

SHAKESPEARE'S *PERICLES, PRINCE OF TYRE* AND ITS SOURCES: MYTH AND CHRISTIANIZATION

The play *Pericles, Prince of Tyre* by Shakespeare was published in 1609. It constitutes one of the most unusual instances of the survival of the legend of King Apollonius in European literature, this being one of the tales that was most widely spread in varying versions during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance¹. The popularity of the story explains the large number of adaptations and translations in a range of languages, in prose, verse and drama, before² and after Shakespeare³. Without at this point going into the problem of the authenticity of the play and of whether it was composed wholly or only in part by Shakespeare or by collaborators⁴ of his, it must be pointed out that the theme of the tale was already popular in England. There is a long list of minor sources, brought together by Hoeniger⁵, among which several from the British Isles may be highlighted. One was *King Apollonius of Tyre* by Robert Copland, 1510, a translation of a French work; another saw the light of day in 1578 when J. Falckenburgk published a Latin version of this story, *Britannia, Sive de Apollonice Humilitatis, Virtutis et Honoris Porta ...* in London, while even in Chaucer there are also echoes of this legend in *The Man of Law's Tale*⁶.

In the specific case of Shakespeare, Muir⁷ holds that the only versions he consulted were those by John Gower and Lauwrence Twine⁸, the *Confessio Amantis* and the *Pattern of Painful Adventures* respectively. The second of these is a translation of a French version based on Tale CLIII in the *Gesta Romanorum*. These two are the only sources that it is certain were used by Shakespeare, and Gower's version espe-

¹ E. Klebs, *Die Erzählung von Apollonius aus Tyrus*, Berlin 1899, S. Singer, *Apollonius aus Tyrus. Untersuchung über des Fortleben des antiken Romans in spätern Zeit*, Halle 1895, H. Hagen, *Der Roman von König Apollonius von Tyrus in seinen verschiedenen Bearbeitungen*, Berlin 1978, and G.A.A. Kortekaas, *The Latin Adaptations of the Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, in Groningen Colloquia on the Novel, III, Groningen 1990, 103-22.

² For example, one in Old English and another in Middle English; see J. Raith, *Die alt- und mittelenglischen Apollonius-Bruchstücke*, Munich 1956, E. Archibald, *Apollonius of Tyre. Medieval and Renaissance Themes and Variations*. Including the Text of the Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri with an English Translation, Cambridge 1991.

³ One instance would be the version written in Holland by Pieter Bor, *Another the French version by J. Bernier de la Brousse*; see F.D. Hoeniger, ed. *The Arden Edition of the Works of William Shakespeare. Pericles*, London and New York 1959, reprinted 1986, XVIII.

⁴ P. Edwards, *An Approach to the Problem of Pericles*, Shakespeare Survey 5, 1952, 25-49. For a possible relationship with *The Travails of the Three English Brothers*, published in 1607, see H. Neville Davies, *Pericles and the Sherley brothers*, in *Shakespeare and his Contemporaries. Essays in Comparison*, edited by E.A.J. Honigmann, Manchester 1986, 94-113.

⁵ Hoeniger, *Pericles*, XVIII-XIX.

⁶ Lines 77-85.

⁷ K. Muir, *The Sources of Shakespeare's Plays*, London 1977, 252.

⁸ Reprinted in 1532 and 1554; see J.P. Collier, *Further Particulars Regarding Shakespeare and His Works*, London 1839.

cially so⁹.

S. Singer has suggested that there may have existed a prior source, now lost, which would explain the strange coincidences of names in *Pericles*¹⁰. According to this theory *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*¹¹ would be based on an earlier dramatic work¹², on which the novel by George Wilkins, *The Painful Adventures of Pericles*¹³, would also draw, this having been subtitled «The True History of the Play of Pericles» and published one year before. K. Muir proposes Heywood and Day as possible authors¹⁴ of this source work, although Dryden considers Shakespeare himself to be its author¹⁵.

The theme was already known to Shakespeare. *The Comedy of Errors* has elements in common with *Pericles*: Aegeon is separated from his wife during a sea voyage, Aemelia takes refuge in a convent, just as Thaisa in *Pericles* becomes a priestess in the temple of Diana, both in Ephesus. Shakespeare surely read the story of Apollonius of Tyre, the ultimate source for *Pericles*, before he wrote *The Comedy of Errors*. It is true that this sort of plot, with shipwreck, separation and later reunion, is common to numerous stories, both ancient and contemporary¹⁶. However, the details just noted, especially the mention of the temple of Diana in Ephesus, do lead to the conclusion that Shakespeare had in front of him the story of Apollonius when he was writing this comedy¹⁷. Moreover, there are also elements from Roman comedy corresponding to the traditional *senex-virgo-adolescens*¹⁸ scheme, as observed, for instance in Plautus's *Rudens* (*The Rope*). In the case of Shakespeare's play these are

⁹ G. Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare. VI*, London and Henley 1966, apart from these sources also notes *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* by Philip Sidney and *The Orator* by A. Silvan.

¹⁰ S. Singer, *Apollonius of Tyre, Aufsätze und Vorträge*, 1912, 79-103. In one French manuscript (MS 3428 of the Vienna Hofbibliothek) the hero appears under the name of Perillie, one of a number of striking examples.

¹¹ The work appeared with the title *The Late, and much admired Play, called Pericles, Prince of Tyre... As it hath been divers and sundry times acted by his Maiesties Servants, at the Globe on the Banck-side. By William Shakespeare. Imprinted at London for Henry Gosson...* In general see S.J. Lynch, *Shakespearean Intertextuality: Studies in Selected Sources and Plays*, Westport 1998.

¹² The «Ur-Pericles» proposed by Hoeniger, *Pericles*, XLVII-XLXI.

¹³ H. Craig, *Pericles and The Paineful Adventures*, *Studies in Philology* 44, 1949, 100-105.

¹⁴ K. Muir, *Shakespeare as Collaborator*, New York 1960, 56.

¹⁵ *Shakespeare's own Muse her Pericles First Bore; The Prince of Tyre was Older than the Moore. Poems and Fables*, ed. J. Kinsley, London 1962, 160. P. Allen, *The Authorship of Pericles*, in *Shakespeare, Jonson, and Wilkins as Borrowers: A Study in Elizabethan Dramatic Origins and Imitations*, London 1928, 185-223, considers that *Pericles* includes a collage of elements taken from other works by the author, such as *Macbeth* or *Richard II*.

¹⁶ See P. Goepf, *The Narrative Material of Apollonius of Tyr*, *Journal of English Literary History* 5, 1938, 150-72.

¹⁷ S. Wells, ed. *The Comedy of Errors*, London 1972, 17-18.

¹⁸ R.S. Miola, *Shakespeare and Classical Comedy. The Influence of Plautus and Terence*, Oxford 1994, 143-55.

represented by Simonides, Thaisa and Pericles. Palestra, the heroine in *Rudens*, is similar to Marina, seized by pirates and sold to a pander¹⁹. The work also has a shipwreck and the marriage of the heroine to a young man who has tried to purchase her. The virtuous woman, here specifically Marina, trusting in God, does all she can to preserve her chastity. The message of Christian morality is thus fused with the comic form. *Pericles* lies within a new romantic trend aiming at the popularization and perfecting of the episodic drama of the separated family, their sufferings and final happy reunion.

Nonetheless, as stated above, it is the accounts by Gower and Twine that are the most immediate precedents for *Pericles*. The names of some characters, such as Helicanus, Dionyza and Lychorida come from Gower, more than from Twine. Leonine is the owner of a brothel in Gower, while Shakespeare utilizes this name for another character. Philoten is mentioned by Gower, but not by Twine. Thaisa, who in Gower is Apollonius's daughter, by contrast is Pericles' wife in Shakespeare. There are various echoes of wording between the two texts²⁰. Nevertheless, the moral epilogue in *Pericles* has little to do with the ending in Gower.

The most curious point is the changing of the name Apollonius into that of Pericles. It has been suggested that this modification derives from the character of Pericles of Athens, who was noted for his patience, one of the most noteworthy virtues in the play²¹. It is most likely that the name comes from Pyrocles in Sydney's *Arcadia*. It might also be the outcome of simpler reasons, such as the mere sound of the name or its fitting the metre²².

For their part, the coincidences between Shakespeare's play and the novel by Wilkins are considerable. The *Dramatis Personae* are the same in both. According to Hoeniger²³, divergences between the works might be the result of the fact that Wilkins follows Twine's text for certain episodes. Apart from the question of names, there are other, less superficial elements in the interdependence between these works that permit study of the unique features and novel contributions made by Shakespeare's play, specifically the use the playwright makes of mythology. On comparing the version by Wilkins with Shakespeare's, Muir observes certain gaps in the

¹⁹ Marina, together with Perdita (*The Winter's Tale*) and Miranda (*The Tempest*) also form a group of three heroines with very similar features; see J. Cook, *Women in Shakespeare*, London 1980, 54.

²⁰ Muir, *Sources*, 253.

²¹ Compare J.M.S. Tompkins, *Why Pericles?*, Review of English Studies 3, 1952, 315-24, J.F. Danby, *Sydney and the Late-Shakespearian Romance*, in *Poets on Fortune's Hill: Studies in Sidney, Shakespeare, Beaumont and Fletcher*, London 1952, 74-107, and T.N. Greenfield, *A Re-Examination of the Patient Pericles*, *Shakespeare Studies* 3, 1967, 51-61.

²² P. Edwards, ed. *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, Middlesex 1988, 141.

²³ Hoeniger, *Pericles*, XLII-XLIII.

text by the former. Muir concentrates in particular on the references to the goddess Diana²⁴. When Thaisa comes back to life she directs an invocation to Diana and becomes her priestess. Marina asks Diana to preserve her chastity. It is the goddess Diana that appears to Pericles in a vision to bid him go to Ephesus, not an angel, as in other visions. Diana is here a tutelary deity, just as Venus is in Plautus's *Rudens*. These references to Diana are not in themselves an innovation by Shakespeare, as they are already in the Latin original, but they do have special prominence here.

According to Muir²⁵ the time that Thaisa spent in the temple of Diana was due to fulfilling an expiation for having taken the goddess's name in vain²⁶. However, as Bullough²⁷ points out, it is not Thaisa but Simonides who speaks of vows to Diana not to get married for twelve months (2.4.2). In the sources there is no mention of the breaking of this promise nor does the goddess Diana appear to be affected. One of the chief themes in this legend, and hence in Shakespeare's drama, is that of chastity in the paganism of ancient times and in Christianity: Pericles demonstrates his chastity in confrontation with Antiochus's incest, as also in his relationship with Thaisa, and Marina defends her purity in brothels. The author has given a prominent place to Diana²⁸. Even more to the point, the exaltation of chastity and fidelity in the Greek novel as a genre should be kept in mind. This is especially noteworthy in Heliodorus's *Ethiopian Romance*, where this virtue is a consequence of the piety of the lovers towards the gods. Indeed, in this work there is an insistence on virginity taken to extremes and on the chastity of the protagonists, even of the male²⁹, which is set in terms that are practically religious.

As it is a prolongation of this legendary tradition, it may be asked what constitutes the original features of, and contributions by, Shakespeare's play to the legend of Apollonius, involving the accumulation of elements taken from the *Odyssey*, the Greek novel and Latin poets³⁰. The response is to be sought in the use *Pericles* makes of the mythology and its relationship with the deeper aims and objectives of the work³¹.

²⁴ 2.5; Muir, *Sources*, 254-55.

²⁵ Muir, *Sources*, 80.

²⁶ Thaisa makes the promise to Diana (Cintia) that she will remain celibate for twelve months (2.5.11-12).

²⁷ Bullough, *Narrative*, 372.

²⁸ Diana presides over this drama and has a role similar to that of Apollo in *The Winter's Tale*.

²⁹ In the *Ephesian Tale* it is the Greek goddess Artemis and the Egyptian goddess Isis who collaborate to preserve the faithfulness and purity of the protagonists.

³⁰ Compare A.H. Smyth, *Shakespeare's Pericles and Apollonius of Tyre: A Study in Comparative Literature*, Philadelphia 1898, and E.H. Haight, *Apollonius of Tyre and Shakespeare's Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, in *More Essays on Greek Romances*, New York 1945, 142-90.

³¹ D.G. James, *The Failure of the Ballad-Makers*, in *Scepticism and Poetry: An Essay on the Poetic Imagination*, London 1937, 205-41 underlines the importance of myth and its symbolic meaning

The purpose is clearly Christian, even if the formal features lie within the scope of the survival of Greco-Roman myth. The play starts with an address, put in the mouth of the mediaeval poet Gower as chorus, that recalls the interventions of the chorus in Greek tragedies and in Seneca's plays. In the prologue Gower makes plain the ultimate aim: «The purchase is to make men glorious, / *et bonum quo antiquius, eo melius*». The ending leaves no room for misunderstanding:

Gower:

«In Antiochus and his daughter you have heard
of monstrous lust the due and just reward.
In Pericles, his queen, and daughter, seen,
Although assail'd with fortune fierce and keen,
Virtue preserv'd from fell destruction's blast,
Led on by heaven, and crown'd with joy at last.
In Helicanus may you well descry
A figure of truth, of faith, of loyalty.
In reverend Cerimon there well appears
The worth that learned charity aye wears.
For wicked Cleon and his wife
The gods for murder seemed so content
To punish...».

These words indicate an obvious Christianization of the legend. The Christian promise that the virtue of patience will be blessed by God is very intense in a pagan romance that had already been Christianized during the Middle Ages³². Indeed, if this drama is compared with the versions by Twine and Wilkins the theme of patience is precisely one of its specific characteristics. W. Knight³³ points to the honesty of Pericles, as contrasted with the wickedness of Antiochus³⁴, his humility in accepting his losses in the storm³⁵, the innocence of Marina, maintained in all adversities, and her perseverance in her mission to get back her father. There are a number of examples in the play of differing moral attitudes in opposition: Antiochus's incest³⁶ versus the fatherly nature of Simonides, or the motherly sweetness of Thaisa in

in this work more than in any other of the comedies and tragedies.

³² Bullough, *Narrative*, 372; opinions to the contrary on this point are to be found in E. Schanzer, *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, in *The Complete Signet Classic Shakespeare*, New York 1972, 1407-416.

³³ *The Crown of Life*, London 1948, 32-75.

³⁴ The tyrannical image of Antiochus, and the wickedness of Dionyza, similar to the attitudes taken by Medea, are indebted to Seneca's plays; see E.S. Miola, *Shakespeare and Classical Tragedy. The Influence of Seneca*, Oxford 1992, 194-99.

³⁵ Knight, *The Crown*, 1-31, discusses the significance of the images of storm and music in the drama.

³⁶ On the topic of Antiochus's incest and its connection with the part played by riddles in the drama see the study by N. Fienberg, *Marina in Pericles: Exchange Values and the Art of Moral Dis-*

contrast with Dionyza's envy.

There is also a Christian content to the conversation between Pericles and his daughter Marina when they recognize each other in Mytilene. There are echoes of the Christian paradox of God the Father who receives his Son from a virgin. The relationship between Pericles and his wife is clearly contrasted with that between Antiochus and his spouse³⁷. There is little difference on this point between legends of saints and the tale of Apollonius. The fate of Pericles is also in the hands of Providence³⁸. In this way there is a continuation of the presence of miracles (for instance the appearance of Diana) so typical of the mediaeval tradition of plays.

This evident Christianization contrasts with the repaganization of the legend that also takes place. The mediaeval versions had eliminated the greater part of the elements of pagan mythology that enshrouded the story³⁹. Alongside the motifs from Classical mythology there are various references to the Bible, contributing to create the ambivalent character of the drama. Such, for instance, is the case for the allusion to the story of Jonah and the whale in 2.1.39-43 where the fishermen from Pentapolis find Pericles⁴⁰, or the divine punishment that falls from heaven upon Antiochus and his daughter in 2.4.6-12⁴¹.

Indeed, it is striking how in Shakespeare references to Classical mythology are more numerous than in the Latin original. The Latin version, the *Historia Apolloni Regis Tyri*, can be taken as a starting point in order to comment on mythological references in Shakespeare's play and determine whether there is an increase or decrease relative to the original tale. In the original version there was an allusion to the cult of Priapus in the brothel in Mytilene, when Tarsiana is sold to a pimp who wants to put her virginity up for sale⁴²:

«Addicitur virgo lenoni, a quo introducitur in salutato-
rio, ubi habebat Priapum in salutorio aureum gemis et

course, Iowa State Journal of Research 57, 1982, 153-61; compare also W.B. Thorne, *Pericles and the Incest-Fertility Opposition*, Shakespeare Quarterly 22, 1971, 43-56; for an analysis of this question in the Latin original see G. Chiarini, *Exogamia et incesto nella Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*, Materiali e discussione per l'analisi dei testi classici 10-11, 1983, 267-92.

³⁷ Edwards, *Pericles*, 27; P. Edwards, *Shakespeare. A Writer's Progress*, Oxford and New York 1987, 169.

³⁸ For instance, Schanzer, *Pericles*, considers that the events in the drama are caused, not by Providence, but accidentally.

³⁹ Consider, for example, the Spanish *Libro de Apolonio*, in which just three direct references to mythology have remained; see M. Alvar, *El Libro de Apolonio*, Madrid 1976.

⁴⁰ N. Nathan, *Pericles and Jonah*, Notes and Queries 3, 1956, 10-11.

⁴¹ II *Kings* 1, 10 et seq., *Numbers* 11, 1. This has also been related to the description of the fate of Antiochus IV Epiphanes in II *Maccabees* 9 and the death of Herod in *Acts* 12.20-23; see R.J. Kane, *A Passage in Pericles*, Modern Language Notes 68, 1953, 483-84.

⁴² Chapter XXXIII corresponds to stanza 400, following the Latin version collated by M. Alvar, *El Libro de Apolonio*, II.

auro reconditum, et ait ad eam adora numen praesentissimum meum».

This reference to this god of fertility (and especially of virility) of Asia Minor was eliminated to suit the mediaeval Christian context and is not to be found Shakespeare either.

After Apollonius is shipwrecked on his voyage towards Pentapolis, he cries out to Neptune, just like a Classical character. It is precisely this divinity who is most often invoked, as a consequence of the seaborne nature of the adventures and journeys in the tale⁴³. Moreover, the Latin text adds a description of the tempest full of mythical references to Triton and to the winds, Boreas, Notus, Zephyr and Eurus⁴⁴. Apart from other similar mentions, such as that to the feasts in honour of the god just cited, the Neptunalia, celebrated in Mytilene at the point of Apollonius's arrival before his meeting with his daughter⁴⁵, note should be taken of the Palladian bath Apollonius has in the gymnasium in Pentapolis⁴⁶; the household gods, or Manes, of her ancestors, invoked by Tarsiana beside the tomb of her nurse Lychorida⁴⁷; the supplications to Lucina, the goddess presiding over childbirth⁴⁸; and the Muses, recalled in one of the riddles put to him in Mytilene by Tarsiana and Athenagoras as a consolation⁴⁹.

⁴³ «Interim stans Apollonius in litore nudus, intuens tranquillum mare ait: o Neptune, rector pelagi, hominum deceptor innocentium, propter hoc me reservasti egenum et pauperem, quo facilius rex crudelissimus Antiochus persequatur!», Chapter XII; edition by G.A.A. Kortekaas, *Historia Apolloni Regis Tyri*, Groningen 1984.

⁴⁴ «*Certa o non certis cecidere . . .
Concita tempestas rutilans inluminat orbem.
Aeolus imbrifero flatu turbata procellis
Corripit arva. Notus picea caligine tectus
Scinditque omne latus pelagique volumina versat.
Auster . . .*
Voluitur hinc Boreas, nec iam mare sufficit Euro,
Et freta disturbata sibi involvit harena
. . . et cum revocato a cardine ponto
Omnia miscetur. Pulsat mare sidera, caelum.
In sese glomeratur hiems; pariterque morantur
Nubila, grando, nives, zephyri, freta fulgida, nimbi.
Flamma volat vento, mugit mare conturbatum.
Hinc Notus, hinc Boreas, hinc Africus horridus instat.
Ipse tridente suo Neptunus spargit harenas.
Triton terribili cornu cantabat in undis», Chapter XI.

⁴⁵ Chapter XXXIX.

⁴⁶ «Hoc audito Apollonius exuens se tribunarium ingreditur lavacrum, utitur liquore Palladio...», Chapter XIII.

⁴⁷ «Et ibi manes parentum suorum inuocabat», Chapter XXX.

⁴⁸ «Qui dum per aliquantos dies totidemque noctes Austri ventorum flatibus diu pelago detinerentur, nono mense cogente Lucina enixa est puella», Chapter XXV.

⁴⁹ «Dulcis amica ripae semper vicina profundis,

In fact mythological motifs are not particularly numerous in the Latin version, as compared with other works of Classical literature. Shakespeare, for his part, actually increases the number of mythological allusions included relative to the original, taking a contrary line from what was usual in the tradition of this legend, which had progressively eliminated pagan echoes. Thus, the *Confessio amantis* of John Gower does not contain any noteworthy references to Classical mythology, other than those to Neptune⁵⁰ and Diana⁵¹. For its part, *The Pattern of Paineiful Adventures* by Laurence Twine follows the same pattern, although with a larger number of calls to God, and abounds in references to Christian elements, such as the Church, the appearing of an angel, God's grace, the judgement of God, and the like. This is a more heavily Christianized version than Gower's and than the later works by Wilkins and Shakespeare. The novel by Wilkins has a notable increase in allusions to pagan myths, which rub shoulders, just as in Shakespeare, with the Christian God, his love and his providence. These include: Neptune (Chapter IV), Apollo, the Graces and Theseus (Chapter VI), Apollo and Aesculapius (Chapter VII), Diana (Chapter VIII), Jupiter and Danae (Chapter X) or the Giants (Chapter XI).

At this point it is appropriate to review the characters, motifs and other mythical allusions that Shakespeare maintains or introduces in his drama. The numerous times that Jupiter and the gods are called upon are of importance in demonstrating the paganization of the legend. These invocations either cite specific divinities from the Greco-Roman pantheon or speak of the gods in the plural, as a generic reference:

At the start of the play Pericles is heard to say:

«You gods, that made me man, and sway in love,
that have inflam'd desire in my breast
to taste the fruit of yon celestial tree
or die in the adventure, be my helps,
as I am son and servant to your will,
to compass such a boundless happiness! (1.1.20-25)

This is an invocation which, despite referring to divinity in the plural, has more of a Christian than a pagan feel to it, with wordings such as 'servant', 'son', 'your will'.

Furthermore, on reading the riddle posed by Antiochus, Pericles exclaims:

suave canens Musis, nigro perfusa colore
nuntia sum linguae digitis signata magistri», Chapter XLII.

⁵⁰ «Dulcis amica ripae semper vicina profundis,
suave canens Musis, nigro perfusa colore
nuntia sum linguae digitis signata magistri», Chapter XLII.

⁵¹ Verse 1838.

«... but, O you powers
that give heaven countless eyes to view men's acts:
Why cloud they not their sights perpetually,
If this be true, which makes me pale to read it?» (1.1.73-76)

In Tarsus when Pericles is received by Cleon everyone acclaims him with the words:

«The gods of Greece protect you!
And we'll pray for you» (1.4.97-98)

When his wife is in labour during the sea voyage, Pericles exclaims:

«O you gods!
Why do you make us love your goodly gifts,
And snatch them straight away? We here below
Recall not what we give, and therein may
Use honour with you» (3.1.22-26)

The note that Pericles leaves on the dead body of his wife has a clear invocation of the gods:

«Even at the first thy loss is more than can
thy portage quit, with all thou canst find here.
Now the good gods throw their best eyes upon't!» (3.1.35-37)

Again, when Pericles meets and recognizes Marina, he says: «O heavens bless my girl!» (5.1.222).

References to specific deities from the Greco-Roman pantheon are to be found in the dialogue between Simonides and Thaisa:

Sim: «By Jove, I wonder, that is king of thoughts»...
Thai: «By Juno, that is queen of marriage». (2.3.28-29)

Similarly, when Cerimon the doctor finds Thaisa's body washed ashore by the sea, he calls upon Apollo so as to be able to understand the written note accompanying the corpse: «Apollo, perfect me in the characters!» (3.2.68). Later on the same character exclaims, «And Aesculapius guide us!» (3.2.114), a highly suitable invocation, since it was this god who prior to his apotheosis resuscitated Hippolytus⁵².

Without doubt it is the references to, and invocations of, Neptune that are most characteristic of the play, these not having been eliminated even in the most heavily Christianized versions, such as those by Gower and Twine. It should not be forgot-

⁵² Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 3.10.3. On the mythological significance of the resurrection see James, *The Failure*.

ten that behind this tale there lies the tradition of the *Odyssey* with its framework of adventures, voyages and loves on the high seas:

«... Their vessel shakes
On Neptune's billow; half the flood
Hath their keel cut; but fortune's mood
Varies again...» (3. Cho., 44-46)
Per.: «Thou god of this great vast, rebuke these surges,
which wash both heaven and hell; and thou that hast
upon the winds command, bind them in brass,
having call'd them from the deep! O, still
thy deaf'ning, dreadful thunders; gently quench
thy nimble sulphurous flashes!»⁵³ (3.1.1-6)

Apart from Neptune, Eolus is also called upon in association with Vulcan, «bind them in brass».

Lucina, Juno and Diana are invoked on different occasions as the deities watching over childbirth. The invocation to Lucina, «Lucina, O divinest patroness» (3.1.10-14), may come from Terence⁵⁴. The exclamation «Celestial Dian, goddess argentine!» (5.1.248) is a clear reference to chastity, since silver⁵⁵ is the colour associated with this virtue⁵⁶. This sort of invocation was common during the Renaissance, even if here it takes on a new sense, Christian but repaganized. The pagan gods and Christian God are mingled and combined in this period, along with the evident Biblical echoes that run through the tale. In 5.1.58 «just God» in Q is corrected by some editors to «gods», taking into account the Act of Abuses of 1606, which prohibited the use of the names of Christ and God in the theatre. For that reason invocations were in plural form, with a pagan feel⁵⁷.

Marina's epitaph is more elaborate in Shakespeare, with a reference to Thetis, because of the girl's birth on the high seas. Marina is thus the god-daughter of the sea goddess. As editors of the work have pointed out⁵⁸, there is a confusion between Thetis, the mother of Achilles, and Thetis, the spouse of Ocean, as in Troil. 1.3.39:

«The fairest, sweet'st and best, lies here,
who wither'd in her spring of year.

⁵³ In Pericles' invocation to the god of the sea, 3.1.1, some have seen similarities to Bible texts, like *Psalms* 104.6-7, *Matthew* 8.26.

⁵⁴ *Andria* 1.473, *Adelphi* 1.487. Similarly, it should be kept in mind that in Twine's text Thaisa is called Lucina.

⁵⁵ Compare Ovid, *Heroides* 18.71.

⁵⁶ See *The Merchant of Venice* 2.7.22.

⁵⁷ For example, 4.6.98 and 5.1.79.

⁵⁸ Edwards, *Pericles*, and Hoenerig, *Pericles*, *ad loc.*

She was of Tyrus the king's daughter,
On whom foul death hath made this slaughter.
Marina was she call'd; and at her birth,
Thetis, being proud, swallow'd some part o' th' earth.
Therefore the earth, fearing to be o'erflow'd,
Hath Thetis' birth-child on the heavens bestow'd;
Wherefore she does, and swears she'll never stint,
Make raging battery upon shores of flint». (4.4.34-43)

The moral attitude rejecting the incest and wickedness of Antiochus and his daughter is also confirmed through mythological references. In this way, the relationship between father and daughter, Pericles and Marina, contrasts with that between Antiochus and his daughter, which is represented in symbolic fashion by the image of the Hesperides and the peril they embodied for men⁵⁹:

Ant.: «Before thee stands this fair Hesperides⁶⁰,
with golden fruit, but dangerous to be touch'd;
for death-like dragons here affright thee hard». (1.1.28-30)

Similarly, there is a possible allusion to Pandora's box in the words uttered by Pericles on reading the riddle put to him by Antiochus⁶¹. Pericles terms the King's daughter a casket full of sin:

«were not this glorious casket stor'd with ill». (1.1.78)

A number of other mythical references or commonplaces, very well known, may not bring any novelty or contribution to awareness of the survival of the myth. Nonetheless, they are of importance in bolstering the Classical and pagan feel that they give to the tale. The following are instances:

- The future spouse of Antiochus's daughter is compared to Jupiter:

«Bring in our daughter, clothed like a bride,
for the embracements even Jove himself;
at whose conception, till Lucina reign'd,
nature this dowry gave...» (1.1.7-10)

- Cupid is mentioned as a symbol of love:

⁵⁹ See also 5.1.195.

⁶⁰ The daughters of Hesperus are identified with the garden, as frequently happens in Elizabethan literature.

⁶¹ Hoeniger, *Pericles*, *ad loc.* compare also Portia's gold casket in *The Merchant of Venice*.

«Tell thee, with speechless tongues and semblance pale,
that without covering, save yon field of stars,
here they stand martyrs slain in Cupid's wars;
and with dead cheeks advise thee to desist
for going on death's net, whom none resist» (1.1.37-41)

- Pericles makes reference to the myth of Troy on his arrival to the inhabitants of Tarsus who are suffering great dearth:

«And these our ships, you happily may think
are like the Trojan horse war stuff'd within
with bloody veins, expecting overthrow,
are stor'd with corn to make your needy bread,
and give them life whom hunger starv'd half dead» (1.4.92-96)

- Marriage is personified by Hymen. Gower describes the union between Pericles and Thaisa in these terms:

«Hymen hath brought the bride to bed,
where by the loss of maidenhead
a babe is moulded» (3, Ch., 9-11)

- Marina is compared to the white dove of Paphos, sacred to Venus, whose city was Paphos, in Cyprus⁶², «With dove of Paphos might the crow / vie feathers white». (4, Ch. 32-33).

- Pericles, when recalling his wife and comparing her to his daughter Marina⁶³ draws a parallel with the goddess Juno: «in pace another Juno». (5.1.111)

It is true that the majority of these last references belong to the ambience of erudite paradigm or symbol, lacking any specific religious validity. However, they do still help maintain sharply defined the pagan background of the Classical hero, even it adapted to a new Christian reality.

With these continuous mythological references Shakespeare attempted to convert Classical Fortune into Christian Providence. The tale of Apollonius with its oracular vision and temple scene aided the revival in Shakespeare of a sense of a benevolent Providence, which he eliminated in *King Lear* and ignored in *Coriolanus*, and serves to evoke the aspect of cures and benevolence that he introduced in the last three romances⁶⁴. The play is full of spiritual forces⁶⁵. The gods are invoked by the heroes so

⁶² Compare *The Tempest* 4.1.92-94.

⁶³ There are similarities between this passage and Virgil's *Aeneid* 1.405; compare *The Tempest* 4.1.102.

⁶⁴ Bullough, *Narrative*, 374.

⁶⁵ H. Felperin, *Shakespeare's Miracle Play*, *Shakespeare Quarterly* 18, 1967, 363-74.

they will come to their aid and are considered the cause of their success and happiness. The pagan gods alluded to are Lucina, Apollo, Juno, Jupiter, Aesculapius and, above all, Neptune⁶⁶ and Diana. The re-encounter between Marina and Pericles takes place during the annual festival of the god Neptune in the city of Mytilene. There is also a supernatural intervention on the part of Diana, who appears to Pericles to exhort him to go to Ephesus.

It cannot be denied that there is a defence of certain values of Christian morality, but it is no less true that mythology is the channel for the expression of these principles. In the defence to the bitter end of virginity the brothel scene, with its harsh realism, should be emphasized. The divinity most often mentioned is Diana, goddess of chastity. It is to her temple in Ephesus that Thaisa retires as a priestess⁶⁷. When in the brothel Marina invokes this goddess so as to save her virginity (4.2.142)⁶⁸. Edwards⁶⁹ comments on the scene with Marina in the brothel, which presents her as like an angel⁷⁰, and her arguments and example to convert those working there. The conversation between Marina and Lisimachus is at the core of this debate.

The happy ending of the events is due to divine Providence, to the gods and to Fortune, not to forget the almost magical⁷¹ elements that occur in the drama, such as the appearance of Diana, similar to Jupiter's in *Cymbeline*⁷². It is a question of the idea of divine control, which is not fully spelled out: Neptune and Eolus in some mysterious way constitute a force directing the destiny of men. Despite this, two human forces, prudence and chastity, demonstrate that the strength of the gods can be overcome⁷³.

From the very beginning of the work destiny is mentioned, «The destinies» (1.2.108). In 2.1.60 emphasis is laid upon the idea that men are like balls on a tennis court⁷⁴ in the hands of the gods. In some specific passages it is insisted that it is nec-

⁶⁶ *The god of this great vast*, 3.1.1.

⁶⁷ In 5.3 Pericles calls Thaisa a «prophetess», when as a priestess before Diana's altar she recognizes her husband. This is also a novelty, since Diana's priestesses were not possessed of prophetic powers. This expression is perhaps applied to her because of her gift of being able to interpret Pericles's words accurately, although they are quite clear on the point.

⁶⁸ K. Deighton, *The Works of Shakespeare: Pericles*, London 1907, VII-XXIX, points out the parallel between this scene and other similar scenes in the play *Measure for Measure*.

⁶⁹ Page 21.

⁷⁰ «She's born to undo us», 4.6.146-47.

⁷¹ This drama has been linked with ancient fertility rites and the cycle of the seasons by R. Wincor, *Shakespeare's Festival Plays*, Shakespeare Quarterly 1, 1950, 219-40.

⁷² K. Stockholder, *Dream Works: Lovers and Families in Shakespeare's Plays*, Toronto and London 1987, 169.

⁷³ «On this sea, two human forces, wisdom and chastity, seem to show divine investment, seem to show that the terrible power of the sea can be brought to help the fulfilment of the great triangle of affection represented by Pericles, Thaisa, and Marina», Edwards, *Pericles*, 31.

⁷⁴ In Q the sea is like a broad tennis court.

essary to trust God, to put one's trust in the *causibus Fortunae*, and that men must be strong in the face of adversity, all the while accepting the divine will. Bound up with the theme of Fortuna and Destiny is that of the influence of the planets: for example, Antiochus's daughter has as dowry the gift of having been born at an astrologically most propitious moment, so that her whole life was to be under the beneficial influence of the planets (1.1.10-12).

The tale shows how some changes of fortune are caused by supernatural interventions, by pagan deities, rather than Christian. Fortune, Neptune and Diana seem to determine what will happen. It is Providence that directs the life of Pericles, not human deeds. One major instance is the meeting between Marina and Pericles, which happens on the festival of Neptune, the only day in the year when the anger of this god is abated.

Unlike other Shakespearean heroes, Pericles in this play is turned by Providence into a passive character. Even more, Pericles acquires characteristics of great patience, like the Biblical figures of Job or Tobias or Christian saints⁷⁵. Pericles comes to express obedience and submission to the anger of the elements, as may be observed in his exclamation in 2.1.1-11⁷⁶, «Yet cease your ire, you angry stars of heaven!...».

Hoeninger⁷⁷ notes that the differences between the original story of Apollonius and the play *Pericles* are greater than appears at first sight, as they affect the very concept of the hero himself, sharply marked off from the models of the hero of epic and of Classical tragedy. The tale of Apollonius presents a model of human life similar to those appearing in the Bible. If Shakespeare laid emphasis on the theme of patience and the creative redemption of human life, he did not do so in order to make his work more Christian, but rather to go deeper into one aspect of man's life, suffering, from a point of view which is distinct from that of Christianity. This romantic «biography»⁷⁸ of Pericles is secular in content and in intent. Shakespeare replaces God and Christ with Diana or Neptune, and the figure of a Christian saint or a Biblical personage with a prince or princess and gives dramatic form to a story from a novel, converting it into a first-rate original testimony of the survival of a Classical theme.

University of Leon

Jesús-M^a Nieto Ibáñez

⁷⁵ Hoeninger, *Pericles*, LXXXI and LXXXV. However, it would seem difficult to consider the work to be an allegory of the life of a good Christian.

⁷⁶ Nonetheless, the character of Pericles has been compared to the fury of Hercules in Seneca; see Miola, *Tragedy*, 197-99.

⁷⁷ Hoeninger, *Pericles*, LXXXVII and following.

⁷⁸ See A.R. Velie, *Pericles and Cymbeline as Elizabethan Melodramas*, in *Shakespeare's Repentance Plays: The Search for an Adequate Form*, Rutherford 1972, 61-90.

Shakespeare's 'Pericles, Prince of Tyre' and its sources

Abstract

The drama *Pericles, prince of Tyre*, of Shakespeare is one of the most unusual instances of the survival of the legend of King Apollonius in European literature. The evident Christianization of the medieval versions contrasts with the repaganization of the legend that takes place. The work of Shakespeare is secular in content and it is striking how in Shakespeare the references to Classical mythology are more numerous than in the Latin original. The Fortune, Neptune and Diana are the authentic spiritual forces of the drama.

Shakespeare-Tradizione classica-Cristianesimo