magician Merlin. Indeed, at the end of the opera an analogy is set up between the pageant just presented by Merlin and Dryden's own re-working of material for the opera:

> 'Wisely you have, whate'er would please reveal'd
> What would displease, as wisely have conceal'd:
> Triumphs of war and peace, at full ye show,
> But swiftly turn the pages of our woe',

and this invites recognition of the entertainment as a literary device, a kind of fantasy based on heroic topics.

The retreat into history in Cleomenes implies no such sacrifice of moral significance. It is true that the limitations of the ethos under which the hero is vindicated are made apparent, but certain values are unequivocally endorsed in the hero.(35) As indicated above, these are all values inherent in the individual, and independent of external vicissitudes. They may be summarised as greatness of spirit, and pietas. The first appears, in a non-heroic society, in the negative form of abstention from action; but it is compensated by the second group, which involves loyalty to religious beliefs, familial affection, and a dedication to the ideal of friendship (understood as based on a mutual recognition of virtues). While the first class of values, taken in isolation, is not well adapted to treatment in the literary, and especially the dramatic, forms

available to Dryden, the second class, and particularly the theme of friendship, provide the most frequent topics of occasional poetry in the last decade of the poet's life. This preoccupation with modest and personal positive virtues may also be seen in the Fables, if one accepts Miner's appealing theory that this last work is organised as an illustration of the various forms of 'the good life'.(36)

This outline of the divergence, after Cleomenes, between the heroic matter of drama and the non-dramatic expression of the highest human virtues can be filled in by examining two contrasting works from the succeeding period.

A remark in the preface to Cleomenes shows that Dryden was alreay meditating a further, and final, dramatic venture of a contrasting kind. The production of Love Triumphant followed within two years. King gives the play a place among his 'major plays', partly because he considers it to be an unsuccessful moral drama.(37) At the same time he confesses himself puzzled by the relationship between its romantic and comic plots - a relationship which, if the play was indeed conceived as a moral drama, is likely to be particularly significant, especially when the ensemble of the plot is Dryden's own:

'Coin'd from our own old poet's addle-pate.'
(Prologue, l.28.)

The links between the two plots can provide a useful approach to the question of the general import of the play.

A brief scene at the end of Act III points to the kind of connections to be made. When the princely hero, Alphonso, tells the soldier Carlos (the principal figure of the comic plot) that he has lost his mistress and has been banished, Carlos replies:

'Just my own condition: I have had a revolution in my small affairs too; I am banished, and going to look for the next commodious tree to make a wry face on it.'

The parallel between their fortunes runs throughout the play. The subject of the comic plot is Carlos' attempts to outwit his rival Sancho and gain the hand of Dalinda in spite of her father's opposition; while one of the chief subjects of the romantic plot is Alphonso's attempt to win the princess Victoria from her father, the tyrant Veramond, and from his rival, Don Garcia. Although this symmetry is to some extent dissimulated by the sensational theme of incest in the first part of the main plot, a formal symmetry is maintained by the sharing of each Act between the two plots, which keeps both at a similar stage of development.(38) In addition, certain themes are common to both plots: the slur of incest on Victoria's reputation is matched on Dalinda's side by the allegation, made at one point by Carlos, that she is concealing a bastard by the Conde; and the theme of concealed identity in the romantic plot is reflected in the disguises, permanent and temporary,(39) of the comic plot.

In the incident cited above, while Alphonso's response to his banishment was to seek to vindicate himself by armed insurrection, Carlos preferred to abandon the matter as hopeless and assume the appropriate postures of despair. Contrasting consequences arising from the similar situations of the two plots are a recurrent feature. The treatment of the theme of renunciation in the two pairs of lovers is one indication of the purpose served by relating the two plots so closely. Both Victoria and Dalinda are resolved to dispose of themselves, irrespective of their fathers' wishes;

each, confronted with her preferred lover, rejects him. Victoria prefers to save her own honour and her father's by submitting to his choice of husband,[40] and tells Alphonso:

> 'Since, then, you have declared me free, this hour
> I put myself within a parent's power'.

She thus makes the traditional correct choice between passion and honour, although the consequence envisaged is the death of both lovers. Dalinda rejects Carlos in accordance with her father's plans for restoring the family fortunes; but she does so because she knows that the rosy shared future imagined by Carlos, who is ignorant of her poverty, is impossible:

> 'Since neither you nor I have fortunes, what should we do together, unless we should turn cannibals, and eat up one another?' [41]

While both women finally follow the decree of a selfish father, neither concurs in the paternal motives.

Abandoning his hopes of Victoria, Alphonso resolves to inflict violent death either on himself or on others; but under the influence of his father Ramirez he renounces the desire for vengeance, and submits himself as an insurgent to the judgement of Victoria's tyrannous father. For the purposes of the play, he is at his most noble when he gives up the extremes of behaviour dictated by the code of the martial hero, although the order to which he submits is the same deficient one that he had earlier rejected, while he believed himself to be the tyrant's son. Significantly, it is at this point that Ramirez commends his heroic qualities of soul.[42]

For Carlos, the financial obstacle is admitted to be insuperable, and the renunciation of Dalinda follows as a matter of course;[43] he reserves only the right to relieve his

vexation in a satire on women:

> 'I'll go home and indite iambics: thou shalt not want for an epithalamium.'

Carlos' renunciation of a mistress, like Rhodophil's and Palamede's in Marriage-à-la-Mode, is dictated by practical considerations; but it is none the less appropriate, and even wise, in the self-seeking society depicted in the comic plots of both plays. The earlier play made a general contrast between the conduct of characters ruled by the conventions of romance, and those ruled by the pretensions of fashionable society. In Love Triumphant, through a more carefully contrived correspondence of plots, the comparison is precise to the point of suggesting an evaluation. The highest achievements of Victoria's and Alphonso's exalted absolute code of morality are shown to be renunciation and resignation; but the same qualities are also to be found in, and are actually necessitated by, a society of relative values and expedient morality. While this correspondence tends to support King's theory that Dryden was writing about the Christian virtue of renunciation, it also suggests than another element in the play may be at least as important as its external reference; namely, the mutual reference between the different areas of the play itself. The tendency in Dryden's post-Revolution drama towards an internally determined moral significance has already been shown in the hypothetical moral universes of Amphitryon and Cleomenes; and analyses of the panegyric poems of this last period show them functioning as contrived closed systems.(44) In the case of Love Triumphant, it is notable that after its failure Dryden defends it to his patron as a dramatic artefact, pointing out its generally approved formal characteristics.

In Cleomenes, authentic value attached only to the characters segregated from a corrupt society. In Love Triumphant the situation is not precisely reversed - to suggest that Carlos represents Dryden's idea of the modest practical virtue possible in a corrupt society would be to claim too much for the sub-plot - but the significance of the main plot is vitiated by its extravagance. Scott voices typical complaints:

'The virtuous Queen of Arragon cultivates and encourages a passion having all the moral guilt of an incestuous attachment . . . .The tyrant Veramond is the only person who acts upon rational principles throughout the piece . . After so many and such violent stretches of probability, the author does not deign to wind up the plot other than by a sudden change . . . a conclusion which he himself admits in general to be grossly inartificial'. (45)

By contrast the comic plot (if one excepts the initial absurdity of Carlos allowing a rival to court his mistress in his presence, which actually reflects the predicament of Alphonso in the earlier part of the scene) develops by simple and explicit stages. However slight and pedestrian, the comic plot is at least consistent with its own principles. The only apparent excrescence, the intervention of the Conde's sister, is connected with the financial motivation of the rest of the plot. Like Dalinda, she is a mistress of Carlos, abandoned because of financial obstacles to the match. Since the Count has chosen to bequeath his riches to her, rather than to his mistress Dalinda, it is she who provides Carlos with the wealthy match he needs. This marked contrast between a slight but consistent subplot, and a violently eventful and improbable main plot, seems itself to be another form of dramatic contrivance.

The comic plot of Love Triumphant is so commonplace as to defy the source-hunter; (46) the only prominent self-borrowing is the 'examination' of the two feigned counts,

taken from Amphitryon, Act V. On the other hand, Alphonso's adventures, however wild, are hardly ever original. Although Dryden borrows from other authors, and most obviously from Beaumont and Fletcher's A King and No King, his most extensive borrowings are from his own dramas in the heroic and romantic tradition. Act I shows Veramond as a tyrant father jealous of a virtuous son: this type appears as early as The Indian Emperor, figures prominently in Aurengzebe, and recurs in Marriage-à-la-Mode, where the tyrant threatens his supposed son with banishment for opposing his marriage plans, as Veramond does in Act II. In the same scene, Alphonso's clemency towards a noble enemy, which arouses the king's indignation, derives from an incident involving the Christian Duke of Arcos and Almanzor, in The Conquest of Granada Part I. In Love Triumphant, as in The Conquest of Granada Part II, the sympathy is eventually explained by the discovery that the two are father and son.

While the incest theme has a well-documented source, it is worth pointing out that it is a neat inversion of the tragic incest of Sebastian and Almeyda. The language of the tragic lovers is sometimes echoed in Love Triumphant; the imagery of smoke and flame in Act II resembles that of Almeyda's distinction between the smoky flame which ignites and the clear light-giving taper of her own love, in the scene in which the tragic lovers discussed the mysterious warnings against their passion. Victoria's 'Incendiary book, polluted flame' is taken up in Alphonso's contrast between the 'fiercer flames' of his 'sooty heart' and the 'pure beams' of Victoria's chaster love; and the pattern of contrasted image of combustion recurs in their dialogue of Act III. Like Sebastian (in Act I, and again in Act II

of the tragedy), Alphonso reveals his love through an excessive concern for his mistress' interests; he quarrels publicly with the favoured suitor, Garcia. A similar disagreement between Leonidas and Argaleon in Marriage-a-la-Mode reveals to his enemies Leonidas' love for Palmyra; while in The Spanish Friar Torrismond's lack of respect for Bertrand, the Queen's betrothed, reveals his passion for the Queen.

But the most significant borrowing in the second Act is Dryden's use of an excerpt from his own translation of Ovid. Through a reading of Canace's epistle, Alphonso and Victoria avow their own passion; their emotions are identified with those of Ovid's heroine, particularly when Victoria interrupts the reading and completes the Ovidian couplet:

'Forced at the last, my shameful pain I tell',

with her own confession:

'No more: we know our mutual love too well.'

This device explicitly sites the whole relationship within the context of existing literary treatments of heroic passion, and in addition, of Dryden's own previous versions of it.

The use of couplets for the dialogues of the lovers has been suggested as evidence of early composition for this part of Love Triumphant,(47) a contention weakened by the fact that rhyme was used for Cassandra's avowal of love in Cleomenes. There the emphasis was on the contrast and antipathy between the two characters; in Love Triumphant, the debate is essentially the familiar one between inclination and personal honour. In both cases the kind of engagement engendered by the sensuous blank verse of Sebastian or Jupiter would be out of place. The allusion to Ovid makes it clear that the debate of Alphonso and Victoria revives the

stylised

presentation of passion which Dryden abandoned when he wrote All for Love. This is most evident in the lovers' dialogue of Act IV, where Victoria's sense of honour is interpreted by the jealous Alphonso as evidence of faithlessness - a favourite device for generating tension between lover and mistress in the early plays. In the same way, Aurengzebe takes his mistress' apparent compliance with his enemies as a sign that she has betrayed him;(48) and the theme occurs briefly in Almanzor's parting from Almahida in the last act of The Conquest of Granada, Part I. Taken in conjunction with the other self-borrowings of Love Triumphant, the resurrection of the conventional love debate appears as one element in a collection of familiar devices, rather than as an indication of earlier composition.

The third Act of Love Triumphant contains a more important echo of Marriage-à-la-Mode, in the scene in which the secret of the supposed prince's birth is revealed to the tyrant and his court. The earlier play has two such scenes, both occurring early on, although the true identity of the hero is not revealed until the fifth Act.(49) It is the second scene which is imitated in Love Triumphant. The tyrant Polydamas discovers that he has been deceived in supposing Leonidas to be his son. Hermogenes, the author of the deception, is present, and, like Ximena, asserts the truth of his information, bringing as witness a letter from the tyrant's deceased wife: Ximena, in a more striking coup de théâtre, summons Ramirez, Alphonso's true father, as her witness. Alphonso, like Leonidas, is exiled from the court, and his defiant farewell:

> 'Proud of my exile, with erected face . . .
> Unhappy, but triumphant in despair'

corresponds to the soliloquy in which the exiled Leonidas expresses his sense of innate virtue. Palmyra becomes for Leonidas an inaccessible princess destined to marry the inferior courtier Argaleon. Veramond, like Polydamas, takes steps to hasten his daughter's marriage on the disinheritance of the supposed prince.

The dénouement scene of Act III is also the converse of the tragic dénouement of Don Sebastian. There the evidence of the parents' adultery and the guilt of the children was gradually and reluctantly accepted; while in Love Triumphant Veramond clings to imputations of guilt against his wife, creating a similar kind of interest.

Alphonso, like Leonidas in Marriage-à-la-Mode, leaves the court to head a rebellion, with the twin aims of restoring his father's line to power and regaining his mistress. At this point Carlos and Sancho, like Rhodophil and Palamede, appear in their military role to second the hero's rebellion. But in their readiness to submit to the established power they resemble more Lorenzo and the other soldiers who forsake the losing cause in The Spanish Friar. Victoria's preference for filial duty over love, shown in her decision to return to her father, is a commonplace; her predecessors include Montezuma's daughter (The Indian Emperor) and Benzayda (The Conquest of Granada) as well as Palmyra in Marriage-à-la-Mode.

The play's greatest debt to Don Sebastian is the scene which follows Victoria's departure. Ramirez, acting as devil's advocate, suggests various remedies for Alphonso's despair, and gradually leads him, as Dorax did Sebastian, to a state of resignation. Alphonso's reply, when Ramirez pictures a bloody revenge, paraphrases Sebastian's rejection of

the idea of suicide:

> 'you have given my soul so large a swing,
> That it bounds back again with double force,
> Only because you carried it too far.
> You've set an image of so vast destruction
> Before my sight, that reason shuns the approach
> And dare not view the fearful precipice.'

The scene as a whole belongs in the Drydenian tradition, dating from All for Love and Troilus and Cressida, of scenes in which an errant hero is persuaded to virtuous action by a noble friend. It lacks the intensity of the last scenes of this type (such as that between Cleomenes and Cleanthes) because it is conceived within the terms of the continuing heroic debate. As a piece of externalised meditation, Alphonso's change of heart prepares for the parallel change in Veramond in the final scene. There the deliberations proper to Veramond as judge are put into the mouth of Celidea, who undertakes to speak for the prosecution, until the tyrant identifies himself with her interpretation of the case:

> 'Oh, I have held as long as nature could;
> Convinced in reason, obstinate in will'.

And Celidea, like Ramirez, proceeds by encouraging the excesses of the subject's will to revenge, so that they must appear ridiculous. These two parallel scenes of repentance show a sophisticated structural organisation behind the final coup de théâtre. For the actual idea of the final scene, one must look to Fletcher's play The Laws of Candy. Like Love Triumphant, it deals with the rivalry between father and son. The father's jealousy when his son is awarded the highest military honours leads him eventually to prosecute the young hero; but his daughter, who undertakes to conduct the case, actually succeeds in exonerating the son to the satisfaction even of the father. (50)

Alphonso's career is thus a compilation of incidents from those of his predecessors; given the apparent disillusionment with the ideal of the active military hero in the fables of Don Sebastian and Cleomenes, the synthetic construction of this last example of the type seems appropriate. By drawing on incidents and concomitant attitudes from heroic comedy, Dryden establishes Alphonso in a tradition which he had otherwise left behind. The method is akin to that of the polemic verse, where the standing of an individual is established by the use of Classical or Biblical analogy: Alphonso has been shown undergoing all the vicissitudes proper to the military hero, and established responses to these situations can be relied on to create belief in his status. The difference here is that both the precedents appealed to, and the character concerned, belong to the same class of experience, the literary; so that the adventures of Alphonso are shown only as being relevant to their own genre. The possibility of direct relevance to the spectator, as with the introduction of the original sin analogy in Don Sebastian, is minimised by the unqualified extravagance of the romantic plot. The play is thus more enclosed than Don Sebastian, or even Cleomenes: Alphonso represents the history of a literary conception, rather than any idea of human worth.

The hypothesis of regarding the main plot in Love Triumphant as a consciously literary phenomenon explains the equivocal relations between the comic and heroic plots. The analogy of Amphitryon and Cleomenes, in which a comic- and satiric sub-plot served to represent a Juvenalian version of the modern world, makes it easy to see the comic plot of Love Triumphant as portraying the everyday reality

excluded by the heroic conventions. The play would then express, though with a somewhat different emphasis, the contrast between actual and literay experience adumbrated in Amphitryon. The different endings of the plots bear out this hypothesis. Carlos' difficulties are not resolved, but superseded by the realisation of an alternative, if less attractive, possibility; Alphonso's are resolved in a highly contrived dénouement. Both plots conclude by rewarding the virtue of resignation: but the contrast in the manner of rewarding, as well as of attaining, virtue, illustrates a difference in kind, rather than worth, between the two varieties of experience; while it also asserts that authentic value inheres in the confused materialist world. In this way Love Triumphant reflects, though faintly, the positive gain which in the non-dramatic verse of this last period accompanies Dryden's abandonment of the idea of the publicly active hero: the development of a strain of poetry celebrating modest but inalienable individual virtue.

Where literary convention plays so large a part in the organisation of the plot as it does in Love Triumphant, the relation between author and work is likely to be made more than usually explicit. That Dryden criticised the play as a formal unit, without entering into any sympathetic justification of character or motivation (as he does, for example, in the preface to Don Sebastian) has already been pointed out. He is also abnormally explicit about details of the staging; and the play contains many details which draw attention fo the artifice of stage presentation, such as the interrupted wedding procession, the 'discovery' of

Alphonso reading Ovid, or Veramond's overhearing the parting of the lovers. Concrete details are prominent in the main plot as well as the sub-plot; the finding of the book is a device for proving Veramond's suspicions of Alphonso (the explicitness of the 'doubled leaf' which directs both Veramond and Victoria to Alphonso's precise state of mind is comical); and directions for emblematic movement abound. In the opening scene, for example:

> 'Alphonso first kneels to his father and mother, and immediately runs to salute his sister Victoria tenderly.'

The ceremonial gatherings of Veramond's court in the first and final scenes, with the intervening set-piece of the third, also stress the artificiality of the conventions of theatrical action, by means of formal grouping (e.g. when the curtain is raised 'Courtiers stand attending in file on each side of the Stage; the Men on the one hand, the Ladies on the other'), and there is much formal movement of guards and nobles. Veramond and his court seem to be assembled in order that the action may continue in spectacular fashion, rather than from any internal dramatic necessity; while the supernumary courtiers provide their audience. The final lines of the play expose directly the cheat of the theatrical convention:

> 'Just like the winding up of some design,
> Well formed, upon the crowded theatre;
> Where all concerned surprisingly are pleased,
> And what they wish see done'.

The speaker is Veramond, who throughout the play has acted as the 'blocking force'.

The absence of any external significance, either political or moral, in the main plot, is, then, to be attributed to the fact that the stage court is to be seen for what it is in realistic terms, a spectacular diversion. Just as the hero

is made to run through all the varieties of heroic action before finally renouncing it, Dryden evokes the various stages of the past of the heroic convention in his own and other dramas which invested the military ideal with moral importance; and then dramatises his own renunciation of the genre. To explain the tyrant's sudden change of will in the last Act it is necessary to return to Dryden's Prologue. There he develops the parallel between the political and the theatrical stage:

> 'As when some treasurer lays down the stick,
> Warrants are signed for ready money thick,
> And many desperate debentures are paid,
> Which never had been, had his lordship stayed:
> So now this poet, who forsakes the stage,
> Intends to gratify the present age.'

As far the [illegible] stage is concerned, Dryden, like the treasurer, is renouncing his responsibility. In Act V, with Veramond's change of heart, he is giving characters and audience what they want, irrespective of moral responsibility, and makes the hand of the poet as manipulator of his stage puppets clearly visible. In making this farewell to the stage tradition, Dryden was most probably inspired by the example of Shakespeare's Prospero. That he made the identification between the poet as creator and the magician and ruler is clear from his Prologue to the adaptation of The Tempest on which he worked with Sir William Davenant. There Prospero and Shakespeare are equated in various ways: as the originator of the storm (of Act I and of the play's title), as the conjuror of powerful spirits ('Within that Circle none durst walk but he') and, most importantly, as the ruler of a domain in which his laws remain absolute, and of two contrasted subjects, the refined Fletcher and the baser Jonson.(51) This last topic comes fairly close to the political metaphor adopted in the Prologue to Love Triumphant.

But the contrast between Prospero, who lays down his wand, and Dryden, who 'lays down his stick' indicates a satirical modification of the idea of the resignation of the dramatic poet's fictive powers. The Prologue focusses also on the character of the world outside the charmed circle. The world of the heroic drama is still a magic island ruled by the poet, but it is not one from which the regenerate characters return to take up responsibilities in any real world. It is quite discontinuous with the unregenerate world represented by the audience of the play, the 'beaux' and 'roaring boys' whom the author can only expect to please by indulging their corrupt judgement. The Prologue observes directly that the purport of the play is irrelevant to them:

> 'The fable has a moral too, if sought;
> But let that go; for, upon second thought,
> He fears but few come hither to be taught.'

In the accompanying claim to satisfy all tastes (ll.5-8) one may see an echo of the disgust expressed in the Preface to Cleomenes over criticisms of the hero's rejection of Cassandra:

> 'I will endeavour to make them amends, if I write again, and my next hero shall be no Spartan.'

The Prologue to Love Triumphant indicates, then, a deliberate act of resignation and indulgence in a play, which also makes the fullest demonstration of the playwright's power to create a fictitious world. And it is the venality of the actual world with its demand for indulgence which is understood to vitiate the moral significance of the heroic mode in the drama.

For a more constructive, if pessimistic, assessment of the relation between the work of the artist and the society around him , one must turn to the poems of this last decade. A poem which gives a full exposition of Dryden's attitudes just after the end of his dramatic career is the verse

address To Sir Godfrey Kneller. The occasion of the poem - the gift from a modern painter to a modern poet of a portrait of one of the greatest poets of the past - was one capable of carrying multiple significances. These the poem develops in terms of the relations between the two arts, and of the perspective of history in the arts. The epistle is founded on a traditional and commonplace topic, that of art as imitation of nature, and on a traditional and commonplace structural device, that of the historical progress piece.

The dual opening paragraph (lines 1-6 and 7-13) shows the complexity of cross-reference which may be set up between these two ideas and the practice of the two arts of painting and poetry. The first part of the paragraph describes a perfect representation of the human form 'the fairest of her Kind'; it is unlocalised, and the term 'Idea ' suggests that it constitutes a kind of Platonic 'Form' of human beauty. The second part of the paragraph relates this experience to the products of Kneller's art. The move here from the unlocalised to the specific indicates one link between the two controlling ideas of the poem, the idea of art as the imitation of enduring object which have their existence in time.

Another link between the poem's different areas of interest is the elaboration, and even, in lines 11-13, the inversion, of the Horatian dictum 'ut pictura poesis'. The opening lines are an account, in words, of something that impressed itself on the poet's senses as a picture; at the same time, the poet completes the inarticulate 'human picture' by endowing it with a means of expression, through his fiction of Nature's speech. And while the poet, by a fiction, makes Nature speak, Kneller by his art, makes portraiture speak:

> 'At least thy pictures look a Voice; and we
> Imagine Sounds, deceived to that degree,
> We think 'tis somewhat more than just to see.'

Thus what is predicated of Kneller's art can also be extended

to Dryden's; and in following the course of the poem's argument, one can speak generally of a relation between artist, work and nature. It is this nexus of relationships which is relevant to the understanding of the quality and status of the various literary modes.

The first paragraph introduces some complexities by its use of the term 'nature'. The 'Nature' of l.3 is, clearly, the power which creates the human artefact. But when Kneller paints and 'Nature seems obedient':

'Comes out, and meets thy Pencil in the Draught'

what he is dealing with is 'nature' as the sum total of natural appearances (the artefacts of 'Nature' as 'Genius'), although his creative activity may be likened to that of Nature. In this way the first paragraph sketches a hierarchy from the Creator, through his creation, mankind, to the artist's secondary and dependent creation, the imitation of mankind. Dryden puts this idea in an image which recalls the Platonic theory of art:

'Shadows are but Privations of the Light; ...

'Nothing themselves, and yet expressing all.
Such are thy Pieces, imitating Life
So near, they almost conquered in the strife'. (ll.14-19)

This assessment of the artist's realm of activity forms the basis for the description of the relationship between artist and society later in the epistle.

This introductory survey of the nature of art leads on to the first 'progress piece' (ll.22-72). The broadest of the three, it reviews the whole historical development of art up to the time of Kneller, beginning with Prometheus as the first creator of the human artefact, and ending with Titian. From the present point of view, its most significant features are that it makes the connection between progress in the arts and progress in civilisation, and that it has an asymmetrical conclusion. Dryden has placed Kneller, as he placed Milton

in his epigram on Paradise Lost, as the third and excelling member of a trinity:

> 'One coloured best, and one did best design.
> Raphael's, like Homer's, was the nobler part,
> But Titian's Painting looked like Virgil's Art.
> Thy Genius gives thee both'.

Both Italians are thus paired with poets; but the obvious poetic equivalent for Kneller is withheld, by the introduction of a description of the highest form of art as appropriate to Shakespeare as to Kneller, and only implied by proximity. Line 73 moves abruptly from Kneller to 'Shakespear', immediately qualified as one of Kneller's pictures.

The second progress piece (ll 89-100) deals with the history of the 'sister arts' of poetry and painting in society, from pre-Lapsarian times to the reign of Charles II. At this point (l.101) the poet ostensibly breaks off his discourse, although his ensuing account of Kneller's place in society in fact brings the progress down to modern times. Here again the progress piece has an asymmetrical conclusion:

> 'Apelles Art an Alexander found,
> And Raphael did with Leo's gold abound,
> But Homer was with barren Lawrel crown'd.'

The first two lines of the triplet deal consistently with the visual arts, and suggest chronological summary; the transition to poetry and an earlier stage of civilisation in the final line is an anticlimax. On the analogy of the earlier 'syllogism', the natural conclusion would have been a climactic reference to Kneller and his patrons; the force of the chronological expectation makes it possible to understand 'barren Lawrels' as an allusion to Dryden's predicament. Both the failure of climactic development and the personal involvement of the poet are expanded in the following couplet

> 'Thou had'st thy Charles a while, and so had I,
> But pass we that unpleasing Image by.'

In lines 123-143 a 'lateral' perspective of the position of the artist develops into the poem's last progress-piece, an account of Kneller's own growth into maturity. The successive progress pieces thus show a decline in length as well as scope. Like the others, this passage ends with a threefold formulation, whose apparent symmetry is immediately modified. The poet mentions the painter's early familiarity with Italian art, which incited him to 'generous Emulation':

'For what in Nature's Dawn the Child admir'd,
The Youth endeavour'd, and the Man acquir'd.'

Here the qualification of the climactic series is made exolicit:

'yet thou hast not reached their high degree';

and the idea of cumulative development which appears to underlie the progress pieces, here as elsewhere, is finally discredited. But the poem still ends, as many poems of historical review do, with a prophecy of an appropriate kind of future (ll. 166-181).

To understand this final section it is necessary to return to the passages of discussion appearing between the progress passages, which prepare for the valuation of modern art reached in the judgement of Kneller's work quoted above. The section following Dryden's general history of painting (ll. 68-88) is controlled by the idea of the relations between Shakespeare and his modern successors Kneller and Dryden. Taken as a whole, the passage forms a gloss on the absence of a sixth term in the pseudo-syllogism which precedes it; and it also forms a transition to the lower style of the ensuing progress piece. Lines 65-72 continue the discussion of Kneller's art from the first paragraph; but where the first passage dealt with the representation of reality, this deals with the higher level of organisation in the individual picture:

'Likeness is ever there; but still the best,
Like proper Thoughts in lofty Language drest'

And there is a conflation here between the terms proper to painting

and those appropriate to literature

(apparent again in line 71:

'Of various Parts a perfect whole is wrought').

Whereas at the level of the first passage the two arts of poetry and painting are regarded as complementary, at this higher level of organisation they are treated as sharing the same aims and standards. This would seem to prepare for an identificatio of Kneller's art with Shakespeare's; but line 73 presents a shift, not from one exemplar to another, but from general theory to specific instance:

'Shakespeare, thy Gift, I place before my sight'.

In a sense, lines 74-80 continue and complete the praise of Kneller's art, since they are introduced by a conflation of representation and subject:

'With awe I ask his blessing ere I write;
With reverence look on his majestic face',

which may be regarded as the pinnacle of the artist's achievement.

Another feature of this conflation is that it alters the multiple relationships between the artist and artefacts described. The chain of influence seems at first to run from Kneller, through his artefact, to Dryden, who is inspired by the portrait; but its alleged effect on the poet is to inspire him to emulate, and so to create a poem to inspire Kneller to emulation of, the historical Shakespeare. Although the portrait of Shakespeare is central to the relation of the two artists, the influence of his thoughts is a common, and higher, inspiration. The proper sixth term of the analogy is not Shakespeare, but Dryden, made equal with Kneller by their similar relation to Shakespeare. The passage on Shakespeare's and modern critics (ll.81-88) emphasises the common interest of Dryden and Kneller. In the course of this section Dryden has sited his own art in relation to Shakespeare's:

'Proud to be less, but of his Godlike Race. ..
' ..I like Teucer under Ajax fight.'

Because of the analogy between the two modern artists, this placing can be taken as applying also to Kneller, and the implication here anticipates the explicit valuations of ll.117-119 and line 142.

The next progress piece, contrasting the lot of poet and artist, leads an account of the painter's present social role, and of his treatment of the available subjects (the ethos of painting). With the introduction of the idea of the Fall (ll.90-92), the idea of a post-lapsarian moral and natural world enters the poem, continuing the pattern of a decline in level of style and increase in concrete detail as the higher levels of the artist's function are reached. The allusion to Charles II, or rather to the loss of Charles II, as an 'Image' prepares the transition to the idea of the painter as a false god:

'Rich in thy self, and of thy self Divine,
All Pilgrims come and offer at thy Shrine.'

The power valued in the artist in the post-lapsarian world is that of improving outward beauty..

The indication of the first paragraph, that the poet as a secondary creator depends on the quality of the creation he mimics, has a new importance in this post-lapsarian state. Nature is fallen:

'on wild Nature we ingraft our skill',

and the artist can do no more than attempt to redeem it:

'Thou paint'st as we describe, improving still, ...

'But not creating Beauties at our Will.'

For this reason his productions cannot equal those of a better Age:

'that's enough for thee,
The first of these Inferiour Times to be;
Not to contend with Heroes Memory.'

Altogether, the material of the passage makes a loose association between pre-lapsarian and heroic states of art; the heroic was earlier associated with Shakespeare. In this

evaluation also Dryden is paired with Kneller, by the phrase 'as we describe', by the image of 'Shrubs', particularly appropriate to the Bays, and explicitly in the last line of the passage:

'Such is thy Lott; and such I wish my own.'

The final discussion of the artist's function deals with the constraints put on his choice of subject matter by the fact of living in a fallen society. At this stage the association between Kneller's position and Dryden's, built up in the earlier stages of the poem, is explicitly presented, so that the poet seems to be speaking of universal conditions applying to the artist; and this suggestion of generality reduces the sharpness of his very specific complaints.

The ending of the poem puts forward two important conclusions. First, that there is a hierarchy of forms in the arts:

'For what a Song or senceless Opera
Is to the living Labour of a Play,
Or what a Play to Virgil's Work would be,
Such is a single Piece to History.'

The artist's highest achievements must be in the highest modes of art, and this explains the ambiguous valuation of Kneller's work; although his best work might be in the epic style (imagined in accordance with the ideas of du Fresnoy's poem in ll.166-173) he has not yet been able to approach this higher level of expression:

'Thy Genius, bounded by the Times, like Mine,
Drudges; on petty Draughts, nor dare design
A more Exalted Work, and more Divine.'

The reason for this limitation is expressed in terms of the artist's role as ruler and creator:

'But we, who Life bestow, ourselves must live:
Kings cannot reign unless their Subjects give;
And they who pay the Taxes bear the Rule:
Thus thou, sometimes, art forc'd to draw a Fool.'

The idea of the artist as the absolute creator of a 'golden' world is immediately discredited by the inversion of the first line; the artist is as metal as his audience. And in terms

of regal power, he is no more than a limited monarch (a classification also applicable to Kneller's master, William III). Here the matter of constitutional theory, familiar as the theme of many passages in the polemic verse, provides the vehicle for an assessment of the artist's own position. With reference to this background of usage, one can interpret the passage as denying true (absolute) control to the poet in a post-lapsarian state, and this takes up the idea of the false god (ll.102-103) who is worshipped only for what he can provide - Dryden's image of Kneller's worldly success as a portrait painter. The limitation of the artist's powers results from the fact that he cannot exist without the support of society. The financial aspect of the regal metaphor dominates these lines, but the passage which follows suggests that society is more directly responsible for the limitations of the artist because, as the 'nature' which he is to imitate, it is itself so limited. Even Kneller can do no more than improve on a basically degenerate subject:

> 'so his Follies in thy Posture sink,
> The senceless Ideot seems at last to think.
> Good Heav'n! That Sots and Knaves should be so vain,
> To wish their vile Resemblance may remain!
> And stand recorded at their own Request,
> To future Days, a Libel or a Jeast.' (ll.158-163.)

The second major conclusion, then, is that the artist's historical setting will determine the level to which he can aspire in the practice of his art.

It was suggested above than many of the distinctive features and faults of Cleomenes could be explained by regarding the play as representing a divorce between the heroic mode and conventional dramatic style on the one hand, and between the values attached to the epic and heroic modes and the values of contemporary society on the other. The

address To Sir Godfrey Kneller shows an argument carefully developed to enforce almost identical conclusions: that the epic mode is superior to the dramatic; that the poet's proper aspiration is towards this highest mode; that the degeneracy of a non-heroic, or post-lapsarian, society unfits it to be the subject of this mode; and that the poet cannot truthfully combine the contemporary with the heroic.

The verse address, by the very fact of its composition, embraces the alternative open to the poet as a socially responsible being, that of a restricting commerce with contemporary society. But the techniques used to balance this choice against the alternative of a retreat into the past are in themselves of some interest.

The figure of the contemporary artist, Kneller or Dryden, emerges from a mass of analogy which is both varied and confused. Its variety derives partly from a multiplicity of historical reference; Classical art and history (Homer, Virgil, Apelles and Alexander) combine with Renaissance art (Titian, Raphael and Shakespeare) as well as Classical and Christian mythology (Prometheus and Eden) and recent English history (Charles and his less absolute nephew) to define the artist's situation. His historical background is thus a fluctuating medium, composed of heterogenous traditions, rather than a unified whole capable of purposive interpretation. Here one sees the complete breakdown of the technique of the rigorous parallel use of history found in The Duke of Guise, and of the rigorously selected parallels of Absalom and Achitophel. But this feature of the poem is congruent with a tendency already observed in Don Sebastian and Cleomenes, where obvious allusions to recent political situations fitted into no scheme of significance.

The 'value' of analogical material is being determined by context, rather than content.

In the verse-address to Kneller, this tendency towards autonomy of referential structure is further supported by the specialised use made of a cluster of traditionally linked, and elevating, images. Chief among these is the image of the artist as type of the creating deity, first introduced when Kneller is associated with Prometheus. But the associated types of the monarch (the human representative of the divine order) and the hero (the godlike man) have also appeared as images of the artist at different stages in the poem. Elevating images such as these are clearly derived from, and proper to, the heroic mode, but also more particularly to the active hero - prince or leader - himself. (Frequent reference has been made to the kingly and godlike characteristics of the hero, so prominent in both Don Sebastian and Cleomenes.) But, in the epistle to Kneller, the focus of elevating analogies is transferred from the conventional hero figure to the figure of the artist. While it supports the unattainable ideal of the heroic in art, the poem also, to some extent, endows the artist with heroic status.

This access of significance is partly consequent on the range of functions which the poem's argument attributes to the artist: at best, (ll.6-10) he is the creator of a world modelled on the Neo-Platonic ideal forms: at worst,(ll.112-114) he is the redeemer of fallen Nature in his idealising representations of it.

But the artist's elevated status is assured in part by the arrangement, as distinct from the content, of the analogies employed. The various images of the artist set up are all fleeting, immediately discarded or superseded. The impression thus created is that the universe of analogy, like that of history, is a fragmented one. This is made most explicit in the

breaking of triad-groups of implied analogy mentioned above. This must raise the status of the artistic effort which creates a unified world from such fragments. (Indirectly it raises the status of the present instances of art, Dryden's poem and Kneller's portrait of Shakespeare, but this introspective intention is subsidiary.) Furthermore, the proliferation of disparate evaluative details facilitates the adoption of very simple (even binary) frames of reference, derived from the work's structure rather than its content. This possibility was discussed above with reference to the moral scheme of Cleomenes, where it was seen as a restricting by-product of a 'saturation' of significance in Cassandra and the protagonist.(53)

In the Kneller poem, the frame of reference provided is that of a contrast between past and present, between the desirable past of Charles II (the true image of divinity), of poetry without rhyme, and of princely patronage, and the undesirable present in which the painter may become a false god, and art is bent to current conventions, including that of rhyme, because of the artist's financial dependence on an undiscriminating public. But the past is also, in art as in history, the heroic period - as ll.117-119 make clear - and the present the unheroic. Both frames of reference seem to be projected on to a more radical image of historical disjunction, which includes the literary and historical, the image of the Fall of Man. The importance of this image, particularly, in Dryden's later work, as a symbol of irrevocability, has been well explored by Roper.(54) In the Kneller poem it is finely focussed in ll.89-94,

a passage which, although it occupies a central position in the poem, appears to be something of a digression, developing from l.89 -

'Our Arts are Sisters, though not Twins in Birth' -:

'For hymns were sung in Edens happy Earth
By the first Pair; while Eve was yet a Saint;
Before she fell with Pride and learn'd to paint.
Forgive th'Allusion; 'twas not meant to bite;
But Satire will have Room, where e're I write.'

The literal effect of the Fall - a change from a 'happy Earth' to a world of deceitful 'painting' - accentuate a shift in the poem's content from the preoccupation with the past of art in its first half to the preoccupation with its present in the second half; but simultaneously they evaluate the relationship between past and present. At the same time, the shift from pre-lapsarian to post-lapsarian in these lines is articulated as a shift from 'high' generalisation ('Our Arts are Sisters', 'hymns were sung in Edens happy Earth') to specific and immediate concerns ('Forgive th'Allusion', 'where e're I write'). There is consequently a lowering of tone in the passage and this puts the significance of the Fall into the category of stylistic effect. Again, the final couplet underlines the idea of a Fall in art: it points self-consciously to the contrast between Edenic hymns and modern satire, and glances at the success of Kneller in flattering the pride of the modern Eve in his portraits.

The association of the pre-Fall state with the heroic in literature puts the great artists of the past into the category of pre-lapsarian man. (In another verse-address of the period, to Congreve on his comedy The Double Dealer, Dryden likens their great predecessors to 'the Giant Race before the Flood'.) In addition, the symmetries of argument discussed above tend to transfer what is predicated

of the ideal artist (e.g. the heroic stature of Shakespeare) to the figure of his contemporary successor. (The passage on Shakespeare and his critics, with its suggestion of continuity in the relations between artist and society, is particularly important in this respect.) The relationship is defined as one of natural succession by l.76, and, with a rather more Shakespearean image, ll.120-123. The ultimate grounds, then, for assimilating the poet to the hero are that he represents, through his engagement with literary tradition, a link with the unattainable ideal state of mankind. In as far as he follows his predecessors, his work can tend, however approximately, towards a revelation of that state. Given the baseness and venality of contemporary society, either as audience or subject, the lower reaches of style alone are appropriate; Dryden's epistle form and Kneller's genre of portraiture exemplifies fact. Both artists can and do disseminate the heroic ideal by the choice of a subject which perpetuates the memory of a higher kind of art. Kneller's portrait of Shakespeare, the alleged origin of the poem, is the work by which he claims his place as descendant of the heroic tradition in art. Its effectiveness as a means of approach to the better modes is amply detailed (ll.73-80). And Dryden himself, in the epistle, takes a subject which brings him as close as possible to the heroic, since his subject is the responsibility of the artist to the older and higher traditions and his capacity to sustain at least their memory. The final passage (ll.173-181) echoes the imagery of Shakespeare's sonnets on Time, Beauty and Poetry, applying it to painting, so that it is itself an instance of the relationship between past and present art depicted in the poem, and a poetic counterpart of Kneller's gift.

The firdings of earlier chapters have suggested that Don Sebastian and Cleomenes reveal in respect of structure and imagery a progressive development towards self-enclosed systems. This tendency is further exemplified by the epistle to Kneller, which also puts forward an evaluation of art capable of accounting for it.

In respect of theme, the two tragedies have been seen to exemplify a movement away from active concern with political matters towards the celebration of individual virtues, and a movement away from contemporary themes towards the celebration of past events. These tendencies too are exemplified in the poem written for Kneller, but they find their culmination respectively in such poems as To My Honour'd Kinsman, John Driden and To Her Grace the Dutchess of Ormond, and in the translation of Virgil's Aeneid, Dryden's only complete work in the epic mode.

Abbreviations used in the Notes.

Kinsley (with volume number): The Poems of John Dryden, ed. J. Kinsley, Oxford, 1958 (5 Vols.).

Malone (with volume number): The Critical and Miscellaneous Prose Works of John Dryden, ed. E. Malone, London, 1800 (3 Vols.).

Ogg : England in the Reigns of James II and William III, D. Ogg, Oxford, 1953.

P.C.A.S. Yale : Poems on Affairs of State: Augustan Satirical Verse, 1660-1714, gen. ed. G.de F.Lord, Yale, 1963- (5 Vols. published).

Rothstein : Restoration Tragedy: Form and the Process of Change, E. Rothstein, Wisconsin, 1967.

S. & S. (with volume number): Dryden's Dramatic Works, edd. Sir W. Scott and G. Saintsbury, London, 1892-3 (8 Vols.).

Ward, Life : Life of John Dryden, C.E. Ward, Oxford, 1961 .

Ward, Letters(with number) : The Letters of John Dryden, ed. C.E. Ward, Duke University Press, 1942.

Watson (with volume number) : Of Dramatic Poesy and other Critical Essays, ed. G. Watson (Everyman Edition), 1962 (2 Vols.).

NOTES.

Chapter I.

1) Don Sebastian combines elements of both situations.

2) There is in fact a theatrical connection between the two rôles: Cibber mentions that the role of Muley Moluch was created by Kynaston, who had previously played Morat in Aurengzebe, and that in the earlier play 'doubtless not without Dryden's approbation' he had brought out the comic aspect of the tyrannic character, so as ' to MAKE his spectators laugh, while they admir'd '. (Cibber, Apology, pp. 102-104.) His interpretation of Moley Moluch was presumably on similar lines.

3) Don Sebastian I,i; S. and S. Vol.VII, p.336.

4) Don Sebastian III,i; S. and S. Vol.VII, pp.380-383.

5) The fable is largely Dryden's own, and he draws attention to his development of it in the Preface to Don Sebastian.

6) The Conquest of Granada, Part I, Act II (S. and S. Vol.II, p.57ff.) .

7) At the end of Part II (Act V) the Moorish régime is replaced by the Christian one of Isabella and Ferdinand.

8) In both cases a Christian ruler not involved in the original sedition succeeds to power: in The Conquest of Granada, the King of Spain, and in Don Sebastian, the eponymous hero.

9) Chapter VIII, Of Sedition. Reference is to the edition of Molesworth, Vol.VIII, pp.200-212 .

10) In the better known Leviathan, the topic is treated and arranged rather differently. There a prominent feature is Hobbes's condemnation of clerical intervention in political affairs. The idea is equally prominent in Don Sebastian, but absent from The Conquest of Granada, the play closer to Hobbesian material. And since the expression of anti-clerical sentiments (often based on recent English history) is notoriously characteristic of Dryden's work, their appearance in Don Sebastian is not evidence that the poet used the Leviathan version of Hobbes's treatment of sedition.

11) Conquest of Granada, Act II; S. and S., Vol.IV, pp.52-58.

12) Conquest of Granada, Act III,i; S. and S. Vol.IV,p.59.

13) At the end Conquest of Granada, Part I, Act III.

14) See Molesworth's Vol.VIII.

15) Don Sebastian,I,i; S. and S. VII, p.324.

16) Adam, on awaking, expresses the locus classicus of Cartesian doctrine:

> 'What am I? or from whence? For that I am
> I know, because I think'.

(But compare Milton's Eve, Paradise Lost Bk.IV, ll.449-452.)

17) The Mufti's personal complaint is that he has been deprived of property. Hobbes discusses in some detail the question of meum and tuum as a pretence of right, but Dryden uses it only in the comic form of Don Sebastian Act IV, where the Mufti speaks for

> 'self-preservation, our property and our prophet',

with an obvious pun. In addition, he grounds pretences of right on the Emperor's tyranny, 'your lawful emperor is but a tyrant'; irreligion, 'he is taking your religion away'; and disregard of (alleged) obligations, his acting 'without your sovereign consent'.

18) Conquest of Granada, Part I,II,i; S.and S. Vol.IV,p.58. See also Absalom and Achitophel, ll.491-542.

19) Abdalla in The Conquest of Granada and Moley Zeydan in Don Sebastian; the Zulema (and Lyndaraxa) in The Conquest of Granada and Benducar in Don Sebastian.

20) In The Conquest of Granada, Part II, after a climactic series of demands by the populace, a popular uprising is described as occurring off-stage. (Act I,ii; S. and S. Vol. IV, pp.129-132.) In Don Sebastian the popular rising comes in the 'Mob scene' of Act IV.

21) The Conquest of Granada, II,ii; S. and S. Vol.IV,p.58.

22) Don Sebastian Act IV; S. and S. Vol.VII,pp.441-442.

23) Such instances often arise from the similar characterisation of the unworthy tyrant.

24) See Rothstein, especially Ch.I. The scope of his account precludes close discussion of dramatic structures; and, in the case of Dryden, although the book's general analysis of a shift in taste and dramatic method is relevant, some supplementary considerations must be admitted:

i) That the poet's interest in other field of literature influenced the development of his tragic drama. (This possibility Rothstein mentions, in connection with the comedy alone.)

ii) That in the earlier part of his career (and notably in the Preface to The Conquest of Granada) Dryden had defended serious drama by invoking the sanctions of the epic mode, even following Aristotle in preferring the 'dramatic poem' to the 'heroic poem' on the grounds of its shorter compass. This conscious aspiration towards the epic mode as the authentic high style is absent in the developed pathetic drama (e.g. in Otway and much of Lee).

iii) That in Dryden's work, the peak of 'domestic' and sentimental interest comes early, in All for Love, and is preceded by the sentimental amour of Ozmyn and Benzayda, in The Conquest of Granada, and by the sufferings of the hero in Aurengzebe. His later work stands outside the general development towards a more intense pathos in domestic settings, since the foundation of the 'heroic poem' ideal persists, even in Cleomenes, which contains strong pathetic elements.

25) In: The Dedication to The Rival Ladies (1664) (Watson,Vol.I,p.2), The Preface and Prologue to Secret Love (1665) (Watson,Vol.I,pp.105,108), the Preface to The Assignation, (Watson,Vol.I,p.155), and in Of Dramatic Poesy (Watson,Vol.I,p.76).

26) Richard Flecknoe, A Short Essay of the English Stage, in Spingarn, Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century, Vol.II,pp.90-96.

27) Dryden's terms in the Heads of an Answer to Rymer; see Watson, Vol.I,p.211.

28) Rothstein, Ch.I,p.8. But in the Essay of Dramatic Poesy (Watson I,p.30) the existence of a second coexisting sort of pleasure is implied.

29) Generally by an excessive or ironic detail, which returns one to the reasonable mean of discourse. That Dryden was himself engaged in the flow of his characters' extravagant language in this way is indicated by the fact that he later felt bound to apologise for his indulgence (e.g. 'my own Maximin and Almanzor cry out against me'). The retraction came at a time when exploitation of the heroic genre was a theatrical commonplace; an expression of distaste for its excesses is his association with the Notes and Observations . . . on Settle's The Empress of Morocco. A recent evaluation of Dryden's part in the pamphlet is O. Macfadden's 'Elkanah Settle and the Genesis of MacFlecknoe', P.Q. LXIII, 1964.

30) Rothstein, op.cit. pp. 13-18.

31) This interpretation at least accords with Dryden's claim for the general moral; the play clearly sets up an epic parallel, and the integration of the hero into society is a proper theme of romantic epic, perhaps derived here from Tasso's Rinaldo. For a list of contributions to this vexed topic see Rothstein, op.cit, p.56n. See also J.A. Winterbottom's 'The Development of the Hero in Dryden's Tragedies', (J.E.G.P., LII, 1953) and A.C. Kirsch's 'Dryden, Corneille, and the Heroic Play', Mod.Phil. 59, 1962. Rothstein draws a useful distinction between the attribution of moral awareness to a character and the manipulation of successive events so as to produce, increasingly, acceptable moral choices, but does not consider the possibility that the latter may, as a convenient externalising projection, represent the former.

32) The Indian Emperor, Act II, scene iv; S. and S. III, p.551.

33) Compare other examples from the same play: Cortes is faced with the choice of sparing his mistress's people, or obeying the Spanish king (III,i), Guyomar is faced with a choice between war and peace (III,i), with the choice of saving a virtuous enemy (II,ii), and a sustained choice between Odmar and Guyomar is offered to Alibech, e.g. in II,ii, and III,ii.

34) Watson, Vol.1, p.76. The chess analogy implies a series of moves of equal status, involving permutation of lay figures in an extended, and instantly incomprehensible

design.

35) S. and S. VII, pp.330-332.

36) E.g. 'My clouds are gathering too
In kindly mixture with this royal shower',
S. and S. VII, p.338.

37) E.g. 'O that I had the fruitful heads of Hydra,
That one might burgeon where another fell!
Still would I give thee work; still, still, thou tyrant,
And hiss thee with the last.'
(S. and S. VII, p.340.)

38) Especially in III,i; S. and S, VII.pp.386-390.

39) For this, see Chs.II, and III.

40) Sebastian had referred himself to the judgement of heaven: the renegade, appropriately, refers himself to the judgement of hell: (' I should be hissed
And whooped in hell for that ingratitude'.)

41) See the climax of the scene (S.and S. VII, pp.380-384), paticularly the speeches of Almeyda and the Emperor, which contain much material familar from the rhymed heroic drama. (E.g., the image sequence
'tough metal of my heart' 'resists' ..
'A flood of scalding tears will make it run'...
'though thy heart be rock of adamart' ...
'no stamp of heav'n was on his soul,
But the resisting mass drove back the seal'.)

42) The movement begins with the appearance of Almeyda and her appeal to the mob, couched in the plainest, though solemn, language. The vigorous diction of Dorax is reasserted when he dismisses the mob.

43) For a cogent formulation of this view in Dryden's non-dramatic verse, see the false creation passage of The Medal (ll. 256-317).

44) The scene in which Antony is confronted with Octavia and his children (All for Love, III,i; S. and S. V, pp.386-391) is a schematically simple instance. The scenes between Ventidius and Antony (I,i; S. and S.V, especially pp.355-356) and(the second phase of III,i,) between Octavia and Cleopatra (S. and S. V, pp.392-395) share this corrective function. Another example is Hector's relationship with Troilus (Troilus and Cressida, III,ii; S. and S. VI, particularly p.341); their dialogue includes the following passage:

Hector: You ought to give her up.

Troilus: For whom?

Hector: The public.

45) The dialogue occurs in Act V of Don Sebastian, S.and S.VII,p.448 ff..

46)S.and S.VI,p.496,and S.and S. VII,p.449.

47) This argument is developed by King, in Dryden's Major Plays, Ch.X.

48) The play is close in date to Absalom and Achitophel, which also has a description of the precariousness of popularly based rule (ll.224-227).

49) Parallelism is insisted upon by the metaphors (of siege and war) applied to the activities of the sub-plot. The inverse ofthis situation, the existence of a serious hero whose acts dictate a lower valuation of the concerns of sub-plot characters, is more common, and obtains in Don Sebastian, but there is no hint of it in The Spanish Friar.

50) See pp.22-23.

Chapter II.

1) Acquired perhaps from his own experience of writing in other modes during his absence from the theatre, or from the dramatic practice of contemporaries.

2) See John, ch.XV, vv.2-6.

3) Since the scene is broken off, without a change of tone, by the incident of the Emperor's arrival.

4) Itself only a pretext for the action, and revealed subsequently as a fallacious premise.

5) Dorax, unregenerate, acts as adviser to the Moorish ruler, and, regenerate, as adviser to Sebastian. He is the only character used to relate the sub-plot to the action involving the hero, in the first Act by means of his commentary on the sacrifice, and in the fifth Act through his dialogue with Antonio.

6) The absence of the objects of his satire narrows his range of expression and brings it closer to that of Sebastian. This change is emblematic, representing his change of identity (emphasised by his reversion to his Portuguese name of Alonzo).

7) He is willing to offer the appropriate satisfaction for Dorax's wounded honour:

> 'If I have wounded thee, that makes us equal:
> The wrong, if done, debased me down to thee',

and equally willing to forgive the original fault, when Dorax expresses his contrition:

> 'Indeed, thou should'st not ask forgiveness first,
> But thou prevent'st me still, in all that's noble'.

8) Act III, sc.i; S. and S. VII, pp.386-388.

9) This is emphasised by the play's use of mechanistic language to refer to the human body. For a relevant statement of the corresponding theory of monarchy, see (e.g.) Kantorowicz, The King's Two Bodies, pp.7-23, especially pp.13 and 14.

10) The Hind and the Panther is clearly the most sustained of Dryden's persuasive poems, but it has a far more complex structure.

11) See R.F.Jones 'The Originality of Absalom and Achitophel' M.L.N. xlvi (1931) pp.211-18.

12) Absalom and Achitophel, ll.1-207.

13) Broadly speaking, Religio Laici reviews the history of religion twice: once from a general viewpoint, in assessing the superiority of revealed religion; and again, having established the centrality of the Christian tradition, in terms of the vicissitudes of that tradition. And the discussion is enclosed between a descriptive passage on the nature of human knowledge and a prescriptive passage on the duties of the layman. J.W.Corder, in his article 'Rhetoric and Meaning in Religio Laici' (P.M.L.A., 1967) discusses the poem in terms of the six-part structure of the classical oration, and finds the confirmatio / confutatio stage to be divided into two parts, separated by 'Father Simon' digression. Thus his analysis of the way in which the poem's regular structure is built up does not conflict with the convincing arguments of Philip Harth for the prior composition of the 'Father Simon' passage (in Contexts of Dryden's Thought (Chicago, 1968) pp.183-195.

14) See Clarence H.Miller, 'The Styles of The Hind and the Panther', J.E.G.P. lxi (1967); on the general strategy of the poem, see Harth, op.cit. Ch.2.

15) See remarks on the inclusiveness of style and alternations of its levels in Ch.I, pp.18-20.

16) The Spanish Friar, I,i; S.and S.VI, p.422.

17) For recent treatments of Dryden's use of Hobbesian psychology see:
A.C.Kirsch 'Dryden, Corneille, and the Heroic Play', Mod.Phil., 1962 (this article also summarises earlier contributions to the topic),
L.Teeter, 'The Dramatic Use of Hobbes' Political Ideas', E.L.H. III, (1956),
J.A.Winterbottom 'The Place of Hobbesian Ideas in Dryden's Tragedies', J.E.G.P., LVII (1958).

18) The Duke of Guise, I,i; S.and S. VII, p.352.

19) For Shaftesbury as Jehu, see The Medall, ll.119-122; for the Mufti as Phaeton, Don Sebastian, II,i; S.and S.VII, p.352.

20) Act III,sc.i; S.and S.VII,p.357.

21) See P.O.A.S. Yale, vol.3,p.102,
A Poem Occasioned by His Majesty's Most Gracious Resolution..

22) The Turkish attack on Vienna of 1683, the English withdrawal from Tangier (Oct.1683). For a satirical treatment of the latter see Tangier's Lament, P.O.A.S. Yale, vol.3,p.473.

23)Thomas Thompson, Midsummer Moon (P.O.A.S. Yale, vol.3, p.237). One of the candidates for election had been a Turkey Merchant.

24) Act IV,sc.i; S.and S.VII,p.410.

25) The two quotations are from The Hind and the Panther, Part Three,ll.1029-31, and 1024-5.

26) Act IV,sc.ii; S.and S.VII,p.425:

'I have a Pigeon at home, of Mahomet's own breed; and when I have learnt her to pick peas out of my ear. . . you shall have another' religion.

27) Another gibe against the tithes is to be found in the popular 'Pudding and Dumpling song' of King Arthur.

28) Act III,sc.i;S.and S.VII,p.386.

29) When the Anglicans preferred to align themselves with the Dissenters, rather than with the Catholics. A Jacobite 'Song' of the Revolution period castigates the Established Church in terms resembling those of Dorax:

'Thus the Non-Resistance Doctrine
Followed by the Theban band
Is become an art of bart'ring
Princes into traitors' hands.

Then let the Church of England be
The sole mistress of the juggle;
For no Church else that we can see
Can their King so neatly bubble.'

(P.O.A.S. Yale, vol.4,p.303.)

30) P.O.A.S. Yale, vol.4,p. 75 .

31) P.O.A.S. Yale,vol.4,p.170 .

32) Britannia Rediviva,ll.75-93.

33) For this satire, see P.O.A.S. Yale, vol.4,p.333.

34) In P.M.L.A. LXXIII (1958), pp.36-42.

35) Robert Ferguson, a Scottish preacher, considered a link between the general Whig conspiracy and the more extreme

Rye House Plot, and one of those who returned from exile on the accession of William and Mary.

36) As he is made to observe (IV,iii,S.and S.VII,p.432):

'The best that can come of me, in this condition, is to have my life begged first, and then to be begged for a fool afterwards.'

37) Originally, of the Balack of Absalom and Achitophel Part II, (l.397, Kinsley,II,p.282); a similar allegation is made against Shaftesbury as a 'Saint' in The Medall,ll.31-34.

38) III,i; S.and S.VII,pp.375-376; the Mufti cravenly retracts his official opinions under the threat of force.

39) Moore, 'Political Allusions . .'(n.34.above). For Sunderland's career, see Ogg,Ch.VI. But although before the Revolution Sunderland intrigued with both Louis XIV and William of Orange, after it he was too discredited to have any real political power. And the many advisers of James II who also corresponded with William could equally be held up as examples of treachery to a trusting master. Two men frequently vilified by Jacobites for their part in the Revolution were Burnet, the Buzzard of The Hind and the Panther, and John Churchill. A Jacobite 'Song' (P.O.A.S. Yale, vol.4,p.303) presents Churchill as something of a Judas:

'There's a Churchill to inform you,
How to quit your friend and king'

and similar charges continued to be made after the Revolution. (For details of these, see P.O.A.S. Yale,vol.4.p.328.) One attack, of June 1690, comes very close to the wording of Dorax's attack on Benducar in Act II,sc.i:

'Ungrateful toadstool! despicable thing!
Thus to betray thy Master and thy King!
Nay, he was thy maker too, who, from the dust,
Raised thee- though 'twas to all mankind's disgust',

and continues with a prophecy of further treachery:

'For sure, nothing can e'er redeem thy crime
But the same brutal trick a second time'.

Both Burnet (as Dryden's former target) and Churchill thus have a claim to be considered as models for Benducar.

40) By King, Dryden's Major Plays,p.189.

42) This is charged against Shaftesbury in Absalom and Achitophel also: Dryden's preoccupation with his multiple treachery makes Shaftesbury the most

convincing single model for Benducar.

43) The Association is mentioned in the prose introduction to The Medall, and referred to in the poem as a 'trait'rous Combination'.

44) For a less simple example, see Absalom and Achitophel, ll.270-278, where the Satanic image applied to Charles by Achitophel is plainly more appropriate to the present (and future) position of the speaker.

45) S.and S. VII, p.376.

46) Act II, sc.i; S.and S.VII, p.349.

Chapter III

1) An instance of the extreme sensitivity of Dryden's audience to political innuendo is the account of Queen Mary's attendance at a performance of The Spanish Friar, given in a contemporary letter reprinted by Scott in S. and S. VI, p.400 n.. The topic is thoroughly discussed (though with the emphasis on eighteenth-century developments) in Loftis' The Politics of Drama in Augustan England.

2) For these, see preceding chapter.

3) S.and S. VII, p.315.

4) As aspirant to power, and appointed successor after the revolution.

5) See Absalom and Achitophel, ll.376-380.

6) In its leaders; Benducar and the Mufti are punished, although the rabble, as indicated by Dorax's speech in dismissing them (IV,ii, S.and S. VII, p.432), are beneath punishment.

7) In Act II (S. and S. VII, p.352-353), and Act III(pp.386-388).

8) Absalom and Achitophel is the classic example; but the comparison between England and Israel was made elsewhere, for example in John Caryll's Naboth's Vineyard, and an anonymous Tory Dialogue between Nathan and Absalom of 1680.

9) See The Works of John Dryden, (California Edition)Vol. III, p.482 (note on Britannia Rediviva, ll.333-356) and pp.333-339(discussion of Dryden's Catholic theology in the headnote to The Hind and the Panther).

10)S.and S. VII, p.311.

11)This is made clear by Dorax's free expression of contempt ('I grant he is a tyrant',etc.) in Act II,sc.i,p.356; in addition, his service is the result of conscious choice.

12)Act IV, final scene; S.and S.VII, pp.433-443.

13) For verse treatments, see (e.g.) P.O.A.S. Yale,5,Sectn.1.

14)See Paradise Regained, Bk.II, ll.457-486. The whole of this fine passage is germane to Dryden's treatment of Sebastian. The positive conclusions of Milton's Christ, that the highest government is 'to guide Nations in the way of truth'

and that

'to give a Kingdom hath been thought
Greater and nobler done, and to lay down
Far more magnanimous, then to assume'

are echoed in the play's judgement on the association of temporal and spiritual power. And the culminating point of Sebastian's progress, his comprehension of his duties towards God and man, is anticipated in Milton's passage:

'Yet he who reigns within himself, and rules
Passions, Desires, and Fears, is more a King;
Which every wise and vertuous man attains:
And who attains not, ill aspires to rule
Cities of men, or head-strong Multitudes,
Subject himself to Anarchy within,
Or lawless passions in him which he serves.'

15) Early in 1689, Catholic Irishmen had taken up arms on behalf of James II, and summoned him from France to lead them. And, although they were not, in the event, forced to fight for their allegiance, Catholic and Jacobite Englishmen had been abandoned to the mercy of their enemies as a result of the flight of James.

16) As late as Feb. 1697, Dryden explained his division and delay in the dedicating of the Virgil translations as a result of his Jacobite sympathies:

'in hopes of his return, for whom, and for my Conscience, I have suffered'. (Ward, Letters, 41 .)

His reluctance to regard the existing government as more than provisional is shown in the refusal to dedicate the Aeneid translation to William III.

17) See chapter ii.

18) S. and S. VII, p. 315.

19) D.W. Jefferson 'All, all of a Piece throughout', Stratford-on-Avon Studies, Vol.6, Restoration Theatre.

20) King's Dryden's Major Plays (1966) contains a chapter on Don Sebastian, an expansion and rescension of an earlier article in the Sewanee Review, 1962.

21) E.g. 'the scales of heav'n' (I,i, S. and S. VII, p. 327)

'I cannot speak one syllable, but tends
To death or to damnation' (I,i, p. 334)

'the thoughts of kings are like religious groves,
The walks of muffled gods'
(II,i,p.346)

'make the gods curse immortality' (Iv,i,p.407).

22)I.e. to Sebastian, Muley Moluch and Almeyda: most consistently, and appropriately, to Muley Moluch as a pre-Christian, and to Almeyda as a semi-Christian, figure.

23) Act II,sc.i; S.and S. VII,pp.346-347.

24)ActIII,sc.i; S.and S. VII,p.386.

25)For such a treatment see J.A. Winterbottom, 'The Development of the Hero in Dryden's Tragedies', J.E.G.P. LII,1953, and 'Stoicism in Dryden's Tragedies', J.E.G.P. LXI, 1962.

26)That is, as far as the scene of Sebastian's arrest in Act III. It is most valuable in Act I, as a means of creating the contrast between the two monarchs.

27)A commonplace image in Christian tradition

28) Fully documented by Jefferson in the article cited above.

29)The first instance in fact occurs in the final section of Act IV, when Dorax speaks of honour as a stream flowing from monarch to subject:

'hooting boys may dry-shod pass,
And gather pebbles from the naked ford'

(S. and S.VII,p.438). Though the physical geography has something of the grotesqueness of 'body/soul' imagery, the image of the stream is dynamic, and in its context arresting.

31)The conclusion that man's nature is inescapable dual, and that his salvation may, with divine guidance, be worked out.

32)Such 'subversive images' may be Christian in matter. An instance is the image of Benducar discussed in Ch.II (p.37). And in Act III,sc.i,(p.359) Sebastian's

'For even were paradise itself my prison,
Sure I should long to leap the crystal walls'

recalls Satan's first attempt on the Garden in Paradise Lost, and the angelic commentary on the invader:

'If spirit of other sort,
So minded, have o'erleaped these earthy bounds
On purpose, hard thou know'st it to exclude
Spiritual substance with corporeal bar.'

33) See King, Dryden's Major Plays,pp.178-179. and Rothstein, Restoration Tragedy, Ch. IV

34) Contrast Milton's account of the pre-Fall conjugal state, Bk.IV,ll.411-504, and the celebration of wedded love',

c. 1.760, with the corresponding post-Fall passages, Book IX, ll.1134-1189, and ll.1011-1066. These are represented in The State of Innocence, V,i; pp.169-171 of S. and S. V.

35) Contrast the version of Genesis ('The woman tempted me, and I did eat') with the ratiocination of Milton's Adam in Book IX; rather than lose the fallen Eve:

'from thy state
Mine never shall be parted' (Bk. IX, l.915)

he is willing to share her guilt, 'submitting to what seemed remediless'.

Dryden's rewording of this dialogue (St. of Inn., V,i) is notable for its emphasis on the element of conscious choice:

'Too well, but yet too late, your crime I see;....

'Not cozened, I with choice my life resign,
Imprudence was your fault, but love was mine.'

(S. and S. V, p.166.)

This passage shows very clearly Dryden's tendency to simplify, in recasting his material, in the direction of heroic conventions.

36) See P.L. Bk. IX,, ll.321-341. In IX, ll.1130-1132, Adam draws this inference.

37) S. and S. VII, pp.451-455.

38) For an elucidation of this drift, see p. 101 below.

39) Like his other interpretations of 'the ways of God', a contribution to the Christian tradition of interpretation of the myth.

40) In their dialogue with the Son; P.L. Bk.X, ll. 109-162.

41) In St. of Inn. III,i, Satan declares:

'Why have not I, like these a body too,
Formed for the same delights which they pursue!
I could (so variously my passions move)
Enjoy, and blast her in the act of love.
Unwillingly I hate such excellence...'

(S. and S. VII, p.145)

Dryden has thus inverted the information given by Milton's spirits, since Satan describes the amours of Hell in terms appropriate to 'heroical love' Bk.IV, ll.505-511; this is the reverse of the happy incorporeal love described by Raphael in Bk. VIII, ll.618-629.

42) See Ch. II pp.70-72.

43) Cf. P.L. Bk.II, ll.589-600, and Bk. IV, ll.835-840.

44) Rothstein, op.cit., p.150.

45) For detailed discussion, see Ch.II, pp.47-51.

46) See Ch.II, p.46.

47) The best example is the Prologue to The Unhappy Favourite; the poem is discussed in detail by Roper in Dryden's Poetic Kingdoms, pp.106-7 and 112-3. In addition, two Prologues of 1682 are relevant. The Prologue to the Dutchess (Kinsley, II, p.263) uses the images of the expulsion from Eden (ll.5-6) and of the return of the Golden Age, which incorporates an Edenic landscape description (ll.26-34). The Prologue to His Royal Highness (Kinsley, II, p.262) opens with the image of James's return as a sunrise, and draws a picture of the factious as the brute creation which resembles that of The Hind and the Panther (ll.1-14).

48)See Roper, op.cit., chapter on 'The Kingdom of Adam', pp.104-124.

49) See Roper's final chapter on 'The Kingdom of Letters'.

Chapter IV.

(a) Taken from Scott's summary discussion of the plays in his Life of Dryden, Volume I of the Dramatic Works.

(b) See Ch.II, pp.34-39.

(c) For Moorish diction in Don Sebastian, see Ch.I, pp.19-20, and Ch.III, pp.86-90.

(d) E.g. Act III, sc.i; S.and S. VIII, p.310, Act V, sc.ii, pp.354-355.

(e) I.e. up to the exit of the Egyptian court, which clears the stage(S.and S. VIII, p.324).

(f) This is made clear by the prominence of accounts of the war's consequences, particularly Cleonidas's:

> 'I have sternness in my soul enough
> To hear of murders, rapes, and sacrilege:
> For those are soldiers' work; and I would hear them,
> To spur me to revenge',

and the accompanying description of a pacified Sparta under Macedonian rule (S.and S. VIII, p.284).

(1) The Spartan's descent from the demi-god is frequently mentioned in Act I; (S.and S. VIII, p.280, p.281, also p.340).

(2) 'The propositions are unjust and hard;
And if I swallow them, 'tis as we take
The wrath of heaven.'

(3) References in the Preface to 'a single plot . . . which though it be the natural and true way, yet is not to the genius of the nation',
and 'a short rabble scene' which 'no French poet would have allowed',
indicate the influence of this model. Certain details of staging support the hints in the Preface: for example, in Act II, the arrival of Cleonidas is delayed and emphasised; and in the earlier part of the scene some restriction on the number of speakers in the dialogue is achieved by having Cleanthes utter only the occasional aside. Again, in the fourth Act, unity of place is preserved by having Cleomenes incarcerated in the same apartment which served as council-chamber for the Egyptian cabal and as meeting-place for Cassandra and Cleomenes, although the terms in which the Spartans describe the place ('bolts and bars', etc.) fit well with the conventional idea of a prison.

(4) In a letter of 13 August, 1691, Dryden's friend Walsh enquired:

'Is Cleomenes finisht pray, or have you begun Ye other designe you told mee of abt Ye priesthood'.

The play was not finished at the time of Dryden's six weeks' illness (roughly datable by his recovery at the beginning of October, attested by two surviving letters).

(5) Printed in Malone, II, pp. 351-425.

(6) In Plutarch's narrative, S. and S. VIII, p. 267; in Cleomenes, V, i:

'A short refection waits at the lieutenant's' (p. 350).

(7) This produces the illusion of a more unified work, since affects and judgements are made to appear inherent in the material; but it also supposes greater passivity on the part of the audience, since it eliminates the appeal to the common knowledge and reasoning power of author and audience. The implications of this shift in technique are discussed more fully in the final chapter.

(8) S. and S. VIII, p. 295. (Act II, sc. ii.)

(9) Act III, sc. ii; S. and S. VIII, pp. 312-313.

(10) Act II, sc. i; S. and S. VIII, p. 287.

(11) The condemnation is universal; e.g. Cleonidas's assertion that the Egyptians were, literally, the dregs of creation, and 'were intended for four feet' (Act II, sc. ii, S. and S. VIII, p. 299); and Cleanthes' phrase 'A people baser tha the beasts they worship' (III, i, p. 309).

(12) See Act V, sc. ii; S. and S. VIII, pp. 353-354.

(13) In the sense that the Egyptian rebellion becomes a gloss on the protagonist's earlier defeat, and on his continuing aspirations to heroic activity.

(14) On this, see Rothstein, Ch. 5.

(15) See Rothstein, pp. 141-144.

(16) Plutarch mentions 'labour and afflictions' and 'the opinions or reproaches of men as adversities which the brave man is capable of overcoming, and defeat as a vicissitude to which the best are subject. Dryden shows his hero as enduring affliction in his invented prison scenes, hostilities in his dealings with the Egyptians, and defeat in his repeated attempts at departure.

17) His account of Plutarch's prose style is on pp. 408-410; on p. 406 he discusses the loss of idiom in translation, and on p. 407 compares Plutarch's use of digression with that of Montaigne; the status and nature of the biographical form of history are also discussed.

18) In the Preface Dryden states that the play is 'printed as it was acted'. Although the whole play, without cuts, was licensed after the reading in Rochester's house, Dryden says that it had been 'garbled' (ie. 'cleaned up') 'beforehand by the superiors of the playhouse'; and there is no indication that their cuts were restored in the acting version. But the major discontinuities of the tragedy as it stands seem to be the result of conception rather than cutting. Dryden's remark raises the problem of the nature of the excisions. If the excisions were of details within speeches, what remains, assuming the identification of persons and issues implied by the playhouse censorship, is still precise enough to be offensive. Against the alternative supposition that sections of the play were omitted where they seemed to carry specific contemporary parallels, there are the objections that the total structure of the play is so contrived as to discourage any comprehensive historical parallel; and that the emphasis in the presentation of the hero is on personal suffering, which precludes his appearing as the exponent of any positive political doctrine to off-set the play's denunciation of Egyptian political life. Cleomenes endorses the rule of the majestic individual as against that of the cabal; this may be in part a political attitude, but is also one too broadly based in the play to be extirpated by cutting. At the other end of the scale, the play still contains some details of satire relevant to the state of English political life in the periods preceding and following the Revolution. And from these two classes of evidence a fair assessment of the play's degree of political involvement can be made, even in the absence of any cut material. What does seem certain is that the poet's conception of the play underwent a change during the writing of the first Act (alternatively, that the first Act is itself a digression); and this would seem to have political implications.

19) Printed in 1690; see Kinsley, Vol. II, pp. 556-7.

(20) Attacks on the King's Dutch advisers were frequent; so also were attacks on the Council of Regency. For examples, see P.O.A.S. Yale, Vol.5, sections 9 and 10.

(21) This is suggested by Ward (Life, p.254). Remarking that the parallels were 'not specified so far as can be learned' he proposes the identification, after Absalom and Achitophel, of 'Egypt with France'.

(22) This assumption is strengthened by Powers' discovery of the cancellandum leaf of the Dedication to King Arthur. (For an account of this, see Ward, Life, p.250.)

(23) In the Dedication to King Arthur; S. and S. VIII, p.134.

(24) For example, in poems on English achievements in the arts, such as those addressed to Congreve and Motteux; and in poems to friends and patrons, notably the address To His Honoured Kinsman, John Driden . . and the dedicatory poem of the Fables collection.

(25) Dryden wrote to Tonson that the Queen 'has commanded her Historiographer to fall upon me' (Ward, Letter 26).

(26) Threnodia Augustalis, ll.498-501.

(27) The idea is already present in Don Sebastian, where the Moors' false government is asscciated with their idolatry, and the hero himself is saved only by mediation and repentance.

(28) Don Sebastian, IV, iii; S. and S. VII, pp.422-426; Cleomenes, V, ii; S. and S. VIII, p.354; The Medall, ll.95-110.

(29) Eleonora, ll.359-370.

Chapter V .

(1) And Cleanthes' exceptional virtue is specifically a reflection of that of Cleomenes. This contrasts with the presence in Don Sebastian of two independent and complementary heroes (discussed above, Ch. II, pp.39-46).

(2) S. and S. VIII, p.7. The dedication was addressed to Sir William Leveson-Gower, on account, Dryden says, of an earlier specific kindness,

> 'the warm remembrance of your former hospitality to me, at Trentham, when some years ago I visited my friends....',

but also as part of a deliberate programme of appeal to non-Jacobite patrons:

> 'since this wonderful Revolution . . . I shall continue to follow the same method . . . and endeavour to pitch on such only , as have been pleased to own me, in this ruin of my small fortune; who, though they are of a contrary opinion themselves, yet blame not me for adhering to a lost cause'.

(3) In Marriage-à-la-Mode, II, i, Leonidas utterly rejects Polydamas' plans, but is eventually forgiven (S. and S. V , pp.288-291); Torrismond disagrees with Raymond over his duty to support a reigning monarch. (The Spanish Friar, IV, ii, S. and S. VI, pp.492-497.)

(4) Preface to All for Love, Watson, Vol.1, p.222.

(5) In the sense of the psychology put forward in the early chapters of Leviathan.

(6) See Ch.IV, p.124.

(7) Troilus and Cressida, Act II, Sc.i; S. and S. VI, p.305.

(8) In Act V of Tate's The Ingratitude of a Commonwealth . . .

(9) Malone, II, p.382.

(10) 'a single plot, . . . which, though it be the natural and true way, yet it is not to the genius of the nation.' Of the rabble scene he says 'no French poet would have allowed them any more than a bare narration'.

(11) Watson, II, p.200.

(12) Cleomenes' image for degrading restraint is that of the bull ('whet my blunted horns . . . and chew my loss'), ultimately identified with that of the imprisoned bull Apis.

(13) Cleomenes: 'whose fall must shortly, very shortly, crush you.'
Samson: 'Scarce half I seem to live, dead more than half'; later he has a presentiment of approaching death (ll.590-598).

(14) W.R.Parker: Milton's Debt to Greek Tragedy in 'Samson Agonistes', pp.94-97.

(15) The passage quoted (above, p.157) from Dryden's preface to his translation of Du Fresnoy indicates that he could not have regarded the family group of Cleomenes as a Chorus. But Hazelton Spencer cites (Shakespeare Improv'd . . ., p.213) an instance of a single character assuming the chorus function in All for Love, the play which has been seen as a precursor of Cleomenes in some other respects.

(16) IV,ii,S. and S. VIII,pp.329-330.

(17) This is to suggest that the example of Samson Agonistes directed Dryden's conception of an appropriate literary realisation of Plutarch's biography, subject to the constraint imposed by the material of the Therycion dialogue with its appealing treatment of the ideal heroic death.

(18) See Macdonald, para.28(collation of the first edition of The Wives' Excuse) and p.50, n.1.

(19) To Mr. Southern, on his Comedy 'The Wives Excuse'; Kinsley,II,pp.580-581.

(20) S. and S. VII,p.209. One might add that the writing of a comedy, whose faults even Dryden's verse address does not attempt to conceal, does not seem a very good recommendation to the task of completing Cleomenes. But from Southerne's Preface to the Collected Works it appears that he too had been working on a Spartan tragedy, The Spartan Dame, which the Revolution forced him to suppress. This drama deals with the relationship between a deposed and exiled king and his daughter and son-in-law; and the political sympathies it expresses resemble those of Dryden. The suppressed play was thus more likely to recommend its author to Dryden as a collaborator. Southerne's remarks in the Dedication of The Wives' Excuse make it clear that, at least in the

case of Cleomenes and The Wives' Excuse, the two playwrights read each other's work in manuscript.

(21) King (Dryden's Major Plays, p.190) passes over Cleomenes as a play which 'Dryden did not bother to finish' and which lacks 'imagery, allusions, and other finishing touches'. One may take issue with the implication that Dryden generally 'applied' imagery for decorative effect in the final stages of composition. Ward's Life (p.252) paraphrases Southerne's remark without endorsement, but also without discussion or evaluation.

(22) All for Love, I,i; S. and S. V, p.351 . Antony is described as an architectural ruin; this suggests an origin in the architectural metaphor used by Samson:

'Myself my Sepulchre, a moving Grave',

and common to Cleomenes' image of a 'single ruin'.

(23) Another, comparatively insignificant, case of recurrent imagery in the play is the image of the ship, used generally by Sosybius to describe his own activities as pilot of the ship of state, although also by Cleomenes in IV,i, of his present situation; it too corresponds to a fact in the situation , that is, to Cassandra's preparation of a fleet to accompany Cleomenes to Greece.

Chapter VI.

(1) See Ch.IV.p.107.

(2) Described in Ch.V pp.169-175.

(3) The total range of emotion evoked by the protagonist is, not surprisingly, similar to that in Samson Agonistes.

(4) A logical extension of this method is the introduction of spectacular forms of madness in tragedy, especially in the final scenes of a play. This is done for example by Lee, in his fifth Act of Oedipus, by Otway in Don Carlos and Venice Preserv'd, by Dryden himself in Aurengzebe, (where the villainess dies raving), and even in the adaptation of Coriolanus by Nahum Tate, which shows Volumnia run mad.

(5) See Ch.II,pp.47-48.

(6) See Ch.IV,pp.111-112.

(7) See S. and S. VIII,pp.296-297.

(8) In his second interview with Cassandra, S.and S. VIII, pp.326-327.

(9) Don Sebastian, Act I sc.i; S.and S.VII,p.336.

(10) II,ii; S.and S. VIII,p.294.

(11) The Conquest of Granada, Part I,Act I; S.and S. IV, pp.43-44.

(12) Cf. Eleonora,ll.359-370, cited in Ch. IV,p.141.

(13) Cleomenes,II,ii (S.and S. VIII,p.294), and Don Sebastian I,i (S.and S.VII,p.336).

(14) The quotations are again from the interview between tyrant and hero (pp.335-339).

(15) Samson Agonistes,ll.1688-1705.

(16) J.A.Winterbottom ('Stoicism in Dryden's Tragedies', J.E.G.P. 1962) quotes Dryden's remarks on the Stoicism of Persius - 'most noble, most generous, most beneficial' - as typical of seventeenth-century valuations of that philosophy.

(17) Rothstein, Restoration Tragedy,p.120. But he cannot, strictly, be called an Epicurean, since he plainly does

not believe in an indifferent Epicurean deity. (For the use of the idea of the Epicurean deity in Cleomenes, see Ch.IV,p.121.) Winterbottom (op.cit.) claims Cleomenes rather more convincingly as a Stoic hero.

(18) See Ch.IV,pp.113-114.

(19) The 'prison' of the Spartans is treated as an area not entirely visible to the audience; Cleomenes' direction to Cleora in the first scene of Act V "Go in, and rest thee' suggests that it may have been played using the depth of the stage. When Cleomenes moves to join his family, he is specifically mentioned as 'Going in', although most departures in the scene (including the final one) are simple 'exits'. So his 'change of direction' may well have been visually articulated.

(20) Dryden's historical sources represented Cleomenes as the last of the true Spartan rulers.

(21) Amphitruo,ll.928-929.

(22) Jupiter behaves as two characters; his second role as divinity in the scenes with Mercury and the first and final scenes is discussed below.

(23) The first appears, for example, in Benzayda (S.and S.IV, pp.175-179), and Cressida (S.and S.V, pp.387 f.); in the second she closely resembles Sebastian in his role as lover of Almeyda (S.and S. VII,p.465).

(24) Don Sebastian,V,i; S.and S.VII,p.453.

(25) See Amphitryon,II,ii (S.and S.VIII,pp.43-46); some speeches (p.45) use the imagery of conquest, e.g.

'In me, my charming mistress, you behold
A lover that disdains a lawful title,
Like that of monarchs to successive thrones'.

(26) In Act I,sc.ii, Alcmena joins the two comic females in demanding information from the false Amphitryon:

'My lord, you tell me nothing of the battle?
Is Thebes victorious? Are our foes destroyed?'.

thus preparing for a comic aside from Jupiter:

'A man had need be a god, to stand the fury of three talking women! I think, in my conscience, I made their tongues of thunder.'

(27) S. and S. VII. pp. 106-109.

(28) S. and S. VIII, p. 305.

(29) Cf. Absalom and Achitophel, ll.1-2, 7-9.

(30) Though the jocular context, and still more the anticlimax of the final half-line of an otherwise forceful triplet, tends to minimise the effect of the political comment, and the implication is that the change, like the change to an Age of 'Severity', will be a voluntary one.

(31) The disparity between the presentation in the play of Jove's mistress and the description in the Epilogue of Charles' mistresses is obvious; the latter belongs to the sub-plot ethos. (Phaedra is the speaker.)

(32) To some of these (e.g. Psyché) Molière had himself contributed.

(33) Natural exuberance: 'I love because 'twas in the Fates'

'Nature prompted and no law denied' (Jupiter) A. and A., l.5

Eugenics: 'this night/I shall beget a future Hercules' (Charles).

'scatter'd his Maker's image through the land' (Jupiter)

(Charles)

(34) An attitude to history, particularly to English history, usual in Dryden's non-dramatic verse; set up , for example, in the very title of his Coronation poem Astrea Redux, and used illustratively in the later poems (e.g. on the suppression of the stage under the Common wealth

'the Saints would see
Performed in fields their plotted Tragedy' -

Verse-epistle to Peter Antony Motteux, 1698, ll.21-22.)

(35) Ch. VI, pp. 182-188.

(36) Miner, Dryden's Poetry, Ch. VIII.

(37) King, Dryden's Major Plays, pp. 200-202.

(38) Act II, for example, contains in each of its two scenes an interview in which the mistress makes known her choice of lover, a decisive encounter between the two rivals, and a dialogue in which the mistress' father defines his attitude to her match.

(39) Dalinda and her father permanently disguise their poverty; Carlos and Sancho temporarily assume the disguise of the Conde.

(40) Act IV, scene i, pp.441-444; the incident follows the success of Alphonso's rebellion.

(41) Act IV, scene i; S. and S. VIII, p. 456.

(42) S. and S. VIII, p.449. At this point too, as Ramirez' speech points out, (I might have used the power heaven gives to parents') Alphonso also renounces the heroic obligation to put filial duty before individual inclination in the restoration of his father. Ramirez particularly stresses the distance between the laws governing the actions of the hero and those governing the normal inhabitants of the universe.

(43) That he agrees initially to Dalinda's offer of a liaison after marriage (although not believing the promise - when it is broken he says 'I foreboded this'-) does not affect his renunciation; the offer is merely one episode in the battle of wits between the two.

(44) E.g. Miner's discussion of Eleonora (op.cit. Ch VI) and Roper's discussion of the dedicatory poem to the Fables (op.cit. pp.113 -24).

(45) Introduction to Love Triumphant; S. and S. VIII, p.368.

(46) Allen (Sources of Dryden's Comedies, pp.150-152); he suggests a resemblance with Sir Martin Mar-All, and classes the farce as 'commedia dell'arte' in type, but says 'critics have found no source for the comic plot of Dryden's last play'.

(47) In Cleomenes, rhyme appears in IV,i (S. and S. VIII, pp. 324-328).

(48) Aurengzebe, Act IV; S. and S. V, pp.271-275.

(49) The scenes are: I,ii; S. and S.IV p.276
III,i; S. and S. IV p.309
V,i, " " " pp. 359-360.
The apparent source of this plot is Corneille's Héraclius, which involves a double exchange of heirs. Kirsch (Dryden's Heroic Drama pp.46-47) cites the authority of Pepys for three performances of Héraclius in London. Corneille's drama also deals with the theme of incest through a confusion of the sympathy of siblings with that of lovers, which suggests the situation of Alphonso and Victoria.

(51) Prologue and Epilogue to 'The Tempest', Kinsley, Vol.I, pp.116-7.

(52) To Sir Godfrey Kneller ..., Kinsley, Vol.II, pp.858-863.

(53) See Ch.V, p.165.

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