THE LUCRETIA LEGEND FROM LIVY TO ROJAS ZORRILLA

by

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INTRODUCTION: THE LEGEND OF LUCRETIA

In her earliest appearance, Lucretia is at the center of a political upheaval. Her personal disaster becomes the immediate cause of the overthrow of a tyrannical regime. It is not unusual to find fables on the violation of feminine honor interwoven with momentous political events. Indeed, Sarah Pomeroy notes a tendency in Roman history to connect the vigor of the state with the virtue of women.[1] Whether based upon historical fact or, as Petriconi suggests, used as a poetic technique to bring the political to the level of the human, "liberty/rape" themes have been recognized in various literary traditions, though never systematically studied.[2]

The consensus today is that many of these stories, including Lucretia's, are legend. Georges Dumézil goes so far to say that these legends have been "so thoroughly rethought and remoulded along the lines of traditional ideology...that for us [their] only interest is as the dramatic expression of the ideological structure...."[3] Mircea Eliade agrees that the importance of such tales did not rely upon their historical veracity, but their relevance to later generations: "on pourrait dire que Tite-Live et Plutarque, en fournissant des modéles exemplaires à la vie civique et morale, remplissaient dans l'education des élites européennes le rôle des mythes dans les sociétés traditionnelles."[4]

The Lucretia myth has had its greatest development serving as an exemplary model. It exists in what Eliade calls "transhistory," an area which includes the probabilities and conjectures inherent in literary treatments. Livy's history of Lucretia might well be

a dramatized rendering of the fall of a tyrant, the transcendental counterpart of the historical event. In any case, the "historical truth" is not as important as the imaginative conception.

Along with such figures as Antigone, Oedipus and Medea, Lucretia would seem to fit most comfortably into Raymond Trousson's category of "le thème de situation." They do not exist apart from their societal role and are partially defined by external circumstances; "ce n'est pas la personalité individuelle de l'heroine que faït la situation ce qu'elle est, c'est une situation donnée qui, d'une quelconque jeune fille, fait une Antigone."[5] Important changes are made, in later periods, not within the character of Lucretia herself, but without, in the varied reactions to suicide, chastity, the love of glory, the dangers of good fortune. Lucretia as wife, as mother, as guardian of her family's honor, will be as important to this study as the widely known traditional core of the legend.

(1) Sarah Pomeroy, Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves (New York: Schocken, 1975), p.39.

(2) See Ettore Pais, Ancient Legends of Roman History, trans. Mario Cosenza (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1905), passim for comparisons of Lucretia to Tanaquil and Virginia and "liberty/rape" examples from Herodotus, Plutarch and Aristotle. For Spanish and Norwegian versions of the theme, see Ramón Menéndez Pidal, "Rodrigo, el último godo," Floresta de leyendas heroicas españolas (Madrid: Ediciones de "La Lectura," 1927), v.3. H. Petriconi cites the abduction of Florinda la Cava, which led to the overthrow of the Visigoths in Spain, as the first reappearance in the West of the Lucretia theme. See his "El tema de Lucrecia y Virginia," Clavileño, II, no.8 (Mar.-Apr. 1951), pp.1-5. These legends, according to Charles Appleton, survived because the heroine's tragedy was either the cause, or the occasion for unforgettable political events. These events, and not the dishonor per se, made the legends relevant for later generations. Cf. Charles Appleton, "Trois épisodes de l'histoire ancienne de Rome: les Sabines, Lucrèce, Virginie," Revue historique de droit français et étranger, Ser. 4, v.3 (1924), pp.193-271, 592-670.

(3) Georges Dumézil, Aspects de la fonction guerrière chez les Indo-Européens quoted in Jacques Heurgon, The Rise of Rome to 264 B.C., trans. James Willis (1969; rpt. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), p.132. Raymond Bloch sums up the general opinion: "...les érudits, tout en admettant l'essentiel du récit, ont reconnu l'aspect plus ou moins legendaire du détails rapportés." See his Tite-Live et les premiers siècles de Rome (Paris: Société d'édition "les Belles lettres," 1965), p.75. In connection with the Lucretia legend, Bloch believes that the fall of the Etruscans followed by more than thirty years the change in regime.

(4) Mircea Eliade, Aspects du Mythe (Paris: Gallimard, 1963), p.177. Cf. Livy's own ethical intentions for his history: "What chiefly makes the study of history wholesome and profitable is this, that you behold lessons of every kind of experience... from these you may choose for yourself and for your own state what to imitate...." Ab Urbe Condita, trans. B.O.Foster (1919; rpt. London: Wm. Heinemann, 1967), v.1, p.219. Pais interpreted the Lucretia story as part of the elaboration of legends related to the cult of Ardea and to aetiological myths associated with the shrine of Venus Cloacina, protectress of virgin modesty. Both Lucretia and Virginia die in the sanctuary of Venus Cloacina in Livy's version, the site of the agreement between the fathers of the Sabine women and their abductors. Pais speculates that they were both ancient goddesses who were transferred as mortals to pseudo-history. I have found no later development in contemporary criticism of Pais' theories. See his Storia critica di Roma durante i primi cinque secoli (Rome: Ermanno Loescher, 1913).

(5) Raymond Trousson, Les Études de Thèmes (Paris: Lettres Modernes, 1965), p.36. Trousson's alternate category is "le thème de héros," including Prometheus, Hercules and Orpheus. Their name is sufficient to call forth a complex of responses relating more to their symbological function than to specific deeds. "Dans le cas d'un thème de héros, le protagoniste dépasse la situation, la fait contingente ou la crée: qui dit Prométhée pense liberté, génie, progrès, connaissance, révolte." (Ibid,, p.36) Pomeroy (op.cit., p.176) calls Lucretia a "social myth".

CHAPTER I: THE BACKGROUND

The Ancient View

The three most influential ancient versions were those of Livy, the favored historian of the humanists, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Ovid.[6] Livy's dramatization or recounting begins with the Romans chafing under the tyrannical rule of the Tarquins, father and son.[7] Tarquinius Superbus has laid siege to Ardea, a wealthy town near Rome. Sextus Tarquinius, the king's son, is dining at camp one evening with Collatinus, his cousin, and other nobles. While debating the subject of their wives' fidelity, Collatinus, boasting of Lucretia's chastity, suggests a trip to Rome to determine the most virtuous wife. Heated with wine, they agree to surprise their wives that night. They find Lucretia to be the only one at work, spinning wool amidst her maids. The Etruscan wives are found feasting with others.[8] All agree that Lucretia is the victrix.

"Ibi Sex. Tarquinium mala libido Lucretiae per vim stuprandae capit; cum forma tum spectata castitas incitat." "Amore ardens," he returns to Collatia with an attendant and is received by Lucretia as her lord and kinsman. When all are asleep, he draws his sword, goes to her room, and with his left hand on her breast, he threatens to kill her. When this threat fails to move her, he adds that of adultery; he promises to kill his slave and, putting the body at her side, to swear he found them together and killed them both. "Quo terrore cum vicisset obstinatam pudicitiam velut vi victrix libido."

After Sextus leaves, Lucretia sends for Collatinus, who

arrives with Lucius Junius Brutus,[9] and her father, who brings with him Publius Valerius. "Vestigia viri alieni, Collatine, in lecto sunt tuo; ceterum corpus est tantum violatum, animus insons: mors testis erit." She demands an oath of revenge from them. After they so swear, they try to comfort her: "mentem peccare, non corpus, et unde consilium afuerit, culpam abesse." She insists that she deserves punishment; "nec ulla deinde impudica Lucretiae exemplo vivet."[10] She stabs herself and the body is taken to the market place, where Brutus incites the people to revolt. The Tarquins are banished, and Brutus and Collatinus become the first consuls of the republic.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus diverges from Livy in several particulars.[11] Lucretia does not summon her kinsmen to Collatia, but goes herself to Rome, to her father's house. Sextus adds an offer of marriage to his pleas and the loss of burial privileges to his threats. Sextus must be careful to avoid waking the slaves asleep at Lucretia's door, which makes her reluctance to cry out less plausible. The space devoted to the political consequences is expanded from Livy's four paragraphs to 18. The rape itself is described three times, by Lucretia, Dionysius and Brutus. The wager scene is omitted, thereby absolving Collatine from unwitting involvement in his wife's downfall.[12]

The most important changes, however, affect the presentation of Sextus' lust and the passive role given to Lucretia. Sextus is portrayed as having desired Lucretia for a long period of time. He accomplishes his desire when his father sends him on a military

errand. The evil is entirely within Sextus, who is not so much overwhelmed with lust as with resentment at Lucretia's purity; he calculates his betrayal like a general planning his next victory. "It was rather her reputation than her body that he desired to ruin."

Lucretia's role has changed from vocal defender of her chastity and active seeker of revenge to a recorder of events. She dies as soon as she relates the violation to her father. Brutus defends her; she died "to avoid suffering any such indignity again." Fear of immediate repercussions and shame force her hand.[13] Livy's body/soul dichotomy and his "example for future women" are not mentioned. Brutus also is the one to urge revenge. Lucretia dies before the oath is taken. "After this example, Lucretia, when you, who were given a woman's nature, have shown the resolution of a brave man, shall we, who were born men, show ourselves inferior to women in courage?"

Ovid also presents an altered version of the legend, what might be called the first non-historical treatment, a "romantic and tragic portrayal."[14] Political considerations yield before personal asides, physical detail, metaphor, irony, apostrophe, the inherent pathos and drama of the situation. Ovid gives 100 lines to the rape and a mere 15 to the rest. He probably used Livy's narrative as his source.

Sextus, under his direction, is in the grip of a blind and furious love. He is the soldier, identified always with his sword; it is mentioned when he leaves camp, when he approaches Lucretia's chamber, when he threatens her: "Ferrum, Lucretia, mecum est." (1. 795) He compares his victory over the Gabii to his hoped-for victory over

Lucretia. The very difficulty of the challenge whets his appetite: "Audentes forsque deusque iuvat." (1.782)[15]

Ovid envisions a much softer, more delicate Lucretia than Livy, one whose recourse is to tears when under stress. He is the first to dwell on her beauty as an essential ingredient in Sextus' growing lust.[16] Lucretia weeps while spinning because of the danger Collatinus is faced with at Ardea. When Sextus enters her room, he does not have to threaten her to keep silent; she is struck dumb.

> illa nihil: neque enim vocem viresque loquendi
> aut aliquid toto pectore mentis habet (11.797-8)

Like a lamb before the wolf, she considers and rejects her three possible alternatives --to fight, cry out or flee. She weeps a third time when she tries to describe the rape to Collatinus. Shame overwhelms her before she can finish. She refuses the pardon of her kinsmen without explanation, and stabs herself. In dying, she retains composure and modesty,[17] carefully covering her knees as she falls, and before death, hears Brutus' oath of revenge.

For all their differences, Ovid, Livy and Dionysius do agree on the nobility and innocence of Lucretia. She represents, as does Brutus, the individual responsibility, dignity and autonomy which, when put in service to the state, yields the Roman ideal of justice -- "jus". Why did Lucretia, under these circumstances, insist on punishment for herself? To prove a crime under Roman law, an intention (consilium) had to be established.[18] In this respect, Lucretia is guilty of no crime. Yet is was widely held in Rome at this time that"adultery so defiled the woman that any subsequent progeny would be themselves contaminated...Hence the woman had to die."[19]

Adultery did not originally imply a relationship with a married person or the will or lack of it on the adulterated person's part; it carried a simpler meaning of "alteration" or "corruption". Brutus' oath, in Livy's version, "Per hunc, inquit, castissimum ante regiam iniuriam sanguinem iuro,..."* indicates a definite loss on her part. Yet he and all her kin absolve her from any guilt. She admits the same herself. Why did she die? There has been considerable critical speculation on this question.[20]

"Tous les historiens s'accordent à dire qu'elle céda, non pas à la crainte de la mort, mais à celle du déshonneur."[21] When Dionysius and Cicero describe her as submitting to "violence," they are referring to moral, not physical force. Roman law provided for the punishment of the rapist if he used violence to subdue the woman, but if there was no violence used, the crime was assimilated to that of adultery and both the man and woman were punished.[22] Not only had she been adulterated, but the conditions of her submission made it necessary for her to "prove" her innocence. "Though raped, she [Lucretia] was technically an adulteress; therefore she made the honorable decision to commit suicide."[23]

There were also other implicit reasons for her death. Her suicide would seal the vendetta between her kinsmen and the Tarquins; there is no appeal from this act. Suicide is a way of reaching those who are otherwise beyond attack.[24] Since there was no physical violence in her case, Lucretia had to create an assured reason for revenge. Dionysius points out what would have been obvious to the Roman public. A free woman caught in intercourse with a slave was

* emphasis mine

automatically killed and lost burial privileges and other duties owed to the dead. "Ainsi Lucrèce livra son corps pour sauver son âme; à cet égard, et dans un certain sens, ce fut une martyre."[25]

Diodorus Siculus reveals another aspect of her decision when he praises her for her noble choice. Instead of concealing the rape or accepting the pardon given to her by her kinsmen, she dies as an example to those women "who choose to maintain the purity of their persons altogether free from censure" and her death was "a debt that in any case she owed to nature."[26] We might interpret this last statement in the light of Cicero's evaluation of Sextus' crime. He violated a law "derived from the Nature of the Universe."[27] He disrupted the natural order of things as well as the laws of men. Lucretia attempted to reestablish this order by removing the tainted object. Cassius Dio also presents Lucretia's decision as rooted in the natural order: "because I am a woman, [I] will treat my case as becomes me...."[28] Revenge belongs to her husband as logically as death belongs to her.

This brief survey of classical versions reveals unanimity about the necessity of her death, even though its motivations are various. Narrative details are relatively static, but there is ample room for interpretation in two particular areas -- Lucretia's submission and her suicide. In later versions, these will receive the most attention whether the focus is on the ideal wife, the mutability of Fortune, the worth and power of chastity, the dangers of lust. This attention is due primarily to the speculations of one critic: Augustine.

(6) The earliest versions date from the reign of Augustus. For a catalogue raisonné of the legend as it appears in ancient and later literatures, see Hans Galinsky, Der Lucretia-Stoff in der Welt-literatur (Breslau: Priebatsch's Buchhandlung, 1932). A less complete listing is given by Arthur M. Young, Echoes of Two Cultures (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1964). For a more limited but a much more detailed comparison of selected versions, see James Tolbert, "Shakespeare's Lucrece: A Study of Its Antecedents, Sources and Composition," Diss. University of Texas at Austin (1950).

(7) Titus Livius, Ab Urbe Condita, trans. B.O. Foster (1919; rpt. London: Heinemann, 1967), I, LVII-LIX. All further quotes are taken from this edition.

(8) Heurgon believes that Livy is taking pains here to compare two types of civilization through the actions of their women. The Etruscans allowed their women to appear at banquets, games and to mix with men in social activities while the Roman wife, at this time, was expected to care for the home and hold herself aloof from strange men. See "Tite-Live et les Tarquins," L'Information Littéraire, 7, no.2 (Mar.-Apr. 1955), 56-64. Other spinning scenes (Penelope in the Odyssey, Tibullus 1.3. 83 ff. and Catallus LXVI, 305-22) indicate that this activity was symbolical of feminine virtue. The Roman bride carried spindle and wool. Suetonius reported that Augustus tried to animate "pudicitia" in his own family by introducing spinning. Cf. R.M. Ogilvie, A Commentary on Livy (1965; rpt. Oxford: Clarendon, 1970).
A husband's foolish boasting is frequently found in later literature, as well as the wager over chastity. For a discussion of these motifs, see the introduction to Shakespeare's Cymbeline by J.M. Nosworthy (1955; rpt. London: Methuen, 1960). Nosworthy points out that versions of these motifs were extant "in practically every language known to the Elizabethans."(p.xx)

(9) Livy relates in an earlier part of his history how Brutus, to avoid being killed by the Tarquins, feigned madness. Lucretia's death gives him the long awaited opportunity to revenge the death of his brothers.

(10) I do not agree with Susan Brownmiller, who presents Lucretia's death as an alternative to shaming her husband. This aspect does not enter the legend until the time of Chaucer. Livy's Lucretia loves chastity for its own sake, as a symbol of virtue, and kills herself for the loss of personal integrity. See Susan Brownmiller, Against Our Will (New York; Simon & Schuster, 1975), p.328.

(11) Dionysius of Halicarnassus, The Roman Antiquities, trans. Earnest Carey (1939; rpt. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961), IV, 64-67. All following quotes are from this edition.

(12) Appleton explains the omission of the wager by pointing out that "cette discussion entre convives ne lui fournissait pas l'occasion de placer quelques-uns de ces beaux discours dans lesquels se complaît cet habile rhéteur, et qu'il allonge même à l'excès." (Op. cit., p. 251) Galinsky believes a difference in sources accounts for the different versions. The wager could also have been either Livy's invention, to emphasize Lucretia's chastity, or a deliberate omission on Dionysius' part to create a more favorable image of Collatinus.

(13) Cf. the explanation of Diodorus Siculus, [Library of History], trans. C.H. Oldfather (1946; rpt. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961), 20. In this oldest version (56 B.C.?) of the legend, Diodorus has Lucretia yield to Sextus, "fearing that men would in truth believe that she had been slain because of adultery" since "men by nature prefer slander to praise." So "strangely enough he compelled her to submit voluntarily to be outraged."

(14) Arthur Young, op.cit., p.70. Ovid relates this story under February 24th, which tradition assigned as the regifugium, the flight of Tarquinius Superbus, in Fasti, trans. James Frazer (London: Heinemann, 1931), II, 722-852.

(15) Cf. Ars Amandi 1.9.1:"Militat omnis amans,"and 1.9.21:"Saepe soporatos invadere profuit hostes."

(16) Lines 761-774 are devoted to a description of Lucretia and the effect she has on Sextus' desire: "forma placet niveusque color falvique capilli,/ quique aderat nulla factus ab arte decor;/ verba placent et vox, et quod corrumpere non est,/ quoque minor spes est, hoc magis ille cupit." (763-66) Cf. Juvenal, Satires, 10, 293 ff.: "sed netat optari faciem Lucretia qualem ipsa habuit...."

(17) This gesture marks Lucretia as a heroine as well as acting as a reinforcement of her chaste nature. Frazer, in his edition of the Fasti, points out that the "falling with decency" scene is common in the description of a dying hero, probably stemming from Euripides' portrait of Polyxena in "Hecuba," 568-70. Ovid uses this again in Metamorphoses XIII, 479-80.

(18) See Ogilvie, op.cit., p.225. Specific reference is made to Seneca, Dialogi 4, 26, 5-6 and Cicero, Paradoxa Stoicorum, 20.

(19) Ogilvie, ibid. See also Sarah Pomeroy, op.cit., for various laws relating to adultery. In Athenian laws, "Whether adultery came about through rape or seduction, the male was considered the legally guilty or active party, the woman passive." (p.186) The woman could not present her own defense; only her male guardian could if he so desired. The severity of these laws matched the nature of the crime as a public offense. An illegitimate child could not only ruin a family, it also brought to the roles of

free citizenry an outsider from the kinship-cult groups. In Lucretia's case, the possibility of illegitimate children was not openly broached until the Declamations of Coluccio Salutati (1370). Also cf. Brownmiller, op.cit., p.9 for reference to the Code of Hammurabi, which considered a raped woman an adulteress to be punished as severely as the man.

(20) For a discussion of the Roman laws for adultery, see Emilio Peruzzi, Origini di Roma (Florence: Valmartina, 1970) and Percy Corbett, The Roman Law of Marriage (Oxford: Clarendon, 1930). Peruzzi states "...è impudica non solo colei che si comporta senza pudore, ma anche la donna onesta il cui pudore sia stato offeso...." (p.85) The possible consequences of rape or adultery included the death penalty (until the Lex Julia de Adulteriis, 18-16 B.C. abolished it), trial by domestic tribunal (husband and blood relations) or divorce.
For the controversy around Lucretia's case, see Appleton, Ogilvie and Young, op.cit.

(21) Appleton, op.cit., p.256. Further to this point, "Mais bien des siècles plus tard encore, des jurisconsultes romains affirmaient que la crainte n'annule pas le consentement....ici Lucrèce a préféré (maluit) l'adultère, donc elle l'a voulu." (p.264)

(22) See Miguel D'Estefano Pisani, El Rapto (Havana: Jesús Montero, 1945) for a discussion of the Lex Julia de Adulteriis. The importance of physical violence on the part of the man is emphasized in the Codex Theodosianus (9.9.25), which decreed punishment of the victim according to her willingness. She received a lesser penalty if there was proof of resistance "for she should have screamed and brought neighbors to her assistance." (Pomeroy, op.cit., p.160)

(23) Pomeroy, op.cit., p.161.

(24) See Xenophon, Hellenica V, 4, 7 and Diodorus Siculus XV, 54, 3 for similar results. Appleton also attributes a political motive to Lucretia's suicide, that of the abolition of tyranny. In this sense he compares her to Virginia and the Sabines: "par ce caractère astucieux, dont est empreinte toute la politique des ancêtres de Machiavel." (p.619) Lucretia is a political catalyst, but a passive agent; the action belongs to Brutus. I do not see any indication in the legend that she had political motives for her suicide.

(25) Appleton, op.cit., p.261. For contrary interpretations to this now accepted critical opinion, cf. August Pauly and Georg Wissowa, Paulys Realencyclopaedie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft (1927; rpt. Stuttgart: Druckenmüller, 1962),v.13, pt.2, pp.1692-5. Fear of physical violence, of death, and of adverse judgment before the family tribunal are all given as reasons for her suicide. It is also suggested that Collatinus would never have believed Lucretia capable of adultery with a

slave and that Sextus' ruse would have failed. However, the physical evidence that Sextus would have presented and the law which allowed a kinsman to execute a wife found in adultery would have made it difficult for Collatinus to dispute it, at least legally.

(26) Diodorus Siculus, op.cit., v.4, p.89. C.H. Oldfather, the translator for the Loeb edition, notes that the Byzantine excerptor probably took liberties with this passage, as Diodorus never went to such pains to point a moral.

(27) Marcus Tullius Cicero, De Legibus, trans. Clinton Keyes (1928; rpt. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961), II, 4.

(28) Cassius Dio Cocceianus, Dio's Roman History, trans. Earnest Carey (1914; rpt. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961), II, 13-19. A similar idea is expressed by Sophocles, when Ismene says to Antigone (61-2): "We were born women, showing that we were not meant to fight with men." She uses physis, by nature rather than by convention that women do not rival men. See Pomeroy, op.cit., p.99.

The Augustinian Lucretia[29] universally

> ...the artistic process requires that the truth of a lie be collated with truth as it is universally understood or as the artist accepts it.[29]

The truths embodied in the story of Lucretia, a Roman matron such as Romans loved to idealize, were no longer acceptable to fifth century Christian society. Before Augustine, Lucretia's name had appeared but briefly.[30] Church chroniclers were particularly interested in Roman history as a foreshadowing of the Christian era; in Lucretia's case, their attention was not drawn to the political implications of her story, but to problems of chastity, suicide and the role of woman in the light of Christian doctrine.

The efforts of Roman historians to present a personality in relation to the republic, to its institutions, its procedures, are not continued by Church historians. For the latter, "il personaggio non è tanto un protagonista, quanto piuttosto un testimone che all' interno della propria coscienza integra incessantemente la realtà, mentre nelle sembianze della natura e della storia si attenta a presagire l'inconoscibile."[31] Seen in this way, Lucretia compared unfavorably to the numerous virgins of patristic literature who drowned themselves or allowed themselves to be killed rather than submit to violation.

G. Voigt presents Lucretia as a variant of the chastity-suicide cycle, which was especially popular in monastic literature. A central role was assigned to the preservation of chastity at all costs; "Es ist unleugbar, dass der Werth und die Feier der Keuschheit mit dem Christenthum und speziell mit dem monastischen Wesen in ein neues and heiliges Licht traten."[32] One of the more popular tales

involved the trick of the magic ointment. In a version by Rufinus, Sophronia promises her soldier-guard an ointment which will protect him in war. To prove its magical properties, she rubs some on her neck and dares him to strike her with his sword. When he does, he cuts off her head. In this way she avoids rape and suicide at the same time.[33]

Lucretia did receive some praise from the Christians: Tertullian presents her as an example of a faithful wife, whose involuntary guilt was atoned for by her death; Pelagius believed "Si necessitatis est, peccatum non est;" Otto of Cluny favored suicide as a reaction to forced adultery.[34] Her reputation, though, was not to recover from the first coherent attack launched against her by Augustine.

He uses Livy's narrative but does not consider Lucretia's death as an affirmation of the high moral worth she placed on chastity or as a true witness to her innocence. He desires, instead, to prove the evil inherent in self-slaughter and analyzes Lucretia's actions from this point of view.

If a woman is violated, Augustine begins in his De civitate Dei,[35] "pudicitia" is not excluded, but shame (pudor) is thrust in, shame for fear that the mind may be thought to have consented to the act. Yet such shame is not reason enough for suicide. Indeed, the guilt of the proposed suicide increases in proportion to the woman's innocence. Lucretia's error is that she did not realize that another's lust cannot pollute purity, which is a virtue of the mind, and by killing herself she compounded the crime. For as long as the intent not to yield is there, the will is uncorrupted: "Quam ob rem non habet quod in se morte spontanea puniat femina sine

ulla sua consensione violenter oppressa et alieno conpressa peccato...,"[36]

Augustine continues to analyze Lucretia's decision. He does feel some sympathy for her, but his speculations succeed in maligning her purity which had never before been in doubt. There were two and only one committed adultery, he states:

> Quid si enim (quod ipsa tantummodo nosse poterat) quamvis iuveni violenter inruenti etiam sua libidine inlecta consentit idque in se puniens ita doluit ut morte putaret expiandum?[37]

Even so, she could have repented. And if she were, spiritually, an adulteress, why praise her? If she did not commit adultery, then she died because of shame and pride. These then are her true sins: a lack of humility which would have enabled her to bear the shame passively and an overweening attention to the opinion of men rather than her own conscience. Virtue is its own reward; it does not require glory as its prize.

Regardless of the reason why Augustine chose to attack Lucretia -- whether to dissuade the women of Rome from following her example, as Rome had just been overrun by Alaric,[38] or as a general Christian stand against Stoicism -- he removed her decision from a social to an absolute frame of reference. His condemnation of her pride, the pagan form of glory, forced him to doubt her motives for yielding to Sextus and for her suicide. Thus we find in the French version of the Gesta Romanorum, based upon Augustine, such statements as, "Il [Sextus] entre dedans sa maison quand elle consent à pecher; elle est violée quand elle fait l'oeuvre de peché lors après le consentement."[39]

The lines of dissent have been drawn. In this quarrel, however, victory did not belong to either side. Even the most virulent

attackers of women found Lucretia to be an example of virtue. Jean de Meun, in the Roman de la Rose, presents her as that rarest of species, a virtuous woman:

> que ses cors n'avoit pas pechié;
> quant li queurs ne vost le pechié;
> car cors ne peut estres pechierres
> se li queurs n'en est consentierres.[40]

Yet he quickly assures his readers that such women as Lucretia and Penelope are no longer found in the world:

> n'onc fame ne se deffandi,
> qui bien a lui prandre antandi,
> ainsinc le dient le paien,
> n'onques nus n'i trova maien.[41]

It is against just such an image of feminine frailty that Jean's adversary, Christine de Pisan, also presents Lucretia. By her example she refutes, in the Cyte of Ladyes, that women "wolde be ravysshed and that it dyspleaseth them not thoughe they saye the contrary...."[42] She argues that to women of chaste heart, such violation is "to them ryght grete sorowe." Lucretia submitted to Sextus "thinkynge ȳ folkes wolde soone byleve suche a thynge by the wordes of hym she suffred his strengthe."

Both Jean and Christine accept death as proof of innocence. This was not an unusual position, especially for those who used Lucretia as an exemplum without developing her story to any great extent. An anonymous poem, erroneously attributed to Ovid in the Middle Ages, often accompanied her name:

> When with the cruel steel Lucretia her pure heart was
> piercing,
> Spake she, addressing the life issuing forth from her
> breast:
> 'Go now and bear me witness I did not encourage the
> tyrant,
> Blood, to the souls of the dead, Spirit, before the gods.'[43]

It appears, though, that Lucretia is on the defensive. The chastity which was taken for granted in ancient versions now must be supported by proof that she did not encourage her attacker. Her virtue, which for the ancients had been outstanding, but natural, has taken on a rather unreal quality, as something not to be expected of ordinary women.

> Amice, nulla esta Lucrecia...omnes time.[44]

Lucretia does not recover some human qualities until Coluccio Salutati creates a dialogue for her and Collatinus. In the interval, two distinct figures emerge, the heroic and the pathetic.

(29) Don Cameron Allen, The Legend of Noah (1949; rpt. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1963), p.176.

(30) "Es sind nur rhetorische Uebungsstücke, wenig mehr als eine Paraphrase der livianischen Worte, nur nach der Situation componirt." G. Voigt, "Über die Lucretia-Fabel und ihre literarischen Verwandten," Sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse, Berichte über die Verhandlungen (1883), p.25.
For a brief listing of these works, including Florus and Eutropius, see Galinsky and Young, op.cit., passim.

(31) Salvatore Battaglia, Mitografia del personaggio (Milan: Rizzoli, 1968), p.41. For a discussion of the Roman treatment of personality, see Georges Dumézil, L'Heritage Indo-Européen a Rome, 7th ed. (Paris: Gallimard, 1949), pp.171 ff.

(32) Voigt, op.cit., p.8. Voigt also compares Lucretia to Virginia, who was killed by her father to prevent her from being raped. Appleton takes exception to hasty comparisons between the two heroines. He argues that conjugal fidelity and virginal chastity are essentially different, though the results of their deaths were similar.

(33) See also Galinsky, op.cit., ch.4. Coupled with the exaltation of chastity there developed a trend of general denigration of women as creatures with a limited capacity for virtue; "Angehörige des Geschlechts, von dem die Sünde ausging, an der wir alle sterben." (Galinsky, p.19) Aldo Scaglione divides the medieval view of women between the courtly (the lady) and the monastic (the eternal Pandora). See his Nature and Love in the Late Middle Ages (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963).

(34) Tertullian, Opera omnia in Migne, Patrologiae Cursus Completus (Paris: 1878), v.2, pp.978 and 1003. Pelagius and Otto of Cluny are cited in Young, op.cit., pp.76 and 78.

(35) Augustine, De civitate Dei (1957; rpt. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966), bk.1, chs. XVI-XIX. Augustine discusses suicide in On Free Choice of the Will: "You cannot in any way choose rightly when you choose something that does not exist." [trans. Anna Benjamin and L.H. Hackstaft (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1964), p.104].

(36) Augustine, De civitate Dei, op.cit., ch. XVIII, p.82. Cf. Livy: "Mentem peccare, non corpus, et unde consilium afuerit culpam abesse." (I, lviii, 9)

(37) Augustine, ibid., ch. XIX, p.86. Jerome also praises Lucretia for her chastity and her role in Roman history: "Mulieris virtus proprie pudicitia est. Haec Lucretiam Bruto aequavit, nescias an pratulerit: quoniam Bruto non posse servire a femina didicit." He does not censure her, as Augustine does. See Jerome, Adversus Jovinianum, I, 49.

(38) Pius XII used the canonization of Maria Goretti in just this way. The young girl was stabbed to death resisting rape in 1902. Her canonization was accomplished in 1950, in her own mother's lifetime, "because Pope Pius XII wanted a model of purity for postwar teenagers." See Joan Barthel, "A Saint for All Reasons," New York Times, sec. 6, 14 Sept. 1975, p.85. For a general study of suicide in the Middle Ages and later, see Félix Bourquelot, "Recherches sur les opinions et la législation en matière de mort volontaire pendant le Moyen Âge (XIV-XVI)," Bibliothèque de l'école des Chartes, Ser.1, v.3 (1841-2), pp. 456-75 and v.4 (1842-3), pp.539-60. Under Roman law, suicide was permitted for various causes, though it was prohibited from fear of condemnation and remorse over a crime. In 563, the Council of Bragues banned masses for suicides. The secular law followed church dictates. In France, if a person was judged a self-slaughter, his body was not buried and all his property reverted to his lord. Note that loss of burial privileges was one of the reasons Dionysius gave for Lucretia's submission to Sextus.
Another example of Augustine's emphasis on absolute values rather than the social is his praise for Horatia in Book 3. He rejects the Roman tendency to enlarge their state through wars and considers her an innocent victim of exaggerated patriotism. For a discussion of this legend, see Lienhard Bergel, "The Horatians and the Curiatians in the Drama and Political-Moralist Literature Before Corneille," Renaissance Drama, III N.S. (1970), pp.215-38.

(39) Le Violier des Histoires Romaines Moraliseez, published 1521, ed. Brunet (Paris: 1858) reproduced in James Tolbert, op.cit., p. 492. This judgment is not included in the English version. The emphasis is mine.

(40) Jean de Meun, Roman de la Rose (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1966), 11. 8595-8.

(41) Ibid., 11.8625-8. Cf. Walter Map's warning in his De nugis curialium: "Even the very good woman, who is rarer than the Phoenix, cannot be loved without the loathsome bitterness of fear and worry and constant unhappiness...Lucretia and Penelope, as well as the Sabine women, have borne aloft the banners of modesty and they have brought back trophies with but few in their following." [trans. Frederick Tupper and Marbury Ogle (London: Chatto & Windus, 1924), p. 186].
For an analysis of the Lucretia theme in the Kaiserchronik tradition, see Galinsky, op.cit., pp.22 ff.

(42) Christine de Pisan, Cyte of Ladyes, trans. Henry Pepwell (London: 1521), n.p. Both Jean and Christine mention that a law was established to ensure the death penalty for all rapists. Since the Tarquins were exiled, not killed, I assume this severe judgment speaks for the high esteem placed on chastity by this time. Brownmiller points out that before the thirteenth century, English law only included punishment for rape of propertied virgins; matrons and widows were added after 1275. See Bracton on the Laws and Customs of England, Brownmiller, op.cit., p.26.

(43) Otto, Bishop of Freising, The Two Cities, trans. Charles Mierow (1928; rpt. New York: Octagon, 1966), bk. 2, ex. 9. Otto's work (1143-47, first published 1515) praises Lucretia, even though his primary sources were Augustine and Orosius. He took Roman history to be a gradual progression to enlightenment and did not expect Lucretia to have Christian awareness. For other favorable treatments, see Vincent de Beauvais, Bibliotheca Mundi: Speculum Doctrinale, bk. 4, ch. 100 and Jacques de Cessoles, The Game and Play of Chesse, trans. William Caxton (1483), bk.2, ch.2.

(44) Walter Map, De nugis curialium, ed. Montague Rhodes James (Oxford: Clarendon, 1914), p.147.

Heroic and Pathetic

Dante, who believed that Rome, the "urbs aeterna," was being guided by Providence throughout her history toward the center of the church and the empire, did not include Lucretia among the suicides in the Inferno. She is with the virtuous pagans in Limbo (Canto IV, l.128) and is also mentioned in Paradiso (Canto VI, l. 41) when Justinian tells Dante, by implication, that the "dolor di Lucrezia" was necessary to the evolution of Rome.

In the Renaissance reevaluation of fame, that "distinction won by a man's personal efforts,"[45] Petrarch played a decisive role. It is not surprising to find Lucretia in the forefront of those of "truest honor" in his "Triumph of Fame." Here was one who gave her life for earthly glory. In L'Africa he relates her story (essentially a recounting of Livy's version) with much praise for her heroism. He laments that her most noble blood was the price that had to be paid for the glory and splendor of her virtue.[46] Without her honor, as he says in sonnet CCLXII, a woman lives in torment:

> e qual si lascia di suo onor privare
> né donna è più, né viva; e se qual pria
> appare in vista, è tal vita aspra e ria
> via più che morte e di più pene amare.
> Né di Lucrezia mi meravigliai
> se non come a morir le bisognasse
> ferro, e non le bastasse il dolor solo.[47]

Boccaccio also recognizes Lucretia's attainment of glory in chapter XLVI of his De claris mulieribus. He is aware that she and those other famous women were not inspired by God, but "...these pagans through some natural gift or instruct, or rather spurred by desire for this fleeting glory, reached their goal not without great strength of mind and often in spite of the assaults of Fortune."[48]

Though she gave her body unwillingly to Sextus, she could not bear "the shameful violation of her privacy." The harshness of her punishment earned her the glory of chastity.

He is more explicit in regard to Lucretia's decision in his commentary on Canto IV of the Divine Comedy. In weighing her decision, Lucretia chose correctly, as Boccaccio points out in a very practical manner, since there was small chance that Sextus would not have been believed.[49] She showed great subtlety of mind in choosing a certain death rather than uncertain honor in her husband's house. He also explains why Lucretia is allowed to remain in Limbo. She sinned in Augustine's sense: "quantunque onestissima donna fosse, nondimeno se medesima uccise, il che senza grandissimo peccato non è licito di fare ad alcuno."[50] Yet in spite of this vice, she is present because of her virtue: "...intende esso autore questi cotali in questo luogo si prendan solamente per virtuosi in quelle virtù che loro qui attribuite sono, e le colpe, quasi non sute, si lascino stare."[51] This flexibility of judgment was characteristic of those humanists who dealt with Lucretia. While recognizing Augustine's objections, they were willing, on the whole, to accept the Roman view of her virtue.

Boccaccio's praise of Lucretia's"manly spirit" is echoed in many translations and adaptations of De claris as a counterpart to her chaste spirit. Don Álvaro de Luna (Libro de las virtuosas é claras mujeres, 1446) made this his focal point for his presentation of her story in book 2: "empero non es de juzgar ser menos que la castidad la grandeza del corazón de Lucrecia....pues ella de su voluntad con gran virtud se mató, non súbitamente, mas con deliberación...."[52] Her death proved her "gran sabiduría...nobleza de ingenio e...firmeza de

corazón non vencida...."[53] He is aware of Augustine's criticism and he even cites him in defense of her chastity -- there were two bodies but only one sinned. In his eyes, though, her will to glory saves her virtue. Indeed, her wound bled more glory than blood when she stabbed herself. In agreement with Jerome, he believes she "quitó la mancilla del cuerpo por el derramiento de su propria sangre."[54] Note that Luna calls it a "little spot" and that it was removed from her body, not her soul. He is also careful to point out that Lucretia did not cry out because there was no one within hearing distance who could have helped her.

The acceptance of glory as a right goal for human life and the concentration of Lucretia's virtue in her courage rather than her chastity enabled those who would praise her to circumvent Augustine. There were other ways to do this, however. Geoffrey Chaucer and John Gower praised Lucretia, though aware of Augustine's censure. Chaucer (The Legend of Good Women, ch.V) notes

> The grete Austin, hath greet compassioun
> Of this Lucresse[55] (ll. 1690-91)

and admits that she submitted to Sextus because

> This Roman wyves loveden so hir name
> At thilke tyme, and dredden so the shame (ll. 1812-13).

But it is how she submitted that sets her apart from her predecessors.

> That, what for fere of slaundre and drede of deeth,
> She loste bothe at-one wit and breeth,
> And in a swough she lay and wex so deed,
> Men mighte smyten of her arm or heed,
> She feleth no-thing, neither foul ne fair. (ll. 1814-18)

It is her very love of glory which puts her beyond one of Augustine's accusations, that she might have enjoyed some physical pleasure and killed herself to atone for it.

These lines, "which breathe the spirit of chivalry"[56] also describe a notably helpless woman. As Robert Frank points out, helplessness and innocence are the two principal characteristics of Chaucer's Lucretia.[57] Though Chaucer's primary source is Ovid, the emphasis on innocence is his own. He carefully sets the scene to make Lucretia appear even more helpless than her Roman counterpart by changing two details. When Collatine and Sextus surprise her at her spinning, Chaucer points out the absence of a gate porter at the door. They find Lucretia "dischevele, for no malice she ne thoghte" (l. 1720). Secondly, Chaucer has Sextus creep through an open window when he returns to Collatia. There is no welcoming scene or banquet; the surprise is total.

In contrast to her innocence, Sextus is evil incarnate, goaded solely by lust which does "dispyt to chivalrye."[58] John Gower, in his Confessio Amantis, also places all the blame squarely on Sextus (or as he calls him, Aruns):[59]

> The resoun of hise wittes alle
> Hath lost, for love upon his part
> Cam thanne, and of his fyri dart
> With such a wounde him hath thurgh smite,
> That he mot nedes fiele and wite
> Of thilke blinde maladie,
> To which no cure of Surgerie
> Can helpe. (11.4850-57)

Gower even eliminates Lucretia's pride in her good name, for in his version Sextus does not threaten her with adultery. Instead, he creeps into her bed and takes her into his arms before she awakes; when she does, she loses her voice and her wits from fear.

> And this he broghte hire herte in doute,
> That lich a Lomb whanne it is sesed
> In wolves mouth, so war desesed
> Lucrece, which he naked fond;
> Whereof sche swounede in his honde
> And, as who seith, lay ded oppressed. (11. 4982-87)

Though Gower follows Ovid's plot much more closely than Chaucer, he saw fit to borrow this incident of fainting to emphasize Lucretia's innocence. She kills herself from shame, thinking herself "unmete, and the lest worth of wommen alle" (ll. 5029-30), having knelt before Collatine like a penitent vassal.

Chaucer introduces another new element into the story when he describes why Lucretia decides to commit suicide:

> She seide, that, for her gilt ne for her blame,
> Her husbond sholde nat have the foule name,
> That wolde she nat suffre, by no wey. (ll. 1843-45)

This is the first version where her unselfish care for her husband's name is the primary motive for her suicide, and is consistent with Chaucer's intent, for he praises not her chastity, but her trueness of heart throughout her story. He ends by calling her a saint for the Romans, not for her chastity again, but for her true love, her great steadfastness, her constancy. She does not die heroically, nor defiantly. She submits to the inevitable. Frank calls Chaucer's creation of Lucretia as "the emblem of all women true in love" curious.[60] Yet this is to become an even more common theme in the courtesy books of the sixteenth century. While Rome permitted a certain flexibility in the meaning of chastity, so that Livy can have Collatine pardon his wife and beg her to live, by the time Chaucer wrote, much if not all such leeway had disappeared. Lucretia's virtue was included under "true love," the love of a married woman for her husband, distinct from a higher manifestation of virtue (chastity) which had been destroyed in her.

Lucretia's attention to her husband's good name might well be a product of the code of courtly love, which demanded the appearance of

honor on the woman's part if not the reality. Galinsky notes a similar tendency to regard social appearance as the most important element in the Kaiserchronik version of the legend.[61]

Aeneas Silvio Piccolomini composed a love story in 1444 which could have been subtitled "What would have happened to Lucretia if she had not been so dedicated to her good name?" His Eurialus and Lucretia[62] presents a courtly love version of illicit passion, paralleling the Lucretia legend in many details. Lucretia is a beautiful and chaste wife who "carried a masculine spirit in a feminine brest."[63] She meets Eurialus and falls violently in love with him. She argues with herself:

> But shall I forsake mother, husband and countrey? Why not? But why should the buzz of fame awe me, since I shall not heare it....(p.8)

Comparing herself to Medea, Helen and Lucretia, she decides she must kill herself. She sees herself as being nobler than Collatine's wife because her death will anticipate the commission of the act. Yet she is reluctant, and her serving woman dissuades her with a simple argument: "this fame is but a counterfeit glosse."[64] Eurialus finally wins her over in a letter by appealing to, of all things, her chastity, "for I detest a woman that is prodigal of her honour."[65] Her servant Sosias sums up the general opinion; "For it little differs eyther not to doe, or so to doe, that no man knowes the doing."[66]

Eurialus, however, begins to fear for his honor, which he has so foolishly put into the hands of a woman. When Lucretia decides she must flee her husband to run away with him, he warns her, "Behold will they say, Lucretia that was imputed so chaste a Dame is

turned a whore...."[67] She dies of a broken heart and he marries a virgin.

Thus does unchastity reap a poor reward, but Piccolomini is clearly sympathetic to Lucretia until the very end. She recognizes that physical purity and honor are often not the same. Honesty for its own sake is no longer a worthy goal; as long as she uses discretion to preserve her outward reputation, she may enjoy some of the pleasures hitherto forbidden to her.

At the end of the fifteenth century, Fernando de Rojas' La Celestina, which dealt with pleasure as a final principle of life in an arbitrary world, presents a Lucretia character whose name was more inspired by Piccolomini than by the ancients.[68] She begins as a loyal servant to Melibea, but quickly becomes implicated in the plot against her mistress' virtue. Indeed, she even compares her own carnal desires to those of Melibea's and finally succumbs completely to unruly pleasure.

On the one hand, then, there is a courtly tolerance of discreet love affairs, and on the other, the exaltation of chastity as the primary feminine virtue. This virtue, though, by the sixteenth century, has become, with many authors, as one with reputation and particularly the husband's. Pietro Belmonte (Institutione della sposa, 1587) does not include Lucretia in his examples of chaste women; chastity is "il bene, & la reputatione del'uno redonda anco nella persona dell'altro...la casta, & saggia donna è corona al marito...."[69] Stefano Guazzo believes that the blame for any sin committed by a woman rests with her husband, but since both husband and wife uphold only one mind and one honor,

> A woman having lost the name of honest wife,
> No more a woman counted is, nor to remaine in life.[70]

Even when she retains her honesty, it is not enough that only she knows of it; "I thinke that as I am not content to know my self to be an honest man, but I would have the world know it...so women moved by the same ambition, love to be courted and tried...."[71] Furthermore, a woman cannot reap honor from either arms or letters without her chastity. Thus, those who would praise Lucretia's steadfastness and valor as her true virtues found, in the final analysis, that she had lost the very foundation for her honor. If honor and chastity are one and the same for women, Lucretia's story is a paradox: she lost her chastity to preserve her honor, yet she lost that single thing which could have supported it. The question then becomes whether her death could restore it, as she intended.

Sperone Speroni addresses himself to this question in his Orazione contra le cortigiane (1575). In opposing himself to the life of genteel vice practised by most courtiers, he presents Lucretia as a woman "dirittamente contraria alla viltà delle cortigiane, queste è il sol della castità...."[72] Yet he cannot praise her unreservedly, because the chastity of a good wife is not that of heaven. "Non è una la castità." He accuses many contemporary women of using Lucretia as a negative example, that death after loss of chastity (alla maniera Lucreziana) does not make them any less chaste as long as they repent. Even Lucretia, though she did not submit willingly, lost some part of her virtue in yielding to Sextus: "il consentirli fu atto mezzo tra violenzia ed elezione."[73] He also criticizes her courage and good sense in killing herself, using

Augustinian standards. Her most perfect solution should have been death by Sextus' sword.

Speroni is reasonable in his final judgment. He concludes that for her time and without God's grace, Lucretia could not have done any better than she did. As a pagan she gave her life for glory, that which is written and sung by historians and poets, or by the general public. Her steadfast love for her husband was a kind of chastity in itself. Speroni further praises her for her wisdom in fearing the threat of adultery and for linking her death to revenge, "e forte e savia nel darsi morte in testimonio della violenza che le fu fatta."[74] He hopes, though, that any Christian woman would reject such a solution out of hand: "Assai chiaro credo aver mostro, che a respetto della fortezza e la castità delle nostre martiri, quella delle etnice fusse nulla...."[75]

Such a reasonable view of Lucretia was not shared by everyone. There were those such as Antonio de Torquemada (Colloquios satíricos, 1553) who condemned Lucretia for living beyond her loss of chastity, blaming her suicide on her atonement for some physical gratification which she had received and on her fear of punishment by Collatine. The only support he can find for her is the very weak, "¿Cuántas mujeres ha habido y hay en el mundo tan castas que ninguna mancilla se puede poner en su bondad?"[76]

The general tendency, however, was to accept Lucretia as an exemplum of somewhat imperfect virtue. Her loss of chastity coupled with a pervasive distrust of the female's capacity for virtue made it difficult to accept her wholeheartedly by the sixteenth century. Even Chaucer, ending his version of the legend with Christ's avowal that he

could find no greater faith than in a woman, had to support this with "and this is no lye." (l. 1882) In the first third of the sixteenth century a Spanish dramatist will end his play on a similar note, averring that women, and Lucretia in particular, are faithful creatures.[77] Before we look at this most radical departure from the legend, we must first examine Lucretia's most eloquent defense to date, the declamations of Coluccio Salutati.

(45) Jacob Burckhardt, The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy (1878; rpt. New York: Random House, 1954), p.113. Burckhardt attributes the new regard for fame in Italy to, among other things, a growing sense of social equality and the study of Roman authors, who "are filled and saturated with the concept of fame." (p.108)

(46) Petrarch injects some true emotion into Lucretia's speech after she is dishonored:

"...Vas vile pudende,
Femina, luxurie vives" dicebat "et in te
Semper adulterii vestigia feda manebunt?
Et poteris spectare thorum, quo rapta fuerunt
Omnia cara tibi: vir, virtus, fama pudorque?
Quin obis? et tristem potius, pregor, effuge lucem,
O anima infelix, inimicaque claustra refringe."

L'Africa, ed. Nicola Festa (Florence: Sansoni, 1926), bk.3, ll. 692-98.

(47) Francesco Petrarca, Rime, Trionfi, e poesie latine in La Letteratura Italiana, eds, F. Neri, et al. (Milan: Ricciardi, 1951), v.6, p. 336.

(48) Giovanni Boccaccio, Concerning Famous Women, trans. Guido Guarino (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1963), p.xxxix. In his Comento alla Divina Commedia, [ed. Domenico Guerri (Bari: Laterza, 1918), v.2, p.102], Boccaccio describes the virtues of the women found in Limbo: "...le quali castamente e onestamente vivono, e i loro ofici domestici discretamente e con ordine fanno...penserá al suo stato, alla sua qualitá: e di questo consistere nella pudicizia, nell'amor del marito, nella gravitá donnesca...."

(49) Ibid., p.227.

(50) Ibid., p.262. Charles Davis believes Dante's view of Roman history owes more to Orosius than to Augustine. Though Orosius listed the evils of pagan life, he did not share the Augustinian view that Rome lacked true "iustitia" and that its uniqueness was negated by the vice of pride. See his Dante and the Idea of Rome (Oxford: Clarendon, 1957). For a recent discussion of medieval concepts of history, see C.A. Patrides, The Grand Design of God (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972).

(51) Boccaccio, Comento alla Divina Commedia, op.cit., p.263.

(52) Don Álvaro de Luna, Libro de las virtuosas é claras mujeres Madrid: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 1891), p.119.

(53) Ibid., p.110.

(54) Ibid., p.117. For Jerome, see footnote 37.

(55) Geoffrey Chaucer, The Legend of Good Women in The Complete Works, ed. Walter Skeat (1894; rpt. Oxford: Clarendon, 1963), v.3. Frank speculates that Chaucer might have taken the tale from the Gesta Romanorum rather than directly from Augustine, in his Chaucer and the Legend of Good Women (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1972). Alternatively, Galinsky speculates "Wenn er das Verhalten des Kirchenvaters [i.e., Augustine] zu Lucretia mit "greet compassioun" charakterisiert, ist das eine Verfälschung aus Unkenntnis oder aus christlicher Toleranz." (op.cit., p.49) It is difficult to believe that Chaucer did not know of Augustine's criticism.

(56) Skeat, op.cit., v.3, p.333, footnote to ll.1812-26.

(57) Frank, op.cit., p.95. Cf. "And eek hire teres, ful of honeste,/ Embelished hire wifly chastite...." (ll. 1736-7)

(58) Edgar Shannon believes that Chaucer emphasizes Sextus' evil nature to put Lucretia's innocence into greater contrast. See his Chaucer and the Roman Poets (1929; rpt. New York: Russell & Russell, 1964). Sextus violates the chivalric code by stealing what he cannot have and not suffering obedience to the lady. "It is natural for a man to love; but is is not natural for a man to lose his wits," as Andreas Capellanus noted in his De Reprobatione Amoris, cited in William Dodd, Courtly Love in Chaucer and Gower(1913; rpt. Gloucester, Mass: Peter Smith, 1959), p.87. Cf. also Ruth Kelso: Inordinate love...was universally condemned, but it was taken seriously as a state or disease that could not alwaysbe avoided and might afflict anyone." Doctrine for the Lady of the Renaissance (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1956), p.160.

(59) John Gower, Confessio Amantis in The Complete Works, ed. G.C. Macauly (1899; rpt. Grosse Pointe, Mich.: Scholarly Press, 1968), v.3, bk.7, ll.4754-5130. Gower blames men for the evil of lust, using the analogy of water and drowning; one cannot blame the water if a man is intent on drowning himself. Dodd cites this as a departure from church teaching, which held a woman responsible for any evil her beauty might cause. See Dodd, op.cit., p.86. For Gower's use of Aruns rather than Sextus, see Galinsky, op. cit., p.13.

(60) Frank, op.cit., p.102. Cf. Chaucer's reason for telling Lucretia's story: But for to preise and drawen to memorie
The verray wyf, the verray trewe Lucresse
That, for her wyfhood and her stedfastnesse,.... (ll.1685-87)
And further, line 1843: Her herte was so wyfly and so trewe;
lines 1874-6: I tell hit, for she was of love so trewe,
Ne in her wille she chaunged for no newe.
And for the stable herte, sad and kinde,....
Lucretia's identification with the heart contrasts with Sextus' identification with his sword, which is unsheathed as a sign of the wrong done to chivalry.
For a similar recognition of this first use of the husband's name as reason for suicide, cf. Tolbert, op.cit., p.41. For

Lucretia as an example of constant love, see Giovanni Bruto, The Necessarie, Fit, & Convenient Education of a Yong Gentlewoman, trans. W.P. (London: Adam Islip, 1598) and Pedro Mexía, Silva de varia lecion (Antwerp: Martin Nucio, 1544), bk.II, ch.XV. In this chapter, entitled "Como es excelente cosa el amor/ y concordia entre marido y muger/ cuentanse algunos enxemplos de casados que mucho y fielmente se amaron," Mexía says "Pues la lealtad y amor q̃ Lucrecia romana tuuo a su marido: esta tan sabida por todos/ que solamente acordar la es tanto como dezilla." (p.139)

(61) "Das individuelle und natürliche Leidenschaftsmotiv wandelt sich zum gesellschaftsbedingten Standesehrenmotiv." Galinsky, op.cit., p. 29.

(62) Written in Latin in 1444, published in 1496, Piccolomini's work was one of the most popular to appear in Europe; by 1500 there were 35 editions. It was translated into French (1493), Spanish (1495) and Italian (1497). I use an English translation of 1639 by C. Allen, Lucretia (London: T. Cotes for W. Cooke). Piccolomini, as Pope Pius II, repudiated the story.

(63) Ibid., p.4. "The highest praise which could then be given to the great Italian women was that they had the mind and the courage of men." Burckhardt, op.cit., p.327.

(64) Piccolomini, op.cit., p.15. Cf. this to Shakespeare's Lucrece, as she laments "that senseless reputation." (1. 820)

(65) Piccolomini, op.cit., p.25.

(66) Ibid., p. 45. Cf. "Si non caste, tamen caute" from Baldassare Castiglione's Il Cortegiano in Opere, ed. Carlo Cordié (Milan: Ricciardi, 1960), bk.3, ch.20, p.224. Dodd (op.cit., p.7) expresses a similar idea in his evaluation of courtly love: "Chastity might be dispensed with without scruple, but a sullied reputation was unbearable."

(67) Piccolomini, op.cit., p.99. For a discussion of the effect on women and love of Lorenzo Valla's De Voluptate (1433) and the concept that rejection of pleasure is an evil, see Scaglione, op.cit., passim. Scaglione includes a quote by Marguerite de Navarre from her Heptaméron on the double nature of "honneur": "une gloire et cruauté, par qui elles [women] espèrent acquérir nom d'immortalité, et ainsy se gloriffians de résister au vice de la loy de Nature (si Nature est vicieuse), se fond non seullement semblables aux bestes inhumaines et cruelles, mais aux diables, desquels elles prennent l'orgueil et la malice." (p.49)

(68) Cf. Fernando de Rojas, La Celestina, ed. Julio Cejador y Frauca (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1945), note to p.158, l.8: "Lucrecia: parece inspirado este nombre, más que por el de las matronas

romanas, por la reciente lectura del libro de Eneas Silvio." For Lucrecia as an example of the schism between master and servant, see José Antonio Maravall, El Mundo Social de La Celestina (Madrid: Gredos, 1964), pp. 95 ff.

(69) Pietro Belmonte, Institutione della sposa (Rome: Giovanni Osmarino Gigliotto, 1587), n.p. Benvenuto (The Passenger of ..., 1612 cited in Kelso, op.cit., p.99) believes a woman sins against her husband as well as herself if she loses her honor, but that the greater injury is done to him as her superior, especially since she might bear bastard children. Cf. also Boccaccio's comment in his De casibus: "I am harmed if my home is destroyed by an adulterer as if I, myself, were stained."cf. The Fates of Illustrious Men, trans. Louis Brewer Hall (New York: Ungar, 1965), p.79.

(70) Stefano Guazzo, The Civile Conversation, trans. George Pettie (bks. 1-3) and Barth. Young (bk. 4), ed. Edward Sullivan (London: Constable, 1925), v.1, p.31. Written in 1574, Guazzo's treatise was very influential. Before the end of the century, there were nine editions in all the major European languages.

(71) Ibid. Cf. Girolamo Camerata, Trattato dell'honor vero, et del vero dishonore (1567) cited in Kelso, op.cit., p.22: "the esteem and good opinion coming from a person who knows the merit of the honored" is his definition of honor for a woman. Cf. also Leon Battista Alberti, I Libri della Famiglia, trans. Renee Neu Watkins Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1969), p.213: "nothing is so pleasing to me, and precious in the sight of your children as your chastity. The woman's character is the jewel of her family...the mother's purity has always been a part of the dowry she passes on to her daughters."

(72) Sperone Speroni degli Alvarotti, Orazione contra le cortigiane in Opere (Venice: Domenico Occhi, 1740), v.3, p.201. Kelso notes that it is the defenders of women who usually make distinctions between types of chastity. "Lucretia, Susanna, Judith, and Saint Agnes were not to be blamed because they acted so differently when their chastity was threatened; they valued chastity equally but each according to her nature was driven to act by some other dominating desire...." Pierre de Brinon, Le trionph des dames cited in Kelso, op.cit., p.134.

(73) Speroni, op.cit., p.209. Cf. Ariosto, "Orlando Furioso," bk.29, stanza 28, where he has God recommend Isabella's death over Lucretia's: E disse: Più di quella ti commendo,
La cui morte a Tarquino il Regno tolse.
Isabella uses the magic ointment trick to save her chastity (see p.21 of my work). In John Harington's translation of 1591, he comments on Ariosto's preference: "Whereas this fact of Isabella is preferred before that of Lucretia who killed herselfe after she was defloured, I thinke that no man can justlie make any comparison betweene them...." Cf. Robert McNulty's edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p.333. Harington supports his statement with quotations from Ovid, specifically the one that Lucretia was helpless when Sextus attacked her and she had no

other recourse.

(74) Speroni, op.cit., p.211.

(75) Ibid., p.211.

(76) Antonio de Torquemada, Colloquios Satíricos in Orígenes de la novela española, ed. M. Menéndez y Pelayo(Madrid: Bailly/Bailliére, 1905-15), v.2, p.579.

(77) Juan Pastor, Farsa o Tragedia de la castidad de Lucrecia, 1528. See chapter II.

The Declamations

Coluccio Salutati continues the treatment of Lucretia in a more individual, rather than a historical perspective. He wrote two declamations, probably as a rhetorical exercise, one from Collatine urging Lucretia to live and a second from Lucretia, defending the need to die.[78] This is the most detailed defense yet of her controversial decision, and though written in logically arranged, rhetorically correct phrases, it reveals an awareness of psychological and social repercussions, the roots of personality development, "la storia dell' uomo...considerata come un complesso di fenomeni e non di paradigmi o emblemi,"[79] which had been lacking in the legend before.

The declamations found their way into English, Italian and German literature. Matteo Bandello included them, almost unaltered, in his Novella XXI, part 2, apparently content to allow their inherent dramatic nature to remain intact.[80] The remainder of the plot is borrowed from Livy, Ovid and Augustine, with many details added by Bandello. One of the most effective details Bandello added was a small light in Lucretia's bedroom by which Sextus contemplates her beauty. The domestic virtues of the heroine are also stressed. Sextus and Collatine wager over whose wife has the most gentility, breeding and who governs the house best. Lucretia is considered "più domesticamente praticata...la più compita."[81]

Bandello emphasizes the polemical nature of the legend in his dedication to Lucrezia Gonzaga de Gazuolo. While dining with Benedetto Capilupo, secretary to Isabella d'Este, and Mario Equicola, he listens to them debate Lucretia's decision to commit suicide. The former praises it; the latter thinks her mad ("pazza") to have killed

herself. It is interesting to note that Equicola, author of Della Natura d'Amore (1525), was among those who practised the rules of courtliness as high ideals.[82]

At this point Castiglione enters and gives his opinion. It is this version which Bandello claims to record in his novella, though in truth he is translating Salutati's work almost word for word. (See Appendix 1)

Bandello precedes the declamations with his own defense of Lucretia, showing clearly that he is in sympathy with her. She remained throughout the rape "un duro ed alpestre scoglio,...non già di soddisfare al libidinoso amante ma, tenendo sempre fermo il casto suo proposito, lasciargli il corpo in potere...in atto nessuno né in parole se gli mostrò pieghevole."[83]* He also mentions here Livy's body/soul distinction and that Lucretia dressed in black after the rape, a detail from Ovid. The threat was the axe, as Bandello puts it, which broke the ice of her chastity, but she remained as a statue throughout.

The declamations begin with Collatine's arguments against suicide. They follow each other in rapid succession, with the most important left for the end. Your innocence is proved, he tells her, because you revealed the dishonor, even though you could have hidden it; your past life comes to your defense ("pudicissima e castissima") especially since you won the wager; you never did anything to provoke Sextus when he and I visited you; Sextus only violated your body, not your spirit; his reputation for violence and evil precedes him. Collatine then begs her not to cast her family into sorrow by dying; he suggests that she live if only to have the pleasure of seeing the

* emphasis mine

revenge taken against Sextus; his self-loathing will be even greater if the woman he violated still lives and is considered chaste; certainly no one expects a woman, sleeping and alone, to be able to resist an armed, lustful man. Any other woman would have succumbed to a king's son, a noble youth, "gustando la dolcezza dei dolci abbracciamenti,"[84] but she has the glory of knowing that only he committed adultery. He asks what greater glory could there be than the knowledge that she did not succumb. Is not that enough? Collatine then tells her that she has been absolved of any guilt by him, her kinsmen, and all their friends. His last argument is the most powerful:

> la colpa che in te non è, che tu schifar sommamente disii, farai che ciascuno pensi che in te sia, e cosí colpevole sarai stimata.[85]

If you kill yourself, he concludes, it will seem that you considered our judgment of your innocence as false, and the harshness of your punishment will make people suspect that you yourself did not hold your chastity to be intact.

Lucretia begins by attacking this last argument. There is no way to prove her innocence except by death, she claims, especially to the "volgo". Her life would be an endless chronicle of shame, as they would say she would rather live an adulteress than die a chaste woman. She begs him to revenge her and all Roman women but realizes that if she lived, he would only see her as "una bagascia di Tarquinio"[86] since she has lost her honesty. She also might bear Sextus' child.[87] Though she has a reputation for chastity, "in una notte per gli adulterati abbracciamenti è ito in fumo."[88] It was this very reputation which attracted Sextus, not her beauty, "E se la continenzia mia cosí fatto frutto ha riportato, perché resta

l'adulterio impunito?"[89] Her pure spirit can no longer abide living in a corrupted body. And perhaps her senses and ill-behaved body might have received some pleasure, "ché io non sono di legno né generata fui de pietra, ma sono donna di carne come l'altre...si fosse piacere, merita esser con la mia morte castigato."[90] There is nothing as changeable as a woman, so it is possible that her spirit will become tainted and she will enjoy dishonesty.[91] Therefore, if she does not punish herself, she allows an adulteress to go free, and if the adultery is pardoned, then so must be the adulterer. All will say that Sextus is dear to her. She no longer deserves to live: "perduto che è l'onore, nulla di buono a la persona resta."[92] Bandello then adds his own judgment, that she was indeed vindicated by her death and that her virile spirit is not praised as much as it deserves to be.

Lucretia's defense rests on two principal tenets. The first, which had appeared in the earliest versions of the legend, is that her own knowledge of her chastity is not enough. She must be considered chaste by everyone, her peers as well as the "volgo," or she cannot survive. Unlike the ancient versions, this reason is overpowering, subordinating revenge, desire for glory and anger against tyranny. Her second reason originates in Augustine's comments but has also been blown out of proportion to the role it played in De civitate Dei. The assumption behind Salutati's conjectures is that sensual pleasure is stronger than any feminine will to resist, that it is corrupting once tasted, and that any woman who has lost her physical purity is a "scortum," a "bagascia," a whore. This is what Francesco Flora calls "la tragedia della virtù femminile"[93] in all its fragility

and its irrevocable demands.

Salutati has ignored Augustine's main criticism of Lucretia; suicide as a sin does not even deserve mention.[94] But the casual aside the saint proffers is accepted, by this time, as an undeniable facet of a woman's nature. The power of lust to corrupt is also a main tenet of Lucretia's defense in John Lydgate's Fall of Princes,[95] which includes Salutati's declamations. Yet Lydgate does not go so far as Salutati or Bandello. Though he includes the declamations at the request of his lord, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester,[96] he does not follow them as closely as Bandello, expanding some passages and deleting others. His version carries a more "chivalric"[97] tone, certainly influenced by Chaucer, whose version he knew and used. He amends Lucretia's confession of "guilt" to:

> Lust afforcid hath a fals appetit,
> Of freelte includid in Nature;
> Maugre the will, ther folweth a delit,
> As summe folk seyn, in eueri creature.
> Good fame lost, ful hard is to recure;
> And sithe I may myn harmys nat redresse,
> To you in open my gilt I will confesse.
>
> Al-be I was ageyn my will oppressid,
> There was a maner constreyned lust in deede,
> Which for noun power myht nat be redressid,
> For febilnesse I stood in so gret dreede. (11. 1275-85)

Lucretia felt the sensual pleasure that no one can resist, she is stained by Sextus' lust, but there is no hint of calling her a strumpet. In contrast, the other reason for Lucretia's suicide, that of public scandal, is given more emphasis in Lydgate than in Salutati. He takes Salutati's "Nonne videtis quod me non vite vultis sed infamie reservare?" and expands it into two stanzas (11. 1219-31).

> Whan that worshepe [i.e., honor] in any creature
> Is slayn and ded be sclaund[e]rous report,

> Bet is off deth the dreedful peyne endure,
> Than be fals noise ay luye in disconfort,
> Wher newe & newe diffame hath his resort,
> Neuer deieth, but quekith be thoutrage
> Off hatful tunges & venymous language.[98] (11. 1226-32)

A further addition Lydgate made is one of the arguments against suicide raised by Collatine. Between his praise that Lucretia resisted Sextus' youth and position, and his plea that she not cause her family to mourn her death, Lydgate adds:

> Conceyue and see, o thou my Lucrece,
> How that resoun and good discrecioun
> Sholde thi trouble & thi mournyng cese,
> Off riht restreyne thyn opynyoun,
> So reklesli to do punycioun,
> With knyf on honde to slen thisilff, alas!
> For othres gilt, and dedist no trepas. (11. 1135-41)

Yet when Lucretia rebuts this argument she says:

> I myht nat make a bet purgacioun
> To alle folk that ha[vē] discrecioun,
> Than fynali be my deth texcuse
> The gilt horible, off which men me accuse. (11. 1306-9)

They both appeal to discretion, "the ability to discern or distinguish what is right, befitting, or advisable, esp. as regards one's own conduct or action."[99] This is new to the legend. Lydgate is the first to accuse Lucretia of foolishness, though Justus Lipsius, in speaking of her suicide, says "Denique dicam & stultitiae esse."[100] They both call her foolish for dying for another's guilt (not sinful, as Augustine would put it). And in Lydgate, Lucretia argues with the same weapons, pointing out that only discreet (discerning, rational) people will understand that death is the only proof she can offer.

Lydgate himself sides with Lucretia; "Hir chaast [ē] will dede non offence." (l. 970) But judgments did not always fall in her favor. In the Spanish tradition of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Lucretia was indeed a foolish woman, as we shall see in the drama of Juan Pastor.

(78) Written in 1370, MS Royal 8E xii British Museum. I have used and reproduced in Appendix 1 Aeneas Silvio Piccolomini's complete transcription of the declamations (except for a few minor word changes) in his Epistolae, no. 411. See his Operum (Basel:1551) reprinted by Minerva Gmbh., (Frankfurt: 1967), pp. 959-60.

(79) Battaglia (op.cit., p.55)is talking of Petrarch's handling of historical figures, but it is also appropriate to Salutati. The latter translated Plutarch in 1396 and found in the ancient historian the presentation of human beings who leave their own mark on duty and glory; "Questa disponibilità dell'uomo e della fortuna, l'imprescindibile conflitto nell'animo e nell'esperienza dello stesso protagonista, le molteplici soluzioni che la realtà e il destino assegnano all'individuo, sono tutte forme drammatiche in atto...." (Battaglia, p.194) This is probably why Bandello saw fit to leave Salutati's work almost untouched.

(80) Matteo Bandello, Novella XXI, part 2 in Tutte le opere, ed. Francesco Flora (1934; rpt. Verona: Mondadori, 1952), pp.843-58. See Galinsky (op.cit., pp.55 ff.) for the use of the declamations in Germany.

(81) Bandello, op.cit., p.846. Shakespeare was to use a similar device of the light by which Sextus contemplates Lucretia in his "Rape of Lucrece," ll. 365 ff.

(82) Cf. Pietro Aretino's opinion of her suicide in the chapter on Juan Pastor and Piccolomini's, the latter's as an expression of the courtly love attitude toward "virtue".

(83) Bandello, op.cit., pp.848-9.

(84) Ibid., p. 852. For detailed parallels between Bandello, in translation, and Salutati, see Tolbert, op.cit., pp. 77-87.

(85) Bandello, op.cit., p.853. Cf. Salutati's original: "si te occidis, culpam tibi qua cares, quamúe fugis, incurris. Nunquam putabitur innocens, qui se nocentem supplicio afficit." (Piccolomini, op.cit., p.959)

(86) Bandello, op.cit., p.854. Salutati calls her "scortum," a prostitute.

(87) Scaglione (op.cit., p.15) points to chastity as necessary to the family, "reliability as an authentic piece of property...The chastity of a maiden or the honesty of a wife was undoubtedly more valuable as an assurance of legitimate offspring, present or future, than as a formal, ethical asset." Salutati is the first to make the possibility of offspring explicit in Lucretia's case, and by this time it is well subordinate to other reasons for suicide.

(88) Bandello, op.cit., p.854. Cf. Luis Vives' warning in his Instrucción de la mujer cristiana (1523): "...no ay cosa en

el mundo tan tierna ni tan frágil ni tan delicada como es la honra y reputación de la mujer...." Cf. Book I, ch. XIII cited in Bartolomé de Torres Naharro, Propalladia and Other Works, eds. Joseph Gillet and Otis Green (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961), v.4, p.197, footnote 1.

(89) Bandello, op.cit., p.854. She continues, "Voglio io forse mettermi nel numero di quelle che per ogni picciol presso a ciascuno vendono il corpo loro?" Bandello adds a few sentences of his own shortly afterward, in discussing how a tainted body must be separated from a pure soul; he compares the opposition to darkness and light, which cannot be in one place at the same time. "Il perché vuol la ragione che l'uno da l'altro sia separato." (p.855, emphasis mine) See the use of "discretion" in Lydgate, following.

(90) Bandello, op.cit., p.855.

(91) A common Renaissance idea, displayed in Giuseppe Betussi's Il Raverta (1544): "femina è cosa mobile per natura...." When one of the debaters in this treatise tries to defend women, citing Virgil, Dante, Ariosto and Petrarch in their defense, another rejects the possibility; those women who do display great constancy, such as Penelope, are probably figments of a poet's imagination. See Betussi's work reproduced in Giuseppe Zonta, Trattati d'Amore del Cinquecento (Bari: Laterza, 1912), p.71.

(92) Bandello, op.cit., p.856.

(93) Ibid., preface, p.xxxv.

(94) Salutati's only borrowing from Augustine is his statement that there were two bodies but only one sinned. Bourquelot (op.cit.) notes a change in attitude by the sixteenth century toward suicide. In 1538, Philip Strozzi killed himself to avoid compromising his friends. Thomas More admitted suicide under certain circumstances; Donne defended it. Montaigne had great respect and sympathy for ancient suicides. By 1600, Bourquelot concludes, though the church was still against it, suicide was admired in the ancients and resorted to, in literature, by desperate lovers and virtuous women.

(95) John Lydgate, Fall of Princes, ed. Henry Bergen (1924; rpt. London: Oxford University Press, 1967), bk.2, ll.1016-1344 (in v.1) and bk.3, ll.932-1148 (in v.2). The lines in Book 3 include a presentation of the legend based on Livy and a lament by Lucretia. Lydgate claimed to be translating Boccaccio's De casibus; in fact, he used Laurent de Premierfait's second translation (1409) of Boccaccio's work. Laurent had expanded the work greatly and had adopted a chivalric attitude regarding Sextus' crime against "knighthood" and the marriage relationship between Collatine and Lucretia; "Pource que ie lucresse suis femme et espouse qui par loy de mariage suis subiecte a la puissance & seigneurie de toy collatin...." Cited in Lydgate, op.cit., v.4, p.187. For further detailed parallels between

Lydgate and Laurent, see Tolbert, op.cit., pp. 66 ff. Lydgate also cited (bk.II,11.974 ff.) Chaucer and used his version.

(96) Al-be-it so, be biddying off my lord,
Rehersed have in my translacioun
Afftir Pierius [i.e., Linus Colucius Pierius] heer and ther a woord
Off a ful doolful declamacioun
By hym remembred off entencioun,.... (III, 11.981-7)
In the 1554 edition, Pierius was changed to Titus Livius. The declamation runs from line 1058 in bk.2 for six stanzas. It was omitted from most manuscript editions of the text; Bergen takes it from the Harley 1776 ms., fol. 102 recto. For parallels between Lydgate and Salutati, see Eleanor Prescott Hammond, "Lydgate and Coluccio Salutati," Modern Philology 25 (August 1927), pp. 49-57. Lydgate included about two-thirds of the declamations, while Bandello included all points except Lucretia's address to her body.

(97) The chivalric attitude adopted by Lydgate (and Laurent) appears to temper their judgment of Lucretia's error. Bandello and Salutati, on the other hand, return to the original definition of adultery in the sense of being irrevocably stained. Coupled with the attitude that chastity was the only foundation for feminine virtue, their verdict is understandable.
For other chivalric references, cf.
As humble subiect with feithful obeisaunce
Under the lordshipe and the governaunce,
O Colatyn, my lord and trewe husbonde... (11. 1014-16)
and
A kynges sone sholde off du[e]te
Been to wommen wall and proteccioun,
Preserue and keepe hem in al surete
That no man sholde, off no presumpcioun,
Doon hem no wrong nor oppressioun,
Rather deie than seen hem suffre onriht,
Aduertisynge thoffice off a knyht. (11. 1079-85)
See Tolbert, op.cit., p.68 for parallel quotes between Laurent and Lydgate.

(98) Cf. also: Evel fame off custum will alwei wexe greene,
Never deie, the peeple so hem disporte
The werste off thynges gladli to reporte.(11. 1111-13)
and
Whan honour deieth, farweel a manys name!
Bet is were out off this liff dissevere,
Than sclaundrous fame to slen a man for evere.
(11.1048-50)

(99) The Oxford English Dictionary (Oxford: Clarendon, 1933), v.3. The other meanings of "discretion" will be discussed in the chapter on Juan Pastor.

(100)Justus Lipsius, "Manuductiones ad stoicam philosophiam," (1604) Opera omnia (Antwerp: Balthasar Moreti, 1637), v.3, p.525.

CHAPTER II: JUAN PASTOR'S "LUCRECIA NECIA"

In Spain, during the first half of the sixteenth century, the majority of translations of pagan authors were histories. The popularity of Valerius Maximus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Livy, and such authors was founded in the teaching of virtue (buenas costumbres) by means of the exemplum.[101] Since, however, the sixteenth century "was indefatigable in its eagerness to define, to form, and to inform its lady worthy to be loved"[102] and chastity was, in Spain, the quality most praised in women from 1400-1600,[103] Lucretia's position as an emblem of virtue was not secure. Aside from the questionable circumstances of her rape, she also suffered from generally unfavorable attitudes toward women on the part of readers of her story; even if a woman were to surpass Lucretia ("raro lume di castità romana") in virtue, Michelangelo Biondo writes, she would still be "fumo ed ombra vana."[104]

The heroic Lucretia, presented by Álvaro de Luna as endowed with both sapientia and fortitudo, lost ground in Spain before the helpless, innocent, Ovidian figure. This trend is especially evident from comments made in the dramas of the period, both on the Roman Lucretia and on characters who bear her name, and from one of the earliest dramas to deal with the Lucretia theme, that of Juan Pastor's. Trousson singles out the theater as particularly apt for the development of situation themes:

> En général, le thème de situation n'apparaîtra pas dans un poème, dont l'action n'est ni assez complexe ni assez rapide, ni davantage dans un roman, dont la structure narrative est trop lente; ses apparitions les plus nombreuses se feront donc au théâtre.[105]

The drama's potential to present complex action, a situation seen

from several points of view, would seem to lend itself to Lucretia's "real life" problems. Bandello and Lydgate had been attracted to the dramatic possibilities of Salutati's common-sense approach to the vital issues of rape without violence, honor coexisting with unchastity, suicide and revenge, an approach which had circumvented theological and ancient arguments in favor of more contemporary ones. Spanish authors were more than willing to compare their own productions favorably with the ancient and praise the contemporary way of doing things, "pues en las representaciones de comedias que en Castilla llaman farsas, nunca desde la creación del mundo se representaron con tanta agudeza et industria como agora...."[106]

Yet Lucretia was not a favorite tragic figure of the sixteenth century. The subject presented several obstacles -- her too perfect virtue, her passivity in the face of misfortune, her martyr-like acceptance of self-punishment, a certain lack of moral responsibility. The conflict was never within her own mind over the decision to die; it was rather within Collatine and her peers. Juan Pastor attacked these problems with humor. He attempted a parody not only of the legend, but of aristocratic ideals in general, the courtly love tradition. A lively description of the rape scene fits well with his intentions.[107]

Little is known of Pastor beyond the name of his birthplace (a village called Morata), an auto written in 1528 and the titles of two farces, now lost. His Farsa de Lucrecia or Tragedia de la castidad de Lucrecia (both appear on the title page), also written ca. 1528, has nothing in common with classical "Roman" tragedy.[108] There are no act or scene divisions (changes of scene are indicated by an empty

stage), there is no chorus, action and mood shift without transition like a series of "pasos" on different themes, and comic incidents are liberally mixed with the tragic. The early sixteenth-century Spanish theater was, in essence, an experimental genre. Crawford does not find a tragedy on classical lines in Spain until 1577 and Hermenegildo correctly believes that many dramatic pieces were called tragedies as long as they ended with the death of the protagonist.[109] Both Bonilla and Newels agree, however, that Pastor's play is important because of its approximation of tragic style in spite of its crude tone and the great inexperience Pastor reveals in his use of dramatic techniques. Because it includes so many elements which were to become characteristic of later Spanish theater, Hermenegildo puts it at the crossroads of the development of the "comedia".

One such characteristic element is the "gracioso," who in this play acts as Lucretia's servant. We find similar comic figures in the anonymous La Farça a manera de tragedia (1537) and Juan de Timoneda's La Filomena (1564) who share both moral insensitivity and stupidity. During this period, Othón Arróniz notes, the mixture of drama and laughter "se sienten aún separados y extraños por esencia uno del otro."[110] Yet I cannot agree that the bobo's function in the Farsa de Lucrecia is as simple as Arróniz defines it: "cada vez que el tono dramático aparece, viene el bobo y lo borra, o trata de hacerlo. Es como un poco de oxígeno para levantar los lugares pesarosos a la sonrisa."[111] Though there is much gratuitous clowning, Pastor's bobo acts as a foil to the nobility, cynically reflecting their ideals. His kind of "necedad" is also in direct contrast to Lucretia's and Collatine's; he is successful where they are not.

Pastor makes no mention of the bobo in the prose argument preceding the play; he includes the argument "para los lectores, mayormente para los que la presente hystoria no han leydo."[112] It is a serious summation of the story which Pastor tells us he took from Dionysius of Halicarnassus. The inclusion of details from Livy and Ovid indicate that he was probably working from one of the numerous catalogues of the legend which had combined several sources.[113] Thus, in the preface, Pastor omits the wager scene, as did Dionysius, but he adds his own touch by attributing Sextus' lust solely to Lucretia's beauty.[114] And while Dionysius notes that Sextus' passion was not of the moment, but had developed over time ("he had already long entertained this desire, whenever he visited his kinsman..." IV, 64, 4), Pastor takes this one very important step further: "la qual [Lucrecia], siendo muger de muy gran hermosura, Sexto Tarquino Superbo se enamoro della, y como por vezes repetidas la huviesse requerido de amores, nunca con ella pudo acabar nada...." The "requerido de amores" is defined by Covarrubias as "intimar a la dama el galán una y muchas veces su pasión y el amor que la tiene."[115] Lucretia has, for the first time before the rape occurs, knowledge of Sextus' feelings. Pastor is also the only author of those I have examined to present Lucretia's conscious consent to the rape and to have her open her bedroom door to Sextus of her own volition. This is enough to make her "innocence" suspect, at least in popular opinion. Bonilla tells us that directly under the prose argument, before the play commences, there is written in a sixteenth-century hand:"En Toledo, en unos espectáculos, pusieron: Esta es Lucrecia,
que fue puta y necia."[116]

The rhyme "Lucrecia necia" was not limited to posters advertising Pas-

tor's play. It became one of the most frequently used in Spain in connection with any character named Lucrecia, as Joseph Gillet demonstrates in his investigation of this phenomenon.[117]

Pastor changes one other detail in his preface. When Sextus threatens Lucrecia with dishonor, he declares he will slay his black slave rather than one of her slaves, as in Dionysius. In making the slave a Negro, Pastor might have been following Servius in his commentary on the Aeneid (VIII, 646),[118] in which the slave Sextus uses as a threat is called an Ethiopian. Servius' commentary was quite popular in Spain, but Pastor was clearly not using him as a major source; Servius attributes Sextus' lust to the loss of the wager. Another possible source for this and other details is an anonymous romance, recorded by Agustín Durán in the Romancero general.[119] When Lucrecia refuses to yield to Sextus' pleas, he says: Yo te mataré, Lucrecia
Con un negro de tu casa,....
Appleton believes the racial aspect added to the shame Lucrecia would suffer if she refused to submit and Pastor takes pains, through the speech of the slave, to inform his audience that he is a Moor from northern Africa.[120] Whatever the shock effect on the audience, Pastor's reason for Lucrecia's submission in the prose argument is the same as Dionysius' -- fear of an ignominious death.

The play opens with the king's complaint to his son, Sexto Tarquino (referred to as Tarquino) about the long siege of Ardea. The king asks him to go to Collatia to arrange for more supplies for the army. Tarquino is more than happy to obey. Only 64 lines into the play, he announces his true desire:

> Yo a Lucrecia he amado
> muy de vero,
> y amo muy por entero,

y amare mientras yo biva
pues mi vida esta captiva
de su amor muy verdadero (71-6).

He admits that she has rebuffed all his advances, "mostrandome disfavor/quanto yo mas le servi" (81-2), yet he is determined to end his torment this time through either force or cunning,

porque mi vida esta lasa
de sufrir
un tan penado bivir,
y un tormento tan estraño
y un descontento tamaño,
y un tan contino planir. (95-100)

Hermenegildo considers this plotting to be proof that Tarquino is not swept away by love, but from the Petrarchan description of his suffering and later scenes in which Tarquino admits to full knowledge of the laws of kinship and hospitality which are being broken, Pastor makes it clear that it is only love (amor loco) which overcomes the king's son, not pride or envy. As Tarquino ends his soliloquy by begging the gods to ease his suffering, Colatino enters. In the first of many confrontations with ironical implications for the play, Colatino asks Tarquino to greet his wife for him and to deliver a letter, thereby giving him a perfect reason for going to visit Lucrecia:

digale que en su bondad
he fiado,
y que me estoy sin cuydado (125-7).

The theme of Lucretia as an exemplum of true, steadfast love, so popular in the courtesy manuals, is expressed by the heroine herself when she makes her first appearance:

el, el es mi cons[ol]acion,
en el mis cuydados fundo,
y el es solo en este mundo
a quien di mi coraçon (145-8).

In this soliloquy, she advises all married women to love only their

husbands in this life, "porque al fin sea tenida/por honesta y generosa." (152-4)[121]

The principal characters have all been presented along with their salient traits: Tarquino, the Petrarchan lover combined with the deceitful tyrant, and Colatino and Lucrecia, beholden to ideals in a world which no longer recognizes their efficacy. As a representative of this world, the bobo enters and engages Lucrecia in a dialogue of almost 100 lines, filled with nonsense and slang on both sides. The Lucretia who trades insults with him -- "¡Calla, bestia enalbardada!" (161) or "¡Mal dolor de costado que te de!" (191-2) or even "¡Anda, vete al muladar, asnejon!" (167-8) -- has nothing in common with the woman whose lofty speech on conjugal duty had just ended. Though the juxtaposition of idealized and realistic styles was not uncommon in European theater at this time, by combining these styles in the speech of one character, a character who represents the loftiest ideals of womanhood, Pastor ridicules her. His conception of the Roman matron is quite different from the ancients' or even from the Church Fathers', though he combines elements from both. Perhaps as a reaction to the "intellectual superevaluation of femininity which Europe had learned from the troubadours and from Petrarch,"[122] Pastor sets out to downgrade the ideals Lucrecia and Colatino represent by making them both "necios," unable to understand the world they live in. Thus, Colatino professes fealty, honor and honesty and the king impatiently brushes him aside with "No se estienda este sermon/ en mas nada" (461-2). Lucrecia relies on trust, chastity and her reputation. The bobo mocks them both. One of the most popular puns used throughout the play deals with the various words for "mule" -- asno, borrico, burro, mula. The

bobo announces, immediately after Lucrecia has finished her professions of loyalty to Colatino, that he has married "la borrica manchada." "Borrica" is a slang expression meaning a stupid woman; it is also used as an adjective to mean "necia, ignorante." He slyly hints that he has cuckolded the "borrico" and that he is the illegitimate son of a churchman, poking fun at his idealistic mistress. There are two kinds of "necedad" being contrasted here, that of a simpleton and a picaro, on the one hand, and that of a naive, foolish woman, on the other. An incident with a pigeon illustrates this clearly.

Tarquino has arrived, delivered Colatino's letter which warns Lucrecia to protect her honor while at the same time declaring his love,[123] when the bobo interrupts to complain about a cat that has stolen a pigeon he was roasting for their dinner. Lucrecia, of all people, discovers his deception; both she and Tarquino call him "traidor". Yet all the bobo will admit is:

> Hora, en fin fin, la verdad
> continuamente parece,
> y aunque a vezes se escurece,
> al fin trae claridad. (337-40)

It is not virtue which triumphs, but truth. Later in the play the bobo will enjoy the pigeon he has stolen anyway and confirm that the only "ideal" to follow in life is deception. Lucrecia, though she is able to detect the bobo's ruse, will be the victim of a much greater deception. In the theft of the pigeon, Pastor is making an indirect reference to Tarquino's crime. Covarrubias defines the pigeon as a symbol of "un ánimo cándido y pacífico" and of "los bien casados;" MacCurdy points out that a dead dove was a common omen in Golden Age drama for impending tragedy, especially for a woman.[124] Thus, the two worlds, the real and the ideal, come up against one another here, and

only the former prevails.

After the bobo leaves the stage, the action abruptly switches to a more serious level. There are no transitions in the play between coarse and lofty styles. Tarquino reveals his desire boldly, in courtly terms:

> Tar: Ya sabeys, señora
> la voluntad que os tenia.
> Lu: Esso ya passo solia,
> señor Tarquino;
> no hable de tal camino,
> pues sabe mi voluntad.[125] (369-74)

Tarquino laments that his life will be wasted away by the fire of love because Colatino is his kinsman. He realizes that only force will help him to achieve his goal. Pastor shows his audience that the king's son has full knowledge of the laws he is breaking, and, more importantly, that Lucrecia is fully aware of his desire. As they go off to dine, the bobo reappears to comment on "traidores". He admits that he does indeed have the pigeon hidden in the stable and he then reveals to us his standard for the good life:

> pues no ay cosa en esta vida
> mas honrrada quel tragar;.... (399-400)

"Tragar" can mean either "to eat" or "to dissemble," both of which the bobo delights in doing. He is a lesser Tarquino, creating a less injurious kind of deception. He discounts honor, cohabits with animals, is the illegitimate son of a cleric. His "necedad" originates in the tendency to malicious mischief and ignorance, whereas Tarquino's stems from pride and Lucrecia's and Colatino's from imprudence and a blind trust in virtue.

The bobo is skeptical of his masters' ideals. His betrothal with the mule follows hard upon Lucrecia's enumeration of the virtues

of a good wife; his illegitimacy mocks her advice to honest women. His theft of the pigeon parodies Tarquino's theft of Lucrecia's honor. He recognizes deception as a way of life, even though he is caught more often than not. His masters, though, only recognize deception on their servant's level and are blind to that of their peers.

Colatino's conversation with the king, which follows the bobo's commentary, is a perfect example of the ideals in which he trusts too blindly. The king praises his subject's loyalty and suggests that he return home to his wife to ease the pain of separation, since the siege is not progressing very rapidly. Pastor has constructed this incident -- the king instigating Colatino's return home -- for obvious reasons of irony. The latter launches a presentation of the perfect "caballero," just as Lucrecia had enumerated the virtues of a perfect wife:

> El hombre que algo siente,
> señor mio,
> no se deve mostrar frio
> en servir a su señor,
> porque del saca favor
> y honrra con poderio. (437-42)

The king loses patience with such "outmoded" ideals. Not even he can withstand such platitudes for long. The king's gesture to Colatino is not only to relieve the latter's loneliness, but, as he says quite clearly, to enable him to reassure himself of his wife's loyalty:

> Rey: muy gran cuydado tendras,
> por lo qual, quando querras
> pue[d]es a tu casa bolver.
> Col: Ya tu alteza puede ver
> el cuydado
> quen mi estara arraygado,
> segun razon natural. (emphasis mine) (410-16)

The king goes on to admit that he too suffers from the same worry, but the pressures of the war have made him put them aside. Colatino has mentioned the trust he has put in his wife twice before, once in

conversation with Tarquino and once in his letter to Lucrecia (ll. 123-127 and 293-8, respectively). Now he admits that doubts about women, wives in particular, are natural, though he trusts his king (and the king's son) completely. In this particularly ironic scene, as in previous ones between Colatino and Sexto, Pastor takes advantage of the "irony of fate." The contrast between the ideals held by Colatino and Lucrecia, especially the courtly ideals of fealty to one's lord, courtesy, and the sanctity of feminine honor, and what fate, in the form of Sexto and the king, has in store for them, pervades this first third of the play.

Tarquino now enters with his black slave, knocks on Lucrecia's bedroom door, and asks permission to see her since he must leave. It is late at night; she knows of Tarquino's passion and she is alone. Yet she replies: "¡Triste de mi peccadora!/entra, señor." (509-10) She has violated all the rules of prudent conduct, as Pastor must have intended. She has particularly disregarded that element of prudence without which honor cannot stand. Compare her decision to Juan de la Cueva's Virginia in a similar situation.[126] Virginia flees the attentions of Appio Claudio

> ...porque la honestidad
> para evitar la maldad
> manda huyr la ocasión;

when her maid tries to reassure her that her honest reputation will stop any gossip, Virginia replies:

> Aun quitando inconvinientes
> su injusto furor no enfrena,
> que bien sabeo el cuydado
> con que guardo mi pureza.
> Y mira tú la flaqueza
> d'Appio Claudio en este estado,
> si con no darle ocasión
> arde por mí, dí que fuera
> si alguna ocasión le diera?

This kind of forethought is what Lucrecia lacks; she has earned the label of "necia".

Once in her bedroom, Tarquino threatens death to no avail. Lucrecia briefly argues with him, appealing to his honor. But Tarquino is firm and blames the force of love for his actions. He finally uses the threat of "echar fama." The black slave, who has been a witness to all this, begins to protest when he hears Tarquino threaten to slay him. Even at this moment of confrontation, Pastor cannot resist the addition of a note of humor.

Lucrecia yields with "Venid, hazed lo que os resta,/no tardeys" (575-6). There is no fainting, no struggle. The paradox is clear to her:

> por querer ser honesta,
> me quieren quitar la vida (571-2).

While the rape occurs, the black slave is left on stage to fill the gap in the action. His brief monologue, spoken in "lingua de preto," is essentially nonsense and completely distracts us from the tragedy:

> Xiñor, [si]
> yo quedar guardar qui,
> hasta que xiñor salir,
> ...
> cayaboz, yo la senti,
> bono va; (588-90, 93-4)

Tarquino reappears, "libre de affan." He describes her physical charms:

> ¡que pechos, cara, cintura!
> ¡toda entera
> parece hecha de cera!
> ...
> ¡que solo basta su fama
> a todos enloquecer! (629-31, 39-40)

He lists the great women of antiquity noted for their beauty and chastity -- Diana, Andromaca, Polyxena, Helen, Penelope -- and predicts that Lucrecia's fame will exceed even theirs:

> callen todas sin mas nada,
> pues que son sombra soñada

delante la que conte;
...
porque aquesta tal muger
es justo sea loada
y de todos estimada
sin un punto fallescer (650-2,661-64).

We have seen many sing the praises of Lucrecia, but never the ravisher after the rape! Lucrecia's lasting fame is assured. This is the only extended praise she receives in the play.

In the next scene, Lucrecia enters dressed in mourning. She laments that her life is now worthless because she has lost "el nombre de ser honesta" (692):

pues no tengo nada bueno,
quen mi todo mal se encierra (687-8).

She calls her ladies to witness her sorrow so as to learn to guard themselves from such evil. The burning of love which Tarquino feared would destroy his life has been transmuted into the burning of treason which Lucrecia says has turned her own life into ashes. What love had done to him, his lust had done to her:

¡O Tarquino! seas metido
dentro de un horno y quemado,...
en ceniza convertido
yo te vea,...
como es mi triste vida (721-22,725-6,
por tu gran maldad tan fea. 729-30)

She sees before her a life of darkness and "ruydo":

no se, triste, que me haga,
pues ansi no puedo estar;
yo cierto me he de matar,
pues el bivir no me agrada (733-6).

Once the decision to die has been made, she rushes off to write letters to her father, Bruto and Valerio, but does not mention Colatino.[127]

The dramatic tension is briefly interrupted by a scene between Colatino and the king. The former is about to leave for Collatia, but

the king has finally lost patience with his delay:

> Colatino, yo te ruego
> que en esso no hables nada;
> ¿licencia no tes ya dada? (765-67)

Colatino reacts with new affirmations of his loyalty.

We abruptly return to Lucrecia, who repeats Livy's words that her death will serve as an example for future generations of women. Just as abruptly, the bobo reappears with a complaint of his own -- the burra has put on his "sayon" and won't return it. Lucrecia trades insults with him and tries to continue her lament:

> mejor fuera no nascer
> ciertamente,
> que no verme aqui al presente
> tan deshonrrada y corrida,
> de todos aborrescida,
> de los dioses y la gente! (827-32)

This is Lucrecia's judgment of her condition; no one has censured her. When Colatino and Espurio Lucrecio (her father) enter, she urges her heart to be steadfast, "y aunque sea de muger,/que hagas lo de varon" (856-7).[128] She confesses to her "necedad":

> yo, triste, <u>mal proveyda</u>,
> le abri... (emphasis mine) (884-5)

and to her dishonor:

> ...mal de mi grado
> consenti...
> toda mi honrra perdi
> mi culpa confiesso aqui
> y mi peccado (906-7, 911-13).

After demanding revenge, she stabs herself onstage. Her "culpa" is based upon her consent to be raped, and her "necedad," on opening the door to Sexto; her "peccado" becomes much greater with her suicide and with her emphasis on reputation rather than virtue, both objections made by Augustine.

The closing scenes provide the same contrast between courtly ideals and popular thought which pervades the entire play. Bruto, Publio Valerio and Espurio present the idealized reaction to the suicide. Lucrecia's heroism is praised and Colatino is urged to follow her example, since his first reaction is to do nothing more than lament her loss. Bruto considers this to be womanly behavior, recalling with these words the praise of Lucrecia's "manly" spirit which had been given to her since the ancients. Publio Valerio reminds Colatino of his duty as a "persona de precio":

> tomad espada tajante
> con fuerza muy animosa,
> y, en vengança tan virtuosa,
> no falteys
> de lo que hazer deveys,
> pues soys personas de precio. (964-9)

Espurio delivers the formal lament on Lucretia's death, cursing old age, the grief a father must suffer, and life itself ("la tal vida es muerte" 1019).[129] In all these speeches -- on heroic death, the sacred duty of vengeance, the treachery of life -- we hear the idealized reaction to her suicide. After Colatino returns to tell Espurio that Tarquino has been exiled, the bobo steps in to deliver the "realistic" reaction to her death:

> quen el mundo ay mill Tarquinos,
> y no ninguna Lucrecia;
> mira no tengays por necia
> mi sentencia
> ...
> y guardaos de trayciones
> con muy grande diligencia.

The moral is a practical one -- "cuidado" -- expressed again in terms of "Lucrecia necia." That Lucrecia is meant to be an exemplum is clear, but instead of emulating her, Pastor advises women to be warned by her errors:

Donde cierto, sin mas ver,
poniendo firme el cuydado,
podeys sacar y coger
mill muestras deste dechado. (1112-15)

As for Tarquino, he is not used as an exemplum of either lust or tyranny. Rather, Pastor mocks him as the Petrarchan lover; he declares his love to Lucrecia, swears to serve her, describes the burning of his passion as unbearable torment and petitions the gods for aid. He even sings the praises of his lady in courtly terms. Yet his vicious attack on Lucrecia negates his "knightly" sentiments. Much as Lucrecia herself portrayed both the idealistic and realistic, Tarquino shows the same two sides of the lover. Pastor makes it clear, though, that it is the king's son who is solely at fault. The king himself is above any direct criticism. At the end of the play, only the son's exile is mentioned, though the bobo does refer to "los Tarquinos" when he is describing his own bravery in routing them. Pastor does specify that the sins of the son will redound to the father. At the beginning of the play, when the king sends Tarquino to Collatia, he warns him:

haze cuenta mi corona
que va mi mesmo persona. (50-1)

Political commentary, though, is virtually non-existent. "Republican sentiments" are avoided; indeed, the establishment of the republic is referred to only once, in the prose argument.

In Pastor's hands, the legend has become mainly an ironic comment on the circumstances that may lead to marital infidelity, which, although involuntary, is predictable from the foolish actions of the heroine, and an equally ironic commentary on the foolishness of courtly ideals. In spite of his trust in his wife's virtue, Colatino had discussed with the king the natural infidelity of women and the need to

keep them constantly under surveillance (ll. 410 ff.). After the rape, Lucrecia repeats Livy's "good example" defense with one addition:

> las damas sean testigo
> de mi pesar,
> porque se sepan guardar
> de maldad tan a la rasa (707-10).

Lucrecia has forgotten to guard her honor properly and for that she dies.[130] She is the only character to partake of both popular and literary dialogue and has become a confused symbol in the process. The shifts from one side of her personality to another are abrupt and arbitrary, seeming to have nothing to do with one another. Gillet traces this attitude toward Lucrecia, which was to harden over years of use, to Augustine's censure over her suicide. The theological aspects of her sins were continued and further developed by Antonio de Torquemada and Juan de Torres. The former, in his Colloquios satíricos, condemns her on Augustine's authority: "y no pienses que yo por sólo mi parecer la condeno, que muchos hay que dicen lo mesmo, y un flaire (sic) en nuestra aldea me dixo que Sant Agustín trataba della como de mujer que no había dado de sí tan buen ejemplo...."[131] His conclusion is similar to Speroni's; if she had died rather than consent, she would have been truly chaste. Juan de Torres, a Jesuit, left no room for doubt in his Philosophia moral de príncipes (1596). He accuses her of lacking both courage and chastity; "temió más el cuchillo de Colatino que el suyo propio; y por esto se mató con desesperation, la qual pone Santo Thomas por hija de la luxuria."[132] In addition to these theological sins, though, Pastor is also accusing her of a social transgression, less concerned with the suicide than with the circumstances of the rape. As early as 1478, we find the label "necia" attached to her death in Spain:

> No s feu gran tort
> aquella necia

dita Lucrecia
gentil, infel
moguela hi zel
de que s vol fos,
Matant sin cos;
car conexia
que merexia
per son fallir
tan tost morir.[133]

In the play, though, we find no arguments against her decision to die, and only praise for her courage. It is how she lost her chastity, her innocence and trust in virtue, which make her foolish. Both she and Colatino follow their ideals which the bobo mocks. His attitude toward Lucrecia's predicament might well be reflected in a letter Pietro Aretino wrote to one Malatesta, less than a decade after Pastor's play was written: "What do you think of Lucrece? Wasn't she crazy to take counsel of Honor? It would have been gallant sport to peck at the corn offered to her by Tarquin -- and to have go on living as well...."[134] This pragmatic, cynical attitude would agree quite well with the bobo's philosophy of "tragar".

The label "puta," which was the other half of the copulet preceding the play, could have originated in Augustine's speculations on Lucretia's guilt. Yet even here it is difficult to accept Gillet's thesis wholeheartedly. Augustine accused Lucretia of deliberate complicity, Pastor, of imprudence. Perhaps the label of "whore" is best found in the popular attitude that a woman who has lost her chastity has lost her very being.

> El ser honesta una mujer no se cuenta ni debe contarse entre las partes de que esta perfección se compone, sino antes es como el sujeto sobre el cual todo este edificio se funda,...es como el ser y la sustancia de la casada.[35]

Instead of the rather reasonable analyses of different levels of chastity, such as those of Speroni, the Spanish attitude seemed to be more monolithic, little changing from the definition presented in the early

fifteenth century by don Sancho:

> Castidat quiere decir cosa apurada e limpia en que non tañe mala mancilla, e la complida castidat debe ser guardada en la voluntad e en la obra.[136]

Popular opinion forms the basis of the Lucretia legend for Pastor, in spite of his borrowings from ancient sources. He is offering to his audience what Stephen Gilman calls "a poetic exaltation of its value creation...."[137] We see it in the popular refrain, "Para Sancho, puta es cada vecina." We see it also in Pastor's insistence on Lucrecia's beauty. The "beautiful but dumb" topos is a commonplace in Spanish literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[138] Sextus' passion is kindled by her beauty; he praises her physical qualities after the rape; the loss of her beauty is the first thing Colatino mourns after she dies. Once she has lost her physical chastity, she knows she must die. Since she consented to be raped, even her mental chastity is suspect:

> sin mas porfia,
> toda mi honra perdi;
> mi culpa confiesso aqui
> y mi peccado (910-13).

Indeed, under the demands of the code of honor, her reputation was equal to her virtue. As soon as she submitted to Tarquino, she lost that aspect of her social being. Her reaction after the rape, where she describes herself as hated by gods and men, is similar to Edwin Honig's description of the reaction of a typical honor hero, once deprived of his good name: "...he shrinks in the eyes of God and his fellow men; his essential identity is in question until he has somehow found the means of striking back. In striking back, he redeems the lost object, thereby restores himself to a society whose image he must preserve."[139] External forms take precedence over matters of individual

conscience. Lucrecia cannot restore her role as the good wife and chaste matron and dies for her loss of reputation, which gives Pastor more reason to call her "necia".

Pastor's Lucrecia seems to have had no influence on later dramas except for their borrowing of the image of the heroine as a less than heroic figure, taking the "necia" label to refer not only to her suicide, but to her submission to Tarquino. In his riducule of courtly love and in the realistic presentation of the legend, Pastor foreshadows the kind of Lucrecias which were to appear so frequently throughout the Siglo de Oro. Thus, Lucas Fernández tells us:

> Qualquier dama si no es necia
> antes se deve matar
> que no errar
> o muera como Lucrecia.[140]

Cosme, the "gracioso" in Calderón's La dama duende (1629), sums up the Spanish attitude. He is joking about what the loss of an hour can do to alter history:

> Por una hora que tardara
> Tarquino, hallará a Lucrecia
> recogida, con lo cual
> los autores no anduvieran,
> sin ser vicarios, llevando
> a salas de competencias
> la causa, sobre saber
> si hizo fuerza o no hizo fuerza.[141] (emphasis mine)

Lucretia's heroism, though, was not to be long forgotten. Both Nicolas Filleul and Paolo Regio made it the basis of their versions of the legend.

(101) See Theodore Beardsley, Jr., "The Classics and their Spanish Translators in the Sixteenth Century," Renaissance & Reformation 8, no.1 (1971), 2-9.

(102) Jefferson Butler Fletcher, The Religion of Beauty in Women (New York: Haskell House, 1966), p.10.

(103) Kelso, op.cit., p.99.

(104) Michelangelo Biondo, Angoscia, Doglia e Pena (1546) in Zonta Trattati del Cinquecento sulla donna, op.cit., p.116.

(105) Trousson, op.cit., p.42. Cf. also Lienhard Bergel: "Tragedy represents the genre which, more than any other, provides unity and continuity in Western literature...." in "Imitation and Originality in Cinquecento Tragedy," Proceedings of the International Comparative Literature Association, Fourth Congress, ed. François Jost (Hague: Mouton, 1966), p.772.

(106) Cristóbal de Villalón, Ingeniosa comparación de lo antiguo y lo presente (1539) quoted in Margarete Newels, Los Géneros dramáticos en las poéticas del Siglo de Oro, trans. Amadeo Sole-Leris (1959; rpt. London: Tamesis, 1974), p.134. María Rosa Lida de Malkiel notes a tendency in the treatment of the Dido theme in Spain which parallels the treatment of Lucretia: "...el mundo literario se niega a aceptarla como una mera ficción poética, aislada en el plano convencional de arte, y actúa ante ella con la apasionada voluntad que mueve a los hombres en los odios y amores de su vida real." See her Dido en la literatura española (1942; rpt. and rev. London: Tamesis, 1974), p.54.

(107) Even at this early stage of development of the theater, the way was prepared for a less reverent interpretation of ancient figures. "A great deal of the sacred veneer [of these figures] had been rubbed off by the current controversies..." and speculations of commentators were considered on par with more ancient versions. See Don Cameron Allen, op.cit., p.151.

(108) See J.P.W. Crawford, Spanish Drama Before Lope de Vega (1922; rpt. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1967), p.159. Pastor's play is dated at 1528 by Crawford and ca. 1530 by Bonilla. Two copies are extant. The text I have used is a reproduction of Ms. R-2250, Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, edited by Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín in Revue Hispanique XXVII, no 71 (1912), pp.437-54. There is a facsimile edition edited by Gabriel Ochoa in Obras dramáticas del siglo XVI, primera serie (Madrid: Imp. Clásica española, 1914?). This edition lacks the "puta y necia" couplet referred to later in this chapter. The only other copy of the play is also found in the Biblioteca Nacional (Ms. 2252) in Agustín Durán's Comedias y farsas del siglo XVI.

(109) See Alfredo Hermenegildo, Los trágicos españoles del siglo XVI (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1961), p.504. Her-

menegildo is the only critic to give more than a passing glance at Pastor's play. It was usually dismissed for its poor technique and the "insufribles impertinencias del negro y del bobo." See Moratín's Orígenes del teatro español, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles 2 (Madrid: 1944), p.191. Newels (op.cit., pp. 133 ff.) recognizes that the "farsa" was often the closest, in terms of content, to the later form of "comedia".

(110) Othón Arróniz, La influencia italiana en el nacimiento de la comedia española (Madrid: Gredos, 1969), p.57. He is referring specifically to La Farça a manera de tragedia here.

(111) Arróniz, op.cit., p. 289. The bobo, speaking in a mixture of gallego and Spanish (sayagués) has a similar role to the Italian "zanni" according to Arróniz, and foreshadows the indispensable "gracioso" of the later comedia. Charlotte Stern traces his origin to the shepherd as rustic clown. See her "Some New Thoughts on the Early Spanish Drama," Bulletin of the Comediantes XVIII, no.1 (Spring 1966), p.15.

(112) Pastor, Bonilla edition, op.cit., p.437. All further quotes will be taken from this edition. Because Pastor directed his prologue to the "lectores," he might have intended the play to be read rather than performed, following the Italian humanist precedent. However, Hermenegildo notes that "su carácter popular está pidiendo a gritos el aplauso del público." (op.cit., p.183) Pastor is not blind to the requirements of the erudite drama and his citing of Dionysius lends weight to the veracity of his theme and his supposed moral purpose. He also heightens the comic effects to follow by juxtaposing them with this straightforward recapitulation of the action.

(113) Bonilla, in the prologue to the facsimile edition, notes only that Pastor probably used less ancient texts than Dionysius as his source. Pastor appears to have included popular versions of the legend as well. See footnote 119.

(114) Dionysius had assumed envy to be a major cause of Sextus' passion. Pastor emphasizes Lucrecia's physical beauty throughout the play.

(115) Sebastián de Covarrubias, Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española (1611), ed. Martín de Riquer (Barcelona: S.A. Horta, 1943), p. 906.

(116) Pastor, Bonilla edition, op.cit., p.438, footnote 1.

(117) Gillet demonstrates the frequency of the rhyme with more than a dozen examples. See his "Lucrecia-necia" in Hispanic Review XV (1947), pp.120-36, and my analysis of Lucrecia's "necedad" later in this chapter.

(118) The only other instance I have found where the slave is a Negro is a tapestry described by Stella Rubenstein ("Three Tapestries Representing the Story of Lucretia in the Felix Warburg Collection," Art in America 12 (1924), pp. 291-6). In the third tapestry, woven

ca. 1500 in France, there is the bedroom scene. Lucretia is being restrained by Sextus, who wields a sword in his right hand. "A Moor in a greenish mantle lined with rose and trimmed with a rose collar is climbing a ladder." (p.295) Though Rubenstein does not elaborate, this Moor must be Sextus' slave.

(119) "Tarquino y Lucrecia," Romance no.519 in Romancero general, ed. Agustín Durán, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles 10 (Madrid: D.M. Rivadeneyra, 1849), p. 353. Other similarities between the play and the romance include Sexto's elation after the rape and Lucrecia's self-judgment: "yo me daré tal castigo
como adúltera malvada."
In the romance, Colatino takes revenge, not Bruto. This detail is used by Servius, not by Pastor, and would indicate that both Pastor and the anonymous author or authors of the romance borrowed from Servius with their own additions.

(120) The slave, in his brief monologue, consistently substitutes the letter "x" for "s," a linguistic trait common to natives of north Africa. See Paul Teyssier, La langue de Gil Vicente (Paris: Klincksieck, 1959). The imitation of the "lingua de preto" was to become a common element in later dramas, usually for comic purposes. Though Hermenegildo cites Pastor's play as the only one to include a Negro in the sixteenth century, Teyssier provides a Portuguese example in the Fragóa d'Amor by Gil Vicente (1524).

(121) Cf. Kelso's observation on the position of Renaissance women in general: "She finds her place in society only in comparison with the gentleman within the favored class to which they both belong." (op.cit., p.33)

(122) Otis Green, Spain and the Western Tradition (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966), vol.4, p.211. The combination of tragic with comic styles was a common element in the Spanish plays of the Renaissance, found in such works as Argensola's Isabela, Bermúdez's Nise laureada, and Pérez de Oliva's Clitemnestra. For example, in the latter, Clitemnestra interrupts her narration on the supposed death of Orestes by reciting a popular refrain.

(123) Joseph Gillet believes the inclusion of letters in stage representations is a development of Renaissance individualism. The letters often functioned as ominous portents or as ironical commentary, both of which are found in Colatino's warning to Lucrecia: y pues que mi coraçon
siempre con vos lo teneys
yos ruego que lo trateys
como fia mi afficion. (295-8)
Servius also has Sextus gain entry to Lucretia with a letter from Collatine, but the king's son had forged it. Pastor has Collatine become an accomplice in his own destruction by having him actually write the letter and ask Sextus to deliver it. For the use of letters in the early stage, see Gillet's edition of Torres Naharro,

op.cit., vol.4, p.231.

(124) Covarrubias, op.cit., p.847. Raymond MacCurdy discusses the dove omen in a footnote to line 540 of Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla's Lucrecia y Tarquino (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1963), p.121.

(125) The "equívoco" was to become a favorite device of the Siglo de Oro and of Baroque style in Europe (see MacCurdy in Rojas Zorrilla, op.cit., footnote to line 598). Here, the word "voluntad" is used in its two meanings of "affection" (by Tarquino) and "will, decision" (by Lucrecia).

(126) Juan de la Cueva, Tragedia de la Muerte de Virginia y Appio Claudio in Comedias y tragedias, vol.2 (Madrid: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 1917), Act I, p.85. This play was written in 1580, in the full swing of the Counter Reformation, and the emphasis on "proper behavior" is in part due to the influence of the Church. However, as pointed out in chapter 1, admonitions to women to protect their chastity and to avoid any kind of suspicious situations had been common since the Middle Ages. Certainly Lucrecia's readiness to open the door to her room, knowing what she did of Tarquino's passion, and then her prompt submission to his threat would make her suspect in any period, which was exactly Pastor's intention.

(127) Here Pastor diverges from Dionysius to use either Livy's or Ovid's version. Dionysius has Lucrecia go to Rome, to her father's house, whereas Livy had her write messages. Pastor also uses Livy's "I shall not serve as a bad example to future women" but does not include the body/soul distinction. Lucrecia does not defend her decision to die, either, in Pastor.

(128) Cf. Dionysius, who puts a similar phrase in Brutus' speech: "After this example, Lucretia, when you, who were given a woman's nature, have shown the resolution of a brave man, shall we, who were born men, show ourselves inferior to women in courage?" (IV, 82, 4)

(129) This is the first version of the legend to give the father's grief a major role. Pastor is careful to include it in a formal, rhetorical lament:

¡O mundo desatinado,
trapacero!
¡quan franco y quan halaguero
te muestras a la niñez,
y despues, a la vejez,
quan malvado y lisonjero! (1002-7)

(130) Cf. Kelso's observation on the need for caution in women of the Renaissance: "But the innocent, chaste, or conscientious girl or woman, whether married or unmarried...[were] in so much danger from determined pursuit by the licentious youth of the day... [that is formed] almost the whole ground, it seems at times, for the training and subsequent treatment of women, even of the highest rank...." (op.cit., p.162)

(131) Antonio de Torquemada, Colloquios satiricos, op.cit., p.579. For the relationship of this negative attitude toward Lucrecia and Augustine's writings, see Gillet, "Lucrecia-necia," op.cit., pp. 127 ff.

(132) Juan de Torres, Philosophia moral de príncipes quoted in Pierre Bayle, Dictionaire historique et critique, 4th ed. (Amsterdam: P. Brunel, et al., 1730), vol.2, p.814.

(133) *Jacme Roig, Spill o Libre de les Dones, ed. Roque Chabas* (Barcelona: L'Avenç, 1905), bk.4, pt.2, ll.15980-90, p.247.

(134) Pietro Aretino, The Letters, trans. Thomas Chubb (New York: Archon Books, 1967), p.129. The letter is dated December 20, 1537. The word Aretino uses to describe Lucretia is "matta"; though its modern meaning is "crazy," it formerly meant "foolish, stupid" and could be used in the theater to mean "fool". Aretino's opinion of women was rather low. In a letter of 1554, he wrote "vanity and lewdness are so inherent a part of their being... that they do not even know what discretion and what chastity are..." (pp. 304-5) and in one of 1547, he concludes "chance usually determines whether a woman is modest and seemly, or a whore..." (p. 244).

(135) Fray Luis de León, La perfecta casada, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles 27 (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1853-55), p.216b. Gillet, in his study of Torres Naharro, believes that the ecclesiastical view of physical and spiritual chastity was stronger and endured longer in Spain than in the rest of Europe, "not only [due to] the Council of Trent, but [to] the fact that during the seventeenth century the question of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, in which the Dominicans opposed the Augustinians, seems to have been felt and discussed with passionate interest...." (op.cit., p.56)

(136) Sancho IV, Castigos e documentos del Rey don Sancho, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles 51 (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1860), p.181.

(137) Stephen Gilman, "The Comedia in the Light of Recent Criticism Including the New Criticism," Bulletin of the Comediantes XII, no.1 (Spring 1960), p.4.

(138) Harry Heaton discusses the frequency of this refrain in his edition of Juan de Matos Fragoso's El ingrato agradecido (New York: Hispanic Society, 1926), p.166, footnote to ll.297-8. A good example for our purposes is from Mira de Amescua, El esclavo del demonio I, ll.1007-10:

> Que pudierades, se crea,
> según sois bella y discreta,
> ser necia, y sois tan perfeta
> que pudierades ser fea.

(139) Edwin Honig, Calderón and the Seizures of Honor (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1972), p.14. For a further discussion

of the code of honor and its relation to the Lucretia legend, see Chapter VI on Rojas Zorrilla.

(140) Lucas Fernández, Farsa o cuasi comedia, quoted in Gillet, "Lucrecia-necia," op.cit., p.120. Arróniz (op.cit., p.75) agrees that Pastor's drama had little impact on later works: "¿Nada sabían [the later dramatists] de Pastor, de Negueruela, de Yanguas y de tantos otros ingenios que habían ocupado su pluma en asuntos teatrales durante el reinado de Carlos V? En buena parte, parece ser así." Gillet quotes lines from Pastor's play which I have been unable to verify. He cites Bonilla's edited copy as his source and claims to have read on p.49 of that copy: "y tan tino [r. con tino?] /la reprueva ell Agustino" which he attributes to ll. 500-1. Since I have been unsuccessful in locating these lines in this copy or in the facsimile edition, I assume Gillet took them from another play and erroneously attributed them to Pastor's. There is no reference to Augustine in the latter's work.

(141) Pedro Calderón de la Barca, La dama duende in Obras Completas, vol.2, ed. Ángel Valbuena Briones (Madrid: Aguilar, 1960), I, ll.15-22. A telling comment was made by Carrington Lancaster in an analysis of Hardy's Lucrèce. He had traced its source to Lope's El Peregrino and notes "the strangely-named Lucrecia commits adultery with Mireno...." In light of the "puta y necia" couplet, this is not strange at all! See his "Lope's Peregrino: Hardy, Rotrou, and Beys," Modern Language Notes L (1935), p.76, footnote 2.

CHAPTER III: LUCRETIA AS THE INSTRUMENT OF FORTUNA: NICOLAS FILLEUL AND PAOLO REGIO

In Spain, Lucretia had lost her heroic grandeur; even the theological censure of pride had been more commanding of respect than the gentle, and not so gentle, mockery of her foolishness. Nicolas Filleul, on the contrary, worked within a literary tradition which, while supporting a generally favorable opinion of Lucretia's virtue, was nonetheless not unaffected by the Augustinian critique.[142] Pride was considered to be a singularly characteristic attribute of pre-Christian society and Lucretia, under such conditions, could not be expected to have escaped its influence.

Henri Estienne, one of her French critics, discussed rape under the general heading of adultery, since the final result of rape was "defrauding their husbands of the love and loyaltie which they promised them...;" the woman is not guilty if she resists the rape, he concludes with Livy: "so long as the soule is not polluted with the body, chastity remains entire without either spot or blot."[143] He therefore criticizes Lucretia for her suicide, summarizing his views in a poem which paraphrases Augustine:

> Were that unchaste mate welcome to thy bed,
> Lucrece, thy lust was iustly punished.
> Why feel'st thou fame that didst deservedly?
> But if foule force defil'd thine honest bed,
> His onely rage should have bene punished:
> Why didst thou for anothers villanie?
> Both wayes thy thirst of fame is too uniust,
> Dying, or for fond rage, or guiltie lust.[144]

He ends by warning women against following Lucretia's example, while lamenting that most women do not hold their chastity in such high regard as to need such a warning; even Roman women "tooke no such great

delight in reading the history of Lucretia."[145] Estienne implies that Lucretia was chaste and committed an error in judgment in killing herself. In the same way, François Habert, after praising her virtue, "regrette qu'elle ne se soumette pas aux volontés divines."[146]

Those Frenchmen who would praise Lucretia in spite of her suicide usually adopted the attitude that in her own setting of pagan Rome, her actions were admirable, much as Speroni and Brinon had argued.[147] Pierre Le Moyne begins by reminding his readers that for the pagans, glory was "une seconde vie de plus grand lustre que la premiere...une Beatitude temporelle."[148] Though he admits suicide is an unacceptable solution to one's problems, Lucretia is to be excused; "si elle est jugée par le Droit de son Pays, & par la Religion de son Temps, elle se treuuera des plus chastes de son Temps."[149] It was neither love of pleasure nor fear of death which led to the suicide, but rather love of honor. His conclusion is Speroni's: Christian women are essentially more virtuous than the pagan ("que la pudicité est une partie essentielle à l'honneur de toutes celles de leur sexe"[150]) but Lucretia is nevertheless to be admired, if not imitated.

The French conception of Lucretia, though perhaps more "reasonable" than the Spanish, found her no less controversial. Yet Filleul chose to ignore the questions of guilty pride, suspicious rape and family honor in favor of a presentation of unwavering stoic virtue; "l'on ne trouve dans sa tragédie aucune étude de ce débat."[151] Filleul seized upon the Lucretia legend in its most popular development -- the exemplum of virtue, a model for the Golden Age, a symbol of Rome's uniqueness -- and added to it some favorite themes of the Pléiade -- the dangers and rewards of greatness, the abuses of tyranny, the love

of virtue for its own sake, nostalgia for the Golden Age. As far as the most controversial parts of the legend are concerned, particularly the period directly before and during the rape, Filleul omits them.

The audience for Filleul's Lucrèce was the king himself. Charles IX visited Gaillon from September 16-29, 1566, invited there by the Cardinal de Bourbon, archbishop of Rouen. The latter had asked Filleul, who was then quite popular due to the success of his tragedy Achille (1563), to compose some pieces for the royal entertainment.[152] Filleul, a friend fo Baïf, was a peripheral member of the Pléiade. Except for his sojourn at court, little is known of his life. He was appointed court poet in 1568, was chaplain to both Henri III and Henri IV, and wrote poetry in both Latin and French. Françoise Joukovsky, in her edition of Filleul's works, believes that his main task in the château de Gaillon was to distract his audience from the unpleasant realities of the day, especially the ravages of the plague and unrest among the Protestants.[153] He chose his major themes accordingly. His four eclogues ("Les Naiades," "Charlot," "Tethys," and "Francine") celebrate the royal family in pastoral images, lament the passing of the Golden Age of heroism, moderation and generosity[154] and compare royal deeds to those of the illustrious ancients. The pastoral play he wrote for Gaillon, Les Ombres, dwells on the powers and dangers of love.

Lucrèce is based principally on Livy's version, though Filleul did not hesitate to alter history to suit his purposes.[155] He uses Ovid's description of Lucretia when Sextus first sees her and her tender words to Collatine before she dies, but for the most part he avoids the more sentimental aspects. Both the rape and the suicide occur between acts. Filleul was a careful practitioner of the rules for tragedy,

which had been adopted by the French from Italian theory and practice.[156] There are five acts with one scene to each. Each scene has a central point which is expounded, invariably beginning with an emotional outburst leading to a debate and closing with a choral discourse on abstract truths, what Zamparelli calls the three modes of Renaissance tragedy -- emotive, polemical and abstract. No more than three persons talk on stage at one time. Unity of time is preserved, though Filleul is rather vague as to place.[157]

The play opens, in medias res,[158] with a monologue by Sexte Tarquin. This is Filleul's prologue, an introduction to the legend and to the historical events which preceded it. The monologue occupies the entire first act and is Sexte Tarquin's first and last appearance. His first lines define the "sin" he is about to commit which is fundamentally neither lust nor envy; Sexte believes, and acts accordingly, that virtue practiced for its own sake is empty:

> En vain à la vertu bien souvent on s'assure
> Trop sujete aux assaux, trop sujete à l'injure
> Du malheur qui l'assiege... (1-3)

With courage and daring, he hopes to make Fortune bend to his will. The reason for his resolve is Lucrèce. Collatin had come to him, complaining of the long absence from his wife. Filleul omits the wager; instead, Collatin and Sexte with some friends make a sudden visit home. The other wives are found amusing themselves "au bal et au vin," but Lucrèce is found spinning wool among her maids, cursing Ardea and fearing for her husband's safety. Sexte describes her beauty:

> Des perles de ses yeux luy arrousant la face,
> Qui sembloit en beauté le vermeil d'un jardin,
> Declos, au plus doux mois, au soleil du matin. (54-6)

Her face and form have kindled his desire,[159] but he interrupts his

musings to express his concern over the growing power of one of Rome's senators, presumably Brute. Filleul has changed Livy's narrative to put both Collatin and Brute in a better light. Without the wager, Collatin's foolish boasting is omitted; as for Brute, he had feigned madness in all prior versions and had been ignored by his peers until after the suicide. Filleul, however, casts him in the role of a hero from the very beginning, emphasizing at the same time Sexte Tarquin's precarious position as a Roman leader. Sexte continues his monologue with a brief history of the Tarquin reign, heavily laden with mythological allusions. The monologue ends with Sexte resigned to his fate; "Mais quant à l'advenir je le laisse à fortune." (110)

The lyric choral piece is on the virtues of kings and the transitory nature of all but virtue:

> La seule vertu demeure,
> Et tout va sous le tombeau.
> En vain revivre on s'asseure
> Dans un animé tableau
> Que le rouil, ou la vermine,
> L'air, ou la tempeste mine
> Ou le temps encore plus fort.
> Ainsi cest autre revivre
> Qu'on se forge dans le cuivre
> Est une seconde mort. (131-40)

In a description of Rome's destiny, the chorus exhorts the people to overcome Juno's malice upon which much of the misfortune of the city is based. By the end of Act I, Filleul has introduced the two themes which will be the true protagonists of Lucrèce: the nature of virtue and the workings of Fortune.

Act II opens with Lucrèce's lament. The rape has already occurred, though we were not prepared for it in the previous act. Filleul begins his second act at a point where most dramatists will be more than half finished, but the French playwright is less interested in directing

attention to future action than in developing his themes in gorgeous rhetoric. The most controversial part of the legend -- Lucrèce's submission and Sexte's threat of adultery -- have been replaced by an explanation of the workings of Fortune. Lucrèce laments that Fortune works against those who stand out, whose virtue invites envy and injury, just as the oak, the tallest of trees, receives the storm's first blows.

> Ainsi las! Collatin, le malheur d'une nuit
> A de toy et de moy tout cest honneur destruit,
> Que tant plus on prisoit dessus tout autre rare,
> Et plustost on l'a veu foulé d'un pié barbare. (229-32)

After comparing her grief to that of Procne and Philemon, she describes what a life of dishonor means:[160]

> Qui a perdu l'honneur, il souffre encor là bas
> Entre mille regretz, un eternal trespas. (253-4)

Lucrèce and her nurse converse in stichomythia for the next 31 lines.[161] Far from being the clown, as in Pastor, the nurse's role is to dissuade her beloved charge from death. Her arguments, though, are very different from those Coluccio invented, and appeal principally to stoic virtue. One must face misfortune, not complain of an evil already past, not even publish one's distress. Lucrèce is determined to tell her kin of the outrage; "Cela peut irriter contre luy la noblesse." (268) The nurse warns her of the Tarquin's power, to which she replies that Fortune does not always favor the same side. After she reveals the rape, Lucrèce realizes that she must die so as not to die a thousand times; her conclusion is Livy's:

> La seule mort pourra me rendre mon honneur,
> La seule mort sera borne de mon malheur. (301-2)

The nurse brings in the argument that Collatin had used in Livy, that the body is sinful but the spirit is pure if there was no consent. She counsels Lucrèce to wait for divine revenge to overtake Sexte and

ends by pleading with her to consider the grief she will cause her old nurse. Lucrèce's defense of her decision rests on the tradition of Rome which she cannot betray:

> Mourons, mourons plustost qu'au deshonneur ceder:
> Il faut partout monstrer combien l'honneur on prise,
> Combien que le danger de son gré on élise. (330-2)

After appealing to the Harpies and to Medusa to follow and torment Sexte, she vows to remove her shame with her blood.[162] Lucrèce seeks revenge and glory by her death, glory which originates more in heroism than in shame. Put in this abstract context, the social problem of consent never enters. Filleul all but ignores the rape in favor of the grandeur of Rome's heroes and heroines when faced with disaster.

The choral theme which closes Act II is on the power of virtue to ensure eternal glory. The Golden Age is compared with the decadent present, where justice and peace have been lost and all are enslaved by vice. Of all the many perversions of the Romans, the worst is the unchecked rule of Love, "seule source, en somme,/ Des vices qui ont de Romme/ Et l'heur et l'honneur destruit." (404-6)

Collatin, in Act III, provides some background on the Tarquin rule and predicts Rome's destiny to be head of the world. When he asks Brute if he knows what sudden evil has recalled them home, the latter reminds him that even if Fortune has turned away from them, he must keep step with virtue and wait for a change back to better times.[163] Collatin readily agrees and reiterates what is the heart of the play's theme:

> Or que le vertueux de tante sa vaillance
> N'ait rien que sa vertu pour seure recompense,
> La vertu toutesfois se nourrit de l'honneur,
> Et sa louange ell' a seul prix de sa grandeur. (487-90)

This is a perfect explanation of why Lucrèce must die. The only characters who do not accept this view of honor are the nurse, who is not expected

to share this heroic vision, and Sexte, whose evil designs are expressed in his reluctance to rely on virtue as his guide.[164]

Collatin then questions Brute on his feigned madness, as we have noted,a change instituted by Filleul to present the latter in a more heroic light. Brute laments the waning virtue of the Romans, launches into a lengthy history of the various reigns of Roman kings up to the Tarquins, and explains his unyielding opposition to the latter spurred on by his dead brother's shade. Collatin ends as he began the act, by predicting that the gods will care for Rome again.

The chrous condemns the Iron Age, the invention of the various arts by Jupiter to keep men from idleness, the use of steel for war, the mischief created by men who leave their own shores to search for treasure.[165] They praise the farmer who remains on his own land and end with a warning to Rome:

> Ainsi fortune a la main preste
> A briser ce qu'elle met haut:
> Redoute, Rome, sa menace.... (631-3)

The warning is as appropriate for Lucrèce and Sexte as it is for Rome.

In Act IV, Lucrèce appears for the last time,again accompanied by her nurse. The heroine is angry with her maids:

> Dites, me pensez-vous le coeur effeminer,
> Et contre mon honneur quelque conseil donner?
> Me pensez-vous avoir ce soucy de ma vie,
> Que pour un vivre bref un long honneur j'oublie? (653-6)

When the nurse asks her to explain the advantage of her death, Lucrèce calls it a limit to her unhappiness, a way to avoid fortune's blows, a way to disdain them. Her stoic fervor continues in her imprecations against Sexte, begun in Act II.[166] There is no transition or stage direction here; Lucrèce must have stabbed herself off stage, for Brute and Collatin enter and see the nurse coming toward them, tearing her

hair. She speaks Lucrèce's famous line, "Les trasses de Tarquin sont encore en ton lit" (730), and proceeds to describe the rape. Sexte had placed his hand on Lucrèce's mouth (thus explaining why she could not call out for help) and, with a sword at her breast, he threatened her with the charge of adultery. This is all we know of it, for Collatin reacts immediately by demanding death for himself since he has lost all his honor. Brute, predictably, thinks of revenge first and echoes Sexte's opening lines in Act I by assuring Collatin that Fortune favors daring deeds. The chorus ends the act by deploring the power of Love to destroy even the gods. They fear Rome has already succumbed to his arrows.

The final act deals with the results of Fortune's malevolence. The nurse and the chorus alternate in their lament over Fortune's desire to destroy that which is happiest. The nurse points:

> Or voit-on nostre espoir et nostre heur renversé,
> On voit sous le tombeau la chasteté chassée,
> Qui n'a voire au tombeau Lucrèce delaissée. (850-3)

She describes the final scene between Lucrèce and her father, and in one of the more beautiful images, Lucrèce's reaction when she sees Collatin for the last time:

> Des yeux de Collatin la vie elle reprend,
> Tout ainsi qu'une fleur flestrie dans la prée
> Recolore son taint au frais de la vesprée. (866-8)

Collatin pleads with her that she is guilty of no wrong, but her only reply is to demand revenge and stab herself. Collatin weeps, exhorts his followers to revenge, and comforts himself that lost glory can be recouped. The chorus reports on the uprising of the citizens and Brute leaves to prepare Lucrèce's funeral pyre:

> Puis à la Chasteté nous sacrerons sa cendre,
> Et puis il nous faudra la Liberté deffendre. (939-40)

Thus, the play ends with Rome's two greatest virtues still intact -- chastity and liberty.

Gustav Lanson's definition of sixteenth-century tragedy in France describes Lucrèce well:

> [These dramatists] traitent chaque sujet comme une succession de thèmes poétiques, chaque situation, chaque état moral n'est pour eux qu'un motif, selon la nature duquel els modifient leur rhetorique....[167]

In this respect, action is unnecessary. What is presented is rather reaction and recapitulation, followed by commentary or analysis of the narrated event. The nurse is the principal narrator; she describes Lucrèce's suicide and reports the rape to Collatin and Brute, as well as taking over the traditional confrontation scene between Lucrèce and Collatin when the arguments for and against suicide are enumerated. As Joukovsky notes, anyone who was not already familiar with Lucrèce's story could not follow the play very well. Perhaps Filleul expected his royal audience to be so informed, but the legend was clearly only secondary in importance to the demands of moralizing, rhetoric and the explication of Roman history.

These lyrical pieces, or oratorical moods, held together by the name if not the story of Lucrèce, were nevertheless carefully controlled by a set of dramatic rules which limited number of characters on stage, duration of action, violence, the use of the chorus,[168] the number of acts, etc. Emile Faguet notes that though "Le fond du drame est caché avec soin...toutes les scènes essentielles sont scrupuleusement évitées" but nevertheless "si l'on était sûr que la Lucrèce a été...très goûtée de son temps, elle serait très précieuse, à ce titre, comme document et comme enseignement."[169] In spite of the oratorical nature of the tragedy, then, "Filleul a contribué à instaurer dans notre littérature la genre

de la tragédie régulière à l'antique."[170]

If we take Filleul's intentions into consideration, it is not surprising that the Lucretia legend is less than important to the play. The characters, isolated from one another for the most part, personify various pagan virtues and vices, no more real than the pagan gods to which they constantly compare their actions. The character of Sexte appears to be an expanded version of Ovid's "audentes forsque deusque iuvat." (782) Brute and Collatin are interchangeable. Lucrèce is a compendium of patriotism, thirst for revenge[171] and outraged honor. They all, as does Rome, move according to the dictates of Fortune, though they can choose how they meet their fates. Thus, Filleul insists on the power of virtue, and just as Collatin predicts the future return of glory to Rome, so the dramatist, in his eclogues, called on the king to restore France to peace. Filleul's tone is, in the end, optimistic; those who follow virtue will triumph. Fortune's jealousy of all that is outstanding and Her power to disrupt it is even more in evidence, though, in an Italian drama written only six years after Filleul's -- Paolo Regio's Lucretia.

For Filleul, Fortune was a definite but unspecified force; yet in his frequent references to mythological figures he has the chorus, at one point, attribute most of Rome's troubles to Juno:

> Lorque Junon forcenée
> Menaçoit encor Enée,
> Brouillant la mer et les Cieux
> De feux, de vagues, d'orage,
> ...
> Phoebus faisoit sa menace
> Malgré les flots escouter:
> Marchez, des Dieux brave race
> Que Junon ne peut domter
> ...
> O Dieux, reculez arriere
> Ceste vengeance meurtriere (145-48, 161-64, 195-6).

This idea of Rome's destiny, taken from book I of Virgil's Aeneid,[172] provides the structure for Paolo Regio's play. For the first time in the Lucretia tradition, the mythical is given a separate role alongside the historical. Regio is more concerned than Filleul with specific retribution, what Louise Clubb calls the "Counter-Reformation emphasis on Divine Providence... [the] human dependence on supernatural powers intangible by reason."[173] Fortuna, in Lucretia's case, is as one with Rome's -- Juno's revenge. The action is divided among three levels of characters: the supernatural (Iride, Juno's messenger; Aletto, a Fury; the shade of Servio Tullio), where the action is initiated; the heroic (Lucretia; Sesto Tarquinio; Tarquinio Collatino; Spurio Locretio; Publio Valerio; Lutio Bruto), where the immediate effects of the goddess' revenge are felt; and the "non-heroic" (the servant of Sesto; the nurse of Lucretia; Camilla, Lucretia's maid; a messenger; the chorus of Roman women), where these effects are witnessed, but not directly experienced. This new technique, new to the Lucretia legend, borrows from the prevailing style of Italian Cinquecento tragedy. As we have seen in Chapter I, Bandello's novella is a combination of Livy and the declamations of Coluccio Salutati. Regio could have found an even more straightforward recounting of Livy in Giovanni Fiorentino's Il Pecorone (first published, 1558), which includes Lucretia's story as part of the sixteenth day, novella II.[174] We must look to Giraldi Cinthio for the inspiration, if not the actual narrative, behind Regio's tragedy.

In the same year that Lucretia was published, 1572, Luigi Groto hailed Cinthio's Orbecche as the model for all tragedies. Though Regio does not mention Cinthio or his plays by name, his imitation of plot elements, and his proud rejection of slavish adherence to ancient pre-

cepts all point to the latter dramatist. This proclamation of freedom is misleading, though, for Regio had in effect substituted one set of rules for another; rather than his controlling and assimilating them, the rules, unfortunately, dominate him. Thus, we find an almost identical pattern emerging between Act I of Orbecche and the same act of Lucretia. Cinthio's play begins with Nemesis discoursing on divine retribution, followed by the Furies, who are ordered to punish Sulmone and Orbecche, and then the ghost of Selina, who gloats over the revenge she is to have on them. Lucretia opens with Iride (Iris) predicting that divine vengeance will fall on Sesto, followed by her order to Aletto, one of the Furies, to sting Sesto with lust and envy, and finally the ghost of Servio Tullio, who gloats over the imminent fall of the king who killed him.

Though largely imitative in conception, the play dealt with a theme that had not been dramatized before in Italy.[175] There were decisions Regio had to make by relying on his own imagination. He adds some very new twists to the plot, the most unusual being the creation of a witness to the rape itself! And, through the dialogues between the servants, (the first time so many "non-heroic" figures are given an active role in the legend), Regio introduces a new perspective to the story. The view from the lower ranks is not humorous, as in Pastor, but rather revealing of a more practical judgment; at one point the nurse laments to Camilla that if Lucretia were to live after her dishonor, Collatino would be forever running to fight duels with those who would surely insult his wife.

Lucretia is the only known tragedy by Regio, who was more inclined to write sermons and moral treatises than works on secular

themes.[176] Though closely connected with the church (he was appointed bishop of Vico Equense in 1538), he, like his fellow churchman, Filleul, chose not to introduce the Augustinian controversy over Lucretia into his play. Perhaps he and Filleul could not have justified their devotion of a tragedy to a less than heroic figure. His Roman figures, whom he calls "demigods," are filled with stoic virtue and pride. Indeed, in his dedication to the marchese of Santo Lucido, he announces his theme, "narrar atti di famosi campioni di Roma...Prende dunque ardire à comparir nel teatro del Mondo la Lucretia in nuovo poema cangiata; non però molto lontana dalla fedeltà dell'istoria...." (3v-3r) And he does not stray far from history, in this case Livy's history, in the basic sequence of events. His audience probably knew the plot well; the history prior to the Tarquin reign had been provided in Martelli's La Tullia (1533). Regio outlines the action in a few, brief sentences following his dedication, in prose, and then turns to verse in a prologue. This prologue not only sets the scene -- it describes the wager between Sesto and Collatino and the awarding of the prize for "perfetta pudicitia" to Lucretia -- but contains a defense of tragedy[177] over the plastic arts. While the sculptor captures the ancients for eternity in stone,

> Con mostrar di color la muta effigie:
> Quanto maggior sarà la nostra fama;
> Che negando noi stessi facem vivi
> Quei corpi, che già spenti son mill'anni
> Sotto nome reale di Tragedia? (5r)

He avers that Lucretia will prove a worthy heroine to imitate, in spite of the envy which surrounds her. The controversy is probably in back of a comment such as this (Bandello had begun his novella with an argument over Lucretia's virtue) but Regio is determined to sing of heroes only.

The place of action remains Collatia throughout the play. The five acts are divided into several scenes each. The first act opens with a dialogue between Iride, Juno's messenger, and Aletto, a Fury. Iride explains the cause of Juno's hatred toward the Roman people, which has not dimmed with time. Dido's punishment was not enough for her, so she has determined to poison Sesto Tarquinio's heart:

> ...che debbia
> Non mai trovar riposo, ne quiete;
> Finche non habbia violata, e spenta
> La pudicitia dela moglie fida
> Di Collatino... (7r)

At one stroke, Regio has told us not only what will occur, but why; the progress of Juno's hatred is also the progress that Lucretia's revenge will take:

> Che per l'offesa nasceranne l'odio,
> Dal odio l'ira, e dal ira la guerra,
> E dala guerra, al fin ne vien la morte.
> E dela morte Giunon è contenta. (8v)

Aletto predicts an end to peace and goes off to sting Sesto with one of her serpents.

Scene 2 is a description by the shade of Servio Tullio of his death at the hands of Tarquin the Proud.[178] He is delighted that the revenge which was so long denied to him is to be realized. Through him we learn that Aletto has already stung Sesto and he now burns "di vano empio furor, & amoroso." (9r) In the last scene, the chorus laments the evils of war and the power of Mars to ruin all human joy.

Sesto's servant opens Act II with a monologue. He was sent ahead by his master to ask Lucretia for lodging, since Sexto had decided to return to Rome to check on the unrest of its citizens. The servant then launches a favorite theme of the play, the inconstancy of Fortune.[179] Those in high places can easily fall,

> Ma un, che si contenta del suo stato,
> Con poco posseder, quel' è felice;
> Quel gode di sua vita i dolci giorni (12r).

He praises the simple life that the first people in the Golden Age were content to lead, much as Filleul had the chorus react in a similar situation. The servant ends by disavowing the kind of life his master leads.

In Scene 2, Camilla is praising Lucretia as the most chaste woman of Rome and the nurse enumerates famous heroines who did not keep their chastity intact -- Pasiphae, Clytemnestra, Circe, Semiramis, even Venus -- and who therefore are unequal to her mistress in virtue:

> Et questa, che nodrita hò col mio latte,
> Essempio veramente eterno al Mondo
> Sarà di castità, s'io non m'inganno. (13r-14v)

She tells Camilla that she had sought news of Collatino in the city and has discovered that the end of the siege is not in sight. This is a role usually reserved for the heroine, when she questions her maids about her husband's return. The nurse,however, is more anxious over a dream Lucretia has revealed to her. In the dream, Lucretia was standing by a fountain, thinking of her husband; a lion came meekly to her and she fed him. Unappeased, he attacked her, "Tutta macchiolle la sua bianca veste." (14r) When Camilla asks the nurse to explain its meaning, the latter elaborates on the power of dreams to presage future events.[180] They are both seized by fear.

Lucretia is introduced in the next scene; she begins by assuring Sesto's servant that his master is welcome, though she wonders aloud why he has come. Yet he is her kinsman and of royal blood, so she sends the nurse to prepare a room for him. In the following soliloquy, she describes her only desire:

> Io mi lodo via più del esser casta;
> ch'esser diseesa da tanti avi illustri. (16v)

She brings in examples of faithful women -- Penelope, Argia, Anfitrione. As she hurries her maids in their preparations to honor Sesto, she speaks lines which will reflect on her later decisions:

> E poco honor mostrandoli nel opre,
> Poco del esser mio potria lodarsi:
> Che l'animo si scopre dal effetto. (16r)

Lucretia, filled with pagan virtù, cannot remain passive. Thus, her decision to die is a logical consequence of her belief in personal action as the only way to maintain honor. In this respect, Regio's characterization is more complete than either Filleul's or Pastor's is of her.

Sesto arrives in Scene 4 and, in an aside, affirms his desire to have Lucretia, the most chaste woman in Rome, even if he should lose his throne for it. He reasons with himself, though, that all women are fickle, including the mother of Romulus.[181] Lucretia's husband being away, he will take Jove as his model, and scorn dangers to his life, his honor and his name. The remainder of the scene is marked by an ironic dialogue between Lucretia and Sesto. The latter begins by praising her, to which she answers:

> Ma questo lodi, ond'io sento lodarmi,
> Son chiari segni dele virtù tante,
> E del alto valor, ch'in voi si vede (18v).

He, in turn, swears to her that she has sway over every heart, and if she had been his wife he would be the happiest man ever; he calls to Jove to pity his state. Lucretia questions him, again resorting to the heroic view of action and honor which she had recently expressed:

> In tanto dubio si ritrova il vostro
> Stato; ch'à Giove solo
> L'ultima speme havete?

E dov'è de i Romani l'animo invitto;
Che nel maggior periglio;
Col maggior forza cresce? (18r)

The very words which Sesto had spoken in prior versions to bolster his courage are now given to Lucretia. The dialogue continues with Sesto admitting that he fears no physical onslaught, but a conflict of the heart. Lucretia proceeds to warn him that such conflicts often cause the loss of kingdoms, reminding him that he holds the shield of Roman honor and must above all defend women; with only a single glance, she assures him, a woman is assailed by fear. When Sesto calls the woman he loves a goddess, Lucretia counsels patience, at least until he is well upon the throne. She then reiterates that for herself, "castità" is her only goal. The scene ends with Sesto wishing for repose.

The final scene in this act has Camilla exposing her forebodings of danger to Sesto's servant. She sees in his master's looks the passion for her mistress. But she wavers:

Oltre, che suo marito è tal Signore,
Che non crederò Sesto à questo rischio
Si ponga, per tentar la sua consorte.
In dubio mi ritrovo poi che l'una,
E l'altra parte have le sue ragioni. (20r)

She rails against Fortune, which strikes only the great. Instead of the oak tree image used by Filleul, Regio compares Fortune's blow to the wind striking mountains and palaces, while passing over the low valleys and humble abodes. The chorus ends the act by lauding the power of honor over love:

Honor ò donne mie, Honor si serva.
Questi sol ne promette eterna vita;
Questi di gir al ciel mostra il camino;
Questi pur trionfar ne fa di Morte (21v).

They also praise Lucretia's many virtues, especially her courage and chastity, and hope that Sesto's interior is as honorable as his exterior.

The rape has occurred between acts, and the messenger and the chorus inform the audience of the misfortune. The chorus announces the violation, blaming Sesto's passion on Lucretia's beauty and the deceit of Cupid. They are as concerned with Collatino's reaction as with the state of the heroine. The messenger describes Sesto's assault in detail,[182] because it was witnessed by Camilla:

> Si come m'have detto una sua donna,
> Che timida, e del mal quasi presaga,
> Occultamente è statta spettatrice (22r).

Sesto, armed with his sword, with his hand on Lucretia's breast, blames his passion on the power of Love, which can vanquish even the gods. When he attempts to seize her, she physically repels him, like a bear cornered by hunters. The messenger notes that no one came to aid her in spite of the noise created by the struggle. After he threatens her with adultery, Lucretia falls half-dead on her bed and he rapes her. In this detailed explanation, the messenger has brought up every point on which Lucretia could stand accused. Unlike the ancient heroine, this one cries out, struggles, and swoons before she is attacked. Her behavior is exemplary under the circumstances, and it can be verified by an eyewitness! And why didn't Camilla come to the aid of her mistress?

> E chi servo trovar potrai nel Mondo
> Che adopri cotra un Rè la lingua, ò l'armi?
> Ma pur da tema, e da doglia assalita;
> Ch'i sensi, e l'alma li tenean ristretti. (24v)

When she did rouse herself to call for help, it was too late. The chorus laments the evils of love and envy.

In Scene 2, the nurse tells Lucretia that she fears Sesto will now boast of his deed, though it is still hard for her to believe that a kinsman would violate a woman in her own house. Perhaps he thinks, as the king's son, he can live outside the laws, but even he "Deve viver

secondo i lor precetti." (25v) She begs Lucretia to be guided by prudence, and the heroine pretends to let her anger be controlled by reason,[183] but in Scene 3, in a soliloquy, she scorns the nurse's timidity:

> E l'empio traditor habbia cagione
> Di dir come col proprio mio volere
> Have ottenuto il suo desio perverso.
> Per Dio ciò non serà; ne vò che m'habbi
> Con tal macchia à veder il mio consorte. (27r)

Without glory, her life is worthless; the only way to restore the virtue which she had acquired by her own will is to die. She resigns herself to her fate, appealing not to Diana, as had the chorus, but to Nature. No one, she claims, is outside its order, and the blind perversity of Fortune strikes indiscriminately. This is the way of things, that the virtuous suffer, and evil grows as the world gets older. In the last scene, Iride promises the shade of Servio Tullio that the Tarquins' punishment will continue after death, and Aletto describes the fall of the kingdom. Servio is satisfied. The chorus ends with warnings to Rome to throw off its servitude and predicts its future glory.

Collatino begins Act IV by telling Publio Valerio, Spurio Locretio (Lucretia's father), and Bruto of a dream. Iride had come to him and shown him Lucretia's violation. After he finishes his description, the messenger arrives from Lucretia, demanding his return at once. Collatino now knows that his dream was really a vision, foretelling the future, but Valerio advises him to verify the truth and launches into a discussion, similar to the nurse's in Act II, on the ability of dreams to predict the future. The scene ends with all three friends pledging their aid in his defense.

The chorus, in Scene II, awaits the revenge[184] which is sure to

follow from such illustrious champions:

> Vendicato serà l'atto impudico.
> Ne potea in miglior mani
> La vendetta venire;
> Che così far bisogna
> A i generosi cuori;...
> Che per tal causa il ciel gli Heroi hà fatti. (34r-35v)

They dwell on the love the heroes hold for each other and relate the serpent augury which predicted Bruto's triumph. The nurse then reports to them of Collatino's meeting with Lucretia. She uses Livy's words to describe the offense, defending the chastity of her mistress' spirit, and Lucretia's first reaction after Sesto left:

> ...Levate via de questo luogo
> Ogni mio ornamento.
> E queste aurate mie leggiadre gonne;
> Ne dal mio collo penda più monile;
> Ne dale orecchie mie gemma più adorna;
> Ne licore odoroso i miei capelli
> Sentano più, ne odorato unguento...
> ...Poi che gionta sono
> Al fin dela mia vita, e del mio honore. (36r)

This passage presents a Lucretia much more human in her grief than we have seen before. The nurse's following speculations are also of the most plausible and practical kind. She predicts Collatino will be constantly defending his wife from evil talk in the future; Camilla blames him for leaving his wife too long alone, "Che la donna pudica non mai deve/ sol' habitare un giorno" (37v). Camilla sees nothing but a life of shame for her mistress. The nurse interrupts to blame the immoderate desires of high-born men for much of the world's misfortunes. When Camilla laments that she and the nurse will be part of Lucretia's shame, the latter reminds her that it is for heroes to suffer the blows of Fortune, but not for them to partake of either their glory or their tragedy. Camilla ends the scene by blaming beauty as the cause of Lucretia's downfall.

Bruto soliloquizes in Scene 3 about the unstable nature of kingdoms, praising those rulers who recognize they cannot deceive Fortune.

> Per questo l'huomo deve moderato
> Nele prospere cose dimostrarsi;
> E saggio nel'afflitte, e dolorose. (38r)

He refers to the oracle's support of his desire for revenge and avers that divine justice conquers all tyrants in the end. The act closes with the choral lament against night and death. The lament would be as appropriate in Lucretia's own words:

> Spiega l'ali ver noi, ô sorda Morte,
> Porgendo à' nostri affanni ultima fine;
> Poi che tal duol non puote estinguer pianto.
> ...
> Crudele, acerba, e memorabil notte
> Cagion ni dai di viver sempre in pianto;
> E d'arrivar piangendo à lieto fine.
> Se tra fiumi di lacrime la vita
> Varcando fugge il mal; l'invida Morte
> Fà d'atre nubi pregno il suo bel giorno. (40v-40r)

Collatino's soliloquy opens Act V on the loss of honor as the greatest calamity a mortal can suffer. He seeks revenge and then death for himself. The corruption of the state originates in the corruption at its head; he is sure that kings can only live by merit and that Sesto will receive the punishment he deserves. In Scene 2, Collatino seeks the counsel of his friends. They all advise him to wait and gather strength, which he decides to do. The last scene in the act is between Lucretia and Collatino. She is supported by her father, and vowing that she will not let others live unchastely by her example, that she will not shame her husband, that her death will make her happy by returning her lost glory, she stabs herself. Bruto swears his oath of revenge on her dagger and Collatino assures her:

> Torna à tua sede alma fedele, e casta,
> Ondi quì pria venisti.
> E godi lieta la tua fama eterna. (46r)

The chorus ends the play with a sonnet, in which they see Sesto punished in Hell and Lucretia shining as an example of rare virtue.

Regio is not yet finished with his audience. He defends his tragedy in an afterword. Though he admits to composing his play outside Greek rules -- Lucretia kills herself on stage, supernatural figures take part in the action, the play takes place over a two-day period -- he claims independence from such rules because he is armed with eloquence. Poets should obey their own invention rather than the rules of the ancients. This staunch defense of his practice is also not new with Regio, but follows from Cinthio's ideas on tragedy. He follows the defense with a summary of the principal themes of the play:

> Come un Superbo cede al appetito;
> Come contra Virtù s'opra la fraude;
> E come di due mal s'elige il manco;
> E se per forza al mal s'habbia assentito;
> Come con morte ancor scolpar si possa. (48r)

Regio cannot completely condone Lucretia's decision, but given her circumstances, she did what the very first words she had spoken predicted she would do. Each character is defined initially and remains stable; "they seldom if ever emerge better human beings in the last act than they were in the first act...."[185] Thus, each soliloquy reveals the essential vice or virtue of the one who is speaking: Sesto speaks on love, Lucretia on chastity, Collatino on honor, and Bruto on revenge.

The rape becomes merely one more sign of Juno's desire for revenge. We know little of the heroine; she has only one sustained soliloquy, and most of her deeds are reported rather than witnessed at first hand. As in Filleul's Lucrèce, the true protagonist of Regio's play is the instability of earthly things, dependent on Fortune, the "heroic realization of the vanity of human wishes."[186] And the role of heroes,

as the nurse reminds us, is to bear and overcome the suffering created by the perversities of Fortune and the gods. She cannot answer Camilla, when the latter questions the justice of Lucretia's fate.

Perhaps Regio's most interesting addition to the legend is the commentary provided by the servants, that group of figures directly below the heroic in the tripartite hierarchy of the play. Much of their observation is in the form of moralizations, apostrophes, laments and rhetorical questions, but there is also some very lively dialogue and plausible emotional reactions. Interaction, though, is only on their own level; the masters act in isolation from them (except for the brief argument between Lucretia and her nurse), just as the gods move on their own, separate level. Lucretia does not know of Camilla's forebodings; Sesto never hears the doubts expressed by his servant. Their reactions do serve to contrast with those of their masters, being more immediate, more related to the concrete circumstances, the specific situation rather than the long view upon which Lucretia and Collatino act. Of course, it is not plausible that Camilla would remain silent, witnessing the rape until it was too late to prevent its consummation, but the very fact that there was a witness to the violation allows Lucretia to maintain her decision to die less as a matter of vindication than as a way to erase her personal shame. Thus, in the central matter of the rape, whereas Pastor had laughed, or rather sneered, at it, and Filleul had ignored it, Regio altered enough details to try to explain away the most damning circumstances.

The servants' code of moral behavior, and they are all presented as virtuous, is superior to their masters' code in one particular. They prefer, as they often reiterate, the humble life, where true

virtue can flourish unimpeded; the heroes risk more and lose more in the process of being singled out by Fortune's malevolence. The non-heroic figures, for all their simplicity of nature, are better able to recognize evil when they are confronted by it, much as the "bobo" is able to cope with evil in Pastor's drama. Thus, Camilla is able to read the signs of passion in Sesto and Sesto's servant recognizes and rejects the evil that is within his master.

Regio's play also dwells on a theme which Filleul's had only suggested -- the effects of tyranny on the state and the complications inherent in the overthrow of any government. Amidst the usual sententiae on tyranny, Bruto adds that he is ashamed to be of the same family as the Tarquins and wonders if he is strong enough to break the bonds of kinship which hold him. His final decision, that evil must be punished in spite of the cost, is identical to Collatino's. The nurse had speculated on the latter's resolve to avenge his wife; she also wonders if the bonds of kinship will stand in his way. These considerations of family and state, while always present in the legend, had never been so fully developed. The final decision is, naturally, to follow the dictates of virtue, just as Lucretia had offered to reject her noble lineage if only she would be remembered as a chaste woman. She is happy when she meets her "bel morire," and Bruto and Collatino are happy in their restoration of virtue to Rome.

Thus, Regio develops his themes, fitting his characters into their roles as representatives of earthly vanity, pride, courage, humility. The traces of human passion -- fear, anger, bewilderment -- are fleeting and scattered; for the most part the action, on all three levels, moves with a stately pace to its destined end. The Lucretia

legend seemed to lend itself to such an interpretation, for a dramatist who was more than capable of expressing the tragic side of the story chose instead to write a "dramatic poem" with much the same orientation: Shakespeare's "The Rape of Lucrece."

(142) Eustache Deschamps praises Lucrèce for her firmness of heart, her "voulenté" in his "Balades amoureuses" nos. 474 and 482, Oeuvres complètes, ed. Le marquis de Queux de Sainte-Hilaire (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1853), vol.3, pp.294, 303. Claude Bouton writes, Lucrèce killed herself

> Pour laver la chasteté d'elle,
> Monstrant vertu & cueur haultain

in "Le miroir des dames" which is included in a collection of poems entitled La Dance aux avuegles, et autres poësies du XV. Siécle (Lille: Panckoucke, 1748), p.196.
For a brief list of Lucrèce's French supporters (including Alain de Lille, J. Du Pré, J. Bouchet, Fr. Habert) and detractors (principally those who wrote their poetry in Latin, such as Th. de Bèze, C. Delfino), see the preface by Françoise Joukovsky to Filleul's works at Gaillon, Les Théâtres de Gaillon (Geneva: Droz, 1971), pp. lv ff. I have used this edition of La Lucrèce by Filleul, pp. 57-113, for which Joukovsky has provided extensive notes and a glossary.

(143) Henri Estienne, A World Of Wonders, trans. Richard Carew (London: John Norton, 1607), p.100. This is an English translation of Estienne's Apologia pro Herodoto, 1595.

(144) Ibid., p.101.

(145) Ibid., p.102.

(146) François Habert, "La Harangue de la déesse Astrée...," (1556) quoted in Joukovsky, preface to Filleul, op.cit., p.lvi. The general tone of this criticism is much less virulent than the Spanish, and completely lacks the humorous element found in the romances and in Pastor. Indeed, the only humor I have found in connection with Lucrèce is Rabelais' judgment of her as an "hospitalière." See his Oeuvres complètes, ed. Jacques Boulenger (1938; rpt. n.p.: Éditions de la Nouvelle Revue Française, 1942), p.321.

(147) See chapter 1, footnotes 72-74.

(148) Pierre Le Moyne, La Gallerie des Femmes Fortes (Lyon: Benoist Coral & Antoine Du Perier, 1662), pt.1, p.309. For him, Lucrèce "est pleine de l'esprit & de la vertu de Rome." (p.309)

(149) Ibid,, pp. 315-16. Compare his denial that Lucrèce died for guilt or fear to Juan de Torres' assertions in footnote 132, Chapter II.

(150) Le Moyne, op.cit., p.321.

(151) Joukovsky, op.cit., p.lvi.

(152) Nicolas Filleul (1530-7? - 1575-87?) wrote only two tragedies, Achille and Lucrèce. He also wrote, in French, several declama-

tory "chants" for the intermissions of Baïf's Le Brave. The only study on his work is the very thorough one supplied by Joukovsky in her introduction. Most literary histories of the period make scant mention (if at all) of his poetry and plays, and such notice is usually negative. See LeBègue's comment in footnote 170.

(153) The plague had ravaged Rouen in 1555 and 1559. There had been a Protestant uprising in 1562 and on June 5, 1566, three months before the court's visit to Gaillon, the convents had been attacked by Reformés.

(154) The Golden Age was a favorite Pléiade theme, as it was in mannerism in general, though by the time Filleul was writing, it was not as popular as it had been, making Filleul, in Joukovsky's opinion, a "figure d'attardé." For the popularity of this theme, see Harry Levin, The Myth of the Golden Age in the Renaissance (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1969). Filleul's dedicatory poem at Gaillon dutifully describes how the Golden Age had ended with Astrea's departure, and how the princes and heroes installed by Jupiter to guide men had foundered because they were unfaithful to wisdom. Jupiter then ordered Minerva and Mercury to Florence, where, enacting the roles of Laurent de Medici and Madeleine de la Tour d'Auvergne, they gave birth to Catherine, whose role was to restore peace. "Il donne le ton du recueil: la nostalgie d'un ordre qui aurait pour base une parfaite entente avec les immortels." (Joukovsky, op.cit., p.xxxiii)

(155) There was a copy of Livy in the inventory of Gaillon of 1550, (Bâle, 1540), which included annotations by Heinrich Loriti comparing this version to that of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. There appears to be no trace of the latter's version in Lucrèce. Ovid had been published in French in 1561. One of the major changes made by Filleul is in the role of Brutus, for the dramatist was as interested (perhaps more interested) in the history preceding the legend as in the legend itself.

(156) "It is now generally agreed that Italian Renaissance tragedy served the useful function of replacing diffuse medieval theatrical practices with a more concentrated form of dramatic structure, culminating in the French classicism of the seventeenth century." Lienhard Bergel, "The Rise of Cinquecento Tragedy," Renaissance Drama VIII (1965), p.198. In 1548 the Parlement de Paris had forbidden the representation of mystery plays, with the consequent rise in popularity and influence of the tragedy.

(157) Unity of place was not yet demanded of theatrical pieces. Castelvetro's manifesto was not published until 1570. For an excellent analysis of the modes and attributes of Renaissance drama, see Thomas Zamparelli, "Renaissance Humanist Tragedy," South Central Bulletin 33, no.4 (Winter 1973), pp.231-6.

(158) Filleul is probably following Scaliger's dictum here, "argumentum brevissimum occipiendum est" which Emile Faguet describes as "une

action unique, et encore dans cette action le moment caracteristique, le point saillant, la crise...Pour avoir une fable tres courte, il faut jeter le spectateur in media res." Cf. La Tragédie française au XVIe siècle (1883; rpt. Paris: Fontemoing, 1912), p.52. Since Joukovsky provides a very thorough summary of Lucrèce in her preface, I will describe only the most important speeches of the play.

(159) Filleul's description of Sexte's awakened desire is a good example of his style:

> Ne les jumeaux aislez qui de Thrace chasserent
> Les monstres emplumez, qui gloutons affamerent
> Le prophete aveuglé, peu s'en faut adoré
> Du peuple marinier pour le belier doré,
> Ne ramoyent point si tost, non pas l'aigle qui porte
> Les traits de Jupiter, que le bon-heur m'escorte. (57-62)

That is, the Argonauts' admiration for Phineus' prophecy (they had helped him by chasing away the Harpies, who were sent to punish Phineus because he blinded the children of his first wife) is not so strong nor is Jupiter's eagle so swift in bringing his master his arrows as is the desire Sexte feels for Lucrèce. Compare this to Pastor's description of the same desire, Chapter II, pp.56-7. Filleul seems to have taken too much to heart Ronsard's statement in his Abrégé de l'art poétique françois: "la poésie ne peut-elle être plaisante ni parfaite sans de belles inventions, descriptions, comparaisons, qui sont les nerfs et la vie du liore...." Cf. Faguet, op.cit., p.32.

(160) Cf. Seneca, De Ira, I, xxi, 4: "sola sublimis et excelsa virtus est...." Moral Essays, trans. John Basore (1928; rpt. London: Heinemann, 1970), vol.1, p.164. A few lines before, in this same passage, Seneca scorns the outward trappings of greatness: "videatur et libido magni animi -- transnat freta,...sub gladium mariti venit morte contempta...." This is precisely the contrast which Filleul conceives as basic to the Lucretia legend. Sextus, for all his brave show, will not triumph because his actions are not based on virtue, as are those of Brute, Collatin and Lucrèce. Filleul's moralizing tone is not unusual for dramatic works of the period; "Sententiae...sunt enim quasi columnoe aut piloe quoedam totius fabricoe illius...quibus tota tragaedia est fulcienda." Scaliger, Poetices, bk.3, ch.XCVII quoted in Faguet, op.cit., p.57. Seneca as moralist and as playwright was a primary source for much of the characteristic sententiousness of the sixteenth-and seventeenth-century drama.

(161) Joukovsky calls this conception of honor "très superficielle... qui se limite en somme à un crainte primitive de la souillure, pour la patrie et pour la caste, n'est pas remise en question par l'heroïne." (op.cit., pp.lxi-lxii) Yet Lucretia, throughout her long history, does little if no questioning of this sudden loss of honor, largely because this "primitive" equating of physical purity and personal integrity is one of the basic tenets of a woman's existence. Indeed, this loss of chastity is the principal reason for the controversy surrounding the legend. The

more sophisticated dramas of honor, in which inner virtue is at odds with reputation and social behavior, had yet to be written.

(162) The "nurse-mistress" situation is a standard Senecan device, usually with the former attempting to dissuade the latter from some course of action. Since Filleul used so many sententiae and aphorisms in their dialogue, the final impression one receives from their "argument" is not far removed from Coluccio's declamations. The impersonal, clear tone is characteristic of the entire play. As a good example of the stichomythic dialogue and of Lucrèce's pride in her position in Roman society, I have excerpted her argument with the nurse about the uncertain effect of her decision to publish her dishonor:

N: Mais que sert publier à tous ceste destresse?
L: Cela peut irriter contre luy la noblesse.
N: Mais devant le pouvoir il ne faut menacer.
L: Il faut par tous moyens son haineux offenser.
N: Mais c'est le fils du Roy, voy à qui tu t'adresse.
L: Collatin est du sang, et moy, je suis princesse. (267-72)

There is much Senecan influence in Lucrèce which Filleul could have taken from contemporary French pieces or Italian dramas of the period: the emphasis on Lucrèce's desire for revenge, her insistence that death is a form of liberation, the problem of Fortune, the praise given to the "average" in life, the apostrophes to the Furies, the importance of the nurse, etc.

(163) Brute here is expanding on what Lucrèce had called Roman tradition. Over 22 lines (449-70), most of them consumed by the extended metaphor of sailors braving treacherous seas, Brute avers that an honorable death brings with it an honorable life.

(164) The reliance on virtue can be compared to the bobo's comment in Pastor's Lucrecia (Chapter II, p.59). In the latter, it is not virtue which will win in the end, but truth. Lucrecia's death is unnecessary, since the evil deed will be revealed inevitably, but for the French Lucrèce, death will restore her honor.

(165) For an enumeration of the classical sources of this choral piece, which are many, see Joukovsky, op.cit., pp. 94-6, footnotes to ll. 565 ff.

(166) Lucrèce does not allude to Livy's primary explanation of her suicide, that she should serve as an example to other women, though Filleul is following his version rather closely in most other respects. In the French play, her motivation is revenge, her awareness of Roman tradition and a desire to end her suffering. Yet for Collatin, following this same Roman tradition, death is not necessary: Et pour un seul malheur, or que grand, qui t'estonne,
Ne souille le laurier qui ton front environne. (907-8)
The difference is once again that Lucrèce is a woman and her very existence is linked to her physical purity. As for the manner of revenge, Pastor's Lucrecia was content to ask for Sexto's death by fire; Filleul's Lucrèce is more elaborate:

Toy, Cerbere, qui as mille monstres pour suite,
Et vous ô palles soeurs, Styx, Acheron, Cocyte,
Et si rien est encor plain de rage et d'horreur,
Venez pour le punir, venez en ma faveur. (707-10)

(167) Gustav Lanson, Histoire de la littérature française, 14th ed. quoted in Darnell Roaten, Structural Forms in the French Theater, 1500-1700 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960), p.58, footnote 5. My analysis of Lucrèce is not concerned with its validity as a tragedy. There has been criticism of late, though, (notably by Donald Stone) against those who consider such drama as merely ill-formed classical tragedy. Stone would rather use criteria established by the dramatists themselves, such as Baïf's definition of a tragedy in his preface to Electra: "une moralité composée des grandes calamitez, meurtes et adversitez survenues aux nobles et excellentz personnaiges." See his "An Approach to French Renaissance Drama," Renaissance Drama IX (1966), p.285, footnote 16.

(168) I take exception to James Tolbert's judgment of the choral function in Lucrèce: "Each act but the last concludes with the Chorus, whose comments have little or no relevance to the events of the play." (op.cit., p.121) Since Filleul's conception of tragedy included extensive moralization couched in striking rhetorical figures, the choral pieces are an integral part of the play. Most of Collatin's and Brute's lines are also general declamations on virtue. The chorus also serves to summarize those themes which Filleul had his characters personify. Thus, Act I closes with their reaffirmation of the power of virtue which Sexte had just denied and which was to appear, in Act II, in the person of Lucrèce. Cf. also Scaliger's advice on the functions of the chorus: "Interdum consolatur; aliquando luget simil; reprehendit, praesagit, admiratur, indicat, admonet, discit ut doceat, eligit, spirat, dubitat." Poetices, bk.III, ch. XCVII quoted in Faguet, op.cit., p.55.

(169) Faguet, op.cit., p.150. He calls Act II "une elégie declamatoire" and Act V "un serment de vengeance." Raymond Le Bègue characterizes Filleul's plays as "tragédies oratoires et vides d'action" in La Tragédie française de la Renaissance (Brussels: J. Lebègue, 1944), p.38.

(170) Joukovsky, op.cit., p. lviii.

(171) Elliott Forsyth and I disagree on the importance of revenge in Lucrèce. He states that Filleul's sole theme is "démontrer l'inconstance de la fortune à l'egard des 'grands,' et on reléguera par conséquent la vengeance au rôle d'un thème accessoire destiné à corser le tableau général des souffrances qui doit peindre la pièce." Cf. La tragédie française de Jodelle a Corneille, 1553-1640 (Paris: Nizet, 1962), p.151. It is true, as Forsyth notes, that there is no acting out of the revenge, but that is also true of the entire play; there is no suicide or rape either, only reported events. And all of Act II and most

of Act IV consist of a discussion between Lucrèce and the nurse on the feasibility of revenge. It is to revenge that Lucrèce first appeals directly after the rape. Whether Filleul emphasized the importance of revenge through a desire to imitate Senecan plays, or whether he felt it belonged in "Roman tradition," it furnishes one of the primary motivations for Lucrèce's suicide.

(172) Cf. Aeneid I, 36 ff. Though the Aeneid ends with Juno's promise to Jupiter to halt her feud with the Trojans, both Filleul and Regio assume that it continued through the reigns of the seven kings of Rome.

(173) Louise George Clubb, Italian Plays (1500-1700) in the Folger Library (Florence: Olschki, 1968), p.xxvi. I have been unable to locate the biography of Paolo Regio (1541-1606) written by D. Falcigno: Un cultore delle muse in veste episcopale (Naples: Lucina, 1927). Regio was a graduate in law, a theologian, and from the list of his other works (Lucretia is his only tragedy) we can see his preoccupation with moral themes: Della felicita (1607), Della consolazione (1598), various lives of saints, a sacred poem, Sermoni (1595), a history of Catholicism, etc. Toppi lists 11 works in this vein, and gives us a brief description of the man: "chiarissimo per la sua molta dottrina e bontà di vita, serisse assai felicemente alcuni Discorsi delle virtù morali, che sono tenuti in molto pregio." He adds further, "ma io, non m'estendo a parlarne, perche tante fue lodi, nõ possono chiudersi in cosi picciolo spatio." See Nicolõ Toppi, Biblioteca napoletana (Naples: Antonio Bulifon, 1678), pp.238 and 347, respectively, and Camillo Minieri Riccio, Memorie storiche degli scrittori nati nel regno di Napoli (Naples: V. Rizziello, 1844). The latter has a more extensive list of Regio's works.

(174) Giovanni Fiorentino, Il Pecorone (Milan: Giovanni Silvestri, 1815), vol.2, 16th day, novella II, pp.33-9. Though the salutation was dated 1378, most critics believe that the actual work was written in the sixteenth century. Lodovico Domenichi edited the 1558 edition. The Lucretia story, at times a literal translation from Livy, comes at the end of Auretto's description of the seven kings of Rome. Regio might have taken Lucretia's swoon and the nurse's pleas on behalf of her affection from Coluccio (via Bandello), though both details follow plausibly enough from the story.

(175) In addition to the works I have noted in Chapter I, Galinsky mentions two long poems, one in Latin and one in Italian, both published at the beginning of the sixteenth century. (See Galinsky, op.cit., pp. 81 ff.) To my knowledge, Regio's drama is the first one written in the sixteenth century in Italy to deal with Lucretia, and the only one in that century. The same is true of Filleul's play in France and Pastor's, in Spain. I do not find any evidence that Regio knew of Filleul's Lucrèce; any similarities are probably due to common classical sources.

(176) I have used the 1572 edition provided to me on microfilm by the Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze (published in Naples by Giuseppe Cacchii). Allacci calls this"seconda edizione" in his Drammaturgia (Rome: Mascardi, 1666), p.491,but there is no indication of this on the material. This copy of Lucretia contains pagination only on the right-hand page; for citations, I have indicated the right-hand page with "r", the left-hand with "v". The sole critical reference to the play, consisting of one paragraph, is in Marvin Herrick's Italian Tragedy in the Renaissance (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1965), pp. 157-8.

(177) Regio was more self-conscious about the literary form he used for his Lucretia than either Filleul or Pastor, in part because of the lively controversies in Italy surrounding the nature of tragedy. His audience, as Herrick describes them, were people "who liked long dissertations, who were eager to learn more about classical mythology, and who delighted in arguments" (op. cit., p. 3), and who were dominated by what Zamparelli calls their "genre consciousness." The too close adherence to "normative"tragedy hindered what could have been a most interesting and moving version of the Lucretia story. Cf. the foreward by G. Folena to Lingua e Strutture del Teatro Italiano del Rinascimento, ed. L. Vanossi, et al. (Padova: Liviana, 1970), p.xvii: "L'ombra della letteratura non è di solito favorevole al teatro...." For a more recent evaluation of the effect of classical rules on Italian drama, see Carmelo Musumarra, La Poesia Tragica Italiana nel Rinascimento (Florence: Olschki, 1972). In their "humanization" of the ancients, Musumarra believes the men of the Renaissance derived much good from the "rules": "Le 'regole' rinascimentali portano al vagheggiamento di una costruzione legittima, che offra la possibilità di una visione prospettica della storia (ignota al Medioevo), dell'unità delle arti, dell'azione coerente delle figure rappresentate, tutto risolvendosi in una soluzione di armonia e di belleza." (p.16)

(178) Servio had appeared as a ghost in Martelli's Tullia, after his assassination, lamenting his savage, reposeless death. In Regio's play, Servio predicts that the sufferings of the Tarquins in Hell will surpass those of any of its denizens:

> Apparecchia i flagelli, e brutta fuga,
> E pene tal, che passeranno quelle
> D'ogni anima dannata al cieco centro.
> E vinceran l'ardente, e fiera sete
> Di Tantalo; & ancora la fatiga
> Di Sisifo;... (10v-10r).

Cinthio, in Orbecche, has the ghost of Selina predict a similar fate for Orbecche and Sulmone; their sufferings will make those of Sisyphus seem a pleasure. Cinthio's Didone also opens with a soliloquy by Juno on the injustice done to her by the Trojans.

(179) Jacob Burckhardt believes that one of the major influences of ancient thought on Renaissance Italy was an increased awareness of the role of Fortune. Though they did not admit to an undisguised

fatalism, their thoughts were led in that direction. Cf. Lucretia's monologue after the rape, discussed on p.97. Regio alternates in assigning the figure of Fortune to Juno's revenge, to a more abstract, arbitrary force, and to the natural order of things.

(180) Discussion of dreams was a favorite Senecan device of the period, and it is not surprising that Regio added it to the legend. The stain on the white dress is, of course, a reference to the stain on Lucretia's chastity. The nurse believes in the power of dreams to foretell the future. She mentions famous figures of the past who were warned of future disasters in this manner, among them Hecuba: Hecuba inanzi al parto,
In sonno vidde chiara
La facella al suo Regno, e la ruina. (15v)
Her reaction, though, is very different from Publio Valerio's when he is told of Collatino's dream. Valerio counsels patience and appeals to the evidence of one's own eyes before believing the truth of a dream. See p.97.

(181) Kelso, quoting from a letter by Pietro Lauro to Isabella Pia (1553), notes: "Even the purely chaste lady cannot escape altogether such looks from those who without fear of God set themselves by way of adventure, to reduce her to blame if not to worse...believing as they do that the woman is an animal desirous of embraces." (op. cit., p.162) Sesto, trying to convince himself that Lucretia will yield to him, puts his hopes in the weak nature of her sex:
E questa, c'have il suo marito fuori,
Crederommi, che fredda habbia à giacere
Le lunghe notti, nel lasciato letto;...
Essendo tal costume nele donne;
Che senza l'huom, non sanno viver ponto. (17v)

(182) Cinthio, following Seneca, had made the messenger who reports misfortunes and horrors one of the most prominent figures in his plays, assigning him the most striking speeches. Regio follows this practice in the messenger's description of the rape and the nurse's description of Lucretia's final moments before death.

(183) Seneca's "domina-nutrix" situation is repeated by Regio, as it was in Filleul. In Regio's work, Lucretia pretends to be convinced and creates some suspense until the next scene. Since the false acquiescence ends abruptly on her part in Scene 3 and is not alluded to again, we are left wondering why she decided to pretend in the first place and not immediately scorn the nurse's words, as Filleul's Lucrèce had done. Perhaps Regio was thinking of Orbecche again, where Malecche tries to convince Sulmone to show mercy to his daughter. Sulmone pretends to be convinced and goes on to punish her.

(184) It is clear that revenge will be meted out even without her suicide. Lucretia does not have to ask them to swear a ven-

detta; they have already done so. Burckhardt affirms that "the chronicles and novels of the period are full of such instances (vendettas), especially of vengeance taken for the violation of women...All passion was directed to the married woman." (op.cit., pp. 324 and 327) Thus, Regio's Lucretia kills herself to erase her personal dishonor, her "vergogna," and does not, as does Filleul's Lucrèce, make revenge one of her primary motives.

(185) Herrick, op.cit., p.292.

(186) Clubb, op.cit., p.xxxi.

CHAPTER IV: SHAKESPEARE'S "RAPE OF LUCRECE" AND THE AMBIVALENCE OF HONOR

Paolo Regio had set Lucretia, under the aegis of Fortune, within the tradition of Roman history, linking her to the very inception of Rome in the form of the Trojan legend. The legend of Troy was an element of that horizontal unity that he and Filleul visualized as the record of human history, with the later event intimately and necessarily connected to the earlier. In the comprehensive vision and moral tenor of the two plays, we still hear echoes of the medieval exemplum tradition which had kept Lucretia alive. The moral unity shared by the French and Italian Lucretias was in part their belief in inner virtue and external justice to which they dedicate their death. In this respect, Filleul and Regio regarded Lucretia as had Augustine, not with any form of censure, but in their acceptance of her death as the result of divine forces, in a framework of absolute moral values, "sub specie aeternitatis." They chose to find the motivation for events in blind Fortune, but not their end. The perserverance of virtue, in contrast to the corruption of the merely physical, functioned as a beacon for the heroine who would overcome the arbitrariness of her life's course. What appeared fortuitous, at first, was but "reason hidden from her sight," resulting in the means to overcome tyranny. For just such suffering and conquest, as Regio's nurse recognizes, heroes and heroines are made. By maintaining their stoic belief in an inner virtue, Lucretia, Collatine and Brutus defy an irrational Fortune.

Shakespeare was no less aware than his predecessors of Lucretia's position in the historical past. He, too, includes Troy[187] as part of her story, but how he treats this element is revealing of a different conception of Lucretia's dilemma. Shakespeare's ambivalent attitudes

toward her death and toward the causes for the destruction of Troy originate in a relative code of behavior rather than a system of absolute morality -- the code of honor. Though a climate of exemplary virtue is preserved in the first half of the poem, as the suicide draws near, the heroine begins to doubt the value of this "senseless reputation" for which she dies. Juan Pastor had chosen to treat the dubious premises of "honorable actions" in a comic manner, through the medium of the bobo; Shakespeare chose the tragic.

"The Rape of Lucrece,"[188] though part of the "complaint" tradition, is closer in technique to its dramatic predecessors, especially Filleul's Lucrèce, than might appear at first glance. The poem combines the use of dramatic devices[189] -- the evocation of mood, the description of gestures, the emotional interaction between Lucrece and her maid -- with a taste for emblematic and mythological decoration and resplendent rhetoric.[190] Scant attention is paid to the events of the legend, which is more than made up for by the lengthy development of loci communes, particularly the uneasy relationship between virtue and fortune and the nature of lust. Instead of the familiar choral form, though, "Lucrece is made to be the chorus to her own tragedy."[191] Yet, characteristically, Shakespeare was not content, as Filleul had been, to confine his version of the legend to this semi-dramatic, semi-rhetorical treatment. His "Lucrece" is myriad-minded; for every point of view expounded, there is its counterpart. Augustine, the humanists, the classical historians, the contemporary English attitude, are all included.[192] (See Appendix II for a discussion of these sources.) A pattern of contradiction, of paradox, is also borne out in the imagery, the metaphors and complex periphrases, the classical allusions

and long episodic sentences. Part of this contradictory pattern is expressed in Sextus (called Tarquin in the poem) who, for the first time in the legend, is given as much weight if not as much sympathy as the heroine.

The poem begins "in medias res" with Tarquin's ride to Collatia. The details of the plot are provided in a prose argument, essentially a paraphrase of Livy and Ovid,[193] which precedes the poem proper. Several points in the argument do not coincide with the later development in verse, a discrepancy which has variously been attributed to a different author for the argument and to a lapse in time between an early outline and the creation of the poem.[194] Shakespeare, though, was clearly not interested in "facts" in this work; historical explanations and the political consequences of the rape are practically nonexistent.[195] Instead, he sharply contracts the focus of the legend, dwelling on the process of Tarquin's decision, the rape itself, and Lucrece's reaction.

"Lucrece" consists of roughly two halves. The first leads up to the rape and is principally an exploration of the nature of evil; the second contains Lucrece's long, internal debate on the nature of virtue. The voice in the first half is Tarquin's, who begins by enumerating the causes of his lust -- Lucrece's beauty, envy of Collatine's fortunate position, and the latter's foolish boasting:

> Or why is Collatine the publisher
> Of that rich jewel he should keep unknown
> From theivish ears, because it is his own? (33-5)

Yet his lust is not strong enough to silence his doubts over the decision to rape Lucrece even after he enters her bedchamber, for this Tarquin, unlike his predecessors, has a conscience. In debating

the immorality of his intent to sully "that which is divine," he considers the restraining effects of his reputation as a soldier, the demands of the code of chivalry, the degradation of his posterity,[196] the betrayal of a kinsman and friend, the destruction of a marriage:

> What win I if I gain the thing I seek?
> A dream, a breath, a froth of fleeting joy.
> Who buys a minute's mirth to wail a week,
> Or sells eternity to get a toy? (211-14)

Though he finally yields to physical temptation, to his fear of cowardice ("Pain pays the income of each precious thing" 334), to his ambition and to the lure of chastity itself[197] -- all standard motives for his self-defeat -- his debate marks him as a victim of his own passion for the first time. Shakespeare has been accused of creating nothing more than a symbol of purest evil in the figure of Tarquin, but if we compare his admission of helplessness to the attitudes of his predecessors, we find a new note of humanity:

> I have debated even in my soul,
> What wrong, what shame, what sorrow I shall breed;
> But nothing can affection's course control,
> Or stop the headlong fury of his speed.
> I know repentant tears ensue the deed,
> Reproach, disdain and deadly enmity;
> Yet strive I to embrace mine infamy. (498-504)

When he begins to pray to the gods for their aid in consummating his desire, he is checked again by his self-conscious horror:

> The powers to whom I pray abhor this fact;
> How can they then assist me in the act?[198] (349-50)

Yet Regio's Tarquin had not only appealed to the gods, but had pointed to Zeus, in his many amours, as an example for his own conduct. Shakespeare's prince, though, acts less from pride than from physical desire, and his recognition of the irreversible nature of his act is based on his one overriding preoccupation -- reputation.

No other Tarquin gave the weight of his fears to his reputation; this was always Lucrece's main concern. Shakespeare's Tarquin realizes not only that he will lose his good name (which previous authors had assumed he had lost even before he raped Lucrece) but that the dishonor will be physically visible and ineradicable, a physical corruption similar to the one Lucrece will suffer. Thus, his thoughts themselves produce a tangible blot:

> And die, unhallow'd thoughts, before you blot
> With your uncleanness that which is divine; (192-3)

his face reflects it:

> Then my digression is so vile, so base,
> That it will live engraven in my face. (202-3)

as does his shield:

> Yea, though I die the scandal will survive
> And be an eye-sore in my golden coat;
> Some loathsome dash the herald will contrive. (204-6)

The physical nature of dishonor is still uppermost in his mind when he pleads with Lucrece to yield to his desire; his appeal is to her family's reputation:

> Then for thy husband and thy children's sake,
> Tender my suit; bequeath not to their lot
> The shame that from them no device can take,
> The blemish that will never be forgot,
> Worse than a slavish wipe or birth-hour's blot:
> For marks descried in men's nativity
> Are nature's faults, not their own infamy. (533-9)

Lucrece makes her appeal to him in the same terms:

> To privilege dishonour in thy name,
> Thou back'st reproach against long-living laud,
> And mak'st fair reputation but a bawd. (621-3)

The physical pressure of "brain-sick rude desire" is too much for his weak spirit; "My heart shall never countermand mine eye " (276), but though Lucrece's beauty makes Tarquin forget his good name for the moment, as soon as the violation is completed he is again assailed by guilt. This reaction is unusual in the Lucretia tradition but is

in keeping with Shakespeare's conception of the prince as a victim of his own passion. He is described as bearing "the burden of a guilty mind," leaving the bedchamber "like a thievish dog," he "hates himself for his offence...sweating with guilty fear":

> He runs, and chides his vanish'd loath'd delight.
> He thence departs a heavy convertite (742-3).

As Shakespeare's own creation, Tarquin's actions are more compellingly unified than Lucrece's, and lead him inexorably to the guilt and remorse of his final appearance. Indeed, Kenneth Muir calls him "in a sense, the first of Shakespeare's tragic heroes,"[199] not from grandeur of spirit or knowledge gained by his transgression, but through his suffering and the consciousness of the power his evil nature has to dominate him. Tarquin feels the full horror of his decision which in effect has unravelled his life and this realization leads to his self-loathing.

Lucrece, in this first half of the poem, is in contrast to Tarquin little more than a symbol, an emblem of chastity. She is Chaucerian in her innocence and her supernatural virtue, "This earthly saint adored by this devil." (85) Her modesty and purity, characterized by the heraldic pattern of red and white in her face ("This silent war of lilies and of roses" 71) are the metals of "this cold flint" from which Tarquin's burning desire hopes to strike a spark. Shakespeare continues to describe her beauty, which dazzles Tarquin as he contemplates her by the light of his torch, in lengthy conceits of sensual (particularly visual and tactile) and combat images.[200] The contemplated rape is compared to a siege, with Tarquin, the foot soldier, preparing

to loot Lucrece's inner temple, a conflict later reinforced by her contemplation of another siege, that of Troy. Meanwhile, Tarquin, on his way to her bedchamber, has found he had to battle with all of nature to reach his goal. His "primal sacrilege" includes inanimate objects: the locks and doors screech in protest, the wind blows out his torch, the needle placed in Lucrece's glove pricks him.[201] Whether by painted figures or by a needle, the battle is being joined everywhere.

Lucrece is awakened by the pressure of Tarquin's hand on her breast. Among Tarquin's appeals to her is a warning on the effect that the taint of adultery will have on Collatine:

> So thy surviving husband shall remain
> The scornful mark of every open eye (519-20)

and a way for her to avoid it:

> The fault unknown is as a thought unacted.
> A little harm done to a great good end
> For lawful policy remains enacted. (527-9)

Though she will have none of this, her first thoughts after the rape also turn to Collatine and how best to hide her dishonor. She knows she is not practised enough to "cloak offenses with a cunning brow" (749), that the night is too treacherous to hide her infamy, that the physical proof of unchastity is as clear as Tarquin knew his dishonor was to be:

> Yea, the illiterate that know not how
> To cipher what is writ in learned books,
> Will quote my loathsome trespass in my looks. (810-12)

The scene between Lucrece and the messenger, who blushes from "bashful innocence," confirms for her the physicality of her dishonor:

> The more she saw the blood his cheeks replenish,
> The more she thought he spied in her some blemish. (1357-8)

What finally convinces her, though, that her"case is past the help of law" (1022) is not the destruction of her chastity, but the wrong done

to Collatine: Feast-finding minstrels tuning my defame,
Will tie the hearers to attend each line,
How Tarquin wronged me, I Collatine. (817-19)

It is here that Lucrece calls her good name "that senseless reputation,/ For Collatine's dear love be kept unspotted." (820-1) F.T.Prince, in his edition of "Lucrece," proposes three possible meanings for "senseless": "unfelt," "free from sensuality," and "based on hearsay."[202] The latter meaning is the most likely, given what follows. There is a fourth possibility, however, which the Oxford English Dictionary dates as early as 1579: "Proceeding from lack of sense or intelligence, foolish. Also, without sense or meaning; unmeaning...." The Dictionary notes that both of these shades of meaning are usually found together. Lucrece might well be referring to the emptiness of her good name, since she fears the malice of "the illiterate," "the orator," the "feast-finding minstrels" but never once casts doubt on her own virtuous nature. She has lost the physical proof of chastity only. Throughout her laments, she will chide the weakness of her body in not defending her better, but never her spirit. When Tarquin consummates the rape, he must smother Lucrece's cries in her bedclothes. It would seem from this that she was conscious and had resisted him, though later in the poem there are suggestions that she had swooned. (11.1266-7)[203]

She goes on to examine the paradox of her situation, which is in essence Collatine's unavoidable shame. She calls her dishonor a "crest-wounding private scar," referring at the same time to the family crest and to the horned head, the emblem of cuckoldry. As the blot of adultery will appear on his shield (the blot that Tarquin had foreseen on his own), so "Reproach is stamp'd in Collatinus' face." (829) It was only her weakness, she assures herself, which allowed her chastity

to be stolen by force, though now that it is gone she, like her predecessors, finds "no perfection of my summer left" (837):

> Yet am I guilty of thy honour's wrack;
> Yet for thy honour did I entertain him:
> Coming from thee I could not put him back,
> For it had been dishonour to disdain him. (841-4)

Yet she does not readily accept her own death for another's transgression. In her apostrophe to Opportunity, Lucrece rails against the vulnerability of virtue, the impure nature of all that is good.[204] For all the extenuating circumstances surrounding her defeat, "This helpless smoke of words doth me no right:/The remedy indeed to do me good/Is to let forth my foul defiled blood." (1027-9)

The separate nature of physical virtue (honor) and spiritual virtue (honesty) is Lucrece's final realization, and the one that gives her tragic stature. She does not so much act the tragic figure as she does explain the tragic paradox, which gives the poem its diffuse, static character, but in spite of her wordiness, she is the first in the tradition of the legend to question the reason for her punishment. Shakespeare had taken pains to point out that for all of Tarquin's physical honor (his unspotted crest), he was totally lacking in honesty (spiritual virtue). The reverse is now true of Lucrece; in metaphor after metaphor. her physical corruption is made clear (her loss of honor) while the spiritual purity of her mind is defended (her honesty). Her body is variously "the guiltless casket," "the weak hive," "my sable ground of sin," "her sacred temple spotted, spoil'd, corrupted,/ Grossly engirt with daring infamy," "this blemish'd fort."

As she debates the wisdom of her decision to kill herself,

> So with herself is she in mutiny,
> to live or die which of the twain were better (1153-4).

Utilizing his knowledge of prior versions of the legend, Shakespeare has Lucrece begin by mentioning Augustine's objection, that to commit suicide would pollute her soul. She replies in her defense that her physical corruption would in any event destroy her soul:

> Ay me, the bark pill'd from the lofty pine
> His leaves will wither and his sap decay;
> So must my soul, her bark being pill'd away. (1167-9)

She also appeals to several of the arguments which Bandello (via Coluccio) had included: the desire to restore her fame through a glorious death, the need for an irrefutable witness to her shame, her fear that she might bear Tarquin's child. Thus, Lucrece is made to bear both sides of a debate which had traditionally been between her and her husband. When she writes to him, she again is reminded of the dubious position of her "honesty" when it exists separated from her "honor". She dare not reveal everything in the letter, "Lest he should hold it her own gross abuse,/ Ere she with blood had stain'd her stain'd excuse" (1315-6) and decides to confront Collatine personally "the better so to clear her/From that suspicion which the world might bear her." (1320-1) She turns to a "skilful painting" of the Trojan war to "mourn some newer way" and even here she finds honor at war with honesty.

There has been much speculation on the origin of this painting and Shakespeare's purpose for including it in the poem.[205] D.C. Allen brings up a common allegorical use of Troy in the Renaissance which Shakespeare might well have had in mind. Troy was often visualized as the corrupt body which had to be destroyed for the soul (Aeneas) to escape. In the same way, Lucrece destroys her body to allow her pure soul release; indeed, she equates her body with Troy:

> ...As Priam him [Sinon] did cherish,
> So did I Tarquin, -- so my Troy did perish. (1547-8)

Troy has also been equated with feminine honor by none other than Shakespeare in Troilus and Cressida.[206] The city's honor, as it lacks the element of chastity, is in peril of destruction. In Troilus, Hector, a symbol for the absolute value of honor, wants Helen to return to the Greeks but yields to the arguments of Paris and Troilus, in spite of their contravention of reason and order.[207] Thersites rejects the reason for the war as a "whore and a cuckold." (II, iii, 70) Lucrece also denounces the cause of the battle:

> Show me the strumpet that began this stir,
> That with my nails her beauty I may tear!
> Thy heat of lust, fond Paris, did incur
> This load of wrath that burning Troy doth bear;
> Thy eye kindled the fire that burneth here,
> And here in Troy, for trespass of thine eye,
> The sire, the son, the dame and daughter die. (1471-77)

She then questions that honor, the code which demanded the deaths of so many:

> Why should the private pleasure of some one
> Become the public plague of many moe?
> Let sin alone committed, light alone
> Upon his head that hath transgressed so;
> Let guiltless souls be freed from guilty woe (1478-82).

It has been suggested that Lucrece is questioning in this passage the doctrine of original sin,[208] but if we examine it in a social rather than a Christian context, keeping in mind that the Troy of her doubts is in fact her own body, we find her question to be, "Under what law is my virtue, which is intact, to be punished for existing in an impure shell and under what law does my husband suffer for it?" In the same way, why should Troy be punished for harboring two impure creatures? She finds a similar split between body and mind in the flattering form of Sinon. He, as Tarquin, was "armed to beguild/With outward honesty, but yet defil'd/With inward vice." (1545-7)

In the closing scene with Collatine, after she described how her

"honour is ta'en prisoner by the foe" (1608), she begs him to look past "her poison'd closet" to her spotless mind:

> O teach me how to make mine own excuse (1653).

Collatine cannot answer; shock and grief stop his voice. He is "the hopeless merchant of this loss" and his reaction provokes Lucrece both to ask for revenge and still to plead further her cause:

> ..."O speak," quoth she:
> How may this forced stain be wip'd from me?
> What is the quality of my offence,
> Being constrained with dreadful circumstance?
> ...
> May any terms acquit me from this chance?
> The poisoned fountain clears itself again,
> And why not I from this compelled stain?" (1700-3, 1706-8)

She hears them confirm her innocence, but turns away with "a joyless smile." She is robbed of the heroic death that is afforded those who die only for virtue, for her death is also to salvage her husband's reputation and her own, her honor rather than her honesty. Her pleas for an alternative to suicide contrast with the pathetic assertion made when she first came to the decision she must die: "For me, I am the mistress of my fate." (1069) Her physical corruption is confirmed after she stabs herself, when two rivers of blood flow from the wound, one tainted black, the other pure red.[209] Once her physical purity, which is as one with her honor, was lost, she had no other recourse.

What, then,does Brutus' evaluation of the suicide do to her decision to choose honor above honesty?

> Is it revenge to give thyself a blow
> For his foul act by whom thy fair wife bleeds?
> Such childish humour from weak minds proceeds;
> Thy wretched wife mistook the matter so,
> To slay herself that should have slain her foe. (1823-7)

The view that women, being weaker than men, are apt to commit folly has been expressed earlier in the poem. Shakespeare admits to her weakness:

> For men have marble, women waxen minds,
> And therefore they form'd as marble will;
> The weak oppress'd, th' impression of strange kinds
> Is form'd in them by force, by fraud, or skill. (1240-3)

Her sorrow is as "fond and testy as a child." (1094) In all her weakness, though, she never admits blame for herself, only for that force which corrupted her:

> ...O let it not be hild
> Poor women's faults,that they are so fulfill'd
> With men's abuses! those proud lords to blame
> Make weak-made women tenants to their shame. (1257-60)

Yet no one praises her courage or her virile nature after her death. Except for Lucretius' and Collatine's laments, the only comment offered is by Brutus. This is partly due to the Augustinian censure of her decision. Don Cameron Allen agrees that Lucrece exhibits a dual nature, and that the Christian point of view is evident in her realization that suicide pollutes the soul, in her physical corruption made evident by the two rivers of blood, in the blame she thrusts on her body for not better defending herself and in Brutus' final statement.

While Allen sees the tragedy of her decision in a strictly Christian context (to live without guilt or to die by Tarquin's hand) and her main dilemma to be only peripherally concerned with honor,[210] if we accept the latter as the dominant motive for her actions, we can agree with Kenneth Muir that herein lies an even greater tragedy:

> It was not fear of death that made her give up the struggle, but fear for her reputation after death. When one considers the high value set by the Elizabethans on reputation, and also that this story would be more damaging to her husband than her actual rape, one can see that in the circumstances Lucrece's duty was not clear, even if she had been in a position to think clearly.[211]

The separation of honor from virtue was a hotly debated question

in Shakespeare's time.[212] For those who would defend honor as a reflection of an unwavering inner virtue, Lucrece's decision is indeed childish. Yet we have seen women play a special role when questions of honor arise, usually because their honor was identical to chastity and depended upon the latter's protection, rather than any decisive action on their part. Lucrece, as a faithful wife, realizes that her honor and life are also identical to Collatine's, a realization which he repeats after her death:

> "Woe, woe," quoth Collatine, "she was my wife;
> I ow'd her, and 'tis mine that she hath kill'd." (1802-3)

With her world falling apart around her, she does not appeal to an heroic death in defense of her fame; she dies with resignation, not pride. Is chastity worth self-slaughter? Even with a change from Christian to social premises, the answer is ambiguous. The conflict of honor and honesty would preoccupy Shakespeare again, in Othello's recognition of himself as an "honorable murdered,"[213] and perhaps Ulysses's words, in Troilus, best express what Lucrece might have said if she had been one of the later heroines, and not the emblematic figure frozen in gorgeous conceits:

> Perseverance, dear my lord,
> Keeps honour bright:
> ...
> Take the instant way,
> For honour travels in a strait so narrow,
> Where one but goes abreast:
> ...
> ...Let not virtue seek
> Remuneration for the thing it was;
> For beauty, wit
> High birth, vigour of bone, desert in service,
> Love, friendship, charity, are subjects all
> To envious and calumniating time. (III,iii,150-1, 153-5, 169-74)

(187) The Trojan legend was often used, historically, to legitimize the claims of Europeans to classical ancestry. It is not surprising that Shakespeare, as had Regio, would connect Troy with a legend on the inception of the Roman republic. The Lucretia legend provided many histories with their first "firm" date -- 509 B.C. See Denys Hay, Europe:The Emergence of an Idea (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1957), pp. 48 ff., 108 ff. and C.A Patrides, The Grand Design of God (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), pp. 105 ff.

(188) The poem was first entered as "The Ravyshement of Lucrece" on May 9, 1594. It was not until 1616, when Shakespeare's name first appeared on it, that it received its present title. The popularity of the poem was such that it went through four editions in Shakespeare's lifetime and eight before 1640. I have used the Arden edition of the Poems for all quotations, edited by F.T. Prince (1960; rpt. London: Methuen, 1969).

(189) "At every turn both its technique and its predominant concerns betray the hand of a poet whose preoccupations are basically those of a dramatist." Harold Walley, "'The Rape of Lucre' and Shakespearean Tragedy," PMLA 76, pt. 2 (1961), p.480. Prince calls the poem's technique "semi-dramatic, semi-rhetorical." (op.cit., p. xxxvi) See also the analogies Prince draws between the poem and the plays, particularly Macbeth and Cymbeline (Iachimo's penetration of Imogen's bedchamber) on p. xxxviii and my footnote in Chapter I, number 8.

(190) Shakespeare played to the Elizabethan fondness for rhetorical bombast, overloaded methaphors, and classical references, to the point where Walley calls the poem one of the most studied works in Shakespeare's oeuvre. (op.cit., p.480) Indeed, Douglas Bush calls the poet "old-fashioned" in his delight and use of apostrophes, sententiae and epigrams. See his Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1932), p.153.

(191) William Shakespeare, The Poems, ed. F.T. Prince (London:Longmans, Green, 1963), p.15. This is not the same edition as the Methuen, cited above.

(192) Critics agree on the breadth of his knowledge of the legend. See D.T. Starnes and Ernest Talbert, Classical Myth and Legend in Renaissance Dictionaries (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955), p.125; Kenneth Muir, "The Rape of Lucrece," Anglica (Osaka) 5, no.4 (April 1964), p.39; Tolbert, op.cit., who did not know of Galinsky's study but includes all the sources mentioned by the latter. There is a later study than Tolbert's on recent scholarship concerning "Lucrece" which I have not seen: Robert DiGiovanni, Shakespeare's "Lucrece": A Topical Evaluation of and Supplement to the Scholarship and Criticism since 1936, Diss. University of Michigan, 1971. See also Geoffrey Bullough, Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare (1957; rpt. New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), vol.1.

(193) Shakespeare was probably working from an annotated edition, such as Paulus Marsus' edition of Ovid which included comparisons to Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, among others.

(194) Tolbert, op.cit., p.503 and Wilhelm Ewig, "Shakespeare's 'Lucrece'," Anglia XXII (1899), pp. 11-13 support the different author thesis. For the alternative of an early outline, see E.A.J. Honigmann, The Stability of Shakespeare's Text (London: Edward Arnold, 1965), p.45.

(195) Specific political consequences of the rape are confined to the last two stanzas of the poem, though there is a general commentary throughout on the proper role of a ruler. E.P. Kuhl believes that Shakespeare meant to warn his political contemporaries through Tarquin's conduct. There was a prior tradition in English historical writing of comparing Tarquin's Rome to England after the civil wars of York and Lancaster. What limited political commentary there is in the poem was seized upon by his readers. See Kuhl's "Shakespeare's "Rape of Lucrece'" in Renaissance Studies in Honor of Hardin Craig, ed. Baldwin Maxwell, et al. (1941; rpt. Folcroft, Pa.: Folcroft Press, 1969), pp. 160-8.

(196) For a foreshadowing of Tarquin's misgivings, cf. Richard Robinson's Rewarde of Wickednesse (London: William Williamson, 1573), n.p. Tarquin speaks: "I cleane forgot myselfe, and eke from whence I came,/I rather thought myselfe a God then mortall man...all my posteritie aye evermore decayes."

(197) The provocativeness of chastity is mentioned as Tarquin rides to Collatia: Haply that name of 'chaste' unhapp'ly set
This bateless edge on his keen appetite. (8-9)
Cf. Measure for Measure II, ii, 168-70:
...Can it be
That modesty may more betray our sense
Than womans' lightness?...
Shakespeare also dwells on the powerful physical effects of Lucrece's beauty which ultimately compel Tarquin to the rape. "There is an obvious effort to make palpable the extraordinary, powerful effects of beauty seen at close quarters and to note the fresh, erotic attraction of Lucrece's fragile purity." Robert Montgomery, "Shakespeare's Gaudy: The Method of the 'Rape of Lucrece'" in Studies in Honor of Dewitt T. Starnes, ed. Thomas Harrington, et al. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1967), p.26.

(198) Cf. Macbeth II,ii,30-32; he also cannot pray before he commits his crime: But wherefore could not I pronounce,
Amen?
I has most need of blessing, and Amen
stuck in my throat.

(199) Muir, op.cit., pp.26-7. The emptiness of lust and the sudden depression which follows its satisfaction is found in Ovid, Ars Amatoria 413-16. This is the first time it appears in the Lucretia legend, though, in connection with Tarquin's reaction.

(200) Eric Partridge indicates other works by Shakespeare in which battle imagery is used with a sexual connotation in Shakespeare's Bawdy (New York: Dutton, 1960). The comparison of war and sexual assault was quite common; cf. George Pettie's Sinorix and Camma: "Neither would I you should count mee in the number of these cowardly souldiours, which at the first Canon that roareth, give over the siege of the citie they assaulted...so to win the bulwarks of your breast I count it a more ritche booty then Caesar had...." Cf. A Petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure, ed. Herbert Hartmen (1938; rpt. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1970), p.21. I am indebted to Tolbert for pointing out the many striking parallels in imagery and content between this story and "Lucrece".

(201) Just as spinning was a symbol of feminine virtue for the Romans (Chapter I, footnote 8), so the needle and thread played a similar role for the sixteenth century. Martha Golden attributes the popularity of this symbol, among others, to the Elizabethan love of emblematic representation in The Iconography of the English History Play (Diss. Columbia, 1964). A common sign for evil was a darkened stage, usually indicated by the lighted torch. When Tarquin extinguishes his torch before the rape, the Elizabethan reader was also reminded of the fleeting nature of human life and happiness:

> This said, he sets his foot upon the light,
> For light and lust are deadly enemies" (673-4).

See Golden,pp. 205 ff. On the emblematic nature of the poem, see A.C.Hamilton, The Early Shakespeare (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1967), pp. 181 ff. and M.C. Bradbrook, Shakespeare and Elizabethan Poetry (London: Chatto & Windus, 1951); the latter stresses the heraldic basis of much of the imagery. Robert Montgomery cites the quality of "primal sacrilege" in Tarquin's offense.(op.cit., p.27)

(202) Prince, Methuen edition, op.cit., p.105, footnote to 1.820. Cf. also Oxford English Dictionary, op.cit., vol.9, p.460.

(203) Though Prince concludes that Lucrece did not faint during the rape, Shakespeare leaves it unclear. The line

> That dying fear through all her body spread;
> And who cannot abuse a body dead? (1266-7)

seem to point to a period of unconsciousness. Yet Lucrece also berates her nails for not repelling her attacker. Since Shakespeare knew various versions of this scene, it is possible that he desired to show several points of view: how it appeared to Lucrece (that she too readily yielded), to Tarquin (that he had to physically subdue her) and to her defenders (that she fainted). Tolbert attributes these discrepancies to the possibility of an earlier version of the poem, later revised. Walley (op.cit., p. 484) compares her initial reaction after the rape to Ophelia's and Desdemona's; in their numbness and desire for flight and secrecy, they share "a sense of contamination and irretrievable loss, the horrified despair of a fatal commitment which they can neither cancel nor escape."

(204) The tone of the poem, in contrast to the heroic realizations on the continent, is aptly characterized by Montgomery as one of moral pessimism; "that what is innocent and admirable is engaged in struggle and subject to peril and eventual defeat." (op.cit., p.30) Cf.

> Why should the worm intrude the maiden bud,
> Or hateful cuckoos hatch in sparrows' nests?
> ...
> But no perfection is so absolute
> That some impurity doth not pollute. (848-9, 853-4)

For an alternate view of the poem, see Bickford Sylvester, "Natural Mutability and Human Responsibility: Form in Shakespeare's 'Lucrece'," College English 26, no.7 (April 1965), pp.505-11. Sylvester argues that the pattern of the poem is from order disrupted to order restored. I find little evidence for this; even the establishment of the republic is subject to the same precarious balance between good and evil, and Shakespeare treats it in such an off-hand manner, that it does not really form an important part of the poem.

(205) Bush suggests, as possible inspirations for the use of a painting in the lament, Aeneas' description of the Trojan scene in Dido's palace (Aeneid 455-93) and the passage in Daniel's Rosamund when she receives an ornamented casket, "an obvious clue for Shakespeare's psychological handling of the story." (op.cit., p.151) For conjectures on whether Shakespeare was referring to an actual painting or tapestry, see Arthur Fairchild, Shakespeare and the Arts of Design, University of Missouri Studies 12, no.1 (January 1937), pp. 140 ff. and Lytton Sells, The Italian Influence in English Poetry (London: Allen & Unwin, 1955), p.208. Shakespeare also compared Rome to Troy in Titus Andronicus V, iii, 85-7:

> Tell us what Sinon hath bewitched our ears,
> Or who hath brought the fatal engine in
> That gives our Troy, our Rome, the civil wound.

(206) Paris speaks of the defense of Helen's honor and that of Troy's in one breath: But I would have the soil of her fair rape
Wip'd off in honourable keeping her. (Troilus II,ii,158-9)
See Alex Aronson, Psyche and Symbol in Shakespeare (Bloomington,Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1972), pp. 68 ff. for a discussion of the use of Troy in Troilus. Shakespeare did not enter the play in the Registers until 1603, but was probably at work on it as early as 1593. D.C. Allen discusses the Troy allegory in "Lucrece" in "Some Observations on the 'Rape of Lucrece'," Shakespeare Survey XV (1962), pp. 94 ff.

(207) Hector argues against the power of honor:

> But value dwells not in particular will;
> It holds his estimate and dignity
> As well wherein 'tis precious of itself
> As in the prizer: 'tis mad idolatry
> To make the service greater than the god (Troilus II,ii,53-7)

but succumbs to it in the end:

> Life every man holds dear, but the dear man
> Holds honour far more precious-dear than life. (V,iii, 27-8)

In Pettie's Sinorix and Camma, the latter, after she had rejected Sinorix, debates the value of honor, always equating it with chastity: "What is that honoure whereon I stand so stifly, shall it not rather increase mine honour to have so honourable a servaunt? And what is that chastity which I seke so charily to keep, do not some men say that women alwaies live chastly inough, so that they live charily inough,...Is not the losse of goodes lesse, then of one good name? Is not an honourable death to bee preferred before an infamous life?...." (op.cit., pp.26 and 29)

(208) See Robert Adger Law, "Shakespeare in the Garden of Eden," University of Texas Studies in English 41, p.38; Hamilton, op.cit., p.178 and D.T.Starnes, "Geoffrey Fenton, Seneca and Shakespeare's 'Lucrece'," Philological Quarterly XLIII, no.2, (April 1964), pp.280-3. An extreme example of a Christian interpretation of the poem is found in Roy Battenhouse, Shakespearean Tragedy: Its Art and Its Christian Premises (Bloomington,Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1969). Battenhouse believes that Shakespeare (and Chaucer) "were not admiring Lucrece's moral excellence but, instead, the esthetic excellence of her vanity and of her feminine virtuosity in self-deception." (p.385) Prince attributes much of Lucrece's moralizing to Shakespeare's inexperience and the subject itself: "The subject sufficiently accounts for the painful, half-real and half-unreal, oppressiveness of the poem; since the poet's vision is itself nightmarish, he has perhaps found a true equivalent for it in the clotted fancies, the agonizingly insistent cleverness of the long 'metaphysical' tirades. (p.xxxvii)

(209) Elizabethan medical theory included the belief that male seminal fluid mixed with uterine fluids during intercourse, "permanently to change a woman's physiology." Cf. Sylvester, op.cit., p.510 and also Comedy of Errors II,ii,143-7:

> I am possess'd with an adulterate blot;
> My blood is mingled with the crime of lust:
> For if we two by one and thou play false,
> I do digest the poison of thy flesh,
> Being strumpeted by thy contagion.

(210) Lucrece's problem "has something to do with honour, but it is also concerned with a total estimate of chastity on a higher level." (Allen, op.cit., p.92) Yet not once does this higher value of chastity satisfy any of her doubts. Muir (op.cit., p. 30) specifically disagrees with Allen: "The choice for Lucrece is not a simple one between death and dishonour, but between death and apparent dishonour on the one hand, and life and secret dishonour, on the other."

(211) Muir, op.cit., pp.37-8.

(212) Cf. Pettie's conclusion to his Sinorix (op.cit., pp.37-8): "And can the preservation of one simple womans chastitie countervaile all these confusion?...But it is naturally incident to women to enter into extremities..." Yet he cannot condone her suicide completely: "She with reason might have

prevented great mischiefe, his wings were to mutch limed with lust to fly forth of his folly." (p.39) For a good summary of the major issues on honor being debated during Shakespeare's time, see Norman Council, When Honour's at the Stake (London: Allen & Unwin, 1973), chapter 1.

(213) The same realization that strikes Lucrece, that under civilization there lies wilderness and outward honesty hides inward vice, is Othello's:

> But why should honor outlive honesty?
>
> ...
>
> An honourable murderer, if you will;
> For nought I did in hate,but all in honor. (V,ii,245, 294-5)

CHAPTER V: LUCRETIA DEFENDED AND LUCRETIA BURLESQUED: THE AMBIGUOUS THOMAS HEYWOOD

Thomas Heywood's Rape of Lucrece, published only 14 years after Shakespeare's poem (and probably written several years before that[214]), appears to share very little with the earlier work. Shakespearean imagery and apostrophes, reflections of the tormented characters of Tarquin and Lucrece, are submerged in an entirely new setting, directed toward a different audience and toward different ends. The legend itself accounts for less than half the play, which encompasses Livy's chronicle from the Tarquin usurpation of the throne (I, 46) to the final defeat of their armies (II, 13). In addition to a broadening of the scope, Heywood holds his play together less with Lucrece's personal tragedy than with a portrait of the rise and fall of Machiavellian rulers, a portrait meant to serve a didactic purpose. The illustration of domestic and civic virtue and corruption in the actions of the principal characters is combined, most surprisingly, with a strong note of coarse humor, heard for the first time since Pastor. The total effect of this combination of incongruous elements makes for an unusual development in the history of the Lucretia legend.

The bawdy songs and sexual allusions, as well as the anachronistic references to contemporary English bourgeois life and morals, found their way into the play, according to most critics,[215] through the demands of Heywood's audience. The drama was written for performance at the Red Bull, a theater which catered to a lower class of patrons, what Boas calls "the low brows."[216] J.A. Symonds sums up general critical opinion by designating the play "the most striking instance

of the licence with which the poets of the time were forced to treat their subjects for the sake of the gallery."[217] Behind this "comic opera" facade there also lies Heywood's desire to popularize history, in this case the rise of the republican form of government in Rome.[218]

Lucrece, however, is in many respects an atypical piece in Heywood's oeuvre. It is not a domestic tragedy, his favorite genre, though it is a much domesticated and anachronistic version of the legend. It is his only drama to end in bloodshed, and the only one where a virtuous woman is punished by death. Grivelet considers it an "impasse" in Heywood's dramatic development.[219] What is typical of the dramatist is his pronounced ethical and didactic inclination which led him to seize upon Lucrece as an exemplum of virtue incarnate. Much of Heywood's defense of the theater against Puritan attack was founded on its capacity for moral edification and instruction:

> ...playes have made the ignorant more apprehensive, taught the unlearned the knowledge of many famous histories, instructed such as cannot reade in the discovery of all our English chronicles..."[220]

as well as patriotism and eloquence. Whatever vices he portrayed were defended in their capacity "to terrifie men from the like abhorred practices" and thus deserved to be as graphic as possible to emphasize God's vengeance. The explicitness of much of the moralizing in Lucrece was perhaps due to the need to counterbalance the humor.

There is no hint of comedy in Heywood's later references to the rape. In his Gunaikeion or Nine Bookes of Various History Concerninge Women (1624), Lucretia appears twice. In Book 9 (Of women ravished) he connects the rape to the downfall of tyranny and in Book 3 (On modesty) he praises her courage:

> Livie, Florus, Plutarch, and others, speaking of the wonder of Roman chastitie, Lucresse, accuse fortune, or nature of errour, for placing such a manlie heart in the breast of a woman...because she would not live a by-word to Rome, nor preserve a despoiled body for so noble a husbands embrace...."[221]

Indeed, Heywood has been singled out among the writers of his time for his favorable attitude toward women. Clark notes that the debate over feminine virtue was more than usually violent in England during this period,[222] and Heywood deliberately alters the events of the legend to include this issue in his play. He has the arch-villain, Sextus Tarquin, represent the misogynists and the hero, Brutus, represent the philogynists. His sympathies are clearly with the latter. Yet can his use of humor in the legend by solely attributed, then, to his compliance with the audience's wishes, without regard to its effect on his heroine? An examination of the changes Heywood makes in the presentation of the rape and of who enacts the comic roles may provide an alternative explanation.

The four principal historical events which Heywood chose to dramatize were the murder of Servius and the usurpation of the throne by the Tarquins, the predictions of the oracle, the wager during the siege of Ardea and the ensuing rape and suicide of Lucretia, and the final battles which established the republic. The scope of this "chronicle-history" demands a larger number of characters than had been necessary in prior version -- nineteen all told. Along with the expected figures, Heywood includes Servius (king of Rome), Tarquin the Proud and his wife, Tullia (parents of Sextus), Aruns (Sextus' brother), Horatius Cocles, Mutius Scevola,[223] Pub. Valerius (all nobles of Rome), Porsenna (general of the Latins), his secretary, a priest of

Apollo, two sentinels, Myrabile (Lucretia's maid) and Pompey (Lucretia's clownish servant). After a brief defense on Heywood's part of his decision to publish the play (not for profit, but to correct errors in unauthorized versions),[224] the action begins with Tullia urging Tarquin to overthrow her father, Servius, and seize the throne. Comparisons to Lady Macbeth are inevitable.[225] Tullia is insanely ambitious, proud and bloodthirsty, even more monstrous than Lady Macbeth when she has her coachman run over her father's body.

> I am no wife of Tarquins if not King:
> Oh had Iove made me man, I would have mounted
> Above the base tribunals of the earth,
> Up to the clouds for pompous soveraingty.
> ...
> Lets lave our brows then in that crimson flood,
> We must be bold and dreadlesse: who aspires,
> Mounts by the lives of Fathers, Sons, and Sires. (96-9, 115-17)

The Machiavellian intrigues of the Tarquins are reflected in the cynical attitudes of the citizens of Rome. Valerius claims that even if Servius were to be overthrown, he will remain a good citizen: "in this I will best shew myselfe to be one, to take part with the strongest. If Servius orecome, I am Liegeman to Servius, and if Tarquin subdue, I am for vive Tarquinius." (164-7)

Brutus, who is feigning madness to save his life, mocks the fools he finds in the Senate and demands to be heard as a noble of Rome:

> ...for what I seeme to be,
> Brutus is not, but borne great Rome to free.
> The state is full of dropsie, and swollen big
> With windie vapors, which my sword must pierce,
> To purge th'infected blood, bred by the pride
> Of these infested bloods... (219-24)

No one, of course, takes him seriously, and after a brief scene in the Senate, Scevola slays Servius.[226] Tullia's rejoicing is so blatant that it prompts Lucretius, the father of Lucretia, to say:

"should my Lucretia/Be of this pride, these hands should sacrifice/ Her blood...." (294-6) Scevola and Horatius are more practical, though, and submit to Tarquin since Fortune has seen fit to grant him success. Brutus, left alone, debates with himself this sudden change of power, a debate which echoes the questions Shakespeare's Lucrece had posed:

> Iove art thou just; has thou reward for pietie?
> And for offence no vengeance? or canst punish
> Fellons, and pardon Traitors?...
> this makes poore Brutus mad,
> To see sin frolique, and the vertuous sad. (378-80,386-7)

Yet these words are now said from frustration rather than despair; Brutus bides his time for his revenge, secure in the knowledge that it will fall on the Tarquins.

Aruns and Sextus invite Brutus to the oracle, where they go to unravel the meaning of their father's dream. After some initial hesitation, during which Brutus brings in a theme found in all versions of the Lucretia legend -- the treachery of Fortune toward the great[227] -- he asks after Collatine. Sextus replies that the latter cannot go: "Collatine is troubled with the common disease of all new married men, he's sicke of the wife, his excuse is forsooth that Lucretia will not let him goe...." (430-2) This same Collatine, meanwhile, is at a loss to explain why Valerius will only speak in song, why Scevola insists on merriment. He finally decides they put on a merry humor "for safety, and to arme them against the pride of Tarquin." (634-5) Heywood has introduced up to this point two new elements in the legend -- Collatine's infatuation with Lucretia, and the restless discontent of the nobles, which forces them to assume an attitude to protect their lives. He now introduces a third new element, the clown, Pompey. In his bantering with Collatine, he refers to many details of contemporary

English life:[228] "The Senators are rich...credit grows cheap, and traffick dear...." (664-5) He ends with a joke on servants and mistresses, which will bear on later attitudes toward the rape: "I marry sir, the way into her [Lucretia] were a way worth following, and that's the reason that so many Serving-men that are familiar with their Mistresses, have lost the name of Servitors, and are now called their masters followers." (687-90)

The oracle has predicted that he who kisses his mother first will rule Rome and while Aruns and Sextus plot against each other, Brutus falls to the earth, the first mother, and kisses it. Back in Rome, Tullia elaborates the Machiavellian principles which support the Tarquin reign:

> Tar: ...we obtained/Our state by cunning, it must be kept by strength. (802-3)
> Tullia: Kings are as Gods, and divine Scepters beare,
> The Gods command for mortall tribute, feare. (816-7)

They plot alliances through marriage of their children and the continuance of their house through their heirs.[229] These same children return from the oracle, Aruns succeeds in kissing Tullia first, and Sextus swears revenge.

Brutus finds all of Rome's nobles at odds; none can bear Tarquin's tyranny, but neither can they agree on a course of action: "I can laugh with Scevola, weep with this good old man [Lucretius], sing 'oh hone hone' with Valerius, fret with Horatius Cocles, be mad like my selfe, or neutrize with Collatine." (969-72) The latter, though, defends their deception behind "harmeles sports" until the opportunity presents itself for action. Valerius takes up this suggestion to sing some bawdy songs and Brutus applauds his "disguised" frivolity. Indeed,

he even encourages it, urging Valerius to sing of all the women in Rome, from "lascivious Flora to the chastity of divine Lucrece...."[230] (1076) It is on this cue that Lucrece enters with her maid and the clown. She scolds them for improper behavior, accuses the clown of stealing a kiss and making lascivious suggestions to Mirabile, all of which the clown denies while making suggestive puns at every opportunity. Lucrece will not be put off. She assures them that she speaks not from hearsay, but from her own observations: "my reputation...shall be no shelter to the least intent of lossenesse...." (1112-3) Heywood takes pains to emphasize Lucrece's prudence and caution in this invented scene and continues to emphasize these qualities throughout the drama.

Collatine enters in the next scene with Valerius, Scevola and Horatius. They report on Sextus' ruse with the Gabii,[231] which Valerius applauds because it adds to the burden of revenge which the Tarquins must bear. He then sings a merry song on fishing, and one for the clown on how to choose a good woman, enumerating the beauty, chastity and thrift which Lucrece will display in good measure. The scene shifts to the Senate. Tarquin and Porsenna are discussing the planned siege of Ardea and the former defies fate: "we are of our selfe/ Without supportance." (1364-5) Tarquin has now reached the pinnacle of pride, and the time is ripe for his fall.

Heywood now proceeds to dramatize the wager at camp, the rape and the suicide. We hear the grumblings of the soldiers on watch over the comfortable life of their commanders and see the same at a feast.[232] Valerius provides a bawdy song in a Dutch dialect, Brutus urges everyone to drink, and Collatine prudently refuses too much beer; "their vaporous strength offends me much." (1444) Horatius' reference to

Collatine's infatuation with Lucrece provokes Sextus to say, "What's Lucrece but a woman, and what are women/But tortures and disturbance unto men?" (1447-8) He mocks his friends' trust in their wives "honesty"[233] and assures them that if well fed and left to their own devices, they will pursue "what they most desire." (1484) Brutus defends women by attributing frailties only to some, not the whole sex:

> The purest oare containes both Gold and drosse,
> The one all gaine, the other nought but losse.
> The one disgrace, reproch, and scandall taints
> The other angels and sweet featur'd Saints. (1493-6)

Collatine, believing he would wrong Lucrece if he did not stand up for her, suggests a wager to try the most "vertuous" and even specifies the prize, "a rich horse and armour." All agree, with Sextus eager to be the judge in order to gloat over what he is sure they will find. He leaves the army in Brutus' charge before they ride to Rome. Heywood is the first dramatist to portray the wager scene. Along with the familiar drinking songs and the realistic bickering of the nobles, he has changed two important details. Collatine is not drunk with the others as in all prior versions. His pride in Lucrece's virtue must be attributed to the infatuation of a newlywed, an infatuation which had been remarked on twice, by Sextus and Horatius. Heywood has also dramatized the debate over feminine virtue, in which Lucrece was always involved, in the figures of Sextus and Brutus. Sextus' admitted contempt for women will play an important role in his seduction of Lucrece.

The next scene provides Lucrece's self-definition of a good wife, much as Pastor had her lecture her maids:

> We must be carefull, and with providence
> Guide his domestick business...for it fits
> Good huswives, when their husbands are from home,
> To eye their servants labours, and in care,
> And the true manage of his household state,...
> Since all his business he commits to me,

> Ile be his faithfull steward till the Camp
> Dissolve,...." (1535-6,1545-8,1550-2)

Yet unlike any previous Lucrece, this matron has adopted the values of bourgeois morality, which placed good property management among the highest virtues.[234] Her caution for her good name is again emphasized in an invented incident, this time in an invitation extended to her by a Lord Turnus to supper. Lucrece refuses with the explanation, "To please a loving husband, Ile offend...my dearest friend,...Wives should not stray/Out of doors their husbands being away." (1557-8, 1564-5) Heywood, as noted by Holaday,[235] favored these precepts of good conduct in other works; he has added to the Lucrece of legend a remarkably material cast of mind and sober disposition.

Sextus, in awarding the prize to Lucrece, praises her virtue and her beauty, since we now discover the wager was to depend on both.

> Col: I commit my Lucrece holy to the dispose of Sextus.
> Sex: And Sextus commits him holy to the dispose of Lucrece. (1630-1)

After this bit of dramatic irony, Valerius interrupts the action once again with a song on feminine frivolity, contrasting with Lucrece's final homily on the duty to respect a king's command: "But subjects must excuse when kings claime power." (1697) The tempo of the action increases when Sextus, instead of returning to camp with the others, claims a need to return to Rome on business. He offers to greet Lucrece on Collatine's behalf, and the latter gives him a ring to deliver to her, at which point Sextus promises himself "And in this gift thou dost thy bed betray." (1725) The momentum is lost just as rapidly, however, when Valerius sings two more bawdy songs to pass the time on the journey to camp.

Lucrece, more cautious than she had ever been portrayed, assures Sextus that without the ring she would not have allowed him to enter, thus negating the criticism often levelled against her that she too readily accepted the king's son and also sealing Collatine's complicity in his own misfortune. Pastor, the only other dramatist to use such a device, had Collatine write a letter.[236] As they dine, Sextus' passion grows greater: Her modestie hath such strong power ore me,...
That it appeares a kinde of blasphemy,
T'have any wanton word harsh in her eares...
Oh impious lust, in all things base, respectles and unjust!
Thy virtue, grace, and fame, I must enjoy,
Though in the purchase all Rome destroy. (1804,1806-7,1819-21)

He tries to get her drunk, without success, as she fears setting a bad example for the servants and neglecting her household duties. This is spoken in much the same sober way as was Collatine's refusal of more drink. It is now given to Sextus to pronounce the central paradox of Lucrece's position which had tormented the Shakespearean heroine: "hath the grandame world/Yet smothered such a strange abortive wonder,/That from her vertues should arise my sinne?" (1847-9) He even goes through a brief period of doubt, but after mentioning the possible destruction of his position, "the revenge of noble and the contempt of base" (1941-2), he yields to his lust and attributes his desire to fate.[237] Heywood pays tribute to Shakespeare's Tarquin in this debate, but without evoking the horror that the poet had. This Sextus is too base to stimulate sympathy; his past treachery as detailed in the play forces us to consider him as a one-dimensional symbol of evil in spite of his hesitation. His primary concern is a loss of power, not the loss of his reputation, as accords with the Machiavellian principles which control his actions.

To make sure the audience understands who is to blame for the coming disaster, Lucrece begins to worry what the "world" might say of her feasting in Collatine's absence: "This Ring speaks for me...without/ this from his hand, Sextus this night could not have entred/...My dores the daytime to my friends are free,/But in the night the obdure gates are lesse kinde." (1861-3, 1865-6) She has a foreboding of evil and commits her "chastitie and honour" to Jove's protection. The following scene appears gratuitous at first. The clown speculates with the servants on why the prince has dismissed them from his presence. His speculations are comic and suggestive, but Heywood had by this device answered another favorite objection to Lucrece's virtue -- why she did not call for help. They all very pointedly go off to bed and are therefore nowhere near their mistress when she is attacked.

In excuse of her lack of resistance, prior authors had singled out her initial confusion upon being confronted with Sextus. Heywood dramatizes this by having Lucrece think Sextus is really Collatine returned from the camp. She calls upon this "dreame" to disappear, and it is only after repeated exhortations by Sextus that she realizes what is happening. Her first reaction is to scream, which is smothered in the pillows by Sextus (another instance borrowed from Shakespeare). He threatens her with death, with loss of bruial privileges, and finally with adultery. Lucrece at first pleads for mercy for her "uncraz'd honour;"[238] "marre not that/cannot be made again: this once defilde,/Not all the Ocean waves can purifie/Or wash my staine away...." (2025-8) When Sextus persists, for the first time in the legend Lucrece openly chooses death; "then make my name foule, keepe my body pure." (2035) He carries her off stage, still pleading for mercy,

and in the interim we hear the clown and Sextus' servant complain about the early hour Sextus has chosen to leave Collatia.[239] There follows another new addition to the legend, and one which separates Heywood's Sextus from Shakespeare's without doubt. He and Lucrece speak after the rape, when he tries to placate her with the assurance that as long as she remains silent, her fame is without blemish. When she runs from him, he figuratively shrugs his shoulders:

> No? peevish dame farewell, then be the bruter
> Of thy owne shame, which Tarquin would conceale,
> I am arm'd gainst all can come, let mischiefe frowne,... (2101-3)

There is none of the remorse suffered by Shakespeare's Sextus, no hint of the indelible blot to his name which caused his predecessor so much grief.

The scene returns to the camp before Ardea, with Valerius' songs of tender love and of praise for Lucrece's beauty ironically in contrast to her miserable state.[240] Collatine has a foreboding of sorrow which quickens when the clown delivers Lucrece's letter summoning him home. Along with Brutus, Valerius, Horatius and Scevola, he leaves camp, not without the silly comments of the clown. Horatius begins to suspect that an opportunity might have presented itself "that may beget revenge" and in his "happinesse" he begs Valerius to sing again. When they try to discover from the clown the reason for Lucrece's letter, he claims he has been sworn to secrecy. He agrees to "sing" of his suspicions, and the following merry catch is the principle reason for at least one designation of the play as a "dramatic monster."[241] The three of them sing merrily of the rape and then exit.

This is the last note of humor we hear in the play, even though it is far from over. The revenge and the battles over Rome are played in strict seriousness. Lucrece laments to Mirabile on the indifference

of the gods: ...Oh why
Suffer you such inhumane massacre
On harmless vertue?...Is it my fate above all other women?
Or is my sinne more hainous then the rest,
That amongst Thousands...onely I, should to this shame be borne,
To be a staine to women, natures scorne? (2358-60,2365-9)

The maid weeps and then blushes, taking on the part Shakespeare had the groom play. Lucrece sees in her blush the reflection of her own guilt, "my blot, my scandall, and my shame" (2382); "Being no more a woman, I am now/Devote to death...."(2389-90) Collatine and his friends enter, and after they swear revenge at her demand, Lucrece describes the violation:

My reputation mangled, my renowne
Disparaged...And though my thoughts be white as innocence,
Yet is my body soil'd with lust-burn'd sinne,
And by a stranger I am strumpeted.... (2429-30,2434-6)

Brutus, the champion of women, quickly assures her that if she was forced, she bears no sin, for "A woman's borne but with woman's strength." (2440) Lucrece blames her downfall on Collatine's ring and on the threat of adultery; "this, this, oh princes, ravisht/and kil'd me at once." (2463-4) Heywood appears to revert to the original version of the legend here, where Lucrece submitted to Sextus without a struggle, even though in the rape scene itself she struggles until the end. This ambiguity, similar to Shakespeare's, is the more surprising in that Heywood so carefully arranged the circumstances surrounding Lucrece's loss of honor to be as favorable to her as possible.

Collatine, using Brutus' argument ("for what could/Lucrece doe more then a woman?" 2465-6), adds his own by assuring her that if she had not submitted, she would have wronged her good name and would have cheated them out of their revenge! Lucrece is satisfied that their revenge will wipe out the stain of dishonor, but to prove to them that

"We are the same in heart we seeme in show" (2487), she vows to punish her body and show the world that her life is less to her than "her honor'd fame." After she stabs herself, there is no reaction from Collatine or Lucretius, no time wasted on mourning. Brutus immediately plans revenge, urging them to turn their grief to wrath, and they bear the body to the market place to enrage the crowd.

The rest of the play deals with the successful revolt against the Tarquins. Sextus warns the nobles that treason against kings is a sin against heaven, but Valerius vows that "thy shame shall be eternall and out live her fame." (2568) Aruns, echoing Sextus' misogynistic attitude, questions their outrage: "Say Sextus lov'd her, was she not a woman,/I, and perhaps was willing to be forc'd,/Must you being privat subjects dare to ring/Warres loud alarum gainst your potent king?"(2569-72) Porsenna even accuses Brutus of treason. Horatius and Valerius bring to their defense the Tarquins' other tyrannies, not willing to rest the revolt on the rape alone. Horatius and Scevola prove their extraordinary courage[242] and all dedicate the final battle to Lucrece's "innocent bloud."

Heywood invents a series of scenes to depict the death of the Tarquins. Tullia refuses Tarquin's plea for her escape; she at last thinks on her honor. Calling Collatine a "cuckold" she dies with her husband. Horatius slays Aruns, which leaves only Sextus alive. He continues to scorn Fortune, boasts of the rape, and finally challenges Brutus to single combat.[243] Brutus accepts and Sextus pauses for one moment of regret:

> To ravish Lucrece, cuckold Collatine,
> And spill the chastest blood that ever ran
> In any Matrons vaines, repents me not
> So much as to have wrong'd a gentleman
> So noble as the Consull in this strife. (2942-6)

...

Though my blood fall, my spirit shall mount on hie. (2955)

Brutus dies along with Sextus, Collatine becomes the next consul of Rome, and Porsenna sues for peace. Collatine concludes the play with "Iove be our guard and guide,/That hath in us veng'd Rape, and punisht pride."[244](2988-9) Heywood appended two songs to the end, one a description of contemporary London thinly disguised as Rome, and the other a bawdy romp where the woman initially refuses a man entry and then begs him to return, thus reinforcing the tone of what Holaday calls a true "variety show."[245]

The new aspects which Heywood introduced into the Lucretia legend -- the debate over feminine virtue dramatized, the assimilation of middle class values in the portrait of the heroine, and the Machiavellian character of the political climate -- all bear on the problem of chastity and suicide. The debate in Lucrece is not the one which Coluccio, Lydgate and Bandello argued -- should Lucrece die for having lost her honor? Rather, Heywood portrays an unbelievably virtuous heroine, without any of the flaws which Pastor had mocked, and presents instead the differing points of view over woman's inherent capacity for virtue (i.e., chastity). As we have seen, doubts over Lucrece's choice of death over dishonor have always rested upon a ready willingness to suspect feminine nature, but the legend had not been connected so explicitly to misogynistic propositions until Heywood. Both he and Pastor consider Lucrece a strumpet in fact if not in spirit, but there is none of the complicity and weakness in her character, nor is there any hint of humor in her portrait in the English play as there was in the Spanish. Thus, we hear Horatius and Sextus deride Collatine's "infatuation" (invented by Heywood), Sextus' doubts regarding a woman's

ability to resist "that which they most desire," his cool attitude after the rape and his distinction between reputation and virtue, his taunts, and Tullia's, over Collatine's cuckolding, Sextus' final boasting over the rape, Aruns' surprise over the vehemence of the nobles' revenge, especially their placement of a woman's honor over their duty to their king. Valerius, in his songs, reminds us constantly of the devious, frivolous ways of woman, giving us a picture of popular opinion. Indeed, his songs please the nobles to such an extent that Brutus, that champion of women, begs him to continue, "for I divine thy musique and my madnesse are both short liv'd." (2115-6)

Lucrece blames herself not at all for her downfall;[246] Heywood has invented the perfect excuse, Collatine's ring, to defend her against suspicion. Yet the gibes of Sextus, Aruns and Valerius cast women in the role of "natural" whores. This is not an unusual opinion, as we have seen in Pastor's drama, and was still very much in favor in the dramas of this period. Esdras (Nashe's The Unfortunate Traveller, 1594) tells the chaste Heraclide before he rapes her: "thou are a whore, thou shalt be a whore."[247] Valentinian (Beaumont and Fletcher, 1610-14) tells Lucina she is "made to ravish,/(There were no pleasure in you else,)...So bred for man's amazement."[248] And Valerius makes merry with the same kind of implied representation of woman's true desires:

> That crafty girle shall please me best
> That No, for Yea, can say,
> And every wanton willing kisse
> Can season with a Nay. (1022-5)

or

> Some love the rough, and some th'smooth,
> Some great, and others small things,
> But oh your lecherous Englishman
> He love to deale in all things. (1767-70)

and, of course, the catch sung after the rape.

Set against this popular, pervasive image of the woman/strumpet, there are Brutus' brief words of defense and Lucrece herself. She does not succeed, however, in stirring our sympathies, having returned to the role of an animated emblem. Heywood took the rules for the good wife which he found in the manuals and gave them to Lucrece to recite. The most striking addition to her collection of virtues is her concern for work. She had always been portrayed as industrious, ever since Livy described her working wool, but the Puritan insistence on industry as the way to repel idle vanity coupled with the "gospel of work, one of the most significant articles of the bourgeois dogma,"[249] makes the prudent management of her household an overriding concern. This and her cautious conduct to preserve her good name protect her from the very suspicions which Sextus and Aruns voice about her virtue. Far from being an "absurd fidelity to the letter of the law," as Holaday describes her caution,[250] her conduct is the only possible course in the context of her predicament. Heywood is the most careful of all the dramatists to ensure Lucrece's innocence -- he invents Turnus' invitation and her refusal, her chastisement of Pompey for improper behavior, her sobriety, the incident of the ring, and an explanation for the lack of servants near her bedchamber -- and even implies, during the rape scene, that Lucrece did not yield to the threat of adultery. Yet he omits one virtue for which she had been unanimously praised by her defenders -- her heroism.[251] No one mentions her "manly courage" after the suicide; indeed, the strongest argument against suicide offered by Brutus is an appeal to her weakness as a woman! Perhaps Lucrece's reference to her heart ("that you may crowne my innocence/

With your best thoughts, that you may henceforth know/ We are the same in heart we seeme in show" 2484-6) is not only to furnish proof of her pure spirit, but of her heroic stance before death.

The irony of Lucrece's ruin falls less within her personal tragedy, the injustice of her punishment, than within the naiveté of her political thought. For Heywood's Lucrece is first and foremost a drama and chronicle of political intrigue in spite of its title. The only character who obeyed all the rules, both those of personal and civic conduct, who even preached obedience to the king, was destroyed, while those who practiced deception and plotted against authority when the opportunity offered itself, triumphed. Seen against the broader political background, Lucrece's rape and death are greatly diminished in importance, functioning as a convenient catalyst for revolt, in much the same way Machiavelli himself had referred to it:

> Non fu adunque cacciato costui per avere Sesto suo figliuolo stuprata Lucrezia, ma per avere rotte le leggi del regno e governatolo tirannicamente, avendo tolto al Senato ogni autorità e ridottola a sé proprio....E se lo accidente di Lucrezia non fosse venuto, come prima ne fosse nato un altro, arebbe partorito il medesimo effetto: perché se Tarquinio fosse vissuto come gli altri re, e Sesto suo figliuolo avessi fatto quell' errore, sarebbono Bruto e Collatino ricorsi a Tarquinio per la vendetta contro a Sesto, e non al Popolo romano.[252]

Heywood carefully portrays the growing unrest of the nobles, masked as it is by bawdy songs and "harmless pastimes," which explains (though does not excuse) the eager anticipation displayed by all the nobles at the hint of some bad news. Here is the opportunity they have all been waiting for, the fulfillment of divine justice:

> Bru: Lucrece, thy death weele mourne in glittering armes
> And plumed caskes...

> ...see this day
> In her cause do we consecrate our lives.
> And in defense of Justice now march on. (2522-3, 2796-7)

Thus Lucrece accuses the gods of abandoning her, especially since she had consecrated her virtue to their care before the rape; yet Brutus and the other nobles acclaim this opportunity given to them by the gods for revenge.

Heywood confines his humor to the roles of Brutus, Valerius and the clown, allows no real political satire, and abandons all comedy in the resolution of the struggle between tyranny and liberty. In contrast to Pastor's clowning, which either functioned as a hidden social satire or existed as an extraneous element in the plot (and especially poorly integrated in the figure of Lucrece), Heywood tried to integrate the motivation for humor with the frustrations and caution of the nobles. That many of the songs serve to sever the mood and momentum of the drama is witness to his failure to raise this humor above the level of mass entertainment. Yet he is consistent in the object of his derision and Lucrece's chaste conduct appears as a striking anomaly in her world. Of the two other female characters, Tullia is inhumanly evil and Mirabile has allowed Pompey to steal a kiss. Brutus expounds on the natural weakness of women and urges Valerius to continue his bawdy songs; Pompey jokes about the prevalence of sexual relations between mistress and servant; Sextus attributes lust as an inherent characteristic of a woman's nature. For the first time in the legend, we hear not only the popular opinion of a raped woman, but that of the nobility. Aruns sees nothing unusual in forcing a woman to respond to his brother's "love". Perhaps most revealing is the taunt flung at Collatine by Tullia

and Sextus, that of "cuckold". Collatine's role is much reduced in this play; the heroic acts are left to Brutus, Scevola and Horatius. The position of dishonored husband was apparently considered by Heywood as one that did not lend itself easily to an heroic posture. Grivelet also observes that while reparation can be made on the political level, "la ruine de l'épouse est complète, sa chute san rémission."[253] Collatine's virtuous nature is distinguished, as well, by its naiveté. He at first cannot understand why his fellows insist upon feigned merriment, refuses to drink to excess, yet is more implicated in his wife's rape because of his ring than ever before. It is left to Brutus to carry the standard of Roman virtue.

Is, then, this Lucrece a parody of the legend? The humor has been attributed to Heywood's anxiety to please the crowd of the Red Bull and even as a natural reaction to insupportable tragedy.[254] Much of it is purely clownish, insuring the popularity of his play and vying with the tragedy in importance. A possible partial explanation of the role which comedy plays in Lucrece can be found in the opposing views of women, a debate which permeates the first two-thirds of the play. Heywood's invention of Sextus' misogyny and Brutus as the champion of woman, as well as his elaborate defense of Lucrece's submission clearly point to his awareness of the issue. He gave the crowd the popular view of rape and adultery, but not without a strong countercurrent for the defense. There is no hint, either, of Augustinian censure regarding the suicide, none of the kind of accusations which Pastor made. Indeed, an honorable death is presented as a particularly Roman way to achieve glory, even ennobling Sextus and Tullia in their last moments. The humor is, instead, completely directed to the loss of

chastity and public dishonor. The uniform seriousness of the last third of the drama, with Brutus, the defender of women, ultimately triumphant, is in my opinion sufficient evidence for Heywood's underlying moral intent; the crowd had their fun, but the final message is clear. This Lucrece is not, in the end, "puta y necia," but has proved by her example that "les vertus civiques nécessaires à l'État national se fondent sur les vertus proprement domestiques...."[255]

All of Heywood's caution in presenting a Lucrece carefully adhering to a strict code of conduct did not prevent one Grendon John from seizing upon the issue of suicide to condemn her. At the end of the 1608 edition of the play he penned in: "Thus ended is the rape of fayre Lucrece/Rebuke and shame hath Tarquin, Rome hath peace,/ But though some men commend this Ad Lucretiam/She shewd her selfe in't (for all that) no good Christian/Nay ev'n those men y seame to make y best ont/Call her a Papish good, no good Protestant."[256] John Quarles, whose poem "Tarquin Banished" was published in the 1655 edition of Shakespeare's "Lucrece," also brings in the suicide: "so had poor Lucrece [killed herself], blameable in nothing but that she was the Author of her own death."[257] Quarles, however, adopts Heywood's image of Tarquin rather than Shakespeare's:

> Since she is dead, the thing that grieves me most
> Is this, to think my spirits cannot boast
> Of more enjoyments....[258]

The debate over Lucretia's virtue was not dampened in England, in spite of Shakespeare's and Heywood's favorable attitudes. It was still of such lively interest that George Rivers, after presenting his version of the legend in The Heroinae (1639), included an afterword which presented arguments for and against Lucretia's virtue. Rivers

relies heavily on Shakespeare's poem for the characters of Tarquin and Lucretia, yet he does add some novel touches. Rome is depicted as the seat of pride and luxury run riot; Lucretia admits she cannot expect mercy from Collatine because she has tainted his blood with her own. Her suicide is explained as resulting from "her soule too pure for her bodie, disclogg'd it selfe of clay"[259] and Collatine adds that her life was loathsome to her. He also calls her rape the dishonor of the whole nation. In the argument which follows, her suicide is defended as proof of her innocence, the reaction of an untainted, heroic mind. "For a Roman to outlive honour was dishonourable, for her to survive her infamie, was to act it."[260] Here Rivers no longer attributes her decision to the fame and glory of the ancients, but to "honor": "Honour chased the Tarquins out of Rome; but Lucrece out of life. To wipe off all thought of guilt which maligne censure might imprint upon the act,...then Lucrece...sacrificed her selfe, as well to the state, as to her innocence."[261] There is no mention made of her enduring fame. Since honor was thought to reside in the opinions of others and to be visible only in actions,[262] Lucrece was forced to choose death to redeem her reputation.

The section "Contra Lucreciam" relies heavily upon Augustine, especially upon speculation regarding her secret guilt. Even if she was innocent, Rivers, turning the argument on honor around, avers "She then did sacrifice her life to her honour...Her vertue was more debased by being enslav'd to common praise, then her selfe to carnall delight."[263] Honor, then, turns into a two-edged sword; women are exhorted on the one hand to put regard for their good name above all else, and, on the other, to ignore "the sharpest touch of tongue."[264]

This same tinge of Augustinian censure pervades a poem which relies most heavily of all the above works on Shakespeare's. Thomas Middleton composed a lament, "The Ghost of Lucrece" (1595-1600),[265] which ostensibly continues where Shakespeare ended. Using the same rhyme royal, he has Lucrece's ghost ascend from Hell, where she abides with Tarquin and Philomela. The overriding tone is one of outrage at monstrous vice, but an outrage abstracted from a particular situation. Middleton is more interested in the censure of the violation of chastity, kinship and friendship than in Lucrece's special predicament. Don Cameron Allen agrees that while "superficially appearing to recognize the problem, Middleton fails to understand the ultimate lesson of Shakespeare's poem."[266] The Christian censure of her suicide overwhelms her chastity, though Middleton does not speculate on the purity of the latter. He is content to present her reaction to shame as a warning, "For lust and blood are mingled in one lamp/To seal my soul with Rape and Murder's stamp." (27-8)

In her lamentations, Lucrece presents herself as a strumpet. Her language is more violent than we have witnessed in other versions:

> Thou art my nurse-child, Tarquin, thou art he!
> Instead of milk, suck blood, and tears, and all! (78-9)

She blames the innocence and unsuspecting nature of her chastity ("Thou art beset with millions of deceits;/Thy eyes have leaden lids, thy take no care" 142-3) and bewails its punishment:

> The Tyr-ant with his force of luxury
> Tires me an aunt through imbecility. (181-2)

(That is, he attires her in the costume of a whore through her weakness.) She wears "flam'd habiliments"; Adams notes that strumpets commonly wore red.[267] The comparison of her unsullied virtue to the Golden Age and

her downfall to the Iron Age, so important to Filleul and Regio, is used by Middleton.[268] Yet she herself has now turned into an image of lust, "prefigured in my Ghost, drawn in my mind" (381) and dwells with Tarquin on the banks of the Phlegethon: "He, murd'ring me, made me my murderer." (343)

Though Middleton seems to be censuring her suicide, we find out in the latter part of the poem, as she writes an epistle to Tarquin, that she is barred from Heaven because of the loss of chastity: "The want of thee made my ghost reel to hell!" (450) Vesta becomes a "sanctifying saint," "Divinity's priest," and in the most affecting part of the poem,Lucrece begs her to visit her soul again:

> O, touch my veins again, thou blood divine
> O, feed my spirit, thou food angelical,...
> Come silver dove, heaven's alabaster nun,
> I'll hug thee more than ever I have done. (491-2,496-7)

She confirms her state of non-being, the state to which all women revert as soon as they lose their defining virtue, and returns to Hell:

> ...Acheron's bells begin
> To call our ghosts clad in the spirits of sin.
> Now Tereus meets with ravish'd Philomel,
> Lucrece with Tarquin, in the hall of hell! (536-9)

In the Epilogue, Middleton again explains Lucrece's sins:

> Now stain'd by death, before by ravishments,
> First Tarquin-life clad her in Death's array;
> Now Tarquin-death hath stolen her life away. (54-6)

Chastity's struggle for self-preservation was a favorite topic of Middleton's. In his Micro-cynicon, written shortly after "The Ghost of Lucrece," sexual depravity and lust are presented as "the ugliest manifestation of spiritual dereliction,"[269] with the insidious ability to appear fair to the innocent. Tarquin-Lucrece situations occur in several of his plays,[270] but his later heroines, according to

Holmes, display an "independent moral competence" which Lucrece lacks. Indeed, "innocent" for Middleton did not always mean "virtuous," but could also signify "naive" or "half-wit." Lucrece's punishment lies between the perversion of Tarquin's spirit and her too defenseless susceptibility.

Thus, Shakespeare and Heywood, while providing England in the seventeenth century with its two principal treatments of the Lucretia legend, did not succeed in imposing their own views of the heroine's dilemma. Shakespeare's praises were easily counterbalanced with Augustine's censure; Heywood's humor found no imitators. The other literary tradition which found comic aspects in the legend -- the "Lucrecia-necia" fashion in Spanish drama -- was also to produce a major play on the rape in the seventeenth century, but, characteristically, Rojas Zorrilla was to react against it, presenting a heroine who was a model of virtue.

(214) The date of composition of The Rape of Lucrece has generally been put at 1607, the year before it was published. However, Allan Holaday argues for a much earlier date, with 1594 being the most likely year. He conjectures that this early version was taken on tour to the continent by Robert Browne, an actor, and upon his return, in 1607, Heywood revised the play to include passages borrowed from Macbeth and Julius Caesar, as well as several of the songs. Part of Holaday's evidence rests on Drayton's mention of a Lucrece drama (see Appendix II), on Heywood's reference to a "stranger that lately acted Valerius," to whom the songs are attributed, on the inflated and artificial style of the play which belongs to an early period in Heywood's development, and on such speculations as the warning in ll.834-8 regarding the need for an heir to the throne, which was topical in the 1590's but not by 1607, when James was already king. Of particular interest is Holaday's comparison of a German play on Lucrece, performed at Strassbourg, in 1599, which he claims is a German translation of Heywood's. Galinsky (op.cit., p.102) discusses the German play without connecting it to the English version. Holaday concludes, "Shifting the date of composition to 1594 explains the extravagance of expression, the rhyme, the plagiarizing of Shakespeare's poem, the patchwork structure, which indicates revision, and the puzzling allusions, particularly that of Drayton...." See his edition of Lucrece (which I have used for this chapter) in Illinois Studies in Language and Literature vol.34, no.3 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1950), p.19. For an opposing view, see Michel Grivelet, Thomas Heywood et le drame domestique élizabéthain (Paris: Didier, 1957), p.369 and Arthur Melville Clark, Thomas Heywood (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1931), p.47. The play was popular enough to go through five editions in Heywood's lifetime, but the edition generally accepted as definitive, and the one which includes all the songs, dates from 1638.

(215) "The Rape of Lucrece was definitely a popular presentation of a classical plot for the Red Bull audience, to whom symmetry, restraint, form, congruity were less intelligible than sentiment, tragical speeches, ribaldry...." Clark, op.cit., p.220. Clark, who cites Heywood as the most compliant of all dramatists of his time with the demands of the public, calls Lucrece a classical tragedy grafted to a native interlude. Raymond Alden calls his use of humor "the nadir of the Elizabethan refusal to keep tragedy and comedy asunder." See "The Use of Comic Material in the Tragedy of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries," Journal of English and Germanic Philology 13 (1914), p.285.

(216) Frederick Boas, Thomas Heywood (London: Williams & Norgate, 1950), p.55.

(217) Symonds wrote the introduction to the edition of Heywood's works by A. Wilson Verity (London: Unwin, 1888). This quote is from p. xxiv.

(218) See Louis B. Wright, "Heywood and the Popularizing of History," Modern Language Notes XLIII, no.5 (May 1928), p.287.

(219) Grivelet, op.cit., p.179. He notes that the role of fate makes Lucrece the most classic and least domestic of his works. Otelia Cromwell also calls it atypical of Heywood's style, as it lacks the double or epical plot structure. See her Thomas Heywood (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1928), p.117.

(220) Thomas Heywood, An Apology for Actors, 1612 ed. (London: Shakespeare Society, 1841), p.53. Cf. also Clark, op.cit., p.76: "literature [for Heywood] was primarily an affair of didacticism."

(221) Thomas Heywood, Gunaikeion (London: Adam Islip, 1624), p.126. This work,another treatise entitled The Exemplary Lives and Memorable Acts of Nine the Most Worthy Women of the World, and the treatment of his female characters in his plays gave Heywood the reputation of a defender of women. See Clark, op. cit., p.95. For all his admiration for Lucrece, though, she is omitted in his chapter on chaste wives in the Gunaikeion. She is also absent from the Exemplary Lives, though he does praise the Roman custom of funeral orations for modest matrons, "to animate and encourage the living, who by imitating their exeellent endowments and departments, might be partakers with them in their obituall prayses and extolments...." (London: Tho. Cotes for Richard Royton, 1640), p.2)

(222) Clark, op.cit., pp. 95 ff. enumerates the many treatises for and against women, particularly after 1615 and Joseph Swetnam's virulent attacks. Wright also remarks upon the violence of the debate and Heywood's position as an advocate of feminine virtue, as well as the latter's emphasis on "the necessity of a strict standard of conduct between the sexes" in his plays. See Louis B. Wright, Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England (rpt. 1935; Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1965), p.644.

(223) Calling Mutius "Scevola" is only one of the many anachronisms Heywood includes in Lucrece. Mutius only received the name Scevola after he lost his left hand in the battle against Porsenna, an event which occurs long after the rape at the end of the play. Heywood did not hesitate to alter Livy's narrative to better dramatize the legend. He has Sextus initiate the ruse on the Gabii, without the aid of his father; he has the oracle scene precede the ruse instead of following it; Sextus is not slain by the Gabii, but by Brutus. He also does not include all the events Livy recounts, but leaves out the Tarquin plot against Turnus and the treaty with the Latins.

(224) This was probably not true. The theaters of London had been closed from at least July, 1608 until December, 1609, putting dramatists in a very precarious financial position. Clark speculates that Heywood published Lucrece, among other plays, for monetary benefit. There are no act or scene divisions and the actions shifts from Rome, to the oracle at Delphi, to the

battlefield at Ardea and back. The time lapse is left purposely indefinite, as Heywood is condensing 25 years of Tarquin rule into one play. Thus, the Roman army engages the Tuscans immediately after the flight of the Tarquins; Heywood omits the siege found in Livy.

(225) Shakespeare, along with Livy, are Heywood's primary sources for the legend. Holaday points out parallels between Lucrece and several of Shakespeare's plays, particularly Macbeth (in the figures of Tullia and Tarquin, in the invocation of night by Sextus) and Julius Caesar (the forum scene, the character of Brutus) in the notes to the play. He also observes, "in the scenes covering episodes treated by the poem [i.e., Shakespeare's "Lucrece"], his imagery, phraseology, and even his characters are as faithfully copied from Shakespeare as are those in his earlier 'Oenone and Paris'." (op.cit., p.11) I cannot agree with Holaday's final point; Heywood's Sextus is far removed from Shakespeare's tortured sinner and his Lucrece suffers none of the agony of the paradox of honor and honesty which is found in the poem. Besides the above two sources, there are echoes of Painter, Ovid, Dionysius in the play. There is a strong possibility that Heywood was using an annotated edition of Livy or a compendium which included various versions of the legend. Clark points out that he was fond of compendia, such as those of Ravisius Textor, and Starnes, in Classical Myth... (op.cit., p.225) cites his use of Cooper's Thesarus and Stephanus' Dictionary. (See Appendix II)

(226) The dialogue preceding Servius' death is a good example of the dialogue Heywood invents to dramatize the legend:

Tar: In Tarquins name, now Romes imperiall Monarch,
We charge thee Servius make free resignation,
Of that archt-wreath thou hast usurpt so long.
Tul: Words worth an Empire.
Hor: Shall this be brookt my Soveraigne:
Dismount the Traytor.
Sex: Touch him he that dares.
Hor: Dares!
Tul: Dares.
Ser: Strumpet, no childe of mine.
Tul: Dotard, and not my father.
Ser: Kneele to thy King?
Tul: Submit thou to thy Queene. (264-76)

(227) Cf. Brutus, ll. 405 ff.: "I had rather live an obscure/blacke, then appeare a faire white to be shot at, the end of all/ is, I would live: had Servius beene a shrub, the wind had not/ shooke him, or a mad-man, hee not perisht:..." and Lucretius, ll. 506 ff.: "home breeds safety,/Dangers begot in Court, a life retir'd/Must please me now perforce...." Whereas Filleul and Regio seriously put forward the advantages of a secluded life, Heywood has Brutus and Lucretius pretend to prefer it while awaiting their opportunity to usurp the very power they "scorn".

(228) He adds that a slender leg was much in favor among men at court and that Lucrece needs mercury lotion to whiten her skin. Much of this detail serves to erase the heroic aura around the heroine, having an effect similar to that of the silly comments of Pastor's bobo.

(229) This dialogue between Tullia and Tarquin presents Heywood's view of the Machiavellian ruler. Fredson Bowers (Elizabethan Revenge Tragedy (1940; rpt. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), pp.48-9) notes that Machiavelli "was an English synonym for villain...and his name expressed nothing but treachery, murder, and atheism to any Elizabethan." See also Innocent Gentillet, A Discourse Upon the Meanes of Wel Governing... against Nicholas Machiavel, trans. Simon Patericke (London: Adam Islip, 1608). Gentillet singles out Tarquin as a perfect example of the abuses of Machiavellian policy. In Maxim 4 (pp. 172-3) he describes the "detestable" ruse of Sextus against the Gabii and in Maxim 9, he presents Tarquin as an example of the prince who would rather be feared than loved. Holaday notes a possible connection between Tullia's security in her children and the controversy over the need for an heir in England in the note to ll. 834-8, p.153.

(230) This song serves as an example of the silly, bawdy ditties which Valerius usually sings:

> Oh the cherry lips of Nelly
> They are red and soft as jelly
> But too well she loves her belly
> Therefore ile have none of Nelly. No, no, no, no, no, no.
> Ile ha none of Nelly, no no no. (1047-50)

(231) This is one of the few incidents which are reported rather than dramatized. Livy has Tarquin invent the ruse, but Heywood gives all the credit for the treachery to Sextus. The latter, feigning displeasure with his father, leaves Rome and pretends to join forces with the Gabii. When he is fully accepted by them, he sends a messenger to his father, asking what he should do with them. Tarquin does not reply, but takes the messenger into the garden and beheads all the poppies with his sword, at which point Sextus beheads all the Gabii leaders and hands over the people to Rome.

(232) These scenes are among the most realistic in the play. The soldiers' grumblings are purely of Heywood's invention:

> ...thus must poore Souldiers do,
> Whil'st their commanders are with dainties fed,
> And sleepe on Downe, the earth must be our bed. (1385-7)

The song Valerius sings during the feast is in a Dutch dialect. For speculations on its origin and the mention made of Valerius' time in the German wars, see Holaday, op.cit., p.161, note to line 1401.

(233) "Honesty" here is synonymous with "chastity". See Holaday, op.cit., p.162, note to line 1463. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, these words were used interchangeably for the first time in Chaucer's The Legend of Good Women and in Gower.

(234) See Grivelet, op.cit., chapter 1 for Elizabethan ideals of domestic virtue. Lucrece's exaggerated caution is in direct contrast to the naive behavior of Pastor's heroine. Heywood's portrait of her virtue is one of the reasons, as I will note again later, why I do not think he meant to burlesque the legend.

(235) See Holaday, op.cit., p.163, note to ll. 1546 ff. None of these feminine virtues are new. We find similar statements in Pietro Belmonte's Institutione della sposa (op.cit.) on the need for caution: "Onde convengono le donne esser molto riguardevoli intorno alle parti dell'honore, il quale consiste appresso gli huomini, non tanto nell'essere, quanto nel parere, essendo che non sodisfanno all'honestà le donne con l'essere semplicemente buone: ma nel mostrarsi in ogni lor atto di esser sempre lontane da ogni impudicitia." (p.27) and in Bernardo Trotto's Dialoghi del matrimonio e vita vedovile (Turin: n.p., 1578) on the need for work: "E fuggirà l'ocio la Donna, se vorrà attendere alla sudetta cura della famiglia, consumando il tempo,...havendo ordinata la casa sua, in filare, ricamare, & altri simili Donneschi esercitii." (p.95) Heywood, though, emphasizes not only industry, but thrift and prudent management, almost as if Lucrece is Collatine's business partner,which is a middle-class virtue not enjoyed by Lucrece in prior versions of the legend.

(236) Servius also uses a letter device, but has Sextus forge it, thereby absolving Collatine of any implication in his wife's tragedy. The parallels mentioned throughout this paper between Heywood and Pastor are probably due to a similarity of treatment, especially to the link of humor, rather than to any knowledge of the Spanish play on Heywood's part.

(237) The reference Sextus makes to his reputation is brief: "thy fame/ Is free from hazard, and thy stile from shame" (1934-5). This passage owes much to Lady Macbeth's invocation of night (I,v) and to Shakespeare's "Lucrece," ll. 330 ff. Holaday observes that "The betrayal of the wife of his friend and kinsman would have made Sextus a villain, but the betrayal of a Lucrece who is so solicitous for his comfort and so unsuspecting banishes him completely from our sympathy." (p.38) This distinction eludes me; the violation of laws of kinship and friendship is no more or less horrifying than the same violation of hospitality and trust. Sextus' evil nature has been exposed, in any event, by his betrayal of the Gabii. The doubts he voices are merely made in deference to Shakespeare and have little to do with his character. His misogynistic attitude would also counterbalance his nobler feelings of reluctance. He displays no real liberty of choice between good and evil actions, as had Shakespeare's Tarquin. Thus, I also

find Holaday's statement that "The reader steadily grows more interested in Sextus' struggle with his conscience than he does in Lucrece's danger..." (p.42) to be in error. The struggle is brief and unconnected with Sextus' later actions. He turns out to be as one-dimensionally evil as Lucrece is good.

(238) "Uncraz'd" meant "unbroken, without flaws" (see Holaday, p.168, note to l. 2009) and usually referred to concrete nouns. The material nature of honor and chastity was as important to Heywood's Lucrece as it was to Shakespeare's. Yet while Shakespeare's Tarquin realizes that once blemished, honor can never be restored to purity, this Sextus reacts differently: "Call not thy name in question, by this sorrow/Which is yet without blemish, what hath past/Is hid from the worlds eye...."(1091-3) Much of Lucrece's pleading here echoes the Shakespearean heroine.

(239) Compare this device to Pastor's. In the Spanish play, Sextus' servant is left on stage, delivering a comic monologue while the rape progresses. In Heywood, the clown alludes, through his repetition of "God a mercy horse," to a joke then current in London regarding whore-masters. See Holaday, p.168, note to line 2087.

(240) "Packe clouds away," considered to be the most beautiful song in the play, is the lover's call to all the birds to sing a welcome morrow for his love; "With night we banish sorrow." (2120) Yet night is one of the causes of Lucrece's sorrow, as is her beauty, which is celebrated by Valerius in the next song. These two songs are bitterly ironic in the light of Lucrece's condition, though were probably not taken as such by the audience.

(241) From the preface to the Rape of Lucrece, vol. 1 of Old English Drama, quoted in Clark, op.cit., p.219. The song was written by Heywood for the original edition of the play, and cannot be attributed to the influence of the "German actor." It begins at Lucrece's toe:

Val: Did he take faire Lucrece by the toe man?
Hor: Toe man.
Val: I man.
Clo: Ha ha ha ha ha man.
Hor: And further did he strive to go man?
Clo: Goe man.
Hor: I man. (2296-2304)
Clo: Ha ha ha ha man, fa derry derry downe ha fa derry dino.

and goes through various other parts of her body, until the final question: Val: But did he do the tother thing man?

...

Hor: And at the same had he a fling man. (2337, 2341)

Cf. this to the nonsense conversation between Lucrecia and the bobo directly after the rape in Pastor's play, ll. 770 ff.

(242) Horatius holds back the entire Latin army, giving the others time to destroy the bridge to Rome and bar the army's entry. Even Sextus praises his courage. Indeed, during this last part of the play, the Tarquins display a little noble conduct in their courage. In spite of all their Machiavellain plotting, not one of them is a coward. In this scene, Scevola also proves his extraordinary daring, He enters Porsenna's camp in disguise and kills the general's secretary, thinking he is the general himself. When he discovers his error, he cuts off his left hand in punishment. Porsenna, in admiration of his "scorne of fortune," allows him to return to Rome, and Scevola accepts his pardon precisely because his death would destroy any opportunity for further revenge: "Well I go,/And for revenge take life even of my foe." (2759) In operation here are two different concepts of honor; Scevola punishes his body and lives, while Lucrece does the same and must die.

(243) Sextus, in his challenge to single combat, brings in Troy:

> I am to die, and more then die I cannot.
> Rob not your selves of honour in my death
> When the two mightiest spirits of Greece and Troy,
> Tug'd for the mastry, Hector and Achillis,
> ...being slain by odds,
> The poorest Mirmidon had as much honour
> As faint Achillis in the Trojans death. (2919-21,2925-7)

Holaday notes that this version of the duel resembles Shakespeare's in Troilus. Heywood, however, usually put English history against a Trojan background and it is not surprising that he would bring in an historical legend which was always uppermost in his mind; see Grivelet, op.cit., p.125.

(244) Cf. Filleul, ll. 939-40:

> Puis à la Chasteté nous sacrerons sa cendre,
> Et puis il nous faudra la Liberté deffendre.

(245) Holaday, op.cit., p.44.

(246) For a contrasting reaction, cf. Heraclide's speech in Thomas Nashe's The Unfortunate Traveller or the Life of Jack Wilton in The Works, ed. Ronald McKerrow (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958), vol.2. After being raped, this "chast matrone" decides to kill herself: "Die I will, though life be unwilling...If anie fault be mine, this is my fault, that I did not deforme my face, ere it should so impiouslie allure...I maie be a vessel ordained to dishonor." (293-4) Heywood's Lucrece will not admit to any provocation of Sextus; indeed, Heywood has been most careful to demonstrate her innocence. For a discussion of the common link in Elizabethan tragedy between death and chastity, see Theodore Spencer, Death and Elizabethan Tragedy (Cambridge,Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1936), pp. 138 ff.

(247) Nashe, op.cit., p.291.

(248) Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, Valentinian in Beaumont and Fletcher, ed. J. St. Loe Strachey (New York: A.A. Wyn, 1950), vol.2, p.456. This play presents an interesting variation in the chastity/suicide cycle. Lucina is all for death: "Gods, what a wretched thing has this man made me!/For I am now no wife for Maximus,/No company for women that are virtuous;/ No family I now can claim, nor country,/Nor name but Caesar's whore." (p.455) Yet, surprisingly, so is her husband: "Must they not ask how often she was ravished,/And make a doubt she loved that more than wedlock?" (p.461) This is exactly the same innuendo which Augustine thrust at Lucretia.

(249) Wright, Middle-Class Culture..., op.cit., p.656.

(250) Holaday, op.cit., p.41. In spite of her caution and innocence, her decision to die is inevitable. Chastity was still the informing principle in a woman's existence. See, for example, The Excellency of Good Women by Barnaby Rich (1613): "once tainted in her honour, [the woman] must be driven to a hard course of recovery she must rubbe of the skinne to wipe out the spot." (London: T. Dawson, 1613), pp.15-16; also, William Bercher, The Nobility of Women: "[if] shamfastnes & ffeare of infamye apperethe unto them/that they do rather concent to dye (yf case so requyrethe) then to aventure their honor to be loste" (translation of Lodovico Domenichi's La Nobilità delle Donne, 1559, ed. R. Warwick Bond (London: Roxburghe Club, 1904), p.117). Grivelet, in discussing her suicide, attributes the unsympathetic portrayal of Lucrece to "une démesure, une véritable ubris de l'honnêteté" (op.cit., p.176) which I do not find borne out in her words or actions. She is not so much proud as pedantic, lecturing one and all on the proper conduct of a mistress, wife, hostess and finally, an adulterated woman. Compared to the pride displayed by Sextus and Brutus, Lucrece is positively humble in her virtue.

(251) Heywood's emphasis on Lucrece's innate weakness as a woman contrasts with previous praise of her manly heroism. Cf. William Bercher again (op.cit., p.102): "Lucretia by verry valiantnes of harte berafte hyr sellffe hyr lyffe/when Sextus had dyssparagyed hyr honor." Her weakness is all the more striking when compared to the bravery of Tullia and Sextus before they die.

(252) Niccolò Machiavelli, Discorsi sopra la prima deca de Tito Livio, bk.3, ch.5 in Opere, ed. Mario Bonfantini (Milan: Riccardo Ricciardi, 1954), pp.318-9.

(253) Grivelet, op.cit., p.176. He goes on further to note that for Lucrece, the most abandoned of all Heywood's heroines, there is no recourse but death; "nulle grâce ne triomphe des exigences de l'honneur." (p. 291)

(254) Grivelet, op.cit., p.179. He is one of the few critics to suggest that Heywood is more in control of the humor in the

play than had been supposed, and that the fusion of domestic and civic virtues in the figure of Lucrece precludes the designation of the play as a burlesque of the legend. (See p.153 of this chapter) Holaday maintains that Lucrece was not taken as a parody of the legend by Heywood's contemporaries because the play was satirized by Beaumont and Fletcher in 1608 in the Knight of the Burning Pestle: "Surely, then, it was not a farce, since there would be no point in burlesquing the play's absurdities unless these absurdities were originally intended to be taken seriously." (p.8) He also notes that a figure like Valerius is absent in Heywood's other plays. Clark (op.cit., p. 47) temporizes, calling the play "a serious but outrageous parody of the classics." Don Cameron Allen ("Some Observations on 'The Rape of Lucrece'," op.cit., p.91) calls it "a jolly exercise in dramatic bad taste" and Galinsky (op. cit., p.101), "eine Satyrspiel...in eine Offenbachiade des 17. Jahrhunderts." Finally Roy Battenhouse (op.cit., pp.396-405) criticizes Heywood for being inconsistent, mixing pagan and Christian ideals in the character of Lucrece, but he does not find any irony in the presentation of her virtue.

(255) Grivelet, op.cit., p.149. For Brutus as the defender of women, cf. Eutropius, I, 10: "Brutum Romanae matronae defensorem pudicitiae suae quasi communem patrem per annum luxerunt." (quoted in Galinsky, op.cit., p.33)

(256) Thomas Heywood, The Rape of Lucrece (London: E. Allde for J. Busby, 1608), n.p. This comment was penned in on the last leaf of the play and is dated 1633.

(257) John Quarles, "Tarquin Banished" in William Shakespeare, The Poems, ed. Hyder E. Rollins (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1938), p.439. (New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare, vol. 22)

(258) Ibid., p.442.

(259) George Rivers, The Heroinae (London: R. Bishop for J. Colby, 1639), p.56.

(260) Ibid., p.64.

(261) Ibid., pp.65-6.

(262) John Keper's translation of Annibale Romei's The Courtiers Academie (London: Valentine Sims, 1598) deals with honor in chapter 3. The necessity for action to prove honor is especially important for men, but women, as long as they preserve their chastity, can preserve their honor (p.127). Moreover, "For honor having his foundation and proper essence in the opinion of the worlde, it is not so much lost for offence, as by probable presumptions of offending." (p.128) As an example of the dominance of this one virtue in women, compare the following question and answer from p.126 of this same chapter: "If a woman therefore, replied Lady Tarquina, should committe a theft, manslaughter, or

faile in any other part of Iustice, should she not for such a fact be infamous? And Gualengo: Although such offenses, in men and women, are by the laws equally punished, yet as often in a woman they are not accompanied with the act of dishonestie they make her not infamous."

(263) Rivers, op.cit., pp.68-9. Perhaps the importance of Augustine's arguments at this time can be attributed to William Crashaw's edition of Augustine's Of the Citie of God, with the commentary of Juan Luis Vives (second edition published in 1620). Cf. "She shewed no love unto chastity, but onely discovered the infirmity of her owne shame" (trans. J.H. Andrew; Crashaw edited the second edition only. (London: G.Eld & M.Flesher, 1620), p.27).

(264) Rivers, op.cit., p.172. This is the praise he reserves for Aretephila, who "relies upon the highest Providence/which forbids her to use a remedie worse then the evill."

(265) The edition I have used is by Joseph Quincy Adams (New York: Scribners, 1937). The poem was not discovered until 1920 and the only copy is still in the Folger Shakespeare Library. Critics agree that it was a work of Middleton's youth, sharing the rhetorical excesses of Micro-cynicon and The Wisdom of Solomon Paraphrased. Much of the phraseology and allusions are taken directly from Greene's "Ciceronis Amor," as Adams carefully points out in his notes to the edition.

(266) Don Cameron Allen, "Some Observations on 'The Rape of Lucrece'," op.cit., p.91.

(267) Adams, op.cit., p.19, footnote 1. On p.20, in his note 7 to "the arches of mine eyes," he draws the image to the arches of London bridge with the water roaring through them, but fails to note an identical usage in Shakespeare's "Lucrece," 11. 1667 ff.:

> As through an arch the violent roaring tide
> Outruns the eye that doth behold his haste,
> Yet in the eddy boundeth in his pride
> Back to the strait that forced him on so fast,
> In rage sent out, recalled in rage, being past;
> Even so his sighs, his sorrows, make a saw,
> To push grief on and back the same grief draw.

(268) Cf. Iron must have fire; this is an Iron Age:
Our souls, like smiths, with anvils of desire
Beat on our flesh, and still we sparkle fire. (11. 306-8)

(269) David Holmes, The Art of Thomas Middleton (Oxford: Clarendon, 1970), pp.5-6.

(270)Ibid., pp. 195-6.

CHAPTER VI: FRANCISCO DE ROJAS ZORRILLA'S LUCRECIA Y TARQUINO

Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla was one of Spain's most original dramatists in his treatment of traditional themes, especially that of feminine honor. Whether or not we attribute his originality to "a conscious effort to be different, to jolt his audience"[271] or to a disaffection with contemporary dramatic conventions, Rojas consistently presented female protagonists who took revenge into their own hands and attempted to restore their own honor; further, these protagonists often acted within a tragic world which lacked that element of "poetic justice" which A.A. Parker singled out as a salient trait of the comedia.[272] Coupled with these tendencies is a new source of the legend, one which combined ancient versions with contemporary political thought. Virgilio Malvezzi's rendering of the rape and suicide is set forth in Il Tarquinio Superbo,[273] a treatise which attempted not only an historical description of events and a political analysis of cause and effect, but an explanation of why choices were made in terms of human interaction. Rojas used Malvezzi's treatise as the basis for his own original treatment of the legend.

For his Lucrecia y Tarquino, probably written between 1635-40,[274] Rojas selected two incidents from the history of the Tarquin reign and invented a third -- the overthrow of Servius, the ruse played on the Gabii (See Chapter V, footnote 231), and a short burlesque on the contest between three goddesses, the initial cause of Juno's enmity toward Paris. All three are used to heighten the dramatic tension of a story which must have been well known to his court audience. The Gabian ruse is intertwined with the wager (whereas

in Livy it precedes the wager) so the culmination of Sextus' treachery on the political level immediately precedes the climax of personal betrayal, the rape, in Act III. Lucretia and Sextus do not even meet until the middle of the second act, a delaying technique which is characteristic of Rojas' intent to create suspense, as it is of Baroque theater in general. Lucrecia is one of the most carefully constructed dramas based on the legend in the manipulation of sub-plots which reflect, in both substance and language, the final tragedy.[275]

As for the theme of the rape itself, we have noted in Chapter II that the "Lucrecia-necia" rhyme had become a commonplace in Spanish letters by the seventeenth century, usually used in connection with the yielding of chastity, the decision to commit suicide, or, in Pastor, with a lack of prudence. Even more so than in the sixteenth century, Gillet concludes, "the new emphasis on 'discreción' and 'necedad' was necessarily reflected by the greater frequency in rhyming Lucrecia with necia."[276] There can be no doubt that Rojas was familiar with this popular opinion. Indeed, the anonymous romance he quotes in Act II includes just such an opinion of Lucrecia. Characteristically, though, he does something to upset the by now traditional view. He carefully portrays the conflict of "necedad" and "discreción," but Lucrecia is no longer the necia. Instead, she is "prudente," "cuerda," and it is Colatino who assumes the derisive label. Because of this intent, Rojas had not only to emphasize Colatino's complicity in his wife's ruin, but exaggerate Lucrecia's virtue and provide a foolproof defense of her loss of chastity, much as Heywood had attempted to do. For Rojas to achieve this, he had to alter or omit much of what Malvezzi included in his description

of the rape, though he followed the Italian author closely in political doctrine. Rojas also was noted, as was Heywood, for his sympathetic attitude toward women, to the point where MacCurdy calls him an "ardent feminist."[277] Therefore, it is not surprising to find him taking part in Lucrecia's defense in the polemic surrounding her virtue.

"Discreción" as a necessary ally to virtue had become a favorite dramatic topic in the Siglo de Oro drama since Juan Pastor had written his Lucrecia. Representative of seventeenth-century Spanish opinion, Baltasar Gracián's Oráculo Manual y Arte de Prudencia, provides a concise definition of the relationship between prudence and virtue: "No ser todo columbino. Altérnense la calidez de la serpiente con la candidez de la paloma. No ai cosa mas fácil que engañar a un hombre de bien....No siempre procede de necio el ser engañado, que tal vez de bueno."[278] And further: "No ai mas dicha ni mas desdicha que prudencia o imprudencia."[279] In the Malvezzi-Rojas version of the Lucretia legend, Sexto is "el soberbio serpiente" and Lucrecia, "la paloma." Yet for all her innocence, it is Colatino and a new character, Cloanto, who are the "hombres de bien" whose virtue cannot prevent their ruin. Both err from "imprudencia" which originates in their virtue; Bruto, on the other hand, is Gracián's "discreto." It is only he who has the ability to see through appearances and make decisions according to "operational wisdom." This latter concept is aptly defined by Aldo Scaglione in his discussion of Boccaccio's idea of "discrezione":

> Boccaccio's concept of honesty, virtue, wisdom...are delimited and defined by his idea of 'discretion'; onestà tempered by discrezione results in operational wisdom (senno), an inward virtuous habit allied with an outward decorous personality.[280]

Discernment characterizes all of Bruto's actions, from his feigning

madness to his warnings about the wager. And he will not openly expose his virtuous nature to the Tarquins, as do other characters.

Along with the contrast between "discreción" and "necedad," Rojas, borrowing heavily from Malvezzi,[281] also portrayed the conflict of neostoic virtue, as typified by Lucrecia, and Machiavellian tyranny, in the figure of Sexto. All three themes are elaborated in Act I, which introduces a series of characters invented by Rojas for this purpose. The new characters, except for Sexto's brothers, Tito and Acronte (Aruns), have no basis in ancient history. Though their number is equal to that in Heywood's play, many have no speaking role of importance, and the reduced account of incidents, shorter lapse of time, and consistency of tragic tone maintain a rapid momentum which builds to the final tragedy.

Act I opens with all the principal male characters on stage. Sexto and Colatino are describing to Tarquino, the king, the battles ensuing the overthrow of Servio. In words reminiscent of Juan Pastor,[282] Colatino pledges his loyalty to the king:

> Rey. Y hoy, Colatino, en tu valor contemplo
> de lealtad y valor un raro ejemplo.
> Col. Al príncipe, señor, se debe todo. (3-5)

Sexto boasts of his slaying a "venerable anciano" who had barred his way into the Senate. The anciano, a true Stoic ("la vida -- amable siempre, ahora despreciada" 23), had appealed to Rome's tradition of liberty ("¿Cómo la libertad, tirano, ofendes...?" 27) but Sexto, blaming the "ley del hado" for his violent nature, kills him and Servio. He spares no one except Bruto, who is not worth killing because he is "mad." In an aside, Bruto advises the audience that he who pretends madness to save his life is wise:

La vida gano en la opinión que pierdo,
fingido loco y cauteloso cuerdo. (71-2, emphasis mine)

The king next turns to Colatino, whose bravery matches the prince's with an added measure of compassion: "lloré los muertos, perdoné los vivos" (92). He describes the burning of Servio's castle (which he admits he destroyed as a symbol of the old rule and as a means to instill fear into his followers) in an extended series of metaphors, in what MacCurdy calls Rojas' "cultist manner."[283] The constant references to burning towers and broken walls were meant not only to evoke the horror of battle, but to suggest to the audience the destruction of feminine honor as a foreshadowing of the rape.

The king, though satisfied with Colatino's loyalty, does not accept his next words of advice, the reverse of Machiavellian doctrine: "que es mejor ser amado que temido." (136) Tarquino voices the opposite point of view:

Con el temor y el rigor
al principado he llegado;
sea, pues, el principado
conservado del temor.[284] (149-52)

In the debate which follows, Colatino argues that the means used to obtain a good are not always proper to conserve it, while Sexto counters that what has become habit must remain as such. The king sides with his son, "un lienzo de mis hazañas," and proceeds to order them both to the siege of the Gabii. Bruto interjects his opinion of Colatino's loyalty in an aside, accusing him of exchanging liberty for royal favor. He also laments the position of inferiors under a tyrant:

Y como siempre se mira
a la sombra del desprecio,
en su verdad vive necio,
sabio el rico en su mentira. (221-4)

Before they leave the stage, Tarquino outlines the ruse he wants

Sexto to use against the Gabii, claiming that "la sagacidad" will give them victory where force will fail.

In this very complex first section of Act I, Rojas has dramatized the anti-Machiavellian reaction in Spain, a reaction which Otis Green cites as a dominant element in seventeenth-century writings.[285] Malvezzi, also opposed to the flexible morality he found in Machiavellian policy, was too politically astute to advocate complete honesty on the part of a leader. He had praised the "indirizzo politico" of the conde-duque de Olivares and Felipe IV's rule by "majesty" rather than force.[286] In Il Tarquinio, though, father and son use "sagacità" and "forza" not from a desire for good government stemming from "virtù" (which, incidentally, is what Machiavelli originally advocated), but from pride, ambition and envy and a ruthless desire for power:

> Quien se vale pues de la prudencia, será siempre bueno, no siempre grande. No era necessario, que la libertad fuesse tan natural en los hombres, si no huuiera de prouarse la violencia, o hallarse recurso en la sagacidad para sujetarlos....Concedo, que a los que intentan una accion tirana, es conocido descredito; pero no a aquellos que la consiguieren.[287]

In Tarquino's rejection of a moral and in favor of amoral means there is also the stamp of Machiavellian doctrine.[288]

By placing the opposing view in Colatino's words, rather than Bruto's, Rojas has weakened it considerably. Bruto's role is early defined as representing the truth, commenting on the foolishness and blindness he sees around him, defending the powerless against the abusers of power, penetrating the veil of illusion which MacCurdy traces as one of the major themes of the play. Colatino's weakness, though, is also evident from the outset, in his willingness to obey Tarquino. In spite of his virtuous nature, and in spite of the anciano's virtue, Tarquino's policies triumph for the moment. Bruto is the only

one who dissimulates, calling himself "cuerdo" without regard for opinion. These words foreshadow Lucrecia's when confronted with a similar choice in the following section of Act I.

Lucrecia appears with her maid, Julia, who is helping her to get dressed.[289] The familiar precepts for the good wife are the first words she speaks:

> Quien casa y familia tiene,
> dormir menos le conviene (258-9).

After she confirms her industrious nature, she displays her caution and prudence in refusing gala dress for a feast day:

> Jul. De tu hermosura te precia,
> pues tu fama te asegura;
> y en la gala y hermosura,
> conozca el mundo a Lucrecia. (281-4)
> ...
> Luc. Y juzga infalible cosa
> que la que es cuerda y honrada
> es -- cuando mas ignorada --
> mas bizarra y mas hermosa. (290-3, emphasis mine)

She warns Julia that excessive use of pretty things can only lead to gossip or even to kindle desire in some "cortesano airoso." She is happy to have her pretty things, but even happier to be able to despise them; "en tales batallas/no poner mi honor intento." (313-4)

A second incident allows Lucrecia to prove her resolve to protect her honor. Fabio, the servant of Casimira (Tito's wife) and the play's gracioso, brings an invitation to attent a party in honor of the king's birthday. He begins to describe a skit to be performed, in which "el mayor disparate/es el donaire mayor."[290] (367-8) Lucrecia orders him to cease talking to Julia because it is improper conduct; Fabio, after an aside of "¡Linda frialdad!" (373), assures her that such talk between servants is allowed at such gatherings. Not to be outdone by Heywood's heroine, Lucrecia refuses the invitation, and

Fabio applauds her "modestia" and her scorn for worldly vanities. Julia needs some further explanation. At such parties, Lucrecia warns, everyone speaks freely and one is forced to consort with those who only pretend to be good; much of what is seen in the world is false:

> porque ya se ha introducido
> el dar nombre disfrazado
> de airoso al desvergonzado;
> de agudo, al entremetido;
> de discreto, al malicioso; (429-33)

By mere contact with such people, a woman loses some part of her honor.[291]

The stoic precepts which form the basis of Lucrecia's virtue derive in large part from Seneca, perhaps from Quevedo's extensive summarizing and translating. Lucrecia's renunciation of worldly things, the doctrine of "nil admirari," is reflected in Quevedo's Nombre...y Decencia de la Dotrina Estoica:

> El intento de los estoicos fue despreciar todas las cosas que están en ajeno poder, y esto sin despreciar sus personas con el desaliño y vileza; seguir la virtud, y gozarla por virtud y por premio....[292]

Indeed, Lucrecia displays all those qualities of Stoicism which Quevedo criticized in the same treatise as being contrary to Christian doctrine -- a too great reliance on reason and lack of emotion, a lack of pity (see the following scene with the wounded dove), and, in the end, the use of suicide to avoid suffering. Her too proud belief in the power of virtue invites its own destruction because it fails to take the world's judgment into account; "La vertu stoïque, en effet...laissait en apparence l'homme isolé dans une volonté de perfection qui ne cherchait qu'en soi-même son aboutissement et son juge."[293] It is, in a sense, the opposite of the Machiavellian view, which takes into account a treacherous world, but instead of rejecting it, adopts its methods and loses all moral perspective. Lucrecia's too great reliance on her own

virtue to the exclusion of the opinion of her peers is evident from the next scene.

Colatino enters with Bruto and in the ensuing dialogues, the traditional Siglo de Oro conception of the code of honor is delineated. After Colatino tells Lucrecia that he must leave her for the siege of the Gabii, he asks her to guard her honor while he is gone:

> Es el honor tan de vidro
> que si no llega a quebrarse,
> teme que el aire le ofenda,
> o que el aliento le empañe.
> Y es tan basilisco el pueblo
> que, inficionando los aires,
> los ojos de su malicia
> le manchan sin que se manche. (461-8)

He warns her that though his honor is not so weak as to fear malicious gossip, she must be careful, and she replies in her defense:

> A no ser mi honor tan mío,
> pudiera, señor, turbarse,
> viendo adelantado un miedo
> que me constituye fácil.
> Pero como en mí no son
> los afectos repugnables
> a la razón, no peligra
> en lo prudente, lo amante.
> ...
> que, como por elección
> soy vuestra...
> ...
> Bien podéis partir sin miedo
> de que en esta ausencia falte
> vuestro respeto a mis ojos,
> ni mi honor a vuestra sangre. (479-86, 495-6, 499-502)

Colatino is pleased with her steadfast love, Bruto praises her as a woman who knows how to love and obey honestly and hopes that the evil of Tarquin ambition will not direct itself to her house. At this point a dove, wounded by an arrow,[294] suddenly appears. Bruto understands that it "amenaza/de tragedias miserables" (547-8) and Colatino curses the hunter for wounding an innocent creature, but Lucrecia is

much less disturbed: " Sucesos tan naturales/han de alterar tu sosiego?" (557-8) She rejects such upsets as cowardly:

> Si el hado fatal permite
> que el pecho casto derrame
> líquido rubí inocente,
> esa inocencia le baste. (571-4)

Following her stoic precepts, she puts all her faith in virtue and vows that death should always precede an offense, "antes/que ocasione pensamientos/que injustamente le infamen," and, of course, ironically describes her own fate. In her scorn of death, she is the counterpart of the anciano. Colatino, whose trust in her has been reinforced by her "razones heroicas," calls her the ultimate example of "cordura y prudencia" (589) and leaves for battle.

This Lucrecia is very different from her "necia" contemporaries. Her prudence has been demonstrated beyond any doubt, but what of her virtue? Though she insists that it is sufficient unto itself and that, following reason, it cannot be so easily robbed from her, Colatino reminds her that she must beware malicious tongues. The honor of Spanish convention, which held that of a wife to be part of her husband's,[295] included both intrinsic virtue (amounting to personal identity) and reputation, the appearance of virtue. Though it was generally accepted that true honor had to be based on virtue,[296] in the theater, at least, a stain on one's honor had to be concealed at all costs. Revenge was to be taken by devious methods so as not to attract attention to its cause.[297] It was taken for granted, however, that a woman's chastity, the counterpart of male honor, was constantly under attack.[298] In this context, Lucrecia's exaggerated precautions are understandable, as are Colatino's speech on the fragility of honor and Bruto's horror at the omen of the wounded dove.

Lucrecia's innocent trust, from which she had traditionally suffered her ruin, is not a factor here. She tries to avoid the dangers which beset her virtue even more so than Colatino, as we shall see, and is comparable, in this respect, to Bruto in her clear vision of reality. But her pride forces her to place too much faith in virtue and in her ability to withstand misfortune. Her heroic rejection of the world's vanities, her sole reliance on virtue, and her added "prudencia" make the rape scene problematic, but Rojas finds a solution which does not contradict her previous assertions.

Before this already complex act ends, Rojas introduces one more scene to emphasize the struggle of "prudencia" with "imprudencia," reality and appearance. Cloanto and Pericles, two Gabian leaders, plan their stragegy against the Tarquins; the former worries about Tarquin's "cauteloso engaño" while the latter praises the fate of a glorious death. Sexto enters and, cursing the cruelty and tyranny of his father, pretends to have broken with him.[299] In a speech which borrows heavily from Malvezzi,[300] Sexto manages to convince the Gabian leaders that fate has ordered him to extinguish Tarquino's tyranny. He promises them he wants no part in their government, only a chance to fight against his father ("vuestra libertad deseo" 708). They pity him, give him a sword, and as they go off to battle, Sexto, very pleased with his pretense, ironically proclaims:

> Ya es tiempo
> que sepáis con la experiencia
> si agradezco o no agradezco,
> si soy gabio o soy Tarquino,
> si soy suyo o si soy vuestro. (782-6)

By ending the act with this incident, Rojas has chosen to emphasize Sexto's treachery and also the method by which it functions. The Gabian ruse had been singled out by such as Gentillet as a particu-

larly good example of Machiavellian policy (See Chapter V, footnote 229); Rojas, by dramatizing it, illustrates the message found in Chapter 18 of Il Principe, that political power rests upon what people believe, whether it is true or not.[301] Malvezzi also attributed a like force to the desire to believe:

> Un gran deseo viue sujeto a un grande engaño; antes bien se puede engañar con seguridad al que desea con vehemencia; cree possible todo lo que apetece, forma argumentos en fauor de lo que cree, y a aquellos presume que llegó el entendimiento del que trata de engañarle.[302]

A similar warning comes from Gracián:

> ...el día de su confiança será el de su descrédito.[303]

Sexto's adept use of this desire will also prevail against Colatino, who will be ruined along with Cloanto.

Act II opens as Sexto returns to his father to seek his advice:

> siendo ya príncipe amado,
> ¿cómo lo he de ser temido? (805-6)

Tarquino recounts the story of Trasíbulo, who broke off the heads of the highest stalks of wheat when asked a similar question.[304] Sexto understands the implication, but before returning to the Gabii, decides to entertain himself awhile with his brothers and Colatino. A musician enters and sings of Dido[305] which provokes the debate about wives. Colatino praises Lucrecia's prudence as much as her beauty:

> lo cuerdo y lo hermoso,
> lo prudente y lo entendido,
> lo airoso y [lo] recatado,
> lo desenvuelto y lo lindo....[306] (875-8)

Bruto tries to deflect the debate, arguing that women are not horses to be compared for good points, and that any news of a woman's virtue is dangerous. If the wife is sinful, the husband is in truth maligning himself, for any fault in her is really his. Any husband who dares to

praise his own wife "Busca/su perdición, su martirio." (912-3) He pursues the difference between those goods which are communicable and those which are not. What cannot be stolen can be praised, such as wit, "Mas la mujer y la hacienda/se han de gozar sin testigos."[307] (929-30) When Acronte persists in praising his wife, he calls him and Tito "necios maridos." (946) Sexto suggests testing the wives by visiting them, Colatino agrees, and Bruto reiterates, "Tres necios miro en los tres,/ pero el mayor, Colatino." (965-6) As they go off to Rome, Sexto thanks the stars that he is not a husband.

Rojas followed Malvezzi's version of the wager scene with some important changes. The reference to Dido is his own. Colatino is not sober in Malvezzi ("cenavan una noche Colatino, y otros con Sexto Tarquino y menos sobrios de lo que devieran"[308]), but he is in Rojas, which increases his virtue and his responsibility. Rojas also omits a long passage on the true nature of feminine virtue. Malvezzi makes the point that only a good which is genuine can be communicated to others, but what men take to be virtue in their wives is merely a facade. If husbands knew what their wives really did in their absence, they would have to change the laws of honor and make them either more stringent or less so. As it is, they remain happy as long as their wives appear virtuous; "gran parte de las felicidades del mundo está a la opinion, consistiendo mas en el credito, que en su essencia."[309] While Rojas was ready to expose the false basis of political power, he did not share Malvezzi's generally low opinion of women.[310] This is more than evident in the contrasting ways each writer portrays the rape.

The scene shifts to the festivities at Casimira's. As Fabio had

predicted, the "comedia de repente" is the main event, which gives Rojas an opportunity to introduce some comic relief. The comedy is much better integrated in this play than it had been in either Pastor's or Heywood's. In the burlesque of the contest between Venus, Palas and Juno, there is ample opportunity to poke fun at the abuse of "ingenio" in contemporary dramas, the promiscuous habits of Jupiter, the physical deformities of the goddesses and the actual wager between the "necios maridos." Thus, when Paris announces that Jupiter has given him a task, Fabio speculates that Paris must be married, otherwise Jupiter would not have tried to get rid of him. Ironically, this is precisely what Sexto plans to do before he rapes Lucrecia. And, when Paris sets out to compare the chastity of the three goddesses, he notes"son/deidades pero mujeres." (1025-6) The burlesque ends in a squabble between Paris and Fabio, everyone gets up to dance, and at that moment, the husbands enter. Bruto is not surprised;"Necio es quien prueba mujeres/ni espadas...." (1066-7) When they leave, at Acronte's insistence, Fabio realizes that they are annoyed and comments: (Lucrecia anduvo <u>discreta</u>.)

> ...
> Manzana de la discordia
> fue esta manzana dos veces. (1101,1103-4, emphasis mine)

They next visit Lucrecia, who is at work with Julia:

> No quiero
> que diga el vulgo envidioso
> que está en la guerra mi esposo,
> y yo en festines le espero. (1109-12)

Julia laments that no one's honor is secure against malicious rumors. She begins to sing of Penelope's sorrow at Ddysseus' absence when Colatino and his fellow soldiers appear. Colatino, carefully showing Sexto the way to his wife's room, assures him, "a la llave que mirâis/

no hay puerta que se resista." (1137-8) Sexto, noting Lucrecia's virtuous conduct, begins her praises:

> Miente Penélope, y mienten
> cuantas Porcias y Artemisas
> celebra la antiguedad;
> que sola Lucrecia es digna
> de los elogios de todas,
> *pues ella todos los cifra.*[311] (1149-54)

Colatino reveals his presence, she embraces him and professes her love, but when he warns her of the presence of guests, she is startled:

> Si falte a la cortesía,
> tú, esposo, la causa tienes;
> que yo ignoré tal visita. (1174-6, emphasis mine)

While Sexto continues to praise her, calling her "divina," Lucrecia, in an aside, denounces Colatino's "imprudencia."[312] Sexto is already smitten, not only with her beauty, but with her "discreción"; "la razón quedó oprimida./Muerto estoy." (1227-8) In order to delay their departure, Sexto asks for a glass of water and reaffirms what Lucrecia had already realized: "que a esto obliga/un necio esposo." (1250-1, emphasis mine) There is a brief flash of humor, when Fabio gets the sweets destined for Sexto, but the ominous tone quickly returns when the latter drops the glass. Even Colatino cannot ignore this evil omen;

> Si como vidrio peligra
> el honor, yo tengo ejemplo
> que me previene y me avisa. (1279-81)

Bruto also notes Sexto's "envy." The prince ironically apologizes ("Yo he venido a haceros daño" 1283) and offers Lucrecia and Julia some jewels to recompense them for the glass. This upsets Colatino even more, but Lucrecia quickly gives him the jewels as tokens of his valor. As they leave, Colatino expresses his fears ("Ofensas el honor teme" 1327), asks to accompany Sexto to the Gabii, which he refuses ("Esto es cuidado o malicia" 1338), and the act ends with a series of premonitions

expressed in asides:

> Luc. (¡Qué necedad de mi esposo!)
> Sex. (¡Qué ocasión para mis dichas!)
> Luc. (Yo lloraré estos favores.)
> Sex. (Veré esta deidad rendida.) (1351-4, emphasis mine)

Colatino's necedad is clear, even to himself, as is Lucrecia's inherent prudence. This aspect of the legend is new with Rojas. Malvezzi had presented the traditional version of an unsuspecting heroine: "Fue recibido [Sexto] con rostro alegre de quien no se esperava engaño."[313] Indeed, Malvezzi's primary interest was in the conduct of the Tarquins as illustrations of tyranny, and not in Lucrecia as an exemplum of virtue.[314] He attributes Sexto's lust to her beauty and to her chastity, but does not mention her "discreción" as a factor. Malvezzi continued with the traditional version of the rape, while Rojas altered it to fit with his concept of"Lucrecia cuerda."

In the opening scene of Act III, Sexto completes his treachery against the Gabii, a foreshadowing of the undoing of Lucrecia. Under the grip of his desire for her, Sexto brusquely refuses to answer Cloanto's questions. Cloanto accuses him of having changed since they elected him their leader, and Sexto defends himself:

> La república mejor,
> para que ordenada esté,
> es un cuerpo en quien se ve
> la cabeza superior...
> he de ser
> temido y obedecido. (1375-8, 1385-6)

Fabio foresees the coming "tarquinada,"[315] Pericles defends Sexto's conduct as proper to their chosen leader, but when Cloanto warns the prince that they can "unmake" him if they so choose, Sexto realizes he has been too lenient. It is time to use his father's advice. After warning Cloanto that it is treason to try to dethrone him, he reveals

his true loyalty to his father and has Cloanto arrested. He shall be put to death; "Sea ejemplo a los demás." (1474) In spite of Cloanto's appeals to his fellows, he is led away with Fabio's comment, "Es cabeza, y la cabeza/no sufre a los pies agravios." (1493-4) Pericles, meanwhile, has decided that it is wise to follow whomever is in power, pledges his honor, life and household to the prince and is promptly awarded Cloanto's former position.

Sexto confides his suffering to his new friend:

> ví un ángel, ví una hermosura
> ví un prodigio, ví un cometa,
> ví un rayo, ví una deidad...
> ví un sol que me dejó a escuras;
> ví a Lucrecia, ví a Lucrecia. (1561-3, 1573-4)

Pericles is astounded that Sexto was even able to see her because of her renowned "recato" (which implicates Colatino further in his wife's downfall). Sexto admits that it is her very "honestidad" coupled with her beauty which torment him. When he reveals his plan to assault Lucrecia, Pericles agrees to join him. In order to make sure Colatino is out of the way, Sexto has him recalled from the siege at Ardea to take his place with the Gabii.[316]

Both Malvezzi and Rojas supported the strong, centralized authority of the king; as Pericles says, "¡Ay del pueblo en quien se vea/la cabeza entre los pies!" (1409-10) Yet Tarquino abuses his authority by what Cloanto recognizes is his "soberbia." Cloanto's outraged reaction is fated to be his ruin because of his lack of prudence, the too naked honesty of his virtue. He has committed a "necedad" in trusting Sexto, but as Gracián notes, "No es necio el que haze la necedad, sino el que, hecha, no la sabe encubrir...."[317] Pericles' reaction is the opposite, but in his too ready compromise of his

principles, he is a companion to the Tarquins' code of flexible morality. Repeating Lucrecia's words on the falsity of appearances, Pericles realizes, "lo que fue traición es gloria,/lo que fue engaño es grandeza" (1503-4) and adapts himself to the "reality" of the situation.

Colatino, with the king at the siege of Ardea, curses his "necia porfía" in exposing his wife to Sexto, yet he vows he trusts Lucrecia's "discreción humilde" enough not to visit her to verify her conduct. He understands Bruto's warning too late, foresees Sexto's attempt on her virtue and concludes, "Cómplice soy en mi agravio." (1680) Bruto also notes his sadness and puts it to the "disparate" he committed. Meanwhile, Acronte, angry over Lavinia's improper conduct, decides to bring her to see Lucrecia in the hope she will learn "estimaciones de honor." Fabio delivers a message to the king from Sexto, requesting that he send Colatino to oversee the Gabii, which makes Colatino forget his suspicions for the moment; "Máteme un dardo, una flecha/y no una pasión celosa." (1749-50) Yet he finally decides to visit his house secretly on his way to the Gabii. Unlike Heywood's Romans, Colatino is not disgruntled for political reasons. The only figures who lament the loss of liberty -- the anciano and Cloanto -- are destroyed. Colatino's fears begin with the broken glass and from then on he acts the role of a jealous husband.

In the next scene, we see Lucrecia arguing with her father, Espurio. She is still worrying over her husband's conduct:

> una visita excusada,
> una necedad curiosa,
> una merced peligrosa,
> y un favor no prevenido,
> un imprudente marido,
> y una mujer no dichosa. (1772-7, emphasis mine)

Espurio assures her that a prince "nunca ofende," in the sense that

he is above all the laws of honor which govern ordinary men.[318] Comparing Sexto to a flame, Lucrecia repeats that he will destroy her house; "abrasan con los favores/la más segura opinión." (1790-1) As she laments her lost "recato," Julia enters, wishing she could cease her labors and go to sleep. Those who are unfortunate, she claims, live in their dreams rather than in life itself. Lucrecia asks her if she ever dreams of danger; she replies that when she does, her pleasure increases at awakening by having escaped it. Now, however, Lucrecia is about to discover the answer to her own question:

> ¿Y alguna vez no has soñado
> que en un peligro te ves,
> y huyéndolo, das después
> en otro de más cuidado? (1828-31)

Sexto enters with Fabio and Pericles. They pretend to have lost their way through the darkness of the night and the drunkeness of the coachman, which gives Fabio an opportunity to satirize the vices of the latter. Lucrecia immediately realizes her fears ("esto temía mi honor" 1857) and laments Colatino's absence ("que sois príncipe, y debéis/honrar a su dueño ausente" 1872-3). Sexto begins to praise her beauty, she tries to warn him away; both betray their true feelings in asides:

> Sex. (Parece que me ha entendido.)
> Luc. (¡Cielos! Mi temor fue cierto.) (1894-5)

A second dialogue goes on between Fabio and Pericles who are discussing the dangers of love, where "él que venza es vencido." (1897) Lucrecia, meanwhile, is trying to convince Sexto of the power of reason over love:

> Sex. Pues, ¿qué he de hacer si me pierdo?
> Luc. Aprender a ser señor.
> Sex. ¿En qué escuela?
> Luc. En la de honor.
> Sex. ¿Cómo podré?
> Luc. Siendo cuerdo.
> Sex. ¿Cuerdo amando?
> Luc. Cuerdo amando.[319] (1942-9)

In an aside, Fabio quotes the first two lines of an anonymous ballad on Lucrecia, (not the one in Pastor's play) which deals with her arguments to Sexto against his desire.[320] As they go off to bed, Fabio notes that Sexto has indeed made little progress with Lucrecia.

Colatino makes a brief appearance on the road to his house. He is in fear at what he will find, recalls the death of the dove, and leaves the stage "en las viles sospechas de marido." (1993) The scene returns to Sexto, who has already consummated the rape and is explaining how it happened to Pericles. He took "el sol dormido" in his arms, only to have her awaken:

> Desmáyose, y desmayada
> -- no sé, no sé que te diga;
> tu entendimiento prosiga --
> sin culpa fue desgraciado,
> y yo más, pues vine a ser
> quien agravió -- ¡infame cosa! --
> a la mujer más hermosa,
> a la más casta mújer. (2030-7)

Sexto is contrite, almost horrified by what he has done, and leaves with Fabio and Pericles, anticipating the revenge which is sure to follow:

> Yo me voy adonde pueda
> pedir al cielo que un rayo,
> mientras vuelve del desmayo,
> venganza a su honor conceda. (2038-41)

This last comment is not unusual in Siglo de Oro honor tragedy; "Lo mismo el vengador de la honra que los que han incurrido en la culpa, tienen conciencia de lo inevitable del castigo...."[321] Indeed, the description of the rape, especially the fact that Lucrecia was unconscious, would not be noteworthy except for its departure from Malvezzi's version and from the previous Spanish tradition of the legend.

Malvezzi's presentation of the rape is conventional, probably taken from Livy. Sexto enters Lucrecia's room with his sword unsheathed, places

his right hand on her breast, cajols, begs and threatens her to no avail and finally uses the threat of adultery: "Gran caso! que este execrable hombre la amenaza con la deshonra para quitarla el honor. Salteada entonces Lucrecia con aquellas armas que defendia su honestidad, se rindió a la victoriosa luxuria de Tarquino."[322] Malvezzi then interjects his opinion as to why Lucrecia yielded: "Yo me persuado, que Lucrecia consintió por temor de la muerte, la qual es forçoso, que sea mas horrible en las manos agenas, que en las propias."[323] He defends his opinion with the example of people oppressed by tyranny. They do not try to kill the tyrant from the same kind of fear. He ends by criticizing the use of suicide, believing it derives from a want of courage; he sympathizes with its causes but calls those women who kill themselves from dishonor "silly."

Though we do not often find Lucrecia's yielding to be attributed to her fear of death (such fear is usually denied and her heroic nature praised), Malvezzi's comments on suicide sound very much like the "Lucrecia-necia" tradition of Spanish letters. Her fainting, therefore, solves many problems for Rojas. It supports her avowal in Act I that she would rather die than commit a dishonorable act; since Lucrecia scorned death, Rojas could not use Malvezzi's explanation for her yielding. By having her faint, Rojas also avoids the charge of "necedad" which was partly based on the rule that no woman should yield her chastity for any reason. Lucrecia's long harangues in the Malvezzi version, where she chastises herself for choosing glory over honor can be avoided by Rojas' heroine, who blames herself not at all for her dishonor.

It is possible that Rojas invented the faint without any exterior

influence, just as he had invented the burlesque of the wager. However, while he manipulated the chronology and characters, he followed the actual incidents of the legend rather closely, borrowing heavily from Malvezzi in most instances. The differences between the two versions of the rape are great enough to prompt inquiry into an alternative source for Rojas' scene. There are two possible versions which might have suggested the changes to him. As noted in Chapter I, both John Gower and Geoffrey Chaucer included the fainting in their rape scene. Gower's Confessio Amantis had been translated into Portuguese (a version now lost) which was in turn translated into Spanish by Juan de Cuenca in 1400.[324] The Spanish follows the English version very closely, with practically no changes in the text except for the elimination of some exclamations. The actual rape is described in the following:

> E muy calladamente abrio la puerta de la quadra en guisa que ninguno lo sintiese. E estando ella durmiendo el se lançó supitamente con ella en la cama. E Lucreçia rrecordo e sintiolo/consigo. Mas con un themor femenino que en si muy grande ovo, no tovo valor para fablar una sola palabra, porque el la amenasava jurando que si se quexava o en alguna manera fisiese sentimiento que con aquella su espada la mataria....E yasia en sus manos casi muerta con puro miedo.[325]

Rojas' version is similar in that he has Sexto take her in his arms ("y el tiempo que duró el sueño/tuve el cielo entre mis brazos" 2011-12), which is an unusual detail in any version. She awakens "turbada" and faints from the touch of his sword: "puse un puñal en su pecho,/y ella la vida en mis brazos." (2028-9) Both Gower and Rojas omit the threat of adultery, another unusual detail. Gower also defended the virtue of women in this particular section of the Confessio, laying most of the blame for their sins to men:

> Mas quando el onbre por la ynprinsion de su ymaginacion

> quiere pensar en ellas, luego comiença de soplar el fuego dentro en si, de lo qual las mugeres non saben parte. E por ende no son en ello de culpar. E aunque el onbre incite a si mesmo por se anegar en el agua, cierto es que el agua no a en ello culpa tan poco commo el oro, aunque los onbres lo cobdicien.[326]

If Rojas did see or hear of Gower's version, this attitude might have suggested his staunch defense of Lucrecia's innocence and the almost exclusive blame he put on Colatino and Sexto.

A second possible source is Bandello's novella on Lucretia. Menéndez y Pelayo notes that "de todos los novelistas italianos Matteo Bandello fué el más leído y estimado por los españoles después de Boccaccio."[327] There are several interesting parallels between Rojas' play and the Italian version. Bandello includes all three of Tarquins' sons in the wager, "Tito, Aronte e Sesto Tarquinii," as does Rojas. When Colatino praises Lucrecia in the Italian, he refers to her "discreción" as well as her beauty: "Che ella è la più discreta che sia e la più compita di tutte quelle parti che al governo d'una casa appartengono." (p.845) Neither of these details is in Malvezzi. Both describe Sesto's passion as multiplying in Lucrecia's absence: "e quanto più su questo pensava tanto più sentendosi di desiderio" (Bandello, p.847); "...que la hermosure/con la privación se aumenta."(Rojas, ll.1585-6) The most striking similarity occurs when both authors refer to Lucrecia's condition during the rape. Bandello says "come con una statua era con lei giaciuto" (p.849) and further, "ma di modo egli t'abbia avuto come se una rigida e marmorea statua" (p.852). When Lucrecia describes the rape to Colatino in Rojas' version, she says: "que en un desmayo penoso/cadáver fui a su torpeza,/mármol frío, inmóvil tronco." (2117-9) Though she is not unconscious in the Bandello novella, I think the similarities of these descriptions suggest that Rojas knew of the

Italian version and incorporated it into his play.

After the rape, the end of the play comes quickly. Acronte and Tito bring their wives to visit Lucrecia in order to teach them modesty. In the only instance where "necia" is coupled with "Lucrecia," it is done in the negative sense: "No es tan necia/que desprecia honestos fines." (2044-5) The irony of Acronte's praise of her "honor/cuerdo, recato prudente" (2047-8) is clear. As they enter, Colatino, Espurio and Bruto arrive by another route. Bruto has forebodings of disaster, but Colatino persists in calling his suspicion "necia" and his jealousy, unjust. All is in darkness, though, and Lucrecia enters with her hair in disarray to deliver her final monologue to the gods. When she sees her friends and relatives gathered together, she reveals her disgrace:

> ...veis aquí
> el vidrio de su honor roto,
> el casto lecho ofendido
> ...
> Ya no es Lucrecia, Lucrecia;
> ya su vida es un asombro,
> ya su honestidad dió fin. (2078-80, 2084-6)

She admits she suspected Sexto's lust and laments that she, who only valued her own opinion of her virtue and scorned life, has suffered the greatest affront possible. She defends herself: "No porque en mi hubiese culpa" (2116) and realizes it was her virtue which caused her ruin, "¿Fue acaso/mi honestidad? ¿Cómo, cómo/el más pernicioso vicio/ halló en la virtud apoyo?" (2122-5)

As for revenge, Lucrecia finds that she cannot appeal to the king, nor take it upon herself ("me afrento y me corro"), nor ask it from those who are listening since it would put them in danger. If she lives, though, it will be as the target of affronts and hatred:

> pues el temor es sin fruto,
> el consuelo es mentiroso,

la esperanza es lisonjera,
la dilación no es ahorro,
la venganza no se excusa,
y en el ofensor no hay modo --
vengarme yo de (mí) misma
será venganza de todos. (2142-49)

There is no power which can overcome one's fortune; she stabs herself, vowing her blood will wash away the stain on her honor and that she will be praised for choosing death. The play ends abruptly here, with a promise from Bruto that Colatino's revenge will follow in another play.[328]

In this last section of the play, Rojas has considerably changed Malvezzi's version of the rape and suicide. There is no remorse in Malvezzi's Sexto; he leaves the scene of the rape "tan alegre como triunfante." There is much more emphasis on public opinion in regard to her death in the Italian version. Lucrecia believes that the vulgo will say "que su muerte avia sido por no aver aguardado."[329] She is plagued by guilt because she yielded her chastity: "yo que intentava que nadie ignorasse mi honestidad, he cuidado mas de la gloria, que de la opinion misma...." Her death will be laid to "mala conciencia"; if she lives, it will be taken as consent to adultery. She demands death for herself "solo porque le agradé." This all sounds very much like the debate in Bandello, who had taken it from Coluccio, and this is probably where Malvezzi found inspiration for his passage. There is none of this in Rojas, primarily because his heroine did not have to choose and she consistently favored honor over reputation, "Yo que sólo a mi opinión/y al honor atendí sólo." (2110-1)

Malvezzi and Rojas are similar in their treatment of the cause of Sexto's lust, up to a point. Rojas has taken Malvezzi's question: "¿Pero de qué se alentó aquel monstruo a maldad tanta? ¿Fue acaso de mi honestidad...?" which is very close to Bandello's version: "Il

disio che io aveva d'acquistarmi il pregio e titolo d'onesta m'ha fatto bersaglio di cosi vituperosa ingiuria...."[330] But Rojas omits a discussion of this paradox which Malvezzi included. The latter put the blame for the incitement to lust solely on Sexto: "Los hõbres luxuriosos le sirvẽ de todoslos sẽtidos, i aũ del mismo entẽdimiẽto para incẽtivo de la misma sensualidad...es virtud de si tan amable, que se haze amar aun del mismo vicio." (1648 trans., pp.125r-126 v) He concludes that nature is not to be blamed for such vice, which is outside its confines. This is an opposite conclusion to Shakespeare's, which accepts the destruction of virtue as part of the natural order.

Malvezzi and Rojas are closer in their descriptions of the possible kinds of revenge Lucrecia can take. When she decides to die, Rojas contents himself with noting that she chose it as the least of evils. Malvezzi is more elaborate. The suicide will prove her disdain of sensuality, make Sexto's crime even greater, serve as an example to women and to men, and allow her to escape from a society which is full of misfortune. In both versions, she succumbs to the dictates of Fortune,[331] but Rojas presents the more consistent stoic personality. He avoids any chance of criticism of her suicide by the abrupt ending, though Malvezzi continued the legend to its conclusion and included his consideration of the value of her death: "El caso de Lucrecia es ocasion, no causa del movimiento contra el tirano."[332] Perhaps, if Rojas did not have the historical precedent to follow, he would not have ended Lucrecia's dishonor in suicide. He is famous for creating heroines who take revenge into their own hands.[333] Though he was able to present a heroine of great prudence, and a rape scene which avoided the "necia" label, he seemed less certain regarding her death. Rather than wrestle

with the problem of suicide in the face of innocence, he avoided it by ending the play before any of the other characters had time to react. The ending does not do justice to the careful construction of the rest of the play; it is essentially the traditional revenge conclusion grafted onto the character of Lucrecia: "Even Lucrecia, before her suicide, talks of her self-inflicted vengeance in terms of a Calderonian husband."[334] For the first time in the legend, she refuses to ask her kinsmen to revenge her, indicative of her "discreción" in her concern for their safety and also of her desire to take revenge into her own hands. Indeed, Bruto promises us Colatino's revenge in another play, not his own (which is what Malvezzi portrayed). Lucrecia's death, in a sense, is Colatino's punishment by proxy. He is the "necio"; on his way home, before her suicide, he foresees "todo brasas y hielos/cuando mi ofensa, ¡oh vil temor!, me nombras." (1980-1) (emphasis mine) And though MacCurdy notes, "it is a bit disconcerting here to find that Colatino, momentarily at least, seems as concerned about his honor as about his wife's safety,"[335] it is completely plausible given that dishonor can kill, and that Lucrecia's loss and spiritual death is also his own. It is excessive credulity which is being punished here, not the heroine's, but her husband's.

In spite of the inconclusive nature of the ending, Rojas' drama is the most successful presentation to date of the legend. The sense of fatalism and of irony pervade the incidents which foreshadow the final disaster. Both Sexto and Lucrecia refer to their "hado fatal," which dictates his violence and her exposure to lust. In the burning of Servio's palace, the death of the "anciano," the ruse on the Gabii, the "comedia de repente," and the omens of the dove and the broken glass,

the inevitability of the end is made clear. The tendency of seventeenth-century Spanish dramatists to express psychological conflict in terms of action, "con una tectónica pictórica...una metáfora pictórica,"[336] becomes a skillful method, in Rojas' hands, of expressing the conflict between virtue and deceit.

This chapter on seventeenth-century versions of the Lucretia legend in Spain cannot be complete without mention of other, shorter pieces which illustrate the "Lucrecia/necia" tendency. MacCurdy includes in his edition of Rojas' Lucrecia a "baile" written by Agustín Moreto, Baile de Lucrecia y Tarquino.[337] Though it was written after Rojas' play, it does not parody it specifically. Rather, Moreto created a travesty of the legend, where only the names of the characters give some connection with the original story. He set the legend in a contemporary period and loaded it with references to popular songs, dances, jokes, and manners.

In brief, the "baile" begins with the musicians singing of Tarquino's pursuit of Lucrecia. As he chases her around the stage, a dueña appears who advises him to use money to achieve his desire. He offers a mere "media real," the dueña sarcastically refers to his "generosity," and Lucrecia pauses long enough in her refusals to inquire whether the money is real gold. When Tarquino steals a kiss from her hand, she decides to kill herself to erase the dishonor. Though she is dead, she is not silent. Colatino asks her why she stabbed herself:

> Luc. Yo me dí por ser honrada.
> Col. Quien tal hace, que tal pague. (119-20)

A "viejo" enters, exhorts the people of Rome to revolt while Tarquino and Colatino argue over whether Lucrecia told the truth about her

dishonor. Finally Colatino stabs the prince and advises him to marry Lucrecia in death so as to erase any stain on her honor. The "baile" ends happily with Lucrecia and Tarquino singing and dancing.

By transposing the legend to the contemporary scene, lowering the social plane of the characters, exaggerating their reactions and degrading their motives,[338] Moreto has stretched the dramatic possibilities to the point where the original story is virtually unrecognizable. His intent is to parody the code of honor and revenge rather than the legend itself. Thus, when Colatino first learns of the rape, he chides Tarquino:

> Tirano, siendo doncella
> sin haberla dado cosa,
> ¿por qué forzaste a mi esposa? (133-5)

Suicide for a kiss on the hand and the marriage after death as a solution for the dishonorable act burlesque the exaggerated tendencies of honor plays in general. Moreto's primary aim, though, was to entertain. One of the devices he used throughout the "baile" was to quote popular songs and proverbs in the last two lines of a stanza. In many of these references, "The only connection seems to be the rhyme."[339] The final effect of the piece is to avoid any commentary on the figure of Lucrecia and does not reveal any new treatment of the legend.

For a true parody of the legend, we must turn to Quevedo, whose penchant for satirizing the hallowed figures of the ancient past found ample opportunity in Lucrecia. In El Parnaso Español, Thalia, the sixth muse, is given the task of describing "poesías jocosas, que llamó burlescas el autor";[340] one of her poems deals with Tarquino's conversation with a "dueña" regarding the best way to win over Lucrecia. Quevedo begins by assuring us that the devil gave "dueñas" to the pagan past as well as the present; this one, named Marca Tulia, is grotesque

indeed. Tarquino begs her to arrange "un poco de adulterio" for which, he assures her, he would give his crown:

> Es honesta por el cabo
> (lloraba el rey como un niño),
> No sé que me hacer con ella,
> Aunque he pensado en un hijo. (p. 199)

The hag is surprised that a man with his force and influence should have hesitated to take what he wants. The rich can rely on force:

> Si el rey está sobre todos,
> Lucrecia estará en buen sitio;
> Sólo faltará el asalto,
> Y faldas, no son castillos. (p. 199)

Lucrecia will be, with all her refusals, "más forzada que en galeras,/ más cursada que camino." Aside from Tarquino's power, the hag is also confident because she has known Colatino since childhood and he is "padre de cabras/Sólo le falta lo chivo." As long as Tarquino has force on his side, he is right. Anyway, Lucrecia deserves some of the blame for having provoked him; "Quien sin querer enamora,/Sin querer sufra relinchos." She finally promises him to assume any guilt he might feel in forcing Lucrecia, so Tarquino goes off, rapes her and she kills herself. Quevedo concludes that:

> De ella nadie ejemplo toma,
> Que escándalo siempre ha sido
> Del tiempo, y por consonante
> De necia está en los abismos. (p.200)

There is a good possibility that Quevedo had Rojas' play in mind when he composed this parody. His satiric comments on the king being above the law, on the connection between skirts and castles, on the "necedad" of Colatino, on Tarquino's policy of "might makes right" suggest this, particularly in his satire on Colatino. The inclusion of the"dueña" is not surprising, since she was one of the most satirized figures in his poetry, and she provided the opportunity for all kinds

of sexual punning and allusions. Quevedo's final judgment of Lucrecia's "necedad" in committing suicide also fits well into his past attitudes. In the Nombre...de la dotrina estoica, mentioned above, he condemns the stoic practice of suicide as usurping divine will;[341] thus, Lucrecia remains in "los abismos," much as Middleton had conceived her fate. In spite of Rojas' strong defense of her chastity and virtue,then, the fact of her suicide still condemned her in many eyes.

Góngora also turns to the device of go-betweens and bribery[342] in order to satirize the Lucretia legend indirectly. In his Comedia del doctor Carlino,[343] he has a character named Lucrecia (not the same one as the Roman matron) submit to Gerardo for 100 escudos. Carlino advises him:

> Cien escudos de oro fino
> te dejarán ser Tarquino;
> y si esta noche quiés sello,
> su lecho te espera bello
> a pesar de Colatino,... (196-200)

Lucrecia is satisfied with the arrangement, and she assures Gerardo:

> Bien quedo lisonjeada
> del servicio que te he hecho,
> si tanto vas satisfecho
> cuanto me dejas pagada;
> y aunque te he servido en nada,
> estimar puedes, Gerardo,
> que del lecho que mal guardo
> las primeras son tus huellas;
> disculpen el yerro ellas,
> pues son de pie tan gallardo. (1270-9)

The inevitable "necia" rhyme follows in Gerardo's reply:

> Esto señora Lucrecia
> no es sino como se toma,
> que de la que admiró Roma
> hiciera donaire Grecia.
> Necia fue Porcia, y más necia
> la de tu nombre, y lo fundo
> en que a Porcia, echó del mundo
> el no admitir segundo hombre,
> y nada a la de tu nombre,
> admitido ya el segundo. (1290-9)

Gerardo advises her to pay no attention to the opinion of the "vulgo," who are insatiable and are never satisfied with one's virtue. Thus, Góngora has brought the legend full circle. Lucrecia's conscience still poses some small problem, but she is happy with the money and proud that, in a parody of Livy's phrase, "las primeras son tus huellas." Under the double attack of the Christian injunction against suicide and the cynicism about feminine virtue, Lucrecia's conduct is "necia" indeed.

(271) Raymond MacCurdy, Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla (New York: Twayne, 1968), p.136. MacCurdy attributes the dearth of studies on Rojas to the uneven nature of his talent and the relatively small number of plays he left. For a thorough analysis of Rojas' style, see MacCurdy's Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla and the Tragedy (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1958). Approximately one third of Rojas' oeuvre -- 16 plays -- can be classified as tragedies. Cf. also by MacCurdy, "La tragédie néo-sénéquienne en Espagne au XVIIe siècle, et particulièrement le thème du tyran," in Les Tragédies de Sénèque et le Théatre de la Renaissance, ed. Jean Jacquot (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1964), pp.73-85. Pages 82-5 deal specifically with Lucrecia.
Already a court dramatist in 1635, Rojas strove to engage the interest of an aristocratic audience which was thoroughly familiar with the conventions of the comedia. Much of his unusual treatment of themes and the liberal use of comic subplots has been attributed to the taste of his audience. Besides MacCurdy, see Juan Luis Alborg, Historia de la literatura española (Madrid: Gredos, 1970), vol.2, p.750. For the possibility that Rojas was seriously at odds with these dramatic conventions, see J. Rodríguez Puértolas, "Alienación y Realidad en Rojas Zorrilla," Bulletin Hispanique LXIX (july-Dec. 1967), pp.325-46.

(272) A.A. Parker, The Approach to the Spanish Drama of the Golden Age (London: Hispanic and Luso-Brazilian Councils, 1957), pp.9-10. Cf. MacCurdy: "Although Rojas tended to mete out poetic justice to his characters, he was equally prone to end his plays with spectacular death scenes whether justice was served or not, as seen in Persiles y Segismunda." (Twayne ed., op.cit., p.108)

(273) Though Rojas probably referred to Livy's version of the legend, and also used an anonymous ballad which he quotes in Act II, his principal source is undeniably Malvezzi's Tarquinio. There is even a good chance he knew Malvezzi personally, as they both served at the court of Philip IV in the 1630's. The Italian text, published in 1632 in Bologna, was immediately popular and went through several Spanish editions. For a brief history of these editions, see MacCurdy's edition of Rojas' Lucrecia y Tarquino, op.cit., pp. 12 ff. I have supplemented the extensive quotations from the 1635 translation by Francisco Bolle-Pintaflor, which MacCurdy supplies throughout the text, with the 1648 edition, also probably translated by the same person, though Francisco de Quevedo's name is affixed to it. (Las obras del Marqués Virgilio Malvezzi, trans. Francisco de Quevedo Villegas (?) (Lisbon: Juan Leite Perera, 1648). MacCurdy believes this translation to be identical with Bolle-Pintaflor's, but he does speculate that the latter might have been a pseudonym, perhaps for Quevedo himself. Quevedo knew Malvezzi well and imitated him in his Marco Bruto.

(274) The tentative dating is MacCurdy's, who has edited the only edition of the play. Only two copies of Lucrecia exist, one in the British Museum and the other in the Bibliothèque National. This is the only seventeenth-century drama in Spain which deals with the legend, another instance of Rojas' original bent of

mind. Though "pleading in favor of virtue" was a common enough theme, "it seldom serves the purposes of tragedy because the chaste were not regarded as proper subjects for catastrophe." MacCurdy, Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla and the Tragedy, op.cit., p.16.

(275) Cf. MacCurdy, ibid., p.98: "Lucrecia owes its tragic power to rigid plot control."

(276) Joseph Gillet, "Lucrecia-necia," op.cit., p.135.

(277) Raymond MacCurdy, Lucrecia y Tarquino, op.cit., p.120, note to 495 ff. For a discussion of Rojas' staunch defense of women's courage and virtue in his plays, see Brigitte Wittmann's edition of his Donde ay agravios no ay zelos (Geneva: Droz, 1962), pp. 203 ff. and Américo Castro's edition of his Cada qual lo que toca and La viña de Nabot (Madrid: Impr. de los sucesores de Hernando, 1917), pp. 183 ff.

(278) Baltasar Gracián, Oráculo Manual y Arte de Prudencia, ed. Miguel Romera-Navarro (Madrid: CSIC, 1954), p. 471. Published in 1674, Gracián's treatise was popular enough to go through four separate editions and nine others as part of his works in the seventeenth century. During this same period, twelve editions appeared in France, two in England and four in Italy.

(279) Gracián, ibid., p.52.

(280) Aldo Scaglione, Nature and Love in the Late Middle Ages, op.cit., p.85. This kind of prudence demanded, among other things, that revenge be taken in secret. Scaglione notes that this interpretation of virtuous action is not Christian in essence. Rojas presents his characters' errors as a violation of this code of prudent conduct and avoids the Christian condemnation of the desire for earthly glory and of suicide. On this topic, see also Bruce Golden, "Calderón's Tragedies of Honor: Topoi, Emblem, and Action in the Popular Theater of the Siglo de Oro," Renaissance Drama III N.S. (1970), p.245: "Prudence is the byword of the honor hero." Among the original meanings of "discreción" is the ability to separate dust from bran with a sieve, and, by extension, the ability to distinguish one thing from another. By the sixteenth century, it signified "sensatez para formar juicio y tacto para hablar u obrar." Cf. Martín Alonso, Enciclopedia del idioma (Madrid: Aguilar, 1958), vol.2, p.1576.

(281) Heavy borrowing is typical of Rojas' style: "Rojas, como otros contemporáneos suyos, especialmente Moreto, revela ser discípulo fiel de la manera de componer por contaminatio, ideando una pieza original por medio de la fusión de otras obras o de sus partes." See Joseph G. Fucilla, "Sobre las fuentes de Del Rey Abajo, Ninguno," Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica V (1951), p.186. Malvezzi was known and respected as both a stylist and a moralist, "che rinnovava ed emulava

Seneca, ed il maggiore, se non el primo per tempo, dei 'senechisti' italiani." Cf. Benedetto Croce, "Virgilio Malvezzi e i suoi pensieri politici e morali" in Atti della Reale accademia di Scienza Morali e Politiche dela Società Reale de Napoli 52 (1928), p.6. Gracián, in the Criticón, praised his style "en la profundidad, en la concisión, en la sentencia...pues no tiene palabra que no encierre un alma, todo es viveza y espíritu." (quoted in Croce, p.5) Contemporary writers were also impressed by his ability to represent, through imaginary dialogues, the inner reasons for human actions; "Refiérese lo que vieron todos, y lo que él procuró (si fuese posible) que no se viese." From Francisco de Quevedo, preface to his translation of Malvezzi's Rómulo, cited in MacCurdy, Lucrecia y Tarquino, op.cit., p.13. Malvezzi greatly influenced both Quevedo and Gracián in content and style.

(282) Cf. Pastor, 447-8: por su ley y por su rey
deben los hombres morir.
MacCurdy also notes this similarity on p.110, note to 1.5 in his edition of Lucrecia, but he does not think that Rojas knew Pastor's play (p.37). See footnote 294 and particularly footnote 311 for other parallels between the two plays. The latter is especially striking.

(283) MacCurdy, Lucrecia, op.cit., p.112, note to 11. 103 ff. For example: Aquí de un torreón la pesadumbre
por caer titubea de su cumbre.
Sin lengua dice a voces,"¡que me abraso!" (115-7)
The use of battle imagery to suggest an attack on feminine honor was a common practice, as in the siege metaphors in Shakespeare's "Lucrece." Cf. also Cervantes, Las dos doncellas: "...cada palabra era un tiro de artillería que derribava parte de la fortaleza de mi honra; cada lágrima era un fuego en que se abrasava mi honestidad,.... " Cf. Obras completas, ed. Rudolph Schevill and A. Bonilla y San Martín (Madrid: Gráficas Reunidas, 1914-35), vol.11, p.15.

(284) MacCurdy notes the close parallel between these lines and Machiavelli's advice in Il Principe: "...è molto piu sicuro essere temuto che amato, quando si abbi a mancare dell' uno de' dua." (p.113, note to 11. 149-52) Machiavelli continues with a warning: "...debbe solamente ingegnarsi di fuggire l'odio...," which the Tarquins clearly fail to do. Cf. Il Principe, ed. Mario Casella (Milan: Libreria d'Italia, 1930), p.142.

(285) Otis Green, Spain and the Western Tradition (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966), vol.3, p.289. Green cites such works in Spain as Claudio Clemente's El machiavelismo degollado por la christiana sabiduría de España y Austria (1637), which condemned Seneca and Jean Bodin along with Machiavelli as the hated masters of the doctrine of reason of state. For a discussion of the various forms of anti-Machiavellianism, see Anthony Parel, "Machiavelli's Methods and His Interpreters" in The Political Calculus, ed. Anthony Parel (Toronto: University

of Toronto Press, 1972), pp.3-32 and especially Giuseppe Toffanin, Machiavelli e il"Tacitismo" (Padova: Draghi, 1921), chapter 5 and Friedrich Meinecke, L'idée de la raison d'état dans l'histoire des temps modernes, trans. Maurice Chevallier (Geneva: Droz, 1973), chapter 2: "C'étaient deux mondes qui se heurtaient l'un à l'autre comme l'eau et le feu....il [Gentillet] voyait clairement que tout son monde et sa façon de vivre, la morale, l'honneur et les intérêts de sa classe, les anciens droits et avantages dont il jouissait entoute innocence et sécurité, que tout cela était menacé si les privilèges du prince, froidement, diaboliquement agencés, étaient seuls à diriger l'État." (p.57)

(286) See Croce, op.cit., p.9. Cf. also Malvezzi, Il Tarquinio, 1648 edition, p.97r: "Yo no vitupero a los Principes, porque se hacen temer, sino porque no saben hazerse temer...Es bien hazer que teman los hombres, pero no es bien hazerse temer de los hombres....El temor quiere ser hijo de la Magestad, no de la crueldad...." It was the Conde-Duque de Olivares who had requested Malvezzi's presence in Madrid in 1636 to write a history of Felipe III and Felipe IV and to become his adviser. In 1640 he was appointed ambassador to England from Spain.

(287) Malvezzi, El Tarquino superbo in MacCurdy, Lucrecia, op.cit., p.115, note to ll. 225 ff. Cf. also Machiavelli, op.cit., pp. 143, 145: "Pertanto, a uno principe è necessario sapere bene usare la bestia e l'uomo....e quello che ha saputo meglio usare la golpe, è meglio capitato. Ma è necessario questa natura saperla bene colorire, ed essere gran simulatore e dissimulatore...."

(288) Martin Fleisher cites this as a salient feature of Machiavellian doctrine: "Solely concerned with ways and means, it [reason] does not determine the ends of action," nor does moral law. See "A Passion for Politics: The Vital Core of the World of Machiavelli" in Machiavelli and the Nature of Political Thought, ed. Martin Fleisher (New York: Atheneum, 1972), p.133.

(289) There are no scene divisions in the three acts of the play. Julia is seen handing various articles of clothing to her mistress. Sturgis Leavitt notes that half-dressed females were a common element in Rojas' plays: "This is not very startling, but the point is that it is not necessary to have her [Lucrecia] appear this way at all." Perhaps this is another instance of Rojas' desire to keep the "interest" of his audience. See "Strip-tease in Golden Age Drama," Homenaje a Rodríguez-Moñino (Madrid: Castalia, 1966), vol.1, p.309.

(290) For a discussion of the "comedia de repente" and its popularity at the court of Felipe IV, see MacCurdy, Lucrecia, op.cit., p.118, note to ll. 364-8.

(291) The parallels between this scene and Heywood's Lucrece are striking. In the English play, Lucrece also admonishes her maid that she must be "Earliest to rise, and to be up most late." (1549) She refuses an invitation to a banquet as damaging

to her honor and scolds Pompey for improper conduct with her maid. Both Heywood and Rojas portray a cautious Lucrece whose virtue is under siege.

(292) Francisco de Quevedo, Nombre, origen, intento, recomendación y decencia de la dotrina estoica in Obras completas, ed. Luis Astraña Marín, 3rd ed. (Madrid: Aguilar, 1945), vol.2, p.875. Cf. also Seneca, epistle LXXIV: Non est summa felicitatis nostrae in carne ponenda; bona illa sunt vera, quae ratio dat, solida ac sempiterna, quae cadere non possunt, ne decrescere quidem aut minui.

(293) Jacques Maurens, La Tragédie sans tragique (Paris: Armand Colin, 1966), p.78. Cf. also Norman Council (op.cit., p.29): those who rely on inner virtue alone "do so in despair over the moral disarray of their world."

(294) Cf. the theft of the dove in Pastor and MacCurdy, Lucrecia, op.cit., p.121, note to ll. 540 ff. The dove was a common Siglo de Oro symbol for chastity, Though Lucrecia's sole reliance on virtue might sound very much like Augustine's exhortations, she is committing the sin of pride in Christian terms by denying any standard other than her own.

(295) The unity of a husband and wife in terms of honor was based upon what were thought to be the natural affinities of women for men; Lope argues that women cannot live without men "porque saliendo del mismo, ha de volver a su primera causa, como a la mar los ríos." Cf. his Dedication of La vengadora de la mujeres cited in Melveena McKendrick, "The 'mujer esquiva'," Hispanic Review 40, no.2 (Spring 1972), p.164. Rojas has Lucrecia say that her honor is not her own, though she has chosen that it is his of her own free will. Any loss of honor on her part is concomitantly Colatino's loss: "If a wife or daughter should be dishonored by force, again her honor in and of itself was merely circumferential, The main concern was how the honor of the male protector was affected." Cf. Lucy A. Sponsler, "Women in Spain: Medieval Law versus Epic Literature," Revista de Estudios Hispánicos 7, no.3 (Oct. 1973), p.433.

(296) In theory, at least, honor was "la sombra de la virtud" (Gracián, El Criticón, cited in Gillet, Propalladia, op.cit., vol.4, p.194) and "la virtude era la causa y la honra el efecto." (Mathías Duque, in Gillet, ibid., p.194) The problem of honor was not peculiar to Spain, but it was more important there as a dramatic theme. See Arnold Reichenberger, "The uniqueness of the 'comedia'," Hispanic Review 27 (1959), pp. 305 ff. For a contrasting opinion of the basis of honor, cf. Guillaume Oncieu, La Precedence de la Noblesse (Lyon: Jean Baptiste Buisson, 1593): "L'honneur ne demeure riere & au pouvoir de celuy qui l'a acquis...mais il le possede au coeur, au iugement, & en l'opinion de ceux qui le cognoissent...." (p.29)

(297) As William Fichter points out in his analysis of Spanish views on honor, in actuality, esteem was virtually as important as virtue. Even moralists recognized the necessity for both: "Necedad de marca mayor, haciendo a todos saber su afrenta, diciéndola él por su misma boca...." Cf. Barrionuevo, Avisos cited in Fichter's edition of Lope's El castigo del discreto (New York: Instituto de las Españas en los Estados Unidos, 1925), p.31, footnote 41. Fichter notes that it was an even greater "necedad" to put honor in a woman to the test, as Colatino did. In Lope's El castigo, the husband's praise of Felisardo to his wife had caused her to fall in love with him. He admits "no fuy discreto," but decides to avert any dishonor secretly, which he succeeds in doing. Perhaps the desire for secrecy in matters of honor is a cause of the marked lack of trials for rape and abduction which were recorded in the seventeenth century. See Ruth Pike, "Crime and Criminals in Sixteenth-Century Seville," Sixteenth-Century Journal VI, no.1 (April 1975), p.10.

(298) Cf. Gustavo Correa, "El doble aspecto de la honra en el teatro del siglo XVII," Hispanic Review 27, no.2 (April 1958), p.103: "Correlativa de la cualidad de hombría en el varón se halla el de la virtud en la mujer, que se refiere a la pureza y moralidad de su conducta." See also Kelso, op.cit., p.98:"No simple matter, evidently, was this guarding of reputation by the wife...One finally comes indeed to feel that it was a sort of pitched battle between a woman and the rest of her world, including at times even her husband...." Peter Podol, in his study of the honor code in the Siglo de Oro theater, concludes that the vast majority of dramas abided by the conventions of right conduct. See his "Non-conventional Treatment of the Honor Theme in the Theatre of the Golden Age," Revista de Estudios Hispánicos 7, no.3 (Oct. 1973), pp. 449-63. Cf. also Chapter II, footnote 139.

(299) Both Tarquins, father and son, are associated with fire imagery throughout the play. Besides their burning and destruction of Servio's power, Sexto compares his father's abuses to fire:

> su crueldad, su tiranía
> es un encendido fuego
> que cuando todo lo abrasa,
> se consume el a sí mesmo (652-4).

This is an apt description of Sexto's lust, and, before the rape, Lucrecia will also describe Tarquin's power in terms of fire.

(300) See the note to ll. 599 ff. (p.122) for the pertinent passage from Malvezzi, which is Turnus' address to the Latins. The closeness of the borrowing can be seen from the following excerpts: "Las figuras de estatura mayor, se han de alexar de la vista, que dellas se goza mejor en la distancia." (Malvezzi) to "Las figuras mayores/lejos se proporcionan a mejores;/ y los que nos exceden,/con la distancia tolerar se pueden." (617-20, Rojas)

(301) Machiavelli, Il Principe, op.cit., p.146: "A uno principe, adunque, non è necessario avere in fatto tutte le soprascritte qualità, ma è bene necessario parere di averle." Cf. also Martin Fleisher,

op.cit., p.134: "Belief, then, not knowledge is central to political behavior and hence the world of politics does not recognize the classical distinction between appearance and reality." The confusion of appearance and reality, a favorite Baroque theme, is presented on several levels in Lucrecia. Politically, it is Sexto's deception of the Gabii and his betrayal of his role as prince; personally, it is Lucrecia's struggle to maintain her honor in both reality and appearance.

(302) Malvezzi, El Tarquino superbo in MacCurdy, Lucrecia, op.cit., p.24, footnote 14.

(303) Gracián, Oráculo Manual, op.cit., p.509.

(304) Malvezzi also used this example, which derives from Dionysius of Halicarnassus, II, 449. MacCurdy points out, in his note to 11. 818 ff. (p.125) that Rojas reversed the roles of Thrasybulus and Periander, as had Malvezzi. See footnotes 229 and 231 of Chapter V for Heywood's use of the same incident.

(305) See María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, Dido en la literatura española, op.cit., for the favorable Spanish view of her chastity. Rojas' choice of Dido foreshadows the suicide. Cf. Tirso de Molina, La prudencia en la mujer III, 4:

> No me aborrece a mí porque desprecia
> la casta voluntad que en ella empleo,
> sino por dar a España otra Lucrecia,
> imitando a la viuda de Siqueo.

(cited in Lida, p.345)

(306) See footnote 138, Chapter II, for a reference to the "beautiful but dumb" topos. Rojas also used it elsewhere, as in Entre bobos anda el juego: "Que es entendida/y debe de ser muy fea." Cf. his Teatro, ed. F. Ruiz Morcuende (Madrid: Ediciones de "la Lectura," 1917), p.184, 11.725-6. Cf. also Gracián, Oráculo Manual, op.cit., p.529: "tanta suele ser la necedad quanta fuere la hermosura." The combination in Lucrecia of beauty and wisdom makes her virtue even more outstanding.

(307) MacCurdy transcribes Malvezzi's commentary on women, from which Bruto's warning is taken, in the note to 11. 904 ff., pp. 126-7. Cf. Quevedo's translation of Seneca's epistle XLI: " Quién más loco que quien admira cosas que brevemente pueden transferirse a otro!...Alábale lo que ninguno puede quitarle ni darle, lo que es propio del hombre." (Obras completas, op.cit., pp.1505-6); Gracián (Oráculo Manual, op.cit., p.243): "Nunca el discreto se ha de dar por entendido de sus méritos, que el mismo descuido despierta en los otros la atención. Dos veces es eminente el que encierra todas las perfecciones en sí y ninguna en su estimación...." Ruth Kelso also points out that this was a common warning to husbands (op.cit., p.98): "husbands were admonished...of the heavy duty that lay upon them to keep their wives from temptation and opportunity to sully their chastity."

(308) Cited in note to ll. 904 ff., p.126. Thomas Heywood was also careful to portray Colatino as sober when he participated in the wager.

(309) Cited in note to ll. 904 ff., pp.126-7.

(310) "Con pocas excepciones, a las mujeres no las dedica más que desprecio...." Cf. Prologue to Malvezzi's Historia de los Primeros Años del Reinado de Felipe IV by D.L.Shaw, op.cit., p.xix. However, Malvezzi was not about to condemn women wholesale. In his Il Ritratto del Privato Politico Christiano (1635), he at least defends their existence: "Coloro che credono che la Donna non sia formata contro l'intenzione della natura, che non sia un errore, che non sia un mostro, bisogna che affermino che è fatta per la generazione...." (cited in Croce, op.cit., p.28) Cf. also Quevedo's translation of his El Rómulo in Obras completas, op.cit., pp.1357-8: "Las mujeres son hechas para estar en casa, no para andar vagando. Sus gustos han de ser los de sus maridos, participados, no proprios. El llevarlas a las fiestas mueve tal vez al que las ve; si son feas, a desprecio; si hermosas, a concupiscencia....La honestidad es un color delicado que teme el aire, y es un cristal lucidísimo que se empañe con la vista deshonesta...."

(311) Pastor has Tarquino praise Lucrecia in similar terms: "ya, Diana, sin mas ver,/puedes callar,/y tú, Andrómaca sin par,/ con la linda Policena,/y también la reyna Elena,/por quien fue tanto llorar;/también (les) puede ayudar,/Penélope,/y otras muchas que yo sé;/callen todas sin mas nada,/pues que son sombra soñada/ delante la que conte/;...." (641-52) MacCurdy notes the irony of Sexto's praise, and that it is he who absolves Lucrecia of guilt after the rape, which is precisely the role Tarquino plays in Pastor.

(312) The Siglo de Oro audience would have understood Lucrecia's concern. See Fray Luis de León, La perfecta casada, op.cit., p.514: "Porque en la mujer semejante [i.e., bella], la ocasión que hay para no ser buena por ser codiciada de muchos, esa misma hace en muchos grande sospecha de que no lo es: y aquesta sospecha basta para que ande en lenguas menoscabada y perdida su honra." Cf. also Gracián, Oráculo Manual, op.cit., p.248: "Consiste el crédito en el recato más que en el hecho...."

(313) Malvezzi, El Tarquino superbo, 1648 edition, p. 126r. Rojas did not find the omen of the broken glass in Malvezzi, but it is a traditional symbol for honor in the Siglo de Oro theater and its destruction foreshadows the rape.

(314) Rodolfo Brändl, in Virgilio Malvezzi, politico e moralista (Basilea: Tipografia dell'USC, 1964), p.66, makes the point that Malvezzi was primarily interested in the psychology of a tyrant and in demonstrating how not to govern in Il Tarquinio. Indeed, Malvezzi follows the traditional version of the rape with only minor changes. Cf. his opening remarks in the 1648 edition, p.95r: "Yo escrivo una tragedia provechosa; la vida de un Principe tirano,

que reinando desconforme a la razon, hizo unas sus acciones, siendo malos sus principios, los medios peores, y los fines malissimos....es mucho mas facil dezir, assi no deve ser el Principe, que assi deve ser, al negativa, que la afirmativa."

(315) Fabio's linguistic punning here is a good example of the kind of humor Rojas favored in this play:

(Cuando el que huye, acomete,
músico debe de ser;
que hay mucho que conocer
en la fuga de un falsete.) (1415-8)

As MacCurdy notes on p.133, the humor is in the pun on music, the double meanings of fuga (fugue and flight) and falsete (falsetto and false one). Fabio's commentary on the action is given as an objective observer. He can, at one and the same time, appreciate Lucrecia's virtue in refusing the invitation and accompany Sexto to her house, knowing he intends to rape her. He, as Pericles, adapts to those in power. Rojas' restraint in using humor is one of the strong points of the play. He was not as careful in other works. In Progne y Filomena, for example, immediately preceding the rape, Juanete (the gracioso) suffers an attack of diarrhea.

(316) Though this is new to the legend, MacCurdy notes on p.133 (note to ll. 1631-2) that the motif of occupying the husband while the wife is under attack is a common one in Spanish letters. Fabio also pokes fun at it during the skit. See above, p.181.

(317) Gracián, Oráculo Manual, op.cit., p.248.

(318) See MacCurdy's note to ll. 1779-80, p.135. The idea that a king cannot offend his subjects in terms of the honor code is bound up with the impossibility of a subject taking revenge against him.

(319) The theme of reason versus passion is a favorite of the Siglo de Oro and Baroque drama in general; "Los dramaturgos tanto como los moralistas se interesaron en la lucha entre la pasión y la razón." Everett W. Hesse, Análisis e interpretación de la comedia (Madrid: Castalia, 1968), p.18. Sexto makes reference to his loss of reason when he first sees Lucrecia; she, as a stoic heroine, appeals to its power rather than to Sexto's sense of honor, the laws of kinship and hospitality, and all the other pleas we have seen her use.

(320) The romance from Agustín Durán's collection (op.cit., p.564) is reproduced by MacCurdy on pp. 10-12 of Lucrecia. She urges Sexto to control himself, vows that neither love nor force will open the door to her honor and appeals to the gods. The king (confused with his son) obeys the dictates of his passion, but Lucrecia is also chastised for having outraged "el himeneo santo" by yielding her chastity: "Que la voluntad forzada/Es voluntad en juicio." The author of the romance calls her suicide "gentil castigo," "Pues la ofensa ha de lavarse/Con

sangre del que la hizo." There is none of this censure in the play. MacCurdy points out that Rojas often used ballads as a comic interlude to parody the main action, though he calls its appearance in this passage "grotesque." See his "Two Instances of Rojas Zorrilla's Parody of Spanish Ballads" in Homenaje a Rodríguez-Moñino (Madrid: Castalia, 1966), vol.1, p.369.

(321) Gustavo Correa, op.cit., p.105, footnote 17. See also Ernest H. Templin, "The Exculpation of 'Yerros por amores' in the Spanish Comedia," Publications of the University of California at Los Angeles in Language and Literature 1, no.1 (1933), pp.1-50.

(322) Malvezzi, El Tarquino superbo, 1648 edition, p.126r.

(323) Ibid., p.127v.

(324) The manuscript (Escorial G.II,19) is in prose. Gower was considered the equal of Chaucer in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and his popularity is attested to by the large number of manuscripts extant (40) and to this double translation from Portuguese to Spanish: "The Confessio Amantis is the earliest English book which made its way beyond the limits of its own language." G.C. Macauly in The Complete Works, op.cit., vol.2, p.vii. MacCurdy was apparently not familiar with this work, as he speculates on p.32, footnote 20 of Lucrecia that Rojas' is the first work to portray the heroine as unconscious during the rape.

(325) John Gower, Confisión del amante, ed. Adolf Birch-Hirschfeld (Leipzig: Dr. Seele & Co., 1909), p.449. Cf. the English version: And hire in bothe his armes tok.

...

Lucrece, which he naked fond
Whereof sche swounede in his hond,
...lay ded oppressed. (4973,4985-7)

Though Malvezzi has Lucrecia say that her body "era un cadáver" during the rape, her yielding and her defense of her virtue clearly indicate that she was conscious.

(326) Gower, op.cit., p.437.

(327) M. Menéndez y Pelayo, Orígenes de la novela, op.cit., vol.2, pt. 1, p.xxii. Though the Spanish translation of the Novelle by Juan de Millis Godinez (1589) did not include the Lucretia legend, it was available in the French versions. Menéndez y Pelayo notes that though only a small portion of Bandello's tales were actually translated into Spanish, the novelists and dramatists of the period consistently used a wide range of his stories. All quotes in the following passages are taken from the edition of Bandello's Novelle already cited.

(328) There is an anonymous play (Biblioteca Nacional no. 12974^{46}) which deals with the events after the rape. Though Paz y Melia identified it as Rojas', MacCurdy believes it is not

his based on the style and meter. As far as he knows, the second play was never written. See his comments in Lucrecia, p.2. Malvezzi continued the legend until the overthrow of the Tarquins. He put Bruto's desire for revenge more to his desire to free Rome than to avenge Lucretia and described the skillful rhetoric Bruto used in urging the people to revolt. Death is not useful if it only satisfies revenge, he has Bruto say. It must provide more. For Machiavelli's evaluation of the suicide in these terms, see Chapter V, p. 150.

(329) MacCurdy, Lucrecia, p.138, note to ll. 2062 ff. The following quotes from Malvezzi are from this passage.

(330) Malvezzi, cited in MacCurdy, p.139, note to ll. 2062 ff. Bandello, op.cit., p.855.

(331) Cf. Seneca, epistle LXX: "Cogitat semper, qualis vita, non quanta sit. Si multa occurrunt molesta et tranquillitatem turbantia, emittit se....Nihil existimat sua referre, faciat finem an accipiat, tardius fiat an citius...Citius mori aut tardius ad rem non pertinet, bene mori aut male ad rem pertinet. Bene autem mori est effugere male vivendi periculum." Malvezzi, in his explanation of man's preference for suicide over death by another's hand, writes: "Esto no es otra cosa, que rendirse a la fortuna, con quien batallan intrepidamente los valorosos hasta el ultimo espiritu." (1648 edition, p. 127r)

(332) Ibid., p.129r.

(333) See MacCurdy, Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla and the Tragedy, op. cit., pp. 36 ff. The most famous example is Isabel in Cada cual lo que le toca; she is seduced before her marriage and eventually kills her lover. Otis Green notes that suicide became a less acceptable solution in the seventeenth century (op.cit., pp. 181 ff.). However, loss of honor was equated with a spiritual death. Lucrecia laments that she is no longer a person after the rape. In Obligados y ofendidos, Rojas writes: "Me han de costar la vida,/pues me quitan la honra." (Biblioteca de Autores Españoles LIV, p.63b) In También la afrenta es veneno, Juan takes back his dishonored wife at the king's command, and dies.

(334) MacCurdy, Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla and the Tragedy, op.cit., p.36.

(335) Ibid., p.30. I disagree with MacCurdy's statement that the "spectators conditioned to...conventional honor plays...would have failed to comprehend why Lucrecia was destined for a tragic end." (Ibid., p.47) Rojas has carefully prepared his audience for the inevitability of Lucrecia's punishment for Colatino's sin. Her excessive pride in her own virtue was also being punished, but would not have warranted suicide in a traditional honor play.

(336) Federico Sánchez Escribano and Alberto Porqueras Mayo, Perspectiva dramática española del Renacimiento y el Barroco (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1965), p.48. A. A. Heathcote, in his review of Lucrecia (Bulletin of Hispanic Studies 42 (1965), pp. 57-8) also cites Rojas' skillful use of secondary motifs to echo the main action. He points out, though, that Lucrecia's virtue is "topsy-turvy" because it is "passive, self-regarding and hermetic." Given the demands made on a woman to protect her honor, this is the only way she could have acted. Rather than reflecting false values, her conduct is a model of what the manuals on good behavior demanded.

(337) Pages 142-8 of the Lucrecia edition. MacCurdy speculates it was probably written a few years after Rojas' play. The "baile" was often performed between acts of a play, as was the entremés, but with more singing and dancing. Moreto also burlesqued the Florinda la Cava legend in his Baile entremesado del rey don Rodrigo y la Cava. I would rather call Moreto's reworkings "travesties" than parodies, because so little remains of the original legend. Cf. Douglas Bush's definition: "Travesty is a free, humorous reworking of a serious narrative which retains the characters and at least a recognizable amount of the subject matter of the original, but reduces everything to the level of bourgeois comedy or farce." Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry, op.cit., p.298.

(338) Rafael de Balbín Lucas summarizes Moreto's techniques in Lucrecia in "Tres piezas menores de Moreto, inéditas," Revista de bibliografía nacional 3 (1942), pp. 80-116. Balbín lists borrowings from Góngora, romances líricos, romances fronterizos, etc. See also J.H. Parker, "Some Aspects of Moreto's 'Teatro Menor'," Philological Quarterly 51 (1972), pp.205-17.

(339) Parker, op.cit., p.215. For example, when the old man offers to avenge Lucrecia's death, Colatino answers "Garcilaso, sois muy mozo,/y en las guerras poco usado" which is a direct quote of a romance (Durán, p.127) on Garcilaso de la Vega. Moreto does change the word "armas" to "guerras." Lucrecia appears in another of Moreto's works, San Franco de Sena (Biblioteca de Autores Españoles 39, p.131) where the import, if not the rhyme of "Lucrecia-necia," is present: "...la misma Lucrecia/ Eres, pero no tan boba."

(340) Francisco de Quevedo, El Parnaso Español in Obras Completas, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles 69, p.127. The poem on Lucrecia (no. 512) covers pp. 199-200. All quotes are taken from this edition.

(341) Cf.,however, Quevedo's "Carta de Bruto a Cicerón" in his Marco Bruto. He is comparing the two Brutus', praising the Lucretian figure for his "sabiduría disimulada." He comments further that he knew to hide his revenge "con un delito tan participado en la honra de todos, como la fuerza que a Lucrecia hizo Tarquino,

en la piedad de una muerte tan religiosamente dolorosa como la de Lucrecia;...." Obras completas en prosa, op.cit., p.735.

(342) One of the earliest plays, if not the earliest, to dramatize the Lucretia legend also used the device of bribery. Hans Sachs' tragedy of 1527 includes a scene where Sextus is led to Lucrecia's chamber by her servant whom he has bribed. Sextus also tries to bribe Lucrecia to no avail. See Galinsky, op.cit., pp. 72 ff. for Sachs. MacCurdy does not take Sachs' piece into account when he speculates (p.37, Lucrecia) that Pastor's play might be the earliest on the legend.

(343) Luis de Góngora, Comedia del doctor Carlino in Obras Completas, ed. Juan Millé y Giménez y Isabel Millé de Giménez, 5th ed. (Madrid: Aguilar, 1961).

VII: CONCLUSIONS

Changes undergone by the Lucretia legend and changing attitudes toward Lucretia as a representative of her sex have been found in historical chronicles, manuals of conduct, theological treatises and varied literary productions. Of all these written forms, the drama provides a more complete idea of the debate engendered by the circumstances of the rape and suicide, circumstances which are peculiar to her story -- a loss of chastity by a royal personage without physical resistance, the paradox of her decision to lose virtue in order to save it, the choice of a self-inflicted death which posed a Christian dilemma and the need for self-justification. A pattern of changes can be formulated using as a starting point the content imposed by the legend, a structure which makes variations in values and "atmosphere" more readily apparent.[344]

Ancient versions admired Lucretia both as a representative of the purity and strength of the state, with her suicide as almost a ritual sacrifice to maintain that purity, and as an exemplum of virtue for men and women. Those qualities which were especially praised in women -- chastity, loyalty in love, modesty and industriousness -- were even overshadowed by certain more "masculine" traits -- overriding regard for glory, stoic renunciation of life and an heroic stance before death, concern over the liberty of the state. The former are primarily passive virtues, the latter, active; in their combination, Lucretia posed a unique figure.[345]

Christian commentators who still valued her role as a symbol of civic virtue would not condone her as an exemplum of personal

conduct. The suicide immediately jeopardized her position, but it was characterized, by Augustine, as symptomatic of a more profound error -- self-love, particularly in its emphasis on earthly glory. In the shift from a theocentric to a Christocentric view of human history, Lucretia was bound to come under attack. The ancients had taken it for granted that the decisions to yield her chastity and to commit suicide were hers to make; the choices, once made, were considered to be the correct ones and thus, she received praise. Augustine denied her the right to make such decisions even before he attacked their outcome. Christian injunctions against loss of chastity, a virtue which had become synonymous with woman through the image of the Virgin, invalidated her first choice. That she also expected to restore her good name after such a loss proved her to be proud and foolish. Finally, by taking her life, she usurped a primary perogative of God's authority. Augustine probably had an ulterior motive in his denigration of Lucretia, perhaps the sack of Rome by Alaric, which forced him to argue against suicide as a reaction to rape. But it was no easy matter to undermine Lucretia's example, so the Church Father turned to another aspect of her story which could most damage her "innocence." By focusing on the voluntary nature[346] of her yielding to Sextus, which sets this fable apart from most "rape" stories, Augustine emphasized the spiritual suicide which preceded the physical one. In his questions regarding the motives for her actions, he suggested a guilty pleasure, a too ready submission on her part and a subsequent atonement by death:

> Si adulterata, cur laudada; si pudica, cur occisa?
> (I,xix,89)

The corrupting power of lust on woman's weak nature insinuates itself into the legend at this time and becomes a major obstacle in her defense.

Various positions were possible in the polemic which developed. There were those, such as Jean de Meun and Don Álvaro de Luna, who avoided Christian censure, adopting the ancient attitudes without great changes, and those, such as Juan de Torres, who exaggerated it. Among those who recognized the polemic, one of the more favored positions for her defense was to point to her condition as an unenlightened pagan, faithful to goals which had been invalidated by Christ's coming, but which were nevertheless necessary to God's design in making Rome the center of the world. This qualified praise was particularly popular among compilers of courtesy manuals, written specifically to advise men and woman as to right conduct. By putting Lucretia within her period, they were able to both admire her "pagan" attributes without accepting her as a contmeporary model. "Glory" as a proper goal never became for women what it was for men. The emphasis for women was on protection, not proof, of virtue.

Both sides of the question were extensively debated. In one of the more thorough and sensitive expositions, by Coluccio Salutati, arguments are based not only on theological and historical premises but on practical considerations, reflecting the position of a dishonored wife in fourteenth-century Italy. Among the more important aspects of the debate which he expanded were:

-- the by then accepted idea that woman, as a physical entity, tempts man by her very existence and shares a portion of the guilt for his desires. Lucretia's beauty becomes an overwhelming cause, in virtually all later versions, of Sextus' passion and her physical perfection is regarded as a curse by her and her defenders.

-- the belief that women are by nature promiscuous and have

little control over their natural desires. Lucretia herself expresses fears that she will be drawn to committing illicit acts after the experience of uncontrolled passion. By contrast, Christine de Pisan had argued against this idea, claiming by Lucretia's example to prove that women do not enjoy rape. This idea is allied to the belief that there is a process of actual physical corruption through contact with male seminal fluid and a resulting propensity of the physical to pollute the mind. And in Lucretia's admission of having been "strumpeted" (rather than strictly adulterated), there is not only this fact of physical corruption, but the suggestion of its repetition.

-- an appeal to Nature as justification for the suicide, since the impure state of unchastity is unnatural, an aberration to be set to rights by eliminating it. This is paralleled by the repeated assertions of later Lucretias that they have lost their basis for being in their loss of honor; in their own estimation, they literally no longer exist: "e qual si lascia di suo onor privare/né donna è più, né viva...." (Petrarch, sonnet CCLXII)

-- the need to see her sacrifice as an example not only to later generations of women, as in Livy, but to her male counterparts, to exhort them to remove the poisoning tyranny from the state; "the tragic protagonist, in whom is subsumed the well-being of the people and the welfare of the state engages in conflict with a representative of darkness and evil...."[347]

-- the view that Lucretia's virtue is far beyond the norm, which leads some authors, such as Henri Estienne and Walter Map, to deny the efficacy of her example because it would be too difficult for most women to follow, and others, such as Chaucer, to call her a "saint."

-- the need to restore economic and social order within her family, in her dual roles as transmitter of property and as an element of that property. She fears an illegitimate child, refers to herself as damaged goods, and points to family shame as a primary reason for her yielding.

-- the closeness of husband and wife in terms of honor, in the sense that virtue meant not only adherence to God's commands, but fidelity to the husband in deed and thought. Lucretia, as a surrogate for her husband, puts his shame above her own as a cause for suicide. Collatine argues with Lucretia that her own knowledge of the chastity of her spirit must be enough for her, that her death might even be misconstrued (as it was) as an admission of guilt. Lydgate, in adapting Coluccio's declamations, has him appeal to her "discretion" and reason. On the contrary, Lucretia argues, discretion demands that a life of innuendo and shame must not be permitted for either of them, or, as Regio has the nurse speculate, Collatine would be forever running off to fight duels to defend his wife's honor.

This last point brings up the uneasy relationship between the appearance of virtue and its reality. Lucretia yielded her chastity in the first place because of the threat of the "appearance" of adultery, so from the very beginning of the legend great weight was given to appearances. But this was balanced by Lucretia's revelation and death, which put true virtue in a position of greater importance than appearances. If the latter, though, becomes more important, both decisions Lucretia made are invalid. Piccolomini has his Lucretia submit to Eurialus because "this fame is but a counterfeit glosse." In line with the courtly code of love, discretion and outward appearances

were tantamount to real virtue. In this context, Lucretia's suicide is foolish; she either should not have revealed the rape (as Pietro Aretino suggests) or not have punished herself, at the very least, for another's offense.

A conception of "Lucretia the fool" pervaded the Spanish tradition of the legend throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Examining the two crucial points of the story -- the submission and the stated motives for the suicide -- we find Juan Pastor's play to be the only one (of the six works reviewed here in detail) to dramatize Lucretia's conscious consent to the rape. She also, for the first time. in the legend, knows of Sextus' passion well before he violates her, and opens the door to her bedchamber for him with her own hand. Collatine's "necedad" is not much below that of his wife's. Pastor has him write a letter to Lucretia, to be delivered by Sextus, urging her at one and the same time to welcome the king's son and protect her honor in his absence. But Lucretia bears most of the weight of guilt. Before her death, she admits to both "culpa" and "peccado," points out that her consent has ruined her ("consenti/toda mi honrra perdi"), and affirms that without such honor she will be despised by everyone. She dies and the "bobo's" prediction comes true; it is truth (not virtue) which triumphs in the end. The courtly world turned upside down, where Collatine's fealty to the king and Lucretia's unsuspecting innocence meet a horrible end, contrasts with the bobo's world of deception and lust, where Lucretia is nothing but "puta y necia."

For the remainder of the sixteenth century, the three works which deal extensively with the legend leave Lucretia's consent to the rape in doubt. Filleul says only that Sextus attacked her; Regio has her

lie like a statue after Sextus threatens her with adultery, but whether she is paralyzed by fear or has submitted to the threat remains unclear. Shakespeare is ambiguous, at one point suggesting she was awake and at another, later point that she had fainted. They all, in spite of their ambivalence, share a belief in Lucretia's virtue (or honor) in conflict with a malevolent Fortune. The causes of her ruin are not in any errors she commits, but rather in the workings of divine revenge or fate. That she does not bear any shame for the outrage, in contrast to Pastor, is evident in her reasons for suicide. In Filleul's work, she dies for love of virtue, to defy Fortune, to awaken revenge and to uphold Roman tradition by rejecting a shameful life.

> La seule vertu demeure,
> Et tout va sous le tombeau...
> ...
> Mourons, mourons plustost qu'au deshonneur ceder.
> (131-2, 330)

Brutus, Collatine and Lucretia adhere to the belief that virtue is its own reward, which is precisely what Sextus rejects and which leads to his crime.

A similar providential view of the destiny of the great is present in Regio's Lucretia; she dies not from shame but to reaffirm her integrity, "che l'animo si scopre dal effetto." (16r) Both dramatists, who were churchmen and under the strong influence of the Counter Reformation, wrote while Europe was in the midst of upheavals. Both stress the decay of virtue as the world ages, lament the past Golden Age, and take a pessimistic view of the vicissitudes suffered by the virtuous in a less than perfect world. They deny the final victory to evil, however, and both end their plays with hope for the restoration of virtue in Rome.

Shakespeare also puts Lucretia's tragedy within a larger context of the struggle of good and evil, particularly "the inherent faculty of the desirable to generate desire."[348] An added problem is introduced when he, unlike Filleul and Regio, questions the nature of this virtue for which Lucretia is to die. The contrast between honor and honesty, the fact of her physical pollution and the knowledge of her inner virtue, pervades Lucretia's long debate over death before she finally yields to "senseless reputation." A similar split between physical and spiritual is found in Sextus and the painted figure of Sinon, who share a virtuous reputation, an unspotted coat of arms, and a corrupt spirit. The final mood of the poem is pessimistic, with Brutus' condemnation of the suicide as an act of weakness. Nor can Collatine, "the hopeless merchant of this loss," find words to dissuade Lucretia from her fate; he is as oppressed by the injustice of her death as she is. True virtue does not fare well in the world.

The two seventeenth-century plays I have reviewed vigorously support the heroine and do not reflect any of the "skepticism of the Baroque concerning women famous in history."[349] Unlike the prior dramas, both authors present Lucretia as unconscious during the rape and, more importantly, as having made no choice in the matter. Indeed, Heywood alters the legend by having her beg Sextus for death rather than dishonor. Misogynistic attitudes are expressed by Sextus, but Lucretia proves to be a peerless exemplum of virtue. Both dramatists provide undeniable (and invented) proof of her innocence -- a reprimand to her servants for "loose" conduct, a refusal of an invitation. There is also a marked shift of blame for the rape to Collatine. He had always been instrumental in Lucretia's ruin with his

foolish boasting, but in these two plays it is clear that without his direct aid, the disaster would not have happened. Heywood has Collatine give Sextus his ring, without which, as Lucretia repeatedly reminds us, he would never have gained entry into her house, regardless of his rank. Rojas has Collatine ignore the warning of Brutus and carefully lead the king's son to her door. Lucretia dies, not from shame, but because she has sunk to that level of "non-being" where good women dwell who have lost their honor, and because she is "natures scorne." Rojas' heroine has even less affection for life than Heywood's, but Collatine's blindness and the strength of passion overcome both prudence and reason; "Ya no es Lucrecia, Lucrecia." Her decision to die is understandable, given the carefully developed stoic character Rojas has made her, and is not what Melveena McKendrick calls "a betrayal of her sex, for by equating technical chastity with virtue, dignity and integrity -- all the qualities of which she was formerly so proud -- she forgets that she is a human being, remembering only that she is a woman."[350] For Lucretia, her suicide is precisely that witness to her integrity which she lacked and which was demanded of her by all the codes of feminine conduct. Her "innocence" was still very much a matter of conjecture. In the remaining plays of the seventeenth century on the legend, three in France and two in Italy, the debate remains the central issue.[351] Because of her heroic adherence to her own code of conduct, and because she was a woman, suicide remained, in the end, her only choice.

(344) Cf. Frank P. Casa, The Dramatic Craftsmanship of Moreto (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966), pp. 145-6: "What mattered was not the originality of the subject but the subject itself, its meaning and its spiritual relevance for the spectator." Cf. also Lienhard Bergel, "Imitation and Originality in Cinquecento Tragedy," op.cit., p. 772 for the use of drama as a way of dealing with contemporary issues.

(345) Lucretia is often compared to Virginia, whose possible loss of chastity led to a political upheaval. (See H. Petriconi,"El tema de Lucrecia y Virginia," op.cit.) An important difference, however, is that decisive action in the latter legend is left to Virginia's father, who kills her before she can be dishonored.

(346) Proof of active resistance on the part of the woman is still a primary factor in judging the guilt or innocence of an alleged rapist.

(347) Herbert Weisinger, "An Examination of the Myth and Ritual Approach to Shakespeare," in Myth and Mythmaking, ed. Henry Murray (1959; rpt. Boston: Beacon, 1969), p.134.

(348) Harold Walley, "'The Rape of Lucrece' and Shakespearean Tragedy," op.cit., pp.483-4.

(349) Joseph Gillet, Propalladia, op.cit., vol.4, p.373.

(350) Melveena McKendrick, Woman and Society in the Spanish Drama of the Golden Age (Cambridge, Eng.:Cambridge University Press, 1974), p.266. See also Louise George Clubb, Giambattista della Porta (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), who notes the tendency to controversy in the presentation of ancient female figures: "The sexual mores of literary heroines seem to have been as popular a subject of public discussion in the later Renaissance as the behavior of more substantial women is with the locker-room crowd today. The figures of Penelope and Dido received special attention...A character in Della Porta's Tabernaria (III,9) comes almost to blows in defense of Dido's reputation." (p.94, footnote 11) Penelope's chastity had been questioned by Pausanius (Description of Greece VIII, xii, 5-7).

(351) Of the French plays, one is anonymous from the beginning of the century, and the two others are by Pierre Du Ryer and Urbain Chevreau, from the mid 1630's. The Italian plays are by Giovanni Delfino (1656) and Giambattista Mamiani (1625). I intend to continue my studies to include these plays in the Lucretia tradition.

APPENDIX I. Aeneas Silvio Piccolomini, Epistola 411: Vindicta illatae violentiae, quam de se extorsit Lucretia Romana speculum pudicitiae.

Lucretia Spurii Lucretii filia, & Collatini Latini uxor à Sexto Tarquinio Regis Tarquini filio per uim cognita, ipsa consentiente, solum infamiae meru, ne Tarquinius, sicut minabatur, sibi occise rugulatum seruum ei sociaret. Vocatis ad se patre & uiro eis rem narrat, ultionem promitti facit, & demum se uult occidere: uetant pater & coniunx eiusmodi uerbis: Noli te afflictare Lucretia, satis magnum argumentum dedisti te adultero non consensisse, tibique uim illatam quam poenam eius expectas, quae ultro quod celare poteras accusas? Hoc adiuuat uita praecedens tua, quae non solum in hominum oculis, sed etiam in secretis domus penetrabilibus & frugalitatem pudicitiam coluisti. An recolis mea Lucretia, cum paucis ante diebus unà cum improbo illo adultero, prima facie huc aduenimus, tu inter seruas lanificio es reperta, interea improuisa, incauta, nec uirum, nec hospitem nunc expectans, ea dies, illa deprehensio castitatis, tibi uictoriam dedit. Regis nurus & filias commessationibus occupatas inuenimus, tu illis praelata es, tibi incorruptibilis gloria pudicitiae parata est, nos iniuria ulciscemur, quae moesta uiolentos compressus improbi iuuenis pertulisti, dum ille mala gaudia ex inuita capiebat: uidebis laeta meritum regia de prole supplicium. Cur cum coacta praebuisti sibi de libidine nephanda solacium, tua morte, tuoque cruore uis ferocem animum eius saciare? An tibi non satis nota crudelitas patris, immanitas filiorum? Iste corruptor tui corporis quot cedes expleuit in Gabios? quotibi interierunt innocentes? Si ipsum odis, si sibi ex animo supplicium exoptas, fac uiuas, fac ut te uideat in suis poenis exaltare, fac quod cum se uiderit inuisum & infamem periturum, te, cuius corpus attigit, uideat integro famae lumine superesse. Noli Lucretia uiduare coniugem, orbare parentem, & filiis matrem auferre. Opta uitam, ut aspicias aliquando uindictam. Non habes unde mori uelle debeas: pollutum est corpus, sed integer animus: Nulla sine consensu culpa contrahitur. Quis nescit te non potuisse resistere? nudam, dormientem, incautam, & nihil tale uerentem, armato iuueni ad homicidium uel adulterium praeparato: potuit ille aetate florida, & autoritate regia quamlibet aliam permulcere, & secum in illecebras trahere, rigidum uerò pectus tuum mollire non potuit. Solus ille cum duo tantum essetis uiolentiam tulit, & in corpus tuum adulterium patrauit atque perfecit. Tu quod muliebris fragilitatis est, iniuriam pertulisti, mentem intra concubitus uiolentiam pudicissimam conseruasti, si gloriam quaeris, nihil hinc glorie potes adiicere, que iuueni amanti & auidé libidinem suam explenti, te non mulierem carneam, sed statuam marmoreā praebuisti. Adde chara Lucretia, quod tu non mortem ullo uiolento cōsensu, sed infamiam effugere uoluisti. Tunc enim demū potestatem praebuisti tyranno, cum se tibi iugulandae seruum nudum occisurū iuxta corpus tuū minatus est. Te pater, te uir culpa absoluunt: noli sola te ipsam illa quā vocas culpa, damnare: infamiam morte fugemus? tu famam corrumpis, tristitiā uitae nobis morte, illata finimus. Tu uindictae gaudia mortis praeparās, nō expectas denique scelus aliquod? dum manus nobis iniicimus expiamum? tu innocentiam, occupata morte, corruptura es. Vir, pater,

Brutus & alii coniuncti qui te culpa absoluunt, ne te occidas uetant. Cur te occidendo iudicium ipsorum damnas? si te occidis, culpam tibi qua cares, quamũe fugis, incurris. Nunquam putabitur innocens, qui se nocentem supplicio afficit. Responsio Lucretiae antequàm se ense perfodiat: Nolite me, pater sanctissime, tu quoque luce quondam mihi charior coniunx, morti prohibere. Nisi me occidero, nunquam fides erit me potius, infamiam quàm mortem uitare maluisse. Quis unquam credat, quod ille me seruicidio terruerit? meque magis consociandi serui ignominiam suspiciosam timuisse quam mortem? nisi moriendi fortitudine audaciaqũe probauero. Restabit me miseram turpissima labes infamiae Lucretiam potius adulteram uoluisse uiuere quàm pudicam mori. Nonne uidetis, quod me non uitae uultis, sed infamiae conseruare? consulitis quod permisistis iniuriae. Sanctitare matrimoniales thoros facite, quod ultro tant flagitii securos reddat aliarum somnos.Si negligentius hoc egeritis, uagabitur effrenis libido, & nedum uiris absentibus, sed etiam in maritorum complexibus Romanae mulieres proteruorum iniuria, iuuenum comprimentur. Etenim quae mulier erit tuta, uiolata Lucretia? Tu autem charissime coniunx, quomodo poteris ire in meos amplexus, qui te non tenere uxorem tuam, sed scortum Tarquinii recorderis? Et tu pater sanctissime, quomodo me tuam filiam appellabis, quae pudicitiam quam sub optima tua disciplina ab infantia didici tam infeliciter amisi tanquàm iniuriose corrupi? Me miseram uidebo ne natos intueri, quorum uentrem adulter oppressit? quid si semen infelix infaustum uisceribus inhaesit meis, an expectabo donec ex adulterio mater fiam. Noli mihi splendorem exactae uitae ante oculos ponere, quae si quicquã sincerum tot annis immaculatũque seruaui, infelicissima una nocte dum accipio non hospitem, sed hostẽ, amisi. Non est ulterius mea uita iocunda, sentio quod pudicitiae studium oportunam me fecit iniuriae. Non formam, sed castitatem meam expugnare uoluit, nephandus adulter si hunc fructũ continentiae tuli, quid pollutum stuprum & adulterium manet, nisi quod non meretrix lupanaribus includar, sed passim ubique diuolans foeda prostituor. Heu mihi, poteritne iste animus insons & sine culpa flagitii ulterius, cum isto corpore corrupto permanere? Num putatis ullam esse corporis corrupti uoluntatem? Fatebar occultum nephas, parce parens, parceque marite, & uos dii castarum mentium indulgete. Non potui, fateor, tantam animo concipere tristitiam, nec ab illo complexu mentẽ adeò reuocare, quin subierint malẽ obedientium membrorum illecebrae, quin agnouerim uestigia maritalis flãmę, illa tristis & ingrata, licet qualiscunque, tamen voluptas ferro ulciscenda est. Vestrum autem erit, si quid in uobis Romani spiritus, & scelus istud ulcisci, extinguatur quicquid habuit aliquod voluptatis. N(i)miae sunt uires ueneris: nolo quod unquam tanti facinoris imago ante oculos -strae mentis agatur: nihil muliere mobilius, aegritudinem animique motus nedum mollit, sed nedum extinguit tempus: si distulero, forsitan incipient flagitiosa placere. Dimitte ferro transsigam hoc pectus, quod ille uiolentus amauit: in quo primum excitamentum libidinis infixis mamillis digitis contrectauerit suis. Nolite me ad misericordiam exc(i)tare, si uitae parco, iam adulterae parcam, si parcam adulterae, tam parcam adulterio, si parcam adulterio, iam placebit adulterium, iamque placebit adulter. Inceptum est in me flagitium, si uitam morte prohibeam, ne aliquando uiuet inceptum explere, nunquã scelus remanebit

ubi incepit: Credent omnes mei infamiam timuisse non mortem: quod testibus probare non possun, sanguine meo ratum efficiam. Is mi anime incorruptae immaculatae testis innocẽtiae meae, apud Minoys & Acharontis tribunal: ibique prolem regiam uiolate pudicitiae & polluti corporis accusabis. Tuq̃e terrestre corpus, quia tibi causam adulterii peperisti, effunde animā, effunde cruorem: hoc omen ut habere incipiat superbi Regis & infaustae prolis excidium. Tuq̃e uir quondam charissime, tuoque pater sanctissime, quorum conspectum pudore & infelicitate libenter mea effugio uosque amici ualete: nulli Romanae mulieri detur in exemplum Lucretia, ut sibi persuadeant impudicis licitam fore uitam.

APPENDIX II: The Sources of Shakespeare's "Lucrece"

The most exhaustive and informative investigation of the sources of Shakespeare's "Lucrece" is James Tolbert's, already cited. The only other lengthy studies not included by Tolbert -- Young and Galinsky -- have little to add to Shakespeare, though the former does provide some additional English sources for the legend. See foonote 6 in chapters 1 and 4 in Young.

The principal influences on Shakespeare's vision of the legend appear to have originated in the works of Ovid, Livy, Chaucer, Gower, Bandello, Hans Sachs, William Painter and Thomas Cooper. The parallels in content and language from Ovid and Livy are readily apparent from a comparison of "Lucrece" with the material in Chapter I and in any event have been well documented by the above critics. As for the other authors mentioned, I have the following to add for the purposes of this study:

Chaucer and Gower: I agree with Tolbert that the chivalric tone of the poem and the designation of Lucrece as a pagan saint largely derive from Chaucer's treatment of the legend. Though Shakespeare might also have taken Lucrece's overwhelming concern for Collatine's good name from Chaucer (see Chapter I, pp.32-3), I think it was only as a suggestion. The use he makes of reputation points to his own conception of the legend. For a possible parallel to Gower, see Bush, op. cit., p.150 (when Tarquin throws his mantle over his arm upon arising).

Bandello: It is possible that Shakespeare knew Italian, at least well enough to read the Novella in question (see Chapter one, pp. 44 ff.). See Starnes, Classical Myth and Legend in Renaissance Dictionaries, op.cit., p.125 and David Orr, Italian Renaissance Drama in England Before 1625 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1970), p.6, footnote 7. English translations of Bandello, such as Fenton's (1567), did not include the Lucretia story. For specific textual parallels between Shakespeare and Bandello, see Tolbert, op.cit., pp. 190-209, especially for the declamation structure that was originally suggested to Bandello by Coluccio.

Hans Sachs: Of the four verse presentations Sachs wrote on the legend, his tragedy in 400 lines (1527, Lucretia) is the most extensive. I am not convinced by Tolbert's suggestions (pp. 93 ff.) that Shakespeare knew of the German play. For example, because both the maid and the messenger are individualized in Sachs' Lucretia, Tolbert suggests that similar characters in "Lucrece" were derived from the German example, the French play being too "dreary" and another German play, by Bullinger, too "Protestant" However, we have seen in two other plays preceding the poem that maids, messengers and other characters were invented to dramatize the legend. Tolbert does not mention either Pastor or Regio. It would seem unlikely that Shakespeare needed Sachs' example to invent the characters of the maid and the messenger, since such had occurred to all other dramatists of the legend. The same objection can be made regarding other parallels between Sachs and Shakespeare. Sachs brings in the Troy legend, but so did Regio; Brutus reproves Collatine for losing himself in grief in Sachs' play, but the same is true in Pastor's Lucrecia. The other German drama mentioned, by Bullinger (written ca. 1527 and presented at Basle in 1533) emphasizes the political aspects of tyranny and revolution in the Lucretia legend and does not appear to have influenced the English poem.

William Painter: Shakespeare knew Painter's Palace of Pleasure (1566) in which the Lucretia story is narrated (novel 2) in a paraphrase of Livy's version. Bush (op.cit., p.150, footnote 25) conjectures that "while using Livy's text for the poem, Shakespeare might have turned to the convenient Painter for the argument." Bush discusses Painter's probable sources for his version of the legend in "The Classical Tales in Painter's Palace of Pleasure," Journal of English and German Philology XXIII (1924), pp.331-41. Painter's stated purpose in narrating the legend was to illustrate what "dishonour and infamie, desire of libidinous lust doth bring,"! but in a later story he presents a miller's daughter who decides to live even after she was raped in order to save her soul. See William Painter, The Palace of Pleasure, ed. Hamish Miles (New York: AMS Press, 1967), vol.2, pp.418, 427.

Thomas Cooper: D.T. Starnes (Classical Myth..., op.cit., pp.124 ff.) makes a strong case for Shakespeare's use of Cooper's Thesaurus (1565), principally through linguistic similarities, though he also suggests that the pattern of "Lucrece," its focus on the two main characters rather than on the events in the legend, might also have been derived from Cooper's summary.

Contemporary English Attitudes: The controversy surrounding Lucretia was as lively in England as on the continent. There were those who considered her the "great saint Lucrece," thus making the following lines from Bonduca even more shocking to its Elizabethan audience:

> Tarquin tapped her well,
> And mad she could not hold him, bled.

Bradbrook (op.cit., p.115), in quoting these lines, points to their shock value because Elizabeth herself had been compared to Lucrece. T.W. Baldwin also points to this comparison in William Shakspeare's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke (1944; rpt. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1960), vol.1, p.369, and to Luis Vives' recommendation of Lucretia's story to Princess Mary (vol.1, p.730).
Richard Robinson (op.cit., n.p.) portrays Lucretia as a mirror of virtue, "So may you learn the gifte of chastitye,/What you ought your husbandes for to bear...." George Pettie (op.cit., p.227) also praises Lucretia for her chastity and her decision to die rather than outlive her virtue.
Lucretia's numerous detractors included Thomas Elyot, who ignored her in his Defence of Good Women (1540); she does not appear in the list of chaste women, though Penelope, Porcia, and others commonly associated with her do appear. Thomas Feylde, in A contraversye bytwene a lover and a jaye (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1522), n.p., aligns Lucretia with Medea in beauty, lust and pride:

> What avayleth the beauteousnesse
> Of Medea and Lucresse
> Syth all thynge is vanytees
> And fadeth as a floure
> Whyle fortune was friendely
> And tourned her whele kyndely
> They had moche felycyte
> In love and lykynge
> Greate was theyr affeccyon
> In carnall delectacyon

Now are they all gone
For all theyr lovynge

An Elizabethan poet expressed the Augustinian view (Muir, op.cit., p.37):

Were that chaste mate welcome to thy bed,
Lucrece, thy lust was justly punished.
But if foul force defil'd thine honest bed,
His only rage should have been punished.

Thomas Procter (A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions (London: Longman, Hurst, et al., 1814), p.105) chides Lucretia in a poem written in 1578:

Prowde Tarquin with his force, which Lucresse did defile,
Could not have spoyled faire D so, with neither sound nor gyle.

Finally, the attitude toward lost chastity is well expressed in Greene's Philomela (Tolbert, op.cit., p.348):

Whereon may a woman boast,
If her chastity be lost?
Shame await'th upon her face,
Blushing cheeks and foul disgrace:
Report will blab, this is she
That with her lust wins infamy.
If lusting love be so disgrac'd,
Die before you live unchaste;
For better die with honest fame
Than lead a wanton life with shame.

Paolo Regio: David Orr (op.cit.) suggests that English dramatists knew and used Italian plays of the late sixteenth century, not from having seen or read them directly, but from reports issued by travelling troupes of actors. There are certain similarities in plot and theme between Regio and Shakespeare which should be pointed out, though their evidence is not strong enough to establish a definite link between the two authors. The most striking parallels include Tarquin's comparison to a lion; Shakespeare describes his hunger which is in turn slaked and whetted by Lucretia's beauty:

As the grim lion fawneth o'er his prey,
Sharp hunger by the conquest satisfied;
So o'er this sleeping soul doth Tarquin stay,
His rage of lust by gazing qualified, --
Slak'd not suppress'd, for standing by her side,
His eye which late this muting restrains,
Unto a greater uproar tempts his veins. (421-7)

Regio uses the lion image in Lucretia's dream:

...che sedendo stava
Presso una fonte, col pensier intenta
Nel suo consorte: e' ch'un fiero Leone
Blando ne venne à lei, e mansueto:
Onde de ciò maravigliata alquanto,
Assecurata pria porgeal'il cibo:
Qual non tosto da quello fù gustato;
Che ruggiando con rauca e fiera voce,
Tutta macchiolle la sua blance veste,
Di che adornata senne give altera; (p.14r)

Both Regio and Shakespeare give the legend of Troy great weight, though for different purposes. Collatine's initial reaction after Lucretia's suicide is to beg for death for himself, both in the Italian and English works, though not in any others. Both emphasize the corrupting, almost physical power of beauty throughout their versions. Finally, there is a soliloquy to Night as an evil influence in Regio, spoken by the chorus, and in Shakespeare, spoken by Lucretia, though there are scant linguistic similarities. These broad parallels could be explained by word-of-mouth knowledge of the Italian drama. However, I do not think it likely that Shakespeare ever saw such a play performed. I agree with Esther Dunn that Drayton was not referring to an unknown Lucretia play in his "Matilda": Lucrece of whom proud Rome hath boasted long
Lately revived to live another age
And here arrived to tell of Tarquin's wrong
Acting her passions on our stately stage,
but to Shakespeare's work. As she notes, a violent story filled with rhetorical speeches could have been construed at the time as a stage piece, the content being more important than the form. See The Literature of Shakespeare's England (New York: Scribners, 1936), p.49.

John Lydgate: Tolbert discounts Lydgate's influence on Shakespeare. Though the debate within Lucretia owes more to Bandello's transcription of Coluccio's declamations than to Lydgate's, there is a lament by Lucretia in the Fall of Princes which appears to have had some influence on "Lucrece". (See Chapter I, pp. 47 ff.) In her lament (bk.3, 11.932 ff.) we find her reminding Tarquin of his role as protector of women, "Advertisynge thoffice off a knyht" (1085), and Shakespeare's Lucrece reminds him "By knighthood, gentry, and sweet friendship's oath" (569); Lydgate has Tarquin violate both "civyle and natural" laws (1089-92), as does Shakespeare (302 ff.); Lydgate compares Tarquin to a"leoun, ful sterne off look and face" (1096), as does Shakespeare (1048-50); and finally, Lydgate calls Lucretia a "merour" of chastity, as does Lucretius in his lament (1758-60). There is enough evidence here to point to Shakespeare's knowledge of Lydgate's version.

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