

政治としての演劇—エリザベス朝宮廷の野外演劇—

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Drama as Politics: Elizabethan Pastoral Court Entertainments**

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要 旨 英国ルネッサンスの最盛期に当たるエリザベス朝時代には、その経済の中心であったロンドン市はビューリタンの勢力が強く、市内での芝居の上演は禁じられていた。しかし女王の演劇の保護政策が劇団や劇場の隆盛をもたらした。演劇の意義を認識していたのは女王ばかりではなく、エリザベス朝宮廷の官僚達の多くも、芝居が政治の手段となり得ると考えていた。彼らは大学卒業後、法学院(Inns of Court)で学んだが、そこでは法律や政治の勉強のみならず演劇の技も修得させていた。法学院で上演された芝居が、時には宮殿にて再演され、女王が主賓となり、内容によっては女王への直訴やコメントやアドバイスともなった。この伝統は彼らが宮廷官僚になった後も続き、特に毎夏女王が行う貴族の地方の館への行幸の際に、女王歓迎の為に成された余興や野外芝居の中に生かされた。その多くはパストラル(牧歌)の型をとり、著名な作家や学者が脚本を書き、館の主人とその仲間達が俳優となって演じた。身分の低い羊飼や田夫に扮していれば、礼節を欠き率直に本心を述べても、不敬罪の誹りを免れるに好都合であったからだ。

From the standpoint of the presenters of the Caroline court masque, it is no wonder that Charles I and his wife created the idealized fictional world in order to impose their image on the audience by using highly artificial technics for theatre after almost one century of history of the English court masque. Not only the art of theatre but also the art of apotheoses for monarch had already reached its culmination during that age. According to the Neo-platonic theory of love which the presenters tried to make their monarch symbolize, such apotheosized imagery always operated as a miracle to solve any problem or to elevate the Caroline court to heaven or to the Golden Age:

But we most happy that behold
Two that have turned this age to gold,
Making old Saturn's reign
In their's come back again.
And since more th'object than the sight
Makes each spectator blessed,
How are we ravished with delight
That see the best!
("Tempe Restored" ll. 250-257)¹⁾

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However, such extremely refined idealization as presented in the Caroline masques—which were mostly devised by Inigo Jones—seems to have lacked natural responsive communication between the presenter and the audience because such an artificial amazement is apt to impose the presenter’s intention on the audience, or rather to prohibit their honest response and impression, not to mention their criticism. The Caroline masque became a means for King and Queen as royal presenters to impress their courtiers and subjects with the reality of their peaceful nation through highly refined culture as a result of royal tastes, which was a political purpose from the side of monarch.

The entity of the Elizabethan court entertainments seems to be different from that of the Caroline ones especially in that the Elizabethan court entertainments have always really concrete purpose to impart to their monarch from the standpoint of her subjects and sometimes from the standpoint of her advisers. Although they consisted of much eulogy including even flattery, they were means for her courtiers to impart political or personal suit, hope, advice, recommendation, promise or even criticism. It is interesting that though she was a perfect absolutist, Elizabeth was a characteristic monarch because in her court there seems to have existed exceptional responsive communication between the queen and her subjects. Naturally her response and opinion must have been almighty, but her subjects could express their intention in the shape of dramatic fiction such as drama, masque or spectacle. Among the Elizabethan court entertainments, I think that the genre of outdoor pastoral entertainments, including some dramas, is the most unique and typical one whose style was cultivated by poets, courtiers, lawyers, scholars, musicians, choreographers, actors and other kinds of artists under some court magnate’s patronage and which were presented at that magnate’s country house where the queen herself visited during her yearly summer progress. Elizabeth seems to have enjoyed herself and appreciated that genre because there are some scripts left in which some authors wrote down the queen’s response and admiration. At Elvetham in Hampshire in 1591 Earl Hertford gave, for four days, entertainments to the queen. In the fourth day entertainment John Lyly made Fairy Queen appear in the garden. After her speech Fairy Queen and her maids danced about the garland, singing a song of six parts accompanied by lute, bandora, base-viol, cittern, treble-viol and flute. John Lyly wrote:

This spectacle and Musicke, so delighted her majesty, that shee desired to see and hear it twice ouer: and then dismiss the actors with thankes, and with a gracious larges, which of her exceeding goodnesse shee bestowed vpon them.²⁾

And at her departure from Elvetham when she passed through a park gate, there was a consort of musicians hidden in a bower, to whose playing the ditty of “Come Again” was sung,

Her maiestie was so highly pleased with this and the rest, that shee openly protested to my Lord of Hertford, that the beginning, processe, and end of this his entertainment was so honorable, as hereafter hee should finde the rewarde thereof in her especial faour.³⁾

According to the view from the history of court masque, it can be said that the Caroline court masque with superbly artificial spectacles expressed the culminant feature of the English court masque, but the Elizabethan pastoral progress entertainments existed as a simply primitive “genre akin to but not identical with the masque” because they did not “pave the way for an entry of a troop of masquers,”⁴⁾ as Enid Welsford says in her *The Court Masque*. However, when we retrospect the Elizabethan and Caroline court entertainments from the point of the view of political function, we can not but conclude that the Elizabethan pastoral entertainments were the better instrument for communication between the queen and her subjects.

I want to explain how Elizabethan courtiers took full advantage of the genre to claim and negotiate with their monarch. Above all, their success depends upon the tradition of pastoral literature. In the pastoral, the world from its inception was placed in a rural landscape inhabited by not only such country folk as the shepherd, cowherd, goatherd, farmer, fisher, forester and so on, but also by supernatural nymphs and Parnassian divine gods and goddesses. Though circumstance in the pastoral is in perfect rural nature where art does not exploit anything as it does in an urban city or town, even such country life is imagined and created by urbane poets in nostalgic retrospect; some country people have experience of court life or knowledge of urban living which is mostly shadowed with negative value after their bitter failure. Though they seem to lead a working life during the daytime as a simple labourer, they have much leisure time to enjoy themselves by singing, dancing, playing instruments or sports, composing poetry or debating; that is to say, these shepherds are poets, musicians or artists and their main concern is to express themselves in poetry, dance or other artistic form. In some sense the courtiers in their country house during summer holiday are not so different from these shepherd poets in the pastoral world. The coterie poet and courtier assumed disguise as a poor shepherd, wild sylvan or pious old hermit and invited the queen to their country house, where she could pleasantly change herself into Diana, Venus, Zabela or Fairy Queen, roles she seems to have enjoyed seeing fictionalized. The house and its grounds, including woods, garden, pond, river or park, were transformed into an Arcadian world for the duration of the royal stay. All the participants in such entertainments could experience a sort of detached displacement from their ordinary life, duty and rank. They could even become wild, honest, simple-minded and outspoken rustics.

Three dramas presented by Robert Dudley, first Earl of Leicester, in 1575 for Elizabeth illustrate these freeing sociocommunicative dynamics of the court pastoral. As early as 1566 Elizabeth, speaking before Parliament, had made clear her attitude toward discussion by subjects in the realm about her marrying:

There has been some that ere this said unto me they never required more than that they might once hear me say I would marry. Well there was never so great a treason but might be covered under as fair a pretence.⁵⁾

In spite of royal opinion, Dudley, Elizabeth's long time unrequited suitor, some nine years later con-

trived through staged performance to speak openly on the topic to the queen. To Kenilworth Castle, Dudley invited the monarch during her summer progress, and for more than two weeks he presented many entertainments to her. On the second day of her stay in the evening gorgeous fireworks were executed upon the water, and Dudley had George Gascoigne devise for the occasion a pastoral drama in which the playwright also performed. Clad all in ivy, Gascoigne in the role of a savage appeared to speak to Jupiter before Elizabeth, who came from hunting in the forest. He spoke and sometimes was answered by Eccho. In place of Dudley, Gascoigne's wild creature did the earl's wooing and voiced his complaints to the queen because he could speak frankly what he thought without taking the blame from the queen for his rustic outspoken impoliteness.

but what meant all those shifts?
Of sundry things upon a bridge?
were those rewards of gifts?
(Eccho) Gifts
Gifts? what? sent from the Gods?
as presents from above?
Or pleasure of provision,
as token of true love?
(Eccho) True love
And who gave all those gifts?
I pray thee say?
Was it not he? who (but of late)
this building here did lay?
(Eccho) Dudley
O Dudley, so me thought:
he gave him self and all,
A worthy gift to be received,
and so I trust it shall.
(Eccho) It shall
What meant the fierie flame,
which through the waves so flue?
Can no colde answers quench desire?
is that experience true?
(Eccho) True
Well Eccho tell me yet,
howe might I come to see:
This comely Queene of whom we talke?
oh were she nowe by thee?

(Eccho)	By thee
By me? oh were that true,	
howe might I see her face?	
Howe might I knowe her from the rest,	
or judge her by her grace?	
(Eccho)	Her grace
Well then if so myne eyes,	
be such as they have beene:	
Me thinkes I see among them all,	
this same should be the Queene.	
(Eccho)	The Queene ⁶⁾

Pressing Elizabeth for a favourable answer to his sponsor's proposal for matrimony, Gascoigne devised as a second drama at Kenilworth a presentation focused on Elizabeth, in which he performed Audax, the savage man's son, clad all in moss. Judging from Audax's speech the queen condemned the father to be blind as punishment for the savage's encouraging Dudley's wooing, as the son beseeched the queen to make much of his father's simple honesty, claiming that it was motivated by a loyal desire to see her majesty with husband so that the couple could safeguard England's future through their issue. In the drama Gascoigne had recommended Zabeta, Diana's most favourite and chaste nymph, forsake the goddess's life of chastity and scorn of Cupid, and obey Juno's wedded life to become a great empress.

The performance represents typical outdoor pastoral entertainment by including debate on alternative value: Diana's chastity versus Juno's marital life. It constructs the argument, however, in a manner more complex than the norm. Elizabeth, in associating herself with Diana, as was her wont, created a challenge in symbolism for Gascoigne. Diana represented the sexually chaste and the socially pure. But the queen, while maintaining self-pretensions about her private amours, had none about her social virtue. Court with its intrigues was her milieu. To have Elizabeth, therefore, acknowledge this fit between the Diana persona and the royal reality, without offending the queen's person or aesthetic sensibility, was Gascoigne's task in the pastoral.

His strategy for meeting the challenge, in employing Juno as alternative to Diana, turned on the greater possibilities for social valorization that the former ideal provided for the queen than the latter. A Juno representation rather than a Diana was more than an even exchange, Gascoigne wanted to point out. With the maternal blessings of Juno traded for Diana's sexual modesty came an opportunity for Elizabeth to tread on social higher ground, as Jupiter's wife symbolized redeeming social behaviour as well as marriage and family.

Gascoigne's plot worked to convince the queen of this reasoning. His Diana, seeking to draw Elizabeth away from the goddess, criticized court and courtier:

Where guilefull tongues, with sweete entising tales,

Might (Circes like) set all your ships on sand:
And turne your present blysse, to after bales.
In sweetest flowers the subtyll Snakes may lurke:
The Sugred baite oft hides the harmfull hookes,
The smoothest words, draw wils to wicked worke,
And deepe deceipts, do follow fairest lookes.⁷⁾

Gascoigne's Zabeta, seeking a queenly transformation into Juno, modelled the appropriate behaviour Elizabeth need follow to craft a new self-symbol of social and matrimonial responsibility. Zabeta's disavowal of Diana could anticipate—and inspire—Elizabeth's and lead to the queen's acceptance of Dudley (Jupiter) and the ideals of marriage and social purposefulness.

This radically reconstituted vision elicited no response from her majesty. Faced with Elizabeth's silence, Gascoigne devised yet another fiction to express complaint about the queen's cruelty to the earl. In this entertainment Gascoigne performed Silvanus and Dudley was metamorphosed into Holly bush from Deep Desire (Leicester's former allegory in the Inn of Court masque). As Silvanus, Gascoigne explained about Leicester's metamorphosis into Holly bush:

he was such an one as neither any delay could daunt him: no disgrace could abate his passions, no tyme could tyre him, no water quench his flames: nor death it self could amase him with terror.

And yet this strange starre, this courteous cruell, and yet the cruellest courteous that ever was, this Zabeta... had caused him to be turned into this Holly bush, and he was in this life and worlde continually full of compunctions, so is he now furnished on every side with sharpe pricking leaves, to prove the restlesse prickes of his privie thoughts.⁸⁾

Gascoigne's boldness and importunancy may, however, have displeased the queen. According to his apologetic introduction to *The Tale of Hemetes the Heremyte*, the author had believed Elizabeth to be pleased with the entertainment he had created for her during the Kenilworth summer. But now knowing otherwise, he was translating the dramas into Latin, Italian, and French in the present work, not because he thought the translations comparable to the original pastorals, but because he thought Elizabeth would be amused with his ignorance and disordered writing. Turning his serious inventions into farce in hopes of deflecting what he now knew to be the queen's ire, Gascoigne expressed apology for his former arrogant attitude, writing:

... have I here poured forth before you/most humbly beseeching your majesty, that you will vouchsafe gracyowsly to looke ynto your loyall subject/ and behold me (coomly Queene) nott as I have byn, butt as I am/ or rather not as I am but as I would be/ for I spare not here to protest, that I have no will to be, but as I should be/⁹⁾

The pastoral style of court entertainment as an instrument of free communication between monarch and subjects continued to be used throughout Elizabeth's reign. One use to which the

genre was put was raising with the queen—in public—matters highly private. The efforts by Leicester to romance her majesty through Gascoigne's presentations represent this use. Another end to which the pastoral was employed with Elizabeth—perhaps with less risk of incurring lese majesty than such creative inventions as Dudley-Gascoigne's given the less personally charged nature of the subject matter—was empowerment at court. Pastoral dramas served as form and forum for courtier political maneuvering and self-enhancement.

An entertainment in 1578 or 1579 at Wanstead Garden, inspired once again by the Earl of Leicester, and written this time on Dudley's behalf by his nephew, Sir Philip Sidney, illustrates this connection between performance and reaches for royal power. Motivated by this time more out of interest in winning Elizabeth's assent to the particular mannered style he projected as a member of her court than in gaining her love, the earl had Sidney pose to her majesty a problem in proper courtly behaviour. Sir Philip authored a typical pastoral debate contrasting active and contemplative life. A shepherdess, the Lady of May, for whom the work is entitled, petitioned the queen to choose for her a husband from two youths: Shepherd Espilus and Forester Therion. Therion, according to the Lady of May, is a man of action with many deserts and many faults; Espilus is a man of contemplation with very small deserts and no faults. Each speaks about what he is:

Espilus: . . .

To high conceits the song must needs be high;
More high than stars, more firm than flinty field
Are all my thoughts, in which I live or die:

. . .

Two thousand sheep I have as white as milk,
Though not so white as is thy lovely face;
The pasture rich, the wool as soft as silk,
All this I give, let me possess thy grace:

. . .

Therion: Two thousand deer in wildest woods I have,
Them can I take, but you I cannot hold:
He is not poor, who can his freedom save,
Bound but to you, no wealth but you I would:
But take this beast, if beasts you fear to miss,
For of his beasts the greatest beast he is.¹⁰⁾

Espilus is not only a contemplative poet but also a diligent labourer. Therion, a representation of Leicester, seems to be an active, brave and gallant adventurer with a libertine mind. Judging the two, Elizabeth selected the shepherd as a suitable husband for the Lady of May. Placing higher value on a diligent, quiet, contemplative and obedient shepherd than on an active, wild, headlong

and adventurous forester, the queen also seemingly rejected as undesirable among her subjects the swashbuckling figure cut by the likes of the earl.

If Dudley as court politician (echoing his experience as royal suitor) achieved troubled results in communicating to Elizabeth through the pastoral, others in her majesty's entourage did not. The late 1580s had not been kind to William Cecil, the first Lord of Burghley and Lord Treasurer of the realm. In March, 1587 he had lost his mother, in April, 1589 his wife. In the interval his daughter, Lady Oxford, had died. Cecil was depressed by these misfortunes, and he determined to retire—at least temporarily—from public life. The queen, however, wished otherwise, and visited Burghley at his estate to revive his spirits and to recall him to her active service. *Speeches to Queen Elizabeth at Theobald's* presented by George Peele on the lord's behalf, served Cecil's aims: to win her majesty's understanding for his position without jeopardizing her esteem for him and his current—and possible future—influence at court. One oratory, supposed to be delivered by a hermit to Elizabeth on first arrival at Theobald, had as a purpose excusing the absence of Lord Burghley—he had not appeared to welcome the queen—explaining that Cecil had taken up abode in the cell belonging to the hermit. Robert Cecil, Burghley's son, performed the hermit. The recluse dreams a prophecy from Sibylla: that a princely paragon, a maiden queen, would materialize and relieve his cellmate's misery. Awakening from his vision, Robert, as hermit, sees Elizabeth and takes her to be the prophesied heroine, requesting that

· · · for myself, most gracious queen,
May it please you to restore me to my cell,
And, at your highness' absolute command,
My Lord Chancellor may award a writ
For peaceable possession of the same;¹¹⁾

Burghley proclaimed through pastoral a desire for retreat with the possibility of later worldly return—the latter hope no doubt being strongly shared by Robert, who had political ambitions of his own as courtier. (Matters were eventually resolved for the satisfaction of all parties concerned: Burghley had leave; Elizabeth subsequently recalled him to duty; and Robert succeeded his father at court.)

Sir Henry Lee, the most faithful and gallant courtier to the queen, like Cecil, met success in employing drama to attain political ends with Elizabeth. Through entertainment he commissioned from John Lyly at Quarrendon for Elizabeth in 1592, Lee excused himself for his wandering love with Anne Vavasour, by pledging his loyalty to the queen until—and even after—death. Anne Vavasour, Roy Strong explains, was “a lady of good family but doubtful character, who lived with the Champion in the country as his mistress.”¹²⁾ Lee pronounced his fealty to crown superior to his affection for paramour in two dramas created by Lyly. A first performance had Sir Henry as an “Enchanted Knight,” who is deprived of sight by Damselle, Queen of Fayries, as a punishment for having errant eyes and being swayed from royal duties by becoming smitten by a lady he meets by

chance. Laments Lee, as the warrior, so taken by the woman that he is neither able to charge staff,
nor strike blow,

··· loe unhappie I was ouertaken,
By fortune forst, a stranger ladies thrall,
Whom when I sawe, all former care forsaken,
To finde her ought I lost meeself and all,
Through which neglect of dutie 'gan my fall.¹³⁾

The denouement: Damselle presents to Elizabeth as a gift from the now chastened soldier the Image of Cupid because her majesty is the most suitable person to wear the image of Love that “so manie surue against their will, and so manie without reward; who shutes he wotes not where, and hittes he cares whom, and seldom woundes alike, but soonest striketh the best sighted.”¹⁴⁾ Only by such a veteran of love as Elizabeth could the Enchanted Knight be released from his distress.

In another presentation Henry Lee became Loricus, once a knight of hard adventure but now a religious hermit who lives quietly in celestial contemplation because Envy and Age cut him off from following the court, from going forward in his course. The chaplain who lives with Loricus explains that even if the knight has become a hermit, he continues to profess obedience to the queen and serve the world's fairest creature. The entertainment concludes with a deathbed scene. A recumbent Loricus miraculously recovers consciousness for an instant and makes a will in which he publicly avows his true intention to have always done right performance for his royal master. The testament is brought by the knight's page to Elizabeth, who reads it and acknowledges the faithfulness Lee, playing Loricus, has dramatized for her:

The Legacye

Item. I bequethe (to your Highnes) The Whole Mannor of Love, and the appurtenaunces thereunto belonging:

(Viz.) Woods of hie attemptes,
Groues of humble seruice,
Meddowes of green thoughtes,
Pastures of feeding fancies,
Arrable Lande of large promisses,
Riuers of ebbing and flowing fauors,
...¹⁵⁾

Notes

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1) Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong (eds.), *Inigo Jones: Theatre of the Stuart Court* (California: California U. P.,

- 1973), Vol. 2, p. 482.
- 2) John Lyly, "The Honorable Entertainment Giuen to the Queenes Maiestie in Progresse, at Eluetham in Hampshire, by the Right Honorable the Earle of Hertford" in *The Complete Works of John Lyly*, ed. R. Warwick Bond (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), Vol. 1, p. 450.
 - 3) Lyly, P. 452.
 - 4) Enid Welsford, *The Court Masque* (Cambridge U. P., 1927), p. 158.
 - 5) *Parliaments of England 1559-81*, quoted by Marie Axton, *The Queen's Two Bodies* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977), p. 50.
 - 6) George Gascoigne, "Princely Pleasures at Kenelworth Castle" in *The Complete Works of George Gascoigne*, ed. John W. Canliff (New York: Greenwood Press, 1969), pp. 99-100.
 - 7) Gascoigne, p. 108.
 - 8) Gascoigne, p. 126.
 - 9) Gascoigne, p. 477.
 - 10) Sir Philip Sidney, "The Lady of May" in *Miscellaneous Prose of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones and Jan Van Dorsten (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), pp. 25-26.
 - 11) George Peele, "Speeches to Queene Elizabeth at Theobald's" in *The Works of George Peele*, ed. A. H. Bullen (New York: Kennikat Press, 1986), p. 308.
 - 12) Roy Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), p. 133.
 - 13) John Lyly, "Speeches to Queen Elizabeth at Quarrendon" in *The Complete Works of John Lyly*, ed. R. Warwick Bond (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), p. 457.
 - 14) Lyly, p. 455.
 - 15) Lyly, pp. 469-70.