

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE VICE-CHARACTER: FROM THE TIME OF
THE ENGLISH CYCLE PLAY TO LATE TUDOR DRAMA

A THESIS

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TO MY PARENTS

PREFACE

The problem of the development of the Vice in English drama has, for a long time, puzzled scholars. During the last few years, considerable attention has been directed to the emergence of this character in drama, and scholars have attached great importance to the Vice character in the early English plays.

I undertook this investigation with the intention of tracing the development of the Vice as it emerged in the drama through the various "characters with evil intent". There were many interesting sidelights to this problem which I encountered along the way. For example, I learned something about the staging techniques of these plays. Furthermore, I encountered many interesting "evil" characters other than that of the actual Vice itself.

I wish to express my appreciation to Professor Charles E. Walton, Department of English, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, Kansas, for his suggestions and his vast amount of patience during the preparation of this thesis. Furthermore, I wish to express my

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CHAPTER I

THE DEVIL IN THE MIRACLE PLAYS

The ancient themes of evil and of characters of evil intent appear often in the English miracle, morality, and interlude. An examination of these characters in plays representative of the three types reveals definite similarities in their manner of organization and aids one in understanding the development of English drama.

This theme of evil has long been a fascinating one. By contrast, however, modern man tends to be more interested in the course of a wicked adventure than in that of a pious one. This interest is not a new one, nonetheless, for one discovers that medieval man was intensely aware of, and interested in, the evil threats to his well-being. Of course, it is rather difficult for one to judge the degree of difference between the opinions of the man of the middle ages and those of the man of the twentieth-century. However, it is common knowledge that the Church was a tremendously powerful force in the middle ages. It constantly warned man to beware of sin and evil, since it was essential

that man be consistently on his guard against temptation. Hell and damnation were very real terms, therefore, and man knew that he would pay dearly for his sins. While evil was a captivating word, medieval man, nevertheless, was definitely afraid of the consequences of his sins.¹ Heaven was the goal of every man, whose life on earth was short in comparison with eternity so that man needed only to be readying himself for a life with God.²

Obviously, the problem of evil was a major concern in the middle ages. It played a large part in the drama of this period. A most typical dramatic representative of evil is Satan. To the mind of the medieval Christian, the devil was wickedness personified, the acknowledged adversary of God. Consequently, the character of Satan would have presented vast possibilities to the dramatist because of Satan's well-known hateful and evil qualities.

The figure of the devil (referred to as Satan or Lucifer) does appear in many of the early English

¹Morton W. Bloomfield, The Seven Deadly Sins, p. 67.

²Hardin Craig, New Lamps for Old, p. 76.

mystery and miracle plays. Basically, the mysteries were those dramas which dealt with the Scripture or stories related to it, while the miracle plays were concerned with the lives and deaths of saints.³ However, in England, both terms were often used to refer in general to the early religious plays.⁴ Since these dramas were liturgical in nature, the role of the devil was an appropriate one.⁵ For example, the actual figure of the devil (or devils) presents itself in six of the York Cycle of Mystery Plays (which belongs to the first half of the fourteenth century).⁶ He first appears in the Tannours' play in which Lucifer and the other devils

³Hardin Craig, English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages, p. 320.

⁴Sir E. K. Chambers, The Medieval Stage, II, p. 105.

⁵Ibid., p. 91: ". . . may we not trace the influence of those masked and blackened demon figures who from all time had been a dear scandal of the Kalends and the Feast of Fools?"

⁶Lucy Toulmin Smith (ed.), The Plays Performed by the Crafts or Mysteries of York on the Day of Corpus Christi in the 14th, 15th, and 16th Centuries, p. xlv.

fall from Heaven. He next enters the acting area in the Cowpers' play in which he tempts Eve in the Garden of Eden, followed by the Lock Smiths' play, where he attempts to force Christ to prove that He is the Son of God. One next finds him with the wife of Pilate in the Tapiteres and Couchers' play. In the Saddlers' play, devils appear, and Christ has a dialogue with Satan. Finally, in the Merceres' play, God speaks of the judgment of man, and the devils wait to claim their victims. Thus, one concludes that the Satanic character was extremely important to the York Cycle.

A more detailed examination of these aforementioned plays further illustrates the importance of the devil-character in these dramas. In The Creation, and the Fall of Lucifer, the first play in the cycle, two devils appear. They are Lucifer, the supreme angel (later to be called the evil being), and a second fallen angel. As the play opens, God praises Lucifer and announces that he will thereafter be second in stature only to God. When Lucifer becomes fully aware of his newly acquired brightness, he takes an excessive amount of pride in his new status in Heaven. It is this cardinal

sin of pride which eventually brings about his fall, and one observes him as he quickly becomes boastful and states, "I shall be lyke unto hym that es hyste on heghte . . . " (91) At once, both Lucifer and his companion "angel-devil" fall into Hell, where they are doomed to a life of eternal woe. The second scene of this drama, therefore, is located within Hell, where Lucifer discovers that he has now lost all of the vestiges of his former glory and has, in addition, turned black and blue. Consequently, he laments his fallen state while the second devil expresses his own personal grief and claims that Lucifer is entirely responsible for the fall. Then, the scene ends. In the third and final scene, God is revealed as he plans the creation of Man, who is to be made in God's own image. Furthermore, one watches God as he organizes time into Day and Night, because it had become dark when the angels had fallen from His grace.

One notes that there are several important aspects in the development of the character of evil in this drama, perhaps the most important of which is

Lucifer's color which has changed from "bryghte" to "blakkeste and blo," appropriate for the fallen angel, because of the symbolism inherent in black.⁷ At the same time, Satan's color also suggests the nature of early stage practice in the matters of either costume or cosmetics. Lucifer's fall from Heaven also must have involved certain stage mechanics, since it is clear from the text that he actually does "fall" from a stage height to a lower stage level representing Hell. Furthermore, in the second scene, in which the setting is Hell, there is evidence to show that a definite stage locale has been assigned to Hell, probably out of necessity, since Hell must have been a very real and concrete place to those who witnessed the performance of these early religious dramas.

On the other hand, this play makes a significant

⁷ Chambers, op. cit., I, p. 148: "For your horned and blackened devil is the same personage, with the same vague tradition of the ancient heathen festival about him, whether he riots it through the cathedral aisles in the Feast of Fools, or hales the Fathers to limbo and harries the forward spectators in the market-place of Beverley or Wakefield."

contribution to the theme of evil in English drama in the manner in which Lucifer is shown as he indulges in the sin of pride. The plot indicates that this is the sin which provokes God's wrath and results in Lucifer's banishment from Heaven. Therefore, he is established at once as an evil character who opposes God's will, or as a symbol of evil that wars against the symbol of supreme good. Lucifer rises in dramatic stature in this play, and his sin of excessive pride thereafter is a stock characteristic of the evil one in the English drama.

One next observes the devil in Man's Disobedience and Fall from Eden, the fifth play in the York Cycle. By this time in the chronology of the Cycle, Lucifer has become firmly established in Hell. However, this particular play takes place in the regions of Paradise where one finds Lucifer in a state of concern because of Man, God's newest creation. Here, Lucifer reveals that he has taken upon himself another of the deadly sins when he says, ". . . and thereatt hadde I grete envye" (13); and he admits that he is so consumed by his envy for Man that he has determined to

betray Adam. In order to succeed in this venture, he has devised a plan to enable him to entice Eve to forsake the teachings of God, and he proceeds to describe for her a magnificently succulent fruit which grows in the Garden. Eve, however, does not immediately succumb to his temptation, and Satan discovers that he must urge her numerous times before he finally wins her confidence by saying, "Yhe! Why trowes thou noight me? / I wolde be no-kynnes wayes / Telle noight but trouthe to the." (75-77) She now trusts him and tastes the fruit, whereupon Lucifer encourages her to take a portion of this delicacy to Adam, and then "recedes," presumably into stage Hell. Thereafter, the play is concerned with the temptation of Adam. Finally, God rebukes both Adam and Eve, telling them that they must depart from Paradise, and the play ends.

In this drama, then, Lucifer has undergone another growth in character in which new qualities of evil have been added to those which he already possessed, for he is so filled with the sin of envy that he is determined to revenge himself upon mankind for his own folly. To

achieve his end, he coaxes and cajoles and finally assumes the highly important guise of the "friend," telling Eve that he would not lie to her and assuring her that he is, in truth, merely calling her attention to the qualities of the fruit for her own sake. When Eve is not easily moved, he does not despair, because of his determination to take vengeance upon Man whom God has openly preferred to the fallen angels.

The next significant dramatic appearance of Lucifer occurs in The Temptation of Jesus, the twenty-second play in the York Cycle. The setting is the wilderness in which Satan is discovered to be in a great rush because, as he explains, he fears that he is too late to perform an evil deed. He confesses that he has been made anxious by a rumor to the effect that Christ has already made plans to redeem all of the lost souls. In a debate with himself, Satan concludes that he can, with ease, undertake the temptation of Christ, who has been fasting in the wilderness for forty days. It is Satan's intention to tempt Christ, first, into committing the sin of gluttony; consequently, he asks him to make bread from stones and tauntingly suggests

that this miracle would not be difficult for the Son of God to perform. Here, one should note that Satan, again, is making use of the "friendly approach" to his problem, as he says, "Ther sall noman witte what I mene; but I and thou." (65-66) Since Christ does not succumb to these wiles, Satan next encourages Him to show His powers and, thus, to become vainglorious; but Christ, again, does not yield to this second enticement. Finally, Satan promises Christ great wealth, hoping to lead him into committing the sin of covetousness. Thereupon, Christ commands Satan to be silent, ordering him to return to Hell. As he obeys God's command, Satan laments the great powers of Christ, and the play ends with Christ's promising His angels that all mankind can resist the wiles of the devil if mankind earnestly wishes to do so.

In this play, it is obvious that Satan's character has become fully involved with the themes of evil, exemplifying as it does the traits of gluttony, vainglory and covetousness, in addition to the other sinful properties which he has been seen to acquire in the

previous dramas in the Cycle. Satan has also utilized, again, the guise of the "friend." Furthermore, in the opening scene in which he scurries about the stage, he is presented as a humorous figure and in his comical behavior loses a degree of his former majesty. Rossiter has suggested that although Lucifer is The Devil, he also has ". . . a sudden descent to slapstick," as this play shows.⁸ Finally, one recognizes once more that a specific stage area is representative of Hell.

In The Dream of Pilate's Wife: Jesus before Pilate, the thirtieth play in the York Cycle, Satan has a minor role to perform. The plot concerns his desire not to put Christ to death because the event might prompt Christ to redeem all men's souls from Hell. Satan, therefore, appears before Percula, who is Pilate's wife, to warn her that, if Jesus is wrongly punished, both Pilate and she will be destroyed along with their accumulated riches. The play makes it clear that Satan

⁸A. P. Rossiter, English Drama from Early Times to the Elizabethans, p. 91.

hopes to make an appeal to Percula's covetousness of life and wealth, and he succeeds in duping her, after which she sends her son to Pilate with an account of her "dream," but her husband diagnoses it as the work of Jesus's sorcery and orders that her "dream" be disregarded. By the end of the drama, Pilate has returned Jesus to the custody of Herod without pardon, although he has admittedly found no fault with Him. While it is obvious that Satan has little to do in this play, his role emphasizes again the strength of his will, as shown in his determination to continue his assault against God. Although he had not been able to tempt Christ into committing evil actions in the previous York play, he is, here, still hopeful of eventual success in thwarting God's plan, thereby keeping the lost souls in Hell. Throughout the play, his intentions are consistently evil.

In The Harrowing of Hell, the thirty-seventh play in the York Cycle, Satan has an important role. In the opening scene, he faces the prospect of losing his disciples because Christ has, in the meantime,

vowed to redeem the souls of the damned. When Christ appears on His mission at the gates of Hell, Satan orders his devils to prevent Christ from entering. In spite of their efforts, however, Christ does enter and exposes all Hell. The devils are thrown into great panic, but Satan does not immediately surrender. Instead, he resorts, again, to his method of engaging his adversary in conversation, a device which has served him well in the past, and he argues with Christ, hoping by this means to maintain the allegiance of his followers. He even indulges in Biblical prophecy, noting that "Salamon saide in his sawes, / That whoso enteres helle withynne / Shall neuer come oute, thus clerkes knawes" (281-83), showing that the devil can quote Scripture to his own purpose. However, he soon realizes that his Scriptural recitation is not effective, as Christ pronounces sentence and vows that Satan will forever remain in Hell, whereas His own disciples will be set free. In his wisdom, Satan discerns that he is not completely rebuffed, since only Christ's chosen few will depart from Hell. Consequently,

filled with renewed hope, Satan starts to journey into the East and West to enlist new souls in his cause, but Christ will not permit him such freedom of movement and orders that he be chained and placed in the pit of Hell.

This play reinforces certain concepts of Satan previously established in the York Cycle. For example, Satan is, again, shown as he attempts to talk his way into or out of a given situation. As always, he is ever striving to defeat the forces of good so as to enlarge his evil realm. He is again depicted in a humorous manner as he is shown bustling about the stage in anticipation of Christ's entrance into Hell, and especially is he humorously presented when he orders Belsabub to strike down Christ, only to hear Belsabub replay, "Ya, sette hym sore, that is sone saide, / But come thi selfe and serve hym soo" (205-06) One recalls, at this point, that the eighteenth play in the Chester Cycle (late fourteenth century) is still another version of the "harrowing

of hell" theme.⁹ This drama contains a dramatis personae which closely resembles that of the York play under discussion. However, it is obvious that, in one sequence in the Chester version, the treatment of Satan differs markedly from the York representation of the character. For example, when Christ makes an appearance at the gates of Hell, one finds stage directions which indicate that devils seize upon Satan and hurl him from his throne, insisting that he, too, must enter into their fight for his own sovereignty. Here, Satan's majesty is diminished, as he is forced by his own disciples to do their bidding. Furthermore, in another scene in the Chester play, apparently a variant upon former scenes, there is a final action in which Satan and two other devils converse with one of the fallen souls, that of a barmaid, who in a comical way, is flippant about the entire matter. She comments, "Thus I betake you, more and less, / To my sweet

⁹I. and O. Bolton King (eds.), The Chester Miracle Plays, p. xii.

master sir Satanas, / To dwell with him in this place
" (III. 305-07) Immediately, Satan welcomes
 her, yet warns her of her fate, as he says, " . . .
 yet shalt thou abide here stille with me / In pain
 without end." (III. 311-12) One concludes that this
 scene in the Chester Cycle must have been amusing to
 a medieval audience, its members seeing in the barmaid
 a common, everyday friend,¹⁰ but one admits that her
 characterization does detract from the glory of Satan,
 suggesting as it does a relationship which reflects
 upon the majestic status of the supremely evil being.

The Towneley Cycle (ca. 1400-1450) also contains
 a play which in plot is similar to the York and Chester
Harrowing of Hell dramas.¹¹ "This play, The
Deliverance of Souls, also represents Satan in a
 slightly different role from those assigned to him in

¹⁰F.W. Chandler, The Literature of Roguery,
 I, p. 51.

¹¹A. C. Cawley (ed.), The Wakefield Pageants in
the Towneley Cycle, p. xxxi.

the other two plays. For example, one of the devils, Rybald (whose name at once suggests his offensive nature), is anxious about the coming of Christ, but Satan reassures him and explains how he (Satan) will be triumphant over Christ. Rybald, who is momentarily convinced, later witnesses the defeated Satan as he sinks into Hell, and mocks, "Sir sathan, so saide I ere, / now shall thou have a fytt." (361-62) Again, one suggests that this kind of a speech does not embody the respect which has been usually delegated to the Prince of Devils, a truly powerful, majestic being. The character of Satan in these early cycle plays would appear to be diminishing in its stature.

The only other appearance of devil characters in the York Cycle occurs in the forty-eighth play, the last of the sequence, entitled The Judgment Day. In this drama, God is seen as He prepares to judge the souls in Hell, during which event the good souls rejoice and the lost ones lament their follies for they know their place will be " . . . in hell to dwelle with feendes blake . . ." (143) The devils, then, prepare to fight for their almost lost property,

confident that " . . . full grete partie with [them] schall gang." (224) The play ends when God completes His judgment, rewarding the good souls and damning the evil ones. One notes, again, the allusion in this play to "feendes black," and recalls that in an earlier play in this cycle the devils were also presented as being black. One should note, as well, that Satan makes no stage appearance in this play, although he is mentioned when God tells the lost souls that " . . . ye shall neuere butt sorrowe see / And sitte be Satanas the fende." (371-72) However, there is no question in one's mind that Satan is the leader of the devils who appear in the play, for it is his plan which they carry out as they wait for their opportunity in which to claim the bad souls.

Furthermore, one detects an interesting parallel which exists between the York Judgment play and the Judicium of the Towneley Cycle (thirtieth play). The two dramas are similar in that each presents good and bad souls for God's judgment. It is also important to realize that this York play contains two good and

two bad souls, while the Towneley play, on the other hand, allows four characters for good souls and an equal number for evil ones. However, the plot structures in both dramas are basically the same since, in both, God first reveals to the good souls the reasons they have deserved their rewards, and then points out the many weaknesses of the bad souls, who, in turn, violently lament their lost opportunity for salvation. At the same time, the Towneley Judicium is also valuable for its dissimilarity to the York version in reference to the main evil character, for, as one recalls, the Towneley play has a devil figure in Tutivillus, who is not a member of the dramatis personae of the York drama. Rossiter described the character in the following way:

. . . [Tutivillus] is a sadistic comedian, giving a foretaste of the chuckling, jocular, fiends-incarnate of the Elizabethans, who go about their dragging of souls to hell with 'Pleasure and action make the hours seem short' or with the gloating amusement of Volpone.¹²

Before the judgment occurs, Tutivillus introduces

¹²Rossiter, op. cit., p. 68.

himself as a tollsman, registrar, and master lollard for the devil. He makes it perfectly clear that he is a successful devil who brought into the confines of Hell ten thousand souls in one hour. He is also particularly fond of observing the evil qualities in women, and he comments knowingly on their follies in cosmetics, fashions, and the practice of adultery. He also knows that women have a bad habit of chatting while in church, so that whenever Tutivillus sees one who is gossiping, he immediately takes her off to Hell. In addition to these evils, Tutivillus calls attention to the prevalence of the Seven Deadly Sins in everyday existence and states that all who are guilty of any of these sins are welcomed into Hell. Consequently, following the scene of judgment in the play, Tutivillus joins the other devils in claiming his victims and, then, questions these condemned souls about their love of finery, fault-finding, and wealth.¹³ The other devils join him in this

¹³Ibid., p. 130; Rossiter also calls Tutivillus a "reporter."

mockery of bad souls, after which episode, all are carried off into Hell. Tutivillus, therefore, is an intriguing figure, if not a unique one, as he boasts abouts himself, muttering jibberish in Latin, and, in general, enjoying his tasks. In fact, he seems to be quite human in his mockery. He is a humorous character whose descendants continue in this comic tradition into a later period of English drama.¹⁴

This examination of Satan and the various other devils that appear in the various miracle plays establishes many of the definite characteristics of the "figure with evil intent" which emerge from the early English liturgical drama, the most dominant trait of which is embodied in the sin of excessive pride to be seen upon numerous occasions in these characterizations of Satan. It is this pride which causes his downfall from Heaven, and it is this pride which motivates him relentlessly in his efforts to maintain the status of Hell, his newly acquired kingdom. The humorous aspects

¹⁴W. Creizenach, "The Early Religious Drama," The Cambridge History of English Literature, V, pp. 62-63.

of Satan's various stage characterizations become evident as the Satanic figure evolves. As he becomes more and more comic, he becomes definitely more entertaining and less frightening, more secular and less liturgical. Thus, in a sense, he becomes more credible to an audience and is infinitely more versatile than when he was merely a stock type of evil character.

Also, since the allusion to the color, black, has often occurred in these early plays with reference to Satan, one indeed thinks that the stage devils of this time may have appeared in blackface since scholars have shown that the fool-devil in the early folk drama of England did blacken his face.¹⁵ One assumes that it is probable that the actors in these early liturgical plays may have utilized such a stage cosmetic to heighten the intensity of the character of the evil one as well as to point up the humorous aspects of many of these devils. In addition to the reference to "black" devils already cited in this study, there is a specific passage involving this very

¹⁵R. J. E. Tiddy, The Mummers' Play, p. 113.

characteristic to be found in The Creation, the first play of the Towneley Cycle. After Lucifer and the other evil angels have fallen from Heaven, the first demon states, ". . . now are we waxen blak as any coyll" (136) Obviously, the line indicates that these particular devils are black in color, and one suspects that this very trait may be a key to an understanding of the stage evolution of this evil character. Tiddy has stated that it is impossible for him not to believe that there is some relationship:

. . . the Morris fool, the Doctor's man, Beelzebub, the fool of the Mummer's Play, the clown of the Sword play, the devils of the Moralities and the Interludes are all, by dint of their mischief or their black faces or their fooling, ultimately one and the same.¹⁶

Certainly, the devils encountered in this study are inclined to do evil or to create mischief and usually appear to have black faces. Then, with the appearance of Tutivillus in the Judicium, one sees a good amount of buffoonery on the part of a devil.

¹⁶Loc. cit.

There are, of course, other evil characters in the cycle plays in addition to the devils. These plays dealt with stories taken from the Bible, and there were many people described in the Scriptures who were opposed to God's will. For example, when Judas appears in the miracle plays he is a prime illustration of this type of individual. Judas is evil when he betrays his master, Jesus. Peter, one of the disciples, is also evil when he denies Christ. Pilate, as well, does not save Christ, whom he knows to be innocent, when he has an opportunity. These men were opposed to God's Son in one way or another, and, thus, they were opposed to God. They do not, however, show much character development as they reappear in these various dramas as do the devils; hence, they do not seem to be directly involved in the evolution of the evil character.

Herod, another evil Biblical character, and a familiar sight in the miracle plays, evidently provided much entertainment as he roared and raved about the stage, attempting to destroy Jesus, the new King

of the Jews.¹⁷ He was evil because he was opposed to God, and he was also comic because of his rantings. However, he did not, in his evil or in his humor, have the range or power of a devil, and well he might not, since Herod was only a man, and the devils, with their supernatural qualities, were definitely more powerful than was a mere human.

Other familiar evil characters are Cain, who commits the first murder, and Annas and Caiphas, the Pharisees who plot to bring about the murder of Jesus. They, too, are opposed to goodness, but, like some of the other evil beings, they do not have the sustaining qualities of the devils throughout the cycle plays.

Still another intriguing character of evil from the miracle plays is the notorious Mak, the sheep stealer in The Second Shepherds' Pageant from the Towneley Cycle (thirteenth play). Mak is evil for he is a thief, and he is humorous when he attempts to conceal his stolen sheep in a cradle insisting that

¹⁷John A. Symonds, Shakspeare's Predecessors in the English Drama, p. 128.

laugh at the Devil, instead of at what he ridicules, the weaker he seems to be.¹⁹ In this manner, both Satan and Tutivillus lose some of their majestic qualities. Moreover, Tutivillus resides in Hell, which fact is important for consideration since the later evil figure in the drama is often seen returning to Hell, sometimes on a devil's back, so that one concludes that stage Hell is obviously the place for all evil-doers, devils or not.²⁰ Tutivillus may well be related to the "black" group of devils as well since the Hell in which he resides is a place of "pyk and tar." However, the characterization of Tutivillus shows certain innovations with his stated relationship to all the deadly sins as he says, "Yit of the synnes seven some thyng speciall / now nately to neven that renys over all" (305-6) He understands the workings of the cardinal sins, and he is a part of their

¹⁹Eleanor Prosser, Drama and Religion in the English Mystery Plays, p. 83.

²⁰Creizenach, op. cit., p. 63.

evil doings as he welcomes into Hell all who succumb to the sins. In addition, Tutivillus is unique in his own peculiar kind of comedy involving the follies of womankind, pointing out all the vanities of women and mocking their love of foolish things. He is, moreover, a braggart especially when he reveals how easy it is to ensnare the sinful souls. Also, and extremely important to this present investigation is the fact that one recalls that a character of approximately the same name (Titivillus) also appears in the morality, Mankind (ca. 1475), a play to be discussed later in this study.²¹ Thus, the appearance of this "merry devil" of the miracle plays marks the appearance of a vice-like character with his definitely stated devil qualities, his relationship to the seven deadly sins, and his love of boasting and mockery which add to the comedy of his scenes. Thus, one observes that Tutivillus, although rooted in the liturgical plays, at the same time exemplifies facets of secular evil in his characterization.

²¹Robert Withington, "Braggart, Devil and Vice," Speculum, XI (1936), p. 125.

CHAPTER II

THE EMERGENCE OF THE MORALITY VICE

As one turns from a consideration of these early miracle plays, he discovers in the chronology of the English stage the morality drama. Pollard states that the York plays were last performed in 1579, while the Chester plays were acted until the end of the sixteenth century, and he further explains that the miracle plays were no longer performed by the time King James came to the throne.²² The miracle play apparently was banned in performance because of an intervention by government authorities who felt these so-called "popish" plays to be dangerous. But the plays did not suffer from any lack of general popularity since they seem to have been most well-received by the audiences.²³ The morality play had

²²Alfred W. Pollard (ed.), English Miracle Plays, Moralities and Interludes, p. lxvii.

²³Harold C. Gardiner, Mysteries' End, p. 113.

emerged in the fifteenth century in a logical kind of development, since the fashionable allegorical story presented in dramatic form could reach and move many people as could no other literary work.²⁴ This type of drama is sometimes named the "Psychomachia," after an allegorical work by Prudentius in the fourth century.²⁵

In the morality play, one again meets the "figure with evil intent", but presented now in a different manner. No longer is there only the devil himself or one major evil character to be concerned with; rather, there are now varying forms of depicted evil. The specific role of Satan is not that of a tremendously important character in the Psychomachia, possibly because his personality does not lend itself to strict allegorical treatment. As Spivack has suggested, Satan " . . . is not a personification but an historical figure out of Christian theology

²⁴J.M. Manly, "Literary Forms and the New Theory of the Origin of Species," MP, IV (1907), p. 856.

²⁵David M. Bevington, From Mankind to Marlowe, p. 10.

and folklore, and an illogical intrusion, therefore, into the drama of abstraction."²⁶ When Satan does appear, he is apt to be observed now, in the presence of various helpers. The Seven Deadly Sins are an example of his new group of companions. These sins are introduced in the early morality, The Castle of Perseverance (ca. 1425),²⁷ wherein they are as devoted to evil as Satan is, but it is clear that their malicious qualities have been diversified and individualized. These sins (Pride, Wrath, Envy, Gluttony, Lechery, Sloth, and Covetousness) are determined to bring about man's downfall. They were, of course, an integral part of the Catholic teachings of the time, and medieval man was well aware of their main purpose which was to entice man's soul away from God.²⁸

²⁶Bernard Spivack, Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil, p. 132; also, Chambers, op. cit., II, p. 91.

²⁷Pollard, op. cit., p. 197.

²⁸Morton W. Bloomfield, "The Origin of the Concept of the Seven Cardinal Sins," Harvard Theological Review, XXXIV (1941), p. 121.

The plot of Perseverance is an involved one which begins with World, Flesh, and Devil, each boasting of his power and planning to entrap mankind. Mankind, the hero, soon appears in the company of his Good and Bad Angels, who debate the merits of their respective qualities, after which Mankind decides to follow the Bad Angel. The Bad Angel takes Mankind to World and his followers, who welcome him, and he falls immediately into the hands of Covetousness, the World's lieutenant, who introduces him to the other sins. All of the sins give advice to Mankind, each urging the adoption of his own particular form of spiritual destruction. However, the Good Angel does not relent but enlists Shrift to help Mankind. However, Shrift is not successful until Penitence aids him. The, Mankind goes to the Castle of Perseverance in the company of these two good qualities, where they meet the Seven Virtues, the antitheses of the Seven Deadly Sins. The Bad Angel, in the meantime, discovers what has happened to Mankind and sends Flibbertigibbit, a minor devil, and Backbiter, to inform World, Flesh,

and Devil of Mankind's supposed redemption. These three evil personages punish their disciples who have permitted Mankind to defect. These subordinate evil characters, then, vow to regain Mankind's soul, and Covetousness appears to be the one who is the most assured of victory. All of the evil characters next attack the Castle, each sin fighting with his opposing virtue, with the exception of Covetousness, who converses with Mankind instead of assaulting Generosity, his adversary. When Mankind yields to love of wealth, the Good Angel cannot prevent him from leaving the Castle. Shortly afterwards, Mankind meets Death and begs World to help him, only to discover that World has no power over Death. As a consequence, Mankind dies, praying to God for grace. After the death of Mankind, Soul comes from under the bed to reprimand the body of Mankind for its weakness. The Soul seeks help from Mercy as the Bad Angel carries away Mankind's body. Mercy calls her sisters, Truth, Justice, and Peace, the latter suggesting that they ask God the Father to advise them in their actions. In the presence of Mercy and her sisters, God forgives

Mankind and reminds all men that the day of judgment will come and warns them to be prepared to face their reckonings. The play, then, ends with the singing of the "Te Deum."

The Castle of Perseverance raises an interesting problem in medieval staging. Richard Southern suggests that the staging of the play would have involved the use of five scaffolds, four of which would hold evil figures (the Devil, Flesh, World, and Covetousness). It is significant that only one platform contains a good element, i.e., the actor representing God.²⁹ Certainly, the spectators may have been impressed, and perhaps, frightened by this picture of the strength of evil in the world. Also, it has been previously shown that there were other sins and evil characters present in the play. They were not stationed on these scaffolds, but they appeared in various part of the acting area, according to Southern.³⁰

²⁹Richard Southern, The Medieval Theatre in the Round. This entire work concerns the staging of The Castle of Perseverance.

³⁰Loc. cit.

In addition to the theme of evil in Perseverance, one detects a comic quality reminiscent of the humor earlier discovered in the miracle plays. For example, in one minor scene, Stulticia and Voluptas dress Mankind in new clothing. Such a scene is a standard one, for the dandy and his fine clothes are always a subject of humor.³¹ It is not a frightening scene, but, rather, one that is enjoyable as entertainment. Withington points out that as the Devil ceased to be feared, he became comic; and the minor demons, who were less terrifying, became humorous characters early in the history of the morality drama.³² Thus, these lesser devils contribute to the development of the evil character, who now possesses pronounced comic qualities. As Rossiter has stated, the world of the Devil is a comic place since, of necessity,

³¹T. E. Allison, "The Paternoster Play and the Origin of the Vices," PMLA, XXXIX (1924), p. 801.

³²Robert Withington, Excursions in English Drama, p. 50.

it involves the negation of human dignities.³³

After considering the plot and theme of evil in Perseverance, one notes that it is the sin of Covetousness which almost destroys Mankind, and that, in this play, Covetousness is the only Deadly Sin assigned to its own scaffold.³⁴ This is an unusual turn in events, for often one thinks of Pride as being the sin which most frequently conquers man.³⁵ Although Covetousness may be the sin which is prevalent in old age, it is the sin which is present throughout Mankind's life, so that one suspects the author of pointing out that greed is the dominant sin of his own time.³⁶ Obviously, Covetousness is the strongest of the sins in this play, and one sees that the "figure with evil intent" has been changed in this later drama. Whereas in the early

³³Rossiter, op. cit., p. 147.

³⁴Southern, op. cit., p. 11.

³⁵Arnold Williams, The Drama of Medieval England, p. 154.

³⁶Loc. cit.

miracle play, it is Satan who tempts Eve, in the later, more sophisticated morality, it is Covetousness who lures Mankind away from good. It is not evil in its general concept which destroys the soul, but rather a specific sin to which man succumbs.³⁷

Certainly, Covetousness possesses some traits which are similar to those of the devil in the miracle plays. For example, Covetousness is as proud as Satan, and he is always eager to tempt Mankind, a definite devil trait. Covetousness is, also, determined to ensnare Mankind although he knows that Mankind has gained the shelter of the castle. He is also extremely confident that man will succumb to temptation. Of course, Covetousness is correct in his assumption, just as the earlier Satan was often determined to conquer man and was usually the victor, at least temporarily.

One discovers the theme of evil and the "figure with evil intent" within another morality play, Wisdom

³⁷Southern, op. cit., p. 11.

Who Is Christ (ca. 1460).³⁸ This play begins with the introduction of Wisdom, an abstraction of Christ. Soul enters and converses with Wisdom; during the conversation one learns that Soul has five wits, who are dressed in white, and three powers, Mind, Will, and Understanding, who are the main characters of the play. These three are referred to as "mightes" and are related to the Trinity and to Faith, Hope, and Charity, three Christian virtues.³⁹ Lucifer, then, appears and reveals that he intends to entice Mind, Will, and Understanding away from Wisdom. To do so, he changes his appearance and re-enters attired as a "gallant" to begin the actual temptation. He is successful, and Mind changes into Pride or Maintenance while Understanding becomes Covetousness, and Will becomes Lechery. Immediately the three powers are involved in sinful actions, since Will plans to seduce his cousin with the help of these other powers. Wisdom,

³⁸W. Roy MacKenzie, The English Morality from the Point of Allegory, p. 149.

³⁹Williams, op. cit., p. 158.

then, reprimands the three and discloses Soul to them, who is now ugly and distorted. Mind, Will, and Understanding ask for forgiveness while Soul pleads for Mercy. Then, six devils run out from under Soul's mantle. Wisdom sends the three powers to confession, and while they are gone, he describes for the audience the kind of behavior which is most pleasing to God. Soul, then, appears in his former costume, and all of the main characters join Wisdom in discussing the meanings of the events which have been presented.

In Wisdom, three of the Seven Deadly Sins are presented in a manner which differs from the technique used in Perseverance. In Perseverance, one recalls that all seven sins were presented along with their opposing virtues, although Covetousness specifically was assigned to World, while Wrath, Pride and Envy were members of Satan's group. The remaining three, Gluttony, Sloth, and Lechery, served Flesh. Nevertheless, all of the sins are united in the hope of entrapping Mankind. Wisdom reduces the number of

sins to three: Pride, Covetousness, and Lechery.⁴⁰

The devil states his plan in the following manner:

I xall now stere hys mynde
 To that syne made me a fende,
 Pryde, wyche ys a-geyn kynde,
 And of synnys hede;
 So to couetyse he xall wende,
 For that enduryth to the last ende;
 And on-to lechery, and I may hym rende,
 Than am I seker the souls ys dede. (528-35)

It is clear then, that the devil plans to entrap Mind, Will, and Understanding with these three sins. Mind, who becomes Pride, has a group of six followers, Indignation, Sturdiness, Malice, Hastiness, Vengeance, and Discord. Will (Lechery) leads Recklessness, Idleness, Surfeit, Greediness, Adultery, and Fornication; and Understanding's group consists of Wrong, Sleight, Doubleness, Falsehood, Ravin, and Deceit. One notes, then, that there are three groups, each containing seven sins, thus forming a trinity of the seven deadly sins.⁴¹ While the trinity shown in Perseverance consisted of the World, the Flesh, and the Devil, by

⁴⁰Bevington, op. cit., p. 125.

⁴¹Williams, op. cit., p. 159.

the time of Wisdom, it has been changed from this group of three into specific sins, and, as it has been noted in Perseverance, it is now a specific sin to which an individual succumbs, as Mind, for example, is ensnared by Pride, or Mankind is successfully enticed by Covetousness. An examination of Wisdom Who Is Christ indicates, therefore, that the element of compression in the "figure with evil intent" has entered into the drama at this point, since the traditional Seven Deadly Sins have been reduced to three major sins.⁴²

Slightly later than Wisdom is the morality, Mankind (ca. 1475).⁴³ Its plot begins with a pious speech by Mercy, who is harassed by Mischief, New Guise, Now-a-days, and Nought. Mercy drives them away before Mankind enters the scene and then warns Mankind of the dangers of the four evil figures and also tells him to beware of Titivillus, who is the worst of the group. As Mercy leaves, Mankind prepares to till his

⁴²Bevington, op. cit., p. 127.

⁴³Joseph Quincy Adams, Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas, p. 304.

field. New Guise, Now-a-days, and Nought try to appeal to him, but he successfully discourages them with his spade. After this rebuff, they go to Mischief for help. Mischief summons Titivillus, who enters wearing a devil's costume and carrying a net, stating that he will overcome Mankind. Titivillus, who has the gift of invisibility, buries a board in the ground where Mankind plans to dig. Mankind, then, comes to this spot and despairs because he cannot break the sod. While he is lamenting, Titivillus, still invisible, carries off the spade. This scene involving the board and spade definitely adds to the comic aspects of the play, and, furthermore, in its invisible vice, marks an innovation in the treatment of this character. Mankind, then, goes to sleep and dreams, because of Titivillus, that Mercy is a horse thief who has been hanged. Also, in the dream, Mankind is told to ask forgiveness of New Guise, Now-a-days, and Nought, which he does when he awakes. Then, Mischief tells him to swear that he will rob, steal, kill, and perform other evil deeds, and to each

assignment, Mankind answers, "I will, sir." Mercy learns of all that has happened and asks Mary to pity the fallen soul of Mankind. He, next, finds Mankind in a state of complete despair, planning to hang himself, and the evil powers are ready to help him by giving him a rope and pointing out a tree. However, Mercy persuades Mankind not to kill himself, reminding him that he has three adversaries, the World, the Flesh, and the Devil. Now-a-days, and Nought represent the World, and Titivillus is the fiend of Hell, while Mischief signifies the weakness of the Flesh. Mercy, then, asks God to give perseverance to Mankind, and the play ends with Mankind's salvation.

Mankind is significant in its treatment of Titivillus, whose name, one recalls, was a part of the dramatis personae of the Towneley Judicium. He is not identically depicted in both plays, however, but his "merry devil" attitude is apparent throughout both as he sincerely enjoys his role of the adversary of all men. Evidently his fame had grown over the

years, since the audience is still willing to see him. Before his entrance, he shouts from offstage, "I com with my legges under me!" (447) The other evil characters plan to take up a collection as Now-a-days says to the audience, "He [Titivillus] loughth no grotes no pens or to-pens" (457) However, New Guise hastens to add that they will accept large and small coins as he says, "No so! Ye that mow pay the ton, pay the tother." (459) Presumably after the money has been collected, Titivillus enters and makes a statement in Latin, which is reminiscent of the Latin jibberish of this character in the Judicium. Although Titivillus is obviously popular with the audience, his evil qualities do not really make him the supreme evil figure of the play. Mischief is a strong character with his representation of the sins of the Flesh; and New Guise, Now-a-days, and Nought in their combined roles of the World are certainly formidable adversaries. Titivillus is not a representation of all of the sins of man, but he is a character conceived of in the evil tradition with his malicious intent, pride in his work, and definite

comic traits.

Another play which is close in its date to Wisdom and Mankind is the Digby Mary Magdalene (ca. 1480), although it is not strictly a morality play as are the other two.⁴⁴ Mary Magdalene resembles the miracle play in its treatment of the life of Magdalene, but the scenes concerning the life of Christ give it the qualities of a mystery. Finally, the presence of abstract personages and the contest between good and evil indicate the pattern of the morality.⁴⁵ Certainly, the morality element is very strong in the play, and, perhaps, the play may best be called a miracle-morality.⁴⁶ Its action begins after the death of Syrus, father of Lazarus, Martha, and Mary, who has left some property to each of his children. It is Mary who inherits the Castle of Magdalene.

⁴⁴Pollard, op. cit., p. 194.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 193.

⁴⁶MacKenzie, op. cit., p. 35.

Boasting of his power, the King of the World then enters with his servants, Pride and Covetousness, followed by the King of the Flesh with his band, Lechery, Gluttony, and Sloth. On the other hand, Satan plots with his followers, Envy and Wrath, to win Mary to his cause. He seeks advice from World, who sends him to Flesh. Lechery, then, comes to Mary when she grieves for her dead father and persuades her to amuse herself by going to a tavern. There, Mary meets Curiosity, a gallant, who seduces her. The Good Angel appears and reproves Mary for her sins. Mary repents and goes to Christ, whose feet she washes with her tears and anoints with an expensive perfume. Christ forgives Mary for her sins and casts out of her body seven devils, presumable the Seven Deadly Sins. Satan next loudly reprimands his followers for their failure. Later, Mary converts the boasting King of Marcyll and restores his wife and child to life. Next, Mary is seen in the wilderness as she is fed by the angels. Upon her death, she is brought to Heaven, thus concluding the play.

One notes in Mary Magdalene that a theatrical

fusion of the evil powers has not yet occurred since each of the Seven Deadly Sins functions individually under the aegis of the World, the Flesh, and the Devil. At the same time, it is interesting to meet Satan again as a non-abstract member of the drama, although the miracle-play quality of Mary Magdalene had suggested to one that he might appear. Evidently, Satan was comic in this role much as was Herod in his ranting characterization.⁴⁷ In fact, Herod has a small part in the early portion of this particular drama, wherein he raves and roars as usual. Similarly, the devil reveals his rage toward his followers (much as Herod formerly gave vent to his anger) when he learns that Mary has been redeemed:

A, owt! and harrow! I am hampord with hate!
 In hast wyl I set on iugment to se!
 With thees betyll-browyd bycheys I am at debate.
 How! Belfagour, and Belzabub! com vp here to me!

(722-25) This treatment of the Satan character is also similar to that of Perseverance wherein Satan, World, and Flesh learn that Mankind has gained the safety

⁴⁷ Robert Withington, "Braggart, Devil and Vice," Speculum, XI (1936), p. 128.

of the Castle and loudly berate their servants for failing to guard their prisoner. Withington points out the Satanic character was utilizing a popular technique of characterization when he "borrowed" some of the qualities of Herod.⁴⁸

A most noteworthy representation of the evil character occurs in Mundus et Infans (ca. 1500).⁴⁹ This play opens with the appearance of Mundus or World, who describes the extent of his great power. He greets Infans and gives him the name of Wanton. Infans uses the name for seven years, and then abandons it and returns to Mundus, who now names him Lust-and-Lykyngge. Later, Lust-and-Lykyngge once again approaches Mundus, who now deems him worthy to bear the name of Manhode. Mundus tells Manhode of the Seven Kings, the Seven Deadly Sins, and urges him to follow them. Manhode, then, boasts of his many exploits and declares his allegiance to the Seven Kings. Conscience warns

⁴⁸Loc. cit.

⁴⁹A. W. Ward, A History of English Dramatic Literature, I, p. 118.

Manhode, of his dangerous companions and urges him to reject them with the exception of Covetousness, whom Conscience takes to be a symbol of the covetousness of Christ's service. Then Conscience tells Manhode to be fearful of Folye, the most dangerous of all sins. Manhode pledges himself to follow the teachings of Conscience; however, Folye coaxes and cajoles Manhode, pointing out the weak traits of Conscience, and Manhode succumbs and accepts the new name of Shame, singing a song in praise of Folye for having given it to him. Conscience, then, reproaches Manhode, who will not listen to counsel. Therefore, Conscience seeks help from Perseverance, his brother. Manhode appears again, now old and broken and claiming the name of Age. He laments his present state and wishes that Death would relieve him of his misery. Finally, Perseverance redeems Manhode and gives him a final name, that of Repentance.

One notes that in this play there is no actual appearance of the Seven Deadly Sins who are in reality merely alluded to by Mundus and Infans. In fact, the only evil beings in this drama are World and Folye.

Folye, however, is an important character in the evolution of the "figure with evil intent," as the following lines indicate:

Manhode. Folye? what thyngge callest thou folye?
Conscyence. Syr, it is Pryde, Wrathe, and Enuy,
 Slouthe, Couetous and Glotonye,-
 Lechery the seuenta is:
 These seuen synnes I call folye. (457-61)

Here, Folye is described as being equal to all of the Seven Deadly Sins, in fact, a synthesis of all their evil qualities. In other words, Folye is the Vice of this play.⁵⁰ Certainly, Folye resembles the later Vice when he duels with Manhode early in the play and makes humorous comments about women and friars, personally confiding in the audience about his plans.⁵¹ Allison sums up the origin of the Vice in the following statement:

As we now see it, however, the Vice of the early sixteenth century moralities represents the fusion of a group of minor vices, and as far back as we are able to trace these characters, we find them exhibiting distinctly comic elements.⁵²

⁵⁰Bevington, op. cit., p. 122.

⁵¹Loc. cit.

⁵²Allison, op. cit., p. 801.

A later play, The Longer Thou Livest the More Fool Thou Art (ca. 1558),⁵³ contains a passage which clearly shows the emergence of the Vice character in English drama:

Incontinence. What, Idleness, the parent of all vice?
Who thought to haue found the heare.
Idleness. Then are they neyther mannerly nor wise,
As by thy salvation doth appeare;
For if I of vice be the parent,
Then thy parent I must needs be.
Thou art a vice by all mens consent,
Therefore it is like that I begat thee.
(595-602)

These lines indicate that the word vice, at least in this play, is a personification of all forms of evil, an abstraction which leads to the formation of one evil character, the "arch-vice" of this play.⁵⁴ Spivack further states that the emergence of the "arch-vice" occurs in the following manner:

The sins that grow in our lives are not coeval, but spring from each other contingently: one is the root and trunk of which others are branches and still others twigs. This commonplace of the medieval moralist is also the

⁵³Katharine Lee Bates, The English Religious Drama, p. 253.

⁵⁴Spivack, op. cit., p. 140.

prescriptive scheme, although often simplified of the moralities.⁵⁵

Thus, the character of the Vice becomes a synthesis of all evil qualities, which are already interrelated by their very evil characteristics.

Therefore, one sees in Folye, the character of the morality Vice, a distinct dedication to evil, a dedication which was found in the Satan of the miracle plays. Both Folye and Satan coax and plead their causes if such action will aid them in bringing about the damnation of mankind. One notes, as well, that Folye also shares a common characteristic with Tutivillus of the Judicium, for these two evil beings are inclined to brag about their "devilish" exploits and to gloat over the victims' discomfort. The Vice, as represented in Folye, similarly is directly related to Titivillus in Mankind. Both of these malevolent characters share their plans with an audience which appears to have been fond of seeing them upon the stage. Finally, Folye is a moral abstraction of the Seven Deadly Sins, which,

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 142.

in turn, are related to the character of Satan.

CHAPTER III

Obviously, then, the Vice character is a synthesis of the many traits of the devil (or devils), a character who becomes more comic as he is less feared. He is also a synthesis of the cardinal sins, which are connected with the theme of evil as illustrated by World, Flesh, and the Devil.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Robert Withington, Excursions in English Drama, p. 50.

CHAPTER III

THE SUPREMACY OF THE VICE ON THE ENGLISH STAGE

In the chronology of English Tudor drama, one discovers the interlude, a dramatic type that is rather difficult to define. Some critics explain that while the moralities aimed at promoting moral education through the use of abstractions, the interludes pretended to be no less than farces with fewer uses of allegory and abstractions than the moralities.⁵⁷

On the other hand, others suggest that the interlude was a play short enough to be presented between parts of a whole evening's entertainment, whereas the cycle plays might have required a full day for performance.⁵⁸ Chambers, however, believes the interlude to be a ludus in dialogue, a theory which one might

⁵⁷Thomas M. Parrott and Robert H. Ball, A Short View of Elizabethan Drama, p. 23.

⁵⁸Glynne Wickham, Early English Stages, I, p. 234.

apply to any dramatic performance.⁵⁹ Perhaps a workable concept of the interlude for the purposes of this study is the one which shows that after 1500, the moralities were commonly called interludes, indicating a new form and spirit in English drama.⁶⁰

One of the earliest known interludes is Hycke-Scorner (ca. 1520).⁶¹ In plot it is similar to the earlier moralities, since one notes within it a familiar conflict between the abstract qualities of good and evil. However, this particular interlude differs from the dramas previously investigated in that two of its three evil beings are eventually redeemed by the efforts of the good forces, while the titular character himself continues in his unrepentant ways, unchanged by the influence of good by the conclusion of the play. The basic action of this drama begins with an introduction of Pyte, who converses with Contemplacyon and Perseverance, before she con-

⁵⁹Chambers, op. cit., pp. 181-184

⁶⁰Pollard, op. cit., p. 119.

⁶¹Ward, op. cit., p. 119.

tinues alone upon an errand. Frewyll next enters and discovers that he has no money. While he is discussing this financial problem, Imagynacyon appears to tell Frewyll about his having been placed in the stocks after being caught in dalliance with a fair wench. While they are thus conversing, Hycke-Scorner appears, boasting of the many places he has seen. Next, he argues with Imagynacyon about the merits of the latter's mother. Pyte now re-enters to break up the quarrel which has been conducted in an extremely loud manner. These rogues, however, are ungrateful and put her in the stocks when they become weary of her moralizing tone. When the three evil characters leave the stage, Pyte is released by Contemplacyon and Perseverance and is encouraged by these good powers to capture the evil ones to prevent them from doing injury to other people. She departs on this mission, leaving Contemplacyon and Perseverance upon the stage, where they convert Frewyll and, later, redeem Imagynacyon, thus ending the play.

One observes that Hycke-Scorner continues in

the tradition of the Vice character as he boasts of his pursuits and duels with Imagynacyon. One also notes that he is not saved by the good characters, nor is he punished for his evil deeds. In the earlier moralities, Satan and the cardinal sins were not completely banished but were, instead, left in the world to tempt all mankind. Hycke-Scorner is still at work, no doubt, when this play ends and will continue to be as long as he finds disciples. However, one may not think of him as a strong character, nor is his role as important as the other five in this play. One thinks that he might have been a more developed malicious figure had he later appeared to be chastized or saved.

A later and more successful interlude is Wyt and Science (ca. 1530) by John Redford. The play is fragmentary with the first portion missing.⁶² Adams suggests that this play probably began with Wyt's asking Reason for the hand of Lady Science only to have Reason consent if Wyt will overcome

⁶²Adams, op. cit., p. 325.

Tediousness and make a journey to Parnassus. He then presents Wyt with a glass of Reason.⁶³ Wyt enters upon this journey, in the process of which he is badly beaten by Tediousness, a giant. He recovers, however, and meets Honest Recreation, only to forsake her for Idleness, who, in turn, introduces him to Ignorance. These two latter characters place Ignorance's coat upon Wyt while he sleeps. Science and her mother, Experience, then enter and Science rejects Fame, Favor, Riches, and Worship--all servants of the World. Wyt awakens and approaches her, but she does not recognize him because of his cloak of ignorance and calls him a fool. Shame comes with a whip to punish Wyt, but Reason stops the beating and offers Wyt the opportunity to become an honest man. He departs with his servants (Instruction, Diligence, and Study), and together they successfully defeat Tediousness, at which time Wyt returns to claim Science for his bride. A song by Wyt and Science and their followers then

⁶³Loc. cit.

concludes the interlude.

This play differs from those previously cited in its attempt to establish a romance between two abstract characters. However, Wyt, in particular, is a rather realistic personage, not an abstraction like Mankind or some of the other morality heroes.⁶⁴

This lack of didactic treatment accounts for this drama's more entertaining quality than that found in some of the earlier plays.

One notes the appearance of a traditional Vice in Wyt and Science, for Ignorance, the fool, contains vice-like qualities in his characterization.⁶⁵ He is a comic figure as he engages in a ludicrous spelling lesson with Idleness, who never succeeds in teaching him his name. Furthermore, Ignorance, with the help of Idleness, brings about the temporary downfall of Wyt. Thus, Ignorance combines the qualities of comedy and malicious intent, the important aspects

⁶⁴C. F. Tucker Brooke, The Tudor Drama, p. 76.

⁶⁵Robert Withington, "The Ancestry of the 'Vice'," Speculum, VII (1932), p. 527.

of any Vice character. Ignorance further gives evidence of the costuming of the Vice when he exchanges clothing with Wyt. For example, when Wyt awakens, he describes his attire in the following manner:

And I, by the mas, a foole alone,
 Deckt, by Goges bones, lyke a very asse!
 Ingnorance cote, hoode, eares,--ye, by the masse,
 Kokescome and all. I lack but a bable!
 And as for this face, it is abhominable,
 As black as the devyll! (811-16)

The Vice of these plays commonly wore the gay, motley costume of a domestic fool,⁶⁶ and the allusion to the black devil's face further supports Tiddy's theory about the interrelationship of the fool-devil and the Vice.⁶⁷ Indeed, one recalls that the Clown in a song in Twelfth Night comments upon the tradition of the Vice, as follows:⁶⁸

I am gone, sir,
 And anon, sir,
 I'll be with you again,
 In a trice,
 Like to the old vice,

⁶⁶Bates, op. cit., p. 207.

⁶⁷Tiddy, op. cit., p. 113.

⁶⁸Ward, op. cit., p. 110.

Your need to sustain,
 Who, with dagger of lath,
 In his rage and his wrath,
 Cries, ah, ha! to the Devil. (IV.ii.130-8)

The typical interlude Vice, then, was a figure dressed in motley coat, carrying a wooden sword, and exhibiting evil and comic characteristics.⁶⁹

One meets the character of the Vice, again, in The Play of the Weather (ca. 1533) by John Heywood.⁷⁰ Mery-Reporte is designated as the Vice in the list of players' names, and he definitely illustrates certain vice-like qualities in this drama. The action centers around Jupiter, who, because he is all powerful, is in charge of the weather. Mery-Reporte assumes the role of Jupiter's servant and interviews all petitioners who seek the help of their sovereign. First, A Gentleman enters and asks for pleasant hunting weather with no wind. Next, a Merchant requests pleasant weather and wind so that ships can sail. A Ranger

⁶⁹Tiddy, op. cit., p. 113; also Creizenach, op. cit., pp. 62-3.

⁷⁰Adams, op. cit., p. 397.

also requires many windy days to blow down some trees which can then be chopped and sold for firewood. A Water Myller prefers to have the wind banished so that more rain may fall; however, the Wynde Myller wants only wind and no rain. Consequently, the two millers argue about the merits of water and wind, and it is Mery-Reporte who must stop their quarreling. A Gentlewoman, then, enters and asks that there be no harsh sun or winter winds to ruin her complexion. A Launder hears her plea and immediately stresses the importance of the sun in drying clothes. The two women quarrel, and Mery-Reporte again calms the adversaries when he states that the devil's servants have an easier time than he does. The final petitioner is a small boy who asks for snow because he likes nothing better than to "snowball birds." After listening to this dialogue, Mery-Reporte steps forward and asks if anyone in the audience has a weather request to make before he carries these pleas to Jupiter. Thoroughly disgusted, Mery-Reporte tells his ruler of these wishes. Jupiter asks these people to come into his presence and tells them that they shall receive their

requests: the sun will shine part of the time, the wind will blow on some days, rain and snow will fall when it is proper, and there will be pleasant days for all, at least part of the time. He also points out that if there were only one element, there would be only one trade, and therefore, there would be no need for any people. The petitioners leave happily, since each has been satisfied, and the play ends.

Mery-Reporte indicates his vice-like qualities in this drama when, after hearing these many requests, he says to the audience that he is neutral and does not care who wins or loses. A character like Mery-Reporte would be interested only in his personal gains and not in the good that may come to other people. He has intelligence because he listens carefully to Jupiter's decree concerning the weather. When the other listeners leave, cheerfully believing that they have what they want, Mery-Reporte notes, "Syr, now shall ye have the weather even as yt was." (1240) However, Mery-Reporte is not a typical Vice since he does not appear to devote himself exclusively to the destruction of mankind. He has certain parasitic

qualities which are revealed in his professed devotion to himself, but he perhaps best fits the role of the court jester.⁷¹ He is comic and clever, but one feels that he does not have the qualities of a character from the region of fire and brimstone.⁷²

An examination of these Vices in some of the earlier interludes, makes it quite obvious that these malicious figures were extremely entertaining stage characters. In fact, one suspects that these Vices were the main attractions of these plays, because the audiences welcomed a relief from the didactic themes of the moralities and the interludes.⁷³ Bevington notes that, around 1550, the Vice was in charge of the stage in most popular dramas.⁷⁴ However, the very popularity of the Vice weakened the interlude since his buffoonery

⁷¹Ward, op. cit., p. 110.

⁷²Brooke, op. cit., p. 96.

⁷³Hardin Craig, English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages, p. 378.

⁷⁴Bevington, op. cit., p. 80.

and comic behavior often detracted from the serious message of the play.⁷⁵ Certainly, as an audience, for example, becomes thoroughly delighted with Ignorance and his spelling lesson, it forgets Wyt and his problems. In addition, Hycke-Scorner offers a pleasing and amusing contrast to Pyte, while Mery-Reporte brightens the rather negligible plot of The Play of the Weather.

The tradition of the Vice continues into a considerably later interlude, Nice Wanton (ca. 1560) in the guise of the evil character, Iniquitie.⁷⁶ This play is interesting in that the main characters (Barnabas, Ismael, Dalila, and Xantippe) have been given non-abstract names, although each illustrates certain moral qualities, or a lack of them. A messenger opens the play by stating that a mother has failed in the upbringing of two children and that only her third child is good. Barnabas, the worthy

⁷⁵ Hardin Craig, English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages, p. 380.

⁷⁶ Ward, op. cit., p. 142.

son, then enters and wonders what will become of Ismael and Dalila, who will not go to school or behave properly. The two wantons appear and pay no heed to their sober brother. A gossip warns Xantippe of her children's folly, but the mother thinks the woman a fool and plans to get some food for the children so they can "make merry." Dalila, Ismael, and Iniquitie enter together singing, and later play at dice, in the midst of which Iniquitie slaps Dalila for winning, although he has taken all of Ismael's money, who, in turn, is forced to become a thief. Iniquitie leaves after making certain that both Dalila and Ismael are doomed to a life of evil--Dalila to be a prostitute and Ismael, a robber. A long interval of times passes, after which Dalila appears again in ragged clothes, an ugly and disfigured woman. Barnabas urges her to repent her sins and goes with her to seek redemption. Ismael is seen in a court where he is sentenced to death for his crimes; however, he involves Iniquitie, who brought him to this state and who also is sentenced to be hanged. The Vice puts up a fight and tries to escape, but he is unsuccessful and remarks, as he is

led away, "I care not for you both; no, not a fly."

(430) Worldy Shame reprimands Xantippe for causing her child's death, and she attempts suicide; however, Barnabas intervenes and takes her to repentance.

In this drama, one notes that the Vice does not escape punishment, although until the end of his life he is as unrepentant as ever. He is completely evil and brings others to destruction; therefore, he may be considered to be a fiend from Hell. Furthermore, he sings with Dalila and speaks in confidential asides to the audience, as did the Vice figure normally do, but he does not possess the distinct comic qualities displayed by some of the previous Vices. Nevertheless, another noteworthy characteristic of the Vice in Nice Wanton is the fact that he is present almost until the play ends. One recalls that the evil characters of the preceding moralities disappeared early in the action of the play.⁷⁷ However, as the Vice becomes a more important character, he remains in the action of the play until he is

⁷⁷Allison, op. cit., p. 804.

eventually carried off to Hell or until he seeks new adventures, or, as in the case of Iniquitie, he is punished for his crimes.⁷⁸ Thus, one notes that the Vice of the interlude may be a braggart (Hycke-Scorner), a buffoon (Ignorance), a court fool (Mery-Reporte), or a fiend, (Iniquitie). Whatever his representation, he is an extremely popular figure in the drama as this study indicates.

However, the Vice was not the only attractive character in the drama of the sixteenth century. While John Heywood's The Four PP (ca. 1525) does not resemble a morality drama in plot, it is thoroughly comic in its action.⁷⁹ The Four PP has no actual Vice figure, but all four main characters (the Palmer, Pardoner, Potheary, and Peddler) are rogues by their own admissions. Another of Heywood's plays, John John the Husband, Tyb his Wife, and Sir John the Priest (ca. 1533), is also humorous and non-allegorical.⁸⁰

⁷⁸Spivack, op. cit., p. 196.

⁷⁹Adams, op. cit., p. 365.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 385.

Thus, it is important to note that the inter-
ludes were not all dramas of abstractions nor were they
all involved in Vice characters. The drama by the
middle of the sixteenth century had become more and
more diversified, and the playwrights were more aware
of the many character possibilities in their plays so
that, after 1550, one discovers many new developments
in the tradition of the stage.⁸¹ The character of
Vice will be encountered again in the later, more
sophisticated dramas, but, (interpreted strictly as
a Vice figure,) he will never again be as popular
and prominent as he was in the morality-interlude.⁸²

⁸¹Bevington, op. cit., pp. 82-83.

⁸²Ibid., p. 80.

CHAPTER IV

CHARACTERS WITH VICE-LIKE QUALITIES IN THE LATER TUDOR DRAMA

One encounters the character of the Vice again in The Interlude of Vice (Horestes) (ca. 1567).⁸³ The play begins with the Vice, disguised as Patience, who involves Hodge and Rusticus, two country fellows, in a fight. The Vice manages to strike a few blows of his own before he leaves the scene. Horestes mourns his father's death and his mother's infidelity with Egistus, her love and accomplice in murder. However, Horestes is uncertain about what kind of retribution to take until the Vice, in the guise of Courage, urges him to make war on Clytemnestra and Egistus. Dame Nature is unable to stop Horestes, who in the company of the Vice, now known as Revenge, wages war and slays his mother and her lover. Menelaus, Clytemnestra's brother, now seeks revenge but soon learns that Horestes had good reasons for his actions.

⁸³Ward, op. cit., p. 208.

Menelaus, then, gives his daughter, Hermione, to Horestes for a wife, while the Vice takes leave of the audience and departs from the country. Truth and Dewtey conclude the play in the crowning of Horestes.

Certainly one may not classify this drama as a morality, and what few allegorical characters there are could be left out of the play, as well as the Vice, who is not actually responsible for the main plot action since he appears only to people who are interested in revenge.⁸⁴ However, the Vice still has certain qualities which remind one of his earlier counterparts as he shares his intrigues with his audience and engages in riotous comedy with Rusticus, Hodge, and their companions. Particularly does he demonstrate his old mocking, evil tendencies in the scene in which he sings about the destruction which war brings. He is still a malevolent character, but his aim now is that of " . . . material and social disruption within the family and the state, rather than

⁸⁴MacKenzie, op. cit., p. 248.

the moral disruption of individual man."⁸⁵ His character, like that of the drama itself, has become more sophisticated and complex.

There are other traces of the Vice character in Horestes. For example, Rusticus and Hodge contribute to the humor of the drama in their brawls, as do Haltersick and Hempstring in their quarreling, swearing, and wenching.⁸⁶ However, it is important for one to note that these characters are not abstractions, but are, instead, real soldiers and countrymen.⁸⁷ Thus, the qualities of the Vice may be found in the later drama in non-abstract figures.

The remarkable Vice, Ambidexter, appears in Thomas Preston's Cambises (ca. 1569).⁸⁸ Again, as in Horestes, one notes a lack of abstract characters

⁸⁵Douglas Cole, Suffering and Evil in the Plays of Christopher Marlowe, p. 34.

⁸⁶Bevington, op. cit., p. 181.

⁸⁷Loc. cit.

⁸⁸Ward, op. cit., p. 205.

in the play since the basic action revolves around Cambises, the evil king of Persia. Cambises does, however, show a connection with the morality plays in that the entire moral life of Cambises, beginning with his one good deed and concluding with his complete spiritual and physical degeneration.⁸⁹ Cambises performs his one good act when he returns from war to find Sisamnes, his judge, has acted in a dishonest and corrupt manner. Sisamnes is executed while his son is forced to watch the event, a moral lesson for him. However, Cambises soon becomes completely enmeshed in evil as he begins to drink excessively. First of all, he shoots the son of Praxaspes, his good counselor, in an attempt to prove that he has not become unsteady by drinking. Next, he has Smirdis, his younger brother, murdered. Later, he becomes angry with his wife, because she recalls the cruel death of Smirdis and has her murdered. Finally, Cambises dies when, in falling from his horse, he is mortally wounded on his own sword.

⁸⁹Spivack, op. cit., p. 284.

Ambidexter's role in all of this action is similar to that of the Vice in Horestes in that both are a part of all that occurs in the drama. For example, the Vice in Cambises creates an argument between two bumpkins, Hob and Lob, just as Patience (the Vice) does in his comedy scene with Rusticus and Hodge in Horestes. Ambidexter enjoys the company of Huff, Ruff, and Snuff, three comic soldiers, reminiscent of Haltersick and Hemstring, the boisterous ruffians of Horestes. Ambidexter brings about the corruption of the well-born Sisamnes, just as Horestes was urged on to do evil by the Vice.

In addition to his relationship with the Vice of Horestes, Ambidexter reveals other vice-like qualities. He reminds the audience that his name indicates that he ". . . with both hands finely can play . . ." (151) He, like many Vices, firmly illustrates his deceitful nature as he quickly changes his emotions from weeping to laughing.⁹⁰ Ambidexter comments to his audience

⁹⁰Ibid., p. 291.

after Smirdis's death in the following manner:

Ah good Lord! to think on him, how it dooth me
greeve!
I cannot forbear weeping, ye may me beleeve.
Oh my hart! how my pulses doo beate,
With sorrowfull lamentations I am in such a heate!
Ah, my hart, how for him it doth sorrow!
Nay, I have done, in faith, now, and God give ye
good morrow!
Ha, ha! Weep? Nay laugh, with both hands to
play! (738-744)

The Vice is as treacherous and beguiling as he ever was, and he is always most concerned for his own welfare.

Although the Vice in Horestes and Ambidexter are arresting characters, one notes they are not at the center of the main action of the play. As the drama moved away from the allegory, its focal point changed. While the Vice was the main attraction of the later moralities and probably contributed to its degeneration, he is not the primary character in the newer, non-abstract drama.⁹¹ He is, obviously, entertaining and intriguing in both of these plays, but it is Horestes and Cambises who are in command of

⁹¹Bevington, op. cit., p. 82; also, Spivack, op. cit., pp. 369-78.

the stage.⁹²

The theme of evil and the Vice character continue into Christopher Marlowe's memorable drama, Doctor Faustus (ca. 1588).⁹³ This play is similar to the morality drama in its presentation of the forces of good and evil interacting upon man's soul. However, Marlowe's Doctor Faustus differs from the morality and miracle plays in its presentation of Mephistophilis. This demon describes for Faustus the terrible agonies of Hell as no other devil in the English dramatic tradition has done.⁹⁴ Mephistophilis tells the truth to Faustus, but actually he has no need for deceit since Faustus is his own destroyer.⁹⁵ Another similarity between Marlowe's Faustus and the miracle and morality drama may be found in the pageant of the Seven Deadly Sins. Certainly, the earlier liturgical drama made use of these sins, and they

⁹²Bevington, op. cit., p. 82.

⁹³ward, op. cit., p. 329.

⁹⁴Cole, op. cit., p. 240.

⁹⁵Ibid., p. 241.

frequently appeared in the plays of the period.

However, in Faustus, these sins were introduced for the purpose of entertainment; not for the purpose of damning Faust's soul, as they were often employed in the religious plays. Thus, this drama has certain morality and miracle play characteristics, even though it is obvious that Marlowe has treated this liturgical material in a different manner.

However, Marlowe's technique is similar to that shown in the earlier plays in his handling of the comic scenes in Doctor Faustus. Certainly, Wagner, Faustus's servant, fits into the tradition of the Vice. In reality, Wagner is a parody of Faustus in that he does many things which, in Faustus, are evil but, which, in Wagner, appear to be only ridiculous. For example, Faustus first uses his powers to conjure up Mephistophilis and, in the following scene, similarly calls forth two devils to frighten the Clown into becoming his servant. The master-servant relationship is also a common point between Faustus and Wagner. Since Wagner is the servant of Faustus, in order to complete the parody, Wagner also engages the service of the Clown. Certainly,

Wagner continues in the tradition of the Vice with his suggestive jokes and in his struggles to gain control of the clown. In addition to Wagner, the characters of Robin, Rafe, and the Vinter add comedy to the play as they continue in the tradition of the rustics seen earlier in Horestes and Cambises.⁹⁶

Edward II (ca. 1590), another of Marlowe's plays, is concerned with the theme of evil and the Vice.⁹⁷ There is a horrifying sequence in this drama in which Edward is murdered by a hired assassin, Lightborn. One notes, interestingly, that a devil of the same name appears in the first play of the Chester Cycle. Certainly the Lightborn of Edward II is a cold-blooded devil he boasts to Mortimer about the various ways in which he has destroyed men. When Lightborn is left alone to prepare for the execution of Edward, he shows that he takes as much pride in his profession as a devil or Vice when he states, "So now must I about this gear; / ne'er was there any / So finely handled

⁹⁶Bevington, op. cit., p. 254.

⁹⁷Ward, op. cit., p. 347.

as this king shall be." (xxii.38-40) When Lightborn meets the king, he resorts to the old Vice trick of shedding a few tears and even to stating that Edward is about to break his heart as Edward tells of all of the indignities which he has suffered. However, Lightborn is not at all moved when he murders the king with a feather bed, a table, and a red-hot spit-- his chosen instruments. No Vice or devil could be a more calculating murderer than Lightborn, who himself meets death immediately after killing the king.

There is another important character in Edward II who exhibits vice-like tendencies. Gaveston, the King's favorite is a self-acknowledged flatterer and hypocrite, who carefully leads Edward away from his good counselors and wife while he tells his audience that he loves pleasure best of all. Gaveston points out his sinister aims in the following lines:

I must haue wanton Poets, pleasant wits,
Musicians, that with touching of a string
May draw the pliant king which way I please.

(i.50-3)

Thus, he indicates that he is selfish and clever as he plans to dupe the King. Edward has succumbed to the

charm of Gaveston and cannot bear to part with him when the nobles order Gaveston's banishment for the good of the realm. Edward reveals his great affection for Gaveston when the latter leaves in exile:

Edw. Kind words and mutual talk makes our grief
 greater;
 Therefore, with dumb embracement, let us part.--
 Stay, Gaveston, I cannot leave thee thus!
 Gav. For every look my lord drops down a tear.
 Seeing I must go, do not renew my sorrow.

Not only does Edward indicate his unnatural passion for Gaveston, but the "minion" Gaveston also reveals his vice-like nature as he feigns sorrow at their parting.⁹⁸

It is apparent that Edward is completely unaware of Gaveston's true nature since the King, completely engrossed in plans for the celebration of Gaveston's return, can think of nothing else and dismisses the important news that the King of France has invaded Normandy with the words, "A trifle! We'll expel him when we please." (vi.10) Then, the king continues his planning of the homecoming reception. Thus, Edward is as completely ensnared by the wiles of Gaveston as was

⁹⁸Cole, op. cit., p. 163.

Mankind duped by the Vice. Cole has noted that Gaveston functions as Edward's "personal vice," and it is evident that none of Edward's later humiliation and degradation would have occurred if he would not have been under the domination of the evil Gaveston.⁹⁹ Therefore, one sees Gaveston bring Edward to destruction just as the morality Vice delivered his prey to damnation.

One recalls other characters in Edward II who possess qualities of the Vice. After the death of Gaveston, Edward meets Spencer and Baldock, who become his later "minions" and are evident parasites. Isabella, Edward's queen, is certainly deceitful when she sends love notes to Edward, on the one hand, and orders harsh treatment for him, on the other.¹⁰⁰ Mortimer, who is believably patriotic in the beginning of the play, soon becomes corrupt and states that he has "cunningly" ordered the death of the King. Thus, all of these characters contain some qualities of the Vice, although one may hardly conclude that they are actual Vices in

⁹⁹Ibid., p. 169.

¹⁰⁰Bevington, op. cit., p. 240.

the play.

One also finds other characters with vice-like traits in the comedies of this period. The figure of Matthew Merrygreek in Nicolas Udall's Ralph Roister Doister (ca. 1553)¹⁰¹ is a good example of a linkage of parasitic and humorous qualities.¹⁰² In the same play, Ralph himself is a braggart in the tradition of the miles gloriosus, but his character is humorous and has something of the rogue in it.¹⁰³ Another parasite which is similar to Merrygreek is Carisophus in Richard Edwardes's Damon and Pithias (ca. 1565).¹⁰⁴ He is amusing as well as parasitical, just as the older Vices often were. Still another example of the Vice is Diccon in Gammer Gurton's Needle (ca. 1575).¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹Ward, op. cit., p. 254.

¹⁰²Robert Withington, " 'Vice and Parasite.' A Note on the Evolution of the Elizabethan Villain," PMLA, XLIX (1934), p. 743.

¹⁰³Ward, op. cit., p. 256.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., p. 211.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., p. 260.

This drama contains characteristics of the English folk play, and Diccon is a joker after the fashion of the morality Vice.¹⁰⁶ He manages to confuse everyone, and yet he himself escapes punishment as often did the devils and Vices when they performed some mischief in the earlier dramas. The character of Miles appears in Robert Greene's Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay (ca. 1589), and, while his name suggests the classic miles, his buffoonery strongly relates to the Vice.¹⁰⁷ This resemblance is particularly evident near the conclusion of the play when Miles rides off to Hell on a devil's back, roaring as he goes.

One meets an extremely crafty Vice in Shakespeare's Richard III (ca. 1593).¹⁰⁸ Richard carefully blends the qualities of the protagonist and the Vice as he skillfully plans his various intrigues.¹⁰⁹ His mother

¹⁰⁶Charles Read Baskervill, Virgil B. Heltzel, and Arthur H. Nethercot (eds.), Elizabethan and Stuart Plays, p. 47.

¹⁰⁷Ward, op. cit., p. 396.

¹⁰⁸Spivack, op. cit., p. 386.

¹⁰⁹Bevington, op. cit., p. 83.

sums up some of Richard's and evil qualities in the following speech:

Ah, that deceit should steal such gentle shape
 And with a vigorous visor hide deep vice!
 He is my son--ay, and therein my shame;
 Yet from my dugs he drew not this deceit. (II.ii.27-30)

Certainly, Richard is deceitful and carefully guards his secret motives in order to trick his adversaries.

However, like the Vice, he put on an honest face in his dealings with others. Richard himself reveals his true nature when he is talking with Prince Edward:

Rich. So wise so young, they say do never live long.

Prince. What say you, uncle?

Rich. I say, without character, fame lives long.
 Thus, like the formal vice, Iniquity,
 I moralize two meanings in one word.
 (III.i.70-83)

Thus, Richard declares his own relationship to the Vice.

Richard's relationship to the Vice is further illustrated when one notes all of the false tears which he sheds. Clarence recalls the tears which Richard had for him, and after his death, Clarence's son tells the Duchess of York that Richard wept when he told of Clarence's death. Richard, also, tells Lady Anne of the tears he has shed for love of her, and he promises

her that he will undertake the burial of King Henry as he weeps with repentance. However, Richard quickly informs the audience, as any Vice would do, of his actual plans. He states, "But first I'll turn yon fellow in his grave, / And then return lamenting to my love." (I.ii.260-1) Obviously, none of these scenes actually moved the deceitful Richard to tears since he is responsible for all the deaths for which he later, supposedly, laments.

Spivack suggests that it is the Lady Anne sequence of this drama which most skillfully illustrates the Vice in Richard.¹¹⁰ Anne is following the body of the murdered King Henry and cursing Richard, the cause of it. When Richard stops the funeral procession to speak with Anne, she identifies him as the source of all evil, calling him "fiend," "devil," and "minister of hell." She later states that he has made all earth a hell with his "heinous crimes." However, the Vice is more than equal to the task of conquering this lady as he praises her great beauty which

¹¹⁰Spivack, op. cit., p. 404.

made him do what he did. His eloquence is so magnificent that, by the end of the scene, Lady Anne, like the character, Mankind, of the moralities, has succumbed entirely to this evil approach and has completely forsaken her sense of virtue. Richard has found her feminine weakness, and, like the Vice, he quickly takes advantage of any frailty he may find.¹¹¹

Richard himself finally states his complete dedication to evil when, near the conclusion of the play, he recalls all of the crimes he has committed as he says, "All several sins, all used in each degree, / Throng to the bar, crying all, Guilty, guilty!"

(V.iii. 198-9) Thus, Richard has many characteristics of the Vice. He is deceitful and clever as he plays the part of the hypocrite, and, always, he informs the audience of his planned duplicity. He definitely illustrates the distinct, evil qualities of the Vice.

One notes in the examination of the theme of evil and "the figure with evil intent" that a long tradition has culminated in a character like Richard III.

¹¹¹Ibid., pp. 405-6.

The devil in the miracle plays was completely devoted to the perpetuation of his evil kingdom and was determined to trap as many souls as possible, using the Seven Deadly Sins to assist him in his acts. Once Mankind had submitted to one or to all of these temptations, he was doomed to Hell and eternal suffering. Gradually, these sinful traits of character were depicted in the guise of one abstract personage, the Vice. As Rossiter has indicated, the Vice begins approximately where the miracle-devil ends when the standard Deadly Sins leave the drama by degrees.¹¹² However, this Vice continues to exemplify the malicious and the comic qualities of the devil and the traits of the cardinal sins. Eventually he develops individual traits of his own, involving more and more buffoonery, but a true Vice never forsakes his aim of waging war against all things which are good, which is, after all, his main reason for existing.¹¹³ As the drama develops and leaves the older allegorical tradition, the Vice

¹¹²Rossiter, op. cit., p. 92.

¹¹³Cole, op. cit., p. 35.

character, on the other hand, evolves into a concrete personage. Thus, one discovers a fully developed Vice in Ambidexter of Cambises, who is both thoroughly evil and entertaining at the same time. Yet, even in this drama, one finds that Ambidexter is not the focal point of the action; indeed, he is sometimes unnecessary to the plot. Gaveston, who is important to Edward II, throughout the characterization is not the protagonist of the drama. It is not until Richard III that one finds the complete identification of the Vice with the main character in the play. A further investigation of the Vice traditions in characters like Falstaff and Iago might well be undertaken in the pattern of this present study, for it is obvious that vice-like characters continue into later English drama.

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