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# SHAKESPEARE, RABELAIS AND THE COMICAL-HISTORICAL

by
CATHLEEN T. McLOUGHLIN

A Dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in English in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

1996

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Abstract

SHAKESPEARE, RABELAIS AND THE COMICAL HISTORICAL

by Cathleen T. McLoughlin

Adviser: Professor Tom Hayes

King Henry IV Part One has more affinity with the comic tradition shared by Lucian, Erasmus, and Rabelais than with the category of Histories established by the First Folio editors. A discussion of Pieter Bruegel's painting "The Combat of Carnival and Lent" and Hans Holbein's "The Ambassadors" provides a cultural framework for this study of Shakespeare's play. Bruegel's painting provides images that would have been available to Shakespeare's audience. Holbein's painting provides an analog to the play as a work which employs several levels of discourse simultaneously. Drama in the sixteenth century participated in the festive space displayed in Bruegel's painting. Shakespeare's play is composed with a similar symmetrical structure to that of both painting. The tavern scenes are balanced with the battlefield scenes on either side of the scene in which the topos of advice from father to son occurs. Scenes of drinking wine and eating flesh comment on scenes in which human flesh is consumed and blood flows like wine, representing communion and symbolic cannibalism. In the works of Erasmus and Rabelais, peace is privileged. In Shakespeare's play, militaristic values are promoted by the King. An intertextual reading of the play with the works of Rabelais, both involving a Prince and his unconventional companion, illuminates strands of Shakespeare's play not previously emphasized by critics.

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Acknowledgements

I should like to thank all of the Professors I have had the privilege of meeting at the Graduate Center for so generously giving of themselves and their knowledge. I hope I can carry a spark from their bright torches into the classes I teach.

I should like to thank in particular the Professors on my Supervisory Committee for their patience and faith in helping me to complete this dissertation. Professor William R. Elton, with his apparently limitless breath and depth of knowledge of the Renaissance and the works of Shakespeare, made me aware of useful research resources. Professor Elton also helped me enormously in clarifying my thesis statement. He kindly pointed out to me how to be more logical in arguing a case. Professor Tom Hayes allowed me to follow my convoluted path to a thesis. His classes inspired me to read new scholarship and to explore new ways of thinking. He patiently listened to my early vague ideas and allowed me to find my way. I am deeply grateful to Professor Sheingorn for her tireless and careful reading of my work. She has been most gentle in making editorial corrections. Her promptness, in conscientiously reading and reacting with scholarly precision to each chapter I submitted to her, contributed greatly to my being able to meet my deadline.

My debt of gratitude extends to Lynn Kadison who, as Secretary to the English Department for most of the years I studied at the Graduate Center, created a friendly atmosphere and kept red tape to a minimum. My memory of her kindnesses are indelibly associated with The Graduate Center.

Many fellow students deserve a special thank you for their support over the years in tangible and intangible ways. One fellow student, Dom LoFaro, in particular, demonstrated profound kindness in a difficult situation, and for that kindness I will be forever grateful. The friendship and support of many fellow students, including Halima Acktor Gutman, Pat Glossop, Dr. Rashelle Trefousse, Ann Schoenfeld and Dr. Carmo Vasconcelo, helped to make the journey pleasurable.

I appreciate the effort my brother, Michael McLoughlin, expended in reading the entire draft of my dissertation. I also appreciate the encouragement provided by my teaching colleagues at Julia Richman High School: Maura Gouck Alfonso, Mary Landers, Sheilah Singer, Martha Sutphen and Edna Vincenti. Finally, I thank Dr. Mary V. DiGangi for her skillful guidance.

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## Introduction

This study suggests that Shakespeare's play King Henry IV Part One displays a greater affinity with the comic tradition established by Lucian, Erasmus and Rabelais than with the general classification of history plays in the First Folio of 1623. The heading of the page on which the contents of The First Folio are indicated reads, "A Catalogue of the severall Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies contained in this Volume." The plays gathered under the category of Histories in the First Folio have generally been studied as conforming to a single genre although they display a variety of dramatic structures.

Instead of following the usual critical practice of viewing those Histories as conforming to a single prescribed genre, this study will approach one of those Histories, King Henry IV Part One , as a test case, demonstrating its affinity with a nonhistorical mode of writing employed by Erasmus and Rabelais in the sixteenth century. The fact that Shakespeare used narrative material from Holinshed's Chronicles is clearly documented. The focus of this study centers on how Shakespeare reshaped that material by using the strategies of a tradition very much alive during the 1590's when he was writing the plays gathered under the heading Histories.

Erasmus translated Lucian from Greek to Latin, making his work available for a sixteenth century audience; Rabelais explicitly

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acknowledged his indebtedness directly to Erasmus in a letter and his indebtedness to Lucian by explicitly mention within his narratiive. Lucian specialized in writing satiric dialogues, a hybrid form he created by combining serious and humorous material. Both Erasmus and Rabelais also created hybrid forms which made innovations in the prescribed forms they adopted.

The fact that Shakespeare did not reverently conform to a prescribed genre in writing his Histories is attested to by the comment of Philip Sidney, Shakespeare's contemporary, that criticizes Shakespeare for mingling kings and clowns in his plays. Another comment by one of Shakespeare's dramatic characters suggests the likelihood that Shakespeare did not consider purity of genre as necessarily a virtue. Polonius, in Hamlet, expresses an irreverent attitude valuing diversity over purity of genre. Polonius cites the categories for actors as ". . .Tragedie, Comedie, Pastorall; Pastoricall-Comicall, Historical-Pastorall: Tragicall-Historicall: Tragicall-Comicall-Historicall-Pastorall. . .(Hamlet II,ii,370)."

This study will focus on King Henry IV Part One in order to demonstrate how mingling kings and clowns, instead of being a fault, was a deliberate strategy established in a sixteenth century comical mode of writing. Comical-Historical, a hybrid genre like those mixed genres identified by Shakespeare's character, more accurately describes Henry

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IV Part One than the simple classification of Histories used in the First Folio. In such a hybrid form, mingling kings and clowns, becomes a virtue instead of a vice. Such a hybrid form takes part in a comic tradition established in the translations of Lucian completed by Erasmus, and the works of Erasmus, who imitated Lucian in his own works.

Erasmus was born in approximately 1466 and died in 1536. His reputation was established with the publication of his Adagia in 1500. Rabelais, who acknowledged Erasmus to be his literary father was born in 1494, died in 1554. The first of his publications appeared in 1532 and the last, Book Five of his Works, appeared posthumously around 1560. King Henry IV Part One was performed in 1598. The comic tradition referred to in this study as used by Shakespeare, therefore, spans the sixteenth century. This study will examine the links between Shakespeare's play and that comic tradition.

Preliminary to a discussion of that tradition, a small selection of examples from sixteenth century visual art will be studied to provide cultural information relevant to the milieu within which the literary works were produced. These works display Lucianic and Erasmian irony, and use the tradition of folk humor. Then a selection of the literary works of Lucian and Erasmus also will be studied before focusing on Rabelais' use of folk humor in his literary works. My goal is to illuminate aspects or strands of the play King Henry IV Part One hitherto not adequately

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emphasized by critics. This study opposes any monolithic or essentialist approach to the history plays; but, rather, I propose to allow the polyphony of voices incorporated into the dramatic structure of King Henry IV Part One to be heard.

Like Lucian, Erasmus and Rabelais, Shakespeare uses serioludere or seriocomic strategies in King Henry IV Part One. The play contrasts the logical discourse of serious characters with the comic discourse of the world upside down where logic is turned on its head. Reason and logic usually suggest a dominance of thought considered as residing in the head whereas the alternative mode of discourse, often referred to as the carnivalesque, found in the world of the tavern suggests a dominance of thought residing in the body, particularly its lower stratum. Graphically illustrated in images of a man standing on his head, the carnivalesque mode of writing turns the world upside down through its use of language and imagery,.

During the carnival season of festivity, the established social hierarchy is erased, and license, rather than law, rules the day. In the carnivalesque mode of writing, language as well as social hierarchy are opened to more free play than is conventionally involved in logical processes. When the straightforward use of logical speech meets the disturbing inversions and reversals of carnival speech, social position and meaning in words thought to be absolute come to be seen as more

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relative. The carnivalesque mode of writing works with ambivalences and laughter as ways to reevaluate the viewpoint expressed in the logical, official stance. Such interaction of discourses provides a dynamic dramatic experience not reducible to a single meaning or a single voice. The laughter resulting from the incongruity between logic and illogic creates an atmosphere in which ambivalence rather than absolutes predominates. In this atmosphere an open-endedness replaces closed systems, and the audience is an active participant in creating meaning, a partner with rather than auditor of .a didactic authorial voice. Laughter opens a space for a skeptical perspective on recorded history rather than absolute reverence.

Carnival for modern audiences has been reduced to the celebration of Mardi Gras immediately preceding Ash Wednesday, which begins Lent. Its religious connotations are almost imperceptible in our modern secular world. In an agricultural culture, however, the celebration of Mardi Gras was one of many celebrations distributed throughout the year determined by the cosmic movements of the sun and moon. Mardi Gras occurs at the point in the calendar where the last moon of winter is replaced by the first new moon of spring.

The modern world has replaced the total system of festivals celebrating the cyclical movement of time with a linear time system accompanied by altered historical consciousness. The festive perception

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of the world was one in which time followed a rhythm of feasting and fasting synchronized with the seasons. Pieter Bruegel, in several of his paintings, provides a modern audience with a representation of such festive occasions. He also provides an image which reflects the view of man as part of the death and rebirth cycle of nature. Such a rhythm was celebrated in periods of festivity and periods of work. During festival time ritual spectacles or holidays involved all the people as part of the ongoing process of death and rebirth experienced in agriculture.

The language of the marketplace was the medium of expression during festivals. Such language appeared in comic verbal compositions or parodies, and colloquial forms of speech, sometimes called Billingsgate. Billingsgate was the fish market existing at that particular gate to the city of London where ambivalent praise and abuse were incorporated into language with freedom of familiarity and absence of hierarchy. Instead of following logic to arrive at any truth, the carnivalesque is driven by the appetites of the body and arrives at its brand of truth by means that challenge logic.

The central technique of the carnivalesque involves debasement of all that is elevated in a hierarchy, bringing it down to a concrete or material sphere. Such debasement commonly occurs in the uncrowning of a king in travesty. A mock king might be seen to ride backwards on a donkey. Reversal is one kind of debasement; inversion is another. The

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King becomes a form of fool in his debasement; kings and clowns are interchangeable. Fools suggest the ambivalence so common in the carnivalesque. Erasmus succeeds in demonstrating in his Praise of Folly[1] that the only man who is not a fool is the one who knows he is a fool. Such paradoxical statements involve a kind of dual vision common to the carnivalesque.

A visual representation of such a paradox exists in Hans Holbein's painting "The Ambassadors," which uses the techniques of anamorphism to create a dual vision. What appears at first to be a double portrait of two worldly men is transformed from another perspective to a human skull, reminding the viewer of the common fate of all men, however accomplished. Holbein's anamorphic strategies function much as the tracking shot does in film. A discontinuity exists between the images so that in order to view the second one, a viewer must relinquish the first. In order for the picture to maintain its consistency as symbolic reality, the second image must remain inert or hidden. The tracking movement moves from an overall view of reality to its point of anamorphosis. A viewer can never include in the totality of his field of vision both perspectives. At a certain point the balance of harmony is discontinued and another image emerges. The contingency of one's reality is made apparent in the process.

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[1] Desiderius Erasmus, The Praise of Folly. Translated from Latin, with an Essay and Commentary, by Hoyt Hopewell Hudson. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974.

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Chapter One of this study will discuss visual images which provide information about the significance of carnival as a 16th century European practice and visual images which demonstrate paradoxical or double perspectives. They provide a frame within which to analyze the literary works of the period. Pieter Bruegel's paintings "The Combat of Carnival and Lent." (1559) and "The Harvesters" (1565) will be studied along with Holbein's "The Ambassadors" (1533) as providing a visual analogue to what is occurring in the literary works studied in the remaining chapters. Many of the practices of the carnival as a time of festivity are illustrated in Bruegel's painting of the struggle between Carnival and Lent, including dramatic productions, mock battles, characteristic foods, use of disguise and involvement of all the people. Pieter Bruegel the Elder and his predecessor Hieronymous Bosch were often inspired by linguistic material, proverbs or adages used in everyday life. Both painted comical literal representations of metaphoric proverbs. Since the folk, or peasants, are the central subject of Bruegel, he incorporates their encapsulated form of wisdom, proverbs, into his works. By literalizing the proverbs in his art, Bruegel achieves a kind of humor which involves rethinking the old "saws" as they are familiarly known. Both Shakespeare and Rabelais also make ample use of proverbs in their narratives and they both allude regularly to the visual arts within their texts. Chapter One frames the

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literary analysis to follow with visual evidence of the cultural milieu in which they were written.

Chapter Two focuses on the Lucian and Erasmian contribution to a comic tradition later used by Rabelais. Lucian wrote in Greek in the second century A.D. and was translated into Latin by Erasmus for a Renaissance audience, who, like Shakespeare, were likely to have "small Latin and less Greek." The classical model of Lucian represents an academic tradition which looks back to the ancient world as a rich source of knowledge and wisdom. In the context of the Roman Empire the canon of classical Greek literature celebrating the earlier cultural dominance by Greeks became for Lucian a source of material to be adapted in his humorous writing. He warns his audience, however, in his prologues to beware simplistic notions of comedy. Lucian indicates a seriousness behind his adaptations where historical or fictional characters engage in a dialogue often involving incongruous perspectives represented in colliding levels of discourse. Lucian's serioludere techniques create laughter by subjecting the underlying assumptions of opposing positions to points of view that they exclude. Each point of view is recognized as revealing a partial and relative perspective rather than an total and absolute one.

The serious humor created by Lucian appealed to Erasmus and his friend Sir Thomas More. Erasmus disliked the scholastic methods of

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teaching, with its emphasis on dogma, so he created his own materials for teaching. The dialogues of Lucian, as translated by him into Latin, were incorporated into the schoolbooks created by Erasmus; thus, Lucian's works became widely known. Erasmus adapted Lucianic humor for use in his own writing on grace, peace and folly, by combining seriousness with playfulness. His declamation, Moriae Encomium, The Praise of Folly, was originally written for his friend Sir Thomas More and became one of the most popular books of its time. As an example of the implication of the visual with the verbal in the sixteenth century, Hans Holbein illustrated one edition of The Praise of Folly as well as painting portraits of its author..

Chapter Three explores a dimension added to the rhetorical tradition as transmitted from Erasmus to Rabelais in the five books of the latter's narrative about the giant King and Prince, Gargantua and Pantagruel. Like Erasmus, Rabelais incorporates into his work parody, travesty and burlesque, but unlike Erasmus, he uses the narrative patterns of epic, war and a journey, to structure his story. The first two books provide the genealogy of father and son in a parodic version of such portrayal of linear descent in epic. Also in each of the first two books a major war occurs, the Picrochole War and that of the Dipsodes in what might be seen as a parody of the Iliad, The last two books tell of the journey by Pantagruel and Panurge to the Divine Bottle, a journey that

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might be viewed as parodic of the Odyssey. Rabelais' books combine mock epic elements with serious elements in the serioludere method of Lucian. The comic and the serious interact with one another in a manner similar to the interplay of serious and comic in Shakespeare's play. The opposition of value systems in such a juxtaposition brings each into question and suggests each involves only a partial truth.

Chapter Four focuses on an intertextual reading of Shakespeare's play with the Works of Rabelais to demonstrate the similarity of strategies used by both authors. The background material in Chapters One, Two and Three, combined with the comparative analysis in Chapter Four, illuminates strands of King Henry IV Part One not previously emphasized in criticism of that play. A Conclusion identifies and summarizes the outcomes of the study. The dramatic structure of Shakespeare's play contrasts two sites of activity, the tavern and the battlefield, separated by a confrontational scene between father and prodigal son. The tavern, a traditional locus of eating and drinking, contrasts with the symbolic cannibalism of the battlefield where human flesh and blood are consumed. The interplay of the contrasting sites of activity relate to the multiple voices providing the audience with material for creating meaning. Political ramifications inhere in the action of the play.

In one aspect the reputations of Shakespeare and Rabelais follow similar patterns. Both have been considered "royal publicists" by some

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critics who claim each author intended to establish a myth of legitimacy for the ruling monarch and his line of succession. By limiting these writers to such a role, however, critics neglect the greater part of the significance of their work. A distinction between their reputations exists, however, in that Rabelais' Works were condemned by many theologians of his day and placed on the Index. The elimination of the deposition scene from editions of King Richard II until after the death of Queen Elizabeth suggests some concern with the scrutiny of censors.

The strong force of censorship may have motivated the employment of indirect methods of expressing one's thoughts in a literary work. Both authors, employ the point of view of the laughing chorus of the marketplace, the carnivalesque mode of writing, to disclose false assumptions and false seriousness with impunity. The alternative world of the carnivalesque discloses the presiding power structure as relative, represented in terms of individuals fulfilling roles rather than being divinely appointed. As early as Lucian the metaphor of the world as stage was employed. Where presiding power was thought to be associated with the divine, setting the King above mortal men, the carnivalesque perceives him as playing a particular role at a particular time.

The work of Mikhail Bakhtin published in the West in 1968,[2] initiated a line of criticism that illuminates the tradition of the

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[2] Mikhail Bakhtin, Rabelais and His World Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984.

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carnivalesque with its idiosyncratic language, forms, and imagery, demonstrating how they function in a literary work to produce an ambivalence that destroys false seriousness and the illusion of permanency associated with the power of the church and the power of the state. The term carnivalesque derives, of course, from the celebration of Mardi Gras, or Fat Tuesday, on the day before Ash Wednesday, or the first day of Lent, the season of preparation before the feast of Easter. On Mardi Gras the body, the flesh, or carne, is indulged to excess in anticipation of the season of fasting, or bidding farewell, vale, to the flesh for the forty days before Easter.

The forty-day period can be explained in terms of the solar year and the lunar cycles within that solar cycle. Forty days was one and one half cycles of the moon occurring within the division of the solar year into segments between two solstices and two equinoxes. The entire cyclical system that organized the calendar was originally pagan before the Christian celebrations were superimposed upon that calendar as coinciding with the pagan celebrations. Christmas occurs at the winter solstice and Easter at the vernal equinox, for instance.

The immediate juxtaposition of Ash Wednesday, with its imposed rules of fasting, and Mardi Gras, with its opposite rules of feasting, in the calendar incorporates the central ambivalence at the heart of the carnivalesque. The life of the body associated with the eating and

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drinking of feast on that Tuesday cannot be enjoyed without the reminder that the same body will return to ashes in death. The price of new life is death. This double vision is also at the heart of Holbein's painting of the Ambassadors. Any hierarchy which distinguishes among men who share the same mortal nature retains an element of arbitrariness and temporariness. All mortal men participate in the life of the generic human body of common mankind over the centuries measured in universal time, while also having an individual body living in a particular time and fulfilling a particular role. The growth pattern occurring in time requires death as part of the renewal of life. The fact that birth leads to death and death means renewal of life creates a deep ambivalence essential to the carnivalesque mode of thought and writing.

The traditions associated with the carnivalesque would have been familiar to a sixteenth century audience, but they are not as accessible to a modern audience. A knowledge of the sixteenth century context of international cultural patterns provide insights into the works of Rabelais and Shakespeare; without such knowledge a reading of their works is impoverished. Such knowledge suggests that patterns of meaning use a multiplicity of voices to create a polyphonic work not reducible to any monologic point of view.

Although the concerns of the carnivalesque include the awareness of mortality and death, the immediate effect of the carnivalesque in

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literature is laughter. This laughter is increased with a greater knowledge of the conventions of the carnivalesque tradition. Such conventions have been studied in greater detail in the work of Francois Rabelais than in that of Shakespeare. This study taps into the insights gained from interpretations of Rabelais and applies those insights to Shakespeare's King Henry IV Part One. The humor in the work of each of these authors has been considered as merely comic relief in the case of Shakespeare or as merely amusement in the case of Rabelais; it is my contention that each author uses humor in a serio ludere tradition where the humor plays an integral part in the author's serious art.

Before Bakhtin's study of the carnivalesque in Rabelais was published in 1968, Walter Kaiser studied Erasmus, Rabelais and Shakespeare as Praisers of Folly.[3] Kaiser concentrates on the figure of the fool as represented by Erasmus in Stultitia, by Rabelais in Panurge, and by Shakespeare in Falstaff, but stops short of making connections between Rabelais and Shakespeare. Also before Bakhtin's work was made available in translation, Huntington Brown published his Rabelais in English Literature in which he denies any direct knowledge of Rabelais on the part of Shakespeare although he does concede that since there was no available translation of Rabelais in the 1590's, Ben Jonson might

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[3] Walter Kaiser, Praisers of Folly Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1963.

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have introduced Shakespeare to the work of Rabelais.[4] The absence of an official translation of Rabelais into English before 1653 is the basis of Brown's denying the possibility of a knowledge of Rabelais by Shakespeare, even though Shakespeare is generally believed to have had a strong knowledge of French. Any verbal echoes of Rabelais in Shakespeare's plays are believed to stem from the folklore about Gargantua in general circulation and not from any knowledge of Rabelais.

French critics, however, seem to come closer to believing Shakespeare had access to some source of knowledge of the works of Rabelais. Jacques Boulenger, for instance, suggests that because the story of Gargantua and Pantagruel existed in Elizabethan oral tradition, it is difficult to determine whether Shakespeare's allusions to it signify that he had read Rabelais, but Boulenger believes this is probably the case.[5] A. F. Bourgeois, another French critic, cites passages from Rabelais as possible sources for lines in King Lear, Comedy of Errors, Love's Labours Lost and King Henry IV Part One.[6] Mme. Clara Longworth Chambrun, yet another French critic, finds it possible that passages from The Tempest depend upon Rabelais. She also notes echoes of Rabelais in half a dozen other Shakespearean plays.

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[4] Huntington Brown. Rabelais in English Literature. New York: Octagon Books, 1967. 36.

[5] Jacques Boulenger, Rabelais a Travers les Ages (Paris, 1925) 20.

[6] A. F. Bourgeois, "Rabelais en Angleterre," Revue des etudes rabelaisienne, 3 (1905): 80-83.

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The British critic Sidney Lee finds references to Gargantua in As You Like It, King Lear and Twelfth Night, but his compatriot, A. H. Upham suggests that "none of these parallels can be pressed." I mention these observations, but wish to emphasize that whether Shakespeare read Rabelais is not the question being addressed in this study. Rather, I examine Shakespeare's play King Henry IV Part One in light of a tradition shared by the two authors to demonstrate how that tradition shared by the two authors can illuminate a reading of that play. Recent critics, following the lead of Bakhtin, have focused on the use of the carnivalesque as a set of conventions used by Rabelais but have not followed that tradition into the work of Shakespeare.

My contribution will be to bring those insights gained from the study of the work of one author, Rabelais, to one work of another, Shakespeare's King Henry IV Part One. By means of an intertextual reading of two works sharing a common tradition this study uses critical insights gained by critics in the case of one of the works to emphasize aspect of the second work, Shakespeare's play, previously not adequately emphasized.

A brief survey of criticism as summarized in the New Variorum edition of King Henry IV Part One indicates a consistent linking of the two authors over a long period of time. As early as 1851 a critic identified as Chasles in a work entitled L'Angleterre au 16ieme Siecle claimed that:

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> Falstaff walks today with Sancho and Panurge. . . In [Falstaff] lives the spirit of sensuality, in its entirety. . . Rabelais, Cervantes and Shakespeare realize and personify the Prince's Jester, each according to his view; giving him body, soul, countenance; uniting in this creation all that is deepest in their intellects; mingling philosophy with satire, poetry with practical observations. . . Born in the 16th century, when the Middle Ages were expiring, these are the types of material sensuality and voluptuous egoism opposed to all serious affairs and ideal faiths. . . They form a chorus of jesters; they furnish a complete criticism of all that attracts man beyond the limit of material--platonic love, passion for conquest, ambition, melancholy mysticism. (p. 211)

Another French critic, Montegut, in an 1868 edition of King Henry IV Part One stated that:

> Panurge must have served as prototype of Falstaff. The two have the same qualities and the same vices, the same amusing drollery, the same for of wit, the same humour, the same absence of moral sense, the same tendency toward sensuality, the same comic cowardice.

In 1880 the Charles Swinburne, the British critic, in his Studies of Shakespeare, (p. 106), claimed:

> The gradation from Panurge to Falstaff is not downward, but upward; though it be Victor Hugo's very self who asserts the contrary. . .[I]n point of feeling and therefore of possible moral elevation, Falstaff is as undeniably the superior of Sancho, as Sancho is of Panurge. . . The finest touch in the whole portrait of Falstaff is a touch added on revision of the original design [of Henry V]. In II,i., the six words, "the king has killed his heart," are only to be found in the revised version of that play. . .And now abideth Rabelais, Cervantes, Shakespeare, these three; but the greatest of these is Shakespeare.

As late as 1926 a French critic, Legouis in his Bacchic Element in Shakespeare, declared:

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> [Shakespeare] was not only the interpreter of the Bacchic or anacreontic traditions, he also voiced the instincts and beliefs of the common people of his London surroundings and of the countryside. The two streams flow together, mixed or separate, through his plays. . . Falstaff. . . is a symbol. In this one character Shakespeare has summed up the spirit of the Rabelaisian epic. Both Panurge and Frere Jean revive in him. He personifies the Bacchanalian creed of the Renaissance, its belief in the genial virtues of wine. . .His sack is a stage property, fictitious and harmless. We never see him the worse for it...Shakespeare has spared him the realistic probing he has applied to his other topers.

These critics sense a connection between the two sixteenth century authors. The critic speaking of the "Bacchanalian tradition" comes close to identifying what is referred to as the carnivalesque in this study. He also singles out sack as a symbolic marker instead of simply associating the drinking of sack with a moral fault. Sack, in my view, serves as a word uniting, in the wordplay of Falstaff, two distinct approaches to life, one festive and the other epic. When Hal requests Falstaff's military weapon, Falstaff replies, "There's that will sack a city (IHIV, V,iv, 54)." He has given him the wineskin filled with sack instead of a weapon. The carnivalesque concern with quenching thirst, usually with wine like sack, clashes with the acquisitive desire, the concern of epic, to sack cities. Falstaff's praise of sack follows in the tradition of Lucian and Erasmus who mockingly praise unworthy subjects. Wine is used by Rabelais throughout his work in many registers. Wine in the form of sack also flows through Shakespeare's play. The word sack alone appears

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twenty-two times in King Henry IV Part One and the play includes references to wine using other words, increasing the references upwards. The mention of sack as significant to Falstaff's Bacchanalian nature suggests a parallel with the pervasive mention of wine in the works of Rabelais. Critics have studied the wine imagery as related to the search for truth. De vin and Divine are linked in the Oracle of De Vin Bouteille from which Panurge seeks eternal truth. Falstaff also can be seen as a kind of seeker of truth or salvation although he is unable to transcend the burden of excess human flesh and frailties.

Parallels of imagery combine with parallels of plot to create the sense of connectedness between these two authors. The separation of the Prince from his Father's court, his comic companion, the series of adventures shared by the two, and a single combative contest in which the Prince is victorious, unite the two plots. The use of topoi such as advice from father to son are represented in serious fashion amid comic parts in each author. False encomia on debts appear in each. The imagery of the body as a utopia in which each organ gains what it needs from the blood in a balanced relationship of debtor and creditor used by Rabelais corresponds to Falstaff's description of the way sack operates in the human body. Wine is praised by each characters in the works of each author.. The separation from court in each case occurs in the pursuit of education: in the case of Pantagruel, education is found in the

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universities; in the case of Hal, education is found in the world of Eastcheap and the tavern. Although so many parallels exist between the works of these two authors and the two authors have been consistently associated in the history of the criticism of Shakespeare's play, no direct study of King Henry IV Part One and Rabelais' narrative has been pursued.

Most modern criticism of King Henry IV Part One can be grouped into either of two camps, one which views the play as promoting the Tudor Myth[7] or the other which interprets the play as being subversive of the monarchy.[8] To avoid the polarization into either camp another smaller

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[7] E. M. W. Tillyard, Shakespeare's History Plays (New York: Collier Books, 1962), first published in 1944, p. 362 claims the plays document "a universally held," and "fundamentally religious" view of history as governed by divine providence leading "through a long series of disasters and suffering and struggles" to the restoration of order under the Tudors. Lily B. Campbell, Shakespeare's "Histories": Mirrors of Elizabethan Policy (San Marino, Calif: Huntington Library, 1947) and Irving Ribner, The English History Play in the Age of Shakespeare (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957) also held this view.

[8] C. G. Thayer, *Shakespearean* Politics: Government and Misgovernment in the Great Histories (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1983), p. viii, held the plays "used the stage to undermine 'conventional pieties.'" Other writers who oppose Tillyards's view include W. Sanders, The Dramatist and the Received Idea (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968); Henry Ansgar Kelly, Divine Providence in the England of Shakespeare's Histories (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970); David Riggs, Shakespeare's Heroical Histories (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971); Michael Manheim, The Weak King Dilemma in the Shakespearean History Play (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1973); Edna Z. Boris, Shakespeare's English Kings, the People, and the Law: A Study in the Relationship between the Tudor Constitution and the English History Plays (Cranbury, N.J.: Associated University Presses, 1974); and Gordon Ross Smith, "Shakespeare's Henry V: Another Part of the Critical Forest," Journal of the History of Ideas 37 (1976) 3-26.

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group of critics avoid the two camps and concentrate on using a Marxist approach. [9] Because I believe that reducing the plays to a political stance overlooks much of the complexity and because I not wish to follow a cultural materialist point of view, the focus here will be on one of Shakespeare's Histories, King Henry IV Part One which I study as a dramatic structure reflecting the conventions of a tradition shared by Shakespeare and Rabelais. Through reading this play intertextually with the work of Rabelais, I will augment existing criticism by disclosing how the tradition functions in both. The emphasis, however, will be on illuminating the role of the carnivalesque in Shakespeare by using insights achieved through the study of Rabelais.

Although Rabelais wrote a novel and Shakespeare wrote a play, I suggest both authors deliberately used a common tradition to create an ambiguous work of art, a novel in the case of Rabelais and a play in the case of Shakespeare, in which the audience is invited to participate as partner with the author to re-create meaning. Influence across the lines of medium can also be seen in the visual arts studied in Chapter One, where the images which appear in etchings are adapted for use in

[9] Robert Ornstein, A Kingdom for a Stage: The Achievement of Shakespeare's History Plays (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972) argues for the universality of concerns in the plays where "Chaos comes in the History plays as in the tragedies, not when doctrines of obedience are questioned, but when the most iintimate human ties disintegrate." (p. 222). Cultural materialists reading the plays in Marxist terms include Jonathan Dollimore and Allan Sinfield, "History and Ideology: The Instance of Henry V," in Alternative Shakespeares, ed. John Drakakis (London: Methuen, 1985).

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paintings. This study suggests that strategies used by one author, Rabelais, in one literary genre, the novel, may be studied fruitfully to make perceptible a dimension of meaning in a work of another author, Shakespeare, in his play King Henry IV Part One, often overlooked by critics.

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## Chapter 1

### Visual Art of the16th Century Related to Shakespeare and Rabelais

The focus of this study is the combined structural use by Shakespeare in King Henry IV Part One of the scholarly tradition as found in Lucian and Erasmus along with the folk tradition of carnivalesque as found in Rabelais. To frame such literary analysis in a cultural milieu, this chapter will discuss the work of two sixteenth century visual artists. For instance, carnival celebrations appear in the visual art works of Pieter Bruegel, who was born before 1530 and who died in 1569. Another artist, Hans Holbein, who was born in 1497 and who died in 1543, not only painted portraits of Erasmus, Sir Thomas More, and King Henry VIII, but also illustrated Erasmus' Praise of Folly. One of his paintings also demonstrates a visual phenomenon peculiar to the sixteenth century called anamorphic art. That painting, "The Ambassadors" has been suggested by critics as the one to which Bushy alludes in Shakespeare's King Richard II. Jurgis Baltrusaitis uses the lines from Shakespeare as an epigraph to his book Anamorphic Art.[1]

Visual artists of the sixteenth century incorporated wordplay into their art and the verbal artists of the sixteenth century incorporated references to the visual arts into their works. An examination of the visual arts, then, in relation to the literary provides information relevant to an

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[1] Jurgis Baltrusaitis. .Anamorphic Art. Trans. W. J. Strachan. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc, 1977

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examination of literary works of the period. The close relationship of visual artist and verbal artist, I believe, attested to by the interactions of painters choosing subjects from verbal art and verbal artists working visual images into their art, demonstrates how the Renaissance imagination apparently worked in a dialogic fashion rather than a monologic one.

As a work incorporating more than one perspective, for instance, "The Ambassadors" presents one artist's rendition of dual vision. The literary works analyzed in this study also involve a kind of literary multiplication of perspectives and voices orchestrated to work together although in different registers with one commenting upon another. Pieter Bruegel the Elder, and his predecessor, Hieronymous Bosch, inspired by linguistic material, illustrated proverbs or adages used in everyday life. Bruegel in his paintings also provides representations of peasant celebrations of his time. Both Shakespeare and Rabelais, by references within their works, indicate an interest in the visual arts of their time.

The tavern scenes in King Henry IV Part One, invented by Shakespeare rather than derived from the Chronicles, delineate a way of life close to that which can be seen in Bruegel's paintings of sixteenth century life. In those tavern scenes a range of characters refer to celebrations such as the ones represented in Bruegel's "The Combat of Carnival and Lent," executed in 1559. The Boar's Head Tavern of

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Shakespeare play where the characters participate in a carnivalesque world of eating and drinking has a counterpart in the tavern which appears on the left or sinister side of the painting with a sign indicating an association with the Blue Ship of fools. Within his painting, Bruegel includes presents images of dramatic performances while in his dramatic art Shakespeare refers to the visual arts. At least three dramatic performances are underway in the scene Bruegel paints. Falstaff and Hal perform a play extempore in the Boar's Head Tavern as a play within the play.

Reference to the visual arts occurs when Falstaff suggests Mistress Quickly change the visual arts decorating her dining room. Replacement of the tapestry with a waterwork refers to a change of taste and a sixteenth century development in interior decoration in the culture of the time. Although not specific to Bruegel, the specifics of Falstaff's references suit the work of that artist in relation to size, style and subject matter. Larger than conventional canvases, paintings on cheap linen were substituted for large tapestries. The name "watervervschilderij" designated such large canvases. Because Bruegel painted so many of these large canvases, they also became known as "Bruegel sized" canvases.[2] "The Combat of Carnival and Lent" was such a large-sized painting. The reference made to substituting a "waterwork" for a tapestry

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[2] Gustav Gluck, Bruegel the Elder. New York, George Braziller, 1936. 10.

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by Falstaff, I suggest, might have referred to such a work. Falstaff suggests to the Hostess:

> Glasses, glasses, is the only drinking; and for thy walls, a pretty slight drollery, or the story of the Prodigal, or the German hunting, in waterwork, is worth a thousand of those bed-hangers and these fly-bitten tapestries. (II HIV, II,i, 141-145)

"Drollery" was also a word associated with the work of Bruegel, who followed the example of Bosch in rendering idiomatic expressions literally in his paintings, a form of wit that appealed to a popular audience of his day. Two examples of such works would seem relevant to a dramatic artist. "Everyman" painted in 1558 literalizes the expressions, "Everyman looks out for himself" and "Everyman pulls so as to get the longest end." Everyman represented as the bearded, old man with a pince-nez rummaging through an array of containers suggest Shylock, the merchant of Venice, according to Roger Marijnissen (p. 24). Everyman satirizes avarice. "The Alchemist," which in Dutch becomes "Alghe Mist," can be read as alchemist or in the literal sense of the Dutch "everything [has gone] wrong." These works were widely published as prints. The brand of humor in these works earned them the name of "drollery."

Although Bruegel rendered Biblical parables in his images, including the parable of the Prodigal Son, his religious beliefs are closely linked with those of Erasmus; both were skeptical of much religious feeling of their time. In his versions of the Biblical parables, Bruegel transposes them to his own surroundings, making the characters in the

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Biblical narratives into local inhabitants. Falstaff's reference to the Prodigal Son and Hal's behavior suggest they might be considered local Prodigal Sons. By living for a time in or about the Boar's Head Tavern and referring to Falstaff as "Bartholomew Pig," Hal could be said to dwell among the swine as did the Prodigal Son. In the end he returns to his father's house and redeems his lost opinion upon which there is much rejoicing..

The humor of Bruegel's paintings was often mistakenly evaluated as being that of simple jests, rather than following a serioludere style much as Lucian did. Many critics separated from Bruegel by at least a generation, including G. F. Wagen and Jacob Burckhardt,[3] described Bruegel's works with epithets such as "vulgar," "unbearably coarse," or occasionally, "grotesque." Popular in his own day, Bruegel suffered from devaluation as an artist by those who believed in the idealizing function of art. He was rediscovered in 1890 by Henri Hymans who stated, "His scope is certainly not the broadest, and his ambition is kept within modest bounds. He confines himself to a knowledge of man and familiar things."[4] His knowledge of man included the insight that a human's ignorance and foolishness prevent him from finding his soul's salvation. Man had to transcend his physicality to reach the spiritual. Such a view links Bruegel with Rabelais and Shakespeare.

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[3] R. H. Marijnissen and M. Seidel, Bruegel. (New York: Harrison House, 1984) p. 34.

[4] Marijnissen, p. 35.

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Laughter was an integral part of the feasting and carousing represented in the paintings of Bruegel, so that "The Combat of Carnival and Lent" stands as a representative work. The mock battle between the two figures in the foreground have literary sources in well-known morality plays. In one such play an allegorical figure welcomes the audience:

> Be cheerful and merry. Celebrate Carnival, you pure spirits with untroubled heads. I greet you all, great and small. Be gay. Celebrate Carnival . . . As you love me, give free rein to your nature. Bake your pancakes and waffles in the streets. Fry your sausages and eat! Carnival comes but once a year!

Lent replies:

> Hurry, hurry. Time is pressing. Eat all you can. Drink beer and wine. Everything must be eaten up today, because on Ash Wednesday all food is spoiled.[5]

Where Carnival revels in eating and drinking, Lent provides a chorus reminding the celebrants of life that this will not last. Feasting and carousing were so closely associated with the peasants in Bruegel's paintings that in Flanders gluttons are still often referred to as "Brueghelians." Even Rabelais incorporates such a reference in a comment of Panurge describing the Land of Cockaigne (the theme of another painting by Bruegel) where he warns: "I wouldn't show it to the Flemings, for big as it is, I believe they would eat it up."[6] The Land of Cockaigne was an imaginary land of abundance where a life consisted of

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[5] J. Van Vloten, Het Neterlandsche Kluchtzpel van de 14de tot de 18de eeuw. Haarlem, 1854. . 206-15.

[6] Francois Rabelais. Gargantua and Pantagruel. Trans. Jacques LeClercq. New York: The Modern Library, 1936. 240.

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ease and plenty. A kind of poignant irony exists in that hard-working people were banished from such an fictional utopia of idleness imagined by people who spent their lives struggling to get enough to eat.

Parallels have often been drawn between Bruegel's art and that of his contemporary, Rabelais, and with the work of Rabelais' acknowledged model, Erasmus. Charles de Tolnay specifies a passage in Erasmus reminiscent of Lucian:

> In sum, if you might look down from the moon, as Menippus did of old, upon the numberless agitations among mortal men, you would think you were seeing a swarm of flies or gnats, quarreling among themselves, waging wars, setting snares for each other, robbing, sporting, wantoning, being born, growing old, and dying. And one can scarce believe what commotions and what tragedies this animalcule, little as he is and so soon to perish, sets a-going. (P of F, p. 70).

Huizinga wished that "As Holbein illustrated the Moria, we should wish to possess the Colloquia with illustrations by Bruegel, so closely allied is Erasmus' witty, clear vision to that of this great master."[7]

A French poet contemporary with Bruegel wrote lines appropriate to the attitude found in the painter's works, "I deplore my laughter and laugh away my weeping. I laugh at my fun; I weep at my griefs. Everything prompts me to cry; everything makes me laugh."[8] Just that combination of the serious with the jocose links Bruegel to the play studied in the following chapters. Ambiguity or ambivalence marks the

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[7] Johan Huizinga, Erasmus and the Age of Reformation. New York, 1957. 114.

[8] Marijnissen, 33.

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work of Bruegel as it does that of Rabelais and Shakespeare. Rabelais draw attention to the juxtaposition of grief and fun in his narration of the birth of Pantagruel at the expense of the life of his mother. Gargantua, Pantagruel's father, did not know whether to laugh at the birth of his son or to cry at the loss of his wife. Falstaff, Shakespeare's supremely comic character, consistently worries about his death and owing a debt to God.

The juxtaposition of life and death or joy and sorrow occurs in a particular fashion on the occasion of Mardi Gras, the major feast of carnival. Bruegel in his representation of the mock battle, "The Combat of Carnival and Lent," organizes his composition in a symmetrical manner with the staunch, stone building of a church on the right hand side of the painting, built to last forever, an Apollonian symbol of order, balanced on the left with the structure of a tavern with a sign bearing the image of a blue ship as its motif. Such a ship derives from the tradition of The Ship of Fools, a literary work by a German poet, Sebastian Brant, where the fools were united on a blue ship. The open area in the center of the Bruegel painting is filled with an assortment of people in festive activities.

In the foreground the rotund Prince of Carnival rides on an enormous wine barrel designed to be moved on runners, pushed along by his retinue. The weapon he carries in this mock battle is a spear with a boar's head impaled at its end, augmented by what appears to be a capon and some other pieces of meat. The boar's head is pierced through the

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mouth. The Prince of Carnival has a large knife attached to his belt, indicating he is a butcher, a dealer in flesh. The carnival fools are dressed in motley costumes decorated with symbolic food items. The gaunt, grim, female, or of ambiguous sexual identity since during Carnival men often dressed in women's clothing, figure of Lent is opposed to that of the King of Carnival and rides on a flat, wheeled cart pulled by a Friar and two nuns. She carries, as her mock weapon, a long baker's paddle with two herrings on it. The arrangement of this confrontation follows a tradition of humorous debates in which each participant states his case and the spectator is left to decide whose side he or she favors.[9]

A close look at the innumerable details of the painting reveals that two dramatic performances are underway as the mock battle occurs in the foreground. The Dirty Bride is performed at the lower left before the tavern while a crowd across the street watches a play involving a wildman, identified by critics as probably being the old story of Valentine and Ourson. The entire village square becomes the stage on which this theatrical event occurs. No clear demarcation is made between the theatrical production and the other activities except the clustering of the players and their costumes. No separate space is delineated as a separate stage. Carnival is painted, not as an isolated event occurring

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[9] Roger H. Marijnissen and Max Seidel, Bruegel. (New York: Harrison House, 1984.

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only once, but a recognizable recurring event following traditional patterns.

People distributed throughout the painting are actively involved in sundry activities. With the incorporation of the theatrical productions as part of the scene, the whole world represented becomes a stage with everyone in costume participating in a festive celebrations. Boisterous fun abounds even for the cripples who join in the fun. One of the basic concepts Bruegel presents in his paintings is that all human actions are governed by folly. As with Erasmus, folly is an ambivalent concept, both good and bad. The combat portrayed by the painting is a pretext in which the domains of good and evil, although opposed in the locus of the church and the tavern, actually interpenetrate, in that children play near the porch of the church and penitents move near the tavern. People are not simply polarized as good and evil. They operate in the space between the opposing forces.

In the background on the left is a bonfire in which an effigy of Carnival will eventually be burned as a symbolic banishment for at least the forty days of Lent. The burning of the effigy transforms the figure into something of a phoenix, since everyone knows Carnival will return next year. Many of the themes treated in King Henry IV Part One appear in this panoply of human activity. The world of the tavern, like that of Eastcheap contrasts with the world where reason rules. Hal, as a

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character, moves between the two worlds. The extemporaneous play staged by Falstaff and Hal involves transforming familiar objects into the ceremonious props of crown and sceptre much as familiar objects are used in the dramas included in the painting and as mock weapons for the combatants.

Another version in the form of an etching of the "Combat of Carnival" and Lent by Franz Hogenberg executed a year previous to Bruegel's oil painting represents figures similar to those painted by Bruegel but in a very different composition. (See Figures 1 and 2 ). Actual combatants are involved in a physical struggle in the foreground of Hogenberg's etching. Food has been hurled as weapons in the battle. The figures of Carnival and Lent ride on wagons with their characteristic weapons but do not actually face each other. The procession of the two sides occurs outside the church with no tavern in sight. Bruegel invents the tavern site in his painting as Shakespeare invents the tavern scene in his play.

The name of the tavern indicated by the sign hanging outside would be "The Blue Boat" or "The Blue Ship." Such a name followed the tradition of Sebastian Brant's Ship of Fools as the gathering place of an array of fools representing all mankind. Stultitia, or Folly as portrayed by Erasmus in The Praise of Folly, also spoke of all men as fools. The Boar's Head would be a suitable name following the tradition of the tavern

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being a place for the gathering of fools and the figure of Carnival having the head of a boar impaled on his mock weapon. The Boar's Head would be a suitable image to oppose to the human skull. The pig was the symbolic sacrificial fleshy animal of carnival and the mentality of carnival would be well represented by the head of the pig as in Hamlet Yorick's skull was the residence for his wit in life. The symbolic naming of the tavern in light of the ship of fools of one tradition could be matched with naming a tavern for an icon of the carnival.

Falstaff has been associated by critics with the figure of the fool and the figure of vice, but he has not been associated with the figure of Carnival, although such a connection would appear to be evident. His banishment by Hal on his coronation day fits with the dethroning of the mock king of carnival, and that banishment occurs as the eternal time sense of carnival changes back to real time and as the actual king emerges as a real monarch. The return to a structured, logical world occurs after the holiday license of carnival has ended The world as upside down or inside out, the world of carnival, occurs in the Boar's Head Tavern; the structured, logical world occurs in the royal court. Two kinds of time and two kinds of space interact in this play as they did in the life of the sixteenth century to prevent the hardening of systems into absolutes instead of the transient structures they actually were in the ongoing death and renewal rhythm celebrated in carnival.

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The tavern in Eastcheap was a gathering place for types of fools in a fairy tale kind of "Land of Cockaigne" where everything was easy and cheap and where hard-working people were considered undesirable. The eating and drinking and being merry associated with Carnival were the activities to be carried out whenever Shakespeare's characters gathered in Eastcheap. Such a place could, like the paintings of Bruegel, combine fantasy with reality, comic and serious, and could be used to comment on the world of the ruling classes. The logic of the body celebrated in carnival, rather than the logic of reason, dominated the world of the tavern.

The first half of Shakespeare's occurs in the tavern, a Dionysian world while the second half occurs on the battlefield at Shrewsbury. The framing device of a conversation with the King occurs at the opening, a confrontation of King and Prince occurs at the approximate center of the play represents the ruling power, an Apollonian world which strongly contrasts with the Dionysian. The site of real battle, the battlefield at Shrewsbury provides a symmetrical setting to that of the tavern in the second half of Shakespeare's play. Both the tavern and the battlefield conform to the idea of license. A symmetrical structure marks both Bruegel's painting and Shakespeare's play.

The figure of Falstaff strongly resembles in appearance the figure of Carnival as represented in both Bruegel's painting and Hogenberg's

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etching.. The image is one recognizable to its viewers as the folkloric idea of what such figures looked like. Thus, whether Shakespeare had seen the painting does not matter so much. What the painting offers is some insight into what the world of a sixteenth-century traditional celebration might have looked like.

Another work of Bruegel that provides some insight into sixteenth-century religious ideas alongside the social ones illustrated in "The Combat of Carnival and Lent" is "The Harvesters" sometimes also referred to as "The Corn Harvest." In particular the image of the tree at the center serves as an icon that will recur in the play of Shakespeare in the form of a family tree for the royal family and also in the form of a Biblical image of the tree of Jesse through which man is thought to obtain salvation. The tree connects earth to heaven.

Pieter Bruegel the Elder's large oil painting on wood, "The Harvesters," painted in 1565 presents the viewer with an image of sky, earth and a dominant tree with figures of peasants working in the field. The yellow grain growing in the field and being harvested dominates the canvas. Peasant figures appear in the field actively harvesting the crop while others are resting in the foreground. One group is enjoying a meal in the shade of the large tree near the center of the canvas. At the foot of the tree one man is sprawled out, apparently sleeping, in a posture similar to the figures in the painting of the Land of Cockaigne. One commentator

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has pointed out the jug half hidden in the grain as perhaps explaining his need to sleep being caused by drinking. In the distance the landscape includes a church on the right and houses on the left.

This particular painting was to serve as an illustration on a calendar, an old-fashioned device indicating the theme of the eternal cycle of birth, death, and renewal in nature[10] Bruegel distinguishes male figures from female figures, but seems to suggest a generic image of peasants. While Bruegel lived in Antwerp, he and his friend Hans Franckert often went on trips among the peasants, dressing as peasants and acting as if they belonged to the scene they visited. Bruegel delighted in observing the manners of peasants eating and drinking so that he knew their dress and how to portray their "rural, uncouth bearing."[11] Since breadwinning was the pressing burden of peasants, Bruegel portrayed the toiling drudgery and the willingness on the part of peasants to work hard.

Bruegel paints the common people even though his own background would connect him with the prosperous and educated. His paintings carry Christian values and a sense of the virtuous life. Bruegel's painting of the harvesters involves the theme of salvation: the peasants earn salvation, as well as bread, by the sweat of their brow.

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[10] Creighton Gilbert, A History of Renaissance Art: Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, throughout Europe. (1973).

[11] R. H. Marijnissen and M. Seidel, Bruegel (New York: Harrison House, 1984). p. 13.

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Bruegel secularizes the sacred in his scene where the peasants are sharing in a kind of communion service of bread and some form of wine or beer. The tree links the earth to heaven visually in the composition. Biblical concepts as well as Biblical stories occur in a contemporary setting with ordinary people.

Bruegel's approach to nature in his landscape carries the feeling that nature alone is well ordered, pure and beautiful and within that order man must overcome ignorance and foolishness to earn salvation. Bruegel tends to see the world from above, in a fashion similar to the earlier quotation from Erasmus where Menippus looks down upon the world stage from above. In this painting his perspective seems to place him well above the peasants eating under the pear tree in the noon day sun with virtually no shadows. Man, a helpless, insignificant creature, is swallowed up by larger-than-life grain, taller than the men and women who pass through it carrying sheaves of wheat or jugs of liquid to be shared. To the left of the pear tree, in the upper quadrant of the painting, beyond the foregrounded grain, the children play ball, someone swims, and a wagon pulled by an animal carries a heavy load of grain.

Thatched-roof cottages are scattered through the scene with one stone building, or manor house, in the hills to the left of the thatched cottages. In the upper right hand quadrant the viewer can perceive a church behind the trees. The church is closely connected in the painting

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with the pear tree which reaches to heaven with its lacy-leafed branches. Lush pears hang from the branches. By foregrounding the field, rather than the church, Bruegel stresses the fact that fertility and a good harvest brought earthly happiness to the peasants as a reward for their labor and their labor in this world would bring them happiness in the next. The world of the harvesters is a serene world in which labor is the price for that serenity. In Genesis 3:17-19 Adam is instructed,

> And unto Adam he said. Because thou has hearkened unto the voice of thy wife and hast eaten of the tree of which I commanded thee, saying, Thou shalt not eat of it: cursed is the ground for they sake; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life. Thorns and thistles shall it bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field. In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground; for out of it wast thou taken; for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return. [12]

Looking at one painting of a merry celebration and one painting of diligent labor by Bruegel we see the contrast of play and work which formed the rhythm of the life of a sixteenth-century peasant. The people populating those paintings are largely peasants and the events are largely feasts and popular festivals where everyone ate and drank his fill represented in many of Bruegel's works were momentary escapes from a grim, constantly threatening existence. One contemporary play urged the rich to give to the poor through the allegorical figures called Good Feeling and Perfect Christian. The former calls for Christian charity for the poor.

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[12] The Holy Bible, Authorized King James Version. New York: New American Library,1974. 11.

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The latter admonished the poor not to complain but to show their gratitude by praying for humanity. Bruegel executed a series of drawings and prints of the seven deadly sins in 1557 and another series of the virtues of faith, hope, charity as well as the four cardinal virtues of fortitude, temperance, justice and prudence in 1559.

While work and play were the business of peasant life, death loomed as the decision point of salvation or damnation for all eternity. The everpresent threat of death, particularly by hanging on the gallows, is the focus of Bruegel's "Triumph of Death." The foreground of that painting is populated with bodies either dead or dying. The activity is as intense as that of carnival. The table where a kind of feast apparently was taking place on the right is abandoned. On the left the figure of death in the form of a skeleton breaks through the face of a clock to remind men of the consequences of time. The air is filled with smoke and seems to suggest an imminent conflagration. One of the soldiers in death's army pulls the bell cord sounding a deathknell for all men. As with Holbein's "The Ambassadors," the message seems to be a powerful statement about the common fate of mortality for all men.

Like Holbein, Bruegel also involves his viewer in an active process of interpretation in that as one critic explains, "the given pictorial space logically explains and is connected with the beholder's (subjective)

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location without his becoming a participant in the event depicted." [13] The same critic elaborates that, "Bruegel's picture reveals both the special significance and the problem-complex of the individual in his relationship to the world that environs him." By presenting the event as objectively observed, the representation acquires the character of a factual report. Every beholder, therefore, is left free to interpret this reality in his own way. The result has been that Bruegel's work has produced a variety of contradictory interpretations over time. The observed world is not explained in causal terms for the viewer but becomes as inexplicable and incomprehensive as each individual fate. Reality is represented, but the meaning of reality is called into question in the pictures of Bruegel. Every viewer must judge and evaluate the reality depicted according to his own criteria.

In his drawings, as well as in his paintings, Bruegel presents reality without either glorifying it or condemning it. His pictures instruct and simultaneously demand interpretation. One drawing with Brueghel's signature, dated 1536, illustrates the widely-known proverb, "Large fishes eat the little ones." with a representation of a whole series of fish contained one inside another in order of their size. The swallowing of the small fish by the large suggests a parallel, of course, with the economic situation. A similar subject was treated by Bosch who died in 1516, at

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[13] Hanna Deinhard, Meaning and Expression: Toward a Sociology of Art. Boston: Beacon Press, 1970. 51.

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least a decade before Bruegel was born. That might explain how the drawing was mistakenly attributed to Bosch by Bruegel's student, Hieronymus Cock. Bruegel did follow Bosch in portraying fantastic shapes of phantoms and images of death and hell, but his images represent something distinct. Ambiguity achieved by his humor and portrayal of a topsy-turvy world are linked with the literary works of Sebastian Brant, Erasmus and Rabelais in that they appeal on many levels and reach not only a popular audience, but particularly the small circle of educated persons who could decipher the complexities he represented.

The food chain was an image used explicitly by Falstaff in Shakespeare's works.as the law of nature where a young dace may be a bait for the old pike. The same proverb of the large fishes eat the little ones is put into the mouth of a fisherman in Shakespeare's later play, Pericles, who describes his fellow shipmates as acting,

> as men do a-land; the great ones eat up the little ones; I can compare our rich misers to nothing so fitly as a whale; a' plays and tumbles, driving the poor fry before him, and at last devours them all at a mouthful; such whales have I heard on o' the land, who never leave gaping till they've swallowed the whole parish, church, steeple, bells, and all.

This allusion would seem to combine the proverb and the parable of Jonah and the whale.

When analyzing King Henry IV Part One I will suggest, a dialogic relationship exists between the story of the world in which succession of

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Kings occurs and the comic scenes in the realm of a type of King of Carnival in the figure of Falstaff in which the familiar everyday world of ordinary people occurs. Two world views are represented side by side.each with a validity, requiring an audience to participate in the logic of each and to integrate those two logics to create meaning.

The purpose of setting forth a description of these paintings before analyzing the plays of Shakespeare is not to say there is a direct relationship between the specific paintings and the specific plays. Rather the artifacts of a near age with visual representations of the life of the period are presented more or less as direct data, a window on the past, in experiencing the plays.

Another artist whose work provides direct information about the age in which Shakespeare's plays were written is Hans Holbein. A collection of drawings of costumes for the plays of Shakespeare, in fact, credits Holbein for some of those drawings.[14] He worked and lived in London was acquainted with members of the court, including Sir Thomas More and Erasmus. Holbein's portraits of these two men are well known. Perhaps less well known are his illustrations for works of Erasmus.

Erasmus was truly an international figure who epitomized the humanist movement towards wide learning combined with the early spirit

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[14] Robert Boocke, Shakespearian Costumes: Illustrations of the Whole of the Character in Each Play in Correct Costume Compiled from Authentic Sources As Given by Montfaucon, Royal Mss., Holbein, Zuccaro, Strutt, etc. (London, Samuel Miller, 1889).

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of Christianity which is summed up in his word Simplicitas, or simplicity of heart. Rabelais was strongly influenced by the philosophy promulgated by Erasmus. One of the sources of that influence was the work called Adagia, a collection of proverbs with extensive commentary by Erasmus. The first proverb in that collection is "Festina lente," which was illustrated in the printer's mark of Aldus in Venice in the form of an anchor with a dolphin twisted around the stem of the anchor. Aldus, who published Erasmus' collection of proverbs in Venice in 1520, later published the collection of emblems of Andreas Alciatus, a known friend of Erasmus. Alciatus was inspired in creating his work by the form of Erasmus' book . The verbal inspired the visual. Since the collection of adages influenced the collection of emblems, the critical commentary that relates emblem to epigram reiterates a connection between word and picture:

> Emblems are therefore things (representations of objects) which illustrate a conceit; epigrams are words (a conceit) which illustrate objects (such as a work of art, a votive offering, a tomb). The two are therefore complementary, so much so that many epigrams in the Greek Anthology written for statues are emblems in all but name.[15]

At least fifty of Alciatus's 212 emblems can be traced to translations or imitations of Greek epigrams. Some emblems have been shown to be condensed orations. The words functioned as an integral part of the image. Although disagreement exists as to whether words or

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[15] Peter M. Daly. Literature in the Light of the Emblem: Structural Parallels between the Emblem and Literature in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979. 9..

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the images were more important, agreement exists that the verbal adages provided by Erasmus inspired Hans Holbein to produce visual illustrations. He also provided illustrations for The Praise of Folly. .

The dialogical interaction of two visual perspectives exists in a particular painting of Hans Holbein which makes use of a strategy peculiar to his age called anamorphism. I should understand the visual strategy in "The Ambassadors" to be analogous to to the literary strategy of Rabelais and Shakespeare. They demand that an audience perceive the work from more than one perspective, whether comic or serious. These perspectives work as does a dialogue, each providing a partial truth. Although single point perspective was considered the new technology during the Renaissance, some alternatives to that technology also emerged during that period, of which anamorphic art was one..

Holbein painted "The Ambassadors" in England in 1533. The subjects of the painting, the two French ambassadors, Jean de Dinteville, Seigneur de Polisy (1504-1565) and George de Selve, Bishop of Lavour (1509-42), stand life-size in front of a piece of furniture on the shelves of which is displayed an array of worldly objects. Behind the central composition is a silk curtain. The floor is represented as inlaid with marble in a pattern replicating that of the chancel of Westminster Abbey. The ambassador on the left for the viewer, Dinteville, is dressed in a wide fur coat that accentuates his shoulders. He wears the medal of the order

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of St. Michael. His dagger, hanging at his side, is inscribed with his age. The ambassador on the viewer's right, De Selve, has a book close at hand which is inscribed with his age as being twenty-four. He wears a deep purple gown and holds a glove in his right hand. The expression on each of their bearded faces would seem to be neutral.

The objects, all on the upper level of the piece of furniture, include a celestial globe, astonomical instruments, a book, a sundial. Another shelf holds a globe, a set-square, a pair of compasses, a lute, two books--The Arithmetic of the Merchants by Petrus Apanus (Ingolstadt, 1527), and the Gesangbuchlein by Johann Walter, a hymn book, opened to Martin Luther's Chorale. The hymn book was published in Wittenberg in 1524.

At the very top left edge of the painting we can detect part of a silver crucifix suspended in front of the silk curtain. The presence of the crucifix and the imitation of the floor pattern from the religious setting of Westminster Abbey suggest religious significance. The people and the objects remain the primary subject of the painting. A blurred aspect, however, appears as one's eye moves towards the lower part of the painting. A blot seems to present a unintegrated space on an otherwise clearly represented floor. It is just that blurred space which requires deciphering by assuming a different position in relation to the painting. If

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the viewer moves to the right of the picture and looks at it awry, that surplus blot becomes legible as a human skull.

The earth, the sky, and all the apparatuses for measuring the world represent the achievement of the dignitaries. All the objects can be viewed, however, as having a symbolic value and relate to the quadrivium of the liberal arts: arithmetic, geometry, astonomy, and music. At the same time, the strategies of the visual arts are represented by the lute in particular which is presented as foreshortened in almost exactly as it is in a book on perspective by Durer, demonstrating the use of his window or lucinda. The globe with its optical projections is also associated with the study of perspective. In emblems the figure personifying Perspective sometimes holds a globe and a cube, linked to the eye by visual rays. The objects arrayed between the ambassadors, then, are not only related to the quadrivium but also relate to a list of contents in an artist's manual and the treatment of the skull in a practical application of the anamorphic procedures often taught in books. An interpretation offered by Jurgis Baltrusaitis suggests that

> the painting is a systematic study and a demonstration of perspective in all its forms and at the same time an allegory of the Arts and Science, often allied in these book, but whose principal features go back to scientific theories of the universe, represented in Italy from the last quarter of the fifteenth century.[16]

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[16] Jurgis Baltrusaitis. Anamorphic Art. Trans. W. J. Strachan. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1977. 114.

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What at first appears to be the glorification of knowledge as represented by the array of objects, all of which have associations with research carried out by a circle of artists and scholars under the direction of Piero della Francesca, becomes in light of the opposition to the memento mori a vision of vanity in the hands of Holbein. Tolnay has derived the meaning conveyed in symbolic form in Holbein's painting as "time is suspended,." which follows a similar process of reasoning to that found in Erasmus' Praise of Folly.

Like Holbein Erasmus extends an earlier image presented by Sebastian Brant in his Ship of Fools (1494) where an astrologer and a geometrician learn:

> Who that is busy to measure and compass
> The heaven and earth and all the world large
> Describing the climates and folk of every place
> He is a fool.

Holbein produced a pen drawing in the margins of his edition of The Praise of Folly of Erasmus' Astronomer as presented in that text. The text reads:

> Philosophers are worthy of respect with their beards and their gowns. . . .What pleasure it is for them when in a philosophic ecstasy they create a countless number of different worlds in the universe, when they give us the sizes of the sun and the moon, the stars and other globes with as much exactitutde as if they had measured them with their ruler and line . . . when they pile triangles, circles, squares and an infinity of othe mathematical figures one on top of the other, interlaced in labyrinthine forms . . . and throw shadows on things that are clearest . . . They know absolutely nothing and they boast of knowing everything.

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To be separated from the real world and to be enclosed in an artificial domain makes the figure one of folly. The same theme is treated by a writer in a book published in France in 1526 entitled The Declamation on the Uncertainty, vanity and abuses of the Sciences and the Arts. In that work, Cornelius Agrippa alerts his audience to the hoax of the arts. He states "Perspective teaches us the reasons for false appearances as they offer themselves to the eye." He continues that painting with what it borrows from optics, "by means of false measurements causes things to appear other than they in reality are." Like the self-referential paradox of Folly, the painting by Holbein demonstrates in itself the devices of perspective used to make things appear to be other than what they are, to trick the eye, with a trompe l'oeil.

The juxtaposition of different perspectives in one painting functions as a self referential commentary on the artifice used in each. The juxtaposed perspectives operate in dialogue with one another as the perspectives in the literary works comment on one another. Baltrusaitis suggests that the final commentary by Agrippa in his Declamation could be used as a verbal scripta to the visual pictura of Holbein's painting in the manner of emblems. The visual and the literary are interrelated according to Baltrusaitis:

> What we think to be science is only error and falseness. . . .Arithmeticians and Geometricians number and measure everything, but the soul still

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> remains unnumbered and unmeasured. Musicians treat of sounds and songs, but fail to hear the dissonances which are in their minds. Astrologers seek the stars and discourse on the heavens, and presume to foretell what will happen to other people in the world, but pay no attention to what is near them and is present every day. Cosmographers have knowledge of the land and the sea, they teach us about the boundaries and limits of every country but they do not render Man either better or wiser. . . .He who has learned everything and has learnt only these things has learned all that he has learnt in vain. For the word of God is the way, the rule, and the target at which, whoever does not wish to err should aim, and thus attain to the truth. All other knowledge is at the mercy of time and oblivion and will perish; for all the sciences and arts will vanish away and others will replace them. . .. Divine Knowledge alone has no end and embraces everything. It is Jesus Christ, the Word and the Son of God the Father and divine Wisdom, the true preceptor who makes Man as he is in order to make us children of God as He is, who is blessed in all centuries.

Erasmus wrote to Agrippa in 1531 telling him, "All the talk is about you, concerning the new work which you have written about the uncertainty and vanity of the sciences, of the vanities of the disciplines. I do not know it yet but I am setting about obtaining a copy." Since at the time Holbein was painting a second group of portraits of Erasmus, it is possible that the two men talked about that book.

Baltrusaitis draws attention to the similarity of the composition which organizes "The Ambassadors" to that of a 1525 drawing by Holbein, "The Coat-of-Arms of Death," The earlier work was inspired by Durer's Wappen des Todes of 1503. In each case a sumptuously dressed couple flank a display containing a skull in the manner of a

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heraldic device, an escutcheon. In the drawing a helmet with an hour glass as a crest appears at the top in the center. The similarities rest in the arrangement of a figure on either side, the clock as a reminder of time passing and the skull.

Jurgis Baltrusaitis proposes an interesting experiment in his book Anamorphic Art (p. 104) in which he follows the precise instructions for hanging accompanying Holbein's painting. By arranging it to be hung on a wall between two doors, Baltrusaitis imagines a drama unfolding which he entitles The Mystery of the Two Ambassadors and which he divides into two acts. When the spectator enters by the main door he stands amazed by the ambassadors' stance and the display of luxury, both aspects presented with precise realism. The closer he gets to the picture, the more enigmatic becomes the blot on the floor. As he passes through the second door, he casts a glance back at the painting and everything becomes clear. A transformation causes the original scene to disappear and the hidden figure to be revealed. The personages and all their scientific achievements vanish, and in their place rises the symbol of the End. His play is ended. Meaning is created retrospectively.

According to the instructions of Rabelais as to how to read his book, a reader, whom he identifies in carnivalesque terms of a boozer, must chew the bone like the dog to extract the marrow. His audience was notified of their role in going beyond the surface of the text in a dynamic

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process of creating meaning. Shakespeare, likewise, instructs his audiience at the beginning of King Henry IV Part Two with the imperative, "Open your eares," issued by Rumor who demonstrates the need to be alert to the disparity between report and fact. More instructions follow in King Henry V where the audience is prompted by the Chorus in Act II to "eke out our performance with your mind." In Act IV the Chorus adds, "Yet sit and see,/Minding true things by what their mockeries be." The audience is encouraged to be a partner rather than a passive recipient of what is being performed. Creating meaning is an active process.

A degree of anachronism when experiencing Shakespeare's plays seems inevitable but can be alleviated by attending to the visual arts of a time closer to the lived experience of Shakespeare's audience. The images presented in the works of Bruegel and Holbein in particular provide us with a glimpse into a 16th century imagination and serve to prepare a reader of Rabelais and Shakespeare as a more perceptive audience. Bruegel has bequeathed us images of the carnivalesque celebrations so vital in the sixteenth century but which are no longer directly accessible. He also provides us with evidence of a sixteenth-century interest in wordplay and proverbs. The serioludere strategy of representing the literal image of a proverb indicates the popularity of presenting a serious idea in a humorous fashion. To represent the literal version of the words meant the viewer had to

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process the information and translate that information into a practical application of the idea presented. Studying the popular images Bruegel painted of carnival celebrations, of proverbs and finally of death allow a modern audience to glimpse directly into a sixteenth-century world. The images Holbein has bequeathed us in the portraits of individuals who lived during the sixteenth century likewise put us in touch with that era in a direct way. By demonstrating the sixteenth-century experimental technique of anamorphism in "The Ambassadors," he provides us with an opportunity to experience the incorporation of more than one perspective where one comments upon the other within on work. The audience is instructed in a fashion by this artist also by his instructions as to how to hand the painting so the viewer would participate in the dynamic process of insight by first seeing one image and then the other. The visual arts of the sixteenth century directly bring a modern audience closer to the mindset of the audience for which the literary works to be analyzed here were created. An examination of a selection of visual artifacts of the sixteenth century suggests the cultural milieu in which the literary works to be analyzed were created.

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# Chapter 2

## Lucian and Erasmus

In order to study the Rabelaisian and Shakespearean use of Lucianic irony as transmitted to the Renaissance through Erasmus and Sir Thomas More, in combination with the tradition of the carnivalesque, I move now to a brief discussion of Lucian and his works followed by a similar brief discussion of Erasmus and a selection of his works. These two men represent an academic tradition, as opposed to a folk tradition, that links ideas from the ancient world to thos of the Renaissance. The folk traditions subsumed under the general word carnivalesque will be discussed in the next chapter of this study.

As Erasmus looked to the past in the works of Lucian, Lucian looked to his past and reopened the canon of classical Greek literature to renewal. He retold the stories he found there in a new style with his unique brand of humor as a revitalizing element. Living in the time of victorious Roman Empire as a vanquished Greek, Lucian found his own literary heritage in need of a kind of updating. Instead of experiencing his heritage with nostalgia, he tapped it as a source of material with which to comment on the current age. His literary crusade was led against shams or counterfeits, the Sophists, and superstitious beliefs dominating the age. Shakespeare's Romans in Julius Caesar demonstrate several of those superstitions. Erasmus also crusaded against sham methods of education

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and sham piety, embodied in the scholastic approach, which depended upon externals instead of being generated from within the human heart.

Although Luther condemned both Lucian and Erasmus, Lucian's ethics were generally considered to be compatible with those of Christians in emphasizing the vanity of riches and the brevity of mortal life. Luther expressed his condemnation of both men when he wrote, "On my deathbed I shall forbid my son to read Erasmus' Colloquies. . .He is much worse than Lucian, mocking all things under the guise of holiness,"

Lucian wrote approximately eighty short to medium length works in Greek during the second century A.D., of which thirty-six were dialogues. The others were either rhetorical essays, or, in two cases, romances. Although he lived in the Roman Empire, Lucian avoided Latin topics, preferring to focus on the long tradition of classical Greek literature as a resource. Lucian adapted and improved upon the older models rather than inventing something new; by combining genres, however, he did acknowledge a kind of original hybrid genre. In order to prepare his audience for reading his works, in most cases he provided prologues warning readers against overly simplistic or innocuous notions of comedy. In one case, he illustrates his point with an anecdote. When the mythical Dionysus invaded India, his army of raving women caused the Indians to laugh. Lucian recodes myth as history to make the point that what appeared comic carried serious consequence. The weapons wielded by

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the raving women or maenads inflicted real harm. The anecdote and its application were intended to prepare his audience for the seriocomic nature of his work written in a new hybrid literary form.

Lucian made no secret of his indebtedness to Aristophanes or his indebtedness to the dialogues of Plato. His project could be described as reassessing with humor the value of the serious and comic Greek literary tradition for a second century audience. The humor Aristotle categorized as exclusive to humans in his statement, "no animal but man ever laughs" becomes in he hands of Lucian, "Man is an animal that laughs, while asses do not laugh and neither do they build houses or sail boats."

Aristophanes provided Lucian with treatment of serious aspects of political, social, and literary conflicts of his time presented comically with fantastic imagination and wit. Based on ritual and revel, Old Comedy remained concerned with fertility and productivity, retaining a strong phallic emphasis. New Comedy, also used by Lucian, involved stock characters, such as the wealthy young man, or the difficult and wronged young woman, necessary for domestic situations--the wealthy young man, the jealous husband, the wronged young woman--all of which ended happily.

The dialogue, a genre closely associated with Plato, was refashioned by Lucian to his own purposes. Plato, in his dialogues, attacked the Sophists, a group of rhetoricians and philosophers, who lived

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in Athens during the fifth century B.C. The Sophists were regarded by Plato as corrupters of those they professed to teach since they concentrated on deceitful techniques for the sake of winning instead of for the seeking of truth.

Plato's dialogues fall into three groups, the first of which focuses on Socrates as the exposer of errors in his opponents' philosophy. In a second group Socrates presents a doctrine or theory as the major speaker. The third group finds Socrates in a more subordinate position as the writer of what amount to letters or epistles on given issues. As the prototype of the philosopher, the figure of Socrates questions all cliches and stock responses and leads the reader to Plato's conception of reality. For the Renaissance writers Socrates was emblematic of a seeker of truth, which caused Erasmus to call him "Saint Socrates."

Socrates became for Rabelais the figure of a Silenus or apothecary jar that has a drollery painted on the outside but contains the precious healing commodity within. The death of Falstaff echoes the death of Socrates, suggesting, in my opinion, an association of Falstaff with the figure of Socrates. In some form the figure of Socrates appears in Lucian, Erasmus, Rabelais, and Shakespeare.

Lucian altered the style of humor used in Plato's dialogues that focused on the self-deception of one of the participants. Plato showed how erroneous arguments reflected erroneous self-concepts. The process

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of argument and refutation became humorous as two incompatible points of view clashed. Lucian adapted the form of the dialogue to deal with issues relevant to his second century audience. Language, rather than argument, was a central focus of his dialogues and the butt of his humor. In Lexiphanes, for instance, the speaker, while suffering from an attack of gout and while involved in a discussion with a group of architects about the cost of building baths, suddenly and ridiculously drops everything to challenge use of the word praeterpropter. The "Second Sophistic," or second-century revival of the art of oratory using tricks of style and rhetorical flourishes, was the name given to the era in which Lucian wrote his dialogues modeled on those of Plato.

Lucian places historical or fictional characters in Platonic settings and develops a dialogue between them. Using incompatible literary traditions such as myth and philosophy, Lucian effects a face-to-face confrontation of radically different universes of discourse. The contrasting incongruous perspectives result in deliberate Lucianic humor. The characters created by Lucian are free from certain conventional ways of seeing and thinking and thus can put into question the traditions that are accepted as natural or necessary. Assumptions that underlie the colliding perspectives are exposed to the point of view which they necessarily exclude. A character with a naive vocabulary, usually in a state of comic bewilderment, confronts a highly conventional form of behavior conforming

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to a given set of rules. Since the character is oblivious to the rules, the rules themselves appear to him to be less than rational.

Lucian uses the Platonic atmosphere but does not use Platonic methods. Rather he uses highly stylized characters with the tacit assumptions of aging ideologies. Whereas Plato was concerned with a test of truth, Lucian attempts to generate comically disorienting contrasts between traditional "truths," thereby revealing a kind of validity, but a validity that is merely partial. Lucian, rather than producing proof or refutation, provides a sense of the perspectival nature of traditional truths and an awareness that any single way of seeing a subject is insufficient. Such a strategy of using each perspective as revealing only a partial truth applies, I would suggest, to the way Shakespeare makes use of Lucianic irony.

In Lucian's dialogue, The Parasite, for instance, the role of the ingenue is assigned to Simon. He praises his profession, the art of sponging, in the same self-important, technical language as philosophers and rhetoricians use for their particular profession. Tychiades opens that dialogue by establishing that an art enables all men to be of use to themselves and to someone else. He accuses Simon of doing no work for profit to himself or others. Within the parameters of the opening definition, Simon proceeds to establish that the art of the parasite is concerned with food and drink and what must be said and done to obtain that food and

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drink; hence, its end is pleasure. The parasite is in the business of good living and labors diligently in that vocation, much as Falstaff claims he labors in his.

The parasite is presented as a banqueter in the first part of the dialogue; in the second part he is presented in terms of war. Simon claims that anyone who knows his Homer knows that the noblest of the heroes were parasites. Patroclus was a parasite to Achilles. Achilles slew Hector, and Paris slew Achilles, each in single combat, but a god and two men were needed to slay the parasite. As to the character of the parasite in war, Lucian through Simon establishes that he gets his breakfast before he leaves his quarters to fall in just as Odysseus thinks it right to do. Falstaff's concern before going off to war was focused on getting his breakfast which had been prepared by the hostess. The first half of Shakespeare's play occurs around the tavern, the site of eating and drinking, as at a banquet while the second half occurs on the battlefield.

While others quake in anticipation of war, the parasite eats with a cheerful visage. One section in particular deserves quotation in full as foundation for the study of Shakespeare:

> If a parasite should actually fall in battle, certainly neither captain nor private soldier would be ashamed of his huge body, elegantly reclining as at an elegant banquet. Indeed it would be worth one's while to look at a philosopher's body lying beside it, lean, squalid, with a long beard, a sickly creature dead before the battle! Who would not despise this city if he saw that her targeteers were such wretches? Who, when he saw pale, long-haired varlets lying on the field, would

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> not suppose that the city for lack of reserves had freed
> for service the malefactors in her prison?[1]

Falstaff's body will lie on the battlefield in all its hugeness next to that of Hotspur. who has shrunken from the large spirit he had been. Falstaff's own recruits will appear to be men let out of prison to fight in a war.

Simon makes the analogy that the parasite excels sophists as peace excels war. The parasite, as well as participating in war directly, is placed in the position of participant in that mimesis of war, hunting. The parasite awaits the attack of the beast and receives it easily, frightened by neither stag nor boar. If the boar whets his tusks for him, the parasite whets his own for the boar. When Falstaff counterfeits death on the battlefield, Hal speaks about him and Hotspur in terms of the hunted deer.

> Death hath not struck so fat a deer today,
> Though many dearer, in this bloody fray.
> Embowell'd will I see thee by and by,
> Till then in blood by noble Percy lie. (V,iv,105)

Having established that a parasite's life is better than the sophist's, Lucian has Simon continue to speak of the death of the parasite as better also.

> [His death] is happier by far. We know that most, if not all, of the philosophers died as wretchedly as they had lived; some died by poison, as a result of judicial sentence, after they had been convicted of the greatest crimes; some had their bodies completely consumed by fire; some wasted away through retention of urine; some died in exile. But in the case of a parasite no one can cite any such death--nothing but the happy, happy death of a man who has eaten

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[1] Lucian. The Parasite. Trans. A. M. Harmon. Loeb Classical Library, Vol. III, 301.

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> and drunk; and any one of them who is thought to have died by violence died of indigestion.[2]

Parenthetically, the rhetorical structure of this passage is followed by the character of King Richard in his speech where he suggests sitting on the ground and telling stories of the death of kings. Still unsatisfied, Tychiades asks the parasite how is the parasite a useful acquisition to his supporter. Simon obliges him with an explanation. Simon enumerates the uses; if a rich man eats alone or "takes the air" without a parasite in his company, he is considered a pauper; a rich man without a parasite appears low and cheap; the parasite is an ornament to the rich man but the rich man is never an ornament to the parasite. Like the rich man with the parasite, Shakespeare's Hal is entertained by the comic antics of Falstaff and admits to using him as a foil to enhance his own appearance especially when he eventually converts. Falstaff would seem to possess some of the parasite's qualities, particularly the one of laboring in his vocation.

Another of Lucian's dialogues is based on Plato's Symposium. Where Plato casts his in the form of a competition in praise of Eros, Lucian substitues a parodic inversion in a competition of wits, a competition in praise of Eris or strife. The Carousal, or The Lapiths is situated at a party where philosophers misbehave. Lucian's Socrates stands out because of his freedom of speech (parrhesia) and action

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[2] .Lucian, Vol. III, 311.

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(anaideia), his lack of interest in conforming to conventions and his willingness to practice philosophy informed by irony and a cunning sense of humor. Lucian puts into the mouth of Socrates the words, "Destroy your opponents' seriousness with a joke." As well as being modeled on Plato's Symposium, Lucian's dialogue is supposed also to have been modeled on another Symposium by Menippus, the Cynic satirist. The ending of Lucian's banquet parallels the happy ending of another mythical wedding feast with his version which portrays a hand-to-hand encounter between the Centaurs and the Lapiths.

Lucian's party consists of the most learned men. The uninvited guest, Alcidamas, arrives miffed for not having been included. In order to quiet him, the host gives him a strong drink which has the opposite effect, The clown, who is supposed to entertain, includes in his act insults to which each one laughs except the uninvited guest who swings at the clown and begins a fight. After that episode subsides, a servant arrives with a letter which he has been instructed to read aloud to the gathering. Instead of the congratulatory greetings expected by all, the letter reveals the sender's private feelings of being slighted. Soon after that a cup half full of wine is flung at the wedding couple. One guest spits on another and murder is avoided only when the host divides them. "Alcidamas even made water right there in the room," while the learned men abused each other. The comparison is explicitly drawn to the wedding of Peleus, where

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Discord who threw the apple into the company, from which arose the Trojan War. The letter read in the gathering served as the Apple of Discord and brought on similar woes.

A suggestion was made by one guest to have all the guests pass their time in discussing a topic as Plato's circle had done. The topic chosen was marriage; Plato's had been love. As the food was served, each portion became a weapon tugged at or used to beat another guest. When the bridegroom was wounded in the head, the women rose and joined the battle. Alcidamas knocked over the lamp, bringing on total darkness. When another lamp was restored, several guests were revealed in compromised positions. Everyone left soon thereafter except Alcidamas, who fell crosswise on the couch and went to sleep.

A contrast is set up for anyone who is familiar with Plato's Symposium between the erotic and the eritic feast. Transforming the tradition by inversion uses incongruity to produce humor, an end in itself, but also enables the original to be experienced anew in a contemporary set of circumstances from another perspective rather than as frozen truth. Rabelais includes an episode where frozen words are thawed to be heard anew.

Within the dialogue, Lucian caricatures the Homeric battle in which single combat occurs and weapons penetrate bodies. Death of warriors on the battlefield in Homer evokes the grieving of wives and parents at

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home. At the wedding, in Lucian's dialogue, the attack on the bridegroom prompts a counterattack by the women. Lucian refashions with comic dissonance the original banquet, which lurks in the background as an absent presence. Lucian creates a parodic version, more humorous when compared with the serious version.

In one of Lucian's rhetorical pieces, A Professor of Public Speaking, cast in the form of a lecture , Lucian's invented character of the professor speaks throughout. The long difficult road of becoming a learned rhetorician is contrasted with the quick way now offered by the speaker. One road is a narrow path, briery and rough, promising great thirst and sweat. That rough, steep road did not have many tracks of wayfarers, and whatever tracks there were, were very old. The other road is level, flowery and well watered. Rather than struggling to achieve blessings by toil on the rough road, the professor recommends the magical method of the Golden Age of Cronus, when the "grain-giving earth bore fruit of itself in plenty and without stint."[3]

Anyone who:

> displays dead men of a bygone age to serve as patterns and expects you to dig up long buried speeches as if they were something tremendously helpful, wanting you to emulate the son of a sword-maker.[4]

diregards, "the short, easy road direct to Rhetoric" which has recently been opened and which can easily be recognized by its attendant,

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3 Lucian, Vol. III, 145.
4 Lucian, Vol. III, 147.

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> a wholly clever and wholly handsome gentleman with a mincing gait, a thin neck, a languishing eye, and a honeyed voice, who distills perfume, scratches his head with the top of his finger, and carefully dresses his hair, which is scanty now, but curly and raven-black.[5]

Such a fellow appears to have the demeanor of the King's messenger in Shakepeare's play as described by Hotspur:

> Came there a certain lord, neat and trimly dress'd,
> Fresh as a bridegroom, and his chin new reap'd
> Show'd like a stubble-land at harvest-home.
> He was perfumed like a milliner,
> And 'twixt his finger and his thumb he held
> A pouncet-box, which ever and anon
> He gave his nose, and took't away again-- (I,iii,32-37).

The equipment needed for success in rhetoric achieved by way of the short cut includes ignorance, recklessness, shamelessness, a loud voice, and gaily coloured clothing. The rules are: pay attention to outward appearance and to the graceful set of your cloak, use obscure words, and read only the speeches of men who lived shortly before your time and not those of long ago. Whatever the question you are asked, speak whatever is on the tip of your tongue. Don't stop talking. Your extemporary readiness goes a long way with the crowd to absolve your mistakes and procures you admiration.

If anyone attacks you, make outrageous assertions about yourself, be extravagant in your self-praise, and make yourself a nuisance to the attacker. Laugh at all speakers. Always have an oath ready on the edge of your lips. In your private life, be resolved to anything and everything--to

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[5] Lucian, Vol IV, 149.

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dice, to drink deep, to live high and to keep mistresses, or at all events to boast of it even if you do not do it, telling everyone about it and showing notes that purport to be written by women. Imitate women and you will excel your rivals since women are more talkative and in calling names, they are extravagant and outstrip men. Be lively and talk of nothing.

Success has enabled the speaker not only to change his name from Potheinus, meaning Desire, to that of one of the sons of Zeus and Leda, Pollux (the change of name allowed Lucian to insinuate a topical reference to a known politician) but success also came near to enabling him to inherit the property of a seventy-year-old hag. Someone blabbed of a plan to poison her, though, and the deal was off. He takes pride in being spoken of as, "There he is, the man who, they say, is foremost in all iniquity!" He swears by "Our Lady of the Stews." in a contradictory ending suggesting on one hand that, the short cut "will lead to mastery in the courts, enjoying high favor with the public, being attractive and marrying, not an old woman out of a comedy . . . but Rhetoric, fairest of brides," while on the other hand, "The easy road leads downhill." Some of the elements of the easy way appear to motivate Falstaff, and sometimes Hal, in Shakespeare's play. Both characters participate in adventures which appear to be attempts at short cuts to glory. Falstaff looks for a place where he might acquire "a commodity of good names." Hal threaten to go "unto the Stewes/ And from the common'st creature plucke a Glove/ And

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weare it as a favour" while allowing Hotspur to be his factor in accumulating titles of glory. Shakespeare also takes the opportunity of commenting on the change of name from Oldcastle to Falstaff to refer to an actual person.

The work of Lucian most frequently mentioned as having influenced Rabelais is the romance, A True Story[6], which told in two parts. In Part One Lucian sets himself up in opposition to others who have written of travels without every having been to the places they describe. He cites Odysseus among those. Paradoxically, Lucian establishes himself as far more honest since he is truthful in saying that he is a liar.

He travels from point to point in his journey relating events beginning at the Pillars of Hercules. He finds a land where the trees are stout and well grown at the bottom and above that have the shape of a woman from the waist up. He tells a story of giants and fantastic voyages where among other things he discovers a river of wine with its source in grapevines which grow on the trees in the shape of a woman. Such trees look like the known pictures of Daphne. At other points men rode about on birds instead of horses. One group of inhabitants were waging war on the sun and claimed their land was the moon. The travelers reach the sun and the moon where the inhabitants of both are engaged in a war.

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6 Lucian, Vol. I, 249-357.

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In one of their battles the donkeys brayed in the place of trumpeters. Lucian reports also that "so much blood flowed on the clouds that they were dyed and looked red, as they do in our country when the sun is setting, and so much also dripped down on the earth that I wonder whether something of the sort did not take place in the sky long ago, when Homer supposed that Zeus had sent a rain of blood on account of the death of Sarpedon." On the moon children are not born of women but of men; men marry men and do not even know the word woman at all. Men carry children in the calf of the leg instead of in the belly. Trees grow in that country in the form of male genitalia grown from testicles. The inhabitants drink air and are not subject to calls of nature.

Like the gods looking down on man from the vantage point of the moon, Lucian could see every city and every country "just as if he were standing over it." In between points of his journey, he reiterates the truth of his story. "Anyone who does not believe this is so will find, if ever he gets there himself, that I am telling the truth."

He and his companions, ship and all, when swallowed by a whale,. find big and small fish previously swallowed by the whale. They meet another group of people inside the whale who had been there for twenty-seven years. The new world they discovered was an old world to others. Rabelais includes an episode in his work which closely resembles this incident in Lucian. In Rabelais' version, he incorporates reference to

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the voyages made to the new world of America by his fellow Frenchmen, Jacques Cartier. In Lucian's True Story the voyagers, having escaped the whale eventually, meet, among others the figure of Socrates "chopping logic" with Nestor.Rhadamanthus. The King threatens to banish Socrates if he keeps up his nonsense and does not quit his irony. Socrates complains that he is above suspicion in his relations with young persons, but everyone holds him guilty of perjury.

Periodically in the narrative, assurance of the truth of the tale is inserted. One such assurance reads, "Anyone who does not believe this is so will find, if ever he gets there himself, that I am telling the truth." The voyagers arrive at an island inhabited by lamps; the lamps are executed by being put out. The whale swallows the voyagers after they leave this island. A year and eight months is spent in the whale before they escape.

Part Two brings them to the land of Milk and Cheese before they arrive at the Isle of the Blest. In this version of Hades a list of famous names await trial including Ajax, accused of having gone mad and having killed himself; Theseus and Menelaus along with Helen await trial for a triangulated love affair; Alexander and Hannibal are in contention for the highest rank which is to be decided by the court. The travellers themselves await trial. They stand accused of being curious and of not staying home. The court adjudicates they will be tried after death.

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Visiting the Elysian fields, they discover a great tree which bears cups as fruit. Once picked the cups fill with wine. It is always spring and time is passed with poetry and song, mostly Homeric. Homer, himself, appears to answer questions about The Iliad and The Odyssey. Socrates has been rewarded in Elysium with an Academy of the Dead for his courage in battle.

With a letter in hand from Odysseus, the travelers continue their voyage from the Isle of the Blest to the place where the wicked are punished after death. The worst punishments are meted out to those who lied in life and those who had written what was not true, a self-reflexive turn of events considering the context. Another island visited by the voyagers, The Isle of Dreams, had four gates. Such a configuration corresponds to the four gates which lead to Rabelais' Temple of the Divine Bottle described in terms of four being a Pythagoran number. In Lucian's story, the last island visited is inhabited by women with the legs of an ass who feed on visiting strangers. The story ends with a promise of succeeding books, a promise which according to a disgruntled Greek scribe writing in the margins was the biggest lie of all.

The True Story was clearly known to Rabelais, particularly when he wrote Book Three of his Gargantua and Pantagruel. Lucian purports to offer relaxation for the minds of those who have spent much time in reading of serious works. The True Story offers, according to Lucian, not

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just pure amusement based on wit and humor, but also "a little food for thought that the Muses would not altogether spurn." He admits that everything in his story parodies several writers who have written of miracles and fables.

This brief survey of a few of Lucian's works is intended to provide a sense of the flavor of his humor, a sense of Lucian's particular brand of irony. He travels up to the heavens and down to Hades. From a distance, he then offers a new perspective on the world we live in. The alternative worlds he portrays serve to make what has been taken for granted to be seen with new eyes. His comic world, as he points out, is not simply hollow amusement. His audience will find substance for serious thought in what he says. Lucian's influence on Rabelais is evident in the clear tranference of the strange voyage in A True History, or A True Story as the piece is alternately named, to the voyage which occurs in his Books Four and Five..

Critics claim one site of Lucianic influence on Shakespeare in the gravedigger scene in Hamlet.[7] Another seems to occur, in my opinion, in the creation of a character named Luciana added by Shakespeare to those found in the source for his Comedy of Errors. Shakespeare also adds a character to that play whom he identifies as a courtesan. Lucian wrote of a dialogue among the courtesans.[8] Critics hesitate, however, to

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[7] W. S. Fox, "Lucian in the Grave Scene of Hamlet," Renaissance Quarterly , 2 (1923): 132-141.

[8] Arthur Gray, "The Comedy of Errors," (see 114)

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admit a Lucianic influence in Shakespeare's Timon of Athens on the basis that no English translation of Lucian existed while he was writing even though many similarities exist between Shakespeare's Timon of Athens and the version of that story by Lucian.[9] Lines in Hamlet, Coriolanus, Julius Caesar, Macbeth and Othello have also been identified aspossibly owing some dependence upon influence by Lucian.[10]

I would add King Henry IV Part One as possibly being indebted in to the works of Lucian in the type of humor found in the comic parts. Hal retreats from the world of the court to inhabit the world of the tavern purportedly to learn how to drink with any tinker in his own language. The world of the tavern and its language or discourse stand as an alternative world to that court. The alternative world incorporates the inverted pattern of the world upside down that the world of Hades demonstrates in Lucian. Hal suggests such an inversion when he talks about his transformation being like Jove's, i.e., a transformation from a god to a bull being like his from a Prince to an apprentice tapster at the Inn.

What Lucian consistently offers his audience are works which involve a dialogic imagination. Whether a parody requires the recollection of an earlier version, or a dialogue between a naive and an initiate

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[9] H. M. Blake, Classic Myth in the Poetic Drama of the Age of Elizabeth pp. 15-17 (see 101).Ernest Hunter Wright, "The Authorship of *Timon of Athens*. . .," SJ, 47 (1911) 296-298.

[10] William Theobald, The Classical Element in the Shakespeare Plays, pp. 241-243 (See 9). and A. H. Krappe, "Shakespeare Notes," pp. 178-180 (see 34).

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requires rethinking whatever rules are in place, or whether the perspective from on high or from below makes what is seen in a more conventional way ordinarily into an estranged world, all the works of Lucian require a kind of dual vision. Lucian reverses the blind acceptance of an untested tradition, and his works use the classical Greek tradition to express a new style of thought that brought that traditional into question. What had been ideal was subjected to pragmatic examination. Such a skeptical attitude appears in the cultural artifacts produced in the visual arts of the sixteenth century where the physical world is first represented using the distorting rules of perspective and then shown to be an illusion through contrast with another distorted image in anamorphic art. Realistic painting represented a contrst to the medieval interest in representing the world as eternal and symbolic.

While an interest was expressed in conforming to laws of harmony and proportion in order to attain the ideal concept of beauty during the Renaissance, both painting and literature reflected an ambivalence in which man is perceived as having links with the elevated but as retaining roots in this earth. Such an ambivalence of a double vision made Lucian appealing to a Renaissance audience since they, too, faced a world which held out a similar dichotomy of the real and the ideal, neither of which alone was satisfying, causing both literary and visual artists to be occupied with attempts at reconciliation of the polarities.

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The works of Lucian were translated by Erasmus in the sixteenth century from Greek to Latin and used as texts in schoolbooks; therefore, they became widely known in the Renaissance. A proverb mentioned in a 1503 letter from Jacobus Faber to Erasmus illustrates the humor shared by Erasmus and Lucian as well as their shared interest in proverbs. The letter assumes that Erasmus knew Lucian's work well.

> Now to turn to the adage, which I remember having learnt from a certain very learned letter of my beloved Rodolphus, at a time when I was a mere child and as yet ignorant of Greek. In this letter he is trying to persuade the town council of Antwerp, with conviction and eloquence, that they should appoint as master of their school someone proficient in liberal studies, and not (as they usually do) entrust this office to an inarticulate theologian or naturalist, the sort of man who is sure he has something to say about everything but has no notion of what it is to speak. "What good would he be in a school? As much good, to use the Greek repartee, as a dog in a bath." [11]
>
> Lucian, Against an Ignoramus: "And each one of the onlookers immediately voices that very handy proverb: what do a dog and a bath has in common?" Again in The Parasite: "But to my way of thinking, a philosopher at a drinking party is just like a dog in a bath." So this is to be applied to those who are totally useless for certain purposes, just as there is no use for dogs in a bath."[12]

Lucian was a household word for Erasmus and influenced the form and content of hiw own work. Erasmus wrote colloquies resembling Lucian's dialogues and he indicated an interest in adages as did Lucian. He praised unworthy subjects as Lucian had. Erasmus was a Christian,

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[11] Lisa Jardine, Erasmus, Man of Letters. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993. 92.

[12] Jardine, 195.

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however, and set forth his mission statement in terms of Christianity where Lucian had set forth his in terms of exposing abuses of language as used by the sophists. Erasmus insisted that the purpose of science was to win men to Christ which should be done with gentleness and persuasion, not by force. He called himself a rhetoroculus because of his interest in the arts of persuasion. He disliked dogma and the method called "dialectic" in his age a reference to the Scholastic system of schooling; therefore, he created his own teaching materials designed to avoid following the Scholastic methods.

In 1517 he abandoned life in a monastery for the life of a secular priest. His criticism of monastic life in a letter to his abbot, Servatius Rogerus, names the abuses he so vehemently found objectionable.

> I have always regarded as the worst of my misfortunes the fact that I had been forced into the kind of profession which was utterly repugnant to my mind and body alike. . . whenever I thought about rejoining your community, I envisaged the envy of many, the contempt of all, the conversations so cold and inept, with no saviour of Christ, the banquets so profane in their spirit, in short the whole tenor of life such that, if the ceremonies were removed, I cannot see what would be left that was desirable. (Ep. 296:29-31, 57-61).

In 1506 he had spelled out what he saw as positive:

> I am deeply preoccupied with pondering how I can wholly devote to religion and to Christ whatever life remains to me. (Ep 189:7-8).

A special irony, it seems to me, is that he was forced to leave the monastery in order to devote his life to Christ.

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His philosophy, as formulated in his works, indicates the ideal of a life centered on Christ that follows an inner faith rather than external rites. The hero of his works stands as the Christian fool, the simple, devout believer in Christ not preoccupied with external things. He polarizes the Christian fool and the worldly fool. Christian folly rejects its opposite, human folly, which seeks success in this world. The Christian fool is redeemed and receives eternal life for his soul by a complete faith in Christ. The scriptures were central to his idea of faith. Such a polarization of worldly folly and Christian folly suggests a possible relationship between Falstaff and Hal in Shakespeare's play. Falstaff continually speaks of mending his ways where Hal in his reconciliation with his father aligns himself with the militaristic virtues of conquering the external world.

As a basis for his Christianity as rooted in Christ, Erasmus was convinced not only of the validity but the necessity of a philological approach to scriptural studies. He worked to make the Greek text of the New Testament available to the public in order to restore the spirit and message of the original text instead of the corrupted text that had been available to St. Jerome. His other writings attempted to set forth an educational plan for an ideal Christian Prince, and proposed the ideal of peace over war. Persuasion should replace force. His heroes were articulate.

> The man whose life is pure is great. But this grandeur serves only himself. . .If one is one of those who can express their thought finely and join eloquence to

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> wisdom, one aids not only his acquaintances, not even only his contemporaries, but strangers even to the ends of the earth, and men who will come after in future ages.[13]

Erasmus succeeded in formulating a philosophy that encompassed the areas of education, ethics, politics and social criticism. He was proud of the fact that he had "been neither a leader or an adherent of any sect."[14] His independent spirit was maintained in face of censure from both Protestants and Catholics of his own time. One of his friends, John Colet, however, did predict: "The name of Erasmus will never die."

He did inspire Francois Rabelais who corresponded with him and who, in one of his letters, referred to him as "both father and mother."[15] A literary influence of Erasmus on Shakespeare has been identified by Selma Guttman in her collection called Influence of Latin Literature on Shakespeare[16] where she lists the works of Erasmus which would have been available to him in English as including the Adages, The Praise of Folly, and an array of the Colloquies. L. T. Woodbridge identifies two colloquies in particular as influential in Shakespeare's works as A modest

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[13] The Essential Erasmus, Trans. John P. Dolan. New York: The New American Library, 1964, p. 14.

[14] Lisa Jardine, Erasmus, Man of Letters. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993. p. 187.

[15] Francois Rabelais, The Complete Works. Trans. Donald M. Frame. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991, p. 746..

[16] Selma Guttman, The Foreign Sources of Shakespeare's Works: An Annotated Bibliography of the Commentary Written on this Subject between 1904 and 1940 together with Lists of Certain Translations Available to Shakespeare. New York: King's Crown Press, 1947. p. 11.

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meane to Marriage and A mery dialogue declaringe the propertyes of shrowde shrewes, and honest wyves.[17]

Woodbridge suggests that Shakespeare must have read such dialogues or colloquies around 1596 or 1597 since they are echoed in works written in those years. He finds echoes of Erasmus in King Henry IV Part One in the combination of the use of the phrases "stony-hearted" and "trifler" in a verbal combination and context similar to that used by Erasmus. Another example of an echo is cited in the words in Erasmus, "With disdaine ynough you mocke a man in state rather to be pitied," which sound like, "When that time comes,/ Afflict me with thy mocks, pity me not,/ As till that time I shall not pity thee," the words of Phebe in As You Like It.[18] On the subject of Shakespeare's knowledge of at least the Colloquies of Erasmus, T. W. Baldwin expresses his opinion as:

> While I cannot lay my hands on any single absolutely conclusive piece of evidence that Shakspere had read the Colloquies, yet the evidence as a whole is quite strong, and I feel certain that he had done so. One who went so far in school as Shakspere certainly did is not likely to have escaped these Colloquies.[19]

Instead of finding echoed phrases as an indicator of influence, I aim to suggest ideas promulgated by Erasmus influenced both Rabelais and Shakespeare, albeit with different outcomes. The theme of educating a

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[17] L. T. Woodbridge, "Shakespeare's Use of Two Erasmian Colloquies," Notes and Queries, April, 1983, p. 122-123.

[18] L. T. Woodbridge, "Shakespeare's Use of Two Erasmian Colloquies," Notes and Queries, April, 1983 (p. 122-123).

[19] T. W. Baldwin, William Shakspere's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke. Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1944, p. 743.

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Christian Prince concerns both authors. A Christian Prince in the literary creation of each of these two authors appears work accompanied by an unlikely companion of contrasting rank and life style. In contrasting the Prince and his companion both Rabelais and Shakespeare make use of the ideas so eloquently proposed by Erasmus in his educational, political, and religious writing. In both authors the values of epic are subjected to mockery, inverted and reversed. In Rabelais the balance of the scales tips toward replacing the epic values with those of "caritas" or Christian charity and peace while in Shakespeare the protagonists lean toward retaining the epic values of conquest and military glory. Erasmus did not provide instructions to literary artists as to how to portray princes although he did give specific instructions to visual artists in his tract The Education of a Christian Prince. Erasmus stated:

> There is a certain implicit flattery in portraits, statues, and inscriptions. Thus Appelles flattered Alexander the Great by painting him brandishing a thunderbolt; and Octavius enjoyed being painted in the likeness of Apollo. The same thing goes for those huge 'colossus' statues, greater than life-size, which they used to eret to emperors in the past. A point that may seem trivial to some people, but is nevertheless of considerable importance here, is that artists should represent the prince in the dress and manner that is mot worthy of a wise and distinguished prince. And it is preferable to depict him engaged in some aspect of state business rather than at leisure: for example, Alexander holding a hand over one ear while he attends to a trial, or Darius holding a pomegranate, or Scipio restoring to a young man his betrothed wife untouched and rejecting the god which was offered to him. It is right that the halls of princes should be decorated with fine pictures of this sort, and not with

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> those that encourage debauchery, arrogance, or tyranny.[20]

The two literary artists studied here use scenes of debauchery, arrogance, and tyranny to contrast with the ideal image of a Christian Prince.

Erasmus, himself, was the subject of several portraits by the contemporary artist Hans Holbein. One of those visual images of Erasmus portrays Erasmus sitting in academic robes with his hands resting on a large book with the words Hercules Labores appearing on the spine of the book in Greek. To the left of the figure is a pilaster with an elaborately carved figure clearly delineated as a siren. To the right a shelf with some books on it is attached to the wall. One of those books carries an inscription in Latin which, translated to English, reads, "That one am I, Johannes Holbein: no one will ever be my imitator as easily as he will be my denigrator." Jaynie Anderson interprets this painting as bearing symbolic significances codified in the figure of the siren and in the verbal messages. Erasmus had been described by Johann Reuchlin in a treatise De arte cabalistica as being "a sweet-sounding Siren." The topos of the persuasive speaker as equated with the siren and her son in mythical terms had occurred as early as Alcman, a Greek lyric poet of the seventh century B.C.

Erasmus sent this portrait as a gift to the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Warham, which would suggest he was pleased by the symbolism.

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[20] The Erasmus Reader, Erika Rummel, Ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990, p. 253.

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An association of the siren with Socrates also suggests one that would link Erasmus with Rabelais and, in my opinion, eventually with Shakespeare, particularly in the figure of Falstaff. Socrates advises a young disciple on how to capture a virtuous friends' love by the gentle persuasion of a Siren's song in Xenophon's Memorabilia. The Siren was also a metaphor for friendship as it occurs in an ancient proverb, "The true Siren announces a friend, the bees a guest." Some ambiguity accompanied images of the siren, however, in that Sirens were associated with any rustic deity who was part animal and part human, like Pan, who, of course, represented the generative forces of nature. The connection with Pan was incorporated into the work of Rabelais even in the names of Pantagruel and Panurge. Falstaff, even as a Knight, is often spoken of as having some of the qualities of a pig.

The inscription Hercules Labor, rather than being simply a title for the book represented in the painting, possibly refers to Erasmus' life work, the restoration of ancient classical and Christian literature. Included in his Adages was the explanation that, "if any human labours ever deserved to be called Herculean, it is certainly the work of those who are striving to restore the great works of ancient literature--of true literature." The other inscription suggests that the artist also was claiming a siren-like charm in persuading the viewer that Erasmus was really before him.[21]

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[21] Jaynie Anderson, "Erasmus and the Siren," Erasmus in English, 12, (1983) 8-12.

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Within the works of Erasmus the ideas of grace, peace and folly receive particular attention. In turn, I should like to discuss briefly his definitions of those concepts. Since he was restoring the work of the ancients as well as that of the original version of the New Testament, Erasmus' view of the ancients and their relationship to Christianity was central to his mission. In his paraphrase on John I:18, he wrote:

> To none of the ancients were [the hidden counsels of the divine mind] fully disclosed, though sometimes God revealed [his mind] to them through angels and dreams and visions-a sort of spark from his light. . .but what to others had been conveyed in part, concealed under cover, represented as in sleep, the [only begotten Son] has made for us quite plain and clear, stripped of all wrappings.

Erasmus used the paraphrase to impose structure on scriptural passages, to bring cohesion to extended passages. One passage he treats in his paraphrases is 1 Corinthians 1:3. Here he perceives in the biblical phrase "grace to you and peace" a close relationship between grace and peace, which he works out in a series of sentences defining the two.

> For them and for you I pray a common grace and concord. . . Grace will guard your innocence; concord accompanies grace. Grace reconciles to God you who have been freed from sins; concord unites you with one another. Through grace the benefit is so perceived that the author is not unknown; through concord it becomes clear that you have embraced Christianity not in name alone, but in actual fact. Through grace you have come to share in the beneficence of heaven; through concord you bestowed that heavenly gift on one another in your own small measure.

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Grace, then, is not only innocence restored and maintained, but our knowledge of God the giver of the gift of grace. Erasmus extends the meaning of grace or beneficentia, in two directions: first he focuses on the scriptural wording of "safe through my assistance you cannot be overcome," and secondly on the words, "The more you are afflicted by the ills of the body, the more you grow rich in the goods of the soul." Both divine assistance and rich goods of the soul frequently appear in Erasmus' paraphrases as definitions of grace.

By using his rhetorical powers, Erasmus in his paraphrases provided clarity which was hidden in the language of holy writ. He attempted to make plain the abundant truths of scripture. In fact, no group of words is associated more frequently with the idea of grace than that suggesting abundance, riches, wealth and resources. Sometimes the noun liberalitas defines grace. A variety of words associated with grace evoke images of wealth and resources. Grace (with peace) constitutes goods (bona) or wealth which contrast with the wealth of the world. "That he might impart the riches of his divinity to us" specifically paraphrases the word grace in terms of wealth. The cohesive image of the Christ who became poor so that we might become rich appears in Erasmus as a drama of divine philanthropy.

Erasmus interprets "grace" predominantly as the events in and through which mankind is saved. Grace is the forgiveness of past sins,

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reconciliation with God, and the protection for future innocence. Emphasis is placed on the fact that Christians enter the felicitous state of grace not by any merit of one's own, but due to the kindness and generosity of God. Grace is the goodness of God freely bestowed on those who deserved nothing, and is defined in opposition to the efforts to earn righteousness through the observance of the Mosaic Law. God's gift .of grace and salvation is spontaneous and free. Erasmus states clearly, "This is not of our deserving; the gift is free. . .it is of his free and spontaneous good will. . .it is free, I say. . .that you might avoid the error of certain Jews who promise themselves salvation by keeping the precepts of the Mosaic Law."[22]

The concept of grace as salvation for Erasmus includes a kind of knowledge as a preliminary gift to that of salvation. Erasmus works into his paraphrase the image of the death of Christ at the beginning and at the end of his text in order to contrast Christ's abasement, the way he appeared to have become "lower than the angels," and his subsequent exaltation. The contrast gives recognition to the fact that grace as a gift of illumination does not rely upon law. The purpose of the law, according to Erasmus, was to make the grace of God more clear, more evident to us. He believed the more fiercely sin raged, the more brightly shone the grace of God.

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[22] Robert D. Sider. "'In Terms Quite Plain and Clear': The Exposition of Grace in the New Testament Paraphrases of Erasmus," Erasmus in English 12 (1983): 20.

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Erasmus in his paraphrases manages to link eloquence with sacred knowledge. He states, "When he had arrived there, he brought great benefit to those who had believed. . .for the heavenly Spirit assisted an eloquence joined to sacred erudition." Although grace, according to Erasmus, was explained predominantly in terms of theological significance, he did not overlook non-theological connotations of the word as being evident from classical antiquity which drew attention to a more strictly human charm and favor. Pleasure and joy were part of the concept of grace even as a theological term. The Apostles' speech, for example, had an eloquence deriving both from the supernatural gift of the Spirit and a hard-earned education. Human graciousness is seen to flow from the divine gifts. The speech of Christ is cited as being different from the harsh and haughty language of the Pharisees; it was rather, soft, gentle, amiable, seasoned with much gratia or grace. The gracious speech of Christ was a model for all Christians according to Erasmus.

> "Your speech should not be harsh and arrogant, but should savour of the grace of human kindness, combined with the salt of wisdom. For affable speech more quickly bends proud spirits, and wisdom teaches what one should say to whom one should speak, and with what moderation,"

is Erasmus' paraphrase of Col 4:6, "Let you speech be always with grace, seasoned with salt." Moderation is a key word when reading Erasmus, Rabelais or Shakespeare. All three authors represent moderation as an ideal to be sought.

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Erasmus represents grace, in short, then, in terms of the events of Salvation History, past, present and future, experienced by the believer in the forgiveness of sins, freedom from the tyranny of sin, and a new and felicitous innocence. Grace is given spontaneously and generously by God. Grace is preceded by a gift of knowledge by which we come to recognize and understand the gifts God offers us. Divine grace includes the gift of perseverance by which a Christian progresses towards the final goal of salvation. In the figure of Jesus, grace and graciousness find a perfect confluence.

The significance of Erasmus' speaking of grace in terms of a divine economy of rewarding humans with a richness which contrasts with the wealth usually associated with worldly success finds a correlation in Shakespeare's use of the imagery of coins and financial redemption alongside that of the redemption of man's soul by Christ's crucifixion on the cross. All the religious imagery of Holy Rood Day and Good Friday combine with the financial imagery in referring to more than one event at a the same time. The redeeming of his own reputation by Hal occurs simultaneously, in my opinion, with the redemption of Falstaff's soul which has struggled in a greater burden of flesh than other men have had to carry. The two Prodigal Sons are reconciled with their respective earthly and heavenly fathers.

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In Erasmus' system of thought peace accompanies grace and should be desired by all men. In A Complaint of Peace Erasmus creates a female figure named Peace as he creates a figure for Folly in Praise of Folly. Peace opens her Complaint by pitying men for shunning her since by doing so, they deny themselves the "source of all human happiness and bring on themselves a sea of disasters of every kind." Peace defines herself as the fount of all prosperity and all good things. According to Peace men pay a heavy price for the burden of evils called war while nature, according to Peace, has been denied the "intelligence which alone can discern my qualities." "[O]nly one animal gifted with reasoning power and possessed of divine insight," and that one denies her.

Nature provided gifts in a distribution designed for concord or peace. Man is designed without natural armor or weapons of self defense. Man alone, in nature, is born weak and unarmed, unable to find safety without the help of other men. Reciprocal love among men could be inferred as being desirable from nature's design. Such a belief was shared by the ancient pagans. The character of Peace explains that If it were not for the disease of fury which sows seeds of lust for fighting in the human heart, the common name of man should be sufficient to ensure concord among men. Beyond what nature provides, the teaching of Christ should bring home the importance of promoting peace and mutual

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good will. One paragraph in particular as spoken by the figure of Peace suggests an association with Shakespeare's play focused on in this study.

> I leave out the common people, who are swayed by their passions like a stormy sea, and seek the courts of princes, expecting to find a haven. There will surely be a place for Peace there, I tell myself, for they are wiser than ordinary men, being the mind of their subjects and eye of their people. Besides, they represent him who is the Teacher and Prince of concord, who commends me to all men and especially to princes. And all promises well. I see polite greetings, friendly embraces, cheerful conviviality, and all the other courtesies of civilized conduct. Yet, shameful to say, not even a shadow of genuine concord could be seen amongst them; all was false and counterfeit, everything corrupted by open factions and secret dissension and rivalry. In fact I was far from finding a place for Peace in their courts; instead, there were the sources and seeds of every kind of war.[23]

Falstaff uses the word counterfeit several times in relation to the members of the court.

Peace remarks that scholars fight among themselves, priests fight among themselves; religious orders squabble among themselves; and married couples fight with each other. Even within a single man a battle is waged between conflicting passions; one pulls in one direction, another pushes the other way. The solution to all these discords lies in the model of the life of Christ. Isaiah prophesied that Christ would come to unite the world but he did not promise "a tyrant, a sacker of cities, a warrior, a conqueror." He promised a Prince of Peace.

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[23] The Erasmus Reader, 293.

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Peace distinguishes the God of the Jews from the God of Christians though by his very nature the two should be the one and only God. In the Old Testament God is sometimes referred to as the God of vengeance. The New Testament brings tidings only of peace. To love one another is identified as the sole commandment of Christ. Erasmus singles out the Princes of the world for comment as marking:

> their men by distinctive attire so that they can be picked out from the others, especially in time of war; but look at the mark Christ has used to indicate his followers--none other than that of mutual love. "By this sign" he said , "men shall know that you are my disciples," not if you are dressed in a special way or eat special food, not if you spend your time on excessive fasting or exhaustive study of the Psalms, but "if you love one another"--and in no common manner, but "as I have loved you." The precepts of the philosophers are without end, the pronouncements of Moses and the kings are many and various, but Christ said only: "This is my sole commandment: love one another."[24]

Peace castigates Princes for fighting simply in order "to make some tiny little addition to the territories they rule." Christians are led astray, she continues, by ambition and seduced by insatiable greed. Christians Princes find pretexts for going to war in "obsolete title[s] " to a kingdom. A holy pretext is named for unholy deeds and a road is laid for enlarging the empire of Christ. Religious men, members of the clergy, were known to have instigated war in England, according to Peace. Shakespeare's use

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[24] The Erasmus Reader, 298.

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of the Salic Law in his play King Henry V could be played as a comic version of such justification of war in an "obsolete title."

Peace singles out the criminal dregs of hired mercenaries as those who rise to positions of power in war. She states, "[I]n time of war the lowest kinds of criminals are the rulers; war has most need of those whom in time of peace you would nail to the cross." She asks, "Who will be so eager to strike down and disembowel a foe as a gladiator or murderer?" Peace calls upon a parade of authorities to bring about peace under a rule of law rather than of arms.

The combined ideas of grace and peace as outlined in the works of Erasmus seem to relate directly to the events of King Henry IV Part One. The financial imagery, the mention of redeeming time, the saturation of the language of the plays with religious expressions and concerns, the references to religious holidays and the value systems of various groups of characters all overlap with ideas expressed by Erasmus. The suggestion that the recruits Falstaff brings to war carry marks of having been in prison align them with the dregs mentioned by Erasmus. The idea of waging war to solve financial problems presented as just by Shakespeare's kings becomes an unjust war in light of Peace's principles.

The third concept developed in works of Erasmus, that of folly, has clearly been identified as relevant for the plays where Falstaff appears, since he has been identified as a kind of jester or fool. What has not been

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applied is the idea that he can also be seen in the end as fitting Erasmus' idea of the fool in Christ. His death scene can be read in terms of the state of ecstasy described by Erasmus at the end of his Praise of Folly.

The Praise of Folly concludes with a witty, erudite, sustained and moving praise of a form of religious ecstasy indistinguishable from temporary madness. Erasmus' God saved the world by a act of divine madness. God incarnate acted like a madman. According to Erasmus true followers of that God also are characterized by a kind of madness at a moment when they catch a glimpse of the face of their transfigured Lord. According to Michael Screech, "It is then that they see for a moment the glorious majesty hiding behind the cloak of that lunatic Man of Sorrows who was the manifestation of a God who had, as it were, given up hope of saving the world by wisdom, deciding to save it by an act of infinitely costly madness."[25]

For Erasmus, Socrates was a prefiguration of Christ and the end of The Praise of Folly displays such assumptions. The consistent concern in the work of Erasmus with the reality of the unseen and the unreality of the things of this world has its roots in Platonic philosophy. Folly explains that the happiness which Christians seek "is a kind of insanity and folly." By using those terms Erasmus is alluding to Plato and memories of Socrates as portrayed in the Phaedo and the Phaedrus. In each of those works the

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[25] Michael Screech, Ecstasy and The Praise of Folly. London: Penquin Books, 1980. 75.

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body is spoken of in terms of contempt. According to Folly the soul is weighed down, bound by "the chains of the body." Such an image recalls the Platonic commonplace that the body (soma) is the grave-stone (sema) of the soul. In Phaedo Socrates had said that the purified soul of the "maniac" philosopher when separating itself as far as possible from the body was freed from its fetters. Folly distinguishes plain madness from "a certain kind of insanity and folly" that is a good mania which Socrates saw as a divine favor.[26]

Erasmus typically resorts to an evangelical corrective when interpreting Socrates' thought. Such a corrective is located in Corinthians 4:18, "We look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen." In a work which was extremely popular with his contemporaries and appeared in most editions of his work since then, according to Screech, the Exhortation, Erasmus wrote about the process leading up to ecstasy.

> Although nobody taught this more perfectly (absolutius) nor more efficaciously than Christ, nevertheless many things can be found in the books of the pagans (Ethnici) which agree with his teachings. [. . .] In many parts of Plato Socrates taught that an injury was not to be thought an injury; also that since the soul is immortal, we should not weep for those who, having confidence in a life well lived, migrate hence to a happier life; and above all that the soul is, by every means, to be led away from bodily affections towards things which really are, since they cannot be seen (LB 6. sig. *4).

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[26] Screech, p. 78.

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Socrates defined philosophy as "practising death," or mediating on death since it temporarily detached the soul from the body, so anticipating its final departure (Phaedo 80DE). Socrates was an ecstatic who spent long periods rapt in thought with his body motionless and abandoned to itself, while his soul was winging its way aloft, contemplating goodness, beauty and truth. His definition of philosophy equates its practice with an ecstatic rapture, a kind of divine madness.

Erasmus agreed with Socrates that true philosophy is an active preparation for a future encounter with death. He often used the ancient patristic term "the philosophy of Christ" for Christianity. Folly, the figure invented by Erasmus, mentions that Socrates had learned of the mysteries of divine madness in an inspired dream. The Pauline text that Erasmus sees as lending authority to the concept of madness is found in II Corinthians 5:13, "For whether we be made, it is to God; or whether we be in our right mind, it is for your cause." Erasmus presents St. Paul's relationship with God as an ecstatic form of madness. In the original Greek the passage would translate, "If we are mad, it is to God; if we are in our right mind, it is to you." Such a contrast between a man of sound mind and one given over to potentially divine madness can be found in both the Phaedrus and The Republic.

Erasmus in his translations of the scriptures emphasizes the contrast of states of mind. The Latin of the Vulgate version translates into

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English as, "Whether we are gone out of our mind, it is unto God, whether we are sober it is unto you." St. Paul is made to mean that he is sane and insane by turns, depending on whom he is dealing with, men or God.

The link of II Corinthians 5:13 with the erotic mania of Socrates is explained in a gloss provided by Erasmus. "The soul, like the animal of all lovers, is not where it animates but where it loves." Although the exact phrase does not appear in The Praise of Folly, it is implied. Christian mysticism is thereby linked with Socratic philosophy.

St. Augustine sets forth the orthodox Platonizing of Christianity.

> What then will that life in heaven be, which pious minds so zealously sigh for? Surely the spirit will swallow up the body, as being the victor and the stronger. And it will do this all the more easily, partly because it is already in its own kingdom as it were, partly because, formerly, in this life, it will have purged and fined down the body for such a transformation. Then the spirit will be wonderfully swallowed up by that Supreme Mind who is infinitely more powerful. And then the whole man will be "outside himself"--and will be blessed for no other reason than that, being placed outside himself, he will be granted something which cannot be uttered, by that Supreme Good, catching up all things into himself.[27]

Ecstasy, in the tradition of Christian mysticism, is a foretaste of the life to come, i.e., the time beyond the day of Judgment when the body will be resurrected to be united with God. Another of Erasmus' paraphrases of scripture, II Corinthians 5:4, speaks to the immortality of the body at the resurrection:

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[27] Screech, 158.

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> If we groan meanwhile, burdened by the body which is exposed to so many ills, it is not because it is a happier thing in itself to depart (emigrare) from it, but because we hope that this body will be restored into a better state (in melius restitui), mortality being given immortality through the resurrection. We are not despoiled of our body, which we put off for a time, but shall be better clothed in the same, receiving it back eternal instead of perishable (quod pro caduco recipiemus aeternum). There is no reason why we should lack faith, however unlikely it might seem that, in place of a mortal body, there shall rise an immortal one, free from all ills. (LB 7. 923 DE).

Erasmus speaks of the soul's journey to its patria or homeland not as a return to a Platonico-Christian heaven from which it had been expelled, but rather a journey from Paradise Lost to the New Jerusalem. In his Commentary on Psalm 38 Erasmus made a distinction between the two clear.

> Where then did this stranger emigrate from? From Paradise. Where did he migrate to? To this vale of tears. Whither does he hasten? To our true fatherland, Jerusalem; there he will see clearly what here he perceives in vain shadow (in imagine). (Psalm 38:7. (LB 5.464F).[28]

Folly describes the outward signs of rapture that make the favored man appear like a madman. Enraptured men do not speak coherently or connectedly. Such men do not speak in a human fashion. in I Corinthians 4:10 the words Stulti propter Christum appear referring to fools for the sake of Christ. The incoherent speech causes most people to judge men in the state of ecstasy to be mad or demented. In her penultimate paragraph Folly says:

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[28] Screech, 172.

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> Hence those who are permitted to have a foretaste of this--and it comes to but few--suffer something very like to madness. They say things that are not quite coherent, and this not in the ordinary way of men, but they make a sound without meaning, and suddenly they change the whole aspect of their faces; now cheerful, now downcast, they will weep, then laugh, and then sigh; in brief, they are truly outside themselves. When presently they return to themselves they say that they do not know where they have been, whether in the body or out of it, waking or sleeping; they do not remember what they have heard, seen, spoken, or done; and yet through a cloud, or as in a dream, they know one thing, that they were at their happiest while they were thus out of their wits. So they are sorry to come to themselves again and would prefer, of all good things, nothing but to be made always with this madness. And this is a tiny little taste of that future happiness.[29]

The Praise of Folly by Erasmus is examined in this chapter as a serious document although what made that encomium so popular in its own day and continues to maintain that popularity through time remains its complementary lighthearted humor. The humor of a false encomium was characteristic of Lucian, Erasmus' classical model. Erasmus demonstrated that by writing seriocomically in a popularizing vein, his idea could be disseminated widely through the medium of print to influence a wide audience to live a more spiritual life. The image of the siren included in his portrait symbolizes his strategy of singing a song sweetly and with humor that carried a serious message.

Rabelais adopted his seriocomic approach and acknowledged his debt to Erasmus. The concepts of grace, peace, and folly pervade his

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[29] The Essential Erasmus, 172.

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works. For instance, in the third book of Pantagruel written in 1546, the simple-minded Judge Bridoye and the court fool, Tribouillet, are both true "maniacs" as defined by Erasmus. The concepts of grace, peace, and folly also pervade the particular play King Henry IV Part One by Shakespeare on which this study focuses. These three authors, Erasmus, Rabelais and Shakespeare, have been studied by Walter Kaiser in his Praisers of Folly. He shows that each portrays folly in the figures of Stultitia in the case of Erasmus, Panurge in that of Rabelais, and Falstaff in that of Shakespeare.

Kaiser associates Falstaff with Folly and with the vice figure from the morality plays, but stops short of associating him with the mode of writing called the carnivalesque. The carnivalesque as used by Rabelais as an addition to the tradition followed by Lucian and Erasmus will be examined in the next chapter.

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# Chapter 3

## Folk Culture and Rabelais

Rabelais acknowledged in his work the names Lucian and Erasmus as models for his seriocomic modes of writing. Although he does not use the word carnivalesque, as modern critics do, for the elements of folk culture he incorporates, he does include characters named Mardi Gras and King Lent. Internal evidence, then, links him to a source of humor which he found in the folk traditions centering around calendrical festivals and marketplaces. The celebrations distributed throughout the year and culminating in Mardi Gras and Ash Wednesday were external signs of a mentality determined by involvement in the cycle of planting, growing, and harvesting crops. Since the culminating event occurred when the flesh was first indulged on Mardi Gras and then denied during the forty days of Lent, the entire system became known as carnivale, or farewell to the flesh.

What the carnivalesque is and how it functions will be discussed in this chapter as it relates to Rabelais in preparation for the intertextual reading to follow. The popular or folk tradition of carnivalesque derives from practices of pagan religious celebrations organized throughout the year in relation to the cycles of the sun and the moon. The generativity of the earth was linked to the solar year and humankind perceived itself as also linked to that cycle of death and renewal in an ongoing process

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throughout time perceived as cyclical and eternal . Within the cycle fasting and feasting, work and holiday, alternated in rhythm with planting, growing, and harvesting. During the periods of feasting, license reigned supreme and order was set aside along with work to create a total atmosphere of festivity. During those periods all external indicators of hierarchical position were temporarily erased and all the people, all the world, participated with equality in communal celebrations of eating, drinking, and being merry.

Because the opening of Shakespeare's Julius Caesar presents such a clear example of how the carnivalesque operates, I will quote that scene here before looking at the use of the carnivalesque in Rabelais. Shakespeare's play opens with the lines:

> Hence! home, you idle creatures, get you home!
> Is this a holiday? What, know you not,
> Being a mechanical, you ought not walk
> Upon a laboring day without the sign
> Of your profession? Speak, what trade art thou?

The cobbler, thus confronted, playfully replies a few lines later to a question as to what trade he practices with:

> Truly, sir, all that I live by is with the awl. I meddle with no tradesman's matters nor women's matters, but with all. I am indeed, sir, a surgeon to old shoes. When they are in good danger, I recover them. As proper men as ever trod upon neat's leather have gone upon my handiwork.

Not only does he speak in prose where the noble spoke in verse, the cobbler uses language in holiday fashion; words in holiday fashion are less rigidly connected with the thing to which they refer. "All" and "awl"

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used in a pun detach the sign from the signifier similarly to the way the sign of the trades is detached from the individual man. Words become sound more than names for things.

Another pun used by the same cobbler lends his holiday a certain Christian overtone. He comments on his occupation as, "A trade, sir, that I hope I may use with a safe conscience, which is indeed, sir, a mender of bad soles." The Christian concerns with the soul and with salvation were grafted onto the original Roman celebrations which were simply celebrating release from work. In sixteenth-century England reference to such traditions were still accessible where they need explanation for an industrialized twentieth-century audience.

Part of that explantion involves tracing the name of Lupercal, the Roman celebration. Lupercal referred to the myth of origin for Rome where the wolf, lupe in Latin, fed Romulus and Remus. Feeding or feasting is a consistent element in the carnival. Previous to being called Lupercal, such periods of celebration were designated as Saturnalia. At the time of Mardi Gras the planets of Saturn and Venus move close to one another in the heavens.

Carnival is defined by a French folklorist as a religion, existing since time immemorial, uniting all mankind in a type of diachronic brotherhood.[1] To separate any one celebration from the overall religion,

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[1] Claude Gainebet, Le Carnaval: Essais de Mythologie Populaire (Paris: Payot, 1974). The name Jean or John appears throughout European myth whether Yanic, Hans, Ivan, Janus, Jonas, Ohannes. Jan

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he suggests, would be like studying Christianity in one isolated aspect, such as the Eucharistic host, for example, separate from any beliefs associated with that religion. The gestalt of the religion is summarized in a circular chart representing the annual sun cycle passing through the two solstices and the two equinoxes. Small circles along the rim of the large circle represent the waxing and waning of the moon cycles. The rim of the larger solar is punctuated with small circles representing the cycles of the moon. The large solar circle also has two diagonal lines crossing at its center. The intersecting lines mark the points on the circle where the two solstices and the two equinoxes occur. Divisions in the smaller lunar circles indicate segments of one-and-one-half cycles which occur every forty days. The number forty, according to the French critic, had a significance as a Pythagorean number consisting of the factors 8 and 5. In the later Christian context, forty days mark significant periods such as Lent, and Advent,

An intensification of significance occurred in the period between January 17, the feast of Saint Antoine, and February 22, the feast of St. Peter because the last moon of winter gives way to the new moon of spring at that point in the calendar. The religious significance is discovered in the imagery associated with such feasts. That imagery, however, does not follow the rational processes of classical logic, but

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coupled with Jean des Entommeures was the model for Rabelais' Panurge. Falstaff's name as John would bring him into this company...

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rather follows a kind of imaginative association which we, who have lived in an age saturated with Freud, might connect with the mental state of dreaming. Metamorphoses occur among likely and unlikely objects such as the pancake, the ceremonial food of carnival, which can be seen to resemble the host of the mass, the moon, and the besmeared face of Pierrot, the clown, as a circular white object. The white circle has special significance since it is with the death of the old moon of winter and the birth of the new moon of spring that the bear returns from hibernation. Aristotle wrote of such a return of the bear and credited it with a corresponding freeing of souls of the dead. Although each country in Europe has developed its own variations, the religion of carnival involves recognizable festivals, rites, symbols, sacred places, priests, gods, myths and legends. The medieval stories, for instance, of Merlin and of Jean de l'Ours, also called Jean Quarante, quarante meaning forty in French, are stories associated with the date of the new moon of spring. Dramatization of the story of Jean de l'Ours is represented as part of the scene in Bruegel's painting "The Combat of Carnival and Lent" (See Figure 2.).

The emergence of the bear from hibernation is associated with a man, half human and half animal, who has a twin brother Valentin. In the drama title Valentin, the more human brother, opposes Jean de l'Ours, the more dominantly animal brother, in a contest for the possession of

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Spring in the figure of Rosaura. The figure of Valentin is traditionally covered with green and reappears three months later in the figure of the fool on May first. Green, identified as the color of folly, not only marks a cult of earthly generativity, but also is associated with resurrection. A symbol, the ouroboros, is associated with carnival and corresponds with the circle of the solar revolution; the ouroboros takes the form of a serpent with its tail in its mouth, forming a circle. The significance of that circle rests in the fact of the timelessness at its center. The ongoing nature of life has an existence that defies time; death becomes part of the renewal process of life.

Mardi Gras, or Fat Tuesday, according to this religion, is a time when the souls of the dead leave the earth and are conducted to the other world. The holiday maintains its French name but is celebrated around the globe. Roots for the association of the release of souls are found in the work of Pliny where an explanation for the phenomenon called the Milky Way is proposed as a pathway for souls from this world to the that of the afterlife. When the sun crosses the Milky Way, according to Pliny, the doors to the underworld are open. The crescent of the moon, a symbol of the incarnation or the liberation of the souls, associated with a sound like a swarm of bees, becomes metamorphosed into the horns of Taurus the bull, one of which plunges into the river of the milky way. Such accretion of imagery over time characterizes the religion of carnival.

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Bruegel's 1559 painting provides a modern audience with a glimpse of what a sixteenth-century carnival celebration would have looked like. The figure of Lent in Bruegel's painting wears a beehive on her head; such an object became part of the rites of carnival as representative of the swarming souls. Another figure wears the fool's hat characterized by symbolic horns. Fools are recognized in the religion of carnival as members of the priesthood of the wind that animates the universe. Fools wear horns to prevent being cuckolded but also to enable the spiritual child to grow within by inspiration or inhaling the wind. The horns of the bull are also associated with the phallus, believed to become inflated by the wind which carries the foam flowing in the open doors of Aphrodite. Aristotle writes of such a phenomenon in his Generation. Heraclitus also writes of such a process.[2]

Sir James George Frazer studies one aspect of the ancient religion whose mysteries remain for the most part hidden to us.[3] His explanation of the embodiment of the corn spirit with which he introduces his study suggests how the vestiges of this ancient belief system survived into the Renaissance.

> [T]o primitive man the simple appearance of an animal or bird among the corn is probably enough to suggest a mysterious link between the creature and the corn; and when we remember that in the old days, before fields were fenced in, all kinds of animals must

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[2] Claude Gaignebet, Le Carnaval: Essais de Mythologie Populaire. Paris: Payot, 1974, p.15.

[3] Sir James George Frazer, The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1956. 1.

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> have been free to roam over them, we need not wonder that the corn spirit should have been identified even with large animals like the horse and cow, which nowadays could not, except by a rare accident, be found straying in an English corn-field.
>
> This explanation applies with the peculiar force to the very common case in which the animal embodiment of the corn-spirit is believed to lurk in the last standing corn. . . Now, primitive man, to whom magical changes of shape seem perfectly credible, finds it most natural that the spirit of the corn, driven from his home in the ripe grain, should make his excape in the form of the animal which is seen to rush out of the last patch of corn as it falls under the scythe of the reaper.
>
> Thus the identification of the corn-spirit with an animal is analogous to the identification of him with a passing stranger. As the sudden appearance of a stranger near the harvest-field or threshing-floor is, to the primitive mind, enough to identify him as the spirit of the corn escaping from the cut or threshed corn, so the sudden appearance of an animal issuing from the cut corn is enough to identify it with the corn-spirit escaping from his ruined home.[4]

In the "primitive" religion, as Frazer designates it, a tragedy occurred in the woods of Diana on a recurring basis in which the figure of one of her priests became a victm of the figure who replaced him. "A candidate for the priesthood could only succeed to office by slaying the priest, and having slain him, he retained office till he was himself slain by a stronger or a craftier." The title accompanying the office of priest was King. Frazer comments on the situation of this new King as follows:

> [S]urely no crowned head ever lay uneasier, or was visited by more evil dreams, than his. For year in, year out, in summer and winter, in fair weather and in

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[4] Frazer, 1

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> foul, he had to keep his lonely watch, and whenever he snatched a troubled slumber it was at the peril of his life. The least relaxation of his vigilance, the smallest abatement of his strength of limb or skill of fence, put him in jeopardy; grey hairs might seal his death warrant.[5]

The importation of the worship of Diana from Greece, where it was believed to have been instituted by Orestes after killing a King, was carried out in a ritual around a certain tree from which no branch might be broken. A runaway slave, if he could break off one of its boughs, could fight in single combat with the King of the Wood. The fateful branch was the Golden Bough which Aeneas plucked before his perilous journey to the underworld of the dead. The rule of succession by the sword was observed down to the days of Caligula, who, believing the priest of Nemi had held the office too long, hired someone to slay him. Traces of such a practice are suggested in the apostrophe delivered by King Henry IV to sleep and in his comment that "uneasy lies the head that wears the crown." King Henry IV, as Bolingbroke before he was King, is described as grafting his branch onto the family tree rather than breaking off a branch, but the idea remains the same. He challenged the King and replaced him.

An annual festival honored Diana on August 13. Frazer notes an analogy between the custom in the Catholic church of dedicating holy candles to the Blessed Virgin in churches and the women carrying

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[5] Frazer, 2.

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torches to the crowning of the figure of Diana with wreaths. Terra cotta lamps at the site of the Temples of Artemis, the Greek prototype of the Roman Diana, have been found as traces of such ancient rites having been practiced. At such annual festivals in an atmosphere of license hunting dogs were crowned, wild beasts were allowed freedom and were not molested or hunted, and feasting occurred with wine and food being consumed in large quantities. Young people participated in purification rites during this time.

Frazer concludes from his study that the ascent to Kingship was associated with death or the threat of death. The celebration in honor of Diana is used by Frazer to introduce his study and to begin his journey in search of the customs of the ancient religion which ends where it began, in Rome, where he finds that:

> The temple of the sylvan goddess, indeed, has vanished and the King of the Wood no longer stands sentinel over the Golden Bough. But Nemi's woods are still green, and as the sunset fades above them in the west, there comes to us, borne on the swell of the wind, the sound of the church bells of Aricia ringing the Angelus. Ave Maria! Sweet and solemn they chime out from the distant town and die lingeringly away across the wide Campagnan marshes. Le roi est mort, vive le roi! Ave Maria![6]

The foundations of the diachronic brotherhood of mankind essential to the religion of carnival are implicit in his findings. Continuities and discontinuities exist as do archeological structures built one upon the

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[6] Frazer, 827.

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other in the manner explained by Foucault in his description of how new orders replace older ones, but the old remains in the foundations.

The circular structure of Frazer's book, which begins and ends in Rome, is also found in Gaignebet's book, at the beginning of which he claims that where he begins does not matter since he will come back to that place eventually. Even the structure of the works by people studying the ancient religion take on the shape of the symbols of that religion.

Vestiges of the ancient religion remain in folk festivals throughout Europe. The wisdom of the folk remains in proverbs and pithy sayings passed along orally from one generation to another. Those very adages were the material collected by Erasmus in his Adages. His Herculean task, as identified in his portraits by Holbein, was to reconcile the ancient world with that of the one in which he lived. He influenced Rabelais, who expanded the use of adages to include other forms of folk culture and the idiom of its language. Both Erasmus and Rabelais were priests in the Catholic church, and both men saw themselves as part of a universal human pilgrimage in search of truth. In keeping with the ongoing nature of the search, both men wrote works of literature with inconclusive endings so as to suggest the idea of humankind continuing to work out its destiny rather than representing closed systems that claimed to capture final truth. The Praise of Folly, for instance, ends with the statement:

> I perceive you are expecting me to sum this up in an epilogue. I hope you are not so foolish as to suppose that after this melange I can remember anything I

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> have said. There is an old saying, "I hate a drinking companion with a memory." Here is a new one: "I hate a student with a memory." Therefore, to your health, cheers, live and drink, O most celebrated devotees of Folly.[7]

Rabelais' novel ends with the injunction, "Now depart, in the name of God, and may He guide you ever." Truth is not static and we are all part of the ongoing search for truth. One function of the carnivalesque mode of writing is to prevent rigidity of any system of order from being perceived as absolute or permanent.

Rabelais attempted to provide instructions in his Prologues to guide his readers to the meaning of his work, as Lucian had done in his Prologues. A contemporary of Rabelais, Etienne Pasquier comments on the author's strategy, "Among us there is no one who does not know how much Rabelais, clowning wisely (en folastrant sagement) in his Gargantua and Pantagruel gained the love of the people (gaigna de grace parmi le peuple)."[8] Contemporaries of Rabelais, from this commentary, would seem to have understood the complexity and deep ambivalence of his seriocomic clowning while later critics reduced that complexity and ambivalence to a single meaning.

His contemporaries shared Rabelais' view that laughter was medically beneficial, as affirmed in the treatise on laughter published in

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[7] The Essential Erasmus. Trans. John P. Dolan.. New York: The New American Library, 1964. 173.

[8] Etienne Pasquier. Letres, Vol. 2, as quoted in Lazare Sainean, L'Influence et la Reputation de Rabelais (Interpretes, lecteurs et imitateurs) Paris: J. Gamber, 1930. 100.

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1579 by M. Laurant Joubert subtitled, "a treatise on laughter, containing its essence, causes and wondrous effects curiously studied, discussed and observed by M. Laur. Joubrt." The treatise attributed to Aristotle, quoted by Joubert, associates laughter with divine wisdom. Laughter both heals and regenerates or recreates, according to Joubert. In the dialogues of Lucian, according to Joubert, laughter removes constriction and restriction of speech and that freedom is part of the healing and recreating process.

Parts of Rabelais' novel are written in straightforward, bookish and official language meant to be taken seriously. Gargantua's letter to his son Pantagruel, employing the topos of advice from father to son, for instance, is written in such language and contains a direct message in straightforward language of the father's expectations for his son and his views on education. Other parts, however, are written in an indirect language that appears to be fantastic and entertaining, but which function contrapuntally with the serioius, direct discourse. The humorous discourse can be distinguished by its playfulness.

The names of characters, for instance, incorporate a kind of characteristically ambivalent praise and abuse which is derived from practices in the marketplace and incorporated into the carnivalesque. Where Gargantua has become a generic word in gargantuan, other names, retain their original comic flavor. Bridlegoose is the name of a

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judge; Skeinwinder, that of a philosopher; Stoutmoron is the Bishop of Papimania. Nicknames carry an ambivalent combination of abuse and praise, or hate and love, as substitutes for real names. In a speech to the Picrocholes, Grandgousier's messenger demands:

> [Y]ou must leave as hostages the Dukes of Tournemoule, Basdefesses, Menuail, the Prince of Gratelles and the Vicomte de Morpiaille, or, as we know them, My Lords Twiddlemussle, Lowbuttock, Smalltittle, Scratchballock and Diddlesnoop (95).

Misunderstanding or misinterpretation of language also contributes to the humor when a multiplicity of dialects or idioms are deliberately brought into collision. Rabelais' work incorporates the polyphony experienced in life, enabling each character's limited point of view to be validated and questioned simultaneously. What a modern critic has said about Shakespeare's use of multiple languages applies as well to Rabelais.

> What is involved is . . . a dialectical relationship between the theater and verbal art, and their functions in society. In Shakespeare the poetic and the theatrical interact; but their interaction is as effective and comprehensive because it reflects the needs and possibilities of a society that for the first time in history brought forth a hitherto unknown variety of social relationships and, with it, that unique wealth of conflict and contrast that characterizes the social context and the dramatic quality of the popular tradition in the Renaissance theater.[9]

Interaction of idioms in both Shakespeare and Rabelais produces a dynamic literary experience that allows for freedom from an absolute or a

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[9] Robert Weimann, Shakespeare and the Popular Tradition in the Theater: Studies in the Social Dimension of Dramatic Form and Function. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978.

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single discourse, and provides an opportunity to hear from all aspects of society in their own idioms. Parody, wordplay, inversion, invocation of proverbs, Biblical references, and classical allusion, all presented with irreverence, contribute to the interaction. The license appropriate to holiday time applies to the language of carnival, which is loosened from the rules of logic. The playful, comic language of festivity contrasts and interacts with the official discourse that follows the rules of logic to produce a seriocomic mix of discourses in a polyphonic celebration.

Carnival irreverence is heard in two Biblical references used in relation to the births of Pantagruel and his father, Gargantua. Both, the direct reference and the other alluded to indirectly, indicate the irreverent treatment of sacred material with comic effect. Eating, drinking. and involvement of the lower stratum of the body, the site of its generativity, all occur in each reference..

> Now you recall Noah, that holy man to whom we are so eternally grateful for planting the vine whence we obtain that nectarian, delicious, precious, heavenly, joyful and deific liquor known as bibbage. Noah drank of it and he was mocked, for he was unaware of its great powers and virtues. Even so, now in the year of the medlars, men and women enjoyed eating that fat juicy fruit. But many and divers accidents befell them. Alas! one and all suffered a most terrible swelling in their bodies, though not each in the same place.
>
> Some swelled in the belly, their paunches sticking out in front of them like great tuns. Of these it is written ventrem omnipotentem: honest ventripotent men, these, and merry blades. St. Paunchard, St. Fatgulch and Mardigras are of their company. (5)

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Other parts of the body which swell include the shoulders, "the member we call the husbandman of nature," the legs, the feet, and in some the nose, others the ears, and still others the full length of the body. The nose was sometimes spoken of as a displacement of the penis. The marks of sexually transmitted disease are sometimes displayed on the nose as a comical body protruberance. The size of the nose is associated with the size of the penis.

Rabelais parodies the Biblical genealogy marked with "begats" by driving the genealogy of the giants from Noah. Sisyphus begat the Titans who begat Enay who begat Fierabras who begat Morgan. Eventually Grangousier begat Gargantua who begat the noble Pantagruel. In the case of the birth of Gargantua, the miraculous conception and birth of the baby Jesus resonates behind the allusion. Instead of being born as other human beings, Gargantua is born through his mother's ear. The conception of Jesus was purported to have taken place through the ear of Mary by the word of the angel; hence. the birth retraces that path.

> As a result of Gargamelle's discomfort, the coryledons of the placenta of her matrix were enlarged. The child, leaping through the breech and entering the hollow vein, ascended through her diaphragm to a point above her shoulders. Here the vein divides into two; the child. accordingly worked his way in a sinistral direction, to issue, finally, through the left ear (22).

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At the birth of Pantagruel, Gargantua faced the central dilemma involved in carnival, in which death is the price of the renewal in nature. Badebec died giving birth to Pantagruel.

> A terrible doubt racked his [Gargantua's] brain: should he weep over the death of his wife or rejoice over the birth of his son? On either hand, sophistical arguments arose to choke him. He could frame them capitally in modo et figura, according to the modes and figures of the syllogism in formal logic. But he could not resolve them. So there he was, fretting like a mouse caught in a trap, or a kite snared in a gin (173).

Formal logic is inadequate to resolving the human dilemma so the alternative logic of license characteristic of carnival provides a counter discourse with which to confront the deep ambivalence essential to the human experience of life.

Pantagruel's ancestry and birth open the second book, followed by an account of his adolescence. While Pantagruel is in Paris undergoing the rigorous education specified in a letter from his father, he meets Panurge "whom he loved all his life." The two become comes, or companions, such as Aeneas was with Achates, and partake in a series of adventures, including the solution of a difficult legal action between the Lords Kissarse and Bumfondle, a debate with Thaumaste in which only gestures were used, and amorous entanglements with the ladies of Paris. News from the court notifies Pantagruel of the need to return home in order to fight against the invading Dipsodes. During the war Pantagruel's teacher, Epistemon is decapitated, but Panurge restores him to health.

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Epistemon tells of his experience of visiting the underworld in a way reminiscent of the characters in Lucian.

In Book Three Panurge praises debts and justifies his overspending before "getting a flea in his ear," which prompts him to want to marry. The remainder of the book involves his seeking advice from a series of sources on whether or not to marry and how to prevent being cuckolded. All his efforts are in vain since no one has the answer. He, therefore, decides to visit the Oracle of the Divine Bottle, Bacbuc by name. Book Four relates the events of his journey to the Oracle, including visits to a series of fantastic islands in a kind of mockery of Odysseus' journey home from the Trojan war. Book Five continues that narrative of the journey and ends with the arrival at the Oracle. Pantagruel is to return home where his father will choose a bride for him.

Rabelais explains the impulse to write such a book in terms of the appearance of an extremely popular work called Les Grande et Inestimables Chroniques du Grand et Enorme Geant Gargantua. The enormous success of the "Chronicles," measured by the fact that the printers sold "more copies in two months than they could get rid of Bibles in nine years," inspired Rabelais to further satisfy the popular appetite and achieve success for himself. Rabelais wrote his works under a pseudonym, Alcofribas Nasier, an anagram of his own name. Eventually,

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by the time Book Three was published, he identified himself as "Francois Rabelais, Abstractor of the Quintessence."

The chronology within the story and the chronology of the publication of the story do not coincide. The first book published in 1532 became the second book of the five-book work. The part of the story which chronologically precedes the first published book appeared a year later. In 1533 the Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris censured Pantagruel. In 1546 Book Three was published and immediately condemned. In 1548 Book Four appeared with the protection of Henry II, who granted Rabelais the unusual right at that time to copyright his work. Rabelais died in 1551, nine years before sixteen chapters of what is now Book Five appeared posthumously. In 1564 the completed Book Five appeared and finally in 1567 a complete version of all five books was published. The authenticity of Book Five has been challenged by critics over the years. Most likely some portions of it were edited from notes, or possibly from a first draft, left by Rabelais.

Rabelais' epitaph, written by the poet Ronsard, reads:

> Au bon Rabelais qui boivoit
> Toujours, cependant qu'il vivoit.
>
> He loved the grape, did Rabelais
> And drank his fill both night and day (xxii).

The suggestion that he spent his entire life in an inebrious state is misleading, although Rabelais might have contributed to that reputation himself. Rabelais was in fact an academic of immense learning and

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erudition with an encyclopedic scope of knowledge, a man who wrote in Latin and Greek as well as in French, and a man who ranked as one of the best medical doctors of his age. Etienne Dolet, who knew him personally, called him the honor and glory of medicine.

The date accepted as that of his birth is February 4, 1494. His father was an eminent lawyer who owned various properties around Chinon and La Deviniere. Educated at the Benedictine Abbey at Seuilly, he then joined the Franciscan monastery at La Baumette by 1520. Around that time he began his humanistic studies which involved teaching himself Greek and translating the works of Herodotus. The study of Greek had been banned by the Faculty of Theology at the University of Paris, La Sorbonne. Only through the intervention of the Bishop of Maillezais, Geoffroy d'Estissac, was Rabelais able to retain his Greek texts.

As teacher to the nephew of d'Estissac, Rabelais was able to travel widely in France and to continue his Hellenic studies by attending the University of Poitiers. In 1528 Rabelais abandoned the Franciscan order and became a secular priest. He studied medicine at Bordeaux, Toulouse, Orleans, Paris, and finally at Montpellier where he earned the title of Bachelor of Medicine. In that capacity, Rabelais offered a public course of lectures on medicine which became so popular that each

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session was packed. He worked from the original Greek sources to deliver his lectures rather than from Latin translations.

Now learned in law and medicine as well as Classical literatures, Rabelais lived in a climate of intellectual activity, meeting the most famous writers and poets of his day such as Dolet and Bonaventure des Periers, while publishing works which brought him fame throughout Europe. He edited a book of letters in Latin by the Italian medical doctor, Giovanni Manardi, setting forth his own theories that teaching medicine required studying the original Greek texts. Both Rabelais and Erasmus shared the belief in returning to the Greek sources, Rabelais in medicine and Erasmus in scriptural studies. Both of them, Rabelais and Erasmus, also published collections of proverbs. Erasmus, of course, published his Adagia in 1500. Rabelais published an edition of the Aphorisms of Hippocrates near the middle of the sixteenth century.

Along with those serious works, he edited a version of the 15th century parody, Testament de Cuspidius. During this intellectually active period of his life, he became acquainted with Erasmus. In a letter to Erasmus, written in a mixture of Latin and Greek,[10] Rabelais expressed gratitude and admiration using imagery of nourishment or eating.

> I have named you my father; I should say my mother, if your indulgence would permit me to do so, for, that which flows from women each day who nourish the fruit of their womb without it ever being seen, who

[10] A facsimile of this letter appears in Lucien Febvre, The Problem of Unbelief in the Sixteenth Century: The Religion of Rabelais trans. by Beatrice Gottlieb. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982) 134-135..

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> protect that fruit from injuries of the air, that flows from you also who, without knowing me by sight, without knowing my name, have educated me, have nourished me from the most pure breasts of divine knowledge...

A curious passage in the same letter refers to an accusation made against Erasmus by an unknown attacker. Erasmus assumed one person had written the attack, but Rabelais wrote him:

> Undeceive yourself, I know this Scaliger. he really exists. He is practicing as a physician at Agen. The devil (diabolos ekeinos) is in bad repute. Not as a doctor--he is not without knowledge in medical matters. But as a believer: he is an atheist such as no man ever was (atheos hos ouk allos popot' oudeis).[11]

The word "atheist" had no strict meaning and was used indiscrimately as a pejorative epithet at that time. Rabelais' friend Dolet had been accused of atheism, and in turn accused Erasmus of atheism. Rabelais in the letter to Erasmus accuses Scaliger of atheism.. The charge of atheism levied against Rabelais by the critic Abel Lefranc prompted Febvre to pursue the question of whether such "unbelief" was possible in the sixteenth century. Febvre's conclusion reads:

> If a man like Rabelais, even supposing him endowed with a prodigious precursor's intelligence, undertook to conduct the kind of furious crusade we have been told he did--no, it would not have been possible for a man like him to undertake such a thing in a truly serious way. He had no ground on which to stand. And his denials could at best have been no more than opinions--paradoxical ways of thinking and feeling that nothing from outside came to the support of or propped up in any real or substantial way, nothing in either the science or philosophy of his

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[11] The Complete Works of Francois Rabelais. Trans. Donald M. Frame. Berkeley: California, 1991. 746.

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> time. And, on the other hand, no, a coherent rationalism was not yet in existence at the time of Pantagruel, a well-organized rationalist system that was dangerous for that very reason, because it was based on valid philosophical speculations and scientific discoveries. It could not have been in existence yet. [12]

Febvre attempts to correct the anachronistic view that might not recognize that whatever was meant by calling men in the sixteenth century unbelievers has no relationship to what is meant by free thinkers of the twentieth century. He identifies the sixteenth century as "a century that wanted to believe."

The binary opposition of believer or non-believer resulted from formal logic. Formal logic, built as it was, on the law of identity and the law of contradiction on one hand and the law of the excluded middle on the other, led to the construction of a dilemma in which one could be only a believer or a non-believer. When anyone appeared who problematized such a simple binary, discomfort resulted. In 1528 a religious writer drew attention to the difference between Luther and Erasmus with regard to their identifiability of position. He said:

> Luther releases his anger openly. Erasmus stays in the shadows, lying in ambush. The one is as fierce as a lion, fearing no one. The other, with the cunning of a serpent, always remains hidden so he can shoot his poison with more accuracy. [13]

Febvre suggests an implication of that writer's opinion and supplies words that might have been spoken by him: "And he takes shelter in the alibis of

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12 Febvre,. 461.
13 Febvre, 412.

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the Dialogue, that cursed genre, the Lucianic genre par excellence."[14] The old dogmatic method of formal logic came into conflict with another, the dialogic method of conversing or discussing which allowed for several points of view to retain validity. Erasmus discovered such a method in the works of Lucian, and Rabelais followed his lead. Both men knowingly eluded the logic of the theologians with laughter.

To avoid what William Empson called the either/or complex, literary devices employing ambiguity or ambivalence were found to be characteristic of both Montaigne and Rabelais by a recent critic and given the name "bluff." According to Bowen the aim of such devices was to raise questions rather than to answer them.[15] Paradox, enigma, argument, antithesis, and ambiguity are consciously used to disconcert the reader, to make the audience stop and think about the subject under discussion and about the literary techniques being used. A sixteenth-century audience, brought up in an age when the reading of Virgil and Ovid were allegorized, and the Bible was read on four levels (literal, tropological, allegorical and anagogical) did not feel the need to single out any one interpretation as the only one.

Abel Lefranc believed the Lucianic laughter concealed "strange designs" which he classed as being those of an atheist. Just such misunderstanding results from not giving proper attention to the process

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14 Febvre, p. 413.

15 Barbara C. Bowen, The Age of Bluff. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972.

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of literary creation and of literary devices. Because Rabelais praised the holy bottle does not mean he was a drunkard. Because he used the language of a barker at a sideshow in addressing his audience, as in, "Good people, God save you and keep you! Where are you? I can't see you: stay--I see you," does not mean he was a buffoon. Without Febvre's study to correct the anachronistic application of twentieth-century views of atheism to the use of such a word in the sixteenth century, misinterpretations might occur.

To restore some knowledge of the sixteenth century folk tradition of celebrations associated with specific dates on the calendar, Mikhail Bakhtin wrote his book in Russian. The English title Rabelais and His World replaced his original title of Francois Rabelais and the Folk Culture of the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Without a knowledge of that folk culture a modern reader might misinterpret the significance of many events, imagery, idiom and symbols incorporated into Rabelais' novel. The insights Bakhtin provides enable us to open Rabelais' text to greater understanding. This study will transfer those insights to an intertextual reading of Shakespeare's King Henry IV Part One with the work of Rabelais. Such a reading will suggest a dimension in Shakespeare's play usually overlooked by critics of that play.

The first characteristic Bakhtin attributes to the carnivalesque mode of writing is a mixture of styles. Genres, like words and social

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hierarchies, are released in the carnivalesque from the rigid rules which usually govern them. Fiction is not strictly divided from factual accounts. Historical personages appear in Rabelais' fiction. Certain sections on scholastic medical theory could have been inserted into a textbook. Epic, fairy tale, humanist manifesto, all appear as part of the mix.

Commonplaces or stock subjects appear without concern for originality. Rabelais, like Shakespeare, retells stories everyone knew. Both writers, however, demonstrate their originality in the treatment of the material they reshape. In fact, Rabelais, like Shakespeare, retells stories everyone knew. Both writers, I contend, treated those familiar stories so as to disconcert the audience by introducing the "deep ambivalence" of the carnivalesque mode of writing.

Ambivalence is the second characteristic Bakhtin attributes to the carnivalesque mode of writing. The form of the dialogue provided one kind of ambiguity in first pretending to be supportive of a point of view only to eventually refute it or to leave the whole discussion hanging on a question mark. Sometimes real names are used to create verisimilitude, but such characters cannot be read as strictly historical persons. Tension is created between the serious and the playful by combining the polarities instead of isolating either. Part of the deliberate ambivalence and ambiguity created by the use of the carnivalesque, for instance, is the blurring of the line of distinction between the serious and the comic. The

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two exist in a mixture which might even be contradictory but which does not cancel out either element. Interweaving comic and serious elements often occurs by having a single sentence treat simultaneously two or more aspects of subjects ranging from physical and moral illness, speech, war, religion, and kingship to wine, sex, and humanism. By creating such sentences Rabelais created a structure requiring critical involvement by the audience to decipher meaning.

Bakhtin credits another Russian critic, L. E. Pinsky, with elucidating the ambivalence and the source of laughter in Rabelais. He quotes Pinsky as saying:

> One of the most remarkable traits of Rabelais' laughter is its multiplicity of meaning, its complex relation to the object. Frank mockery and praise, uncrowning and exaltation, irony and dithyramb are here combined.[16]

and

> Rabelais' laughter simultaneously denies and asserts, or more correctly speaking, it seeks and hopes like the very company of the 'thirsting Pantagruelists.' Boundless enthusiasm concerning knowledge and cautious irony alternate with each other. The very tone of this laughter shows that two opposite principles can be put together even in form.[17]

Rabelaisian laughter often accompanies mention of the body's lower stratum the site of birth, fertility, renewal, welfare. Laughter is linked to time and with time's successive changes. The drama of his

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[16] Mikhail Bakhtin. Rabelais and His World. Trans. Helene Iswolsky. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1968. Reprinted 1984. 142.

[17] Bakhtin, 142.

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laughter unites the death of the old and the birth of the new. The contradictory world of becoming is presented is represented as all of a piece. The positive and negative poles of becoming (death/birth) are not opposed to one another but united. Once separated, as often occurs in our century, they lose their ambivalence and are perceived as either coarse or cynical. In our either/or world Rabelaisian humor is often judged to be crude. The debasing and generating power of urine, for instance, is combined in an allusion to an antique myth in Rabelais' Book Two. In Rabelais' version the warm medicinal springs of France generate from the hot urine of Pantaguel while he is sick. The original myth appears in Ovid's Fasti and revolves around a chamber pot called the "official," the name used to designate an agent of the church hierarchy. In Shakespeare's play the chamber pot is called "the Jordan" and mentioned in his play King Henry IV Part Two along with a line from a popular street ballad about King Arthur. Such a context suggests an irreverent association of the "Jordan" with the Holy Grail. Such debasing associations occur particularly in Europe's anonymous oral tradition, where death and the act of defecation are often linked. Such debasement, known as "the Marlborough theme," transforms the terror of death to laughter.

Urine and defecation, as well as being associated with death and renewal, involve prior drinking and eating. The feasting and fasting

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themes of Mardi Gras and Lent as portrayed in Bruegel's painting recur in a multitude of guises throughout Rabelais' work. Flesh or fish, fat or lean, and pleasure or abstinence are not simple dichotomies. Wine, in this regard becomes one of Rabelais' favorite ambivalent images. The prologue to Gargantua, Book One, begins:

> Hail, O most valiant and illustrious drinkers! Your health, my precious pox-ridden comrades! To you alone, I dedicate my writings. Suffer me, therefore, to draw your attention to a dialogue of Plato's called The Banquet (3).

What becomes established throughout the work is an equation of wine with his book, with the marrow of a bone, with the Sileni or apothecary jars, and with Socrates. The reader of Rabelais must be alert to the shifts of tone, context, syntax, and vocabulary. Rabelais' work seeks to destroy the forces of stasis by using the ambivalent forms, images and symbols of the carnival.

Carnival, defined as a religion by Gaignebet, becomes revolution in the works of Rabelais. The world is temporarily turned upside down to provide an opportunity to incorporate change and to see anew. Contrasting with members of the nobility, Rabelais' peasants, like those of Bruegel, display a rampant physicality in their behavior, as well as language that includes blasphemy, and curses, and is saturated with sexual innuendo. The laughter associated with the carnivalesque mode of writing reveals the relations between body, language, and political practices in the Renaissance, a time of great political oppression.

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Festive madness accompanying the carnival period of license from what was "normal," parodied that "normal" and caused men to look at the world with different eyes. The topics of women, words, wine, and war become foci of Rabelais' ambivalent treatment.

Thaumaste, whose name means worker of wonders, hopes to debate Pantagruel to test the authenticity of his opponent's reputation as a wise man. Thaumaste rejects arguing in the manner of the crackpate theologians and that of the Academics, Pythagorians and Pico della Mirandola and prefers to argue by signs alone. Rabelais thereby attacks the misuse and abuse of language and suggests that signs may be more helpful than words because of their lack of ambiguity. The joke, however, develops when Panurge takes the place of his master and conducts the debate with essentially rude gestures. Those gestures are conveyed to us in language and it is only when the reader attends to the details of description of the signs that their nature is revealed. The learned man is made into a fool by the buffoon.

Women are often thought to receive less than fair treatment by Rabelais. Where Rabelais pokes fun at cuckolds and the institution of marriage, he is subtly mocking masculine jealousy and the domination of woman by the male. Book Three is dedicated to Marguerite of Navarre, a feminist of his and her day. Rabelais was attacking the brand of chivalry or courtly love that enslaved lovers, not the marriage based upon true

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companionship. Panurge's search for the answer to whether or not he should marry, essentially a wild goose chase, does not produce an answer but suggests the answer lies in his taking responsibility for his decision. Pantagruel will accept marriage as his destiny and as a necessity in producing an heir to continue the line of giants.

Wine throughout the novel produced frank talk, defeated fear, and allowed for new perspectives. In the acts of eating and drinking, man partakes of the world rather than being devoured by it. Toasts were characteristically delivered at occasions involving drinking. For instance, at the Symposium mentioned in the opening sentence of Rabelais' prologue to Gargantua, such a toast included both abuse and praise in mentioning his ugliness and allowed Socrates to praise himself. Intoxication allowed for free speech without concern for reprisal. In a treatise by Hippocrates such intoxication was described as follows: "due to a sudden increase of blood, there is a change in the soul and in the thoughts it contains: then men forget their present misfortunes and are inspired with the hope of a happy future." (Hippocrates, De alimento.). At the banquet everything men are merry and liberated from piousness based on fear of God or government. What at other times would be considered sacrilegious becomes in the context of the banquet cause for merriment.

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Laughter, food and drink symbolically defeat death and renew life. The combination sometimes resulted in tagging clowns with names denoting national dishes like sausages or herrings (Hanswurst, Pikkelherring).[18] Gaster, or Sir Belly, a character in Rabelais' novel, while displaying the characteristics of good eating and drinking associated with merriment, also displays a negative aspect of greed. On one hand, hunger can unite humankind, while on the other hand, it can also motivate a competition that involves the slaughter of others in order to gain more for oneself. Appetite for food can easily metamorphose into the appetite for land or gold.

Two major wars occur in Rabelais' story of the giants. In Book One Picrochole aggressively attacks Gargantua. Gargantua becomes victorious with the help of a monk who slaughters the enemy. As a reward Gargantua plans and builds the Abbey of Theleme for the monk who enabled him to win the war. In Book Two the Dipsodes invade the Amaurotes and are defeated by . Pantagruel with the aid of Panurge who captures King Anarchus of the Dipsodes. Much of the novel is written in the form of mock epic with wars being fought with tree trunks as weapons and towns being drowned with urine. The journey made to the Oracle is a odyssey parodying that original epic odyssey about which Homer wrote a true epic.

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[18] Bakhtin, p. 298.

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In a topical reference made in the Prologue to Book Three, Rabelais identifies his writing as a war effort.

> Shall I be accused of inertia when, throughout this most noble kingdom of France, on either side of the mountains, men are doing double duty, to fortify and defend their native land or to repel the foe and attack them in turn? . . . . . I would deem it very disgraceful indeed to stand aside as but an idle spectator whilst so many valiant and eloquent heroes perform soul-stirring roles in the magnificent epic spectacle all Europe watches today (295).

Instead of fighting, Rabelais determines he will be of service in another fashion. Comparing himself with Diogenes who rolled his barrel around a hill in Corinth so as not to be idle as the soldiers there prepared for war, Rabelais states:

> For the combatants, I intend to tap a third barrel of a liquor you would fully appreciate, had not dishonest printers adulterated and vitiated the two preceding. From the vintage of our frivolous pastimes, I vow to draw for them a gallant third, and, later, a jocund quart of Pantagruelian sentences, which I give you leave to call Diogenical. Since I may not be the fellow-soldier of our brave warriors, I shall be their excellent butler, ready to comfort them to the best of my poor ability and with the best of my rich wine, when they return from the alarms of war. I shall also be the tireless singer of their praises and prowesses; nor shall I fail unless March fails to fall in Lent, which the cunning lecher will take care not to do (297).

In Book One Grangousier writes to Gargantua, who is a student in Paris, requesting he come home to help ward off the enemy. He writes:

> I intend to appease rather than provoke, to defend rather than assault; I do not seek to conquer new lands, but rather to preserve my faithful subjects and hereditary dominions, which Picrochole has invaded without rhyme or reason, and which he oppresses

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> day by day with a fury intolerable to freeborn spirits (91).

Rabelais agrees with Erasmus in desiring peace and believing that war is to be fought only in defense of one's own country. When the Picrochole war is over, Grangousier instructs the prisoner Tingledingus about the lack of Christianity in waging such a war. He tells him:

> All or nothing ends in nothing; . . . . . The day of conquering kingdoms to your Christian neighbor's loss is long since past. To imitate the ancient Herculeses, Alexanders, Hannibals, Scipio, Caesars and that ilk is contrary to the profession of the Gospel (131).

The epic values of the past have been replaced for Rabelais with the Christian values of charity or caritas. The only just war was waged as necessary to protect one's own territory from aggression. Where glory resulted in the past from victory in epic battles and military might , the challenge now was to establish and maintain peace. In his letter to his son Gargantua defines how such a change occurred.

> To-day, the old sciences are revived, knowledge is systematized, discipline reestablished. The learned languages are restored: Greek without which a man would be ashamed to consider himself educated; Hebrew, Chaldean and Latin. Printing is now in use, an art so accurate and elegant that it betrays the divine inspiration of its discovery, which I have lived to witness. Alas! Conversely, I was not spared the horror of such diabolic works as gunpowder and artillery (192).

Pantagruel protects his own nation, the Amaurots, named for the capital of Sir Thomas's Utopia, a product of that printing press which allowed for men to become educated. Pantagruel was able to conduct himself in

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heroic fashion even when he had lost his weapon in the war. When he met Loupgarou (Werewolf) the leader of 300 well-armed giants from Dipsode, the land of thirsty people, in single combat , Loupgarou presumed himself to be the certain victor since Pantagruel was alone. Faced with his enemy, Pantagruel prayed to God and received the audible answer, "Hoc fac et vinces." "Do this and thou shalt conquer." (p. 269) He used the mast of his ship to stab his opponent in the genitals as a result of which the mast broke, leaving Pantagruel without a weapon. Pantagruel resorted to kicking him in the belly which caused him to fall to the ground. Pantagruel then picked up Loupgarou by the feet and wielded his body like a pike. The giants' stone armor crumbled to dust in the assault.

Wars occur in Book One and Book Two of Rabelais' Works. In Book Three Panurge seeks advise about whether or not he should marry. In Books Four and Five a voyage occurs culminating at the Temple of the Divine Bottle. Such a structure would seem to follow a plan which combines the Iliad and the Odyssey in a balanced, symmetrical literary structure. Book Three by itself has also been described as having a symmetrical structure by Edwin Duval who finds at the center of Book Three a mise en abyme. In Chapter XXIV Panurge renews his vow in speaking to Epistemon:

> Friend Epistemon, I am of a mind to marry. But I fear being unhappy and cuckolded in wedlock, I have therefore made a vow to St. Francis the younger, St.

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> Francis of Paula. Why to him and not to St. Francis of Assisi, founder of the Franciscans? Because, at Plelssis-le-Tours, whither Louis XI summoned him; St. Francis of Paula is invoked with great zeal by women. (No wonder: he founded the order of Minims or Good Men; women naturally hanker after good, upstanding men!) What did I vow? To wear spectacles in my cap, and to forego a codpiece onmy breeches, until I can solve my problems (379).

Epistemon chastises Panurge by citing the example of a foolish vow recorded in the fifteenth-century chronicles written by Enguerrand de Monstelet. In the same breath he mentions both Froissart's Chronicles and Lucian's How to Write History. By continuing the chronicles of Froissard, Monstelet became popular enough to be result in four printings before Book Three was published. Monstelet concentrated on the events of the second half of the Hundred Years' War. His account culminates in the massacre of the French at Agincourt in 1415 and the legal demise of the Kingdom of France.

The episode referred to by Epistemon appears in a chapter where a series of comic errors occur. Letters are sent to the wrong address, mail is unforwarded, identities are confused, rendez-vous are missed, and ridiculous questions are raised such as who is responsible for defraying travel expenses to the site of a duel. The outcome of the chapter amounts to nothing as indicated by the last sentence quoted by Epistemon, "These letters having been formally exchanged, nothing happened." . The signifiicance of this mise en abyme placed near the center of his book, according to Duval, rests in the fact that Rabelais

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"deliberately represents his book as a history without a design, and himself as a historian as foolish and unskilled as the notoriously witless and verbose Enguerrand de Monstrelet."[19] Rabelais had earlier alluded to Lucian's How to Write History as the rule by which narrative histories, including his own, must be judged. Epistemon, in his chastisement of Panurge, equates Monstrelet's chapter to the Horatian mountain which labored and brought forth a mouse. Epistemon refers Panurge to the Aphorisms of Hippocrates, edited by Francois Rabelais in 1532, where Hippocrates states that judgment is difficult. Such a strategically situated representation of his own work presents an ironic case of being exactly what a history and an epic should not be according to both Lucian and Horace.

The symmetrical structure of the overall work and the symmetry of Book Three by itself reflect a sixteenth century habit of mind which also appears in the visual art works discussed earlier. This study finds a similar symmetrical structure in Shakespeare's play King Henry IV Part One.

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[19] Edwin Duval, "Pantagruel's chanson de ricochet and Rabelais's art et maniere d'escrire histoires." Rabelais in Context edited by barbara C. Bowen. Birmingham, Alabama: Summa Publications, Inc., 1993.

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# Chapter 4

## An Intertextual Reading

I will show in this chapter how Shakespeare, in his play King Henry IV Part One, and Rabelais use similar strategies to tell a story that incorporates the official version of truth and simultaneously challenges that truth. By examining the many similarities between the two works not only am I able to establish a greater coherence between the comic and historical strands of Shakespeare's play, but I also demonstrate that strands not emphasized by most critics have greater significance.

Rather than making direct political assertions, both authors refer to contemporary political issues by using literary strategies that conceal as well as reveal, rather than making direct political assertions. Direct expression of attitudes not conforming to officially sanctioned views during the time in which both authors wrote would have been deemed heretical or treasonous. Etienne Dolet (1509-1546), a scholar and printer, who printed the works of Rabelais, was convicted of heresy and blasphemy and then burned at the stake in Paris. Miguel Servetus, an Erasmian humanist in Spain, was also convicted of such crimes and executed[1].

Rabelais' comic figure Panurge and Shakespeare's Falstaff provide provide them with literary means of speaking freely with impunity.

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[1] Richard H. Popkin, Editor, The Philosophy of the 16th and 17th Centuries. New York: The Free Press, 1966. p. 5

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Through combining the comic with the historical modes of writing, they could voice views in ways that simultaneously confirmed and questioned officially sanctioned truth.

Despite the similiarites shared by both of these authors, however, Rabelais' hero Pantagruel values peace over war whereas Shakespeare's hero Hal redeems himself by returning to the military values of his Tudor ancestors in the play King Henry IV Part One, and continues, in the play nemed for him King Henry V, to follow an imperialistic policy in attacking and conquering France. His progeny carried forth a similar policy under which England established an empire.

Using the structure of Shakespeare's play as its organizing principle, this chapter will examine the advice from father to son which is principally provided near the center of the play in Act III. Acts I and II are dominated by the carnivalesque world of Eastcheap, in which Falstaff reigns supreme. Acts IV and V occur on the battlefield at Shrewsbury. After examining the scene in which King Henry IV chastises his son, this chapter will focus on Hal's wayward career in Eastcheap. The scenes that occur at Shrewsbury will then become the focus. Shakespeare's play can be seen as a symmetrical structure with the confrontation of father and son situated at the approximate center of that structure and balanced on each side by the tavern scenes and the battle scenes. On one side the comic and carnivalesque life of the tavern world predominates, and, on the other side, the serious life of the battlefield .

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For a parallel example, I turn to the structure of Rabelais' work where the comic and carnivalesque events occurring in Paris whilere Pantagruel is a student correspond to the events of the tavern world and contrast with battle scenes in which Pantagruel meets the enemy in single combat (as Hal meets Hotspur). Pantagruel has a band of followers that includes the comic figure of Panurge just as Hal's companions cluster around the comic figure of Falstaff.

Each author created a story using materials familiar to their respective audiences but altered the familiar stories by using comic literary strategies common to the Lucianic and Erasmian tradition along with those of the carnivalesque.

**Advice from Father to Son**

In each case the father sets forth his expectations for his son who is undergoing a process of education in preparation to be king. In Rabelais, however, the older values of military power have been replaced by the humanistic ideals of learning the wisdom of the ancients and the maintenance of peace. Values systems based on military might clash with those of the humanistic ideal in the work of both authors, but with contrasting outcomes. In Rabelais' work the King explicitly states the belief that war should only be defensive, and the comic version of battles mock military might and glory. In Shakespeare, on the other hand, the King fantasizes or wishes that his actual son, whom he calls "unthrifty" and "effeminate," had been exchanged in the cradle by fairies and

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replaced for the warlike Hotspur. The King wishes his son were as aggressive as Hotspur, who is often described by other characters as choleric and even mad.

The period of the Prince's adolescence and education in preparation for becoming King provides the narrative material for each author. Although Rabelais tells his story in the form of a novel and Shakespeare tells his in dramatic form, the two authors share modes of writing. By reading the two works side by side resonances of sixteenth-century concerns become apparent and a method of communicating also becomes apparent, a method in which controversial points of view can be expressed without the authors of those views being held accountable for them.

Both authors mix comic and serious tones throughout their works. Each, however, treats the advice from father to son in a serious tone. In Shakespeare, a comic version of the advice scene has occurred previous to the serious version in the ex tempore play put on in the tavern by Falstaff and Hal. The comic world of the carnivalesque exists outside of time or ex tempore, so the expression usually used figuratively becomes literal. Falstaff takes the part of the King, using the debasing props of a cushion for his crown and a stool for his throne. The roles are then reversed; while Hal is playing the King, he reveals his father's condemnation of his companions. In Rabelais comic versions of the genealogy and birth of Pantagruel precede the advice of Gargantua to his

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son. Also preceding the arrival of the letter in which the advice of his is transmitted, Pantagruel is studying in Paris and meets a scholar who volunteers a rendition of how students spend their time in Paris. Pantaagruel must learn the language of the scholar, just as Hal must learn the language of the tavern. Like Lucian, Rabelais sets up a situation where an outsider who does not know the rules, a "naif," is confronted with what is accepted as the norm and as a result the norm becomes ridiculous. The affected language becomes the target of the comedy. The student or scholar provides a typical itinerary of students in Paris as:

> Then we proceed to pabulate in the mercantile taberna of the Fir Cone, the Castle, the Magdalen and the Mule, upon rare vervicina spatula perforaminated with petrosil. If by misfortune, there be rarity or penury of numismatical in our marsupia, or if we be exhausted of ferrugine metal, to pay, we demit our codexes and we oppignerate our vestments while we prestolate the Tabellaries who are to come from our patriotic Lares and Penates. (181)[2]

The narrator translates the passage for the reader (although Pantagruel presumably had no translator) as:

> Then, in the taverns of the Fir Cone, the Castle, the Magdalen and the Mule, we eat shoulders of mutton garnished with parsley; should we have little money in our purses or be out of cash, we settle the bill by pledging our books and pawning our clothes while awaiting remittances from home. (182)

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[2] All quotations from the Works of Rabelais will be taken from The Complete Works of Rabelais: The Five Books of Gargantua and Pantagruel in the Modern Translation of Jacques Le Clercq. New York: The Modern Library, 1936. Page numbers will appear in parentheses.

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The scholar suggests that most of the sons, who were studying in Paris, away from their homes, were "unthrifty" or prodigal sons who did not act responsibly. Like the British sons who studied at the Inns of Court, these students, during their time of preparation for careers in government and law, lived a life of license and irresponsibility.

Since being a student involved spending time in the library, Rabelais also presents such activity in comic fashion. Before receiving the letter from his father, Pantagruel visits the Library of St. Victor where he finds such fantastic titles as: "The Invention of the Holy Cross, a play for six characters," and "Concerning the Serving of Mustard after Meals, in Fourteen Books, by our Learned Master Rusticockpiddleshank -crapwallopper, with a Commentary by Volilonge, a Franciscan critic of Scotus and Peter Lombard." (187). Both of these episodes present a comic perspective Pantagruel's life while away from his father's court. The tavern is mentioned by the scholar who describes student life. The tavern substitutes for the University in Shakespeare's play as the site of Hal's education, an institution in which he learns to "drink with any tinker in his own language." (II,iv, 18-19).[3]

The serious message delivered by Gargantua in his letter contrasts with the comic perspective on the student's life in Paris. Gargantua begins with "seminal propagation" as a God-given gift that promises a

[3] All quotations from Shakespeare's King Henry IV Part One will be cited from the Arden edition, edited by A. R. Humphreys. New York: Routledge, reprinted 1992.

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kind of immortality even though man is doomed to die for the sins of Adam and Eve. Through "seminal propagation" Gargantua expects to see not only the replication of his bodily image in the body of his son, but also the replication of his soul in the form of his reputation, which his son must maintain. Pantagruel represents his "visible image," which "will continue to live on earth." Gargantua tells Pantagruel that, "in you, I shall go on frequenting honorable men and true friends, as I was wont to do" (190). Gargantua is like King Henry IV in that each is concerned with his son as a linear descendent who will be an extension of himself into the future. The continuation focuses on aspects of which the father is proud.

King Henry IV is afraid his son will disgrace the quality of the linear descent. Hal has created an impression of being a scofflaw and ne'er do well. Although Hal has revealed his plan to the audience that he will dazzle the immediate world with his amazing conversion scheduled to occur at the right moment, his father does not have a clue of such a plan. Unlike Gargantua, he can only see the negative aspects of his son and expresses his disappointment and chagrin. King Henry IV is conscious of his own mistreadings and suspects his son's behavior is punishment by God for those transgressions.

Gargantua also admits, however, to not having been without sin. He continually asks God for forgiveness although he is held in honorable esteem by other men. Along with replicating his body in that of his son, Gargantua holds his son responsible for maintaining his reputation as the

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representative of his soul. He wants to be assured his name will not be "degenerated" or "bastardized." (192) "Mental, moral, and technical excellence" were the wish of Gargantua's father for him as a son. What those words meant in his time have changed. "We were still in the dark ages," he tells Pantagruel. Gargantua has seen a revolution in learning so great that, "I, not erroneously reputed in my manhood the leading scholar of the century, would find it difficult to enter the bottom class in a grammar school." The King accepts and values the change. The progressive notions of Gargantua will contrast with those of Henry IV, who wishes his son to continue to be as warlike as his Tudor ancestors.

Gargantua attributes the revolutionary changes that provide such an improved life for the new generation to the art of printing, which he describes as "an art so accurate and elegant that it betrays the divine inspiration of its discovery, which I have lived to witness" (192). Gargantua notes that the changes contrast with his own education when he states, "Alas, Conversely, I was not spared the horror of such diabolic works as gunpowder and artillery" (192). The epic glorification of war is associated with the dark ages, whereas learning is associated with the new enlightened age in which "robbers, hangmen, adventurers and jockeys. . .are infinitely better educated than the doctors and preachers" of Gargantua's time (192).

A large part of Gargantua's letter elaborates what Pantagruel should study and how he should spend his time. He urges Pantagruel to

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accumulate as much knowledge as possible in his admonishment, "Soon you will have to give up your studious repose to lead a life of action." Pantagruel is told he will have to defend his father's house and help their allies in case of an enemy attacks. War has not disappeared but is deemed justified and honorable only as a defensive measure.

Gargantua ends his letter with religious advice that includes the maxim, "Set not your heart upon vanity" (194). Vanity is also a concern of Hal's father about his son. The final wish Gargantua expresses in his letter is to have an opportunity to give his son his blessing before he dies. The King in Shakespeare's play likewise is concerned about being able to give his blessing to Hal before he dies.

Act III of Shakespeare play opens with the King surrounded by a group of men that includes counselors and his son Hal. The King requests all those on stage leave so he might have private conference with his son. The conference is a face-to-face meeting rather than a letter.being read by a son as in Rabelais. Instead of initially acknowledging the God-given blessing of "seminal propagation" as Gargantua does, the King expresses his belief that his son is a God-given punishment for his "mistreadings." Gargantua had wished his son to "go on frequenting honorable men and true friends" as was the wont of nobility (191). The King wishes the same for Hal, but finds to his chagrin that instead of choosing honorable company, Hal is "grafted to" "rude society" whose members he treats as "level with [his] princely heart"

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(III,ii,15). The horticultural image of the Prince as "grafted" corresponds to the similar image used for the King himself, when he was Bolingbroke; in the garden scene of the play King Richard II, the Queen curses the Gardener for allowing the aggressive Bolingbroke to succeed as the new branch of the royal family:

> What, was I born to this, that my sad look
> Should grace the triumph of great Bolingbroke?
> Gard'ner, for telling me these news of woe,
> May God the plants thou graft'st may never grow.
> (III,iv,98-101)

In the First Folio "Plants" is capitalized, which might suggest an association between the family name Plantagenet and the image of the Plant. Bolingbroke is replacing the direct flow of rule from father to son, he is the "Plant" being grafted onto the family tree of Kings. The image is repeated with reference to Hal.

The Prince's reply to his father's charges echoes the version of his wayward youth found in Holinshed's Chronicles, where a "pickthanks" is mentioned as having "sowne division" between father and son. Hal admits to having "faulty wandered" in his youth but hopes to find pardon and to submit. The King chastises Hal for his affections, which "hold a wing/ Quite from the flight of all thy ancestors" (III,ii,31). Unlike Gargantua, the King wishes Hal to follow in the footsteps of his warlike Tudor ancestors. Hal has been replaced by his younger brother on the Council and is "alien to the hearts" of the other nobles. The King then compares his son with himself by praising his own behavior as a young

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man in terms similar to the words Hal uses in his own soliloquy, That soliloquy appears in Act One, scene ii, where Hal says, "If all the year were playing holidays,/ To sport would be as tedious as to work" and makes the audience privy to his plan to "so offend, to make offence a skill" before his staged "reformation." The Prince reveals his dramatic plan to surprise those at court who deem him idle and prodigal. In the manner of a playwright he is manipulating his audience. The King also speaks as a dramatist who stages his own appearances so as to be wondered at when he was seen. His appearances, then, have the effect of a feast or holiday in their rarity. The alternation of fasting and feasting is applied to appearances as well as to food and work.

The King's speech includes a long section on the faults of King Richard II, who did not live up to the ideals of his royal lineage. Hal must be selective as to which ancestors to imitate. Richard caused men to be "glutted, gorg'd and full" with his presence. Near the end of Shakespeare's play King Richard II, the action of which chronologically precedes that of King Henry IV Part One, Hal's father had not seen him for three months. Hal's father, then, has not been "glutted, gorg'd and full" with his presence, but feels the public have been so fed. He wishes his son to absent himself from the public awhile. As King, Hal must manage his appearances as a gourmet item in the diet of the public, allowing himself to be swallowed by their eyes only on special occasions.

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The King presents two exempla as models; the first, negative, is to be avoided and the second is to be imitated. The King speaks about fifty lines denigrating the behavior of King Richard II before delivering another twenty that are essentially an encomium of Hotspur as the warlike model to be followed. The King identifies himself with Hotspur and Hal with Richard. The imagery of feasting with the eyes has Richard being "swallowed by men's eyes," and those eyes being "surfeited with honey. . .began/ To loathe the taste of sweetness, whereof a little/ More than a little is by much too much." The King must prevent himself from being consumed by his subjects. A kind of symbolic cannibalism suggested by the imagery used to speak of Richard is followed by the revelation of the King's fears that even his son whom he calls his "nearest and dearest enemy" will join with Hotspur to obliterate him.[4] What begins as honor degenerates to dishonor.

The word "degenerate" appears in both Shakespeare's father's speech and in the letter from Gargantua to Pantagruel. King Henry ends his speech with a hypothetical explanation of Hal's behavior as being "to show how much thou art degenerate" (III,ii,128). Gargantua writes about the duty of his son to preserve his soul in the form of his reputation and

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[4] Rene Girard in Violence and the Sacred (Trans. by Patrick Gregory) (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977) elaborates the consequences of a system in which the disciple follows the model initially from a distance. As that distance diminishes and the disciple and the model approach each other the disciple becomes a threat to the model as embodying the desire to replace that model.

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about what occurs if that duty degenerates to dishonor. He writes, "Scant satisfaction, that, when the best part (my soul, which should keep my name blessed among men) had degenerated and been bastardized" (191). A reversed "anxiety of influence" exists in both cases where, instead of sons being afraid of living up to their father's or predecessor's power, the father worries that the son will undo him.

"My nearest and dearest enemy," the oxymoronic phrase used by the King to describe his son, reflects the ambivalence of this father/son relationship as containing elements of love and elements of hatred. The phrase, "Mars in swathling clothes," used by the King to describe Hotspur, can be read as carrying another kind of ambivalence or even contradiction of values in the figure of the military hero. The long sentence in which that phrase appears includes elements which would contribute to perceiving such an ambivalence:

> What never-dying honour hath he got
> Against renowned Douglas! whose high deeds,
> Whose hot incursions and great name in arms,
> Holds from all soldiers chief majority
> And military title capital
> Through all the kingdoms that acknowledge Christ,
> Thrice hath this Hotspur, Mars in swathling clothes,
> This infant warrior, in his enterprises
> Discomfited great Douglas, ta'en him once,
> Enlarged him, and made a friend of him
> To fill the mouth of deep defiance up,
> And shake the peace and safety of our throne.

Swathling clothes in a culture imbued with the Bible would potentially have carried associations with the infant Jesus who was "wrapped in swathling clothes and laid in a manger." especially in this sentence

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where the word appears in such close proximity with the name of Christ. As the "Prince of Peace," Christ is not only opposite the "God of War," but the figure of Christ as the baby Jesus represents the birth of a new era of love in which epic values of war and immortality through fame are replaced by peace and an immortality for each person through the saving of his soul as a Christian. Pagan values represented by the figure of Mars, the god of war, would seem to clash with the image of the figure of Jesus as the Prince of Peace in the same oxymoronic way that Hal is the "nearest and dearest enemy." In the later play in his role as King Henry V, Hal prays to the "God of Battles" (HV,IV,i,295) in an apostrophe delivered as a soliloquy, in which he confess the transgressions of his father for which transgressions he tries to atone.

The imagery closing the King Henry IV's long sentence repeats the symbolically cannibalistic imagery of men consuming men. The Christian values of peace are wished for in conjunction with safety, but the figure of Mars in the person of Hotspur seeks the epic values of "never-dying honor" (III,ii,106). Because of Hotspur's military exploits King Henry believes, "He hath more worthy interest to the state/ Than [Hal] thou the shadow of succession" (III,ii,98-99).

Hal's response to his father's diatribe focuses on the figure of Hotspur and ignores references to King Richard II. Hal speaks in term of owing his father a debt which he will redeem "on Percy's head." Percy will be the currency used to redeem his debt. The imagery of redemption

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associated with the Holy Rood or Cross appears latent in the description of the process he will pursue much as the imagery of the Christ child was latent in the image of Hotspur as "Mars in swathling clothes." The son of God died on the cross to atone for sins. Hal will tell his father, "I am your son" when he is wearing a garment all of blood and his features are stained in "a bloody mask." On Christ's path to redemption of mankind, his face became a bloody mask in the story of Veronica's veil. Hotspur will be the substitute victim in this sacrifice. King Henry IV's original wish that the two infants had been exchanged by fairies while in their infant crib will be fulfilled on the battlefield, where in the classic epic form of single combat between two heroes, one wins the honor accumulated by the other.

Whereas Hal becomes ardent in military might after his father's advice, Pantagruel was moved to a more ardent search for wisdom rather than the kind of knowledge demonstrated by the affected, pedantic scholar who described the student way of life. After having received the letter, Pantagruel meets Panurge, the polyglot fool, and decides to befriend him. Gargantua had instructed him that, "As Solomon says, wisdom entereth not into a malicious soul, and science without conscience spells but destruction of the spirit" (194). The serious tone of Gargantua's letter, as opposed to the mocking tone inherent in the scenes of battle, suggests the audience should respond to its straightforward message . Whereas honor is redefined by Rabelais in terms that exclude

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military conquest and epic contests between heroes, Shakespeare's King Henry IV retains those military values.

From the beginning of Shakespeare's play, honor, as the measure of worth, determines King Henry IV's concern about his son. He perceives Hotspur as the "straightest plant" (I,i,81) whereas his own son has been "grafted to rude company." Instead of praying to God as the Queen did in the Garden scene of King Richard II in reference to Bolingbroke, ("Pray God the plants thou graft'st may never grow." III,iv,101) Bolingbroke, now, as King Henry IV, formulates his wish to prevent the Plant from growing in terms of a narrative in which:

> , , , some night-tripping fairy had exchang'd
> In cradle-clothes our children where they lay,
> And call'd mine Percy, his Plantagenet! (I,i,86-88)

While the King sees Northumberland's son as being the "theme of honour's tongue," he perceives his own son as following a path of "riot and dishonour."

Later this concept of honor will be challenged by another perspective, a comic one, delivered by Falstaff. The concept of honor as praised by the King is dispraised by Falstaff in his mock encomium on the battlefield when faced by the slain body of Blunt. Falstaff comically brings into question the values of the ruling powers. As an antinomial figure Falstaff corresponds to the figure of Panurge in Rabelais' work. The comic world is introduced at the beginning of the play where the figures of Hal and Falstaff first appear. The serious attitude of the advice of father

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to son, then, becomes one perspective among others. The comic world of the tavern is the setting for the first half of Shakespeare's play.

**Tavern and Carnival Worlds**

In Rabelais' narrative the appearance of Panurge, who is without lineage or parents, occurs immediately following the imperious letter in which Pantagruel's destiny is defined by his father. The motivation for the indissoluble friendship formed between these two apparently contradictory characters thus suggest an ambivalence toward the authority of the father. Pantagruel refers to an obedient son of epic when he declares, "Indeed you and I will make such another pair of friends as Aeneas and Achates" (200). Pantagruel also refers to himself in terms of the epic quester, Ulysses, a figure often represented as a trickster. Some critics interpret Panurge as a splitting off of certain aspects of Pantagruel, providing a complementary or compensatory relationship to the ego personality.[5] Panurge, as a negative hero, rebels against compulsion, limitation, and oppression by authority. As a trickster figure, he is associated with Mercury or Hermes, the god of thieves.

Falstaff can be seen to function in a similar fashion for Hal. Falstaff is the antinomial figure of Carnival who operates unrestricted by

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[5] Carla Freccero, Father Figures: Genealogy and Narrative Structure in Rabelais (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), Freccero refers to psychoanalytic work of Jung on the psychology of the trickster figure as applied to Panurge. Such opposition to limitation and restriction includes opposition and restriction as to linguistic forms. He uses language ina slippery, unstable and elusive manner..

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the rules of everyday life. Falstaff is the fatherless and wayward protagonist of the tavern world. Hal temporarily absents himself from his father's house and journeys, like the Biblical prodigal son, to live among the swine, in the Boar's Head Tavern, before returning to obey the rules of inheritance. The conflict of his impulses to differentiate himself from his father is externalized and materialized in his adolescent capers with Falstaff. His struggle to establish his own identity is a process of reconciling subjective impulses that oppose the restricting forces operative in his society. Socialization involves subjecting the body to restraints defined and organized by those in power. A degree of subjective freedom exists in recognizing that officially recognized values are masks that must be worn when the occasion demands. Both Pantagruel and Hal are involved in achieving that degree of freedom rather than license.

Panurge enters Pantagruel's life as the fatherless outsider totally free of the restrictions imposed by Pantagruel's father's expectations for his son. Falstaff enters Hal's life in a similar fashion as one who lives outside the defining cultural roles imposed by the hierarchy in place in his time. The world upsidedown, in which both Panurge and Falstaff live, parallels and parodies the topos of the journey to Hades of traditional epic in which the hero seeks wisdom. Curtius attributes Rabelais' use of this topos with his knowledge of Lucian:

> The world upsidedown also delighted the Greeks as a parody of the Homeric journey to Hades (Nekyia) .

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> As such it appears in Lucian ("Menippus"), and with Lucian as a model, in Rabelais (Pantagruel, Chapter 30). This line runs parallel with the transformation of the adynata to the world upsidedown.[6]

What was once outlawed is now praised. Curtius continues, "Everything is out of joint and anything becomes possible."

The complaint of fathers that their sons do not want to study and learn is the theme of many cautionary proverbs such as the one in which the blind lead the blind. This world upsidedown, as made up of adynata or impossibilities, is displayed in Bruegel's painting known as "Dutch Proverbs" which represents the proverbs as literal rather than as metaphorical. One example is that of actual blind men lead other actually blind men instead of a metaphorical interpretation of the expression. Curtius comments on Bruegel's work immediately following his mention of Rabelais.

> A "World upsidedown" made up of adynata is displayed in Breughel's painting known as "Dutch Proverbs." P. Fruytiers made an engraving after it with a legend which renders "the general idea Breughel intended to convey":
>
> Par ce dessin il est montre
> Les abus du monde renverse
>
> By this design is shown
> The abuse of the world upsidedown.

Curtius then connects the world upsidedown to the revolt of youth against learning and the opposition of generations. He adds a note that, "In the history of letters it appears as the battle of the "moderns" against

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[6] Ernst Robert Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages. Trans. Willard R. Trask. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973, p. 95-96.

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the ancients--until the moderns themselves have become old classics."[7] Such a generation gap prompted many examples of the world perceived as upside down. The oxymoronic figure of the puer/senex was a topos representing the gap between wise old age and wayward youth. Wisdom associated with age and white hair usually contrasts with wayward youth. The combination of wisdom and youth is reserved for the figure of the puer/senex, who combines childhood and age. Falstaff, an old man who calls himself a youth, incorporates wayward youth and age without wisdom, in a manner characteristic of such an impossible double figure.

A process of education enables the wayward youth to achieve wisdom. Pantagruel follows his process of education in the universities of Paris, Hal in the tavern of Eastcheap. Each meets an unconventional companion remarkable for his lack of defining patriarchal lineage. Psychologically the figures of Panurge and Falstaff allow the youth to externalize unsanctioned impulses, by projecting those impulses onto a scapegoat figure, as all human beings do in the language of dreams. The carnivalesque world and the world of dream have many symbols and a kind of logic in common. All the censors of everyday life are removed in sleep and anything is possible. Hal expresses his having been in a dream state when he rejects Falstaff as part of that state that now he despises because he is awake.

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[7] Curtius, p. 98.

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The first half of Shakespeare's play occurs predominantly in the carnivalesque world of the tavern where all the restrictions of time, law, hierarchy,and logic are released as they are in time of carnival. Dishonour and rude company are praised instead of honor and nobility. In the world turned upside down of Eastcheap and the Boar's Head Tavern, the mode of writing, rather than being straightforward like that of Gargantua's letter, is one in which the techniques sometimes called bluff or the carnivalesque or the festive are used to accentuate deep ambivalences involved in making judgments about honor. The values that determine military honor as the measure of worth become relativized through the contrast with an alternative world where honor is considered no more than a word. Falstaff's inversion, his dispraise of honor, turns the value system on its head. Lucian achieved such a reversal in placing those who were honored in this world in dishonorable positions in his underworld; for example, by making Alexander a hawker of green sauce. He thereby relativized the value of honor as defined by military conquest.

The world upsidedown characterizes the tavern as well as the underworld. The tavern during the sixteenth century was often referred to as the devil's castle and the sign over the tavern door in Bruegel's painting in which Carnival wages a mock combat with Lent indicates it is the site of the ship of fools. In the Boar's Head Tavern all hierarchy is abolished: Falstaff temporarily plays the part of King while the Prince temporarily plays the lowly part of a drawer. The carnival atmosphere of

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the tavern temporarily liberates everyone from the status quo of established truths and order. Carnival, it has occurred to me, resembles a fugue in music in which all the elements of a given order are freed from that order with the plan of reordering them in a refreshed composition. In the tavern patterns of dress mark its inhabitants, as do interpersonal behavior and an emphasis on gross body imagery. These systems of signs are used to debase all that is sanctioned in the official order of things, which in Bruegel's painting is on the right hand side represented by the permanent edifice of the church.

Shakespeare's audience is introduced to the carnivalesque world where the regularization which occurs with measured time does not apply. Instead the concerns are those of the body and its demands. Cups of sack and capons override hours and minutes; tongues of bawds and signs of leaping houses or brothels override clocks and sun dials; and "a hot wench in flame coloured taffeta" becomes the sun. This is the world of feasting and license associated with carnival. Falstaff corresponds to a larger-than-life figure such as the one astride the wine barrel, representing Carnival in the combat with Lent painted by Bruegel.

Falstaff's reply to Hal, who has discovered him asleep (like other Bruegel figures in the Land of Cockaigne), indicates the theatricality of the scene since, Hal is supposedly mimicking Falstaff's style of speech rather than simply speaking in his own voice. "You come near me now, Hal" suggests Hal has tried this before and is becoming better at the

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impersonation. Falstaff follows that comment with reference to the opposition of the moon to the sun. The world of the day is ruled by the Apollonian forces of the sun, whereas the night, under the aegis of the lunar forces of the moon, is closer to being ruled by Dionysus.

The phenomenon of one person imitating the speech of another, as Hal does with Falstaff, has been given the name "skaz" by Russian literary critics. Skaz usually involves language deviating from the literary norm, especially that of the lower classes or uneducated, in order to liberate the language from "genteel" literary discourse by infusing such discourse with actual living speech. The mimicry and phonic gestures of one person are imitated by another. As a variable "narrative voice," skaz emanates from someone distanced from the author who has a distinct manner of discourse. Several times in Shakespeare's play one character assumes the distinct oral characteristics of another. Such a strategy contributes to multiplying voices or discourses and thereby perspectives without attributing them to the direct voice of the author.

Falstaff recognizes he is being imitated. After providing his review of Hal's performance, he indicates the limits of the atemporal carnivalesque world by asking Hal about "When thou art king" of Hal. He may not be interested in hours, minutes, clocks or sundials, but he does know time will change the circumstances under which he now lives. The time will come when Hal will be King and not a participant in this holiday world.

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Not only is Falstaff's manner of speaking to the Prince lacking in any of the formality that is inherent in a hierarchical society between one of high rank and one without such rank, but his words are released from the usual close connection between signifier and signified. Words as sound result in a confusion of meaning between homonyms such as "grace" and "grease," which must have been pronounced similarly in Elizabethan times. Eggs and butter, symbolic foods associated with Lent, eggs and butter, are mentioned by Falstaff as associated with the time when Hal will be King, a time that will arrive as carnival ends.

Hal jokingly uses the word "roundly" twice as a retort for being associated with Lent, accentuating Falstaff's fatness. Hal really belongs to the world of Lent and Falstaff to the world of Carnival; one is lean and one is fat. The mock combat between fat Falstaff and lean Hal mimics the mock combat of Carnival and Lent, and is similar in its symmetry to the serious battle waged in morality plays where man's soul was the prize in the struggle between the forces of good and those of evil. The struggle is externalized onto the figures of the King who is "so wan with care" and corpulent Falstaff who is associated with wine, women and food. Hal is drawn to the holiday world of the tavern but will be convinced to relinquish that world by his father and to return to the authorized state of law and order.

Falstaff expresses his wish to Hal that even "when thou art king," the meaning between signified and signifier will remain as loose as during

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the time of license. Falstaff's essence as a character is antinomial; he does not know restrictions. He wishes to extend the license of atemporal carnival into the temporal realm of order. He suggests, "When thou art king let not us that are squires of the night's body be called thieves of the day's beauty" (I,ii,24). The euphemism "squires of the night's body" should not be returned to the more accurate "thieves." When language becomes simply sound, "body," "beauty," and "booty" become almost interchangeable as had the earlier sounds of "grace" and "grease." The words "good government" also become relative in this topsy-turvy world. The terms used, "Diana's Foresters," "Gentlemen of the Shade," and "Minions of the Moon," would all sanction the stealing of purses and call license "good government."

The inverted logic of Falstaff's reasoning about language is picked up in Hal's response and treated playfully as sound logic. He explains, "it holds well," as though he were holding a logical conversation, and goes on to add "proof," another reference to logical argumentation. He assumes Falstaff's illogical premises and argues logically from false premises, which results in the typical madness of the world upside down. Hal deliberately elaborates the image of the ebb and flow as the marks of good government in terms of stealing money and spending it "dissolutely." and in terms of the low ebb of the foot of the ladder and the high tide as being as high as the gallows. He knows Falstaff is terrified of the gallows and wishes there be no hanging when Hal is king. With his "damnable

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iterations" Hal forces Falstaff to think of the time when the carnivalesque time of holiday will end. Falstaff reigns supreme in a world of carnival; he tries to prevent acknowledging what will be his fate when carnival is over. His behavior is a kind of denial of death.

If Hal has the stealing of purses to hold against Falstaff, Falstaff has the suggested sexual exploits of Hal to taunt him with in this mock battle of wits. As the Arden footnote states, (p. 12 n.41) "in Mediaeval homiletic literature the tavern was often the devil's castle (Owst, Lit and Pulpit, 438)" so the references to the "hostess of the tavern" and "my old lad of the castle" refer to devil's realm. "The Castle" was a well known brothel in Southwark. When Falstaff tells Hal, "I'll give thee thy due," the adage of giving the devil his due might have been suggested to an Elizabethan audience.

"What a plague" spoken by Falstaff and "what a pox" by Hal involve the body with diseases. "A buff jerkin" or constable's indicator of office contrasts with "reckoning" with the hostess. The word reckoning works by association to introduce the word coin. The sparring match between Hal and Falstaff operates on the basis of each having some offense to hold over the other. Hal seems to suggest sexual prowess when he says, "so far as my coin would stretch."

The world of the tavern involves release from decorum and the ordinary rules of good government. The familiarity with which Falstaff speaks to the Prince would not occur except in an world alternative to

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that of the court. The opposition of "were it not here apparent that thou art heir apparent," based as it is on here and heir, suggests a place other than here where the rules of inheritance are in place. Hal is a visitor from another world and is recognized as such.

The jocular tone is altered when Falstaff introduces what seems to be a question in earnest, "But I prithee sweet wag, shall there be gallows standing in England when thou art king?" (I,ii,55-58). Instead of responding in earnest, Hal maintains the jocular tone of the tavern to suggest Falstaff will be the hangman, a situation that confirms the adage, "The great thieves hang the little ones," another aspect of the world upsidedown. Some humor is added by Falstaff's misunderstanding that he will be made a "brave judge" rather than the hangman. Falstaff establishes himself as an antinomial personage who wishes to rid the realm of "the rusty curb of old father Antic the law." Language continues also to be antinomial in having words shift their meaning. "Waiting in the court" is interpreted by Hal to mean waiting in the law courts, while it could mean waiting in his father's court to become king, the position in which Hal finds himself. "Suits" shifts from law suits to the traditional jest of the felon's clothes going to the hangman.

Falstaff had introduced this discussion by his question, "But I prithee sweet wag, shall there be gallows standing in England when thou art king?" After the discussion he pleads in a similarly earnest tone, "But Hal, I prithee trouble me no more with vanity. I would to God thou and I

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knew where a commodity of good names were to be bought. . ." (I,ii,80). One of Lucian's character's, the Parasite, also seeks to buy a commodity of good names or titles as a means to a better life. Falstaff follows his attempt at earnestness with what appears to be a non-sequitur reference to the book of Proverbs in the Bible, i.20,24.:

> Wisdom cries aloud in the open air,
> she raises her voice in public places;
> she calls at the top of the busy street
> and proclaims at the open gates of the city;
> 'Simple fools, how long will you be content with your simplicity?'
>
> If only you would respond to my reproof,
> I would give you my counsel
> and teach you my precepts.
>
> But because you refused to listen when I called,
> because no one attended when I stretched out my hand,
> because you spurned all my advice
> and would have nothing to do with my reproof,
> I in my turn will laugh at your doom
> and deride you when terror comes upon you,
> when terror comes upon you like a hurricane
> and your doom descends like a whirlwind.

Where Hal had responded to Falstaff's inversion of good government with "Thou sayest well," he responds to Falstaff's allusion to the Bible and to his ignoring the wise talk of the lord of the Council with, "Thou didst well." In both cases he expands on Falstaff's inversion. The Biblical allusion leads to mimickry of Puritan language about the wicked and damnation.

Two examples of another kind of language common to the carnivalesque appear in Falstaff's speech. "I must give over this life, and I will give it over: by the Lord, and I do not I am a villain, I'll be damned for never a king's son in Christendom" is followed by his response to Hal's

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suggestion to "take a purse tomorrow" "'Zounds, where thou wilt, lad, I'll make one; an I do not, call me villain and baffle me" (I,ii,97-98). This characteristic testifying to the honesty of the speaker in comic pledges and oaths appears throughout Falstaff's discourse in the play.

An example of such a comic pledge and oath in Rabelais appears in the Prologue to the Second Book where Rabelais praises his own book like a hawker at a carnival.

> My book is peerless, incomparable, nonpareil, and --I maintain it in the teeth of hellfire-- unique! If anyone contradicts me, let him be herewith denounced as a false prophet, a champion of predestination, a poisoner, and a seducer of the people.

In the same Prologue another example occurs that illustrates the combination of excessive praise and blame used as two sides of the same coin. The praise is on the brink of abuse and leads to it. Ambivalence as to whom the talk is being addressed adds to the ambivalence of praise and abuse as the dual image attempts to grasp the moment of change. Often these comic oaths involve a particular part of the body or some disease. Curses usually suggest a downward motion, a kind of debasement in the direction of the ground, the legs, or the buttocks, or further being hurled into hell. Sometimes lightening or other natural phenomena bring about the downfall. Sometimes fragments of street ballads are added to the oaths. The level of language is identified as that of the street or the marketplace, which is deemed low in a hierarchical society.

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The second example from Rabelais' Prologue to his Second Book occurs in the last paragraph of that composition:

> However, before I conclude this prologue, I hereby deliver myself up body and soul, belly and bowels, to a hundred thousand basketfuls of raving demons, if I have lied so much as once throughout this book. By the same token may St. Anthony sear you with his erysipelatous fire. . .may Mahomet's disease whirl you in epileptic jitters. . . may the festers, ulcers and chancres of every purulent pox infect, scathe, mangel and rend you, entering your bumgut as tenuously as mercuralized cow's hair. . . and may you vanish into an abyss of brimstone and fire, like Sodom and Gomorrah, if you do not believe implicitly what I am about to relate in the present Chronicles. . .

Usually in the case of the hawker in the marketplace, the audience is the crowd and not any individual person. Those being praised and those being abused are treated as one mass, or actually as the whole world.

Shakespeare's audience is introduced to the carnivalesque world in I,ii with the meeting of Hal and Falstaff. Pantagruel meets the carnivalesque figure of Panurge in Rabelais' narrative immediately following his reception of his father's letter. Panurge arrives on the scene in tatters from an undetermined place. The narrator attributes his physical condition and presumed banishment from that undetermined place to his having been too curious. Pantagruel greets him with questions, to which Panurge gives answers in a variety of languages not comprehensible to his questioner. In the Greek version (translated by Rabelais for his readers) Panurge states:

> Excellent master, why do you give me no bread? You see me miserable and perishing of hunger, yet instead of coming to my aid, you ask me irrelevant

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> questions. Nevertheless, all intelligent people agree unanimously that discourse and words are superfluous when the facts are patent to all. The only words needful here are those you should speak to give me what we are arguing about. (199)

In the Latin version he uses the ancient adage, "The empty belly hath no ears to hear" (200). Finally, when he speaks French, he makes his situation understood, that is, he needs food. Pantagruel admits to having taken a liking to the fellow and suggests they "shall make a pair of friends to match Aeneas and Achates" (200). The elevated genre of the epic is brought low in this comic version.

The scene in which Hal meets Falstaff and both are met by the audience in King Henry IV Part One offers a comparison with the scene where Pantagruel meets Panurge. The roles are reversed, however, in that Falstaff, the comic character asks the superfluous questions. Panurge goes to sleep after having eaten which is described as:

> Panurge ate abundantly that evening, went to bed with the chickens and slept until the morrow at dinner time. Thus the interval from bed to board was but three steps and a jump.

Falstaff is asleep when Hal wakes him and is greeted by the question, "Now Hal, what time of day is it lad?" Hal realizes his question is superfluous and what he really wants to know relates to food.

The mock slanging match between Hal and Falstaff ends with Falstaff's speaking as Lucian's parasite did about laboring in his profession. Simon, Lucian's parasite, uses the word art instead of vocation but establishes that the parasitic art is concerned with food and

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drink and what must be said and done to obtain them, and its end is pleasure. He defines pleasure as freedom of the flesh from discomfort and not having the spirit full of turbulence and commotion. Falstaff seems to share the same art or vocation. The art involved, according to Simon is "testing and deciding who would be suitable to support him,and whom he could begin to cultivate without being sorry for it later."[8]

The characters of Panurge and Falstaff represent parallel antinomial postures in relation to the law. Pantagruel and Hal as characters avoid assuming serious roles in their respective societies. An episode in Rabelais' narrative that illustrates such posturing by Pantagruel and Panurge occurs when Pantagruel is requested to become Lord Chief Justice and Master of the Rolls in the law courts. Pantagruel explains that, "These offices require too much slavery of their holders. Again, given the corruption of men, very few such officers win salvation and then only at immense pains" (215). Instead of being made Lord Chief Justice, Pantagruel requests hogsheads of wine as a reward. Panurge happily consumes much of that wine "for he was dry as a salted herring, and slunk about like a sick cat" (215). After quenching his thirst, he remarks how unlucky the Turks were who had captured him since they are prohibited in Mahomet's Koran from drinking wine. Restrictions of law are anathema to Panurge. Pantagruel does not so much object to

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[8] The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1913, Reprinted 1991. Lucian, Trans. A. M. Harmon, Volume III, p. 349.

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the laws as he does to assuming too much responsibility for enforcing them. Panurge's tale of his escape from the Turks involves the taking of a purse and hot-footing it out of the place where he took it. In response to a question as to what happened to the money, he responds that the money "must be dizzy" if still in circulation. Rather than being acquisitive of wealth, Panurge simply wants the means to maintain his bodily comforts.

Hal and Falstaff arrange for their first adventure of stealing a purse on Gads Hill when Poins arrives to join them on stage after their initial encounter. Falstaff's description of himself as being "melancholy as a gib cat, or a lugged bear," suggests a state comparable to that of Panurge who is like a "sick cat." The spirits of each are cured with wine and adventure. Although Hal asks Falstaff, "Where shall we take a purse tomorrow, Jack?" (I,ii,96). he does not share Falstaff's enthusiasm for that activity. Where no tension exists, however, between Pantagruel and Panurge, a slight friction is introduced between Hal and Falstaff in the matter of participation in the taking of a purse. The Prince's hesitant or half-hearted statement, "Well then, one in my days I'll be a madcap," prompts a sarcastic response from Falstaff, "Why, that's well said" (I,ii,138-139). The Prince then withdraws and decides to tarry at home, and Falstaff returns to his thoughts of "When thou art king," this time with the threat that he will be a traitor then. The Prince closes the exchange with, "I care not." His farewell to Falstaff in which he calls him "the latter spring" and "All-hallown summer" follows the ambivalence of

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simultaneous praise and abuse. Such calendar times refer to Falstaff's behavior as being somewhat of a last gasp of youth in old age analogous to a phenomenon such as Indian Summer occurring in the fall near the feast of All Hallows or All Saints Day as the last taste of summer. .

Poins attests to his earnestness about the jest he wishes to execute in the form of comic oath discussed earlier. "[I]f you and I do not rob them, cut this head off from my shoulders" (I,ii,160-162). Poins suggests he is of a higher social level than Fastaff by specifying the punishment of decapitation as opposed to hanging, which was reserved for the lowest levels of society. The Prince demonstrates a high degree of caution with all his questions about how he and Poins will be separated, how will they prevent themselves from being recognized, and how the group might be too hard for the two of them. In this state of caution, Hal agrees and Poins leaves him alone to deliver his soliloquy, in which he reveals his dual purpose of falsifying men's hopes and then glittering in reformation. The jest will be in proving Falstaff a liar, and the earnest purpose of Hal will be to give men's view of him the lie.

Shakespeare used the basic material from Holinshed to construct this scene, but adds many carnivalesque elements which challenge the official view of the world. Hal plans to manipulate his audience by casting himself in the role of Prodigal Son in order to surpass any expectations held out for him. The weapons of the theatre, including disguise, deception and duplicity, become the weapons of the carnivalesque world

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used for comic and serious ends. The enemy is lured into a situation in which he is defeated by own imaginative construct of a narrative that is then deconstructed as a lie. Falstaff will tell the story of what happened in his usual exaggerated fashion in which he is portrayed as the hero. Those in the court who have attempted to lower Hal in his father's esteem will be defeated by their own efforts. The worse they make the story, the more powerful will be his planned conversion.

The figure of Hotspur provides the pivot on which the figure of Hal will turn from the Prodigal Son to the restored ideal son who will become the ideal king. In Act One of Shakespeare's play, the father's position is established first, followed by an experience of the carnivalesque world of the tavern where Hal and Falstaff are released from all legal and logical restriction. To complete the picture a scene is devoted to the character of Hotspur as another element that, together with the first two, will interact to have the action unfold. Just as the figures of Falstaff and Hal can be compared with Panurge and Pantagruel in Rabelais' narrative, Hotspur can be compared with the figure of Picrochole. A choleric nature motivates both of these military heroes. The Picrochole war began because the bakers would not sell cakes to the shepherds. Hotspur turned against the King because he would not relinquish the prisoners taken at Holmedon. Each man perceives his honor at stake in each dispute. Falstaff had been in search of a commodity of good names to buy. Hotspur felt he had purchased the good names of the prisoners,

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and, in fact, they were considered a "conquest for a prince to boast of," in the words of Westmoreland in I,i,76. The code of honor inherent in epic conquest becomes tinged with madness in the figure of Hotspur.

Picrochole turns against Grangousier after years of being his fellow-countryman and ally. Grangousier asks, "What urges him to do so, what has he against me, who advised him to attack me?" He then writes to his son Gargantua much as Gargantua later in the novel (although Rabelais wrote about Pantagruel first) writes to Pantagruel. Grangousier states:

> ....I do not seek to conquer new lands but rather to preserve my faithful subjects and hereditary dominions, which Picrochole has invaded without rhyme or reason, and which he oppresses day by day with a fury intolerable to free spirits.
>
> I consider it my duty to assuage his tyrannical anger; I have offered him all I thought might satisfy him; several times I have dispatched friendly envoys to find out how and by whome he considered himself outraged. But his only answer has been this declaration of war and the claim that he sought to put order in my land. (90)

Grangousier sends another envoy to suggest that Picrochole leave as hostages:

> The Dukes of Tournemoule, Basdefesses, Menuail, the Prince of Gratelles and the Vicomte de Morpiaille, or, as we know them, My Lords Twiddlemussle, Lowbuttock, Smalltittle, Scratchballock and Diddlesnoop (95).

When Grangousier himself went to visit Picrochole to negotiate, Picrochole denied him audience because he was too busy. Picrochole

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also responded to a gift from Grangousier as a token of appeasement with the interpretation:

> You see what has happened: they despise you because of the courtesy and familiarity you have always shown them. Anoint a serf and he will whip you; whip a serf, he will anoint you (97).

He feels the necessity to be ruthless in order to obtain respect. He does, however, agree to divide the land he will conquer among his followers. He tells them, "You three may have Carmania, Syria and all Palestine" (101). Finally Picrochole gives the war cry to proceed; he screams, "Forward, make haste, all! Let him that loves me follow in my train" (102).

In Shakespeare's play, Hotspur refuses to return the prisoners he has captured on Holmedon's plains: Mordake the Earl of Fife, the Earl of Athol of Murrya, Angus and Menteith. The King is told that Hotspur's malevolent uncle Worcester is advising him to keep the prisoners. The King, in responding to the indignity of being refused the prisoners, adopts an attitude reminiscent of Rabelais' Picrochole in relations to Hotspur.

> I will from henceforth rather be myself,
> Mighty, and to be fear'd, than my condition,
> Which hath been smooth as oil, soft as young down,
> And therefore lost that title of respect
> Which the proud soul ne'er pays but to the proud (I,ii,5-9).

The King's feels he must beat the serf for the serf to pay him respect. Hotspur claims it was the popinjay of a messenger who made him "mad." In his description, however, the voice of the popinjay is heard within the approximately thirty-five lines in which he is described using skaz (assumption of the oral gestures of another character). The voice of the

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popinjay is heard through Hotspur rather than directly so that the author is distanced from responsibility for the criticism of the courtier involved in the description. The topical issue of people's land being destroyed without compensation in order to get saltpetre to be used to make gunpowder is raised by the popinjay's voice with impunity since it is done indirectly. Government forces destroyed land belonging to individuals without compensation in order to obtain the saltpetre needed for gunpowder.

Hotspur's father, Northumberland, claims it was the King who made Hotspur "mad" Northumberland says to his son, "What, drunk with choler? Stay, and pause awhile..." Hotspur's rash and impulsive nature is reflected in his speech which ironically forecasts what will become of him:

> 'Zounds, I will speak of him [Mortimer], and let my soul
> Want mercy if I do not join with him:
> Yea, on his part I'll empty all these veins,
> And shed my dear blood, drop by drop in the dust,
> But I will lift the down-trod Mortimer
> As high in the air as this unthankful King.

He uses the testifying oath to support the seriousness of his intent.

Where the King had spoken at length about King Richard's weaknesses and praised Hotspur as the "straightest plant," Hotspur reverses the process by referring to Richard as "that sweet lovely rose," and castigates the men who did "plant this thorn, this canker Bolingbroke." Hotspur uses the forms of logic and ends his speech with,

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"Therefore, I say--." Like Picrochole, a close and valued friend of the King has become his enemy and swears revenge.

Picrochole is advised to divide his army in half, one part to fall upon Grangousier and his men, the other part to occupy towns, castles and fortresses, pillage every seaport on the way to Lisbon and rename the Straits of Gibralter to the Picrocholinal Sea. Hotspur is advised to divide his army in two, one part to be employed in Scotland with Douglas, while his father and the second part of the force should ally themselves with the Archbishop. His choleric temperament will later cause him to quarrel over the projected division of booty into three equal parts as well as to refuse to read the letter sent him before the battle because he is too busy.

Act One of Shakespeare play has economically and concisely represented the King's official posture, the carnivalesque world of the tavern and the choleric plans of the hero Hotspur. Hotspur has the potential of being played with humor since he reacts with such rage. even before he has cause. Picrochole, known as "the Peevish," and the third of that name, is described by the narrator in Rabelais' narrative in the following words: "Without stopping to consider the circumstances, Picrochole flew into a mad rage" (83). He immediately ordered every citizen to appear under arms in front of the castle at noon. In a similar fashion in Shakespeare's play Hotspur brings the Act to a close with

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anxious anticipation of war as sport, "Oh, let the hours be short,/ Till fields, and blows, and groans applaud our sport!" (I,iii,296).

The sport of war constrasts with the sport of the madcap caper to rob the robbers. The release from law and order in the world of the tavern allows for one kind of sport while war becomes another world in which law and order are suspended. Compared with the idle people of the tavern who are removed from time in a kind of Land of Cockaigne, the laboring carriers appear as immediately motivated by the urgency of time. Their feeling of urgency created by the awareness of time becomes apparent from their first spoken line opening Act II of Shakespeare's play:

> Heigh-ho! An it be not four by the day I'll be hanged; Charles' wain is over the new chmney, and yet our horse not packed. What, ostler! (II,i,1)

In the exchange among the working men, and before the Prince arrives, Gadshill announces, "Go to, homo is a common name to all men" (II,i,93).

The carnivalesque world celebrates the commonalty of all the people in the ongoing life and death cycle of humankind or the people since time immemorial. in Act II workmen identified anonymously as "Carrier One" or "Carrier Two" appear in the Inn Yard scene and in the Boar's Head Tavern. They are the kind of peasants that appear in Bruegel's paintings. Without egotistical honor earned on the battlefield or without escaping to the realm of license, they contribute to the common good with generosity and earnestness about their work..

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The carriers and the hostler do not have names but they do have their own idiom which distinguishes them from others on stage. The voice is heard in its distinct discourse. They take pride in being of service to others by packing the horses. Imagery of eating or being eaten pervades the scene. The work horses, like the working people, are working with the least possible amount of food to eat. The men are eaten alive by the fleas bred in their own urine for lack of a chamberpot.

Although the action is represented as occurring in the time of Henry IV, at least a century before the era of Elizabeth, the topical issue raised by the second carrier, that of the price of oats, was very much a concern in the 1590's. The price of oats had risen from 6 shillings a quarter in 1593 to 18 shillings a quarter in 1596. The Queen's Proclamation for the Dearth of Corne issued on July 31, 1596, forbade the extortionate prices and they began to fall again to 10 shillings a quarter in 1598. (Arden 38 n.11). By mentioning the Christian king, who supposedly existed at the other end of the economic scale, the anonymous carriers contrast their lot as men with that of the elevated nobles. They explain the trap they are in by having common human needs which are overlooked. A chamberpot would prevent the fleas from breeding which bite them so as to make them spotted like the tench. The tench apparently was thought an undesirable fish since it is singled out by the monk in Rabelais' work when he declares, "I'll swallow any fish save tench." (114).

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The carriers blame the also anonymous "they" for not allowing them to have a jordan, or chamberpot. "They" also receive the gammon of bacon and two razes of ginger, luxury items, while the workmen have starved turkeys in their own baskets. The speech pattern of the oath occurs in the carrier's idiom as, "An it be not four by the day I'll be hanged" and "And 'twere not as good deed as drink to break the pate on thee, I am a very villain" (II,i,27-28). The familiarity includes abuse with affection in an ambivalent combination.

The prose spoken by the characters in the Inn Yard indicates the rank of the speakers. The lower the rank the more idiomatic the speech. Despite not having a chamber pot in which to urinate, the carriers must be on guard to protect themselves against being robbed of their lantern. They conscientiously attend to carrying out their duties while guarding against being tricked or being hanged. Hanging is repeated in almost every speech. This reminds us that one of Falstaff's major concerns was posed in the form of a question to Hal, "But I prithee sweet wag, shall there be gallows standing in England when thou art king?"

Gadshill, the character rather than the place, must have a reputation similar to Gadshill the place known for robberies, since, when he asks the carrier for his lantern, the carrier believes he is trying to trick him out of the lantern. The other carrier retorts, "I'll see thee hanged first." Although the words are harsh, the tone is humorous; the abuse has an ambivalence of familiarity. The same ambivalence exists in the

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exchange between Gadshill and the Chamberlain who enters next. "At hand, quoth pick-purse," spoken by the Chamberlain is echoed in the response, "At hand, quoth the Chamberlain." A topsy turvy logic is at work in equating the plotting to pick purses with giving directions by the Chamberlain for work to be done. The same kind of logic was demonstrated in Falstaff's talk of laboring in his vocation. The hierarchy of professions is erased along with other hierarchies.

An inversion of process similar to that described by Hal earlier in the play, the amending of Falstaff's ways from praying to purse taking, occurs in worshipping St. Nicholas as the patron of thieves. Praying and preying are equated. Comedy is produced by the exposing of the flea-bitten body, by the debased condition of being without a jordan, and the evaluation of the biting by fleas as being fit for a king. Every segment of the scene includes the serious matter of hanging, however glibly or offhandedly the matter is raised. The voices of a level of society are captured in this small scene in their idiosyncratic idiom as having a common humanity with the higher levels. They are denied not only a chamber pot whereby they are reduced to food for fleas, but their own food, the turkeys are starved. The struggle is to eat and not be eaten. The horses are eaten from the inside by worms produced by spoiled food.

Praying and preying are presented as opposite sides of the coin when Falstaff was going to amend his life. The oaths used by the carriers, "By the mass" and "there is ne'er a king christen could be better

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bit than I have been since the first cock," include both sides of the coin in referring to the context of Christianity and the mass as appropriate sites of praying before referring to being bitten or preyed upon. The laboring horses and the laboring people are not eaten by those they serve in a literal kind of cannibalism but are caused to be eaten by worms and fleas. They are preyed upon from above and below as an item on the food chain.

The formulaic oath spoken by Gadshill, "Sirrah, if they meet not with Saint Nicholas' clerks, I'll give thee this neck" (II,i,60), serves the double duty of maintaining references to hanging and introducing the carnivalesque practice of assigning specialties to saints. In this case St. Nicholas is the patron saint of thieves and his name is a pun on the homonym of necklace or hangman's noose. Also in carnivalesque fashion the lean starvelings just encountered in the Inn Yard are now joined by a "fat pair of gallows." The description of the lean ones as "foot-landrakers," "long-staff sixpenny strikers," and "mad mustachio purple-hued maltworms" sounds Rabelaisian in its exuberance.

Gadshill's mention that "There are other Troyans that thou dream'st not of, the which for sport sake are content to do the profession some grace" (II,i,67-70) for anyone in the audience familiar with the works of Erasmus might suggest a correspondence with his concept of nobles. Erasmus saw nobles as, "A useless class of men living on the labour of others, enervated by luxury, whose imagination was the Golden Fleece,

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or belief in the 'Trojan' ancestry of the ruling house." He asked the question:

> If the nobility are such as we often see today, grown soft by leisure, effeminate by pleasures, ignorant of all good arts, merely good eaters and strenuous dice-throwers, lest I say anything more obscene, what reason is there, I pray, why this class of men should be preferred to cobblers or peasants?[9]

By first stating a case and then undercutting that case by illogical transformation Gadshill allows what might be considered subversive to be posited in a comic fashion. The pun on pray and prey is repeated and combined with the selection of a saint as a patron for the vocation of stealing when the counterparts of the lean ones operate under the aegis of the commonwealth as their saint. The pun on boots as spoil and as footwear further cultivates the confusion of elements in the illogical progression. The uniting of "a true man" and "a false thief," Gadshill states, "Go to, homo is a common name to all men," which brings the scene to a close.

The statement, usually appearing as an example in grammar book for a substantive noun, has a formulaic quality as an illustration; however, in the manner of a pun, that formulaic statement is used to convey meaning that can be deduced from the behavior portrayed in the voices of the spectrum of humanity represented in of Act II Scene i of Shakespeare's play. The carnivalesque mode of writing allows for such

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[9] James D. Tracy, The Politics of Erasmus: A Pacifist Intellectual and His Political Milieu Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978. 65.

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revolutionary statements to be made with impunity since they are comic or illogical. What would ordinarily be suppressed within the officially sanctioned view of the world is expressed, however indirectly, in a "trick of thought" as such devices are called by William Empson in Seven Types of Ambiguity.[10]

Act II scene i, an anomaly in the sequence of scenes involving the King, Hotspur, and Falstaff, the major players on stage, seems to provide what Joan Hartwig has called an "analogical scene," one that is left out of most productions. In such a scene Hartwig suggests that parody, classified as one type of analogy, causes an audience to see the "serious" action, the main analogue of the play, in reduced terms. Hartwig suggests such a reduction requires the audience to rethink both actions in light of each other's values, rendering what is represented as absolute at either extreme of a spectrum as requiring modification. Parody has the distinct power to reduce the scene, action, speech, or gesture to simplistic, oft literal, terms which correspond to larger versions within the overall structure.

Act II scene i involves the gross bodily imagery of urinating without a chamberpot. Another scene involving urinating is used by Hartwig to illustrate the concept of an analogical scene. The Porter in Macbeth awakens to a scene of urgency created by the knocking at the gate as the

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[10] William Empson, Seven Types of Ambiguity. New York: New Directions, 1947. 38.

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carriers awakened to the urgency of the stars indicating the time and the horses were not yet packed. The Porter mentions the old joke about the farmer who stores his grain hoping for a poor crop only to find that a plentiful crop is anticipated and so he hangs himself. A topical allusion is suggested in that joke to the actual, low price of wheat which was a real, serious issue of the day. The Porter paints a picture of a world suffering from sexual disease that results from lechery, an analogue for the diseased world created by the perverse desires of Macbeth and his Lady. The key phrase on which the Porter in Macbeth puns is "giving the lie" with three simultaneous senses of calling one a liar, knocking one out flat, and causing one to urinate, lie or lye being a slang term for urine, are included. (Frank Kermode in Riverside edition of play)

The comic version of greed in the Inn Yard scene where the carriers are deprived of even a pot in which to urinate while laboring in their vocation and being preyed upon even for the simple possession of a lantern could possibly be seen as an analogue to the greed that prevents peace and that results in every man operating for his own good rather than for the common good of all men. The price of oats and the death of Robin Ostler corresponds to the death of the farmer in the joke. The cause and effect of denying the men a jordan results in fleas being bred spontaneously in the urine deposited in the chimney. In his Natural History Pliny notes that the loach was capable of spontaneously breeding fleas and lice; this supports the case of urine producing fleas. The

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assertion that no Christian King could be better bit inverts being bitten by fleas from a base experience to one fit for a King. The poor, lean carriers have compassion for the "poor jade...wrong in the withers out of all cess" (II,i,6-7). The provision of poor food results in parasites being produced in the intestines of the jades. Parasites labor at eating once they have been produced. The need to eat and the phenomenon of being eaten repeats the motif of the earth daubing her lips with her own children's blood and the king being swallowed by men's eyes.

A scene involving urination in Rabelais occurs during Epistemon's report about what he saw in the underworld after he had been decapitated and then resurrected by Panurge, who applied a healing substance to his neck and warmed him with his codpiece. In the underworld the poet Master Francois Villon is having a conversation with Xerxes in which one party asks, "What does this mustard sell for, lout?" The reply, "'A penny, My Lord," brings the curse in response, "'Pox take you for a swindler. It's worth no more than a farthing; you're profiteering, you scoundrel." Epistemon adds, "And he voided into the bucket just as mustard-vendors do in Paris." (278-279).

Epistemon also notes:

> I saw the Franc-Archier de Baignolet, that swaggering militiaman, acting as an inquisitor of heretics. He came from Perceforest relieving his bladder against what must have been a hospital wall, for, as with us, St. Anthony's Flames were painted upon it. At once our friend denounced the fellow, and would have burned him then and there had not Morgan appeared and for proficiat or visitation-present, together with

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> other odd fees, given him nine hogsheads of beer. . . ( 278-9)

Epistemon had begun his report with the observation:

> that all who had been great lords and ladies on earth were condemned to struggle for the most ignoble, precarious and miserable livelihood below. On the contrary, philosophers and such as had been needy on this planet became puissant lords in the inferno (277).

The contrast of rich and poor along with the concept of master and slave as the model of life simply becomes reversed in hell. Such a concept appears in Lucian and is repeated in Rabelais. The world of the Inn Yard fits the idea of an inversion of master and slave. Such a scene might have appeared in either Lucian or Epistemon's hell. Dives and Lazarus, the prototypical pair of beggar and rich man, serve as illustration in Lucian, Rabelais and Shakespeare of those who have their fates reversed in the afterlife.

The reversal of roles creates the joke in the case of the Gadshill robbery, the central event of Act II, in Shakespeare's play. The thieves will in turn be robbed. Talk of hanging continues during this escapade, which could have been punished by hanging under normal conditions of life in Elizabethan England. Poins announces how fretful Falstaff is before Falstaff enters with a curse on his lips, "Poins! Poins, and be hanged! Poins!" (I,ii,4).. The joke increases with Falstaff being robbed of his horse and his statement, "If I travel but four foot by the squier further afoot, I shall break my wind" (I,ii,12). Not only is breaking wind a euphemism for farting but the name of the character who appears in this

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scene, Peto, means "little fart" in Italian. The lower stratum guarantees a laugh. The carnivalesque elements of linguistic mismatching and gross body imagery and the testimonial oath assure a comic atmosphere.

Clowns, such as Falstaff, however, are often ambivalent characters who laugh so they won't cry. Falstaff already described himself as being melancholy as a gib cat. Now he reveals his preoccupation with his own death, which will be consistent with his character. "Well, I doubt not but to die a fair death for all this if I 'scape hanging for killing that rogue" (I,ii,14-15). Hanging appears again in his testimonial oath that, "If the rascal have not give me medicines to make me love him, I'll be hanged" (I,ii,17-18). The oath is followed by curses of "A plague upon..." This language of the marketplace marks this scene as carnivalesque and centered on the mortal body.

Melancholy fears and a gib cat, in a reference similar to that of Falstaff, appear in conjunction in the poem Rabelais wrote as prefatory to his first book. Rabelais suggests his book is written as a cure for such a state.

> Dear friends and readers who may scan these tomes,
> Lay by all sense of prejudiced objection,
> My pages bring no virus or infection
> Across the thresholds of your virtuous homes.
> Ttrue they can teach you only scant perfection
> Save laughter's joys--though I confess I find
> No theme more welcome to my heart and mind,
> As I observe your melancholy fears,
> Your gib-cat airs, your saturnine dejection. . . .
> Better to write of laughter than of tears,
> For laughter is the essence of mankind.
> Live Happy! (xxxiii)

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The recurring mention of hanging suggests a deep seated fear of the punishment even though the references are often flippant. Rabelais provides a lengthy explanation of the substance called Pantagruelion, a panacea discovered by the hero and named for him, which was used for hanging since one of its functions was to make ropes. As the material of the hangman's noose, "it proved more fearful and abhorrent to robbers than doddergrass and chokeweed are to flax" (477).

At Gadshill, Prince Hal asks Falstaff to "lie down, lay thine ear close to the ground, and list if thou canst hear the tread of travellers" (II,ii,33). Panurge is described by Rabelais as following a similar procedure:

> He was constantly plotting against the sargeants and the watch. Sometimes he assembled three or four sportsmen, plied them with drink untill they were boozy as Knights Templars, then took them up the hill to Ste. Genevieve or near the College de Navarre. Placing his sword on the pavement and his ear to his sword, he waited till he heard the blade shake--an infallible sign that the watch was not far off. Then he and his companions took a dung cart and rolled it down hill. Ere it was halfway down, they had fled in the opposite direction, for in less than two days Panurge knew every street and alley in Paris as well as his postprandial grace: Deus det nobis pacem suam, God grant us peace. (Bk 2, XVI, p. 224)

Falstaff's inability to account for his affection for Hal corresponds to Panurge's inability to explain how he came to love Pantagruel when he says:

> If you press me to tell why I loved him, I feel that this cannot be expressed, except by answering: Because it was he, because it was I. . . . And at our first meeting, which by chance came at a great feast and

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> gathering in the city, we found ourselves so taken with each other, so well acquainted, so bound together, that from that time on, nothing was so close to us as each other. (139)

Pantagruel at another point in the story similarly reports:

> I've taken such a liking to it, I swear, that if I have my way you'll never stir from my side. Indeed you and I will make such another pair of friends as Aeneas and Achates. (201)

The relationship between Hal and Falstaff, although similar to that of Pantagruel and Panurge, differs in that Hal does not express the loyalty to Falstaff that Rabelais' Prince expresses to his companion. The relationship in Shakespeare's play is more one sided and pragmatic, as expressed in Hal's soliloquy in which he aired his plan to stage a dramatic conversion using Falstaff as a foil. Falstaff displays jealousy for Hal's friendship with Poins, and Poins clearly expresses dislike of Falstaff.

Pantagruel and Panurge share in jests where Falstaff is made the brunt of the joke at Gadshill. In carrying out that jest Poins and Hal dress in a costume reminiscent of the Green Man of Carnival as portrayed by Bruegel. The costume is identified as being Kendall Green and made from buckram. The jest would carry over into the temporal world later as "argument for a week, laughter for a month, and a good jest for ever." The ambivalent laughter of the scene is specifically noted by the Prince in his statement, "Were't not for laughing, I should pity him" (II,iii,105). Although the entire scene is presented in prose, this last speech follows the patterns of blank verse. The image of Falstaff larding the lean earth maintains the opposition of fat and lean.

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In Act II scene iii Shakespeare brings Hotspur back on stage reading a letter from an unidentified nobleman. Holinshed's mention of fickle "diverse noblemen" might have suggested the voice expressed in the letter. The letter provides another way of incorporating a voice distanced from the author. The dialogic imagination is at work as Hotspur, alone on stage, speaks both parts. He reads the letter in the voice of the sender and responds in his own. The letter discourages him from following through on his plans to attack the King's forces. Instead of softening his resolve, the cautious tone of the letter enrages him to immediate action. "I will set forth tonight," he concludes (II,iii,35).

In Rabelais' narrative Grangousier sends a legate to Picrochole at the same time he sends a letter to his son Gargantua. Hotspur, like Picrochole, choleric in temperament, responds negatively to the legate and insists on attacking. When the Legate is sent again a second time to remove all occasion for war, Picrochole simply seizes the gifts brought as a peace offering and determines to prepare for "a fierce and brutal war" (98).

Hotspur, is obsessed with war in the comic scene where he speaks with his wife. She reports how, even in his sleep, he "hath been so at war" (II,iii,57). She, speaking in verse, quotes him as saying in his sleep, "Courage! To the field!" She also itemizes a list of the military paraphrenalia, which might have appeared in a Rabelaisian paragraph, mentioned by Hotspur mentions in his sleep:

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> Of sallies, and retires, of trenches, tents,
> Of palisadoes, frontiers, parapets,
> Of basilisks, of cannon, culverin,
> Of prisoners' ransom, and of soldiers slain,
> And all the currents of a heady fight (II,iii,52-56).

She incorporates his voice and responds to it as Hotspur had done with the letter. Such a literary procedure multiplies the number of voices heard in this polyphonic work.

Hotspur's statement, "That roan shall be my throne" (II,iii,72), suggests his aim is to be King himself. His excessive quarrelsomeness renders Hotspur, at least partially, a comic character. Even his wife has difficulty in identifying his tone when she asks, "Nay, tell me if you speak in jest or not." His statement, "We must have bloody noses, and crack'd crowns,/ And pass them current too," includes a joke. The pun on crack'd crowns as coins used as currency links him with the users of language in a carnivalesque fashion. Hotspur treats his wife in a rather unchivalrous manner for all his attention to military chivalry. "Constant you are,/ But yet a woman," indicates his appreciation as well as suspicion of his wife. His attitude agrees with the adage popular at the time, "A woman conceals what she knowns not."

In the rhythm of the play, the scene with Hotspur and his Lady serves to provide an interlude between the robbery and the meeting in the tavern as well as to remind the audience of the rebellion afoot in the realm. Hotspur, like Hal, straddles the two worlds, that of the carnivalesque and that of the court. In the scene with his Lady, his

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behavior in his sleep indicates his warring spirit as a serious matter. His excessive behavior and anger render him rather clownlike.

Hotspur's desire to be king, to be a warrior, and his reference to money in the pun on cracked crowns links him in attitude to Rabelais' character Picrochole whose men announce, "Sire, this day we proclaim you the most valorous and knightly prince that ever was since the death of Alexander of Macedon" (98). They continue to address him as "Your Majesty," and advise him as to how to attack Grangousier. "One part falls upon Grangousier and his men, routing them at the very outset and thus obtaining money for you, since the churl is rolling in wealth." (p. 98).

In the last scene of Act II in Shakespeare's play, the carnivalesque world in which Falstaff is the major figure ends with Falstaff asleep. The audience first met Falstaff as asleep and being awakened by Hal. The carnivalesque world seems to exist in a parenthesis of sleeping moments. This time, however, Hal does not wake him but searches his pockets while Falstaff "snorts like a horse." The contents of his pockets reveal how he spends his money: the list of items includes capon, sauce, sack, anchovies and sack after supper and bread. The amounts tallied with the items are precise, with only one halfpenny spent on bread and 5 shillings and 8 pence spent on sack .

Rabelais describes the character and condition of Panurge in relation to the contents of his pockets as:

> In his coat he had more than twenty-six little pockets and pouches which were always full. One held a pair

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> of loaded dice and a small knife like a glover's awl to cut purses with. Another, verjuice to throw in the eyes of those who annoyed him. A third, burrs, penned with gosling or capon feathers, to stick on to the robes and bonnets of honest people. He often gave married men a fine pair of horns which they bore through the city sometimes all their lives long. To the back of the women's hoods, he like to affix various knickknacks shaped like the sexual organ of man (225).

The is described as knowing "thirty-three methods of acquiring money" and "two hundred and fourteen methods of spending it..." (224). One day, the narrator relates saying, "Panurge, I can see by your face that you are sick. I know your trouble: you've a flux in your purse." Panurge refuses the offer of money with the remark, "A turd for money! I'll be rolling in wealth some day. For I've a philosopher's stone which draws money out of men's purses as surely as a magnet draws steel" (229).

Falstaff similarly suffers from "consumption of the purse" and plans to solve his financial problems by making Justice Shallow "a philospher's two stones" to him. (IIHIV, III,ii,324). Falstaff also praises debts as does Panurge. The two also praise wine, and Rabelais includes a long passage on the word sack. Falstaff practices the ethics of the proverb, "The great fish eat the small." (II HIV, III,ii, 324).

Panurge, in his praise of debts, suggests a different ethic:

> On the other hand, just imagine another world, where all men borrowed and all lent, all were debtors and creditors. O, what a harmony would attend the regular motions of the heavens!
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Among humans, all would be peace, love concord, loyalty, repose, banquets, feasting, joy, gladness, with gold, silver, money, chains, rings and like

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> treasures passing from hand to hand. Never lawsuits, war or argument; no usurer, glutton, miser or hardhearted refuser. By the living God, it would be the golden age of Saturn's rule, the true picture of Olympus, where all forces vanish under the absolute government of a triumphant charity (312)

Pantagruel modifies the ethic in his version to correspond more closely to St. Paul's admonition, "Owe no man any thing but to love one another."

Panurge's praise of debts elaborates the economy of the body and its ability to distribute food among all its members so that each is a creditor and a debtor. He specifies bread and wine as making blood which is spiritualized and "sped through the arteries to all parts of the human mechanism to warm or to cool off the coarser blood in other veins" (313-314).

In response to Pantagruel's advice to not run up debts, Panurge answers,

> If gratitude is proportionate to the benefactor's affection, then my thanks are infinite and sempiternal. The love you bear me spontaneously, through no merit of mine, is beyond all reckoning: it transcends weight, number, measure; it is endless and everlasting (316).

The contents of Falstaff's pockets documented the debts he had run up in the tavern, mainly for sack. Where Panurge praises debts in terms of circulation in the body, Falstaff, in King Henry IV Part Two, praises sack in similar terms.

> A good sherris-sack hath a twofold operation in it. It ascends me into the brain, dries me there all the foolish and dull and crudy vapours which environ it, makes it apprehensive, quick, forgetive, full of nimble, fiery, and delectable shapes, which delivered o'er to the voice, the tongue, which the birth, becomes

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> excellent wit. The second property of your excellent sherris is the warming of the blood, which before, cold and settled, left the liver white and pale, which is the badge of pusillanimity and cowardice; but the sherris warms it, and makes it course from the inwards to the parts' extremes. It illumineth the face, which, as a beacon, gives warning to all the rest of this little kingdom, man, to arm; and then the vital commoners, and inland petty spirits, must me all to their captain, the heart; who, great and puffed up with this retinue, doth any deed of courage; and this valour comes of sherris. So that skill in the weapon is nothing without sack, for that sets it a-work, and learning a mere hoard of gold kept by a devil, till sack commences it and sets in in act and use. Hereof comes it that Prince Harry is valiant; for the cold blood he did naturally inherit of his father he hath like lean, sterile, and bare land manured, husbanded, and tilled, with excellent endeavour of drinking good and good store of fertile sherris, that he is become very hot and valiant. If I had a thousand sons, the first human principle I would teach them should be to forswear thin potations, and to addict themselves to sack. (IIHIV, IV,iii, 94-123)

Panurge, like Falstaff, speaks of man as a microcosm in his statement, "Take this universe and reduce it to the other little world, which is man." In a debtless universe, from which free exchange was banished, Panurge describes the microcosm as failing to function as follows:

> Your head will deny its eyes the light to direct your hands and feet; your feet will not condescend to hold up your body; your hands will forget to cooperate. Your heart will balk at moving the pulse, your lungs will tire of playing bellows for you, your liver refuse to produce blood (311).

He testifies to Pantagruel:

> May St. Babolino take my babbling soul if I did not believe debts to be a sort of link and stepping stone between earth and heaven. . .a unique tonic for the human species . . . an indispensable factor in the existence of the human family . . .in a word, that

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> illimitable human soul which, according to the Academics, quickens the universe (p. 310).

In the economic utopia of the body each members receives according to its needs. The heart is singled out as the place where the blood with its nutrients is spiritualized. The immaculate blood then flows "through the arteries to all parts of the human mechanism to warm or to cool off the coarser blood in other veins." When each part has had its needs fulfilled, the blood goes on "to lend to those unborn." In order to produce children the blood is dispatched

> downward into vessels and receptacles most suitably contrived by nature. These elements flow down long circuits and flexuosities into the genitories; receive a competent form; find chambers designed,in both make and female, for the preservation and perpetuation of humankind. And all of it is done by loans and debts, a fact proved by the phrase 'the obligations of wedlock' (315).

Pantagruel counters Panurge's praise with St. Paul's single imperative to all Christian sons, "Owe no man any thing but to love one another."

Falstaff, like Panurge, is concerned in his encomium with the production of children. Without sack, men fall into "a kind of male green-sickness," or anemia, a word derived from the Greek meaning without blood. Without sack such men will only produce female children when they marry.

The exploration of both Falstaff's and Panurge's encomia was sparked by the contents of Falstaff's pockets as discovered by Hal at the end of Act II when Falstaff was sleeping. Previous to the event of emptying Falstaff's pockets in that final scene, Hal encountered Francis

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the drawer or tapster at the Boar's Head Tavern and also heard Falstaff's rendition of what occurred at Gadshill.

At the opening of the scene Hal calls Poins to join him, to "come out of that fat room and lend me thy hand to laugh a little." Hal proceeds to tell Poins then of his encounter with the "leash of drawers" whom he calls by their Christian names, "Tom, Dick, and Francis." The phrase "Tom, Dick, and Harry," of course, is more familiar to us today. One translator, at least, chose to use the phrase "Tom, Dick, and Harry" for the French phrase "tout le monde," used by in the short treatise written in verse, entitled "Antidoted Flummeries," which was found attached to a book documenting Gargantua's pedigree. One stanza reads:

> But lately come from Africa, great Hercules
> Paused here to skin the raven. Minos, much excited,
> Complained: "And why was I unbidden, if you please?
> When every Tom and Dick and Harry was invited" (9).

Why Shakespeare would have chosen to replace the name of Harry with Francis remains an unanswered question with the interesting coincidence that Francis is the English form of Francois, Rabelais' Christian name. In the remainder of the speech by Hal in which the phrase appears, Hal mentions:

> They call drinking deep "dying scarlet," and when you
> breathe in your watering they cry, "Hem!" and bid you
> "Play it off!"

A. R. Humphreys in a footnote in the Arden edition (p. 57 n. 15) cites Rabelais as telling a story about outrageous dogs that "made a stream with their urine wherein a duck might have very well swimmed, and it is

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the same current that now runs at St. Victor, in which Gobelin dieth scarlet." (249)

Drinking and reading are equated by Rabelais in his Prologue to Book Three, where he compares his writing to Diogenes rolling his barrel up the hill like Sisyphus because he refused to be idle while others were preparing for war. He was forced to create his own activities. While France is preparing for war, Rabelais was unfit to join in any offensive capacity; therefore, he says:

> I would deem it very disgraceful indeed to stand aside as but an idle spectator whilst so many valiant and eloquent heroes perform soul-stirring roles in the magnificent epic spectacle all Europe watches today. Disgraceful, I repeat, not to contribute to the great cause this nothing which is my all. (297) .

Further in the same Prologue, he announces his intention to tap or draw "a third barrel of a liquor you would fully appreciate." Since his works are like Diogenes's barrel, he can draw wine from the barrel and present his third book. This Prologue to that third book renders him a drawer such as Shakespeare's character Francis at the Boar's Head Tavern. Rabelais vows in his Prologue:

> to draw from them a gallant third, and, later, a jocund quart of Pantagruelian sentences, which I give you leave to call Diogenical. Since I may not be the fellow-soldier of our brave warriors, I shall be their excellent butler, ready to comfort them to the best of my poor abiliity with the best of my rich wine, when they return from the alarms of war. I shall also be the tireless singer of their praises and prowesses; nor shall I fail unless March fails to fall in Lent, which the cunning lecher will take care not to do. (297)

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The last sentence is in the form of the familiar testimonial to the truth of what has gone before. The reference to March not falling in Lent is an adynata or impossibility. The leash of drawers in Shakespeare does sing the praises of Hal as the King of Courtesy. At the end of Part Two of Shakespeare's two-part play about Henry IV, he, too, promises to continue his story when the Epilogue speaks and says, "If you be not too much cloyed with fat meat, our humble author will continue the story, with Sir John in it, and make you merry with fair Katharine of France; where, for anything I know, Falstaff shall die of a sweat, unless already 'a be killed with your hard opinions" (IIHIV,Epilogue,326-31).

In the Boar's Head Tavern, Hal produces the voices of the drawers in his description to Poins. By reproducing their idiom and by imitating their voices, the leash of drawers become present to the audience. Hal is a good mimic, or actor, with a good ear for language. He praises himself as being "so good a proficient in one quarter of an hour that I can drink with any tinker in his own language during my life." Tinkers were compared with Swine by a contemporary (Bailey) when he states "Gypsies [Tinkers]. . .drink more like Swine than human Creatures, entertaining one another all the Time with Songs in the Canting Dialect." (Arden p. 57 n. 18-19). Since Hal is casting himself as the prodigal son and the prodigal son lived among swine before returning to his father's house, learning to drink with those he perceives as swine seems appropriate.

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Drinking and reading are equated by Rabelais also when Pantagruel and his companions visit the Holy Bottle and where Bacbuc the Oracle produces a book shaped "like a half-hogshead of learning." She proceeds to tell the men, "I shall not tell you to read this chapter or consult that gloss; I prefer to suggest that you taste this succulent chapter or swallow this rare gloss." She continues, "I now tell you to drink a book to become learned to your very liver" (833). The book turned out to be a flask.

Bacbuc then goes on to expound on the word sack as common to all languages since all men were born with a sack at the neck and begging of one another. No man can do without his fellowmen. Men, she informs her audience, can not do without a sack but much less can he do without a drink. She then defines drinking.

> I do not mean drinking in the simple and absolute sense in which any beast may be said to drink. No--I mean the drinking of cool, delicious wines. Remember, friends, that by the vine we grow divine.

She concludes by explaining that truth "lurks hidden in wine" and that the goddess, the Holy Bottle, directs all men to the divine liquor with the instructions "to interpret and expound the meaning of your undertaking yourself" (834).

When Falstaff returns to the tavern after the Gadshill robbery to tell of his miraculous escape. As proof he uses the Latin expression, "Ecce signum" (II,iv,167) and holds up the sign of the hacked saw as proof of the intensity of the danger he escaped. After having his story challenged

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by the Prince and Poins, Falstaff restorts to refusing to give a reason upon "compulsion" (II,iv,231) and then to excusing his behavior on "instinct" (II,iv,267).

Rabelais speaks of instinct in connection with honor and free will when he establishes the utopian anti-monastery at Theleme. The rule of that institution was simply free will and pleasure. Perfect liberty lay behind the only rule of the house, i.e., "Do as thou wilt" (154). The reason for such a simple rule lay in the fact that, according to Rabelais:

> [B]ecause men that are free, of gentle birth, well-bred and at home in civilized company possess a natural instinct that inclines them to virtue and saves them from vice. This instinct they name their honor. Sometimes they may be depressed or enslaved by subjection or constraint; for we all long for forbidden fruit and covet what is denied us. But they usually apply the fine forces that tend to virtue in such a way as to shake off the yoke of servitude.. (154).

In the exchange between Falstaff and Hal, Hal continues his jest about instinct by attributing the motivation of Hotspur, that model of honor, to instinct. The concept named by the word honor becomes a slippery commodity in this ludic world of the tavern.

A commodity of good names had been sought earlier by Falstaff. The commodity of women's honor during time of war also becomes saleable. Hal's statement, "Why then, it is like if there come a hot June, and this civil buffeting hold, we shall buy maidenheads as they buy hob-nails by the hundreds," indicates the market value of women's honor during wartime. Rabelais also refers to the price of woman's honor when

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discussing how to protect Paris. This closely follows Panurge's story of his miraculous escape from the Turks, just as Hal's discussion follows Falstaff's story of his miraculous escape. Panurge tells Pantagruel, "I've observed that the pleasure-twats of women in this part of the world are much cheaper than stones" (223).

The discussion of honor and instinct leads to Falstaff's suggestion that Hal practice his answer to his father's inevitable criticism in a play ex tempore. This comic version of the King's confronting his son as played by Falstaff first and then by Hal prepares the audience for the serious version that will occur in Act III, the pivotal point in the dramatic structure shortly after which the action shifts to the battlefield from the tavern. One last scene occurs in the tavern where its inhabitants are preparing to leave for Shrewsbury.

Before leaving for battle, Falstaff essentially meditates upon death in his disjointed conversation with Bardolph. He acknowledges living out of all order and lists his sins as swearing, dicing, and going to a bawdy house. His mention of "Dives that lived in purple: for there he is in his robes, burning, burning," recalls the inverted world described by Epistemon in Rabelais and also described in Lucian. His meditation is accompanied by insults to Bardolph who in turn speaks abusively to Falstaff. "Do thou amend thy face, and I'll amend my life," Falstaff tells Bardolph. Bardolph tells Falstaff, "'Sblood, I would my face were in your belly!" (III,iii,29). Their exchanges demonstrate the ambivalent

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combination of friendliness and insult so characteristic in the carnivalesque mode of writing. The meditation is serious; the expression is comic.

Meditation on death was Socrates' definition of philosophy. Socrates, called the Prince of Philosophers, is singled out by Rabelais as the figure of the Silenus in his Prologue to Book One; he should not be judged by his exterior. "He was ill-shaped, ridiculous in carriage, with a nose like a knife. . .hiding his divine knowledge under a mask of mockery." (3). Panurge is associated with Socrates on several occasions in the narrative. When he visits the poet, Raminagrobis, Panurge acted as though he were:

> imitating Socrates, whose last words, spoken to Crito were: "I owe a cock to Aesculapius: remember to pay the debt!" Panurge offered Raminagrobis one. No sooner set on the bed, the beast reared its crest joyfully, shook out its plumage and crowed lustily. (370)

Echoes of the same death bed scene of Socrates have been found by critics in the death scene of Falstaff. The Hostess reports following a procedure of checking the coldness of Falstaff's body from his feet upward which follows closely the procedure followed in Plato's version of the death of Socrates.

Along with an association with the Prince of Philosophers, Panurge and Falstaff also seem to share a philosophy as indicated in Panurge's statement:

> If gratitude is proportionate to the benefactor's affection, then my thanks are infinite and sempiternal.

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> The love you bear me spontaneously, through no merit of mine, is beyond all reckoning; it transcends weight, number, measure; it is endless and everlasting (316).

Falstaff, when the Prince asks, "Sirrah, do I owe you a thousand pound?" responds, "A thousand pound, Hal? A million, thy love is worth a million, thou owest me thy love." (III,iii, 134-135).

The transition from the tavern to the battlefield occurs at the end of Act III. The Prince retains some of the spirit of the tavern, but his attention is directed to the activities of the battlefield. The Prince sounds like the fun-loving companion of Falstaff when he speaks in prose very near the end of Act III and says, "I am good friends with my father and may do anything" (III,iii,180). His next line, however, is spoken in blank verse as are the lines following. "I have procured thee, Jack, a charge of foot," begins the shift and "The land is burning, Percy stands on high,/ And either we or they must lower lie" (202-203). His discourse indicates an internal change that will be demonstrated on the battlefield. Falstaff closes the scene with a mockery of Hal's new discourse (also in the rhythm of blank verse) and expresses his greater interest in food and comfort than in going to war. "Rare words! Brave world! Hostess, my breakfast, come!?/ O, I could wish this tavern were my drum" (III,iii,204-205). Where Hal had imitated him when they both first appeared on stage, now the process is reversed.

In Rabelais the contrast of those who enthusiastically anticipate the battle and those who wish they were at home follows a similar pattern.

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Panurge, when faced with a storm at sea, sounded much like Falstaff in his prayer:

> Oh, would to God I were on land now: that is all I ask, nothing more! Would to God all of you, who love the sea so, had two thousand crowns apiece; it might encourage you to do your best and get us safe on land. Meanwhile, I would roast a fatted calf and cool one hundred bottles of wine against your early return.

Both Falstaff and Panurge shun battle, but both Hotspur and Picrochole represent the temperament that loves war. In the case of Picrochole, his soldiers proclaim him, "the most valorous and knightly prince that ever was since the death of Alexander of Macedon." Picrochole is bent on conquering the world and when he is informed of the countries already conquered, he adds, "I will be Emperor of Trebizond as well. Shall we not slaughter all these dogs, Turks, Mahomedans and the rest?" (98-99).

**The Battlefield**

In a manner to that in which Picrochole's men called him Alexander of Macedon, Act IV of Shakespeare's play opens in the rebel camp with an exchange of praise with Douglas in which Douglas calls Hotspur, "The king of honour." Hotspur would make Douglas' fine reputation "current through the world." Worcester, after learning of Hotspur's father's inability to join his son in battle, warns that, "This absence of your father's draws a curtain/ That shows the ignorant a kind of fear/ Before not dreamt of." Hotspur refuses the warning and overconfidently states his absence

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"lends a lustre and more great opinion,/ A larger dare to our great enterprise. . ." (IV,i,73).

A similar situation exists in the case of Rabelais' Picrochole, who is warned by a seasoned veteran that he is in the position of the cobbler in the tale of the milkpot In that fable the cobbler who owned the milkpot dreamed of a way to enrich himself when "crash! the pot fell, broke into a thousand fragments and where was our cobbler's dinner?" The seasoned veteran's warning elicits from Picrochole the exaggerated alternative, "By God, let us go hide in a chimney corner and spend the rest of our lives and leisure stringing pearls with the ladies or knitting like Sardonapalus." He backs up his words with a quotation from the Bible, "'Nothing ventured,nothing gained--not even a horse or mule,' says Solomon" (101)

The attitude of risking all is also reflected in Hotspur's concluding words, "Doomsday is near; die all, die merrily" He maintains the image of Hal as "the nimble-footed madcap Prince of Wales" who has "daft the world aside," while Vernon describes the glittering image of Hal he has just seen as:

> . . . like feathr'd Mercury,
> And vaulted with such ease into his seat
> As if an angel dropp'd down from the clouds
> To turn and wind a fiery Pegasus. . ." (IV,i,106).

The king's wish that the infants had been exchanged in their cradles becomes fulfilled in this scene where the rash and reckless Hotspur is outshone by the metamorphosed Hal, who will acquire all the warlike honors attributed to Hotspur by defeating him in single combat.

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Picrochole is defeated by Gargantua as Hotspur will be defeated by Hal; however the attitude of the conquering hero in each case differs drastically. Picrochole met Gargantua face to face as Hotspur met Hal, but Picrochole turned and ran, whereas Hotspur was killed by Hal. Picrochole killed his horse and could not get remounted even on an ass since he was encumbered by his armor. He was attacked by local men and stripped to a smock. In such a condition "the choleric wretch" met an old witch who told him his kingdom would be restored "at the Greek kalends or at the coming of the dodo birds and cocklicranes," i.e., never.

The reaction of Gargantua as opposed to Hal demonstrates a crucial difference in both the sons and the attitudes of their ancestors to which they conform. Gargantua speaks to the vanquished forces as follows:

> Our fathers and forefathers before them, time out of mind, believed that, having won a victory, they could find no nobler memorial of triumph than one inspired by magnanimity. According they did not raise monuments of architecture on lands conquered by force but monuments of affection in hearts conciliated by generosity. For they deemed the eloquent memory their mercy earned of living men, more precious and more enduring than mute inscriptions upon dead arches, columns and pyramids--these being the sport of tempests and the object of universal envy (141).

After announcing his unwillingness to degenerate in any wise the hereditary decency of his father, he sets free all the remaining enemy forces, gives them three months' wages, and provides an escort to protect them from the peasantry. He expresses regret that Picrochole is absent

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since he "would have made him understand that I engaged in this war against my will, without hope of increasing my possessions or renown" (141). He also arranges for Picrochole's realm to be maintained and for his son be attended by Ponocrates until he is able to govern that realm himself.

In order to avoid an "exaggerated tendency to forgive wrongdoers," which would only encourage them to begin their mischief all over again, he follows the example of Moses and Caesar in dealing rigorously with mutiny. He demands delivery of Marquet whose "arrant boastfulness" initiated the warfare, the bakers who failed to curb his "senseless temerity;" and Picrochole's counselors who advised to "sally forth from his kingdom and thus harry us" (141-142).

The phrase "harry us" as a translation of "nous inquieter" could be heard as a crossover pun in reading these two works together, since the Harrys, King Henry IV, Hotspur, and Hal, all represent an attitude to war strongly opposed to that of Gargantua and his ancestors. Hotspur paints a bloody picture as he waits in the rebel camp for the battle to begin:

> They come like sacrifices in their trim,
> And to the fire-ey'd maid of smoky war
> All hot and bleeding will we offer them;
> The mailed Mars shall on his altar sit
> Up to the ears in blood (IV,i,113-117).

His attitude contrasts strongly with that of Falstaff on his way to battle, who says, "To the latter end of a fray, and the beginning of a feast/ Fits a dull fighter and a keen guest" (IV,ii,79). Rather than relishing battle as

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an opportunity to acquire honor in such a bloody fashion, as Hotspur does, Falstaff speaks of his soldiers in debased, carnivalesque terms; he has gained money by having reluctant soldiers buy out their service. He had earlier mentioned Dives, the rich man burning in hell and his reference to Lazarus, the ragged beggar here is presented as a painted image on cloth reminiscent of the one he suggested as a replacement for the tapestries in the Hostess' dining room. Mention of this pair recalls their reversed roles in the upside down world of the afterlife.

Repetition of the "tattered prodigals lately come from swine-keeping, from eating draff and husks" also brings to mind the Durer's woodcuts of "The Prodigal among the Swine." Falstaff manages to employ a spectrum of devices to portray his soldiers in debased fashion, debasement being the chief method of the carnivalesque. He includes the fact that they were recruited from prison. With his "cankers of a calm world and a long peace, ten times more dishonorable-ragged than an old fazed ancient," he meets the Prince and Westmoreland to whom he remarks, "I thought your honour had already been at Shrewsbury" (IV,ii,52).

Falstaff, as a kind of King of Carnival, suggests a mode of perception that challenges the Harrys' perception of honor in as an absolute value. Rabelais gives an example of such debasement or reduction to absurdity of an elevated vision in the episode of the "asswipes." Francois Rigolet explains the significance of that episode in

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relation to a Michaelangelo's painting of Leda and the Swan.[11] Rigolot mentions Rabelais' "keen interest in pictorial compositions" and points to the parody of the ancestral portrait in Book Two, the portrait of "Geoffroy of the Big Tooth." One of Michelangelo's paintings had traveled to Lyons in the 1530's just at the time Rabelais was writing Gargantua. In Rabelais' episode of the "asswipe" the elements of the small goose, along with an allusion to heroes and demigods and the softness and warmth of the bird, whether swan or goose, suggest an association with the painting. Leda is replaced with a young child; the swan with a powerless goose. Instead of the bird being the agent, he is the victim of the child's fantasies. Instead of a beautiful, powerful bird in a royal chamber, an ugly little gosling is found in the poultry yard. Michelangelo's sumptuous image is brought down from a privileged position to one where it is made ridiculous by a child. In the original source of the myth, Ovid's Metamorphoses, the image appears in a tapestry being woven by Arachne. Rigolot suggests the significance in his statement:

> The poet was weaving a text representing Arachne weaving a perfect tapestry depicting a "creative" primal scene; that of the prime mover's own pro-creation." Rabelais transcodes the myth in his parody, a parody referred to as early as the Prologue where "joyful and frivolous figures, as. . .bridled geese" are mentioned.[12]

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[11] Francois Rigolot, "Leda and the Swan: Rabelais's Parody of Michelangelo." Renaissance Quarterly, 38:4 (1985): 688-700.

[12] Rigolot, 689.

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A similar parody of the mythical figure of Mars as presented by the Harrys, particularly Hotspur, in the scene immediately preceding the one in which Falstaff paints a picture of his tattered prodigals as food for powder or cannonfodder. The official view of war is redescribed with laughter, irony, and parody. The battle becomes a mock battle such as the one that occurs in Bruegel's painting of "The Combat of Carnival and Lent." The settled ideals of the elevation of battle to mythical status are relativized and rendered provisional. Such a parody does not suggest that the orthodox perspective is to be totally dismissed. Disparities of points of view, however, are suggested rather than an orthodox view that monolithic representative of the community. The plurality of responses creates a complex work of art, such as Holbein did in "The Ambassadors" where more than one perspective is achieved. A sophisticated type of ambivalence, perhaps even about the festive perspective itself, disperses interpretative authority among the multiple voices of the work of art rather than concentrating it in the voice of the single author. Charles Whitney points to the scene with Falstaff and his "tattered prodigals" as the perfect

combination of festivity and topicality.[13] The soldiers themselves are silent, but the description of their reluctance in his report allows their voice to be heard. The contemporary issues of homelessness, vagrancy,

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[13] Charles Whitney, "Festivity and Topicality in the Coventry Scene of 1 Henry IV. English Literary Renaissance. 24:2 (1994): 416.

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and corrupt military recruitment, in which the poorest became victimized and the rich could escape, all contrast with the elevated view of the pursuit of honor in battle portrayed by Hotspur, the King, and Hal. Ironically Justices of the Peace were involved in surrendering to the war effort those who might go to jail. Once recruited, such men would be exploited at the hands of corrupt or absent captains under inadquate conditions and with inadequate equipment.

Less destitute voices registering disillusionment with war circulated in written form in treatises such as Erasmus' Complaint of Peace (1517) and John Ponet's A Treatise of Politick Power (1556). Erasmus also spoke out against war in the Panegyric for Archduke Philip of Austria, in the adages "War is sweet to those who know it not," and "One Ought to be Born a King or a Fool," as well as in the Education of a Christian Prince. Erasmus in his works attacks not only secular rulers and their wars of greed and ambition, but also clergy for promoting so-called holy wars. He calls for adherence to the Christian teaching that all men are brothers. More than thirty editions of the Complaint of Peace, including translations into English, were issued during the sixteenth century. On the other hand, Anglican preachers had the Homily Against Disobedience (1571) read regularly to their congregations.

In his article on the combination of topicality and the carnivalesque, Whitney argues that fear of censorship motivated the indirection of the scene of Falstaff and his "tattered prodigals." The strategies of the

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carnivalesque serve Shakespeare, as they did Rabelais, to reveal and conceal simultaneously so as to allow representation of positions not in accord with those considered orthodox. The recruits included revolted tapsters and trade-fallen ostlers; these recall the exploited Robin, who "never joy'd since the price of oats rose, it was the death of him" II.i.12-13, as well as Francis, who was indentured as a "clinker of pewter" for five years before earning a salary. Degradation combines with a kind of hysterical cheerfulness to create an unstable tone. Bakhtin describes the hawker's voice of the marketplace directed to the potential customers as a whole rather than to any one individual as characteristic of the carnivalesque. Falstaff embodies such a voice in directing his speech to the audience as a whole instead of one other character. He embodies a "subversion of fellowship" according to Whitney and appeals to the playgoers' "transgressive desire." The audience is clearly encouraged to oppose the law along with him.

Falstaff transforms what Hotspur and Hal propose in terms of a real battle into a mock combat where the prodigal son, Hal, becomes the "tattered prodigals," i.e., the highest becomes the lowest. Falstaff becomes both the exploiter and the spokesman for the exploited, a "double man." in a manner of speaking, even though he denies that appellation. Earlier Falstaff described himself as "accursed to rob in that thief's company," referring to Poins as a rascal. When the Prince sees Falstaff's recruits, he refers to them as "such pitiful rascals." The fact that

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others might have to fight with such rascals would discourage more solid citizens from enlisting.

William Empson glosses "food for powder" as "that is all you Norman lords want, in your squabbles between cousins over your loot, which you make an excuse to murder the English people."[14] Hal presents himself as the redeemer of his people, just as Christ was a redeemer of mankind. Falstaff's references to the Bible center around the theme of resurrection as when the mad fellow met along the way tells him he has "press'd the dead bodies." The last line, "No eye hath seen such scarecrows" echoes the Biblical "No eye hath seen, nor ear heard, those things which God has prepared for those who love him." (1 Corinthians 2:9-10).

Erasmus, as ventriloquist (the word used by Annabel Patterson for the technique of putting words in someone else's mouth) through his figure of Peace who delivers his Complaint of Peace, similarly contrasts the "criminal dregs" hired as soldiers to the rulers whom he calls "the lowest kinds of criminal" in time of war. He asks the question, "Who will be so eager to strike down and disembowel a foe as a gladiator or murderer?" Hal will threaten to disembowel Falstaff in Act V of Shakespeare's play. War teaches robbery and murder, according to Peace who quotes Cicero on the subject within her statement, "If neglect

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[14] William Empson, The Structure of Complex Words. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1930. 52.

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of the law is the most imminent threat to civil authority, why, 'the law says nothing when arms hold sway.'" [15] War and the battlefield, then, become the equivalent of carnival as a locus of license. Even Bishops, Peace comments, abandon their churches "for the service of Bellona." The battlefield is a world upside down as is the tavern.in Eastcheap. The Archbishop has abandoned his church to serve in this war.

License rules Hotspur, since he is told he stands "out of limit and true rule" by Blunt and "against anointed majesty." Blunt has been sent to Hotspur in an attempt to avert war. In response Hotspur attempts to explain his reasons for going to war, which amount to a challenge that the King's title is "too indirect for long continuance" (IV,iii,104-105). In her Complaint, Peace describes questions of succession as the cause of many wars and suggests that, "A prince should be succeeded either by his next of kin or by one judged most suitable by vote of the people; for the others, it should be enough if they rank amongst eminent members of the nobility."[16] Hotspur is supposedly "pricked on" by honor, but the other nobles seemed to have been "pricked off" in an attempt to preserve their honor.

The dramatic accumulation of broken promises that leaves Hotspur in a position "too weak/ To wage an instant trial with the King" are enunciated by the Archbishop, having abandoned his church for war,

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[15] The Erasmus Reader, p. 310.
[16] The Erasmus Reader, 306.

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along with his own plans to "make strong against him." Thus at the end of Act IV, one splinter is separated from the march towards Shrewsbury, which will allow for a sequel after Shrewsbury occurs in Act V.

Falstaff's dispraise of honor, at the end of Act V, scene i, serves as a commentary on both Hotspur and those who have abandoned him. After punning on death and debt in response to Hal's taunt, Falstaff asks and answers questions on honor as a soliloquy. He speaks as though he were arguing logically, arriving at a conclusion with, "Therefore, I'll none of it." "Honour is a mere scutcheon" reduces what was deemed virtuous to a mere decoration at a funeral. The debasing mechanism of the carnivalesque is at work.[17]

In a similar operation Panurge, in Rabelais' Book Three responds Pantagruel's attempt to make him rich and without debt with what appears to be a logical argument, but one which turns vice into virtue and virtue into vice. Panurge begins, "What you call extravagance, My Lord, has also been considered a virtue sprung of the four cardinal virtues: prudence, justice, fortitude, temperance. Let me prove this to you" (305).

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[17] The editor, Hugh Tredennick, of Plato: The Last Days of Socrates (New York: Penquin Bks, 1959, 1969) describes Socrates' contribution to philosoply as "adduction" rather than induction since the Socratic method was to systematically question, thereby clearing his opponent's mind of misconceptions, and arrive at a general definition. As soon as a term like "courage" cropped up in the course of a conversation, he began by asking what it meant; and then when the attempted answers proved to be unsatifactory, proceeded to adduce various instances of courage, and show that, though different in detail, they had some common characteristic by which they were recognizable.

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He proceeds to ask and answer questions dealing with each of the four virtues in turn. What seems to Pantagruel heretical, Panurge suggests was modelled upon "the cradles of pantheology and justice," the University and Parliament of Paris, and whoever failed to believe what he explained was the real heretic. The incident ends with the misapplication of Christ's words on the cross to the eating of an entire lamprey. "Consummatum est" gives a finality similar to Falstaff's, "So ends my catechism."

Shakespeare builds Scene ii of Act V revolves around the report delivered by Vernon to Hotspur on the condition of Hal. Vernon had earlier reported how Hal glittered in his armor and rode his horse like a "fiery Pegasus" (IV,i,98-108). Vernon's report is delivered in response to Hotspur's question, "How show'd his tasking? Seem'd it in contempt?" Vernon reports:

> No, by my soul, I never in my life
> Did hear a challenge urg'd more modestly
> Unless a brother should a brother dare
> To gentle exercise and proof of arms (V,ii,51-54).

The report verbally creates a picture much more glorious than could be produced by the actual presence on stage of the character Hal. Hal becomes a mythically elevated character:

> He made a blushing cital of himself,
> And chid his truant youth with such a grace
> As if he maste'd there a double spirit
> Of teaching and of learning instantly.
> There did he pause: but let me tell the world--
> If he outlive the envy of this day,
> England did never owe so sweet a hope
> So much misconstru'd in his his wantonness (V,II,61-68).

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The Prodigal Son who frequented the tavern, in his debased condition, where thirst for wine predominated, now arises to larger-than-life stature as a hero on the battlefield, where thirst for blood predominates. Vernon addresses the first part of his report to Hotspur, and addresses his addendum to all the world as a herald, an elevated form of the hawker. Hotspur intends to stain his sword with "the best blood that I can meet withal.." Disguise was used by Prince Hal and Poins in the world of the tavern when they wore buckram at Gadshill; on the battlefield Blunt now disguises himself in the garb of the king and is killed by Douglas, who thinks he has killed the king. When Falstaff enters after Blunt is killed, he draws parallels with the tavern with puns on shot as bullet or bar bill, and scoring as putting it on one's charge or being beaten on the head, He speaks of honor and vanity sarcastically when he observes Blunt dead. "There's honour for you! Here's no vanity!" (V,iii,33). The virtues the King praised to Hal are inverted in Falstaff's irony.

Falstaff's punning continues when Hal arrives and asks for a sword with which to revenge the death of the nobles killed in the battle. Hal is on the same bloodthirsty mission as Hotspur. Falstaff lies in saying he has "paid Percy," again equating death and debts. He then gives Hal his bottle of sack which will not quench the thirst for blood, but will "sack" a city. On stage alone Falstaff expounds his philosophy of life, punning on Percy's name as sounding like pierce.

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> Well, if Percy be alive, I'll pierce him. If he do come in my way, so: if he do not; if I come in his willingly, let him make a carbonado of me. I like not such grinning honour as Sir Walter hath. Give me life, which if I can save, so: if not, honour comes unlooked for, and there's an end (V,iv,56-61).

As does the innocent in Lucian's works, Falstaff stands as representing another perspective which places the values of war in question as not inevitable. Falstaff fits the mold of a good Pantagruelist. He shares a philosophy of preferring the life of the body over the search for honor in epic combat. Like Socrates, as described in Rabelais' Prologue to Book One, Falstaff demonstrates "immortal understanding, wondrous virtue, indomitable courage, unparalled sobriety, unfailing serenity, perfect assurance and a heroic contempt for whatever moves humanity to watch, to bustle, to toil, to sail ships overseas and to engage in warfare." Pantagruelism is the name given to what appears to be Rabelais' own philosophy, one that grows from a simple love of wine and good tall tales

into a merry Stoical unconcern about matters beyond our control.[18] In true carnivalesque style, Falstaff speaks of himself in terms of food in suggesting he be made into a carbonado. Like Socrates, as he is described by Rabelais in the Prologue to Book One, Falstaff is "forever hiding his divine knowledge under a mask of mockery. . . ." (3)

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[18] The Complete Works of Francois Rabelais. Trans. by Donald M. Frame. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991. Glossary, 1025.

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Panurge in the battle with King Anarchus fills his leather wine flask, a Touraine bottle, and calls it his vade mecum (Latin for follow me). In that battle Carpalim escapes from being blown up rather than "roasting like a pig." Pantagruel, as a result of drinking from Panurge's vade mecum, feels a need to drain his bladder. The victory is achieved in unique fashion:

> So he voided on their camp so freely and torrentially as to drown them all and flood the countryside ten leagues around. We know from history that had his father Gargantua's great mare been present and likewise disposed to piss, the resultant deluge would have made Deucalion's flood seem like a drop in the bucket. A mare of the first water, Gargantua's; it coundn't relieve itself without making another Rhone or Danube." The city was sacked. What the soldiers believed to be blood flowing from the dead, however, was but the wine from the giant's bladder (266).

Hal's bleeding is the King's concern in Act V, Scene iv where he worries, "thou bleed'st too much." Hal rescues the King from Douglas to whom he announces that he "never promiseth but he means to pay," recalling the words from his soliloquy in scene ii of Act I where he stated he would "pay the debt I never promised." He had promised, however, to redeem time when "men think least I will." When he rescues his father, the King states, "Thou hast redeem'd thy lost opinion" (V,iv,47).

At that moment Hotspur arrives for the single combat characteristic of epic. Shakespeare altered the actual ages of the combatants to create a neatly symmetrical contest. The adage of one star in one sphere, expresses the encounter in terms of the laws of nature. Hal's statement

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that England cannot "brook a double reign/ Of Harry Percy and the Prince of Wales" clearly suggests that Percy's ambition is to be King and he is waging this war to challenge King Henry IV's title as being "too distant for long continuance." Hotspur did not know that Richard named Mortimer his heir until the battle was underway.

Hotspur had referred to the battlefield in theatrical terms in I,iii where he said, "Uncle, adieu: O, let the hours be short,/ Till fields, and blows, and groans applaud our sport!" On the battlefield, Falstaff treats the event as sport and theatre with his mocking statement, "Well said, Hal! To it, Hal! Nay, you shall find no boy's play here, I can tell you." Possibly an allusion is being made to the competition between theatres where boys performed as well as theatre companies like the King's Men. Falstaff, at any rate, breaks the frame of the battle as a serious event.

Continuing in a theatrical mode, Falstaff plays dead when confronted with the fighting Douglas. Hal had played the part of a thieve at Gadshill in robbing the robbers: here at Shrewsbury, he robs in earnest. Hotspur tells him, "O Harry, thou has robb'd me of my youth!" Hal hides Hotspur's face with his favors, not the glove he would have worn as a favor in his prodigal state, one plucked from the commonest creature, but rather "a torse of silk of his own colours, white and blue, which he unbound from his helm for the purpose" (Arden Edition p. 159, n. 95). His blue and white favor fits with his being the victorious celestial

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"star" in his particular sphere. A resonant similarity exists with Gargantua's favors:

> Gargantua's colors were white and blue, as I have indicated above. By these colors, his father wished to signify that the lad was a heavenly joy to him. White expresses joy, pleasure, delight and rejoicing; blue denotes things celestial. ( 29)

After praising his slain opponent, Hal discovers Falstaff's apparently slain body. Ambition in Hotspur had made "a kingdom . . .too small a bound," and created a desire to conquer all the world. Hotspur speaks of "time, that takes survey of all the world" as he dies. Falstaff is praised as a deer, the hunted rather than the hunter. He speaks of life in terms of debts and avoidance of getting "paid" or killed. He uses the word counterfeit nine times in his soliloquy after Hal leaves. He also uses the oaths "God'sblood" or "'Sblood" and "Zounds." The sacred system of spiritual redemption in the crucifixion of Christ is parodied in the debased version of redeeming occurring on the battlefield. By punning on emboweled, powdered and eaten, Falstaff mockingly transubstantiates his body and blood into food to be consumed by Hal. The resurrection is mockingly suggested in the possibility of "gunpowder Percy" rising from the dead. Falstaff states, "By my faith, I am afraid. . ." Christ on the cross was stabbed with a lance as reported in John 19:34 and the text of Scripture was quoted as "They shall look on him whom they pierced."

Instead of Hotspur as rising from the dead, Falstaff is perceived as having done so. Where Falstaff said, "Nothing confutes me but eyes,"

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Hal distrusts his eyesight . Falstaff continues his punning habit in his statement, "I am not a double-man." With the corpse on his back, he is a double man. In being a counterfeit, he is a double man. In being so fat, he is double man. Being a puer/senex figure, he is also a double man. A kind of mockery might be heard in his not being a double man in the sense of both human and divine as Christ was although he has risen from the dead.

Both Hal and Falstaff have found the place where a commodity of good names could be had. Hal has redeemed his lost opinion and established his glittering reputation. Prince John, likewise, has earned a good name for himself through bravely fleshing his maiden sword. The sword with which Falstaff pierces Percy was also "maiden" since he had led his ragamuffins to be peppered but had not fought himself. Now he will receive a pension, John will be admired, and Hal will be King. A role reversal occurs in that the Prince, playing the thief, had robbed the real thieves at Gadshill, Falstaff, playing the slayer, robs Hal who slayed Hotspur, who had "robbed" Hotspur's of his youth at Shrewsbury.

Another parallel to Gadshill that occurs on the battlefield exists in Peto's response to the Prince's taunts about his sharing Falstaff's instinct as an excuse for not fighting at Gadshill, "I ran when I saw others run." At Shrewsbury Douglas did likewise in the closing scene of the play where the Prince reports:

> The noble Scot, Lord Douglas, when he saw
> The fortune of the day quite turn'd from him,

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> The noble Percy slain, and all his men
> Upon the foot of fear, fled with the rest. . ..

The joke of Falstaff not being a double man when he appears with another man, Hotspur on his back, recalls the figure of the androgyne used as a symbol on Gargantua's coat of arms in a form which mocks the androgyne described by Aristophanes in Plato's Symposium by Plato. A similar joke using that symbol is made in The Tempest when Caliban is under the tarpalin with Trinculo and also in a more serious fashion in Othello when the beast with two backs is referred to. These images suggest a link to the description of the androgyne given at the Socratic party occurring in The Symposium.

Erasmus and Rabelais believed Socrates shared characteristics with Pan and Bacchus. When these figures, Socrates, Pan, and Bacchus, were blended, they were also believed to share in the nature of Christ. Bacchus gave wine where Christ provided the wine of logos. Pan unified the multiple phenomena of the world and created concord from discord or coincidence from contraries. Socrates as a Silenus figure represents the substance of things not seen. Bacchus lends his name to the Oracle of the Divine Bottle in Rabelais, Bacbuc. Bac also means a tub or container in French, and a bottle in the sacred Hebrew language. The name also resembles the noise a bottle makes as wine is poured from it. The fountain of the Divine Bottle furnishes liquid which can taste like any wine the drinker wishes to imagine.

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The representation of Christian mysteries in terms of the Temple of the Divine Bottle shares imagery with the Symposium, the Church Fathers and the Bible. Wine functions as Wisdom's drink. Wine stands for Rabelais' books, and the Holy Spirit, both of which benefit the body, the soul and the spirit. Origen, the early Church father, explained, for instance, in Song of Solomon, 2:4, "He led me into the wine tavern," in terms of Wisdom's house being a tavern. He includes instances in Mathew 8:11 where the table of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in heaven is in the same tavern and Psalms 8, 80, and 83 celebrate the pressing of this same wine, whilch comes fromt he true vine, Christ (John 15:1). Participation in the logos which the episode of the Divine Bottle episode describes is a version of the Eucharist. Symbolism of wine had become increasingly important in the Church of the sixteenth century, both as being part of the communion service and as representing the divine blood, the Fountain of Life. Visual artists pictured Christ's crucifixion in the form of a wine press in which Christ's blood flows into a wine vat.[19]

Panurge, in Rabelais' narrative, leads his companions to seek out the Dive Bouteille in order to answer the question whether he should marry or not. Man's urge to marry allegedly derived from a preternatural condition described in the Symposium by Aristophanes where man was originally

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[19] Florence M. Weinberg, The Wine and The Will: Rabelais's Bacchic Christianity. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1972. 92.

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> quite round, his back and sides forming a circle; and he had four hands and four feet, one head with two faces, looking opposite ways, set on a round neck and precisely alike; also four ears, two privy members, and the remainder to correspond.[20]

Rabelais' androgyne or double man symbolizes caritas rather than physical love. Such a symbol, the androgyne, was a favorite symbol of prelapsarian man according to Masters in Rabelaisian Dialectic (p. 19-23). That Falstaff refers jokingly to his not being a double man in the context of the battlefield provides another association between him and Socrates, others of which have been noted.

The scene where Hal appears with Hotspur on one side and Falstaff on the other appears as a symmetrical tableau. If the figure of Hotspur can be supposed to be equated with the figure of Picrochole in Rabelais' work and Falstaff with Panurge, Hal can be seen as the via media between the two. Picrochole allows his nature to get the upper hand; his choleric nature is vulnerable to rash behavior. Having abandoned reason and moderation, Picrochole is out of tune with God's will.

On the other hand, Panurge has also abandoned reason and moderation but in the direction of voluptas or will. He wants immediate enjoyment of every bodily pleasure without suffering any of the possible consequences. Rabelais pokes fun at Panurge's essentially priapic nature, calling his codpiece his holy anchor and last refuge. The anchor

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[20] Great Dialogues of Plato. Trans. W. H. D. Rouse. New York: The New American Library, 1956. .86.

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was a common emblem for Christ or the Christian faith that would serve to hold man steady in an ocean of sin and uncertainty. Panurge chooses to serve his appetites and lives out of balance of the golden mean. Both Picrochole and Panurge are fools. A topos of the fool being tossed about in a storm at sea existed in classical writers and St. Augustine, in Folengo's Baldus and Erasmus' Naufragium. The ship of fools appears as the sign outside the tavern of Bruegel's painting.

Rabelais portrays two examples of men being misled by their choleric or lustful natures. Panurge, however, seeks the truth. He retains an instinct which drives him to kow the truth. Man must depend upon the grace of God, according to Rabelais, for guidance and then on his temperate reason. Direct communication from God, the gift of grace, breaks the deadlock. At the end of Erasmus' Praise of Folly, a state of ecstacy is described in which grace provides man with a foretaste of paradise. In that state man speaks incoherently.

The parallels demonstrated between Rabelais' work and Shakespeare's King Henry IV Part One suggest that Shakespeare shared similar views to those of Rabelais. The death of Falstaff, which occurs in King Henry V and which is reported by Mistress Quickly, can be seen as one in which Falstaff receives the gift of grace. His speaking incoherently, using phrases of the twenty-third psalm, and the echoes of the report of the death of Socrates provided by Plato suggest a scene in which Falstaff is reconciled with God and achieves the salvation he

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sought. As a prodigal son from his heavenly father, he has returned home, redeemed through grace, just as Hal redeems his reputation and returns home to his earthly father to become King.

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## Conclusion

In Shakespeare's King Henry IV Part One, the first half of the play occurs in and around the tavern while the second half occurs on and around the battlefield. Both sites are represented as incorporating carnivalesque imagery of of eating and drinking. Falstaff dominates the tavern, where wine and meat are consumed, while Hotspur dominates the battlefield, where blood and flesh are consumed. Hal negotiates both arenas as he progresses towards the position of his father's successor as King. The scene where Hal is reconciled with his father occurs between the two halves, creating a symmetrical composition. Symmetry characterized sixteenth-century visual art works, and symmetry characterizes the structure of this literary work of the sixteenth century.

The treatment of the tavern and the battlefield in the seriocomic manner characteristic of Lucian, Erasmus, and Rabelais contrasts with the source material for this play, generally agreed to be Holinshed's Chronicles. Shakespeare's treatment of that material, I suggest, parallels Rabelais' treatment of the progress by Prince Pantagruel towards being the successor of his father, Gargantua. Both Rabelais and Shakespeare represent the story of a Prince and an unconventional companion sharing adolescent adventures in the process of the Prince coming of age.

Although Rabelais wrote his work in the form of a novel and Shakespeare wrote a play, each writes of a Prince accompanied by a

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strongly contrasting companion involved in mock heroic adventures during a period of adolescence. Each uses a carnivalesque mode of language where words are released from single referents and become sounds with multiple meanings. Rhetorical forms such as the formal encomium are mocked and other formal structures are parodied. The imagery of Panurge's praise of debts corresponds to Falstaff's imagery in his praise of sack. Both characters praise debts. Monetary imagery pervades Shakespeare's play where time is redeemed, coin and credit are used, reckonings are rendered, debts are associated with deaths, promises are made to pay, robbing or thieving recur regularly, factors are employed to accumulate credit and counterfeits displace what is actual.

Hal and his father meet in a face to face encounter at the approximate middle of the play that is represented in a direct style and in a , serious tone, following the conventions of the topos of advice from father to son. Pantagruel receives his advice from Gargantua in the form of a letter. Hal's father, King Henry IV, delivers his advice face-to-face and in that advice portrays the warlike Hotspur as the ideal to which Hal should be aspiring. Gargantua, on the other hand, had recommended Pantagruel appreciate the opportunity provided by the printing press to follow the humanistic ideal of a classical education rather than that of warfare. Rabelais incorporates the values found in Erasmus' Complaint of Peace, where Peace, a female character like Folly in Praise of Folly,

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delivers what amounts to a sermon on maintaining peace. Although Pantagruel participates in a heroic single combat with Loupgarou or Werewolf, he does so in mock-epic fashion and only to defend his country from invasion. Hal's behavior contrasts with that of Pantagruel in regard to single combat; he redeems his lost opinion in proving himself in a serious, epic-like single combat with Hotspur, the model presented by his father as the ideal. Hal is interested in accumulating Hotspur's titles and honor through his contest.

The single combat is given a comic twist by Falstaff, who robs Hal of the credit of killing Hotspur with his story that Hotspur and he "both rose at an instant, and fourght a long hour by Shrewsbury clock" (V,v,145). In Act I Hal had robbed Falstaff of what Falstaff had robbed fromt he pilgrims at Gadshill. Such carnivalesque inversion unites a comic and a serious scene, causing one to be viewed as commentary upon the other. Hotspur dies stating, "O Harry, thou hast robbed me of my youth!" Hal robs Hotspur, his factor, of both youth and titles before Falstaff, in turn, robs Hal of the credit for Hotspur's death. Falstaff's rising in an instant suggests a parallel with a resurrection scene in Rabelais. Epistemon, beheaded in battle, is restored to life and health by Panurge, who, Rabelais' text suggests uses his genitalia and bodily fluids to heal Epistemon. Rabelais imitates Lucian in the narrative of a death with an accompanying trip to the underworld and a return with tales to tell.

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Falstaff's tale about Hotspur is recognized by Lancaster as, "the strangest tale that ever I heard" (V,v,153).

Deaths and debts are played off against each other as sound and image in the Shakespeare's play and Rabelais' novel. The mock encomium on debts delivered by Panurge develops the image of the body as a utopia where each organ receives according to its needs from the blood. Rabelais was a medical doctor and demonstrates his knowledge of the body at several points in the narrative. The network of monetary images in Shakespeare's play suggests that a utopia exists when promises are kept and debts are paid. The body politic is healthy when each organ receives according to its needs. Money circulates like blood. Hal, the prodigal son described by his father in the earlier play, King Richard II, as "my unthrifty son," and a "young wanton, and effeminate boy." (V,iii). In the same scene another prodigal son is described in monetary terms by his father. Yorks speaks of Aumerle when he says:

> So shall my virtue be his vice's bawd,
> And he shall spend mine honour with his same,
> As thriftless sons their scraping fathers' gold.
> Mine honour lives when his dishonour dies,
> Or my sham'd life in his dishonour lies;
> Thou kill'st me in his life--giving him breath,
> The traitor lives, the true man's put to death. (V,iii,65)

Spending money and spending Honor is closely allied in the concept of prodigality. Honor is the topic of another mock encomium by Falstaff on the occasion of seeing Blunt lying dead on the battlefield. Two extremes of attitudes towards honor are found in King Henry IV Part One;

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honor is renounced by Falstaff at Shrewsbury as being worthless while honor is hoarded by Hotspur at the cost of all else. Hotspur dies asserting that his titles are more valuable to him than his life. Corresponding extreme attitudes are represented by Rabelais. Falstaff's attitude aligns with that of Rabelais' character Panurge. Hotspur's attitude aligns with that of Picrochole; both share a choleric nature and a desire to accumulate honor. Hotspur takes pride in the fact that he will "cavil on the ninth part of a hair" in a bargain. He wishes to alter the landscape with a charge of gunpowder to insure he receives his equal share. Honor, in Hotspur, is associated with zeal and acquisition. Rabelais represents a contrasting attitude when he approvingly cites Erasmus as saying, "Non zelus sed charita.s," and amplifies that quote with the commentary, "Let us not employ the zeal of those who mortify their bodies, but rather the charity of those who wish their fellows the greatest corporal enjoyment." Whereas both Hotspur and Picrochole would have reversed that proverb to privilege zeal; Falstaff and Panurge behave in accord with Erasmus and Rabelais..

Charity replaces honor in Rabelais' novel as the ideal. The classical ideal of moderation is joined with that of charity by Rabelais. Panurge operates as a foil for Pantagruel. Whereas Panurge pursues the pleasures of the world, and the passions of the flesh, Pantagruel seeks harmony in limiting war to an act of defense and in following his moral

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duty as head of the body politic. Panurge who, like Falstaff, suffers from impecunitis or lack of money steals from the church as Falstaff stole from the pilgrims on their way to Canterbury. Panurge defends his borrowing and stealing in a parody of Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics as adapted by Aquinas.[1] Panurge inverts each of the cardinal virtues to serve his view. Pantagruel, on the other hand, identifies Panurge's views with the heresy shared by tyrants such as Nero and Caligula. Pantagruel is portrayed as incorporating the cardinal virtues which Panurge inverts. Panurge requires redirection of his will in order to transcend his self-love and become charitable. Seeking one's own advantage is the opposite of charity. Picrochole, provides the opposite extreme of one who incurs debts, in his acquisitive nature. He must transcend such a nature to achieve the wholeness which would result in charity. The voyage to the Divine Bottle is conducted in search for wisdom and self knowledge which would be reflected in living in harmony or with love and charity.

The utopian ideal of charity, identified with Erasmus by Rabelais, resembles the charity of grace as also defined by Erasmus. Grace, according to Erasmus is a freely given gift from God rather than a salary earned by doing good deeds. According to Erasmus, God resists the arrogant and proud while bestowing his favor upon the humble and low. In his paraphrase of Romans 5:20 Erasmus contrasts grace to both law

[1] Etienne Gilson. "Notes medievales au Tiers Livre de Pantagruel," *Revue d'Histoire franciscaine.* 2 (1925), 72-88, esp. 74-76. Gilson is quoted in G. Mallary Masters' article in *L'Esprit Createur* 221 (1981) p. 46.

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and sin. The purpose of law, in his view, is tomake the grace of God (beneficentia Dei) clearer and more evident to us. Grace (beneficium), the gift of illumination, shines more brightly where sin rages fiercely. Such illumination provides kknowledge necessary for salvation.

Salvation becomes an issue at the death scene of Falstaff. The question of Falstaff's reconciliation with God and his salvation is deferred, however, unttil his death is reported by the Hostess in King Henry V. Hal, meanwhile, achieves reconciliation with his earthly father by the end of Part One. Myths of redemption occur at least as early as Plato's Symposium where the achievement of wholeness is represented in the figure of the androgyne. The myth of the Golden Age lost in the Iron Age and the Biblical story of the fall of an followed his expulsion from the garden are parallel myths.

Rabelais alters the usual version of man's original sin as the eating of the apple to his own version in which man's original sin is identified with the murder of Abel by Cain. Man's redemption, in Rabelais' version, occurs when justice is restored and all men live in peace as brothers. Shakespeare's play opens with an allusion to the story of Cain and Abel in Genesis iv. 11 which reads:

> And nowe art thou cursed from the earth, which hath opened her mouth to receave thy brothers blood from thy hande.

The King in his opening speech of the play says:

> No more the thirsty entrance of this soil
> Shall daub her lips with her own children's blood.

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The King wishes to create unity and justice where rebellion and injustice reigns. Earthly redemption, he hopes, will be achieved in the reign of his son, Hal.

Redemption concerns Falstaff, who consistently speaks of mending his ways. He speaks of owing God a debt but would not wish to pay it before it were due. He believes in a myth of salvation that involves a return to a heavenly father. He certainly matches the criteria presented by Erasmus for a subject desired by that heavenly father. Falstaff acknowledges he has more flesh, and, therefore, more frailty than most men; he is humble in that regard. He stands in need of grace as a means to redemption.

Plato's alternative myth of redemption, or man's return to wholeness, requires a juncture with his lost half. In his prelapsarian form, according to Plato's myth, man was a double man with four legs and four arms. Falstaff's reference denying he is a double man seems to allude to that myth. Rabelais refers several times to the same myth in his work. The double man of that myth is described in terms of being an androgyne. Falstaff at several points in the play refers to himself in ambiguous sexual terms. He is a sow that has consumed all her litter but one, and at another point his womb undoes him. In speaking of not being a double man, Falstaff, of course, is punning on the fact that he is

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carrying Hotspur and, therefore, appears to have four arms and four legs and two bodies.

The androgyne associated with the Symposium, or drinking party, recurs in Rabelais' work and is associated with the Silenus figure of Socrates in the Prologue to Book One. Echoes of the death of Socrates have been noted by critics in the death of Falstaff as reported by Mistress Quickly in King Henry V. If such echoes exist, and if Falstaff can be seen to have transcended his folly of self love on his death bed through the superhuman gift of grace, God's charity, his death as erasing all debts could be a version of the state of ecstasy described at the close of Erasmus' Praise of Folly. Erasmus describes the state in which one has a foretaste of what is in store for the saved in heaven. In that state one speaks incoherently and is outside oneself, the literal etymological meaning of the Greek word ecstasy. If that were the case, redemption and reconciliation with his heavenly father for Falstaff would correspond to Hal's redemption and reconciliation with his earthly father.

Panurge must seek divine help from the Oracle of the Divine Bottle before he is able to transcend his self love and achieve a degree of wholeness represented by marriage. Such wholeness will only occur after much drinking of wine which is equated with the reading of books or the search for spirit or wisdom. During Panurge's journey towards divine wisdom, he encounters a:

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> tiny, misshapen, humpbacked, monstrously ugly old man. His name was Hearsay. His snout was slit to the ears: inside he had seven tongues, each of which ws cleft into seven parts. With all seven at once, he was chattering away on various subjects in various languages. His head and body bore as many ears as, of yore, that of Argus bore eyes. He was blind as a bat and paralyzed below the waist. (801)

Everyone who consulted Hearsay was instantly an expert on any subject on earth, through Hearsay, of course, as the narrator comments.

Shakespeare opens the second part of the play in which Falstaff appears with a figure called Rumor, who is very similar to Hearsay. Rumor asks, "But what need I thus/ My well-known body to anatomize/ Among my household?" Although originating later than the Folio version of the play, a stage direction describes Rumor as being "painted full of tongues." The figure is often portrayed as a woman wearing a cloak covered with tongues. In the scene where she appears, no one brings news unless they learned it from Rumor. "From Rumour's tongues/ They bring smooth comforts false, worse than true wrongs (I,i)."

Pantagruel remarks to Epistemon during the journey to the Divine Bottle that:

> It seems to me that Nature had reasons for giving us open ears whereas other organs--the tongue, the eyes and so forth--are protected by gates and enclosures. I suppose she hopped that, day long, night long, we might use our ears to listen and, listening, learn. Is not hearing the fittest of all our senses when it comes to taking in knowledge of arts and sciences? (710)

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Rumor's opening line with an imperative directed at the audience, "Open your ears." Falstaff openly admits to suffering from the disease of "not listening" when speaking to the Chief Justice.(2HIV,I,ii,120)

Falstaff admits to suffering from other diseases as well. As a medical doctor Rabelais indicates a natural interest in healing diseases in his work. He represents a doctor examining someone's urine in order to discover whether he will die or not. After the Chief Justice leaves, Falstaff announces, "A man can no more separate age and covetousness than he can part young limbs and lechery: but the gout galls the one, and the pox pinches the other; and so both the degrees prevent my curses, Boy!" An adage such as those collected by Erasmus lies behind his reference. The proverb suggests, "Both stages of life have their own curses which anticipate mine." Falstaff is addressing the Boy, or page who accompanies him. At the opening of scene 2 Falstaff addresses the same page as, "You giant," and asks him, "What says the doctor to my water?"

Physical diseases are not the only ones of concern to Rabelais as a doctor. His letter to The Most Reverend Lord Odet Cardinal of Chatillon appears at the opening of his fourth book of the story of Pantagruel. In that letter Rabelais comments on the therapeutic value of his book as medicine. He writes his book as a doctor for absent patients, those of another place or time, as he uses his healing powers directly on patients

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of his own time and place. He refers to a list of medical authorities including Hippocrates, who, according to Rabelais, compared the practice of medicine "to a struggle, and also to a farce with three characters: the patient, the physician and the disease." He continues in his letter to tell stories with medical themes. He claims the one aim of the physician should be to cheer his patient without offending God and the physician should never sadden the patient. He follows that pronouncement with the story of the physician Callianax who, "on being asked by a patient "Shall I die?" quoted Achilles' saying to Eycaon, son of Priam, in the Iliad: 'Patroclus, even, had to die,/ A mightier man than you or I.'" He tells of another patient who questioned Callianax "after the fashion of noble Pathelin in the farce" and asked "Doctor, doesn't my urine tell/ If I shall perish or get well?" (Bk. 4, 491).

The point of Rabelais' letter is to justify his comic work as therapeutic and not heretical, as some have charged. Falstaff also defends himself against attacks immediately after asking his page what the doctor said about his urine:

Falstaff intends to turn disease to a commodity, one from which he can profit. "Men of all sorts take a pride to gird at me," he complains before announcing how contagious his condition is:

> The brain of this foolish-compounded clay, man, is not able to invent anything that intends to laughter more than I invent, or is invented on me; I am not only witty in myself, but the cause that wit is in other men (2HIV,I,ii,6-10).

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Like Rabelais' book, Falstaff affects others to good effect just as medicine does. "A pox of this gout! or a gout of this pox! for the one or the other plays the rogue with my great toe." He promises, I will turn diseased to commodity (1HIV,I,iii,250).

Juxtaposed with his concern for disease is his weekly promises to marry Ursula which date from the time he first perceived a white hair on his chin. His inability to decide to marry resembles that of Panurge who seeks to know whether he should marry or not. The last two books of Rabelais' work narrate the story of a voyage to the Oracle of the Divine Bottle to seek the answer to Panurge's question.

The Divine Bottle and the drinking of wine would appeal to Falstaff who is never long without a cup of sack. He would measure up to one of the criteria of a good Pantagruelist, but not another, as defined In Rabelais' letter to the Cardinal. Pantagruelianism is defined as "a certain gaiety of spirit produced by a contempt of the incidentals of fate; it is a healthy, cheerful spirit, one ever ready to drink, if it will." In that Prologue, Rabelais also defines the ideal of moderation. "It is on moderation, O my goutstricken friends, it is on moderation I ground my hopes. I am convinced that (please the Lord!) you will obtain good health, since good health is all you ask for at present. Bide your time a while longer, and use an ounce of patience." He chastises the Genoese for not conforming to that ideal when he describes them. "In the morning they plan, plot and

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elect which of their number they can mulct that day; they specify who shall be cheated, swindled, bilked and diddled by their craft. They fare forth and, on the Exchange greet one another saying: 'Health and gain, to you, sir.' Not content with health, they want profit, to boot." His prologue ends very similarly to the way Part Two of Shakespeare's play opens, "Prick up your ears."

Falstaff's concern with profit is demonstrated in his recruiting techniques involving men buying out their ,service. (III,ii). His concern with profit also prompts him to announce his policy towards Justice Shallow, "I'll make him a philosopher's two stones to me." Covetousness had earlier been identified by Falstaff with old age and lechery with youth. When Panurge arrives at one of the islands on his voyage to the Divine Bottle, Mackerel Island, he comments on the name of the island being derived from the French word for procuress, maquerette, and asks, "Isn't pimping as natural to the old as thigh-sqeezing to the young?" Falstaff incorporates the habits of youth and old age in line with the topos of the puer/senex.

A connection between the two wayward characters of Falstaff and Panurge exists in their handling of a variety of literary forms. Each delivered a false encomium on debts and wine. Falstaff delivers his encomium on sack in the second part of the two-part play. The catechism is another form shared by the two. Panurge cautioned, "Wait, let me

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finish," and he insists on continuing his catechism in which he conducts an inquiry with a Demisemiquaver of Sandel Island. Falstaff refers to his catechism when he dispraises honor at Shrewsbury. He concludes his dialogue conducted with himself in a question and answer format with a logical deduction, "Therefore, I'll none of it. Honour is a mere scutcheon--and so ends my catechism" (V,ii,140-141).

Just previous to visiting Sandel Island on the voyage to the Divine Divine Bottle, Panurge visited Quintessence where the ingredients are found to make the philosopher's stone. One of the travelers in the scene states, "Ha! the moment we get home, I shall set to work to compound the philosopher's stone!" The Queen of Quintessence, who had the gift to cure the incurable, brought the visitors on a tour where they observed among other sights an alchemist, who, "in the space of a few hours, rescued nine good gentlemen from the ravages of St. Francis' ill, or poverty. He removed all their debts by clapping around their necks a rope, at whose end dangled a purse of ten thousand golden crowns." Panurge, in the realm of Quintessence, was made violently sick at the sight of an officer distilling human urine, "in a huge tubful of horsedung and Christian shit." Such a distillation, he learned, when sprinkled upon kings or princes, "lengthened their lives by a fathom of two."

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The chapter relating the activities observed on the island where Queen Quintessence reigned, with King Silver and King Gold, is written in the form of a chain of adages. A sample reads:

> Some washed blackamoors white, in a few hours, by merely rubbing their bellies with the bottom of a backet. . .others, with three pairs of foxes under one yoke, plowed a sandy shore without losing their seed...others washed tiles, making their colors fade...others extracted water from pumice stone, by pounding the latteer in a marble mortar, and changing its substance...others sheared asses and obtained the finest fleece...others plucked grapes from thorns, and gathered ffigs from thistles.

On this island Socrates is credited with bringing philosophy to earth from heaven and thus "turning an idle, trifling pastime into a useful, profitable vocation." Panurge, like Falstaff, is interested in ways to make money, especially without effort. Falstaff will turn Justice Shallow and Silence into two philosopher's stones.

Falstaff managed to profit from Hotspur's death in the first part of the play. In the second, he manages to effortlessly capture Colevile of the Dale, who "gavest [himself] *away* <u>gratis</u>" probably on the reports of the his being credited with the death of Hotspur. His self commentary upon the occasion of capturing Colevile recalls both image of Rumor who opened the play and Hearsay in Rabelais' novel. "I have a whole school of tongues in this belly of mine, and not a tongue of them all speaks any another word but my name. And I had but a belly of any indifferency, I

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were simply the most active fellow in Europe: my womb, my womb, my womb undoes me" (2HIV,IV,iii,20-23).

At the end of Part One, Hal banished the rash, acquisitive nature of Hotspur from the earth by killing him. At the end of Part Two, Hal banishes the excessive indulgence of Falstaff by denying he knows him. He does so in the language of dreams.

> I have long dreamt of such a kind of man,
> So surfeit-swelled, so old, and so profane;
> But being awak'd, I do despise my dream.
> Make less thy body hence, and more thy grace (V,v,49).

Such language of dreams accords with the world upside down quality of both the tavern and the battlefield. In the tradition studied here Lucian, the classical model for Rabelais' inverted world, uses the character of Menippus in several of his dialogues to comment on the scene of fools seen on earth from "heaven." Lucian's Menippus also visits Hades where he observes the inversion of roles which had been assigned to men on earth. Those in elevated roles on earth were reduced to performing menial work in the underworld. Dives, the rich man, exchanges places with Lazarus, the beggar. Alexander, in Lucian's hell, fixes "chausses" which translates to bodyhose. One critic perceives an echo of such a situation in Falstaff's exclamation in Shakespeare's play (King Henry IV Part One, (IV,ii.116-17) where he states, "Ere I lead this life long, I'll sew nether-stocks, and mend them."[2]

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[2] Anne Lake Prescott, "Intertextual Topology: English Writers and Pantagruel's Hell." English Literary Renaissance, Spring 1993: 23:2. Note 25 on p. 256 cites Bourgeois.

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Traveling to such an inverted world involves primary thought processes comparable to those occurring in dreaming. A statement by Hans Peter Duerr suggests the parallel:

> As we pointed out earlier the fence or hedge, separating the domain of the wilderness from that of culture, was not an insurmountable boundary to the archaic mind. At certain times this fence was, in fact, torn down. Those who wanted to live consciously within the fence, had to leave the enclosure at least once in their lives. They had to roam the forests as wolves, as "savages." To put it in more modern terms, they had to experience the wilderness, their animal nature, within themselves. For their "cultural nature" was only one side of their being which by destiny was inextricably bound to their animal aspect, visible only to him who stepped across the dividing line, entrusting himself to his "second sight." (Dreamtime, 64)

Transgression, in the form of exit from society in order to enter once more into it, relates to the carnivalesque. The carnivalesque becomes another form of the "green world."

Carnivalesque rituals usurp temporarily the functions and forms of ruling institutions. Such rituals attempt to reveal the restriction of utopian plenitude brought about by dogma and authority. Restrictive culture represents the post-lapsarian duality which replaces the pre-lapsarian inclusion of ambivalence. Carnival is associated with the pre-lapsarian state of man. The logic and rationality of authority is decentered in carnival and released from the centripetal forces of law. The special kind of hiatus where laughter reigns supreme, the carnival choronotope, aims not at power and hierarchy but rather at cosmic and mythic conjunction of

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carnival space and carnival time in ludistic conjunction. The carnival does end, and daily existence forces the carnival fools to set aside their props, to store away their carnival knowledge for another time. The intervals between festival defines secular life.

Carnival rituals hold out a promise of redemption without defining that redemption in terms of ends. In contrast to that promise, official culture aims at univocal meaning, a single truth and the end of ambivalence. The literature emplying carnivalesque methods juxtaposes planes of discourse with the aim at opening critical horizons for the reader.

This study has tried to suggest how a reading of the work of Rabelais, whose use of the carnivalesque has been documented particularly by Mikhail Bakhtin, can open critical horizons when applied to Shakespeare's play, King Henry IV Part One. Whether Shakespeare read Rabelais is not at issue. That Shakespeare did have some knowledge of Rabelais' work certainly has become a feasible notion after having analyzed the work of both authors. Approaching King Henry IV Part One in the intertextual manner used in this study, Shakespeare's play can be reclassified as comica-historical rather than as a play conforming to a unified genre called Histories in the First Folio..

If Shakespeare were interested enough to explore the work of the French author, as some of the French critics, cited in the Introduction to

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this study suggest he did, he would have found a kindred spirit .One detail, for instance, in Rabelais' narrative would have appealed to Shakespeare Rabelais' famous utopian abbey obtains its name from the Greek word for the "Will," , theleme. Shakespeare liked to pun on his own name, Will, and even in the titles of his plays suggests a familiarity with the motto of that abbey, "Do as thou wilt." Twelfth Night has the alternative title of What You Will. Another of his titles, As You Like It, also appears to follow that motto. Whether or not Shakespeare did carry .out such an exploration, however, is not at issue in this study. A reading Shakespeare's play King Henry IV Part One in light of the work of Rabelais is the issue. For a modern audience a knowledge of Rabelais' novel, provides an awareness of a common tradition established by Lucian and Erasmus, and combined by both Rabelais and Shakespeare with conventions of the folk tradition of carnival. Awareness of conventions used by the Shakespeare to retell the story he found in Holinshed highlights or emphasizes strands of the play not previously emphasized by most critics.

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# Appendix

## Illustrations

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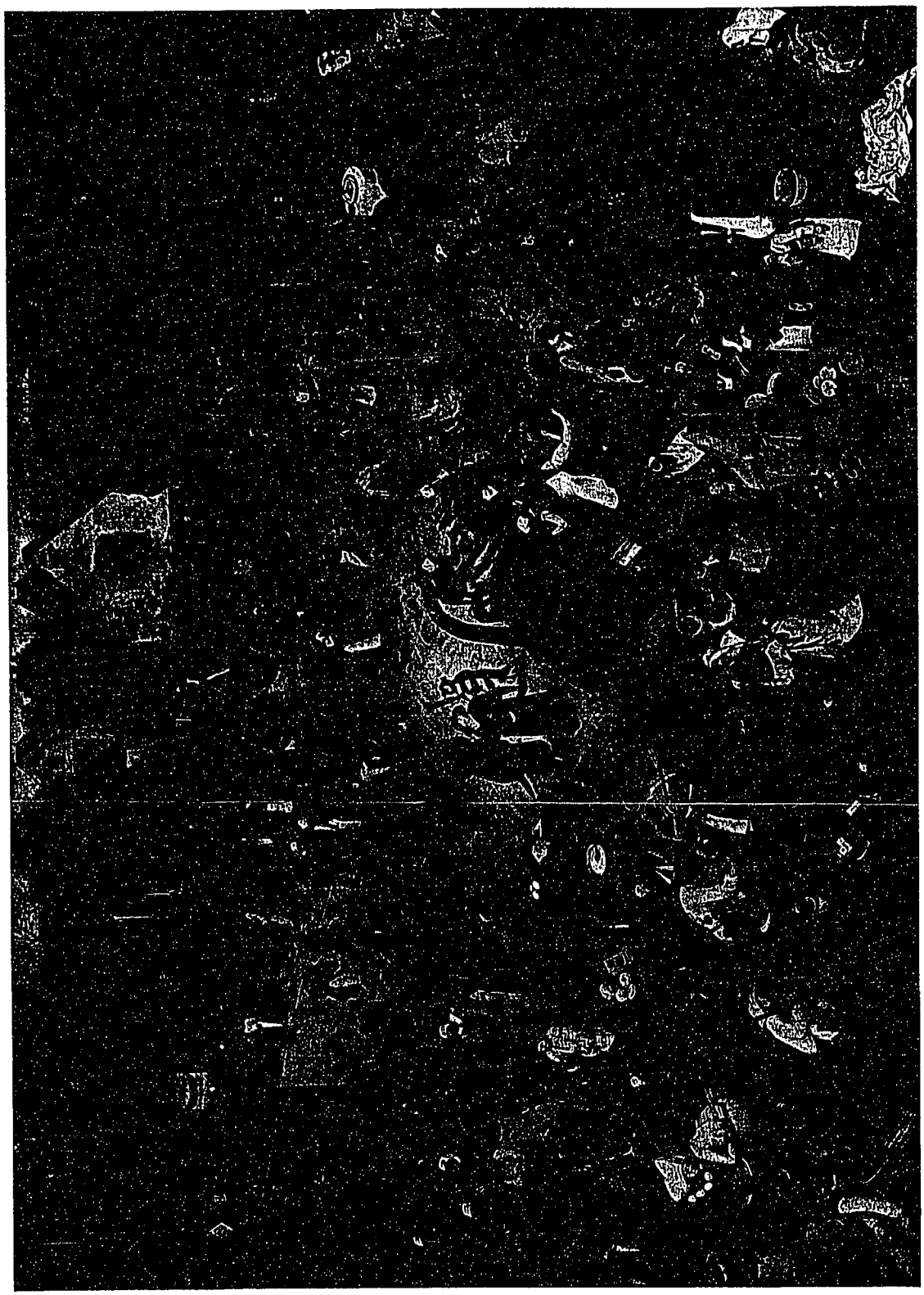

Fig. 1

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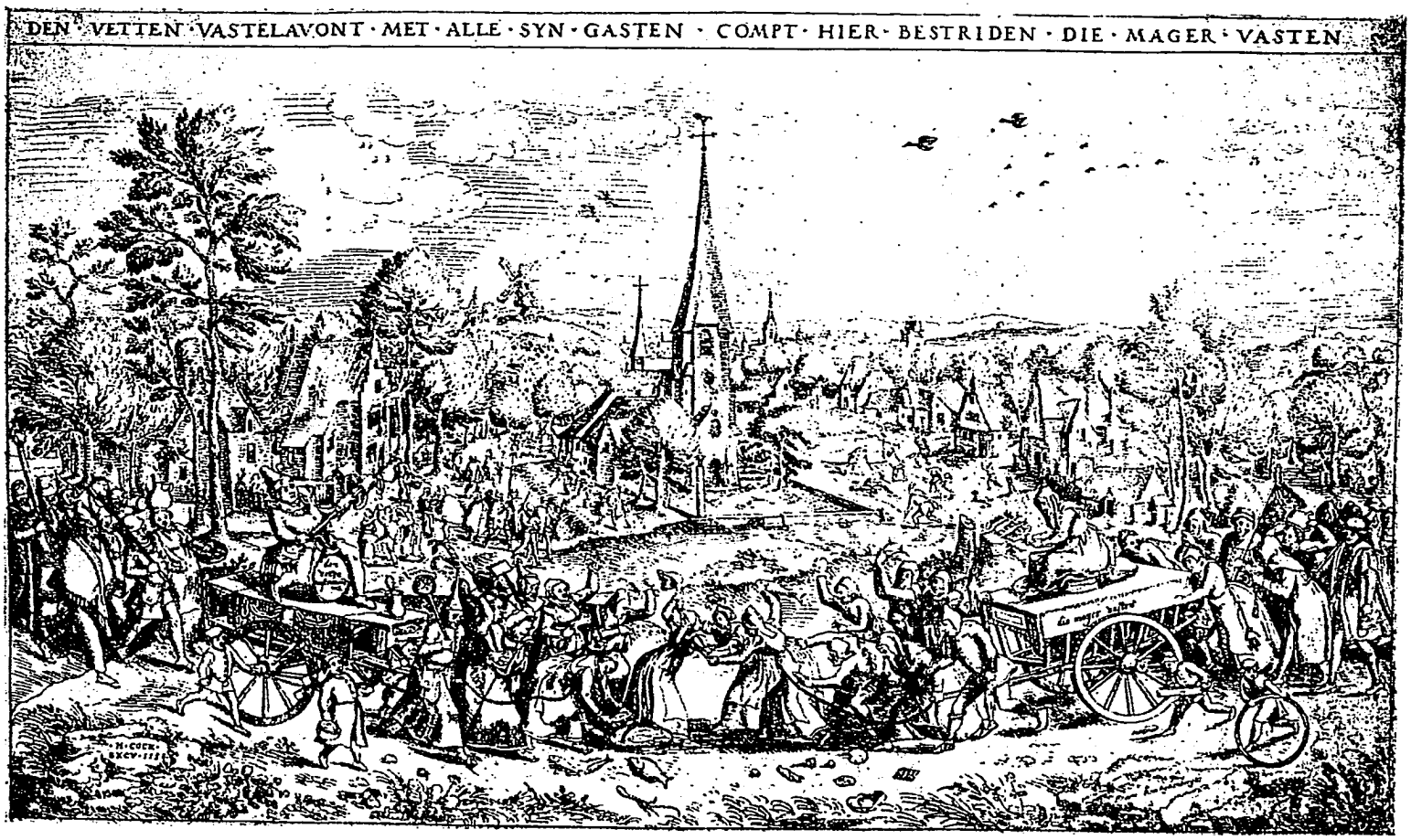


Nr. 334 Fig. 2 Hogenberg. Der Kampf des Faschings

Fig. 3

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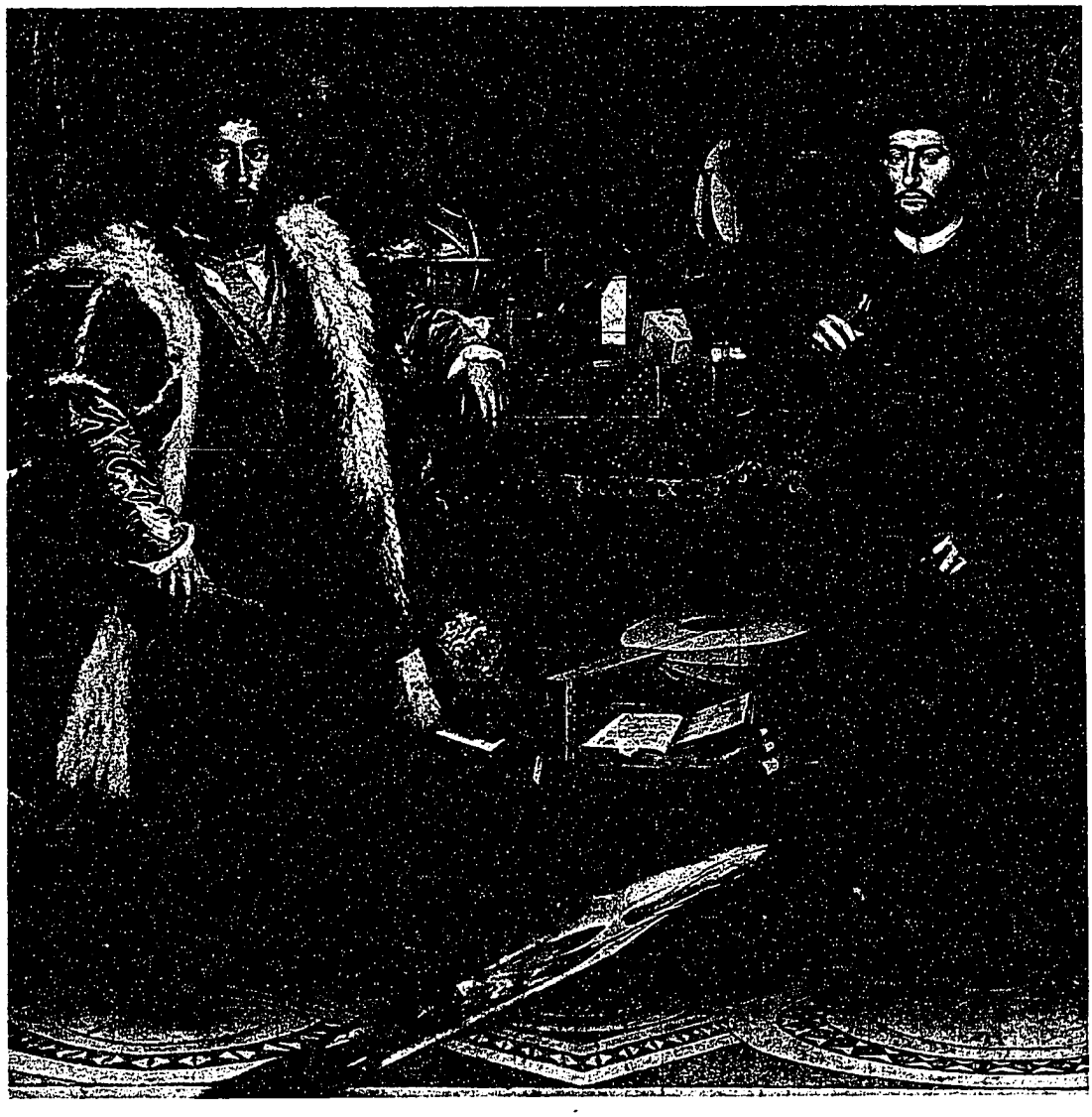

Fig. 4

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Fig. 5

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