

VONDEL'S "ADAM IN BALLINGSCHAP" AND ITS
RELATIONSHIP TO GROTIUS' "ADAMUS EXUL"



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Abstract of Thesis

Vondel's "ADAM IN BALLINGSCHAP" and its relationship to Grotius' "ADAMUS EXUL".

Ch. I. Grotius and Vondel chose the dramatic form for the embodiment of their Idea because drama had the widest appeal of those art-forms claiming the dual function of edification and instruction.

Ch. II(i) The account of the Fall in Genesis contains explicitly or implicitly all the elements required of a tragedy by the Humanist philologists' interpretation of Aristotle and Horace.

(ii) Senecan influence in Dutch drama is mainly attributable to the preference of Latin to Greek as the language used by the scholars and to the popularity of Seneca's rhetorical style and moralising manner ^{among} those who inherited the Rederijkers' tradition.

Ch. III. "ADAMUS EXUL" The play fails to achieve the balance necessary to form an integrated impression of tragedy because the predominant power and mood is of evil. Grotius fails to co-ordinate his art and scholarship.

Ch. IV. "ADAM IN BALLINGSCHAP" (i) at the Literal Level.

Its greatest achievement is its flawless structure in which the powers of supernatural good and evil are perfectly balanced and reach a culminating point in the spiritual conflict of one man.

(ii) the Theological Level.

Vondel's views on the Cosmos, the Soul and body, the mind, God in nature, obedience, free will and the Redemption are considered with reference to Grotius.

(iii) the Symbolic Level.

There are two important symbolic allegories to which most of the individual symbols contribute: God as the Sun and Light, Lucifer as Darkness; Adam as the Soul and Eve as the Body.

Ch. V. "ADAM IN BALLINGSCHAP" is of all Vondel's drama the fullest externalisation of his spiritual life for in it are gathered together all the aspects of virtue and sin expressed severally in his other plays.

Conclusion. There can be no question of more than a superficial influence of Grotius' play on Vondel's.

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Introduction.

J.G.Bomhoff in his recent book "Vondels Drama", differentiates between the historical and existential approach to art, and appears to base his work on the premise(1) that a consideration of Vondel freed from the fetters of historical study will bring the student nearer to Vondel as he really is. Yet he does not in fact abandon the normal approach to Vondel through his own environment, Indeed, neither a purely existential nor a purely historical approach would be possible, for no matter how sincerely we try to look over Vondel's shoulder we are still standing in the present and it is patently absurd to try and cut any artist completely out of time.

Bomhoff appreciates the nice balance that must be maintained between the then and now in reading literature and writes "Er zou veel gewonnen zijn, als men een standpunt verwierf vanwaar Vondels werk of een gedeelte van zijn werk overzichtelijk en belangrijk werd voor de mens van vandaag... Niet het werk moet het leven toelichten, maar het leven is belangrijk, omdat het werk er doorzichtig van wordt."(2)

(1) J.G.Bomhoff l.c. p.35 "We besluiten dus met deze paradox, dat uitgaande van het nu en ons resoluut overgevend aan het relatieve van ons tijd-gebonden standpunt, we kans hebben tot tijdeloze overwegingen te komen, die het wezenlijke van het kunstwerk raken, terwijl de schijnbare objectiviteit van het historisch standpunt ons juist deze toegangen blokkeert".

(2) J.G.Bomhoff l.c. p.109.

Vondel's and Hugo Grotius' writings are in at least one respect important to us today, and this at the same time makes them much more accessible to modern thought and even akin to it. Our situation has come very near to theirs, but only within the last five years or so, for we share with Vondel and Grotius the anxieties of a crisis, the tension due to the awareness of conflicting powers seeking to make gains without actually resorting to open combat. But *κρίσις* meant decision or judgement, and the early 17th century was as much a time of *κρίσις* as now, with the one great difference, that indifference then was next to impossible and would certainly have revealed an unashamed stupidity whereas now indifference, though no less foolish, is much more widespread.

In detail too our problems bear comparison with those of Vondel's day.

Consider for instance the rally of the Contra-Reformers against the various reforming sects, and now the action of a rejuvenated church against the assaults of the intellectuals and materialists, Christians only in name, who attack the traditional church for its lassitude and corruption.

The 17th century Holland the Turks were the forces of Antichrist and Satan was their leader(1), while today we call various forms of government by dictatorship "powers of Evil".

Then Holland was settling down, as England is now, to an uneasy readjustment following a time of great national unity and military endeavour. Then as now great moral courage was particularly necessary in men in high places to restrain them from being lured by unscrupulous ambition to contend

(1) G. Brom "Vondels Geloof" pp.414,415.

for the vacant places in power which the situation offered.

Grotius and Vondel showed such moral courage. They were lonely men, idealists like(1) Palamedes, and like him they suffered for it. We admire such a character in history or fiction and call him heroic for the way in which he brings the evil intentions of the powerful around him to nought. But that same man in our midst would be a nuisance if he wanted to interfere with our lives and a dangerous hothead if he succeeded in doing so. That is what all but the few idealists thought of Vondel in his day and that is why he is misunderstood or even fiercely attacked⁽²⁾ today, not as a historical figure, but because as a true artist, what he had to say lives in every age.

And there is another reason why we should try to interpret aright this lonely voice, addressing us out of the unrest of seventeenth century Holland.

The antidote to anarchy must be order, and to no man could the epithet of order be more fitly applied than to Joost van den Vondel. He who had the independence of an idealist, humbly bowed to the authority and guidance of the Roman Catholic Church and submitted his artistic genius to the rigorous disciplines of the classical poetics. This surely must be called relevant to our present situation.

Vondel's and Grotius' ideas are relevant and salutary in our times, but what of their expression of those ideas?

The reasons given by J.Huizinga(3) to explain Vondel's lack of popularity are not convincing. He says that the

(1) i.e. Oldenbarneveldt. See J.G.Bomhoff l.c. pp.115, 143, where Sartre's doctrine of 'Seriousness' is mentioned, and p.143, where Vondel's "Palamedes" is considered.

(2) J.G.Bomhoff l.c. pp 30-1.

(3) "Verzamelde Werken" II pp.472,3.

reading of a whole drama, even a whole chorus, takes much trouble. But is it not in the nature of art that it lives on because 'the truth is hid from us' and no matter how hard we strive to understand a work fully, we shall always make new discoveries when we return to it? Indeed, as Huizinga suggests, Vondel does remain more distant from us than Shakespeare or Racine, though I do not ascribe this to the "zware last" (1) of his biblical characters. Milton holds himself aloof too, and yet he has a wide appeal even in the class-room.

Finally Huizinga criticises Vondel for his lack of worldly wisdom, his characters being in the main stiff, moved by primary urges, either radiant in virtue or horribly evil. "Hij kent de verzoeking en de zielestrijd, maar maakt zich in de voorstelling daarvan slechts schuchter van het schriftuurlijke of hagiografische patroon los"(2). In the course of this study of "Adam in Ballingschap" I hope to show that Vondel is entirely innocent of this charge in at least one of his biblical dramas, and I would claim the same judgement for at least five more: "Gebroeders"; "Joseph in Dothan", "Lucifer", "Jeptha" and "Koning David in Ballingschap".

Of course the language and style are archaic, but so are Shakespeare's. This is the handicap of literature among the other arts which have no rapidly changing 'conversational' form, which in a language requires the constant readjustment of the interpretation of an Idea.

But it is not Vondel's language nor his style that presents the real difficulty. Indeed general opinion acquits him on these points if nothing else. In general, criticism of Vondel's drama seems to find fault with his method. If

(1) l.c. p.473.

(2) l.c. p.473.

it is not his dramatic form that is unfamiliar or remote, then it is the dramatic medium for his biblical themes to which modern scholars cannot reconcile themselves. This conclusion, however superficial it may be, is supported by the popularity of one secular play "Gijsbreght van Aemstel", above many biblical ones of far greater artistic merits(1), and the silence of many voices which acclaim "Paradise Lost" and "Paradise Regained" when it comes to "Samson Agonistes".

Yet it is more than Vondel's dramatic method which is criticized. He is accused of failing as an artist in so far as he fails to transmit his experiences to other men. Vondel's characters, according to these critics, are psychologically unconvincing(2), nor do they exhibit the conflicting passions required of a tragic hero(3). The lack of action in his plays is identified with a lack of dramatic tension(4) and in the opinion of one writer he even fails to add any tragic force

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- (1) e.g. the opinion of J. van den Bergh van Eysinga-Elias ("Vondel en de Griekse Tragici" p.492): "Het was een groot bezwaar voor Vondel, dat zijne stof niet nationaal was, zodat het uitheemsche en vaak symbolische karakter aan de natuurlijkheid zijnen stukken afbreuk moest doen".
 - (2) For instance, A. Beekman "Influence de Du Bartas sur la Littérature Néerlandaise" p.138: "Seulement, les caractères ne sont pas étudiés d'une manière psychologique; pour Vondel, l'action et l'idée sont tout; il n'a pas approfondi le mouvement des passions, et n'entend pas, comme Racine, nous montrer le coeur humain finement analysé en ses divers sentiments".
 - (3) One section of thought attributes this to Vondel's religious didactics (See C. Verschaeve "Vondels Drama tegenover het Drama in 't Algemeen", p.338) and another to the requirements of classical tragedy (A.J. Barnouw "Vondel", p.133).
 - (4) J. Walch "De Dramatische Bewogenheid in Vondels Toneelstukken", Groot Nederland I 1929, p.441 and A.J. Barnouw "Vondel" p.133.

to the themes he dramatizes(1).

The widely divergent opinions about various aspects of Vondel's dramatic art form are evidence of the incompatibility between Vondel's experiences and those of his critics rather than any weakness in his art as an expression of his experiences. There is such a close affinity between art and religion that it is impossible to dissociate the one from the other when analysing our response to a work of art. A work of art in which the religious element is neutral or quite secondary will clearly elicit more widespread appreciation than one in which religion is all-important. So Frans Hals' "Laughing Cavalier" will be more popular than an "Ecce Homo", for though the artistry of the latter may even excel that of the former, the full meaning of it will only be accessible to those sharing the religious experiences of its painter. This accounts in part for the wider appeal of Shakespeare than of Milton, But it does not explain the disparity between the unqualified acclamation of Milton and the disunity of opinion over Vondel.

This can be put in another way. Edward Caird has said: "Poetry is the criticism of life in the sense in which a good man is a criticism of a bad man"(2). Now if all poetry is a criticism of life in this sense, Christian poetry will be in particular a criticism of pagan life and Christian poetry of a particular ecclesiastical tone will be a criticism of all other ecclesiastical sections. Just as the bad man dislikes being shown up by the good man, so the man of one

(1) "Hij heeft niet vermocht aan de bijbelsche traditie nieuw leven te geven, door de waarlijk tragische elementen in zijne kunst te vereeuwigen." J. van den Bergh van Eijsinga-Elias "Vondel en de Grieksche Tragici" p.494.

(2) Quoted by W. Temple in "Readings in St. John's Gospel, p.52.

religious denomination will not like to see his religion being challenged by an artist of another denomination. But it is as unreasonable to find fault with the artist on that account as it would be to find fault with the good man. Of course the bad man will fail to understand the good man, or will accuse him of preaching a sermon just as the baser side of human nature will ignore or resent poetry, accusing it of being escapist or unrealistic.

Vondel's artistic inspiration at its greatest is so undissociable from his Roman Catholic faith that I would venture the opinion that his work is as accessible/^{or not} to a devout Roman Catholic with no aesthetic appreciation as it is to a poet who is also a strict Calvinist. This is an unfortunate dichotomy for which Vondel is the last person to be blamed - in him after all there was absolute unity of art and religion. The Calvinist poet will understand the artist in Vondel, but the rest will elude him; even if he imagines that he understands it, he cannot sympathize with it, and so misconceptions arise; for as an artist himself, he cannot ignore something so absolutely fundamental in the work of art.

The spiritual antipathy created by the Reformation is regrettable for the loss to the one ecclesiastical section of much that is ^{of} essential value in the art of the opposite section, but it is even more regrettable for the antagonism that still survives, influencing often subconsciously the approach of scholars, so that the Calvinist is prone to criticize as a weakness those aspects of Vondel's art which he, through no fault of his, cannot comprehend, while the Roman Catholic tends to emphasize unduly the theological aspect since by doing so he is commending his own faith(1).

(1) Here I am only taking extreme cases to illustrate the dangers to which religiously subjective scholars are

But we should have no cause to regret that Vondel's poetry is at its greatest when it embraces one particular mode of religious thought, for without harmony between faith and expression it would be impossible for any man to impart to others his experiences of Truth(1). In "Adam in Ballingschap" what Vondel the man says is true to him in that it reflects his own experience of Truth, and how he says it is true, true to us because it is good and beautiful. If and when we believe that to Vondel the experience and expression of the experience can attain perfect unity, then through the outward aspect of the poetry, its nobility and beauty, we shall draw near to its inner meaning, Vondel's experience of Truth.

exposed in studying Vondel. There are of course many Vondel scholars who are more or less unaffected by his theology either because their own faith is liberal enough to embrace it or because they are themselves sufficiently artistic to find kinship with Vondel above the levels of party strife.

(1) See p.220, note (4) below.

CHAPTER I.

Grotius' and Vondel's choice of drama
for the embodiment of their Ideas.

Renaissance literature is the art form above all others which is subject to the manifold trends of its time. To attempt an appreciation of seventeenth century poetry without some knowledge of the poet's environment in which it came to life would be as foolhardy as to conclude that we could make an exhaustive study of a butterfly simply by examining a specimen in a glass case. Its true beauty could only be visualised by imagining it in its own natural surroundings, fulfilling the purpose for which its Creator made it.

The Humanist Revival and the Renaissance were bound to have an inestimable influence on art, since in them the two fundamental aspects of art, thought and expression, were given a new birth. It is essential however to remember that we are concerned with much more than an artistic revival. It did of course start as an intellectual movement, but the general need was so great that the selective Humanist beginnings soon blossomed out into the democratic Renaissance and Reformation, and in Holland the bold eclectic thought of the Humanists spread with the rapidity of a messianic faith which left no one unaffected.

Just as the thirst for knowledge, common to both scholar and burgher, necessitated a new medium of expression - the

vernacular, so too the poet and painter accommodated their artistic forms to the needs of the times, though the extent to which they did so varied of course from artist to artist. So for instance, Hooft sharpens his wits on intricate sonnets while Bredero writes mainly popular farces and lyrics and Cats writes didactic poetry of an even wider appeal. An important factor, operating from motives similar to those of the educational reformists who made the new learning accessible to the masses, was the religious revival first evident in the Reformation and then the Counter-Reformation. In an age when nominal adherents to the faith were in a minority, it is not surprising that the religious repercussions of the Renaissance played a more and more important role, changing its whole course and affecting education, art and politics alike. To the prominence of religious matters can be attributed, in part at least, the difference between the intellectual Hooft and 'Vader' Cats, the writing of a Catechism in the vernacular by the Humanist Grotius and the startling contrast between such works as Vondel's "Geuzenvesper" and "Leeuwendalers".

Obviously the effects of the Humanist Revival, the Renaissance and the Reformation must be considered together, and indeed it would be quite impossible to make any clear-cut distinction between them in Vondel's work, for the Reformation, stimulated in the first instance by Humanist learning, had in its turn repercussions on Humanist thought. Again, Vondel's study of the classics determined the form of his artistic expression, but the democratic spirit of his Christian faith necessitated a modification of that expression. This explains why two works which together give a clear picture of Vondel's milieu in the Renaissance have two such dissimilar titles as "Zeventiende Eeuwsche Opvattingen en Theorieën over

Litteratuur in Nederland"(1) and "Vondel als Christen Symbolist"(2).

This preamble is directly relevant to the question of Why Grotius and Vondel chose the dramatic form for the embodiment of their Ideas, since classical literary theories and the prominence of new religious beliefs affected their literary medium and their Ideas very considerably.

Since Grotius was a scholar rather than an artist, he naturally has less to say about artistic expression than Vondel, and though he was as progressive in thought he adhered to his 'Humanist' Latin for all his major works. The difference in upbringing of the two contemporaries can be seen by a cursory comparison of their first dramatic works. Grotius' "Adamus Exul", written in 1601 when he was 18 years old, is in a Latin which shows signs of the stylistic influence of Horace, Virgil and Seneca, mainly the latter. Vondel's "Het Pascha", written in 1605 when he was 25, is in the style of the Rederijkers' morality plays. Yet both are dramatic treatments of biblical subjects and as we shall see, Vondel was not a little concerned with classical learning when he wrote his play.

In the dedicatory letter sent with "Adamus Exul" to the Prince of Condé, Grotius does not explain his preference for the dramatic form, but implies that he wished to write a tragedy and chose his theme accordingly. "I therefore undertook to write a tragedy, because our age is less fruitful in the loftier forms of drama than other kinds of literature". He admits the hazards of taking a sacred theme, but "I laboured hard so as to modify my style, that nothing should

(1) A.G. van Hamel.

(2) Pt.II in "Letterkundige Studieën" by J. Koopmans.

appear in the present poem distasteful to Christians" and he included philosophical and metaphysical speculations that were, in his view, fitting for a serious subject. "Thus at the same time I endeavoured to cultivate religion, science and poetry" (1)

This sums up the attitude to religious poetry which he maintained throughout his life. He only wrote three original plays. All were tragedies (in his interpretation of the word) and all were biblical; the other two were "Christus Patiens" and "Sophomaneas". We should agree with Grotius in calling "Christus Patiens" a tragedy, but "Sophomaneas" which "loopt... vrolijk na het einde" (2), does not seem to have a strong tragic element. But Grotius had his own ideas about the requirements of tragedy:

"Atque haec quam dixi gravitas proprie eam (i.e. tragedy) ab aliis fabulis discriminat, non autem infelicitas exitus, quam non habent plurimae Graecorum tragoediae". And yet he also says: "Alterum, quod ei (i.e. Sophocles) attribuit Fabius, hoc est, quod in affectibus cum omnibus mirus sit, tum in iis, qui miseratione constant, facile praecipuus. Certum autem est hanc proprie tragoediae esse virtutem, affectus ciere, atque inter affectus maximi miserationem". (3)

To a Christian dramatist no other definition of tragedy is possible. However sad or dreadful a tragedy may be, the last word, even if it is never spoken, is one of hope. It was for this reason that the Pléiade at first condemned the treatment of scriptural themes in tragedy since, by their definition of the word, tragedy should always end unhappily. (4)

(1) Transⁿ, W.S.M.Knight "The Life and Works of Hugo Grotius", pp.49,50.

(2) Vondel's Foreword to his translation of the play, W.B. vol.III p.434.

(3) Prolegomena to translation of Euripides' "Phoenissae" 1630.

(4) V.Hall "Renaissance Literary Criticism" p.104.

It would seem then, that Grotius agreed with Thomas Aquinas, that the ultimate object of Man should be attained by the highest operation of the intellect with regard to the highest object, the study of God(1). For a matter of such grave consequence as his faith, he needed an interpretative medium that was serious in purport and lofty in style. The high tone, subject matter and roles of the tragedy led to the stress being laid on it as a medium of instruction(2), and it was because Grotius required a form of art that was convincingly realistic, and hence a good means of propagating the faith, that he preferred drama to epic or other forms. "Aristotle has said that poetry is the imitation of human character" he writes in the same Prolegomena to "Phoenissae", "Human character can be imitated by indirect oration or direct acting. It can be represented better with added colour than in bare recitation. Hence the poetry which proceeds in direct fashion is called drama, because it approaches nearest to the character itself, whatever that may be".

The didactic force of the Renaissance movement was generated as we have seen by the general demand for knowledge and the ability of the scholars and artists to satisfy it. In Holland the importance of this force as a means of educating the masses cannot be overestimated. Throughout the Middle-Ages the popular demand for moral and ethical teaching could only be satisfied by visual presentations. "It was the need of feeding the eye as well as the other senses, of stirring the imagination in default of nourishing the heart, the intellect and the fancy, that led to all kinds of pageants, such as processions, catafalques, illuminations, arches, cardboard

(1) H. Fortuin "De Naturrechtelijke Grondslagen van de Groot's Volkenrecht" p.92

(2) V.Hall l.c. p.103ff.

statues, devices, emblems. And a similar need gave rise to the academies, which re-echoed with baroque verse, and trifled with futile and ridiculous themes"(1). The democratic nature of Dutch mediaeval culture is evidence enough of the popularity of such didactic allegory and symbolism. One form it took was the pomp and ritual of the public processions of the church dignitaries, culminating in the extravaganzas of the "Landjuwelen" held by the "Rederijkers-Kamers"(2). Another form was the miracle play in which Old and New Testament themes figured. The Old Testament subjects were probably originally chosen to form pendants to the Easter Plays, so that the play-cycles on the Fall, Passion and Resurrection were created at an early date(3). The "Mystère d'Adam", for instance, is the fragment of a Passion Play and is probably based on the pericopes to be read in the week of Septuagessima(4).

The moralities and Miracle Plays were assured of popularity with the Church fathers and laity alike. Aquinas had declared that Rhetorica (the art of interpretation of the Word by allegorical explanation, capable of making the spiritual truths of the Bible intelligible to the masses) was second only to theology. Jacob van Maerlant's "Rijmbijbel" is full of allegorical explanations and the Moralities were

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- (1) B.Croce "Storia della Età Barocca in Italia" p.489, quoted by M.Praz "Studies in 17th Century Imagery" p.17, vol.I.
 - (2) See van Mierlo's chapter on this subject in the "Geschiedenis van de Letterkunde der Nederlanden" vol.II, pp.149-164.
 - (3) This is an important point in the consideration of the vexed question of the inclusion of Man's Fall at the end of Vondel's "Lucifer". This is discussed more fully in Ch.V.
 - (4) Hardin Craig "The Origin of Old Testament Plays" Modern Philology April'15 pp. 437-477. See also G. Knuvelder "Handboek tot de Geschiedenis der Nederlandse Letterkunde" Vol.I p.174 ff., and J. van Mierlo, l.c. p.36.

all intended as parables(1).

But the advent of printing, evidence again of the widespread desire for enlightenment, made possible another type of "visual aid" which rapidly became popular- the engraving. The early "Speculum Humanae Salvationis" and "Bible des Pauvres" were the prototypes of numerous typological emblems and were the precursors of the methodological iconographies, the most famous of which was Cesare Ripa's "Iconologia" of 1593, which was consulted by all seventeenth century allegorists(2). Cats proved with his didactic tales in verse that this type of edifying art could serve a very useful purpose in Holland, and Vondel himself adopted the emblematic method in his "Den Gulden Winckel"(3) (1613), a typology of pagan and biblical events and "De Vorstelicke Warande der Dieren" (1618), a collection of short illustrated fables in verse. Indeed, the slogan of the Dutch emblematisers was "Stichten met Vermakelijckheit"(4), so why should Vondel prefer the form of "Het Pascha" to that of "Den Gulden Winckel"?

In the first place, Horace's "Ars Poetica" was even more the reference work of the Dutch playwrights than Aristotle's Poetics, largely because that treatise was more explicit than Aristotle's. According to Horace, the highest achievement of drama was that the audience should, in Vondel's words, " 't proffijt met ghenoechten leeren"(5). So from the pen of

(1) W.Kramer "Vondel als Barokkunstenaar" p.68ff.

(2) J.J.M.Timmers "Symboliek en Iconographie" p.39. Emile Mâle "L'Art Religieux après le Concile de Trente" p.390.

(3) In whose preface Vondel wrote that the aim of all writers was "het schoon bekranste Beeld van d'oprechte Deugd, de Bruyt daer't al om danste".

(4) M.Praz l.c. p.155.

(5) Foreword to "Het Pascha" W.B.vol.I pp.163,4. Horace has:
Aut prodesse volunt aut delectare Poëtae (Ars Poet. 334)
and:
Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci
Lectorem delectando pariterque monendo (Ars Poet. 343,4)

an authority revered by the Humanist scholars from whom the Renaissance received its very being, drama claims the same high motives as the more modern iconography. Moreover Horace, though he was not of course defending drama against other forms, considered that visual impressions were more vivid than auditory ones(1).

Vondel in the *Berecht* to "Het Pascha" states a clear case not only for the desirability of instructing people at the same time as entertaining them, but also for the wider appeal and hence greater didactic power of drama over the fable or engraving:

"The wise old Pagans observed the nature and corruption of man and saw how sluggish everyone was to climb the ladder of virtue and to improve in whatever might be called praiseworthy or honest in him, as if this were a mountain all too steep. So they tried by certain means to bring all men in every way to a good, moral and ordered citizenship, either by poetic fables and imaginative poetry or by other suitable rules and laws. One method they saw fit to use was the revival of certain ancient histories or forgotten tales and to reproduce them on the stage for all to see, so that by means of certain fitting scenes and characters, they might vividly express and imitate whatever time and age in many centuries and years gone by had almost erased from the memory, just as if those things were then happening for the first time. In these (plays) they showed how in the end all good causes its own reward and all evil its punishment, in order that even uncouth, coarse and uneducated people, who while hearing were yet deaf and seeing were blind, might with the naked eye note

(1) *Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures
Quam quae sunt oculis subiecta fidelibus et quae
Ipse sibi tradit spectator.* (Horace "Ars Poetica", 180-2)

their faults as if pointed out by a finger and might be subdued and humbled by the speaking letters of embellished figures, and by this means, in the words of Horace, might learn usefulness with pleasure.

"For since they "(that is, the wise old Pagans)" found that some people were too lame to dig for the precious gems of instruction and mystery which lay hidden and buried under the surface of legendary fables; and when they wished to be discovered by eager searchers and zealots and found that the one man wanted to be taught in this way and another man in that, then it was not sufficient for them that their books were filled with noble lessons and, packed high on top of one another, made a magnificent display, and that many golden sayings artistically engraved in copper plates and marble in the front of splendid buildings held passers-by spellbound: but in addition to all this, they desired to cast into the laps of those who were too negligent to labour and strive to this end, the treasures of philosophy in special large amphitheatres."

On another occasion(1) Vondel draws an analogy from bas-relief and painting on canvas to express the difference between dramatic and other poetry, and he quotes Ovid's "Omne genus scripti gravitate tragoediae vincit"(2).

This brings us back to Grotius'"Prolegomena": "atque haec quam dixi gravitas proprie eam (tragoediam) ab aliis fabulis discriminat", and the serious purpose which dramatic writing should have is seen to be a pictorial presentation "in relief" of the moral teaching associated with the Dutch emblems.

(1) Berecht to "Jeptha" W.B. vol.VIII p.773.

(2) In Vondel's translation:

Hoe hoog men drave in stijl en toon
Het treurspel spant alleen de kroon

Though Grotius nowhere mentions the 'prodesse' of his drama, Vondel certainly found it there and praised him for it(1).

Drama was then to Vondel and probably Grotius too, a live form of the emblem and maxim, holding up the mirror to the vanitas vanitatum of everyman(2). "Emblemata heten zinneprenten maar ook zedeprenten. Het nieuwe drama staat in het teken van het innerlijk gewetensconflict; gelijk de helden van Euripides en Seneca, zo worden ook nu de hoofdfiguren gesteld voor de keuze tussen plicht en hart. Zoekt niet Vondel zijn bijbelhelden juist onder degenen, die zulk een tweestrijd te strijden hadden?(3).

(1) In his foreword to the translation of "Sophompaneas", (W.B. vol.III, p.435):

"de toehoorder word aengemaent tot vrede en vromigheid, de vorst tot rechtvaerdigheid en Godvruchtigheid, de gemeente tot gehoorzaamheid aen God en den Koning, en haere wettige overheid," etc.

In the Dedicatory Letter of "Adam in Ballingschap", (W.B. vol.X, p. 97):

"Het dochtme niet onstichtigh maer leerachtigh Adams ballingschapt'ontvouwen, naer het voorbeelt van ... zijne Excelentie Huigh de Groot."

(2) "Toneelspel quam in 't licht tot leerzaam tijdverdrif. Het wijckt geen ander spel noch Koningkljcke vonden. Het bootst de wereld na. het kittelt ziel en lijf, En prickeltze tot vreugd, of slaet ons zoete wonden. Het toont in kleen begrip al 's menschen ydelheid, Daer Demokrijt om lacht, daer Heraklijt om schreit

"op Het Toneel", W.B.III, p.512.

Frequent references in Vondel's Berechten show that he considered his tragedies as mirrors of vice and virtue; "Faeton" for instance was written "ten spieghel van reuckelooze stouten", "Noah", "ten mutten spieghel der aenschouweren", "Lucifer", "ten klaeren spieghel van alle ondanckbaere staatzuchtighen".

(3) B.Knippling "De Iconografie van de Contra-Reformatie in de Nederlanden", I, p.57.

But this is only half the picture of Vondel's conception of the function of drama, and the second half is really the complement of the first. If on the one hand the stage represents life and the world then equally well all the world's a stage, and all the men and women merely players.

De werelt is een speeltoneel

Elck speelt zijn rol en krügt zijn deel(1)

Vondel explains in the second part of his important *Berecht to "Het Pascha"* that the world is a stage on which an eternal drama is being enacted, the drama of life in which the Creator's will can be seen in operation so that His purpose is ultimately fulfilled.

"They", that is 'de oude wijze Heidenen' "wanted in this way to portray the whole state and condition of the world and to place it in view of everyone as a living picture in beautiful colours. For to what can the whole scene or theatre of this world be better compared than to a large public stage where each person plays his own role and character during the brief time of his fleeting life

"And, what is more, who will dare deny that the Law with all its ceremonies and outward offices such as sacrifices, cleansings, Sabbaths, new months, and everything which appertains to Aaron's priesthood and the temple with all its embellishments, equipment and accessories, and too the sovereignty of the Kingdom of Israel, - who (I say) will dare deny that all this was anything other than a prophesy of what was to be expected in the future Messiah? For when this holiest High Priest and King of all Kings came, all the Priests and Kings of Juda in the legal and literal senses had fulfilled

(1) "Op Het Toneel", W.B.III, p.512 and *Berecht to "Salmoneus"*, which also contains views similar to those here summarised, as do many of his *Berechten*.

their roles and served their purpose: Since all images, adumbrations and figures terminate in Christ. Indeed, the plain parables and similes which the Lord our Saviour presents in the Gospel, 'of the man, who fell among thieves; of the prodigal son, who had squandered all his portion of his father's goods; of the rich man clothed in purple and fine linen who lived sumptuously and forgot Lazarus' - what are these but plain Comedies and Tragedies, for teaching those people who could not understand the hidden mysteries of the Kingdom of Heaven by any other means? I mention in passing the books of Kings: where a presumptuous, furious Saul, raving and disconsolate, falls on his own sword; where heaven and earth seem too small for David in his flight during his exile; where a vanquished Zedechiah is taken prisoner to Babylonia; where a tyrannical Nebukadnezar destroys Jerusalem and the Lord's temple, reducing them to a pile of stones, etc. All of these characters are brought before us (as on the stage) by the Holy Spirit as instructive examples: similarly we desired in the past to present this Tragi-comedy openly on the stage for everyone to see ... Desiring that it may be read with such fruitfulness that it may flourish to the glory of the holy and blessed Name of God and that in pondering over this Tragi-comedy or Happily-ended-play, the sad tragedy of our wretched lives may come to a happy ending and hoped for conclusion. Amen."(1)

(1) Professor L. Forster in his Inaugural Lecture "The Temper of Seventeenth Century German Literature" (pp. 18-21) distinguished broadly between three aspects of the "theatrum mundi" in Europe: the Stoical, Christian and Moral. Vondel's word "spiegel" distinguishes his drama as a mirror reflecting life clearly and undistorted, and his *Berecht to "Het Pascha"* gives a Christian meaning to life. He comes to a conclusion very different from that of the Stoic Raleigh, who wrote in the Preface to his "Historie of the World" that "there is no other account to be made of this ridiculous world than to resolve, that the change

In the rising and falling cadences of this *Berecht*, in the complex cumulative paragraphs, the rhetorical questions and anaphora, there is the unmistakable urgency of an empirical faith rather than the mere exposition of a literary theory. "Vondel ... rukt zijn tegenstanders den ganschen Bijbel, als basis van hun Geloof, van onder hun voeten, en werpt hun hem als Symbool in 't gezicht"(1).

Allegory and typology, as we have seen, were well established didactic methods from the early moralities and emblems. But it was Vondel's breadth of vision that was new. The drama which he wrote, he intended to be a representation of a representation of Reality, for in dramatising life he was dramatising eternal truths as they are allegorically represented in the world. Vondel's inclusion of mythological characters in his system of typology and indeed his interpretation of ancient literature and history as if it were scriptural is really only evidence of his faith in God's revelation even to those who were not aware of his power over their minds. But it is also not surprising that this conception was bitterly attacked by the Calvinists to whom Pagan meant Godless.

As Vondel grew older he defended his beliefs more and more outspokenly. In the Preface to the "*Warande der Dieren*" he refers to the mystery of the wisdom of the Ancients. Fifty years later, in his Preface to Ovid's "*Herscheppingen*" which he published "*ad maiorem Dei Gloriam*", he calls the same thing the hidden Word, Symbol and adumbration of God's revelation in Christ. In "*Bespiegelingen van Godt en Godtsdienst*", he

"of fortune on the great Theatre is but as the change of garments on the less"(p.18). Nor is Vondel primarily a Moralist, distorting his stage-reflection of life in order to satirise it or representing life as a dream-illusion of reality.

(1) J.Koopmans l.c.p.248.

describes the Sibyls in much the same way as a more conventional Christian might describe the prophets:

Sibillen melden ons uit grijze en wijze bladen
Godt's gramschap, om vergrjyp en lasterlijke daeden,
Verzoenen 's hemels troon, door afstand van het quaet(1)

In the same work he describes true religion as the middle line of three lines running parallel, where the other two represent idolatry and atheism, and he continues:

de groote wijze Heiden
Plutarchus wil hem langs de middenlijn geleiden:
Hoewel de zedepen van dien doorluchten man
Van Heidensch bijgeloof zich niet verschoonen kan(2).

Like Grotius(3) he is not aware of any anachronism in applying New Testament conceptions or metaphors to the Old Testament or even to Pagan writings. "Wat vrou zou draegen zulk een kruis" appears in his translation of "Herkules in Trachin"(4), and it is typical of his thought(5).

It seems not unreasonable to suppose that Vondel speaks for Grotius too in making the double claim for drama above all other poetic forms, that it provides instruction in the palatable form of entertainment and is the nearest representation possible of the world as it is and hence of life past and present in which the eternal duality of good

(1) Bk.IV ll.375-7.

(2) Bk.IV ll.1035-8.

(3) See Ch.IV(ii)p.135below. (4) l.572.

(5) As for instance in the Dedication to "Adam in Ballingschap" where he quotes Virgil, translating:

"O pueri, fugite hinc: latet anguis in herbâ"

as

"O jeughdigh paer, verziët u ras:

De paradijsslang schuilt in 't gras".

(W.B. vol.X,p.97.)

and evil is epitomized(1). So what Gerard Brom says of Vondel is equally applicable to Grotius: Humanism was no cause of trouble to Hooft who accepted it all. No more did it give Cats any trouble, since he did not concern himself with it. But Vondel, the Christian Humanist had to find a means of combining the two without becoming a pagan extremist like Hooft or a doctrinal extremist like Cats. The poet in him made him choose the lofty manner learned from the Classics, the Christian in him made him democratic so that he wanted to preach the Gospel in simple language(2).

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- (1) Vondel's defense of drama, contained in the Berecht to "Het Pascha" is neatly summarised by the Prince of Gaza in "Samson" (ll.668-695):

Toneelspel heeft voorheene ons meer dan eens bedrogen
Met schijn van waerheit, en niet ongeluckigh: want
Zoo wort de deught met vreught den vorsten ingeplant,
Al 't weereltlijk beloop naer 't leven afgeschildert,
Door spreekende schildry. (672)

Hartstoghten, onderlinge aen 't barrenen, aen 't woelen,
Ontvouwen zich, gelijk de verwen, met de naelt
Of schietspoel net geleght, en daer geen meester dwaelt
Van wel te schicken, zijn tapjtwerk geestigh tekent,
Dat wie 't bespiegelt dit een overeenkomst rekent
Van hemelsch ooghmuzijk. hier geeft de bloem van spreuck
En hemelval een' geur, een' liefelijcken reuck,
Die meer dan wierroockgeur, den Goden opgedraegen
Met gouden wierroockvat en schaelen, hun behaegen.
Toneelspel sticht een' staet, verschoont geen lastervleck
En smet in heiligh, noch onheiligh, elx gebreck
Wort, zonder iemants naem te quetsen, aangewezen.
Toneelspel wort alleen van dommekracht misprezen,
Die recht noch reden volght. toneelspel leent een' schat
Van wijsheit by de naelt van Memfis, Zonnestadt
De hooge rijschool der befaemde Egyptenaeren,
Die op de wolcken treên, en kost noch arbeit spaeren,
Om vrou natuur, van lidt tot lidt, geheel t'ontleên.
Zoo zamelden zy al wat kenbaer is by een,
Een' schat van wijsheit, opgestapelt van veele eeuwen.

- (2) "Vondels Geloof" p.52.

And Grotius' scant observations in his Dedicatory Letter to "Adamus Exul" are sufficient of themselves to entitle him to share Barnouw's assessment of Vondel: "In a poem of 1650(1) he describes himself as the man who "tried to found the Greek and Roman stage in Netherland". He would have expressed his purpose more clearly if he had applied to the stage these words of Erasmus: 'I brought it about that Humanism began nobly to celebrate Christ.'"(2).

(1) "Op (Vondels) Print door Livius van Leiden",
W.B. vol.V,p. 499.

(2) "Vondel" p. 125.

CHAPTER II.

Material and Treatment(1)

i. Material.

Within a certain beautiful park two people, themselves simple human beings, are joined by Divine ordinance in marriage. Their mutual love is perfect, for their physical relationship to one another is abnormally intimate, the woman having been formed from the man. These two humans are famous as the forbears of Mankind. The only shadow that falls across the perennial spring of their blissful domain is cast by the Tree of Knowledge, bearing fruit which they must shun on pain of the loss of their happy innocence and immortality promised by God.

A snake deceives the woman and persuades her to try this fruit and within a short time the man has followed his wife's example. Immediately they realise their guilt and try to hide the shame of their nakedness. God demands just retribution and as a result the guarded gates of Eden stand immovable between

(1) The term "material" is taken to mean all the aesthetically indifferent elements which attain aesthetic efficiency by means of the "structure" of a work of art. This nomenclature would then replace the older use of "contents" and "form" (R. Wellek and A. Warren "Theory of Literature" p.141). The structure of "Adamus Exul" will be dealt with in Ch. III and "Adam in Ballingschap" in Ch. IV. "Treatment" deals with all the purely stylistic aspects of the structure.

the wretched couple's lot of toil and hardship and their earlier idyllic bliss.

This is the substance of the story of the Fall of Man in Genesis, Chapter III, the first part of which sets the scene for the Temptation in the second part. Instinctively and logically I use a metaphor taken from the theatre in considering our material which I believe to be essentially dramatic. Consider now the Renaissance conception of drama as stated by or interpreted from the Greek playwrights and classical poetics.

Aristotle's doctrine of mimesis is of central importance since it was the basis of most of the laws of drama formulated later by the Renaissance theorists. Aristotle wrote in his Poetics that the poet reproduces the essentials of life and the emotions which they have aroused in him. In that way the poet communicates his emotions by imitating or recreating life. In tragedy, this imitation is "of persons who are above the common level". In representing men, the poet "should preserve the type and yet ennoble it."(1)

In Eden it is not necessary to 'ennoble' the characters since Adam and Eve were perfect until the Fall.

But "tragedy is an imitation, not of men, but of an action and of life"(2) The plot or story must have unity of form. History recounts events chronologically, what did happen. Tragedy tells us what may happen. This makes the story universal in application since it shows what a type of person inevitably or probably says or suffers(3).

The material of the Eden story is itself universal since the writer, whether of the Priestly(P) version or the

(1) Aristotle "The Poetics" XV 3, Trans^d S.H. Butcher.

(2) l.c. VI, 9.

(3) l.c. IX 1-4.

Prophetic(J) intended it as a moral allegory(1), an imitation, in fact, not of persons but of human life, of happiness and and misery. In fact the Temptation obviously provides ready material for good drama even before we take into account the refinements of the Renaissance poetics, for it has the four essentials of a tragedy - a concrete setting, a dynamic plot, important human characters and universal significance(2).

The outstanding contributions of the 16th century philologists to dramatic theory were the three laws of unity, which were the logical outcome of Aristotle's mimesis.

Aristotle's statement that no unnecessary characters must appear in a plot that must have a unified form was enlarged by Horace who allowed no more than three speaking persons on the stage at any one time, and the Italians made the law of Unity of Action which Heinsius supported(3).

No theme could answer more perfectly to the demands of Unity of Action than ours, for there are only four 'persons' named - Adam, Eve, God and the serpent, and the only additions possible are celestial or infernal beings, which are themselves only embodiments of the two extremes of good and evil.

Of the plot, Aristotle also says that it should be only long enough to be retained as one integral action and "to confine itself to a single revolution of the sun or but slightly to exceed this limit"(4). This had been the practice of the Greeks (Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides), and once again the Italians formulated from this practice the Unity of Time which Heinsius passed on(5).

(1) Hastings: "Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics" Vol.I p.85.

(2) G.McColley: "Paradise Lost. An Account of its Growth and Major Origins, with a discussion on Milton's use of sources and Literary Patterns" p.158.

(3) A.G.van Hamel: "Zeventiende eeuwse opvattingen en theorieën over litteratuur in Nederland" pp.109,110 and 143.

(4) Aristotle V,4.

(5) A.G. van Hamel l.c. p.122ff.

The normal span of a tragedy from dawn till dusk was obviously attractive to the Christian classicists who made the dawn symbolic of the joy and hope which was to be turned to distress as darkness again fell at the end of the day(1).

The Temptation is recounted in Genesis as if it were quite brief and the judgement and expulsion followed very soon after it. There was certainly no possibility of a difficulty like the one arising in "Jeptha" where the action depended upon an event that occurred two months earlier.⁽²⁾ Quite apart from the aesthetic and symbolic value of the Unity of Time to the treatment of this theme, the creation of Man and his Fall were considered by most theologians to have occurred within about twelve hours, since the doctrine of Original Sin presupposes that Adam and Eve could not have consummated their union until after their expulsion from Eden(3).

The third law of the Unity of Place was similarly a deduction from Aristotle's statement on mimesis and the practice of the Greeks and Seneca(4), and in this too, the original Paradise story, not only sets the scene and one scene only for the action, but excludes the possibility of considering any other by making the one garden, Eden, the sole realm of Man.

"The well constructed plot should...be single in its issue...; the change of fortune should be from good to bad. It should come about as the result not of vice, but of some great error or frailty, in a character either such as we have described, or better rather than worse."(5).

There are two points here: the character of the tragic

(1) Vondel's "Jeptha" and "Adam in Ballingschap" are examples of this.

(2) See Vondel's Berecht to "Jeptha", W.B.Vol.VIII, p.773.

(3) G.McColley, l.c. p.159.

(4) A.G.van Hamel, l.c. p.131ff.

(5) Aristotle l.c. XIII,4.

hero and change of fortune or peripetia following the climax at which some sort of discovery (bij de Latijnen..."agnitio"... genoeemt(1)) takes place(2).

The discovery of First Sin and the absolute reversal which followed it constitutes material for a Christian tragedy on the classical model unequalled anywhere. Even the similar theme of the Rebellion of the Angels cannot claim a more perfect "agnitio" and "peripetia" and has less universal significance than the story of the Original Sin. It is the direct relevance of this story to all humanity at all times which renders it such a potent subject for instruction. Moreover there is St.Paul's authority(3) for regarding at any rate Adam's Fall as due to weakness rather than 'villainy'.

"To learn", says Aristotle, "gives the liveliest pleasure, not only to philosophers but to men in general, whose capacity, however, of learning is more limited. It is through our instinctive pleasure in realising a good imitation that we learn from it, and the imitation in tragedy should be of actions which excite pity and fear"(4).

While it is true that the Dutch Humanists concentrated unduly on the ethics of drama as being a means of edifying the audience(5), the Paradise story eminently answers the requirements of Classical and Renaissance tragedy since the writer of the story was himself concerned with pointing a moral and, by allegorising humanity in the first of the race, created a hero and heroine who are not only within the ken of all men but, being the very personification of each one of us, move us to an acknowledgement of our own frailty, so that we pity the

(1) Vondel's Berecht to "Jeptha", W.B.Vol.VIII, p.775.

(2) Aristotle X,1 - XI,5.

(3) "And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in transgression" I Timothy II 14.

(4) Aristotle IV,4,5; VI 2; XIII 2.

(5) A.G.van Hamel, l.c. p.51ff. and 140.

weaknesses in our likenesses Adam and Eve and we fear a fortune similar to their's. Sympathetic emotion is aroused in an audience by the mimesis of types they can understand, not the extremes of good and evil which seem outside their human experience. In this way they are carried by the play to a state of ecstasy - EKSTASIS - the power of standing outside oneself, "to relive, or to live beforehand, the great moments which life at its highest intensity has to offer, the moments of Strife, Love, Death, or the things beyond Death"(1).

The chorus was not discussed by Aristotle, presumably because its place in tragedy was indisputably established by its ancestry. The Greek tragedies were, after all, the development of sung rituals having more in common with opera than drama(2). It is a strange anomaly that the Greek chorus, whose necessary presence had caused such embarrassment to Renaissance philologists(3), should be eagerly revived in Holland and, more than that, should find in Christian drama an integral place and directive force such as it never enjoyed latterly, if at all, in its homeland. Horace seems to link the new thought with the old as he writes at the beginning of the Christian era: "Let the chorus sustain the part and manly character of an actor, nor let them sing between the acts anything which is not conducive to, and fitly coherent with, the main design. It should both patronise the good and give them friendly advice, sway the angry, and love to appease those who swell(with rage). It should pray and beseech the gods that

(1) Gilbert Murray "The Classical Tradition in Poetry", pp.78,79.

(2) C.W.Mendell "Our Seneca" p.125.

(3) The Unity of Place was considered essential where the chorus was present throughout the action, but Corneille considered that the assembly of all the necessary actors and Chorus at one place was contrary to the law of Probability.A.G.v.Hamel, l.c. pp.105,164.

fortune may return to the unhappy and depart from the proud⁽¹⁾

Although angels are only mentioned at the end of the biblical story as guards at the gates of Eden, we feel that angels cannot be absent from a place where God walked in the cool of the day and St. Paul confirms this by implication.⁽²⁾ Certainly Eden provides an ideal setting for a chorus of angels performing just the function advocated by Horace and further raising the mood of the play from a mundane to a celestial level.

Tragedy, Horace says, demands a lofty theme⁽³⁾ and the Greeks certainly set a high standard by their dramatisation of ancient myths. To the Dutch Humanists instinctively preferring Horace's "prodesse" to his "delectare", Christian material provided the loftiest themes and was itself the natural counterpart and even fulfilment of the pagan myths. But at a time when the Word of the Bible was held in increasing awe and was the stronghold from which the Reformers sortied to undermine the authority of the Roman Church, the dramatisation of biblical themes was suspect and even condemned as frivolous. Help for the Scriptural dramatists in Holland came from the least expected quarter, France, whose preference had been for amusement in drama rather than instruction⁽⁴⁾. Yet it was largely due to the Protestant du Bartas' influence that Christian and hagiographical themes became permissible material for tragedy⁽⁵⁾.

Having examined the requirements of tragedy according to the exacting standards of Grotius' and Vondel's century,

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- (1) "Ars Poetica" ll.193-7, 200-01. ^{Trans. C. Smart.} H. Rushton Fairclough renders "officiumque virile" in l.196 by "strenuous duty" and amends "pacare tumentes" in l.197 to read: "peccare timentis"
- (2) e.g. in Hebrews I v.14.
- (3) A.G. van Hamel, l.c. pp.139,140.
- (4) A.G. van Hamel, l.c. pp.140,141.
- (5) V. Hall, "Renaissance Literary Criticism" p.104.

we find that the material of the Genesis account of the Fall answers to them all, either in letter or spirit - the three Unities, mimesis, its high theme and universal application, and its chorus.

There is one aspect which did not receive attention from the philologists and has only been mentioned in the preceding chapter in so far as it affected the choice of drama as an artistic medium. That aspect is the audience.

The successors to the *Rederijkers* generally thought of art and edification as inseparable expressions of inspiration, and the audiences of the seventeenth century still looked for the clear lessons of the earlier Morality plays(1).

The simplicity of the story of the Fall, written as a parable to account for sin, makes it outstandingly suitable material for a play of the morality type. The theme is so clear that the protagonists are almost allegorical characters. The action concerns the relationship of two and only two human beings toward one another and toward the two extremes of complete Good and complete Evil, between which they are caught in a hovering tension which is heightened by the awareness throughout of the conflict between the two opposing forces which will be projected upon the two humans.

Finally, I can think of nothing more intrinsically dramatic than the utter tragic emptiness of Eden(2), a picture of which is so engraved on our minds at the end of Genesis III, that its poignancy would be perfectly expressed by a stage left emptied of human happiness, where no curtain falls to

(1) A.G.van Hamel l.c. p.93

(2) Unless it be the emptiness of the tomb as Mary looked into it on the first Easter Day, and it is a curious paradox that they are one another's complement just because the moods they evoke are starkly contrasted.

shut off the vision of what the world could have remained.

To come to the conclusion, as Mariana Woodhull does in her study of "Adamus Exul" and "Adam in Ballingschap", that the theme of the Fall should have been treated as an epic and not as drama(1), betrays an illogical fervour to attribute the greatness of "Paradise Lost" to its epic form as such.

Nevertheless, while maintaining the suitability of this material for dramatic treatment, it is necessary to consider whether the Adam plays are vitiated by the peculiarities of Renaissance thought, or whether, as true art, their hidden truths transcend time and fashion. The 'laws of drama', the 'requirements of tragedy', inescapable subjects in any study of Renaissance drama, suggest restriction. The choice of biblical material itself adds to this the burden "hetgeen Gods boek zeit noodzakelijk, tgeen het niet zeit spaerzaem, tgeen hiertegens strijdt geenszins te zeggen."(2). Fortunately, the Genesis material only provides the dramatist with four scenes, leaving him the rest of his five acts to create freely, as freely at least as his masters allow him. Indeed Vondel and Grotius can be fairly judged as artists by their ability to make that predetermined pattern their own, or rather to find in it a perfectly natural form for their own creative thoughts.

While it is true, that the drama itself should be considered and not its possible effect on the audience, because make-believe is make-believe anywhere, either in visual or imaginary presentation(3), yet there remains a relative difference between the make-believe of mainly visual drama, and the let-believe of epic. The setting of our theme is imaginary,

(1) The "Epic of Paradise Lost" pp.164,187.

(2) Vossius, quoted by Vondel in the last paragraph of his dedication of "Gebroeders" to Vossius.

(3) J.E.Springham "A note on dramatic criticism", Essays and Studies Vol.IV, pp.7-28.

as the setting for any allegory must be, whether it be "Oedipus", the "Prodigal Son", or "Pilgrim's Progress". Milton reduces any persistent visual image to a minimum by painting his vision in "Paradise Lost" in highly imaginative metaphor, thus never letting it emerge from the dream-world in which he saw it. Grotius, though writing a tragedy, did not intend it for production, and so we are left free to interpret the scene in our own imagination. But Vondel, to whom visual presentation was more important than imaginary(1), must, to a certain extent, impose his imaginative interpretation on ours; for instance he must make us believe that the spectacle of Adam and Eve in white robes is symbolic of the truth, rather than letting us interpret the truth in our own way.(2).

Although Grotius and Vondel were in the minority(3) in dramatising the Fall, they were certainly justified in believing that their material was suitable for dramatisation. Their common form offers an obvious basis for comparison, though a closer examination of this form will reveal a difference in treatment, an understanding of which is essential before their total structures can be understood or fully appreciated.

(1) Introduction to "Jeptha" W.B. Vol.VIII, p.777.

(2) A modern comparison exists in Walt Disney's film "Fantasia", where his own interpretation of music in certain visual patterns can be restrictive and even distracting to the musician who does not agree with or require such visual stimulus.

(3) Of the many possible sources for Vondel or Grotius only one, the 11th century "Mystère d'Adam" is in drama form.

ii. Treatment.

Of the two patterns of classical drama, the Greek and the Senecan, it is understandable that the Senecan, though itself modelled on the Greek, should attain prior popularity in Holland, even as it had done earlier in Germany, France and England; for in the first place Latin was the language of the Humanists and Italy the seat of the New Learning. But though Erasmus and the Oxford Reformers were nearly a century ahead of their time, the clean fresh breeze of the Parnassus did eventually come to dispel the dank air of the Dutch theatre in the early seventeenth century.

In order to appreciate fully the influence of Seneca which created such a potential menace to the new Dutch drama, it is necessary to consider Seneca's style next to that of Sophocles and Euripides(1).

Two factors create a fundamental difference between Seneca's art and that of his Greek forerunners; religion and culture. At the time when Sophocles and Euripides wrote their mythical tragedies vying with one another for the laurels of poetic fame, religion was a very real thing in Greece. The fate of all men from birth was in the hands of the Gods, and it was the irresistible course of this predetermined fate which brought about the tragedies of men who, however great, were nevertheless unable to withstand powers beyond their control(2). The Greek tragic outlook was, in the words of Neville Coghill(3) "if the Gods are like that, the public must see them and realise their dangers". As Oedipus himself says as the final words of

(1) AEschylus is not considered in this study since his works had no appreciable influence on Grotius or Vondel.

(2) J.A.Worp "Drama en Toneel" I, p.245.

(3) Lectures on the Tragic Idea in Shakespeare delivered in Groningen, 1947.

"Phoenissae":-

Whoso is but mortal

Needs must bear the fate of heaven sent."(1)

The Greeks did not understand the ways of unseen Fate but they trusted in the guidance of the Gods, by whom order was always finally restored.

In Seneca's Rome religion was dead. Seneca himself replaced earlier religion by the Stoic philosophy then popular in Rome. The unknown quantity to him is fickle Fortuna, whose wheel turns only against the great at the summit of their power. His moral teaching is to seek the "Media Via safe from the lightning which strikes the mountain top or the mind which blasts the tall oak(2). "Whoever has left the middle course never runs in a safe path"(3).

Death is the friend of Man so ill-treated by fortune and Seneca made it "the patron of his art"(4). The wretchedness of those suffering, often in innocence(5), and the glorification of the release to be sought in death colour Seneca's tragedies with pathos and passion which is unrelieved by the religion of hope of justice and faith in ultimate order which inspired the Greek drama.

A degeneration in culture accompanied the transition in Rome from religion to a sceptical philosophy. No longer were

(1) P.van Limburg-Brouwer (quoted by L.Simons W.B. vol.II p.39) sums up three elements in Greek drama:

Belief in an all-controlling fate

Belief in the inevitable course of punishment following transgression

The sensitiveness of every person, however exalted, to bodily and spiritual pain.

(2) C.W.Mendell l.c.pp.155,166.

(3) *"Quisquis medium difugit iter

Stabile numquam tramite currit" ("Hercules Oetaeus" 11.875,6

(4) C.W.Mendell l.c.p.160.

(5) J.A.Worp "De invloed van Seneca's ^{treurspelen} op ons Toneel" p.230

*The whole of this Chorus is full of Seneca's stoicism.

plays written for large theatre audiences and rewarded by prizes from the state as they had been in Greece four centuries earlier. Seneca's plays were not even written for acting as Mendel so lucidly proves(1). The essentially dramatic elements are lacking in Seneca. Dramatic tension is largely replaced by vivid description conveyed in long 'messenger' accounts and lurid speeches loaded with horror. No attention is paid to dramatic illusion so that characters arrive and depart unaccountably and address the audience or indulge in lengthy soliloquies.

If dialogue is used by Seneca for furthering the plot or elucidating it; he does not, as Sophocles had done, use it to increase dramatic suspense or create dramatic characters. He crams the necessary facts into the dialogue in order to spend most time on dramatic recital. Otherwise Seneca's main use for dialogue is as a display of rhetorical fireworks. Rhetoric is obviously congenial to him, exhibiting as it does a good deal of his own moral beliefs(2).

In the close-knit structure of the earlier Greek plays, the Prologue, Episode and Choruses all formed a unity of plot which was symbolic of their undivided religion. A disintegration of this structure is already perceptible in Euripides(3) and Seneca uses the Prologue not to set the scene, but to create an atmosphere of horror, and the choruses, instead of marking the progress of the tragedy by linking past events with speculations on the future, are generally interludes, standing outside the action, sometimes related to it only in so far as the moralising of the chorus refers to occurrences on the stage.

(1) C.W.Mendell, l.c. p.92. (2) C.W.Mendell, l.c. p.121ff.

(3) Nietzsche claims the disintegration as complete in Euripides. Compared with Seneca however, Euripides seems almost guiltless!

The loose structure of Seneca's tragedies is similarly symbolic of his scepticism to religion. He had no faith in Olympus and preserved the use of divinities only as a traditional element, convenient for his purpose of producing horror. "The supernatural in Seneca is just one of the tools of his trade"(1).

A comparison of almost any Greek play with a Senecan play on the same theme will reveal marked differences in treatment. Sophocles and Euripides on the one hand engender a clash of passions in a simple construction, Seneca on the other hand, encumbers the theme with a sterile mass of generalities with mythological, geographic, scientific, philosophical and political observations thrown in; on the one hand, sometimes exalted, sometimes confidential expression is achieved without artifice, on the other hand, Seneca's artificial style betrays his restless desire to hold the attention by an abundance of tiring repetition of one thought, or else hyperbole next to fine subtlety sometimes approaches the ridiculous; in the one, ghastly and even incredible occurrences carry conviction owing to natural presentation; in the other the horrors of impossible unheard of or ghastly situations are preferred and emphasized, and reason and virtue are exaggerated to bravour and heroics(2).

The material of, for instance, Sophocles' "Trachinae" and Seneca's "Hercules Oetaeus" contains in good measure the essentials of a drama - the discovery and peripety and situations ideal for evoking pity and fear. The greater moments of Seneca's version occur in Hercules' victory-cry, Deira's wrath at Hercules' inconstancy, her horror at the omen after she has dispatched the tunic to her husband, Hercules' death agonies and Alcmena's grief. This gives the effect of individual

(1) C.W.Mendell l.c. p.151.

(2) L.Simons "Vondels Dramatiek" W.B. vol.III, pp.38,39.

character-studies which breaks the tension and any sort of cumulative structure. Deinira's rage and obvious intention to kill Hercules considerably reduces the pathos when indeed she does unintentionally kill him. She is not noble and does not die nobly like Sophocles' heroine. The difference is due to the self-control and deep feeling of cultured Greek society on the one hand, and the excessive passions of degenerate Roman society on the other.

It is not surprising then, that Seneca transgresses Horace's rule that no scenes of horror should take place on the stage, and his characters, instead of being true to types as Aristotle had required, are frequently little more than personifications of a particular evil or passion(1). This does not mean that Seneca was incapable of creating characters with real feeling, or that Seneca's tragedies are all melodramatic. His "Troades", called by Grotius and Vondel the "Regina Tragoediarum"(2), is certainly one of Seneca's better plays, and can indeed claim superiority to Euripides' "Daughters of Troy" in the greater dramatic suspense of the second act.

Nevertheless, the adverse effect of Seneca's influence on early Renaissance drama is undeniably apparent in Grotius' and Vondel's(3) tragedies and tragicomedies, and even in their translations from the Greek. This can be most clearly demonstrated by making one or two comparisons of their translations with the originals.

Euripides' "Phoenician Maidens" has in lines 44,45:-

Son slayeth father, takes the car, and gives
to Polybus, his fosterer(4)

(1) J.A.Worp "Drama en Toneel" I, p.246.

(2) Dedication of "Amsteldamsche Hecuba" W.B. Vol.II, p.533.

(3) And most of all in Hooft's "Geeraert van Velsen" and "Baeto".

(4) παῖς πατέρα καίνει καὶ λαβρὸν ὁ χήματα

Πολύβω τροφεὶ δίδωσιν

The translation is A.S.Way's.

Grotius translates:-

Natus parentem perimit; alteri suo

Polybo quadrigam donat(1)

and Vondel translates Grotius:-

de zinnen

aen 't hollen raeken, brult de zoon, die met een knijf

Den Vader nederlegt, en geeft zijn' voesterheere

Den wagen en 't gespan, uit plicht en schuldighe eere(2)

This shows more expansion than is normally legitimate for a translator(3) and we detect not only Senecan cumulation to gain effect, but a suggestion of Senecan exaggeration.

A better instance of a gruesome colouring to the translation occurs in lines 1350,51:-

Upraise, upraise the lamentation strain.

Down on the head let blows of white hands rain!(4)

Grotius has:

Lugubre clamor insonet; nivei caput

Feriant lacerti; sauciet planctus genas(5)

and Vondel goes one better with

Heft aen een weeklaght. Krabt de kaek en borsten weder,

En wringt de handen. rukt de haeren uit uw hoofd(6)

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- (1) "Euripidis tragoedia Phoenissae, emendata ex manuscriptis et Latina facta" 1630 p.8.
(2) "Euripidis Feniciaensche" ll.42-46 W.B. Vol.X p.469.
(3) See J.D.Meerwaldt "Het persoonlijk element in Vondels vertalingen van de Griekse Tragici" Ts. voor Ned. Taal- en Letterkunde jrg.57 p.117, where he also considers the affect of Virgil and Ovid on Vondel's expansions in translation.
(4) ἀνάγετ', ἀνάγετε κωκυτόν.
ἐπὶ κάρα τε λευκοπήχεις κτύπους χερσῶν.
(translation A.S.Way)
(5) "Euripidis tragoedia Phoenissae" etc" p.96.
(6) ll.1480,51 W.B. Vol.X p.527.

Vondel expands *Χωρίς Ζηνός* in line 1002(1) of Sophocles' *Trachiniae* to:-

de Godtheit uigezondert

Bie uit de lucht, vol weërlicht, dondert(2)

As we establish more and more the weakness in Seneca's style, the problem presses more and more urgently - Why were Vondel and Grotius, in an age that consciously sought the highest expression of art in the classics, ever attracted to Senecan drama? After all, they formed with Sweelinck and van Campen a group whose ideals were not only classicism and polyphony, but also rigid form and august ideal(3).

The preferential treatment of Latin in the school and university curricula(4) resulted in earlier and more numerous editions of Latin works than Greek(5) quite apart from the subsequent difficulties of many Renaissance writers, and Vondel was one of them, in studying the Greeks. Moreover the Dutch Humanists like the French paid homage to the structural rather than the material elements in the classics, and were thus attracted by the beauty of reason in Seneca(6). The lofty manner of Senecan speeches and the slick epigrammatical style of his dialogues were also fit models for Dutch dramatists inheriting the undisciplined style of the "Cameren van Rhetorical"

(1) The full passage reads

*τίς γὰρ αἰεὶς, τίς δ' ἑυπτόχῃς
λατορίας, ὅς τινδ' ἄτην
Χωρίς Ζηνός κατα κλήσει.*

1000

Where is the charmer, where is the cunning healer, save Zeus alone, that shall lull this plague to rest.

(Trans.R.C.Jebb)

(2) "Hercules in Trachin" ll.993-4 W.B. Vol.X p.594.

(3) J.Huizinga "Verzamelde Werken" II p.389.

(4) L.Müller "Geschichte der klassischen Philologie in den Niederlanden" pp.15,16.

(5) A.M.F.B.Geerts "Vondel als classicus bij de Humanisten in de Leer" p.95.

(6) P.Stachel "Seneca und das deutsche Renaissancedrama" p.6.

I find certain lines(1) of the first chorus of Vondel's translation of Seneca's "Troades" distinctly reminiscent of the style of some of his lampoons.

The tendency to convey extremes of passion almost to the point of personification was a feature common to Seneca and the writers of the Dutch Morality plays, and this feature would the more naturally pass into Renaissance drama, since the general interpretation of Aristotle's *ἔλεος* and *φόβος* until Corneille(2) was pity and terror, and it was these emotions which the dramatists, in obedience to the poetics, must arouse(3). Not only does Vondel render Aristotle as 'meedogen en schrick'⁽⁴⁾ but the word *φόβον* in line 364 of "Phoenissae" was erroneously translated by Grotius and Vondel as 'pavor' and 'schrick'. To engender terror (rather than fear) we should expect Grotius and Vondel to turn to Seneca with his deeds of violence and apparitions 'on the stage', despite Horace's teaching against such spectacles, and spirits could serve a very useful didactic function(5).

Rhetorical virtuosity and the refinement of passions in natural and supernatural characters to create horror are not very praiseworthy traits of Seneca's drama; Grotius and Vondel, true to the dictum of the philologists that translation was as worthy as original creation(6), faithfully reproduced these

(1) ll.103,4; 135-138, 151-4, 159.

(2) Corneille translated 'crainte' and this is rightly his in the first place and not Lessing's, as inferred by Simons W.B. Vol.II p.40. See A.G.van Hamel l.c. p.98.

(3) The relationship between the 'passions' and mimesis is further discussed by van Hamel p.93.

(4) Foreword to "Jeptha" W.B. Vol.VIII p.777.

(5) A.G.van Hamel l.c. p.155. Consider such apparitions as Fama in "Het Pascha", Gabriel in "Hierusalem Verwoest", Raphaël in "Gysbrecht van Aemstel" and the spirit of Sinte Ursul in "Maeghden".

(6) Vida "Poetica" Bk.II, ll.546-8.

Senecanisms. The whole of "Hierusalem Verwoest" betrays Vondel's admiration for Seneca's limp fabric of rhetorical repetition and bursts of passion which bring dramatic movement to a standstill. One passage from "Maeghden" will convey the effect of Seneca's technique on the writer of

Zoo knaegh uw tanden stomp aen 't heilige Gebeent(1)
and it comes from the mouth of Ursul herself:

Neen ghij, na 'et moorden, stroopt uw vyands
beckeneelen
De huid al warm van 't been, vergult die tot een' kop,
Verzwelght het laeuwe bloed; verkropt uw' helschen krop
Met vrouweborsten, zoet van smaeck, met mannespieren;
Min redelijck dan zelfs de wilde woeste dieren,
En 't al verslindend woud, dat noit at zijns gelijck(2).

Grotius' "Sophompaneas" shows Senecan expansion though none of his horror since a biblical story which "runs joyfully to its conclusion"(3) leaves no scope for this. The play seems to consist of two acts only, act II and act IV. Only here is there dialogue through which the characters become more or less real. The rest is just padding of greater or less consequence. The second half of the long Prologue is wasted on moralising. If the intention is to give Joseph stature, it is premature, since the brothers the King and chorus reiterate the theme of their awe for Joseph-the-perfect-statesman until we begin to doubt its veracity. Events are reported in long narratives instead of enacted(likewise in "Palamedes", where Palamedes reports the warning to flee before

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- (1) "aen den Lasteraer van wijlen den Koninklijken Gezant Huigh de Groot", last line. (2) 11.580-585. W.B. Vol. III, p.737
(3) Vondel's Introduction to his translation of "Sophompaneas", W.B. Vol. III, p.435. He writes further on: "Men hoort hier geen grollen, noch beuzelingen, veel min ophitzingen tot weerspannigheid, moorden, rooven en plonderen, maer de toehoorder word aengemaent tot vrede en vromigheid etc.--"

his capture(1), though the live episode would have been much more effective(2)). Moral lessons are thrust awkwardly into the foreground at the cost of dramatic movement and continuity. Even the question-answer form of the dialogue in the fourth act is slightly reminiscent of a chatechism or Rederijker's verse. The third act, which should be a culminating point in the development is thrown away on a distant battle and a picture exhibition. Even the touching moment of Joseph's declaration of his identity is weakened by the immediate acceptance of this by his brothers.

It is clear that Grotius and Vondel were at this stage endeared to Seneca and his weaknesses. But more important are the positive qualities which Seneca and Vondel had in common.

Vondel, a Christian Stoic, must have appreciated the stoicism in Seneca, though not sharing his view, that fortune humbles those in high places. But in the plays of both we are aware of the frailty of mortal life only tolerable with stoic patience, which Vondel calls "God-gelaetenheid en stilte van 't schepsel". Seneca's perplexity at life caught in the storms of the Unknown was raised in Vondel to a positive longing for eternal goodness beyond things temporal(3). Even before Vondel became a Roman Catholic he had the qualities of the Baroque artist of the Contra-Reformation. He saw the sombre evil of the world so vividly contrasted to the colour and light of the life hereafter, that he must needs find expression for this in the extremes of pathos, heroism, terror and ecstasy(4).

Du Bartas, Vondel's first and possibly most important

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- (1) The whole of the monologue, 11.1023-1150 is in effect a defence of his decision not to flee weighed up against the factors in favour of escape.
(2) L. Simons "Vondels Dramatiek" W.B. Vol.III, p.61.
(3) W.Kramer "Vondel als Barokkunstenaar" p.20.
(4) id. pp.23 and 48.

model, had taught him a love of the country. In Seneca too Vondel found the country praised above town life, and throughout his work we find nature metaphors borrowed from these writers(1).

Grotius, at 18 years, when he wrote his "Adamus Exul" could scarcely be expected to have developed his own philosophy of life, nor to show signs of a Baroque culture which was then only just emerging. On the other hand he was capable of comparing the Latin with the Greek, which Vondel, till late in life, was not. Why then did not at any rate Grotius avoid the flaws in Senecan tragedy which even a perfunctory comparison with Sophocles would reveal?

The answer, I suggest, is that Grotius sincerely believed that he was writing tragedy in the Greek style even though it was in Senecan manner. There is no mention in his writings at this stage of comparing Seneca with the Greeks or of anywhere implying that Seneca was a more worthy model. On the contrary, it is the example of Euripides, Epicharmus and Ennius which he acknowledges in the Dedicatory Epistle to "Adamus Exul"(2). And yet earlier in the same letter he had written: "Many philosophical speculations occur; aye, and metaphysical ones too, respecting God, angels and souls. It abounds likewise in moral, physical, astrological and geographical topics"(3). And this is surely typical of Seneca.

Grotius sent a copy of the "Sacra" to de Thou in that same year (1601) and writes: "This is sent to you...who, the leader after the style of the Scot, has returned to us the

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- (1) G.Kalff "Studiën over Nederlandse Dichters der 17e eeuw", p.86. (2) "Sacra in quibus Adamus Exul tragoedia", 1611.
(3) Translation of W.S.M.Knight in "The Life and Works of Hugo Grotius" p.50. After writing this it was pointed out to me that Grotius in his "Prolegomena to Phoenissae" praises Euripides above Sophocles for that in which he most resembles Seneca: "Nam...totam scientiam in scenam attulit"!

tragedy revived, except for the fact that Buchanan himself, the greatest of them all, seems to have degenerated from the solemnity of the elevated style of Greek tragedy, so that the grandiloquent majesty of the ancient stage sought by Aeschylus, himself the writer of finer tragedy, may be seen to have returned to its rights of heritage earned by you, a leader from the first"(1). Now the play of Buchanan's here referred to is his "Jephtha"(2), in which he had at first followed Seneca and later transferred his allegiance to Euripides(3). From this it appears that Grotius confused the "elevated style" of the Greeks with the grandiose manner of Seneca. This seems plausible when we remember that the ideal of the Humanists was to perfect their Latin by what seems to us now as slavery to one or more chosen models. Seneca scored on two counts. He brought to the dramatist the great themes of the Greek tragedies and to the Humanist a much sought-after polished language.

Vondel, who in his humility was ever guided by the philologists, looked to the genius as well as the friendship of Grotius. When Grotius wrote his Latin "Sophompaneas", Vondel translated it into "Joseph aen 't Hof", hoping that his Dutch might not bear comparison too unfavourably with the Latin of his "treffelijke voorganger"(4). When Grotius translated Euripides' "Phoenician Maidens" Vondel took to heart the lessons of his preface and began learning Greek in order to study the original versions of the earlier tragedians(5).

(1) P.C. Molhuysen "Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius" Nr. 24, Vol. I, p. 19. (2) C. Brandt "Historie van het leven des heeren Huig de Groot", p. 17. (3) P. Stachel l.c. p. 26.

(4) Foreword to "Sophompaneas of Joseph aen 't Hof" W.B. vol. III, p. 435.

(5) A.G. van Hamel l.c. p. 28. "Ongetwijfeld heeft dit oordeel van de Groot er veel toe bijgedragen, om ook Vondel tot de studie van het Griekse te drijven." It would however be a discredit to Vondel to attribute his later learnings to the Greeks entirely to Grotius' influence. "Zijn artistieke intuïtie wijst hem den weg naar het lichtende voorbeeld, dat hem tot

In Vondel's drama a clear progression has been traced by Worp(1), Simons(2) and others from Senecan beginnings in "Hierusalem Verwoest", "Palamedes", "Gijsbrecht van Aemstel" and "Maeghden" to a greater or lesser degree of purity of Greek influence in the later plays, with "Jeptha" as his chef d'oeuvre of drama on the Greek pattern(3).

Although Vondel repeatedly re-echoes(4) Grotius' judgement "non dubitem palmam dare Graecis supra Latinos"(5), it does not come naturally to him to write a tragedy free of Senecan influence, and it is in this light that any tragedy of his must be judged. If Vondel extracts valuable elements from Seneca's

de volvoering van deze taak eerst ten volle zal kunnen initiëeren: Sophocles. Van hem leert hij de groote waarde van de strakken, evenwichtigen bouw en de intensieve concentratie in de uitbeelding van gemoedsimpulsen, het oerbeeld der waarachtige tragedie, waarvan Seneca's barokke, declamatorische rhetoriek toch slechts een decadentie beteekent." B.Verhagen, "Vondels Dramatische Problemen" Vondelkroniek XI, 1940 pp.86,7.

- (1) "Drama en Toneel" I pp.286,7 and "De Invloed van Seneca's Treurspelen op ons Toneel" Ch.IX.
- (2) "Vondels Dramatiek" W.B. Vol.III p.38ff.
- (3) I disagree however with Simons in thinking that Vondel had passed through the real Senecan phase when he wrote "Gijsbrecht van Aemstel". "Maeghden", written two years later shows all the Senecan tricks of the trade. Nor can I agree with Worp in seeing a "return" to Senecan influence after "Jeptha", for "Phaëton", written four years after "Jeptha" is as free of Senecan influence as "Gebroeders" written twenty years before it; and since Senecan traits appear in most of the plays written before and after "Jeptha" I would call "Jeptha" a deliberate attempt to write a play obeying all the rules of the Greek stage and so modelled entirely on it, rather than the natural culmination of a progression towards the Greek ideal, after which Vondel relapsed again into Senecanisms.
- (4) Notably in the forewords to his translations of Sophocles' "Electra" and "Hercules in Trachin".
- (5) Foreword to the translation of Grotius' "Phoenissae".

drama in order to give full expression to Vondel, then he is showing strength and not weakness. Vondel's conception of God and the smallness of Man required the Greek background of Fate to give it expression, his Baroque antithesis of the extremes of good and evil found its counterpart in the Senecan passions. It is obviously absurd to bind an artist of Vondel's complexity of thought to a literal interpretation of the combination of "Joods manna en Griekse nectar" as meaning that the only fit medium for the dramatisation of his faith was the Greek, or even the Christianising of myth alone, whatever language contained it. The Humanists evolved a new religion based on the pagan philosophies(1), and Vondel went very much further than that and called to his service much more than a particular philosophy, language or style.

Inasmuch as Vondel succeeds in turning any available artistic idea or form to his use in creating an original work of art, he will rise outside his time and the influences around him to the heights of immortal art.

Even the dedications of just two of Vondel's plays suggest the development of Vondel's mind. "Hierusalem Verwoest" was dedicated to C.P.Hooft and "Hippolytus" to Grotius and between these two he wrote "Palamedes", an allegorical satire about Oldenbarnevelt. This shows a broadening of his views not only from the local (Amsterdam) to the national (Oldenbarnevelt) and then universal, but also a spiritual growth from political leaders to a spiritual one(2).

When, in 1664, Vondel published "Adam in Ballingschap", he had a very eventful life behind him. The Spanish war had driven his family from Cologne to Amsterdam, where he had taken

(1) W.Kramer l.c. p.16.

(2) G.Brom "Vondels Geloof" p.67.

a dangerous part in the Arminian-Gomarist controversy, ending in the judicial murder of his party's leader Oldenbarnevelt, and the imprisonment of Grotius himself. He had lost his wife prematurely and nearly all his children. From the Baptist faith in which he had been brought up he had become a Libertijn and had thence found the peace and spiritual discipline he sought in the Roman Catholic Church, and at the same time his art had followed first the Pleiade, then Du Bartas, then Seneca and finally Sophocles and Euripides. All this had taken place since his eighteenth year and had formed a strong character which is evident in "Adam in Ballingschap". Grotius had certainly had no experiences to compare with these when he wrote "Adamus Exul".

Vondel's later plays testify to his vast wisdom, that is to say, spiritual and intellectual understanding wrought in the hard school of experience. The poet of "Paradise Lost" and the mature Vondel had much in common. Both had read a great deal of classical and theological literature. Both had fought through violent storms of political and theological strife. Both had learned to set a stoical face against domestic hardship. On the other hand, Grotius, when he wrote "Adamus Exul", was a dedicated scholar and Humanist like the young Milton.

Milton probably only summed up, and crowned quite finally, the long tradition of Genesis and Hexameral literature which had first appeared in Latin(1), then in Mediaeval times in the vernacular, and with the coming of the Humanist movement had been rendered into finer Latin to exhibit the art of the Humanist poet, only to be turned again into the vernacular when the Renaissance had raised it to the exalted powers of earlier Latin(2).

(1) From Philo (1st Cent.) to Cosmas of Alexandria (7th Cent.)

G.McS.Colley l.c. pp.3,4.

(2) W.S.M.Knight l.c. pp.51,52.

Behind this brief survey of the linguistic progress of Hexameral literature lies a far greater progress of thought. The Middle Ages and the Humanist Revival are separated by half a millenium, the Humanist and Renaissance movements by only half a century; yet the difference in thought between the latter is as great as between the former. "Adamus Exul" is a product of the age of poetical virtuosity which gave birth to and remained a generation apart from the Renaissance, an essentially artistic age reaching full maturity and stature in such poetry as "Adam in Ballingschap" and such painting as Rubens' "Hellevaart der Verdoemden". For this reason "Adam in Ballingschap" and Milton's "Samson Agonistes" have an environmental kinship which the mature Vondel and youth Grotius could never have. Heinsius' exuberant praise of "Adamus Exul"(1) rings hollow in our ears now, because Grotius' tragedy is 'dated' by just those conditions which enabled Vondel sixty-three years later to express completely the whole man and poet.

(1) W.S.M.Knight l.c. p.50. Heinsius hails Grotius as "the great father of the reborn drama, noblest light and ornament of brave art; treating the most sacred themes with royal eloquence".

CHAPTER III.

"Adamus Exul"

A tragic situation can be created in one of two ways: either an atmosphere of happiness, due to success, joyful anticipation or prosperity is suddenly disturbed by a completely unexpected event which brings a catastrophic dénouement in its train, or impending danger dogs the hero who, ignorant of his fate, heaps tragic ironies on top of one another, until the sudden realisation of his danger comes too late for him to save himself.

An unexpected dénouement is obviously an impossibility where a well-known story is being dramatised, even as it had been for the classical dramatist using myths for his themes. The later Greek tragedies normally place the audience in the privileged position of knowing more than the actors about to be caught in the webs of their fate, by explaining the situation with all its potential ills in the prologue, given by some person who can impartially report on both sides of the ensuing plot. It is a not unreaonable hypothesis that Euripides, had he been able to dramatisé the Fall, would have opened the play with a prologue in which Adam, or possibly the messenger Gabriel, would have described Eden, the time of day and the commandment from God to avoid eating the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge. Seneca with his love of wrathful

apparitions would surely have sent Satan Himself thundering up from the depths, to strike horror into the hearts of the audience with such a line as

Leaving the murky regions of infernal Dis, I come(1)

or

Who from the accursed regions of the dead haleth me forth?(2)

Grotius uses the Senecan method, and he is undoubtedly right in doing so. A prologue spoken by Satan can give the audience an intimation of his character with all its latent evil longing to be let loose. A prologue from Adam or Gabriel could not give such a vivid character-study, and the contrast between the oppressive evil threatening Eden and the brightness of the garden itself with the joy of its occupants would be greatly reduced, with a consequent loss of tension throughout.

In strident minor tones Grotius' Satan announces his presence in the unspoiled beauty of the garden: "As an enemy of the cruel Thundergod I come, an exile of the heavenly fatherland, shunning the sad cavern of Hell and the black tracts of eternal night"

Whipping up his own fury he feels like a raging lion plunging onward to find its prey, and exults in his wrath and the anticipation of the disaster he will cause. He sees the place he is looking for, and quite suddenly the tone changes as his dark thoughts burst out into the bright garden, where "the dense trees return the languid sounds of tenuous Zephyr and the quivering wood plays with melodious whispering. Here light always shines from the peaceful countenance of the sun,

(1) Thyestes in line 1 of "Agamemnon"

(2) Ghost of Tantalus, line 1 of "Thyestes".

the favour of constant breezes is pleasant, the day fawns sweetly with its steady serene countenance, no cloud hangs over the place...kindly warmth disperses the frosts, and perpetual spring withstands the heavy winter."(11.40-51)

So completely does Satan succumb to the enchantment of the scene that he, "the enemy of the cruel Thundergod", now sees the delights and beauties of Eden as assigned to Adam for his cultivation by God who is lavish of his blessedness(11.57-59). He reflects on the origin of all this beauty, he thinks of the Creation and is reminded of Man. At once the spell of Eden's beauty is broken as he reflects that the dominion over all this created world is Adam's, and like a tyrant he holds everything in subjection under his cruel command. But that is not all that Satan remembers. Adam has been given a very beautiful wife, so that endless generations after them may rule on earth(11.79-85). As he considers the carefree existence of Adam and Eve, Satan's thoughts return to himself, and he cries out against their bliss and his abject misery: "How far removed is their lot from mine!"(11.94-95). He longs for death, yet may not die, but is sentenced to a wretched existence in the centre of the earth "unknown to the rays of the sun. The cavern yawns wide with its vast shadows; at its dark border lies a dreary abyss, dense fog fills the empty space; a great horror hangs there silently, and there are manifold roomy spaces in that empty place" (11.107-111). Satan's mood has turned full circle from his first grim thoughts of violence to the radiancy of Eden and its occupants and back again to the tenebrous confines of hell. Inevitably the awareness of other people's blessings drives his thoughts back to rage and selfpity and the vision of Paradise takes his mind back to the horrible cavern which must be his abode.

Unable to contain his misery and thwarted anger, Satan now turns squarely upon the victim of his jealousy. He drives himself on to a greater hatred of Adam, whose prosperity is assured by God, who has even promised him the place in Heaven left vacant by Satan. Incensed with passionate rage he swears revenge, calling wildly upon all his powers and every evil known to him to assist his endeavour to bring about Adam's fall from his present secure position of grace.

This is fine character portrayal because it is convincingly probable. Everyday life provides plenty of normal instances of frustration or unhappiness causing jealousy, and these pent-up emotions find an outlet in hatred of the envied person and the angry intent to set his advantage at naught. Satan's mind works like a human's, but with diabolical intensity.

But stormy invective will get Satan nowhere. He must plan; and in a calmer state of mind he evolves a plan piecemeal for achieving Adam and Eve's downfall. His hopes centre on the tree whose fruit God has forbidden the mortals to eat. In his unbalanced fits of passion he had imagined that Adam and Eve were untroubled by sinful desires(1), now he sees more clearly that their gift of free will places them on a hazardous path between good and evil(2). Dwelling upon the potential dangers of free will, he takes courage. Eve's presence is no longer a cause of increased chagrin, for woman has a fickle nature, and if an attempt on Adam fails there is always a second chance with Eve.

The study of Satan's character, up to this point, psychologically plausible, is here less convincing. His analysis of woman's nature may be accurate enough. Most men at

(1) 11.89,90 "nulla securos mali/vexat cupido,

(2) 11.177-182 "in medio tamen/utriusque positus"...etc".

any rate would agree with his summary of feminine weaknesses as fickleness, ambition, boredom, inconstancy and a palate for dainty luxuries(1). But this, coming from Satan's mouth, is clearly an a posteriori generalisation, since woman's original unspoiled nature can have had none of these weaknesses. All that can be said in the difficult matter of surmising a post hoc ergo propter hoc explanation of the Fall, is that woman being by nature feminine, would have been more vulnerable to any temptation which tested her female characteristics. Post hoc, after temptation, she shows peculiarly feminine weaknesses, therefore these weaknesses are due to her propter hoc nature. This is Vondel's, not Grotius' method.

Satan's plan takes shape. He will make an open approach to Adam, and if this fails he will employ an indirect method. Being a bodiless spirit he can adopt any form at will. He will deceive Eve with the cunning of a serpent feigning friendship.

The Chorus recalls the rebellion of the Angels, after moralising on the dangers attendant on those in high places. In this there are reminiscences of Seneca: "Whoever from the high summit of the universe brazenly despises the places in the humble abode below him, let him be careful lest he collapse under the weight of his bulk plying his own ruin hard"(2), of Claudian: "The fall from a height is always heavier"(3), and of the Gospels: "A greater responsibility rests on those who are blessed, inasmuch as having obtained more they have more to fear."(4).

(1) cf. Du Bartas "L'imposture" 11.261,2:

...la femme indiscrette, legere,

Foible, aime-nouveauté, credule et mensongere.

(2) 11.233-237 cf. "Sidunt ipso pondere magna

Ceditque oneri Fortuna suo" Agamemnon 188 f.

(3) 1.237 f. cf. "Tolluntur in altum ut graviore lapsu ruant".

(4) 1.240f. cf. "For unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required" Luke XII v.48.

This chorus serves a useful purpose in the development of the tragedy. It starts by contrasting Satan's glorious state in Heaven with his abysmal wretched state now and sums this up with the nice conceit of Lucifer, the morning Star, yielding to the Sun's greater light and returning at evening with its name changed to Hesperus, "the standard-bearer of night and darkness". (1.258) The reference to the Rebellion achieves two things: it extends the scope of the play to include events directly relevant to but in no way part of the action in Eden, and it conceals a warning to Adam and Eve. Satan ignored the danger of temptation while relying on the supposed security of Divine favour. Exalted by God he did not humble himself in order to resist the greater temptation of pride and ambition. Being blessed above all angels his sin was the greater and his metamorphosis the more complete. Death, the only release from his suffering is denied him. He must live and go on suffering. The parallel with Adam is obvious - Adam was made a little lower than the angels, so little lower that he sought full Divine knowledge to give him parity with God. His fall was the greater for the greater blessings he had received. From lord of Eden and master of the animal world he must return to the earth from which he came and fight for survival among the beasts and like them hunt for his food. Adam wants to die after his sin, but he must continue his life in toil and sorrow.

By looking back to the Rebellion and ahead to the dangers of everpresent temptation, this chorus is pointing a moral without disturbing the development of the play and is in fact strengthening its structure by linking up past and future events.

Like an accomplished composer, Grotius adds one modulation to another, slipping quite suddenly from a major key into a

minor one and back again. But bolder than the changes from major to minor are the tone-contrasts between the whiter-than-white of Heaven and the blacker-than-black of Hell. The saturnine void of Satan's Hell is the counterpart and precise inverse of the angel-chorus's Heaven, flooded with light and colour, blessed with perfect peace and thronged with worshipping hosts. Not for long however may we put Satan from our thoughts. Our minds are rudely drawn away from peace and goodness back to the Rebellion when "the globe felt the insurgent uproars and the whole air abhorred the crimes and the two poles shook with the sins"(ll.281-283).

The first act and chorus contribute practically nothing to the action, but, like an overture, they introduce the principal themes of the tragedy and set the mood, a mood of restless uncertainty, not entirely dominated by Satan, nor yet steadfast in the assurance of bliss, in medio tamen utriusque positus.

The strains of the Chorus's fearful recollection of the cosmic disorders following the Rebellion have scarcely died away when Adam opens the second act with a hymn to the dawning day and "the sure order of time"(l.313) in which night yields its command to the light, and the stars, obeying the law of their creator, regulate the changes of the year.

The chaos of lines 281-295 is succeeded by order, Divine order in which the consecrated sound of the heavenly movement praises in song the hand of the maker, and all the stars as far as the bounds of the fast-moving heavens applaud in chorus. The world itself teaches us to be obedient to the author of all things(ll.325-329).

As Adam is transported by the marvels of the universe to contemplation of its Origin, an Angel addresses him. The Angel leads Adam on from his wonder at things about him to the gifts

which are his above all other things created. He has a mind, the source of pleasure which no animate or inanimate creatures know of. The beasts have only senses to warn them of danger(1), but Adam has a soul to guide his senses. And God's purpose was to create Man as a witness of His praises. "He of his good will has made you for Himself, all remaining things are yours".

As if prompted by the Angel's brief theological exposition Adam praises God for His favour and wisdom, His omnipotence and the majesty of the Trinity. Whatever the theological justification for such an apparent anachronism may be(2), it is artistically very injudicious. Drama is not the fitting medium for the propounding of such difficult theological doctrines, least of all when Grotius' personal beliefs are in such disagreement with orthodox teaching that Adam's comprehension exceeds the bounds of probability and plunges into an apparent impossibility. Either Adam is all-wise, in which case the Angel is unnecessarily taking great pains to teach Adam, or else the Angel is right in saying(11.405,6) that "we do not know the truth entirely, not all things, nothing of the future." But then how can Adam conceivably know that God Incarnate already exists, even accepting the Petavian doctrine that the Incarnation was an accomplished fact in God's Will even before the Fall?

The disastrous effect on dramatic structure of theological subtleties is even more apparent in 22 lines(387-409) of the Angel's reply to Adam. At the speed at which dramatic dialogue should be conducted, the Angel appears only to be repeating what has already been said since the subtle differences have past by before we have the chance to realise that they exist.

(1) Though this, the Angel says, may serve as an example to Man. "Quae prosunt sequi" (1.349).

(2) This aspect is discussed on p.135 in Chapter IV(ii) below.

Once again the Angel winds up his discursive with a moral, that Adam must use things created as his instructors to the deeper knowledge of God(1.413f.). Adam obediently follows his tutor's lead and asks him for an account of the Creation.

The 216 lines that follow are no more than epic expansion. Adam's interspersed questions give no more than an illusion of dialogue. In reality the detailed cosmological, meteorological, topographical and biological description of the Creation reads like a catalogue and is as unemotional as a mediaeval textbook. Satan in his prologue has said all that need be said about the Creation as such, and had at least given his description the colour and life of his own hatred.

At last we are rescued from the toils of what respect forbids me calling an intellectual bore by the arrival of Eve. The Angel at least shows sufficient tact to withdraw to where his duty calls him(1)(1.639). But Adam has been a sympathetic listener, and he does not easily bend from high moral teaching to the abandonment of love which Eve offers in her greeting: "I am prevented by proper affection and the love which kindles my hearts with its holy flame from denying myself your presence any longer"(11.641-4). Stirred by Eve's love, Adam's emotion wells up to a confession of a happiness undeserved and unbounded, but the flame soon dies down again and there is no warmth at all in his account of Eve's creation from his rib, not even in his affirmation - "a new flame, the fire of love, dispelled the stupor which until then had filled my languid joints."(11.673-675).

Eve's love is entirely centred in her husband: "The man is the greater or only part of marital happiness. Whatever is

(1), "De Werken van Vondel" Ed.^d by J. van Lennep Vol.X, p.426.

pleasant to me now would be hurtful without you."(11.682-4). Adam's preoccupation with Creation and the purpose of Man in it, purges his love of sexual emotion, and he acknowledges the power of his love for Eve only as evidence of God's goodness and an incentive to render thanks for that goodness in constant worship. At this point, as if Heaven itself will echo approval of Adam's words, the first notes are heard of the Chorus, whose praise of God is so perfectly attuned to Adam's mood, that he will follow their hymn from nearby(1.694). This chorus is a fine elaboration of the motifs of the 104th psalm(1).

Satan is again alone at the opening of the third act, but he sees Adam approaching. He likens himself now to another beast stalking its prey - a wolf withholding its attack until the movements of the hunted animal are ascertained and the most propitious moment can be chosen. Then he comes into the open

(1)Beets refers to the source ("Verscheidenheden, meest op letterkundig gebied" p.105) without doing justice to this expanded version of it. Compare for instance lines 754-765 with vv.16-18 in the Prayerbook version of psalm 104: -

The cedars, receiving their saps from Thee, grow in the high mountains towards the stars with their fertile branches; which the sparrow and the stork with quivering beak inhabit; often too, their nests hanging in the top of a silver fir send young ones out on fearful wings over the breezes. Thou makest the high summits of the mountains as a refuge for the wild goats living in the woods. By thy command, the wandering rabbits and hares on excited foot seek the hidden things of the stony rock.

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16. The trees of the Lord also are full of sap: even the cedars of Libanus which he hath planted;
 17. Wherein the birds make their nests: and the fir-trees are a dwelling for the stork.
 18. The high hills are a refuge for the wild goats: and so are the stony rocks for the conies.

and addresses Adam as Judge of the Terrestrial Orb and Prince of the Foaming Water. His first appeal is to Adam's pity. God has unjustly deprived him of his place in Heaven, but Adam will be kinder to him.

Satan has made no attempt to conceal his identity and indeed this would seem to be purposeless, for Adam, though unguarded and unforewarned, recognises him immediately as an "ingurgent against God, treacherous, execrable"(1.878).

The next attack from Satan is far more subtle. He reminds Adam that anger and hatred are evils of the mind and soul which do not afflict happy men, so that Adam must not show anger and hatred towards him. Adam's reply is charged with fine hyperbole perfectly expressing his fearless character and unassailable spirit: "Not until the cornfield in the heavenly plains shall be mown into many a sheaf, or the spinning earth shall carry away the starry lights, or the sea shall bring forth flames and yield billows of fire; not until the Euphrates shall turn its waters and flow back upwards to its source, or a racing stream shall carry the Tigris back to its spring, shall peace, love and faith exist between me and the exile from Heaven."(11.891-897)(1).

Adam's next answer to the offer of peace from one too weak to be a danger is simple, even curt, but is more withering than the last: "Consider yourself not worthy of my hatred, but even less are you worthy of my love."(1.913f.)

Guile has sofar proved useless. Satan has obviously failed

(1) cf. Du Bartas, "Eden" 11.445-450:
Plustost le Firmament retrograde sa course,
L'Euphrate escrevissant se recache en sa source,
Les monts les mieux fondez bondissent comme agneaux,
Le ton voltige en l'air, l'aigle dessous les eaux,
Qu'à la pomme interdite, infidele, je touche
Du seul bout de mes doigts, moins encor de ma bouche.

to win any sort of interest or sympathy from Adam. But perhaps Adam can be lured by ambition into accepting the power Satan can offer him. Faust-like he offers to make a compact with Adam(1). God has cast him out of heaven, but "the remaining realms are ours...earth and sea have yielded their command to you, but the infernal places submit to me...let us rule together"(11.920-927).

Adam is inflexible: "I his servant do not seek other servants nor other allies for myself."(1.930f.)

- "Is there any scruple to prohibit the making of a compact?"

- "Do you call the fellowship in crime a compact?" (1.941)

In this rapid dialogue in stychomythia, like a spiritual sparring match, Satan rains blows from every side, shifting his attack now this way now that, and Adam, standing firm and towering above him, neatly parries them. Satan's claims, promises and lies grow more and more wild until Adam dispatches him finally with a scornful return to his "I am wont to help friends" - "In such a way that they may at the same time rush to destruction" (1.952).

Satan now drops all pretence and raves with grim threats of revenge. But Adam is fearless, fearing only God. He is tired of Satan and bids him be gone: "Exile depart!" Yet Satan ominously has the last word "Exile awaits you too" (1.966).

The topographical and mythological anachronisms which intrude upon the Paradise scene throughout the play are most manifold and distracting in the Chorus which now follows(2). Within the first four lines are five proper names of which only one is scriptural: Euphrates, Capoten, Armenia, the cloudy Bull, Cappodocean soil. However, after flowing through such

(1) M.Woodhull "The Epic of Paradise Lost" p.149.

(2) J.van Lennep l.c. p.452.

strange realms, the Euphrates brings us out eventually in the more familiar Eden, where some of the trees are beautifully described: "Apples...and green figs, and the mellow plum trees, and chestnut trees and Crustumerian pear trees. There the walnut covered with twin shell lies in among its leaves, and, joined to the almond trees, the medlar trees stand triumphant with their ruby leaves."(ll.982-987). And so the Chorus comes to the trees of Life and Knowledge, and the dire warnings given to any who should eat the fruit of the latter. Here the Chorus is rightly associating the present with the future, and focusing attention on the centre of the garden where the central action of the tragedy will take place.

The Chorus digresses in order to compare the happy lot of the Euphrates with the Nile, the Tigris and the Ganges which, great and powerful though they be, flow far from our scene in Eden. They finish however, with an apposite exhortation to mankind to spurn the forbidden fruit, bearing in mind the fate of the rebellious angels. If Man remains contented with his lot and fears God, he will inherit eternal life and his seed shall be blessed. The compact between God and the first parents affects alike those coming after.

In the third act Adam's nobility broke the moments of tension and left a mood of reassurance, somewhat disquieted it is true, by the threat of Satan's "vos quoque exilium manet", and the undertone of warning in the Chorus's lyrical praise of Eden.

But a fearful tension from the very start of the first scene of the next act dispells quietude with the impact of a shock. Only Eve stands on the stage, but she is transfixed, hyptonised by the seductive movement and beauty of something as yet invisible to us which she sees approaching from the distance. With sickening irony she asks herself in the opening words: "What is that animal?". This is no ordinary snake, we

we know that and Eve sees it, for she is under the spell of its twining, writhing, twisting, vibrating, burning, shining, curling, curving and coiling, and charmed by its proud spots, blue marks, spirals of gold and lithe neck. As it twines its long trails to her feet she asks naively, as if in a trance "I wonder whether it can speak"(1.1048)

The snake speaks to her of his gratitude for his place in the blissful animal life of Eden, and he is particularly willing to serve Man as is his appointed duty. Since he so admires the human mind and understanding perhaps Eve can help him. He is perplexed why this one tree should be denied to Man by the Giver of all good gifts.

Eve's answer is as correct and concise as the answer in a catechism.

Satan submits this to a purely theological test, which is no more than a material fallacy established on a specious deduction from two generalities, one of which is false and the other true. That "we do nothing but what is beforehand decreed"(1.1074) is false, but "established order, sure succession, divine fate govern the future"(1.1078f) is true. Deftly he combines the two to form a neat case for predestination. "If those things require you to die, flight is of no avail. If they do not require it, the fruit can be plucked with impunity"(1.1079-1081). Then he shifts his tack, weakening his previous argument but confusing the issue further by saying that death is nothing but a change of form: "Death and birth bring with them life and burial"(1.1090)(1). The Soul is not even subject to change, being non-corporeal and its own origin. Then, returning again to the fruit of the tree

(1) The chiasmus is better preserved in the original:
"Mors ipsa vitam, et ortus interitum trahunt"

of Knowledge on which Eve's attention must be fixed, Satan warns Eve that she will be accusing the hand that created nature so beautifully if she believes that any part of it exists to no purpose.

Eve does not try to account for God's commandment and sees nothing unjust in a certain stipulation being made with such a gift as the whole of the created world.

Satan eagerly takes this up, and makes of it a three-pronged weapon. The retraction of part of a gift annuls the whole bounty; if part of the gift can be withdrawn then who is to say that God shall not later withdraw the whole of it? If God is generous and unchanging, it is not right for him to change what he has made in the smallest detail(11.1117-1125). Making the false assumption that there was originally no condition on the unrestricted enjoyment of things created(1), Satan ascribes the command to God's jealous afterthought that He wanted to keep the ultimate knowledge of good and evil for himself alone . Imperceptibly Satan has changed his manner from docile inquiry to vehement antagonism, from question to statement and from statement to abuse- "Ach, hateful slavery, grinding servitude, to be looked after by Him whose only care is for himself!"(11.1131,2).

To arouse Eve's pity and as an illustration of what the future might hold for her, Satan recounts the expulsion of "a hundred faithful squadrons of the celestial armies" because God feared their power, and now He will have no mercy on them whether or not they admit any guilt which may have been theirs. As illogical and unscrupulous as familiar political propaganda and as effective, Satan's sophisms have now brought him to an utter contradiction of his first statement on God's providence

(1) See below, p.81

and predestination. If, he says, God has driven out those he exalted early in His power, what will He not do in the future? (1.1147ff). Satan winds up his several arguments playing more and more on Eve's emotions by striking at Eve's fear which he hopes he has aroused. "If He loved you, He would remove your fear of death... gird on your courage...when a matter is doubtful, courage is a sure asset"(11.1152-1159).

Eve's proud ridicule of the snake's notion that the creator of a mighty universe should be jealous of one tree, and her indifference to the plight of the rebel angels "even though I think that right"(1.1166), show how safe she is from Satan's artful duplicity - But is she? Satan may not have convinced her by any single argument, but his brilliant reasoning has gained her respect and raised her doubts, so that she asks him whose intellect excels all the wild beasts', to tell her again what good lies dormant in the forbidden fruit(11.1167-9).

This must surely be the moment that Satan has been waiting for. No longer need he argue perilously from Divine providence and predestination to the fear of death, nor from God the Mighty Creator to God niggardly jealous of a power He Himself has created, nor from the promise of immortality to the fear of death.

The argument that knowledge itself is good and knowledge of evil essential if it is to be avoided is strong in itself. It is stronger still when the natural desire to learn is shown to confirm the desirability of knowledge. So plausible are Satan's remarks about the constant activity of the mind, that his "Thus does interest always keep the mind of the learner active, and never looks to what it knows but what it lacks" (1.1182f) would arouse no suspicion if it did not recall his earlier consideration of woman's nature:"She only loves what she lacks"(1.196).

Satan probes deeper yet into the truth that learning is difficult and studies can be irksome(1) in order to accuse God of withholding complete knowledge by forbidding Man to eat of the Tree of Knowledge. Finally, with uncanny intuition, he crowns his endeavour with a perfectly timed argumentum ad hominem. Throughout the temptation Eve has been set thinking. She has been told things that had previously never entered her mind. Doubts have arisen, the new thoughts have clashed with the old, and then there is this very difficult matter of the acquisition of knowledge. That at least is surely true! But what is the answer to the doubts warring in her mind? What is right and what is wrong? If only she knew; if only there were some easy means of finding out for sure. At this moment she hears the snake offering her one simple elixir for her quandary: "The moment the apples are eaten and yield their first life-giving sap, mental fogginess and the blind shadows will at once leave your mind, and in no way different from God you will begin to recognise what is harmful and what is beneficial"(11.1195-1200).

This, Satan seems to reason, may sound too good to be true, so to give conclusive weight to his guarantee, he points to God's command as a very witness to its truth. Just because this magic fruit has such a revelational power, God is jealous of it. At once God is seen to be the cause of Eve's wretched perplexity. Satan can now with greater effect reiterate his exhortation to thwart God's evil purpose, and the more Eve is

(1) 1.1189f. "et sapientiae/condit molesta studia sollicitudine" Van Lennep translates this(l.c.p.431): "en met tergend overleg, de schatten der wijsheid verborgen gehouden"; I cannot see why. The Faustian cry against the hardships of learning sounds convincing coming from Grotius at this time studying hard at Leyden.

oppressed with uncertainty, the more evil it seems that the discernment she needs is denied to her, and this thought-process must inevitably resolve itself in the decision to end all indecision, the resolve to try the fruit.

The battle is now almost won for Satan, for it is carried into the enemy's territory. Eve is now struggling against her own urges: "His headstrong persuasion and my own desire would almost cause me to dare to eat the forbidden fruit"(11.1220-1222). The only motive for even now restraining is her fear of the consequences, and Satan's only remaining task is to give her the courage to overcome her fear, and this is simple enough, for her own feelings long to dispel the restraint of her mind by calling its scruples hollow superstition. "Do not madly revolt against your own nature", he says, "nature...has given us senses as our mistresses"(1.1226ff) "Whatever pleases scent, sight or taste is the friend of nature, for smell, colour and flavour...do not please of themselves but egg on the appetite to want whatever offers the enjoyment of the good things desired."(11.1237-41).

Satan needs only tell the truth, albeit only one side of the truth, in order to restore Eve's trust in the senses, and at the same time he has drawn attention still more to the apple, which has indeed an inviting colour and smell. It is small wonder that Eve addresses the apple in rhapsody: "O dulce pomum...etc". Yet it is remarkable how she rallies again, prompted by a suspicion that her mind does not yet agree with her feelings. Satan has satisfactorily set the body in rebellion and he can now withdraw from the debate while Eve's senses strive against her conscience, and her body questions the necessity of will-power and self-denial.

There is a sudden flicker of her conscience when she realises how far her physical desire has lured her. She feels

weak at the thought of it. But her will, instead of acting decisively on the warning of her shocked conscience, weakly tries to compromise by reasoning with her sensual emotions and reviving her fear of the consequences. The longer she tortures her mind in the conflict, the further she is driving herself into a state of tension from which relief can only be found by taking the risk. Satan had won the issue when he succeeded with Eve, where he had failed with Adam, in throwing her mind into a confusion of doubts, so that it was no longer strong enough of itself to fight the temptations of the senses.

At last her reasoning snaps. All pretence of considered judgement vanishes, excuses tumble haphazard through her mind to oust any scruple remaining. At the tensest moment in such a finely developed spiritual conflict, at the point of utter mental exhaustion, Eve's sudden thought of future generations(1) sounds like either sheer reasoning or hysteria. But a moment later, when she says that the intention is half the deed itself(2), she is irrational but by no means illogical. I suspect that Grotius, still rational when Eve is irrational, loses sight of the entirely egocentric emotional conflict in Eve, at the moment that she says "Human welfare hangs on one bite"(1.1286). This piece of magnanimous gallantry is certainly an appealing means of self-deception and a spur to Eve's courage, but it is psychologically improbable at this particular moment, and because the moment is so important, the dramatic weakness is the more regrettable.

The moment of Eve's abandonment of the struggle has been delayed; slowly but with horrible thoroughness she has worried herself to exhaustion in the toils of doubt and anxiety which Satan has so skilfully woven round her, and the spectacle of her prolonged death struggle has been tense. Now even the end itself is protracted. Her defeat is now an accomplished fact.

(1) 11.1285-1290

(2) 1.1293ff.

She almost admits as much herself. Since she has no resistance left she can only adopt a 'defeatist' attitude in which her only thought is - I have more or less done it now, so I may as well go through with it. Eve is the mother of mankind and human nature itself as she repeats the same futile excuse for what she now admits is wrong: "What help is it, when you have begun to totter, to withdraw your foot hanging in mid-air? The (actual) extent of offence is (only) an absurd and foolish matter, the path of guilt is made safe by another guilt. Either, now that the celestial Ruler's law has been spurned, the outraged Divine Majesty makes me answerable for it, or the success of the crime will absolve me from the crime itself itself."(11.1300-07)

Now that Satan's arguments and her own persuasion have allayed her fear, she takes the apple with élan, and the power which this first act of self-assertion gives her 'goes to her head' as an excitement which she relishes and from which she derives happiness. Her first thought is that her husband too must experience this feeling.

Satan's ambiguous parting words are full of obvious irony: "You will say that a great deal is due to my advice when you feel what the issue is. You will know good, and you will know, do not doubt it, evil. No day will take this knowledge from you, and you will produce children like unto their mother."(11.1316-20)

Grotius includes both temptations, Eve's by Satan and Adam's by Eve, in one act. This is right formally and psychologically. Formally, because the classical ^{model} made the fourth act the climax of the action followed only by the dénouement in the fifth; psychologically, because the impact of Eve's fallen state upon Adam's innocence should come immediately after Satan's victorious withdrawal from the scene, when Eve's

sinfulness is fresh and vigorous and has not had time to turn against itself in remorse.

The problem for the dramatist then is to effect a meeting of Adam with Eve, without losing the tremendous dramatic tension which Eve's temptation and fall have generated. Adam's short soliloquy reporting his quiet enjoyment of the garden in the peace of the evening protracts the tension by postponing the inevitable. He must return to Eve, but the moment of their meeting must await Adam's slow progress through the trees to the point where he left her. She is no longer there, and the change in her position symbolises the change in her nature. But what is this change?

If we are expecting some dread transformation which her sin has brought about, we shall be surprised by her composure. There is no passion, no arrogance, nothing noticeably evil, nor has Sin spoiled her love of her husband. As she explains not unkindly to Adam why she ate the fruit, she is actually elated and talks paradoxically as a result: "O Adam, it is thus: he forbad the tree to be touched, he ordered the fruit to be avoided, it was for this very reason that I did not have caution"(11.1344-6). When she again addresses Adam: "Husband believe me, there is no reason why you should be alarmed; nothing has been done to evoke sighs"(11.1356,7) we begin to understand why Eve is apparently so unaffected by her deed: she herself feels no evil effects from it. She who had been tormented by fear on the one hand and intense longing on the other had at last dared the deed, and now she knows that her doubts were groundless, for no retribution has struck her down; she feels just the same as she did before, yet she has eaten the apple, so it follows that the command was a bluff, an unjust restriction, and she had been superstitious to give heed to it.

Though unchanged, as she believes, in her essence, her outlook on life is completely different and the immediate consequence of this change is the utter disparity between her viewpoint and Adam's. Adam is of course horrified, for he stands where she stood so recently. All her inhibitions at that time now confront her again in him. Eve dominates this scene because she speaks with the authority of experience. Her love for Adam, her fervent desire to convince him of his folly, that he may share with her her newly found freedom, all her appeals to his mind and his heart are evidence of her good intentions. They carry the full conviction of her own certainty that she is doing right, and all the time they are the handsome disguise of the sin underlying them, for the sole vehicle for her discernment, the knowledge of her experience, is utterly perverted. It is all too easy to overlook this fundamental fact in the dialogue, because Eve's indisputably high motives add weight to her arguments which already carry the force of experience, so that Adam's persistent virtue seems but stubborn ignorance. If it is hard for us to keep the issue clear, how much harder must it be for Adam who, though he reacts against the change in her mind must also resist the appeal of her heart which has not changed.

After all, what proof has Adam from his position that he is right and Eve wrong? He can only insist on obedience to God's command, but Eve can call this "caeca iudicia"(1), for she is in a position to know both sides of the question; she had thought as he does but has since proved by her own experience that he is wrong: "I admit having done it, but I deny that it was not done rightly"(1.1367). Adam wants to serve God, for he wants to love Him, but Eve now knows that that

(1) L.1363.

servility is really a cowardly fear of the unknown, and that is more foul than death itself(1.1371). Eve not only has all the answers, she seems to have all the positive answers which make Adam's attitude look negative:

- A. What hope is left to you?
- E. That I may despair of nothing.
- A. God is to be feared.
- E. Stupid is he who (ever) feared an equal.
- A. You shall die.
- E. I shall live.
- A. You deserve punishment.
- E. No, praise. (11.1391,2) (1)

But Adam stands firm. He cannot break down his whole interpretation of life and replace it with something totally antipathetic to it however sure Eve may be of herself. Eve too senses an impasse between their radically opposed points of view, and intuitively she throws her whole being into her effort to find some inroad by which their differences may be bridged. She makes a personal appeal to him to show the complete trust in her that this sacrifice of his hidebound notions would require of him. She must share her happiness with her own husband, she says, and even if he cannot be persuaded that she had done no wrong, it is still his duty to share the future whatever that may be.(11.1396-1407).

Adam not only hears this woman requiring his self-effacement as a proof of his love, but also feels the warmth of her love for him and urgent concern at his narrow-mindedness, which she believes is courting evil in him, since it inverts his values. "My happy mind flourishes in its divine lot; I will bless you also: the taste of the apple has done me good,

(1) cf. Seneca's "Medea" 1.168ff.

especially in this one respect, that whatever it is, it can be plucked and taken without stain of sin. But anxiety about you, faithful one, troubles me, because you, hostile (to yourself) weigh yourself down with a mass of scruples. Since superstition places an arrogant yoke round your neck you are satisfied with yourself in this safe servitude. While you believe yourself blessed, you incite evil: by your own free will you refuse the gift offered you, who (therefore) deserve to do without it. Why do you kill your great genius and twist yourself round? You are born for greater things. Discharge the reins of your mind and release the impulse which you repress. Look upon what you can have, not upon what you (already) possess; This shall be truly yours. Does fear forbid you (taking) that which you owe to yourself (although) not entrusted to you by another?" (11.1409-1425)

Fear, Adam has to admit, is a base motive for obedience. But it is his love of God, that inspires his faith in Him. (11.1426-8).

Ultimately the conflict must resolve itself at this point, for in the one word 'love' is contained all that has a positive value in both forces; it is indeed the only force at work in both Adam and Eve. It is only Eve's love for her husband that urges her untiringly to share her freedom from the tyranny of ignorance with him. (It is ironically the same motive which is the evangelising force of the Church). It is Adam's love of the only existence he knows, entirely controlled by God, which has caused him ^{to revolt} from Eve's revolutionary ideas. In front of him he has convincing proof of Eve's love for him, within himself he feels his love for her; these exist undeniably, but what of his love for God? Does he really feel that love? Eve, whose love he does feel within his love for her, lives happily without loving God.

Eve once again answers Adam with the sincere conviction

of her new philosophy. "It is stupid to love someone as if he could never become an enemy: esteem a friend thus lest at a future time he is in a position of harming you as an enemy". Adam, now in an utter confusion of emotions and thoughts could hardly be expected to expose the fallacy of this argument by applying it to his own love for Eve, particularly when Eve sweeps everything else aside and confronts Adam solely with the full nobility of her fervent love: "If however you are pleased to follow the lead of pure love, I will not forbid this. What ought conjugal love rather be (than this)? Let your love turn itself hither, where our sacred vows of marriage and our bond calls it. What sort of crime, what iniquity so great have I ever started against you my husband, that you bring my faith into doubt? Do I formally declare myself blessed who am mistrusted by my husband? Indeed I am evil, inevitably evil, if to Adam I am not virtuous".(11.1432-40)

Is it surprising that this passionate, Cleopatra-like eloquence fires Adam's sexual admiration? Eve is imbued with sin, but is entirely unaware of it; that is to say, she unconsciously uses her love for Adam as a perfect cloak for her wickedness, because real love for Adam is her only motive. She is not deliberately evil, so how can Adam accuse her of that? Indeed he himself does not wish to do so. His mind vacillates, like the flowing and ebbing tide, between Eve who has a right to some proof of the love and trust he really has towards her, and God whom he wants to obey because he loves Him(1) (11.1441-9).

Because sin is now second nature to Eve, or rather her only nature, her instinct as a lover guides her unerringly through any barriers which Adam might put up against it.

(1) Or does he only feel that he should love Him?

Firstly there is herself - she does not suffer for what she has done; indeed she is grateful for it, and the deed has in no way spoilt her love for Adam. Then there is her high motive - can Adam not see how she longs to deliver her beloved from his ignorance and superstition, and share with him her delightful freedom? Then, since he will not admit to her that he is hesitating because of fear, he cannot refuse her his love from a motive of loving God, since she was given to him by God; and finally he does not love her if he does not trust her.

This last challenge crowns all those that went before, and there is absolutely no way out of it, for Adam does love her, and since he also knows himself that to refuse her his trust would be to deny her his love, he must go her way. Yet as he does so, as Eve had done before him(1), he seeks to set his mind at rest by identifying his will with God's: "Am I mistaken or did God wish the love of one's spouse to be preferred to all others, even of one's parents? He did wish it: give the apple here to me" (11.1457-9).

The pathos of this situation in which Eve, wanting desperately to do good to her husband, actually drives him to his ruin, is thrown into clear relief by Eve's sudden change of mood as Adam eats. At first she is over-joyed that Adam will share her newly discovered life: "O voice worthy of Man. Take the secret good Adam, take it" (11.1460,1). But even when she suddenly fears for what she has done, her only concern is for him: "But why does whiteness creep to your pale cheeks? Why does your head sway? Let every evil rush into me, if any lies in the future. Let it spare, o spare this man" (11.1464-6).

The Chorus sings with a tender, dark sadness. As they had sung of the disruption of the cosmic order following Satan's

(1) 11.1287-92.

rebellion, so too now, but their grief takes the colour out of everything, and the absolute change which has come about is expressed by the dirge's call to the universe to shroud its lights and still its movement:

"Let the throne of heaven overturned mourn with a sad motion, and the speedy orbs reflect upon the sorrowful song of a funeral dirge. Let mourning earth bewail its unhappy nurslings and let the sea, tossed by unusual waves, mourn the human downfall; and thou Titan, who in thy daily ruddy course bountifully bringest forth thy radiance and hidest it (again), cause thy features to be hidden in shadowy clouds, lest thou be compelled against thy will to witness so great an evil, and may the brilliant sky assemble rainy clouds, that the air may shed showers bemoaning Adam's grievous sin".(11.1467-79).

This is some of the finest poetry in the play and it is in perfect keeping with the mood of the tragedy at this point. The tense emotional conflicts of the whole act have played themselves out to exhaustion and all that remains is the dreadful stillness of impending catastrophe.

The rest of the Chorus is a prophecy of what is to come, which is in fact largely repeated in the last act. This is therefore redundant expansion the only purpose of which seems to be to lead up to the Augustinian doctrine of Original Sin in lines 1515-1525.

The word peripety is inadequate as an epithet for the last act. The reversal in the fortunes of two mortals may be the central theme, but it is central to something far worse - the disruption of cosmic order. The vanquished is victorious, the glorious are made ignominious, threats have become exultation and innocent bliss is now turned to abject remorse. The future promises chaos instead of eternal peace, the dominant theme is evil where it had been righteousness.

Satan himself raucously proclaims the utter metamorphosis in the conditions of Creation: "Higher than those on high, I regard the (very) Heaven aloft as on a level with my summit(1)... now my punishment delights me, I enjoy my exile(2)...not yet, o man, not yet do you feel the supreme evil(3)...whithersoever you go, you will traverse my kingdoms(4)...your sense of evil will increase every day(5)...my hatred will not die with you, you will produce children for me(6)". As Satan visualises the future in gloating expectation, strains of his first threats in the prologue return with the added force of his certainty, realised by an accomplished fact. "Thus o Satan, proceed... upset the whole race...angry brother rushes against brother. Crime is solved with a greater crime. Let rage increase with every generation; let God repent of having created man and let Mother Earth not cease to witness the outrages of her children. May she immerse herself and them in the avenging sea, that she may attempt to return again to former chaos" (1.1552-60). What was only ambitious ranting in the prologue is now ominous prophecy in which we see Cain and Abel, the Deluge - and ourselves.

Turning to consider Adam and Eve, Satan describes Adam's demented state. This is fine epic writing, but it loses effect when it proves to be only a tenuous foreshadowing of the real thing in the next scene, where it is in its own dramatic right. In this scene Adam comes stumbling onto the stage, blind and yet seeing dreadful things, rent by spiritual anguish which seems to him like physical pain. Mind, body and soul are out of joint. As jerky as his footfall and as erratic as the movements of his body, the words fall heavily upon one another in

(1) 1.1529f.
(4) 1.1541

(2) 1.1533
(5) 1.1545

(3) 1.1537f.
(6) 1.1551.

horrible perplexity: "Who am I? What have I done? Whither am I borne?" Seeing nothing, his imagination can see the more - "I seem to look upon the dread regions of the furies", and then from the shades of his tortured imagination, ghastly forms loom up before him "I see it. The dread progeny of dark Night circles round me. Sin(1) leads the whole army, and insurgent Arrogance(1), and Shame(1) of the deed; after these follow a long cohort of pale diseases, and grim Destitution(1); Toil(1), the author of sweat. Sorrow(1) comes from this quarter. Slow Old Age(1) marches on with trembling step...and not far off Hunger with a sad face leads on heavy afflictions; unbridled Discord, the nurturer of war, raises its hand stained with innocent blood. Right as far as I can see there is yet another evil" (11.1595-1607).

Then speaks Eve, whom the sin has spiritually totally alienated from her husband, so that she stands aloof, in no way sharing his inward experiences. Sober where he is distraught, calm and collected where he is disintegrated, she is quite unable to understand Adam's reaction to the same deed as hers, which she had by no means regretted. "What spectres are you imagining while out of your mind? What madness is agitating you? And why do you turn your burning looks hither and thither?" (11.1608-10). Her advice is doubtless according to her own practice of asserting her mind to shut out evil premonitions of the imagination or conscience. "Suppress your wild state of mind..." she goes on, "cast off an unrestrained spirit by the use of your mind"(11.1611 and 1617). Adam does not even hear her. Only his conscience can speak to him. Only his conscience dominates his senses through his imagination. But now that he is returning to his senses enough to realise the disharmony between

(1) The capitals are mine.

his imagination and reality, his conscience demands retribution: "Why dost Thou, o judge of the stars, not thunder from every quarter, ...stretch out Thy right hand...may heaven crush me or this woman by the deserts of each of us"(11.1618-1627). Adam's thoughts are now no longer so introspective that he entirely ignores Eve's existence, and when she makes the plea that he should not aggravate matters by invoking a curse, he includes her in his incriminations, which demand that they be utterly crushed in the bowels of the earth, or torn apart by savage beasts or a bird of prey(11.1633-1643). Then his storm turns again against himself alone: "Let me be buried in the hill of the garden, and let me upturn ~~that~~ ^{the} tree, which has allowed the sin, ~~against~~ ^{against} my own head."(1.1647f.)

The completely annihilating effect of remorse is now apparent, and the reason why it is so destructive and therefore theologically condemned, is shown in Adam's answer to Eve's next remark which shows a much deeper understanding than we should have credited her with. Eve tells Adam to think on better things: "nobody dies thus, without being allowed the encouragement of the hope of salvation." - "What hope of salvation have I got after so great a misdeed?" Adam asks (11.1651,2). The utterly destructive power of sin demands ultimately the death of the sinner. That was true of Job before faith restored him, and it was true of Iscariot; nobody can tell how many suicides in our day are due to faithless remorse. The grim truth of this is convincingly proved by Adam's steady spiritual decline through phases of mood recognizable to anyone who has earnestly regretted wrong-doing, to the ultimate conclusion that the only escape from an utterly hopeless situation, is to be sought in death. Adam's passion has burned itself out and he bitterly accuses himself, coldly and rationally. Why wait for punishment? He

will die (1.1675). No longer in the grips of his imagination he sees himself clearly. No wild beasts are now invoked to rend him limb from limb, for his own guilty hand shall do the deed; "With your blows cut through my throat, to which you have earlier conveyed the apple. Tear up my belly with rapid blows; haul out my unlucky vitals and...tear out the unrighteous flesh and my heart"(11.1692-6).

Eve again condemns remorseful suicide: "He who punishes sin by a sin increases what he hates...let your soul, breaking its fetters, not leave the body, but your body the soul"(1.1698f).

Adam, so bitterly accusing himself, feels nature all around him accusing him too. (Notice again Adam's recovery from his earlier hallucinations. He is talking now in natural metaphor, picking on things which he really can see to be the vessels of his imagination). His heart is empty of everything but hatred of himself. Eve's irrefutable advice makes not the slightest impression. "I have driven all good things away, my rule, my health, joy and mind. Now only my life remains. That too will I gladly give up"(11.1719-21).

Eve's tone changes. She speaks warmly, and gentle entreaty replaces her detached moralising. At this moment she seems to repent of her misunderstanding of Adam even if not of the sin itself, and there is again evidence of her sincere love and a real desire to help Adam. "Why, my husband, do you hurl yourself on wrongful death? Why do you go on being demented? Die in a better way, bravely after the time of life....whatever you have done wrong until now is assuredly my fault. The penalty awaits me who deserves it. I, wretched one, have failed you... Believe me my husband" (11.1722-9).

Yet this affirmation of Eve's love seems suspect. Why, if she really loves him, does she not share his torment, if not through remorse for her own sin, then at least because she feels

deep distress at causing him so much misery? It looks as if Eve's love is so self-centred that it only goes out to Adam when her own interests are at stake, either when he threatens to leave her because she has sinned(1) or when he talks of suicide. But it is not so. Adam's welfare is really more important to her than her own, as her cry: "Omne ruat in me malum...parcat, o parcat viro"(2) shows. Eve's feeling for Adam is sincere and unselfish, and just because this is so, it is the more tragic that she cannot always express it. Spiritually they are divided; they talk a different language and have done so ever since Eve took the apple. Only their hearts respond to one another, only their emotions are in sympathy. That is why Eve seemed so unsympathetic to Adam's grief. She was devoid of sympathy, for there could be no mutual understanding between their minds or their souls.

It is not surprising then, that Adam whose emotions have not yet been moved by her, turns a deaf ear to her approaches: "I have believed you once and for all and too much"(1.1729).

At the thought of being cut off by Adam and left to fend for herself, Eve is suddenly greatly alarmed, and pleads to him as his "pitiabile wife". It is not brave, she says, to spurn death, but cowardly to fear life (11.1743-5).

Now Eve's appeal to Adam's heart begins to stir him, though he still recognizes it only as it affects his reason: "I know that many things that you speak of are supported by reason", but "grief compels me to follow even things condemned. The knowing mind is carried into an abyss and refuses to follow sound advice"(11.1753-6).

Though Eve's course is now the right one, Adam's resistance to it is paradoxically justified by the same nobility with which he resisted her temptation, namely his stubborn singleness of

(1) 1.1316 ff.

(2) 11.1465,6.

purpose. There is this nobility in the words: "I am gripped by frenzy; only that can now make me guiltless"(1.1757f).

In the previous act Eve tried the theological approach and failed. Now, as then, she tries the emotional, and only now comes to life as a real warm-blooded person and Adam's desperate wife. As a woman she knows that her method for winning Adam's trust earlier will be effective in winning his very life now. Her speech begins as her other speech began (1.1396f), by appealing to their ties in marriage. She calls upon his duty to protect her frailty: "Do not forsake me. Now when our lot is changed, I need your help"(1.1764f). As before, her arguments gain force as her need becomes more urgent: "Consider this - you have experienced the greatest of evils. Whatever death can take away life has taken away already. Nothing worse remains henceforth. You are in a safe situation"(1.1772-4).

When Adam is still unmoved, Eve's fear, it would seem, throws her back upon her last and most powerful resources. No pretence is made at convincing Adam rationally. She gives her passion full rein in a frantic bid to break Adam's resolve.

"Shall I then, a widow, deserted, homeless, run through the empty fields and roam among the wild beasts? If Adam you must seek true goodness, kill me who deserves it. If the sin (of murder) is unknown to you, I will be your instructress, or if you seek a throat, I will hold mine in front of you...prepare your right hand; if you refuse, the hands of a woman shall do the manly deed...it is not enough that I am a criminal; I have made a criminal. And that is not enough; unless death prevents it, I shall bear criminals...I suffer strife, grief, tears, beatings of the breast, innumerable ills. These things I owed to God. What shall I give to my husband? Nothing, unless that I may die first. However wretched it is, I die Adam's wife at least... my husband, consider the situation. There is no other way: either

you live or must kill me...I proceed the man wishing to die; I follow him living"(1).

Whatever Eve's motives, Adam is noble enough to be touched by such a vehement display of feeling from this woman who is still his wife. There is something tender and yet pathetic in his inability to resist her further: "You vanquish my feelings right and wrong...what may I deny you, o wife?"(11.1811-14).

Again Adam has yielded to Eve, not for what she says, but for what she is. However little we may have felt any deep undercurrent of passionate love between them in the earlier parts of the play, the love, when it is shown, proves powerful enough to sway Adam's reason and conscience at two of the greatest moments in the tragedy. The heavens themselves seem to have hung in suspense while Adam again defended the dictates of his conscience against the desires of his heart(2), for as soon as he abandons the struggle they burst open with "savage winds" and a "deep rumour". The earth groans, the grove thunders and the "hair of the wood stands on end"(11.1817-1824). The whole of nature is disrupted. Adam shudders, his limbs are numbed, his blood congeals, and he knows that God is coming. Terrified he runs into hiding, admitting the while that nothing can hide the nakedness of his shame which comes from within. At the last Adam does indeed stand naked, even stripped of the last vestige of nobility. He had high motives for taking his life, though his penitence became excessive when he failed to control it. God did not intervene while he of his own will could turn his rightful penitence into a further sin by taking the Divine

(1) 11.1778-1809. The emendation of the 1752 edition, omitting 'an' and giving line 1805 from 'Placuit scelus' to 1.1809 to Adam, seems indefensible. Here as elsewhere I have followed the 1601 edition,

(2) See M.Woodhull l.c. p.158.

justice into his own hands and killing himself. Eve was paradoxically right in restraining him from doing something which was not only cowardly but utterly selfish, since by his act he would be self-sufficient, a god unto himself, master of his own destiny. Adam was equally right in scorning the advice of one who by her recent deception had brought him to his present state. Adam seemed a finer man when he meant to do wrong but from the right motives than now, when he will do the right thing, but from the wrong motives. It is not what Eve says that changes his purpose, it is the fact that it is Eve saying it. And this time he is under no delusions about what he is doing as he was when he took the apple. He acknowledges defeat of all that is in him, good and bad(1), to Eve's ultimate power over him: "When you command it, I spurn God's commands; when you command it, I shall go on living"

Now he cries again: "Let us both die"(1.1837), but only because of his unmanned ~~terror~~ of retribution.

From this lowest fall of all Adam is saved by God Himself, whose voice summons him. The metamorphosed Adam is but the churlish shadow of what he has been. Cringing he comes forth to expose his nakedness. Is there not even a hint of surliness in his implication that it is God's fault, when he mutters: "Such hast Thou created me"?(1.1856). Divested of all that was Adam, he answers God's accusation by meanly passing all responsibility to Eve, Eve who had held him in the bonds of love until abject fear had come with greater power to break those bonds. "The blame is not mine". Adam rejoins at once "The sin is this woman's whom Thou gavest to me as helpmeet of my lot". So again God is indirectly to blame. In any case it is not Adam's fault!

(1) 11.1811,12.

Eve can likewise blame the serpent, but she also insinuates arrogantly that God Himself is not guiltless: "The serpent, O Creator, made by Thy right hand, caused me by his cunning to go wrong, and I guiltless, whom very sex has made susceptible to guile, being seduced, put the apple to my mouth"(11.1870-3).

God's indictment of the serpent follows the account in Genesis, adding that the serpent shall be hated by all beasts and that its mouth shall carry poison as a witness of the sentence passed on it. Grotius gives a twofold interpretation of the original "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; and it shall bruise thy head and thou shalt bruise his heel"(1). There will be everlasting conflict, between Man and the devil, between good and evil, and secondly: "God Himself will come... born of a virgin's womb, the hope of the human race, the triumphant one who shall crush thy proud head, and as the victor of this poisonous beast, shall tread on its temples." (11.1913-17).

God's sentence on Eve and Adam are expansions of the biblical account. The wrathful God of the Old Testament becomes more merciful in Grotius' treatment: "I have preferred clemency to rigorous justice, and I have not withheld a solace for such great hardships, raising you up under our sacred contract unto the hope of salvation: I have also ordained to offer you full length of life and to preserve the human race, which, now imparted to your limbs, still lies concealed"(11.1955-60).

At the last, Adam's true nature returns to him. Less tense but more moving than his wild remorse, is the quieter

(1) Genesis III v.15.

mood of his penitence. Sighs are drawn from his heart aware of its guilt. He wishes that tears might flow down his hot cheeks, yet he cannot weep, for his eyes, hardened with evil, do not know how to weep. He will smite his breast, for he has seen God wrathful because of his sin (11.1977-1985).

God ensures that his sentence on Adam and Eve shall be carried out(1) by summoning the cherubim to guard the gates, and Eve sees the glow of their flaming swords light the whole garden so that it too seems to be ablaze, a beacon of warning to the race of men "who will recognize their country by this brand"(1.2909).

Weak with wretchedness Adam drags himself away, turning to look for the last time upon the Tree of Life, the river, and other reminders of his former happiness. As he departs with Eve, his mind is full only of the declining weariness, quaking fevers, toil and pain which await them.

* * * *

Drama elicits an appreciative response of a qualitative character by imparting an experience of the quality of Reality(2) which, by means of dramatic illusion, the audience shares. In order that we may apprehend truths hitherto beyond the limits of our experience, dramatic art creates a situation in which we can identify ourselves with the actors because we intuitively feel kinship with their experiences. Crudely put, the artistry of drama will be approximately proportionate to the feeling it elicits from the audience. This being so, "Adamus Exul" is not an artistic whole. Miss Woodhull says(3):

(1) "God says, with what strikes our ears as containing a touch of pagan derision: 'Seeking to be equal with God, you have lost your pristine glory!' M.Woodhull, l.c., p.157. I hear no derision in the plain statement of

"We are not convinced that the ending is inevitable for all men in a like situation", since the die seems to be loaded against Adam and Eve who, without warning of Satan's supernatural power and without any supernatural aid themselves, are apparently expected to resist the attacks of Satan, thereby defending not only themselves, but God as well, since Satan has sworn vengeance on God through Man. This is undoubtedly true. Not only is the whole of Satan's power of evil pitted against Adam's and Eve's free will, but Adam's behaviour suggests either utter carelessness or ignorance of the danger. In the third act he recognizes Satan and effectively deals with him. The Chorus after this act sees Adam and Eve sitting together under a plane tree praising God in song (1.999ff.), and yet no word of warning of Satan's presence in the garden seems to have been given to Eve, for immediately after this she is left alone by Adam for no stated reason and has, it seems, absolutely no reason to suspect the motives of a charming snake. If Adam knew of Satan's supernatural powers, it is too much to believe that he gave no word of warning to Eve about the powers he had to change his form at will and use all manner of cunning to tempt them. The only alternative is, as Miss Woodhull feels, that God Himself was a little careless in not preparing Adam or both of them for the supernatural form which temptation could take. In Satan's temptation of Eve, the advantage of eschatological knowledge is obviously his, and Eve, since she cannot contest it, is understandably confused by it.

fact from the Vox Dei that Adam, who had at first hoped to become God's equal in the knowledge of good and evil, has, by seeking greater things, driven away the previous good (11.1986-90).

- (2) By which is meant those aspects of absolute truth which can be felt, not stated.
- (3) l.c. p.160.

As far as we know, the first Eve hears about immortal life is in Satan's version of it(1). His important argument later, based on the fallacy that God changed His mind by withdrawing the Tree of Knowledge from the gifts of Creation(1.1117ff) could not be refuted by Eve, who was herself last in Creation.

The fault here is not in the lack of balance between contending forces resulting in the final supremacy of one of them, for this is of the very essence of tragedy. It is rather the sense of an abnormal handicap imposed on the mortals by the supernatural advantages of Satan. The evil of Iago drives Othello to his destruction with the inevitability of truth. We feel the innocency in Othello as we feel the hatred in Iago and with that we are borne into the realms of art where we experience the true quality of reality.

More damaging to the artistic balance of the play is the psychological advantage Satan enjoys. He evokes the greatest emotional response in us because his feelings are deeper and mightier than the other players'. Surveying the tragedy in retrospect the live scenes can at once be detected by measuring the response of our feelings to them. The first act sweeps us along, a little wildly perhaps, in the passions of Satan's hatred and the anguish of his jealousy. The first scene of the second act lies fallow; only our intellectual top-soil is stirred. Even the natural feeling of Adam's and Eve's mutual love in the next scene is stifled by barren rationalising. Satan's temptation of Adam in the third act is largely a battle of wits, so that though the issue between the forces is balanced, the conflict is intellectual and elicits little emotional response from the audience.

(1) 11.1084-1094, particularly 11.1092,3: You are indeed able to die and be reborn into a better life.

Practically the whole of Eve's temptation consists of Satan's evil cunning. When Eve's emotions are at last fully aroused, the conflict is within herself and she is already demoralized, and only her conscience opposes her whole will to do wrong.

In the second scene of the fourth act there is a real spiritual conflict involving the whole man mind body and soul. When high motives and positive values are at variance, as here, the requirements of tragedy are fulfilled, but the balance between mortal and diabolical power is not restored for one of the mortals is already possessed of a devil. Indeed such virtues as human love and loyalty are only seen in an impure compound derived from Adam's and Eve's spiritual disharmony.

Feeling does indeed run high in the last act; first in Satan and then in Adam. But this is all darkness - evil in the one, pitiless remorse in the other. Only Eve remains for the most part superficial and intellectual, though, herself emotionless, she evokes in us feelings of dismay at her hardness of heart, and sympathy for Adam.

In the first, fourth and fifth acts, where our feelings respond to real feeling on the stage, the pervading mood is one of evil. Our admiration is aroused in the third act, but only for Satan's and Adam's polemic skill fired little by emotions one way or another. If we admire Adam's resistance to Eve's temptation then we admire Eve more for her revolutionary daring, and her love dominates the scene. Where is there evidence of a power of good, of a really moving happiness, sense of beauty, love - all the feelings which must together create an awareness of innocency, the antipole of Satan's evil? There are indeed the strains of innocent bliss in the earlier chorusses, but the chorus can only heighten feeling already there, not create what is lacking in

the action and characters(1).

The very movements of Adam and Eve suggest little of the new love of a perfect marriage. Adam is alone when we first see him. Later his wife joins him for a short while. Throughout the next act Adam is again separated from Eve. Eve is alone when the fourth act opens, and of course Adam only rejoins her after she has sinned. So apart from references in Satan's soliloquy and the third chorus

the loveliest pair

That ever since in love's embraces met
only appear together for fifty lines out of the play's 2037(2).

Does Adam's character really move us? Or do we admire his integrity and nobility rather as we admire a master mind or a great statesman? Do we even really know of what stuff Grotius' Adam is made? Only once does real feeling break through the reserve of an intellectually disciplined piety, and then the upheaval is so great that the mind is unbalanced, and little is felt of Adam's true nature in the bursts of remorseful passion that result. Adam is nevertheless a real person for whom we can feel sympathy, to whose experiences we are sensitive.

Eve is a more vivid character who exposes her nature much more readily than Adam, and yet we understand her no more than him. But human nature in its entirety is complex and frequently unfathomable and woman's nature particularly so. Eve is Grotius' greatest artistic creation because perhaps

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- (1) The fleeting reference of the Chorus to Adam and Eve sitting together under the plane tree (ll.998-1005) would be much more moving if the couple had given more evidence of mutual bliss in the second act.
 - (2) This not only reduces awareness of marital joy before the Fall, but weakens the tension of impending danger whenever they are separated, because there is no feeling at all of their dependence on one another.

analysis or scholarship would not help him, his genius could only reproduce intuitively. She is an imposing woman, bearing it is true, the stamp of the highborn classical heroine, but wielding only the power of any normally gifted woman, which is quite sufficient to vanquish Adam. Her love for Adam early in the play sounds more fervent than his for her, or even for God. When she summons her full powers to aid her persuasion, she appears at first detached, appealing understandably to Adam's intellect which she does not underrate. When that fails she becomes intimate and fervent, but that does not mean irrational. On the contrary, her stratagems intuitively applied from her confused subconscious excel even her most intellectual arguments.

When the wild torment of Adam's remorse is cut up by the hard voice of his wife, immune to sympathy for him, defiantly suppressing any feeling in herself, the true nature of her love, self-willed and possessive, betrays the real effect of her sin, to which she, in her hardness of heart, is blind. The first part of the dialogue sharply contrasts passion to frigidity. The second part, when Adam plans to take his life, shows a complete reversal of Eve's tactics. Affection creeps into her speech. She adds terms of endearment to her plea - "my husband". When real feeling moves her to be suppliant to Adam there is no knowing whether her feelings arise from fear or love. The classicism of addressing an aside to the Fates (11.1735-8) is not only out of place in Eden, but seems a little theatrical for real feeling. Her Socratic rain thicker and faster until her passion breaks bounds and she stands majestic, her self demanding death. Is Eve challenging Adam to take her life if he takes his own as a superb bid to preserve Adam's life because she is terrified at the prospect of life without him, or is she moved by real love for him to seek death at his

side? Eve, the characterization of female psychology remains to the end an enigma, surely to her creator as much as to us - "Foeminae ingenium leve...varietur ulto".

Satan's nature on the other hand, is clearly defined. Instead of the confusion of instinct, motive, emotion and thought which characterizes Eve, Satan is a straightforward exponent of various root evils such as vengefulness, envy and cunning. His passion, sophistry, debating skill - all are motivated by one force only, the evil that is in him(1). And at the same time he fits the stereotyped pattern of Seneca's Spirits of Evil perfectly.

Further indications of similarities between Senecan drama and "Adamus Exul" can be found in the style of several passages. The lurid imagery of lines 10-12(2) is overloaded to the point of bombast in a manner recurrent in Seneca. The tiresome topographical and mythological description of Eden and its surroundings in this soliloquy is as static as a bad lantern lecture. This sort of expansion and repetition is a feature of Senecan monologues. More repetition in pursuit of rhetorical cumulation makes Satan himself much less effectual in lines 144-154(3), and Satan's forecast of the Fall, although disguised by unfortunate bombast, deprives Grotius of matter for speculation later in the play. The personifications of the Furies, Night, Hunger and Hatred in Act V sc.i could be inspired by the mediaeval moralities but are more probably

(1) But for another opinion see M.Woodhull l.c. p.160f.

(2) Saevus ut rictu leo
Patulo timendus, per locorum devia,
Quaerit, quod avido dente dilaniet pecus.

(3) Though this form of self-adhortation in order to goad the speaker on to greater heights of passion, which is also a Senecan feature, is more successfully accomplished in Eve's Medea-like speech.(ll.1776ff).

taken from classical drama. The unrestricted and frequently inartistic application of mythical names to the Old Testament story betrays the medium of Grotius' thought. That these anachronisms were due to more than expression in metaphor is evident from

si ipse coeli rector in mea viscera
Vestat sordidas fulminis trifidi faces(Eve:
1.1789f)

where God's wrath is identified with Jupiter's thunderbolt! The lurid detail of Eve's manner of death at Adam's hand (Act V, 1.1693ff.) is faithful to Senecan scenes of horror.

Finally a few direct comparisons can be made, e.g.:-

(Eve: 1.1295f) magna delicti mei
Iam pars peracta est
(Hippolytus.1.594f) magna pars sceleris mei
Olim peracta est.

(Adam 1.1349f) Gelidus per artus vadit excussos tremor
Exanguis adsto, crinis erectus riget.

(Herc.Oetacus.1.706f) Vagus per artus errat excussos tremor
Erectus horret crinis.

(Herc.Furens 1.414) Gelidus per artus vadit exanguis tremor.

Adam is dazed as the full impact of his sin works upon his conscience:

Quis sum? Quid egi? Quo feror? Quod me solum,
Quae regio tantis cernit oppresum malis?(1.1588 f)

Hercules wakes from his mad nightmare (Herc.Furens 1.1138f)

Quis hic locus, quae regio, quae mundi plaga?
Ubi sum?

The full workings of Adam's and Hercules'(1) remorse are not dissimilar:

Adam: Quin, parte ab omni, Rector astrorum tonas (1.1618)
Herc.: Nunc parte ab omni, genitor, iratus tona (1.1202)

(1) The following quotations are all from "Hercules Furens".

- Adam: vindices flammis Poli
Iaculentur ambo: stelliger subita cadat
Mundus ruina (1.1623ff)
- Herc.: Stelliger mundus sonet
Flammisque et hic et ille iaculetur polus (1.1204f)
-
- Adam: Morte sanandum est scelus (1.1697)
Herc.: Morte sanandum est scelus (1.1262)
-
- Adam: Cur animam in ista luce detentam morer
Mihi causa nulla est: omnia amisi bona (1.1716f)
Herc.: Cur animam in ista luce detineam amplius
Morerque nil est; cuncta iam amisi bona (1.1258f)
-
- Adam: Non ita pudorem caecus extinxit furor
Ut, quicquid usquam est, impio aspectu fugem (1.1710)
Herc.: Non sic furore cessit extinctus pudor,
Populos ut omnes impio aspectu fugem (1.1241)
-
- Eve: Perimesne memet?
Adam: Nolo, ne possim, occidam(1) (1.1730)
Amphitryon: Perimes parentem
Herc.: Facere ne possim, occidam (1.1263)
-
- Eve challenges Adam with the alternative
Aut vivis, aut occidis (1.1805)
and Adam yield to her:
Iam parce coniunx parce, parebo tibi (1.1810)
Amphitryon similarly forces the dilemma on Hercules:
Aut vivis aut occidis (1.1308)
and Hercules is brought to submission:
Iam parce, genitor, parce, iam revoca manum (1.1314)
Adam, sentenced to exile, cries:
durus malis
Lacrymare nescit oculus (1.1984)

(1) Edition of 1601 has "occida".

Hercules also is too wretched to weep

 hic durus malis
Lacrimare vultus nescit. (1.1229)

Staggering forth into exile Adam asks: "Whither shall I go, wretched man? What place shall I, a fugitive, look for? Where shall I stay and which region shall I cultivate?". Then:

 Monstra latebram, quaeso, longinquam abditam (1.2020)

Hercules wonders where he will be able to hide his sin: "To what countries, man of sin, wilt thou betake thee? The rising or the setting sun wilt seek? Known in every land I lost a place for exile...O faithful friend, Theseus(1)

 Latebram quaere longinquam abditam (1.1335)

Similarly Theseus' raving in "Hippolytus" (1.1201ff) and Oedipus' in "Oedipus Rex" (11.869ff and 926ff) reveal situations and passages parallel with Adam's scenes of remorse and contrition.

Certainly Seneca had a considerable influence on the whole structure of the play, and this influence was clearly detrimental, since Grotius in his immaturity was understandably swayed by the scholars of his day who thought highly of Seneca and recommended recognizable imitation of classical Latin writers(2). Justus Lipsius, for instance, wrote to Grotius(3): "I have seen your Adamus, read part of it and from what I have seen approve of it...Intellectual philosophy is a large part of this study, of which you have given a taste in your Adamus. Go on in your love of this".

We should not call the dramatisation of the Fall a "study" nor expect to find a large part of it to be devoted to intellectual philosophy. But to young Grotius it was a study in philosophy and theology. He was primarily concerned with

(1) Translation F.J.Miller.

(2) C.S.Baldwin "Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice" p.19.

(3) P.C.Molhuysen "Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius" No.28, vol.I, p.21.

what we should now call conscientious plagiarism of Latin models and faithful discipleship to the teaching of Franciscus Junius and others. The dramatic characters were cast into moulds prescribed by another age and another religion, and in the process they lost much of their true identity, with the result that the means, far from justifying the end, actually destroyed it, by causing the loss of artistic inspiration to pure rationalisation.

Franciscus Junius(1) was a profound thinker and tolerant theologian. Grotius was staying with him when he wrote "Adamus Exul", and at that time Junius was writing a work "De Peccato Adami Primo". This is a lengthy treatise which doubtless received great praise from contemporary schoolmen. To us now it is so interminably boring that we may be thankful that Seneca was Grotius' model rather than Junius. But in Grotius' own words:"I owe much to his works, but much more to his example which I have kept before me"(2). Naturally then, the theological strain in "Adamus Exul" is very strong. Theology is bound to figure prominently in any treatment of the Fall, it does so in Du Bartas, Milton and Vondel. It is only when theological polemics are thrust upon us that we feel ourselves deceived, as it were, by an ecclesiastic in grease-paint.

One opinion of Satan's temptation of Eve is that Satan is a subtle scholar delivering a Gomarist sermon, who would in reality have sent Eve running off, bored or dismayed by so much tedious argument(3). My view is by no means as extreme as this, for I admit to being fascinated by Satan's skill in

(1) The father of the Junius who took 'Genesis B' and other O.E. texts to Amsterdam with him, after whom these MSS. are now named.

(2) W.S.M.Knight l.c. p.30.

(3) Vondel's Works Edⁿ van Lennep Vol. X p.455.

debate, and see no reason why Eve, who has after all a selfish motive for being attentive, should be any more bored than I. Indeed, if anyone is guilty of talking like a textbook, it is Eve herself. Jacob van Lennep is more liberal in his statement that scholastic and "rederijker" argumentation figures in the dialogues Satan - Adam, Satan - Eve and Adam - Eve, but that this is due to the time at which "Adamus Exul" was written, when all poetical works of any standing were expected to contain such lengthy expositions(1). Beets, on the other hand, is too generous to Grotius when he writes: "Wel is het blijkbaar, dat hij de kennis van het menschelijk hart en van den gang der menschelijke hartstochten meer aan de boeken- dan aan de menschenwereld ontleend heeft; doch dit kan men ook van den zooveel ouderen Vondel zeggen, en in zekere mate van alle dichters, welke, in het treurspel, hunne hoogste eer in het werken naar de klassieke modellen gesteld hebben"(2).

Either understanding of human nature is gleaned more, or it is gleaned less from books than from life, so that "in zekere mate" is meaningless; but even so the second part of Beets' statement is surely unfounded, and is especially untrue of Vondel at his best. Nevertheless it is right to remember and make allowances for the dominion of scholarship over art in the humanist activities of Grotius' youth, and to read "Adamus Exul" in this light as van Lennep does. Adam is surely Grotius' ideal man, but according to the 16th/17th century ideals. This means that Adam shows a greater theological vision and comprehension than we in our time would expect from First Man, so that some of his observations sound anachronistic. His understanding of the mystery of the Trinity in the second

(1) J. van Lennep l.c. p.451.

(2) "Verscheidenheden, meest op letterkundig gebied - De Paradijsgeschiedenis en de Nederlandsche Dichters", p.118.

act(1), for instance, would be impossible if Adam, as we suppose, had finite knowledge. But Grotius, who thought of the Trinity revealed in the three-in-one of Sun, light and warmth, or soul, mind and body, as existing even before the Sun and the Soul(2), saw no reason why Adam should not have had the same knowledge. As Adam's instructor, the Angel himself suggests that such an understanding of Divine mysteries was possible simply by the contemplation of Creation. To do God's will is to recognize Him whom no single thing conceals -

Vis conditorem nosse? Rebus conditis

Utere magistris; quicquid est, index Dei est (1.414)

This is not sufficiently convincing to remove a suspicion in our minds that Grotius is guilty of a posteriori reasoning. An instance of this, Satan's summary of woman's nature, has already been considered(3). Other such unexplained anachronisms are the Angel's statement that snakes were created poisonous, "to be avoided by the cautious"(4) and Satan's implication in the first act and his temptation of Adam and Eve, that even in perfect natural life before the Fall the lion raged against weaker beasts and sheep lived in terror of wolves(5).

When due allowance is made for the impossibility of Grotius' task of co-ordinating art and scholarship according to the literary standards of his day, and for the added handicap of his immaturity, we can only acclaim "Adamus Exul" for standing at all as a work of art. Eve as the revolutionary

(1) 11.374ff.

(2) A.H.Haentjens "Hugo de Groot als Godsdienstig Denker", pp. 69,70.

(3) Page 46/47 above

(4) 1.628. And yet God (1.1876f) punishes the serpent by making it carry poison "that it may be a witness to your sentence" See also M.Woodhull l.c. p.149(note).

(5) See Isaiah Ch.11, where in a vision of the coming of the Kingdom of Righteousness under Christ, "The Wolf also shall dwell with the lamb...and the calf with the young lion and the fatling together...and the lion shall eat straw like the ox."

in the fourth act is indeed an outstanding piece of creative art, especially since her creator in his nineteenth year seems to have shown the singleness of purpose which is Adam's heroic quality, a purpose of scholarly dedication to matters far in advance of his years, which would surely have overruled the more natural affections of his heart. Metaphysically, Adam is Eve's antipole, inasmuch as Adam's manliness and woman's feminine charms, or Grotius' studious mind and his heart, were incompatible. The strongest sustained feeling in the play which is transplanted there from Seneca almost hides the under-current of Grotius' own stern ethics, his own feeling which filters through his 'outward' of avid learning. Similarly his rigorous schooling in Latin poesy is an asset only when his own inspiration spurns the restrictions of imitation. At such times the poetry is fine, as in some of the chorusses, the latter part of Eve's temptation by Satan(1), Adam's exhortation to penitence(2) and his farewell to the garden(3). But aesthetically the sentence must stand: according as Grotius sought Reality intellectually rather than intuitively, his "Adamus Exul" will have scholarly rather than artistic appeal.

Of the possible sources for "Adamus Exul", three deserve passing mention. Du Bartas' "La Seconde Sepmaine" was obviously known to Grotius as is evident from the passages bearing marked similarities to the French epic(4). The twelfth or thirteenth century "Le Jeu d'Adam et Eve" or "Mystère d'Adam" shows similarities in isolated points of treatment, though the temptation as a whole is conducted very differently. In

(1) 11.1262-1315

(2) 11.1380-7

(3) 11.2021-end.

(4) See above p.47, note(1); p.53, note(1).

this play, Diabolus tempts Adam first; he is recognized by Adam and peremptorily dismissed. He then addresses Eve who, though recognizing him, gives him a favourable hearing and blames Adam for his sternness. Diabolus persuades Eve by flattering her good looks and commending the fruit for its power to make her equal to God. Adam, who is present throughout, interrupts the dialogue and warns Eve of the danger, whereupon a serpent appears which entices Eve to pluck the fruit. She does so, proffering the apple to Adam who only accepts it following Eve's taunts of cowardice. As soon as they have both eaten, Adam is filled with remorse and sees a future of misery and suffering until Mary's son shall rescue them. After God has passed His judgement they are both dragged off to Hell.

The third work to which Grotius may well have been indebted is a sixth century epic poem by Bishop Avitus. Avitus was regarded in the 16th century as a Christian Virgil. His "De Originali Peccato" was printed in a collection of Latin poetry of 1560, and this book was used by Vulcanius, professor of Greek at Leyden and one of Grotius' teachers, who was among the first in assisting to spread the fame of this poet.⁽¹⁾

In the following free translations of extracts from this poem, similarities with "Adamus Exul" will be apparent:

"The higher the guilty one stands, the heavier is the guilt; only the deed of an unknown evildoer weighs lightly. What a more important person does wrong is counted a greater evil" (cf. A.E. 1.237ff).

"He changed himself and put on the guise of a snake-like fighting animal. He became a serpent with a longish neck which he covered with many-coloured spots. He armed the coils of his slippery back all along with hard scales...The serpent's eye glimmers dreadfully, now kindling lights...Now it shines seductively and its jaws shoot forth a three-forked tongue,

(1) W.S.M.Knight l.c. pp.50-51.

as if it were playing a constant tune in its throat"(cf.A.E. 1.1033ff).

"Nature forbids nothing. It has all been given to you. I am not envious of you, I am only an admirer, but I am troubled why you have been forbidden to touch the lordly tree. I should like to know who commands such a thing. Who withholds such gifts, and who interchanges the most abundant feasts with dry fasts?" (cf.A.E. 1.1050ff).

"Ah, how often her hesitating hand, put the momentous apple near her lips, but always the warning call of conscience sounded, and, afraid of the results of the deed, she shrank back" (cf. A.E. 1.1262ff).

CHAPTER IV.

"Adam in Ballingschap"

Part i. The Literal Level.

"Adam in Ballingschap" is pre-eminently a play of contrasting moods. In it extremes of joy and wretchedness follow one another even more abruptly than in "Jeptha" where the moods are not supernaturally inspired as here. The tone contrasts between black malice and pure innocence are more striking than in "Lucifer" where, in the issue between noble, positive values, there is no place for the base extreme of ignominious spite. The total effect of a supernatural antithesis is created by Vondel's superlative skill in the timing and presentation of the smallest details.

No light is needed to identify the character who holds the stage at the opening of the play. The very first two lines speak of a metamorphosis that can only be Lucifer's: "Ick, eerst...dekroon van 't licht...en nu...in duisternis..." This is a leader with his own principedom(1) and his own counsel at his beck and call(2), and yet as surely as 'duister' follows 'luister'(3), Lucifer's grandiose self-glorification rings

(1) 1.4.

(2) 1.7.

(3) 11.9,10: "Dat past den grootvorst van de weerelt, en zijn luister, /Afkeerigh van den dagh, en krachtiger by duister"; See also C.Verschaeve "Uren Bewondering voor Groote Kunstwerken" pp.140,1

hollow as the distorted echo of a glorious past of which this is all that remains.

However degenerate Lucifer may be, he is not weak. He may be afraid of the probing light of day, but he is to be feared for his singleness of purpose, his hatred of God, his restless lust for revenge and his supernatural cunning. The dawning day(1) cannot dispel his dark thoughts for, as night is being driven from the field(2), the great rebel routed with his host from the celestial plains, will find refuge in a shadow within Eden itself. This garden will be his second battle field(3). With all the malice that is in him he will attack his avowed enemy, God, by the only means available to him, an attack on Man. As Lucifer's tirade unfolds, the garden, the rising sun, his followers in the background - all are forgotten. Only his vicious hatred remains, driving him on to anticipate revenge. No opportunity shall be overlooked, no scheme will be too vile for him. Every supernatural strain of nobility he once had is now a supernatural force of evil(4), and only Divine goodness can annul it. If Man were unguarded by God's angels, Lucifer

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- (1) The gradual breaking of the dawn can be sensed as Lucifer discovers, first from sounds and feeling and then from the first glimpses of landmarks, that he is in Eden. He feels in the dark the morning breeze, he hears the first notes of the birds heralding the break of day, the rustle of leaves and the trickle of water, and then he begins to distinguish the outline of the Euphratis and surrounding woods and groves.
 - (2) L.12.
 - (3) ...geen aenslagh is te stout/Voor mij, die niet ontzagh den hemel aen te randen (ll.32,33). Also the word 'bestormen' in l.76.
 - (4) Miss Woodhull's erroneous conclusion ("The Epic of Paradise Lost", M.Woodhull p.185) that the characterization of Lucifer in "Adam in Ballingschap" is one of the play's weakest points since little remains of the stature of the hero of "Lucifer" is ample evidence of Vondel's success in trans-

would slaughter him without hesitation(1). Yet through all his bravado⁽²⁾ Lucifer has a terrifying power, like a crouching monster waiting intensely for his opportunity. Nothing can deflect his purpose

Aen d'uitkomst heeft men niet te twijflen door
mistroutwen (53)

not even the powers of heaven(3).

As Lucifer's spasm of hatred passes he is again aware of his surroundings and of the sun rising, and we too see the comforting light growing.

De zon, aen 't rijzen, zal den lusthof verf en leven
Byzetten.

Yet its comfort can no longer fully reassure us. Lucifer may have to hide, but he has already spoiled the peace of Eden. It is as if he says I have sown my seed of hatred in this sanctified place, now let the day come. Indeed it may even see the fruition of my hopes:

Laet zien wat kans, wat stof de opgaende dagh will
geven (81)

Adam and Eve, however trouble-free they may feel, will always be followed by his watchful eye(4). Adam's opening words drive home the irony of the situation. Rejoicing at the new day he is totally unaware of the ambiguity of the words

forming Lucifer from the bearer of light to the hater of it.

- (1) ll.56-71. It is a pity that the influence of Senecan bombast turns such a fine climax to Lucifer's invective into the distasteful and almost laughable conclusion of ll.69-71. However, Verschaeve says of this passage (l.c. p.143): By die yselijke vreugde van den haat, dat likketanden van den tjger, zou men verstijven van schrik".
Chacun son goût!
- (2) ll.43-52. The sailing metaphor seems strange in this context. It may be due to the influence of the Greek drama in which such metaphors are commonplace.
- (3) ll. 54,5. "It met mij" (l.46)
- (4) ll.111-114.

Dae rjst heb alverquickend licht,
Dat, largh gedaelt beneên de kimmen,
De schaduwen en bleecke schimmen
Verdrijft van 's aerdtrijx aengezicht. (122)

The birds are singing to the sun; they too must sing,
but of whom? Eve's reply:

Van wien toch beter dan van Godt
De bron en springaer aller dingen? (136)

is spontaneous evidence of the antithesis between their thought and Lucifer's. His first thought was for himself; his first word 'ick'. Lucifer's rebellion cut him off from the free enjoyment of God's creation and the love and fellowship of Heaven. He must shun all that is natural; only darkness and his subordinates befriend him. Adam and Eve on the other hand are ever aware of their place in Creation and of their harmony with the whole of nature. The birds evoke a hymn from them, which they in turn will teach to "dal, speloncken, bosch en haegen"(1). Lucifer is obsessed with one ambition, to assert himself and avenge his grievance. He is self-centred, even when he thinks of God, the cause of his misery, or Man, the anticipated victim of his hatred. Adam and Eve sense that they would not exist without God, their thoughts first turn to Him (2), when they think of one another it is to see His nature reflected there(3), they love the good things around them because they are His(4) and their unselfish love for one another is an expression of their gratitude and love for Him(5)

The angels, joining them in song, tell of the cause of Eden's enchantment. The universe and all things in it are perfect, being made at God's command and containing the perfect order and freedom of His Mind.

Already it scarcely seems possible that the voice of one

(1) 1.142.

(2) 11.143-158

(3) 11.159-166.

(4) 11.166-190

(5) 11.191-210

"veraert van 't goet, gruwzaam en verwaten"(1) had announced in this self-same place:

Zoo neemt mijn wraeckzucht al de weereit op haer tanden,
En ruckt dit groot heelal uit zijnen winckelhaeck (35)

We have shared with Adam and Eve the feeling that unspoiled nature is so imbued with Divine Perfection as to be sacred. In the concord of perfect Man with nature we have discerned something of the proximity of perfect nature to the supernatural. The mood and the poetry and its music now change subtly from the natural to the supernatural. Tender human love, gentleness and joy are raised to serenity, grace and bliss. The calm glory which now fills Eden has the unearthly quality of the poetry itself.

Wij zweefden zacht en stil den blancken Meldweg neêr
(299)

Soft and quiet is the mood, sweet and gentle are the voices of the archangels. Peace reigns. The angels are on holy ground(2). "Serenity", Verschaeve writes, "is the epithet of this scene. The quietness seeps into us like a toxic, an almost hypnotic amnesia that drives away all memory and thought of anything but the glory and beauty of semi-celestial Eden"(3). When Gabriel himself exclaims at the wondrous beauty of the garden, we find ourselves beyond the realms of human experience:

Wat heeft de Godtheit hier een hemelschdom geplant!(311)
Wat vogels zingen daer alle engelsche kooraelen
Met hunne keelen na!(4) hoe weeligh hangt dit ooft!(323)

(1) 1.28, 1.5 (passim)

(2) 1.345.

(3) C.Verschaeve l.c. pp.155,6.

(4) cf. Du Bartas "Eden"

Où cent sortes d'oiseaux jour et nuict s'esbatoient,
S'entrefaisoient l'amour, sauteloient, voletoient,
Et marians leurs tons aux doux accents des Anges,
Chantoient et l'heur à Adam et de Dieu les louanges(1.86)

Yet in truth there is nothing more supernatural in this garden than what is absolutely natural in its unspoiled state, and the lord of the garden is Man, as surely as God is lord of Creation.

d'Alzegenaeer stort h̄er zich zelve teffens uit,
En waert in dier, en erts, en steen, en plant, en kruit,
Doch meest in Adam, heer van 't edelste geweste.(337)

This is the moment of Man's Kingship, boundless even to his heritage in Heaven(1), because he is freely obedient to God's rule: while the morning sun was moving on to crown the day(2), Gabriel, Raphael and Michael arrived "in dees lusthof die de kroon van 's aerdtrijxhoven spant"(3) to announce the day of Adam and Eve's crowning in marriage. The peace of the garden is tense with an air of expectancy. The flashing jewels on the river banks(4), the carpet of flowers(5), the gay plumage of the birds(6) seem to be adornments for a special occasion; the presence of heraldic animals(7) and the lamb wearing Adam's livery(8) suggest a royal court rather than a garden(9), and everywhere nature offers luscious delicacies fit for a royal banquet(10).

Natural and supernatural unite to celebrate the marriage of Man to Woman. The garden in which "de Godtheit wandelde... en liet...haer stappen staen"(11) is ready, the archangels sent by God to prepare for and perform the marriage-rite, can add nothing to the perfection of nature which "behoeft geen' englelof en gaet het al te boven"(12). The King and Queen of

(1) 11.290-8. (2) 11.300-302. (3) 1.340. (4) 11.314-5.
(5) 11.316,7. (6) 1.318. (7) The unicorn (1.319), deer(1.321)
and lion(1.396). (8) 11.327-30. (9) The ambiguity of the Dutch
'hof'(f)= garden and 'hof'(m)= court has no equivalent in English
(10) 11.323-6 and 331-2 for instance. (11) 11.343,4.
(12) 1.341.0-3.

Eden will be crowned with laurel brought from Heaven(1) and will partake of a banquet, gleaned from the garden and prepared by the chorus of heavenly beings(2).

Through the soul's intuition of the eternity of beauty and the emotions' response to the mysterious quality of human love, this scene transcends time and fuses the actual and the imaginary in an exquisite dream-world. Yet we deceive ourselves if we confuse the earthly paradise with the heavenly. In due time and only then will the humans inherit the realms of heaven. Gabriel, it seems, summons us from our enchantment 'back to earth':

De zon ga haeren ganck, en mercke tijt en uur (367)
and quite suddenly, the full implication of this recall to the present moment is thrust upon us.

Godts veltheer Michaël blijf midlerwyl de wacht
Bevolen van den hof...
Op dat geen helsch gespan, zich in de bruiloft minge
(374)

In this one line the illusion of security is shattered. The wedding, the culmination-point of hopeful expectancy can be the moment of the greatest evil. As we feel the shock of anything so contradictory to our mood as an infernal conspiracy, we feel again the absolute antithesis. The angels have of course come to Eden not only to bear supernatural blessings to the humans, but to guard them against supernatural evil.

As in the first act, our doubts for the future centre on Adam and Eve whose first words as they enter emphasise ironically their innocence and ignorance of any lurking danger(3):

Ay zie, mijn liefste, wat geluck(4) zal ons gemoeten?
(405)

(1) ll. 351-9

(2) ll. 360-3

(3) As in Act I, sc. ii, ll. 121, 2. See pp. 97.98 above.

(4) 'Geluck' can mean good or evil fortune, happiness or fate.

Every moment now increases the tension. As inconspicuously as the motion of the sun to its zenith, for it is now midday when the sun, pouring its power of good into the garden, spreads warmth, fertility and growth(1), is the change of mood from human tranquility and angelic serenity to warmer emotions, excitement almost, when the mortals meet the angels.

Wat wil d'almagtige openbaeren,
Die, schoon ons een getal wachtengelen bewaeren,
Noch hooger geesten uit de starren nederzendt? (415)

In the intercourse between the celestial and earthly beings, the fusion of 'engelscheit en dierscheit in den mensch'(2) which was the intangible quality of the humans' conception of their nature in Act I and the angels' praise of Man's dominion in the world in the preceding scene, attains a more explicit expression. Adam is perfect Man, who in his humility is awestruck by the archangel's visitation(3). But Adam, king of the Earth, is also God's viceroy(4); lord of the land he owes allegiance to God alone(5). Eve is not only the 'groote moeder van zoo veel levenden' but is also full of grace(6). Their marriage as beings on earth is but a prelude to immortality in heaven:

Ontfangt dees kroonen, gy die dus geluckigh paert.
Een grooter kroon wort u in eeuwigheit bewaert. (456)

As the sun beats down in the heat of the day, Adam and Eve glow with celestial light. Natural and supernatural

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- (1) C.Verschaeve l.c. p.157. (2) 11.533,4
(3) 11.416-431 (4) 1.432, also C.Verschaeve l.c. p.160
(5) 1.435. Note too the association of Adam with God implied in the repeated references to Him in Gabriel's salutation: 'opperste gezagh (1.432), Godt (1.435), Godtheit (1.436), Godt (1.437)'. As in Du Bartas' "Eden", God is called Adam's Feudal Lord (vis. 'champart, censive, entree, seigneur lige' in 11.406,7).
(6) 1.446.

'mengen in den mensch zich ondereen':

Gelooft zij d'opperste, die zijn genade streckt
En uitbreidt wijder dan de heldre zonneglanssen
Zich spreien overal, uit zijn turkoize transsen. (462)

Divine and human love flow into one:

Hy heeftme deze gade uit liefde toegevoegt. (468)

In Man and Man alone God has brought together the two aspects of his whole creation, Heaven and Earth, since in Adam and Eve the spiritual and physical are perfectly balanced and harmonized(1). In so far as the angel chorus only confirms what is already a conviction, their praise of God's grace of Original Righteousness for Man is redundant. But let us take note of the sheer skill with which Vondel introduces a didactic device without disturbing the other-worldly illusion of the Eden-Paradise.

The angels take up Gabriel's theme proclaiming the beauty of the couple awaiting the wedding-banquet, but as a chorus they maintain the restraint due to observers and attendants. As such they can make their comments on what they see as fact, devoid of the emotion natural to those more intimately concerned. A dispassionate account is exactly what is required to elucidate a mystery, and they with their supernatural knowledge certainly have the authority to do this. It is the visible (i.e. natural) aspect of the grace, the fine white robes, which prompts the chorus to consider the spiritual and supernatural meaning; but, once again, the two are mutually implicit:

De godtheit schonk dien bruiloftschat
Hun beide uit liefde in d'aertsche hoven (487).

Furthermore, to stress the close bond formed by this grace between the two 'worstelende ongelijken'(2) of soul and body,

(1) Chorus to Act II, 2nd strophe and antistrophe.

(2) 1.539.

they take a metaphor from the very act of sacramental unity central to the wole play:

Zoo baert d'eehstemmigheit, in 't paeren
Van lijf en ziel, aen een getrouwt
Een lieflijkheit (525).

Finally, the chorus summarizes the great issues at stake: Divine peace and joy on earth if Man honours God's charter(1) or, if he asserts his own will over God's, the loss of all his perfection(2).

Their song ends on a note of warning, reminding us of the growing tension which we, onlookers like them, are always aware of:

Eert u hantvest, ô gelieven
En bewaert uw' vaders last
Zoo kan u geen vijant grieven.
Houdt u buiten leedt en last. (544)

Tension, literal and metaphorical, is created by the action of two forces in opposition. When the forces are dynamic, time becomes an increasingly important factor, for at a certain moment the strain will become too great and there will be a disruption of the status quo. In "Adam in Ballingschap" we are aware of an approaching moment, of a glorious climax or a calamity. The forces have not changed, for they represent eternal values; but they are moving to a cataclasm. As the last preparations are made for celebrating Adam and Eve's finest hour, plans are also being laid and preparations made for their utter destruction. The finest in Heaven and the vilest in Hell focus attention more and more on an approaching moment and both concentrate their efforts on Man.

As the sun passes her zenith, the third act opens with a dialogue between Lucifer and Asmodeus under the tree of knowledge.

Lucifer admits that he is obsessed with one thought only -

(1) 11.527,8.

(2) 11.510-17.

lust ter wraecke van dien onverdienden smaet
En 't schendigh ongelijck in 't opperhof geleden.(553)
and leaves the means by which this end shall be achieved to
the ingenuity of his minion Asmodeus.

Nu giet dien aenslagh eens in een' rechtschapen vorm
(563)

Lucifer's apparent ineffectuality in the counsel is due only
to his singleness of purpose. He is too great to concern
himself with details. A 'born' leader, he delegates the
lesser matters of organisation and execution to his sub-
ordinates. Like an idealist he appears unpractical, making
suggestions which appear futile or require modification(1).
His ambition may drive him on to making the boldest bid(2),
but his former courage is now degenerate bravado:

men dient bedeckt te wercken (626)

As the counsel progresses the depravity accumulates. Lucifer
has at least a positive purpose. Asmodeus has no feeling at
all; he is just a calculating 'Artist in crime'(3), and Belial
when he arrives on the scene, at once betrays his utter
weakness. He typifies the lowest form of life. He is a slave
to his senses:

Hier valt gencegh te snoepen.

Het paradijscoft drupt den gaepende in den mont (699).

Belial's conjuring with words to defend masquerade comes
aptly from one who is so animal-like that he is already a
snake in all but appearance. His very language exudes sensual
depravity and low stealth.

De verf van 't blozende coft zal lekker lockaes strecke
strecken (729)

zoo wort de doot onwetende gekust,
En niet ontmomt, eer 't vier den snoepkoortse is ge-
blust (740)

(1) C.Verschaeve l.c. pp. 169-171 passim.

(2) 11.642, 691.

(3) C.Verschaeve l.c. p.176.

Belial's proposal to disguise himself as an angel is an inartistic divergence, but it can be accounted for by Vondel's intellectual honesty. If the infernal beings were able to change into any form at will, why not adopt the most obvious disguise - that of an angel? Vondel, like Du Bartas(1), gives the reason.

Belial is the counterpart and converse of Michael. They are both executives. They both 'burn for loot'(2). But whereas Michael declares his courage by flashing his helm and buckler, Belial must use underhand methods and plans to seduce Eve by simulating angel's speech, whereby the love and free intercourse between the earthly and celestial beings in the garden can be turned to his own evil ends.

Vondel himself writes, in his preface to "Jeptha":

"Maer gelijk den Grieken d'eer van den heerlijcken vont der toneelspelen, allengs bij trappen in top gesteigert, niet kan gelochent worden, zoo vereischt een gewijt treurspel, op hunnen leest geschoeit, tot het uitvoeren keur van bequame personaedjen, en toestel van toneel, en maetgezang van reien, geoeffent door eenen grooten Orlando(3), om onder het spelen d'aenschouwers te laeten hooren eene hemelsche gelijckluidentheit van heilige galmen, die alle deelen der goddelijcke zangkunste in hunne volkomenheit zodanigh bereickt, datze de zielen buiten zichzelve, als uit den lichame, verruckt, en ten volle met eenen voorsmaek van de gelukzaligheid der engelen vergenoegt(4).

If we now compare with this Belial's purpose to produce
een oprechten klanck,

(1) "A. in B." ll.773-9. "L'Imposture" ll.87-90.

(2) cp. ll.385-390 with l.692.

(3) i.e. Orlando Lasso.

(4) Berecht to "Jeptha" W.B. Vol. VIII, p.778.

Die min een meschestem, en meer een maetgezangh
Van engelen gelijkt... (785)

Natuurlijk als een' galm, die uit den hemel daelt,
Dat is de ziel met kunst door d'oren heen gehaelt(788)

we realise that Belial has after all this to his credit, that he is an artist(1).

When the conspiracy is broken off because of the approaching dancers from the wedding banquet, we hear the strains of the very angelic music of which Belial has been speaking. There seems to be a sinister inevitability in the movement of the opposing forces to a point at which they must collide, "Zoo flakkeren de vlammen, het ogenblik eer dat ze voorgoed verdooven, nog eens hoger op"(2).

The sudden burst of movement on the stage so recently occupied by huddled conspirators marks once again the contrast in moods throughout and at the same time reflects our feeling of unrest as the emotional fervour and tempo increase to a climax.

Rapidly interchanging visual and auditory impressions in the dance mingle to form a rhythmic pattern of the dancers' primeval urge to worship(3). Movement⁽⁴⁾ merges into tone(5)

(1) "Nergens zingen verzen natuurlijker dan van engelen lippen; na hun val zullen zich de duivelen herinneren, dat gezang hunnaatuurlijke spraak was toen ze engelen waren, en zullen ze van de taal, die ze moeten gebruiken om de mensen te verleiden, zeggen dat ze op "een maatgezang van engelen" moet gelijken". C. Verschaeve l.c. p.22.

(2) C. Verschaeve l.c. p.180.

(3) Expressed in the opening lines:
Danssenwe, Godts naem ter eere,
Die gelieven 't'zamenvoegt
Zoo gezalight, en vernoegt

(835)

(4) 11.836,7.

(5) 11.838-40.

and back again into the dance-form(1), graceful(2), disciplined (3) and full of colour(4).

In an air of purest abandon, the tender love of Adam and Eve for one another and Eve's obedience to Adam are most perfectly expressed because the whole is an act of worship to God, the Source of all love and being, and the whole pattern reflecting the complicated order of the universe adds to their worship a mute understanding of the harmony in discipline of the whole cosmos.

It is claimed that the masque or ballet in "Adam in Ballingschap" was the result of Jan Vos's strong position in the Amsterdam theatre. This may have been so. There is however no reason to consider Vondel as being prompted against his will to insert this as 'kunst and vliegwerck'. Vondel was entirely antipathetic to Vos's vulgar methods(5). The larger the public that Vos drew with his unaesthetic popular 'shows' the more sternly did Vondel apply himself to the cultivation of good morals through a dignified dramatization of edifying subjects as a mirror of virtue. But as an expression of religious ecstasy, this dance is not only in very good taste, it is splendidly appropriate(6). He would surely have agreed independently(7) rather than submissively with Vos, since the

(1) 11.841-4.

(2) 1.846.

(3) 1.845.

(4) 11.847,8.

(5) See Vos's letters in Vondel's Works, ed. Unger 1654-1655, pp.266-8.

(6) cf. "De Heerlyckheyd van Salomon" where: "De Poet willende de Lezer om hooge voeren tot deze Goddelijcke betrachtunge, neemt de zaecke wat leeger; en onder het deoxsel van Salomons bruyloftsfeest te vereeren, vertoont ons een wonderbaerlijcke dans, te weten der Hemelen: alwaer vaste en dwalende-sterren een zoo juist afgepaste beweginge hebben, dat alle andere beweginge ten aenzien van deze maer lompery is". Inhoud, "De Heerlyckheyd van Salomon" W.B.II, p.232.

(7) Vondel knew of the origins of Greek tragedy (see Berecht to

inclusion of a masque at this moment is fully in accordance with his love of ritual and mystical symbolism and his belief in the artistic expression of spiritual experiences as a revelation of Divine Truth(1).

There is something immediately alarming in the tenseness which remains when the dance is over. The feeling is elemental, The atmosphere is disturbed. Things are not right; a storm is going to break. Instead of a restful calm after the spiritual and physical exertions of the previous act, Eve stands quivering and taut with emotion. The angelic aspect of Eve's nature has, in the abandon of the dance-ecstasy, forsaken its necessary complement, her animal nature(2). She is unbalanced, for the equilibrium between soul and body is lost(3). For the first time there is evidence of disharmony not only in Eve,

"Lucifer" W.B. Vol.V, p.614.) and so presumably knew that the Greek choruses normally danced as they sang.

- (1) See extract from Berecht to "Jeptha", pp106 above. Also in this Berecht Vondel writes: "dewjl het zien meer de harten beweegt dan het aenhoren en verhael van het gebeurde". In the dance sight and sound coalesce to raise the audience to a state of ἔκστασις 'buiten zichzelf'. "Samson", another play in which a masque is introduced, offers a striking parallel in the use made of an exhibition of emotional fervour at a critical moment. The chorus of temple choirs (led by the High Priest) at the end of Act IV is similar in form and content to the first strophe and antistrophe of this chorus in "Adam in Ballingschap". Both call for praises to a Divinity. Both usher in music and players to a trochaic four-foot line. The rhyme-patterns are simpler in Samson but the similarities in rhymes of both choruses suggest that the parallel situation may have prompted Vondel to introduce such a chorus into this play. In "Samson" there is the irony of celebrations by idolators about to be vanquished by God. In this play there is a similar irony of the couple worshipping God in ecstasy before their destruction by Satan.

(2) cf. ll.523,4.

(3) ll.935-36.

but between her and Adam. Adam who is normally more articulate than Eve is now only able to add an occasional word to her glowing description of Heaven. But as her fervour loses its first impetus(1) they share more and more a common vision, Until Eve again acknowledges Adam's guidance(2), and he directs her thoughts back to their natural surroundings which were the safe medium for their worship(3) before Eve's excess of other-worldliness(4). Adam can visualize Heaven but his human nature is inseparable from his spirit. The heavenly Paradise(5) reminds him of the earthly(6); their mutual love on earth (7) reminds him of God's bountiful love(8). Adam leaves Eve alone because the emotion is too much for him. He must work off the pain of his intense happiness alone(9). But Eve, unlike Adam, is not aware that her emotions are too much for her, though Adam clearly does not realize this as he leaves her with her senses highly stimulated and exposed to temptation.

So perfectly attuned to Eve's thoughts is the voice which issues sweetly from the foliage that we are not in the least surprised to hear it.

Geluck, \bar{o} bruit, aenstaende moeder,
der eeuwen: heil in d'echte staet. (1033)

Is this an echo in her mind of Adam's recent words:

d'Aenstaende weereit wort uit uwen schoot verwacht
Gy zult, als moeder van het menschelijck geslacht
Aertsvaders, koningen, wetgevers, helden baeren (1016)

or Gabriel's

(1) Note the marked *rallentando* in Eve's lines 984-9.

(2) 11.1003,4.

(3) In their hymn in Act I.

(4) "Mijn voeten raken geene aerde" (11.933,4)

(5) 11.954-995.

(6) 11.999-1021.

(7) 11.1022-1027.

(8) 11.1028-31.

(9) C.Verschaeve l.c. p.188.

Genarijcke Eva, licht der maeghden, groote moeder
Van zoo veel levenden, als d'aerde uit uwen schoot
Van verre alreede ontmoet (448) ?

Is she not just hearing the echo of her own thoughts, full of her husband's voice(1)?

De roos en lelie luicken onder
Uw veeten schooner op. ̄ bloem
Der schoonste bloemen (1038)

The temptation from Belial's mouth begins, as temptation really begins, from within, in Eve's reflections on her own grace and beauty. This voice says just what she wants to hear and in angelic language in keeping with her ecstatic mood. How well Belial prophesied to Asmodeus! Of course Eve wants to see who owns this enchanting voice:

laetme kennen
Wie my dus minnelijck begroet. (1047).

Since Eve is queen of Eden, the animals are naturally her subjects and, in perfect nature, her friends too. The serpent, gifted with human speech, acts as spokesman for them all in flattering her. No better way could have been devised to win Eve's confidence in her present state, and Belial can safely give a truthful answer to Eve's question "Waer toe de dieren dus geprezen?":

Op datge niet, dus byster schuw,
Van menschbeminners, hoeft te vreezen. (1084).

But flattery is not enough. Sooner or later he must test her confidence in him, and almost naively he reveals his intention.

Mijn maght is klein, mijn hart dienstvaerdigh
Voor u ten beste. ick noode u uit
Op dezen boom. (1090).

Eve is of course shocked(2). Belial, with an air of assurance,

(1) In 11.201-2, 1019-20.

(2) Her reply, full of ̄ sounds, is dominated by the significant sequence of words 'ooft, verboden, doot'.

starts building a case on false logic and half truths. Psychologically his method is faultless. His is the small voice of temptation which first questions the decision of the will and growing in importance as it reasons with it, eventually overpowers it. "But is that altogether true?" this voice says to Eve, who has repeated God's command against eating the fruit, "would God almighty, good, infinitely wise(1), forbid the enjoyment of anything in paradise?" When the will is unmoved the voice accuses it of not listening to reason. Eve is moreover a simple dove and unprotected in a battle of wits since she has an unquestioning nature. The fruit of the tree offers just what she lacks - knowledge. It tastes delicious and will ensure that her present beauty never fades. What could be more befitting to a wedding banquet?

The voice of Eve's sensual inclinations has become more important. To the only answer which her will can give, obedience to the command, the voice has the cogent rejoinder that the fruit must be good in every way since God made it. Her flesh begins to crave the fruit, but one thing still restrains her desire - fear. If this pleasant voice can persuade her that there is no real reason why she should not take the fruit, then she can indulge in its enjoyment with impunity.

A downright lie from Belial wins easy credence from Eve, for it is what she most wants to believe; and to give her increased confidence, he swears by what he is saying (2). But her fears can only be fully allayed by a reasoned argument however specious. An air of veracity or at least importance is given to Belial's explanation by his treatment of it as a very great secret which Eve is honoured to share.

(1) Eve hears again Adam's own words 'Algoede, almachtige, en alwijze (1.145)
(2) 11.1147-8.

Since too 'het is verboden Godts geheim te melden'(1), Belial skilfully makes Eve guilty of being second party to the act of breaking God's commandment of acquiring knowledge wrongly even before she has eaten the fruit.

From a subordinate position from which Belial could flatter Eve, winning her interest and then her confidence, he has raised himself to a position of superior knowledge by persuading her that her qualms were only superstition arising from her simple ignorance. Now he commands her admiration, and when his advice is sought he keeps her a while on tenter-hooks, thereby inciting more and more her curiosity. His most audacious thrust he has reserved for this moment. It is a bold lie but it is so perfectly timed that anything he might say would probably be believed, and it is devised with such devilish cunning that it is able to give the complete converse of Eve's earlier notions compactly and logically.

After Belial's implication that God deliberately withheld the reason for His command, his explanation that the fruit itself is withheld from Man because God is jealous of its knowledge-giving power rings plausible. God's command against eating the fruit is the barrier to prevent Eve sharing His all-knowledge and herself becoming a goddess, for the fruit itself contains no less than God Himself. She is then doubly secure. for if God is good, the fruit is good, and if God is only good in part, retaining the goodness of the fruit for Himself, then the fruit can do her no harm since it is forbidden unjustly. As Belial crowns his triumph by returning to his earlier appeal to her senses(2), we almost regret that this superb argument is rather wasted on Eve(3).

(1) 11.1155-6.

(2) 11.1178-81.

(3) Though Eve's resistance is not impressive, Miss Woodhull is surely underrating Belial when she says that he has a

She is really first and last charmed by the sound of his voice and the appearance of the fruit.

She is not aware now of anything but the tree. Entranced by it, she addresses it: "Och eedle boom...eedle boom... o blozende appel...o blozentheit! ô schoone verve!"(1). All that matters to her now is to taste the fruit. Even if death lurks within, then it could be at the core and she can still safely take a bite(2). Even the act of plucking the fruit is made an excuse for tasting it, for already

De halve misdaet is begaen(3) (1197)

The sudden brief interlude where we see Adam

gerust in eenzaamheit
En opgetogen (1213)

seems an almost cruel trick by which our minds are cast back to the idyllic perfection so wantonly spoiled by Eve. It is nevertheless a magnificent piece of tragic irony.

Ever since the conspiracy in the third act, or even earlier, from Eve's first appearance, we have had a growing conviction that Eve was, like a simple dove, an easy prey for the wily serpent. Adam was her guide. He had the wisdom and understanding which she lacked. He was normally the spokesman for both of them and he was frequently addressed as representing his wife. Now and only now do we sense the impending clash of the extremes of Divine bliss and Infernal

flippant manner. As Beets points out ("Verscheidenheden meest op letterkundig gebied" p.89) Belial must feign an air of indifference or his motives will be suspect. But this requires great skill and alertness of him. I am also unable to find any trace of Belial's jesting at Adam's return which Miss Woodhull finds offensive (M.Woodhull, l.c. p.182).

(1) 11.1182-1198 passim.

(2) 11.1189,90.

(3) cf."Adamus Exul" 11.1295,6 and "Hippolytus" 11.594-5 -

...Magna pars sceleris mei
Olim peracta est.

malice which have set the moods of the play in turn, building up an atmosphere of tension before a storm which has been brewing since Adam and Eve were last together.

Adam turns, ignorant of the change that has taken place in his wife since he left her, to look for the other half of a partnership so recently blessed.

Nu keere ick weder naer mijn bruit, mijn halve ziel(1220). They parted, as Adam thought, in perfect mutual harmony. When they meet again they will be mutually incompatible. At this moment the forces of Heaven and Hell clash, so near to the Tree of Life, so soon after the wedding banquet.

Eve's first words to Adam are full of mistrust. Adam is thrown rudely from his quiet prayer into deep alarm. As if Adam's innocence taunts her, Eve is not only utterly devoid of penitence, but is even arrogant about what she has done. Adam is repelled and horrified, and yet, as if emphasizing the spiritual distance now separating them, they still use their wonted endearment(1). Eve's commendation of what seems to her the main attribute of the fruit, its appearance, is dismissed by a curt rebuff from Adam. Offended by his disgust, she becomes haughty. There is little warmth or intimacy in her "nu bruigom, zijt gerust"(2). She calls Adam's scruples superstition, and when he only reacts with incredulity that she could have said anything so base, she is roused to indignation and defiance. There is no pretence of affection in her peremptory manner: "niet hooger - ontvang - tast dien appel aen - geloof en volgh - en proef - zee oordeel"(3). Finally Eve tries Belial's argument that the command is unreasonable, and this achieves no more success than her previous temptations.

(1) mijn liefste (1.1225), mijn lief (1228), mijn bruidegom, mijn troost (1232), lief (1237).

(2) 1.1242.

(3) 11.1248-51 passim.

Automatically it seems, Eve repeated to Adam the temptation which had been used so successfully against her. Understandably it failed, since Adam and Eve were so different(1), and Eve is left to her own devices. Intuitively she uses the powers of her womanhood to appeal to Adam, and in this she did better than she knew, for Adam who had no baseness in his nature, was unaffected by all but positive values. Now he is confronted by a dilemma of Eve's making - the two conflicting positive values of obedience to God and duty to his God-given wife.

"Eva", Verhagen says, "is een superieure analyse geworden van de vrouwelijke natuur"(2). In the first^{half} of the play she is a girl, whose life becomes more and more centred on the man, forming her personality in his image. As their intimacy increases, her femininity is roused with all the power of its appeal to man, energised by her natural instinct for procreation. Belial turns this force to evil so that her full sexual powers and instincts are used against Adam in the following scene(3).

Eve tells a lie, pleads with Adam, appeals to him to stand by his marriage vows, challenges him to show manly courage, demands a proof of his love. Adam is clearly aware of the true nature of the conflict, though already the asceticism which obedience to God would demand of him makes God's laws seem a burden(4). Eve perceiving that Adam is weakening, almost scoffs at him(5) to fire his pride, and indeed brings him to a storm of indecision(6). But his will-power re-asserts

(1) See also p. 191 below.

(2) B. Verhagen "Vondels Dramatische Problemen" Vondelkroniek XI, 1940; p. 98f.

(3) "Her wiles, we feel, would mildly disgust the well-bred Adam of the earlier acts, who received the angels as his fitting guests" M. Woodhull l.c. p. 183. Eve's behaviour may seem unrestrained and vulgar to us, but we are not in love with her. (4) 1.1283 (5) In a common manner: "wat sammeltge?"(1.1285). (6) 1.1292

itself.

Mevrou, wat verghtge my! ick laetme niet misleiden
(1302)

Confronted with a resolute decision from Adam, Eve must give him a foretaste of what he will miss if he loses her companionship. She is aggressive, petulant, hard and unkind - all qualities of a thwarted lover. Frenzied by her own fervour and acting as a courtesan rather than a young wife, she abuses him for being an immoral and faithless husband:

dan mooght gy huilen schreien, vloecken,
Maer 'k zwere 't zal u niet gebeuren haer te zien,
Noch Eva awht u waert voortaan den mont te biên (1317)

Artfully she recalls their blissful love of an hour before by referring to the harmonious mating of the animals and by calling herself Adam's bride and young spouse(1). And then with a sarcastic "leef lang" she takes her leave of him. It is difficult to believe that this is the same woman that prayed that very morning

Dat Godt mijn hart in 't uwe smilte (210).

She ignores his attempts to restrain her but taunts him now with a challenge to give proof of his disloyalty by finding himself another woman, or, if he prefers it, to continue his life in solitude.

Adam's noble resistance is now quite broken. His will yields to his heart but not his soul.

O vader, kuntge uw' zoon struikeling vergeven,
Dat ick een' oogenblick mijn wederga behaegh' (1344).

At this moment it is hard to feel that Adam is sinning. He is at most being weak, but even that seems forgivable. When the whole day now drawing to a close has been dedicated to thoughts of the holy ties of marriage which are now so severely

(1) 1.1324

put to the test, Adam's adherence to the marriage bond seems itself to be praiseworthy evidence of his sincerity during the solemn events of the afternoon.

As soon as Adam has taken the fruit Eve's fear of losing him is gone, and the spiritual distance between them vanishes. She speaks to him intimately again, really concerned for his well-being(1).

The angel-chorus is so appalled by the utter reversal of the situation, that they are momentarily at a loss to account for it. They are bitterly disappointed. God, who is almighty, seems to have lacked vigilance. But they who have never experienced it, cannot know the absolute power of free will. They are dazed and spiritually crushed by the shock.

O feest van weinige uren!

De hemel zelf gevoelt dien krack (1364).

But as the first reaction passes, they remember a similar rebellion against God before Adam's and Eve's. The mortals had this as an example of the potential dangers of free will, and this gives the angels their first ray of hope, since God is still omnipotent and can redeem the mortals if he will.

There follows an important dissertation on knowledge, which, though extraneous to the action of the play, is relevant to it, and comes inoffensively from the chorus, whose dramatic role is to moralize and pass judgement on events in the play.

Though Adam had not sinned himself to attain knowledge, he had acted to pacify and unite himself to one who, as he knew, had acquired knowledge sinfully, and he, by tasting evil, had equally well discovered that knowledge. The angels explain the thirst for understanding to be good in itself, but righteous understanding can only be obtained in

(1) 11.1353-5.

accordance with God's ordinance, that is, by learning to find God, knowledge and truth in the revelation of Himself in His Creation(1). Any knowledge acquired outside God's ordinance is sinful(2).

The last act opens with a line from Lucifer introducing the moods of the scene:

Zoo vang de rouklacht aen.

The angels have set the minor key in their chorus appropriate to this mood, but their dirge theme shall be turned into his song of exultation:

geen zang heeft zulcken aert (1412).

As the bitter grief of Tchaikowsky's Adagio Mosso dies away in aching sobs, the raucous stridence of his Allegro bursts into the silence(3), The despair of

wat baet een englewacht (1356)

is turned into the jubilation of

Hoe wacker heeft dus wacht zijn hofwacht nu bewaert(1413)

Silent now are the

kornet en hofschalmey,
Harpen, fluiten, luiten, velen
En de bevende orgelkeelen (84)

of the wedding dance. The fiend's victory celebration shall be

(1)"Want in den rondēn spiegelkloot

Der Godtheit leght de weerelt bloot! (1390)

The crystal ball is a feature of Renaissance painting as a symbol of Truth, vis. Vermeer's "Het Geloof" and Th. Boeyermans "Visioen van de H. Maria Magdalena de Pazzi" (B. Knipping l.c. Vol. I p. 135) where God holds a crystal globe; cf. "Bespiegelingen" II ll. 1077-80:-

De Wijsheit is in Godt een kennis, die het al
Wat was van eeuwigheit, en is, en worden zal,
Door d'allerhooghste en eerste oirzaecken, in haer klaer-
heit

Bespiegelt in Godt zēlf, den spiegelkloot der waerheit.
Also, Cor. I, 13 v. 12 "For now we see through a glass darkly;
but then face to face: now I know in part; but then I shall
know even as I am known".

accompanied by 'de schorre nachtklaroen'(4). Lucifer's praise and coronation of Asmodeus is like a distorted echo of the salutation and crowning of Adam and Eve in the third act(5).

Asmodeus describes the scene in Eden in long wailing lines:

Zij drópen achter af, van schaemte en schrick gepraemt
En sloópen in een hól, mistroóstigh en beschaemt (1429).

Their fine robes of Original Righteousness lie bloody and tattered in the mud, symbols of a disrupted order, impending death and the destruction of an aftermath. Adam's frenzied reaction is naturally a spectacle which the gloating Asmodeus enjoys relating. But his report detracts from the tension of the enacted scene later and, what is worse, Asmodeus repeats Adam's own words(6).

The total effect of the fall is vividly caught in Lucifer's cry of victory:

Natuur leght onder, plat getreden, en geschent.(1466)

We think of the muddy tatters of the mortals' God-given robes, and of the angels' warning:

(2) The second antistrophe may conceal a reference to the free thought of the Reformers breaking away from the guidance of the Mother Church. As in "Jeptha" I do not think anything can be gained by seeking such a topical interpretation of Vondel's later plays(See p.220 below). Similarly I prefer not to impute to l.342 any reference to the tendency of the Reformers to replace quiet contemplation by analytical perorations.

(3) Pathétique Symphony, 1st movement.

(4) l.1416. Adam says (ll.1506,7):

De hemelsche bazuin houdt op het feest te groeten.

De hellsche horen houdt nu aen met vreeslijck toeten.

(5) Compare also l.833 with l.1425.

(6) This is certainly a weakness due to Vondel's Senecan schooling, and it is conspicuous if only because it is the only serious dramatic weakness in the play. Lucifer himself seems to reprove Vondel in ll.1478-80!

Verloor de mensch dees gaef, dit lot,
En most hy by zijn kracht volharden,
Natuur kon hem niet houden staen.
Men zagh het bruiloftskleet aen flarden,
En al die schoonheit gansch vergaen (516).

The perfect structure of created Order has collapsed. Lucifer now tramples righteousness and beauty underfoot. No dramatic illusion is necessary to draw the audience into the drama. Lucifer addresses every man in the universal auditorium in words which, as we have to recognize, are far from empty boasting:

Al 't menschelijk geslacht is mijn en errefeigen (1466)

- - -

De wil helt over van 't geboden goet tot quaet (1468)

This recalls a vision of an earlier existence in which

De mensch uit lijf en ziel bestaende,
Twee deelen, ongelijk van aert,
Gevoelt geen strjdt, geen overslaende
Gewicht: want elck van bey bewaert
Den evenaer, d'een wil als d'ander (509)

We are all fully involved in this drama; we all experience the imperfections of Man and nature since the Fall, and Vondel's artistry in "Adam in Ballingschap" is manifest in his ability to create a picture of the existence before the Fall apprehensible to us in terms of our own lives, because the various aspects of that existence are in contrast to or agreement with all that is worst and best in each of us.

Much more moving than the spectacle of Adam reeling about almost demented is his relentless mental torment transmitted to us in fluctuating exclamatory bursts like the irregular spasms of pain afflicting him(1). More vivid too is the picture he conveys of his fearful hallucinations(2). All externals have vanished,

d'engelen, de blijde feestgenoden,

(1) 11.1490-1507.
(2) 11.1509-1513, 1540-1.

De wachten van den hof...

Nu zwijgt de bruiloftsgalm. de voglezang zit stom.

Geen reien juichen meer voor bruit en bruidegom(1505)

Nothing exists for Adam but what he sees and hears from within, the effects of his compunction - a haunting accusation from the depths of his conscience. He is recalled from his soliloquy by the thought of the cause of his anguish, Eve, who stands near, not aware of any sense of guilt herself, and puzzled by Adam's wild raving. Adam by contrast with Eve, seems noble still. Eve's hardness of heart

Het voecht den man zijn vrou godtvruchtigh voor te treden (1522)

kills our sympathy. Adam's admission that he was unable to withstand Eve's entreaties(1) wins it.

Eve, who had been able to sense absolute good through Adam cannot now share his sense of guilt. Sin has destroyed their perfect understanding of one another. To Eve there is real sincerity in her comforting words:

Schep moedt: ick bljve uw troost, in 't nijpen van den rouwe

Gelijck voorheene, in weelde en 't opperste geluck,
En zal u nimmermeer bezwijcken in den druck (1533).

But she is unaware of the irreparable change within her or she could not speak of 'gelijck voorheene'. Adam's misery is only increased by his realisation of this spiritual gulf between them:

Het is vergeefs getroost, dees schade al t'onherhaelbaer(1534).

He withdraws again into a renewed fit of remorse when he sees nothing but the figure of death glowering at him, offering him release from his torment. His mind clears a little and he considers what manner of death he shall choose. Instinctively he favours suicide by falling, either from a

(1) 1.1529.

high mountain or into the river(1), for this form of punishment would fit the crime: "ick...streefde...boven 't menschelÿcke eens vastgestelde peil: zoo most ick billÿck in 's doots afgrond nederstorten"(2). At the same time Belial's prophecy, "dan zal 't vernederen kort volgen op 't verheffen"(3) would attain complete fulfilment in all its meanings.

Eve is still unable to feel Adam's compunction. She pleads with him not to leave her, as she had earlier entreated him to join her in sin, by recalling their union in Creation and marriage. The mention of the close kinship between them reminds Adam that it was not his enemy but a part of his own self which caused his downfall.

Gy zÿt de looze slang, die my den dootsteeck gaeft
(1572)

Nevertheless, though Eve is still spiritually separated from Adam in as much as she glibly admits her guilt without feeling any deep effects from it(4), she cannot be physically separated from him. If he will die, so will she. Hand in hand they will go to the same death, for, as she says:

ick troude deze hant (1588)

Once again Eve is able to sway Adam by her feminine appeal. Adam's motives have till now seemed noble: when he first took the course he did, ^{he paid} the price of his folly, but his revulsion

(1) ll.1556,7. Adam's hatred of his life and his intention to end it violently is in accordance with classical drama. Moreover Theseus (in Seneca's "Hippolytus") and Hercules (in Euripides' "Madness of Hercules") threatened to cast themselves down from a cliff. Du Bartas' Adam swears by a similar death that he will not break God's commandment ("Eden", ll.423-426):

J'iroy pour t'obeÿr, me briser, impiteux,
Dessus le dos bossu d'un rocher raboteux.
Je jetteroy pour toy d'une monteuse cime
Mon corps dedans les flots d'un tournoyant abysme.

(2) ll.1562-66.

(3) l.742.

(4) ll.1579-80.

and horror, which seemed to purge him of blame, also concealed the deeper effects in him of the deed itself. Now, when he compromises again, this time fully cognizant of what he is doing(1), we are confronted by a lesser, degenerate Adam, transformed by the sin that is now in him(2). And yet he is not stripped of all his former nobility. When Adam took the apple from Eve, he was doing the wrong thing from seemingly noble motives. In his violent remorse he was noble and once again his wrong decision to take his own life seemed justified by high motives. Yet when he refrains from doing this evil from the wrong motives, he must still struggle with his compunction. For him the issue does not fall between acknowledging his guilt and leaving Eve on the one hand, and on the other, being able to reconcile himself to Eve because no sense of shame remains. He compromises now, as he had compromised before, by effacing himself for Eve's benefit. The spark of righteous indignation dies now as it had once before died(3) but here, as before, Adam's act is unselfish. The whole of his reconciliation with Eve(4) sets her interests first(5); for her love, that she may not be left a widow, Adam will hold his dejection in check,

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- (1) There is no mention in Adam's reconciliation (11.1589-1601) of Eve's proposal that they should die together, nor does Adam repudiate suicide on moral grounds. His only reasons for choosing to live are his love for her (1.1590) and her favour and countenance (1.1594).
- (2) "There is a loss of dignity, one may feel, in the prolonged quarrel and...the harshness of their utterances to one another. There is in this family quarrel a suggestion of the early comedy"(M.Woodhull, l.c. p.183). Exactly. They have both lost the dignity of Divinely blessed beings. Could this be called comic?
- (3) 11.1341-9. (4) 11.1589-1601.
- (5) So Adam has degenerated from God-centred to Eve-centred unselfishness.

en al stil

Verwachten 't uiterste, en wat hierop volgen wil(1601)

And in these lines we hear how the flame of his passion and the spark of righteous indignation has died down. Instead of taking God's judgement upon himself, instead of thrusting himself forth into banishment, he has intuitively realised that it is now too late to cut himself off from his wife. When the sin was in her alone, he could have saved himself by leaving her, but now that they share the sin, they must share the judgement.

The storm of righteous indignation does not however remain long abated and the disturbances which prelude Uriel's arrival are no fiction of the imagination. Even Eve sees and feels that something is wrong, for the sudden storm is a sign of the wrath of God Himself. Adam who did not care for life while he suffered the afflictions of his conscience, loves his life when his sin of carnal affection offers him something to live for; and so in terror he hides from the voice - this time from without.

The judgement by Uriel follows closely the Genesis story. Adam, who has a moment before told Eve:

Och liefste, 't is mijn schult... (1589)

now says to Uriel: "Het is mijn schult niet... uit de vrouwe is mijn bederf geboren"(1). Eve blames the snake, God's creature, for placing the apple in her mouth(2). When Uriel departs after passing judgement on the serpent and the mortals, the elements are again disturbed. Adam explains:

de geest die ons verscheen,
Schijnt geen Uriël, maer Godt zelf(3) (1694)

(1) 11.1646 and 1650 passim.

(2) 11.1653,4.

(3) By which artifice Vondel neatly overcomes the difficulty presented by the Genesis account to a dramatic version.

It is fortunate for the dramatic construction of "Adam in Ballingschap" that the theme of the Redemption, central to Vondel's faith and drama, had already been announced in "Lucifer". In that play the scene was set in Heaven and the prophecy of the Incarnation was necessary in order to re-affirm God's omnipotence and to account for the survival of Heaven even after Satan's victory over Man. In "Adam in Ballingschap" the human tragedy is the central one. The hope of the Incarnation may be implicit in this play(1), but Man's condition has changed; nothing can alter that, for he has been defeated(2). The essentially dramatic quality of the Fall is inherent in the original account of it(3). The tragedy of the story is Man's loss of his Innocence, and this is symbolized by his loss of his own realm of perfection. Vondel's genius as a dramatic artist is apparent in the fact, that the moment of the greatest tragic perception is right at the end of the play, as if the rises and falls in the tension had been leading up to this most tragic moment of all, when the last player has left the stage. This is the antithesis which crowns all antitheses in the play. The emptiness of the garden is the fit summation of the whole tragedy because it is the silent antithesis of all the love, joy and peace with which Man had been blessed in that place. No exit could ever have a greater pregnancy of meaning for Mankind than this.

The greatest merit of "Adam in Ballingschap" is its flawless structure. While it is true that the classical form to which Renaissance dramatists so conscientiously adhered, was pre-eminently suited to the content of the play(4),

(1) In 11.1377-82, 1660-3.

(2) Whereas of course the occupants of the stage at the end of "Lucifer" were the victors. In "Noah", (where the final Chorus prays: "Verlosser, lang beloofst, verschijn, als een

Vondel has availed himself of the formal rules of the Greek drama to achieve a close-knit, balanced structure in which every detail is placed so as to enhance the single effect of disaster due to the irrevocable loss by Man of his perfectly ordained status in the world. Effect is what is required, not action. The action would be meaningless without the carefully created moods and setting in which it takes place(5).

Yet as we have seen, this play in itself a harmonious and complete entity, is really only a weaver's vignette of human life, one section complete in itself of a repeating pattern, yet meaningless if it be removed entirely from the whole eternal design in which it belongs. It has no sharply defined beginning, for it picks up the threads already on the loom of destiny, and when this epitome of the whole tapestry is complete, the threads merge into the future pattern. This dynamic, indeterminate aspect of the art of the seventeenth century is a quality of the baroque rather than the renaissance art with its self-sufficient set-pieces. In drama the movement extends beyond the fourth act to the fifth and beyond that into eternity. Vondel exhibits this baroque feature most clearly in "Lucifer" where the tension of the climax of the battle-scene is extended to the last act by the announce-

verstercker") the situation is again different. Here, dramatically, none of the tragic force is lost by this reference to the Redemption, for "de ondergang der eerste wereld" is an accomplished fact, Noah is saved from destruction and all Achiman's worldly might is brought low. Theologically the reference is important, since Divine justice shows mercy as well as wrath, and as Noah's survival of the Flood was a sign of God's favour to one man, so Christ's victory over death would be the realisation of God's favour to all men.

(3) See pp.17-18 above.

(4) See pp.18-25 above.

(5) See Van Lennep's introduction in his edition of Vondel's Works Vol.X p.453.

ment of Lucifer's victory over Man, and still the thread of perpetual conflict runs on beyond the final chorus's prophecy of a future victory over Satan. But as early as "Joseph in Dothan" there is clear evidence of Vondel's awareness of the eternal repetition of his theme, for instead of rounding the tragedy off with an epilogue, Vondel extends the tragedy to a new climax of evil (this time deceit instead of jealousy) when the brothers rend and blood Joseph's coat, and Ruben's horror and misery carries the tragedy into the future when Isaac will hear of his son's death.

The accumulation of moments of greater and greater pathos Haerten calls das Treppenhaus of Vondel's drama(1). "Nicht der Fall Adams genügt im "Adam in Verbanmung"; das ganze Paradies unser in Flammen stehen". Haerten writes(2): "Und der Brand des Paradieses bringt erst die letzte Steigerung, die volle Entladung der Kraft". Haerten fails, both in "Lucifer" and in this play, to appreciate the force of the last and greatest emotional peak of all - the moment outside the actual drama in which the whole impact of the tragedy is transmitted by its last scene into our own life experiences.

(1) H. Haerten "Vondel und der deutsche Barock" p.78. He mentions (p.79) the technical difficulties which this presents to the performance of Vondel's greatest plays: "Solche Gewichtsverschiebung zum Ende hin birgt die Gefahr für den Schauspieler, der Vondel darzustellen hat. Von ihr aus erklären sich viele der von den Proben zu Vondel-Aufführungen bekannten Schwierigkeiten. Der an die Darstellung des klassischen deutschen Dramas gewöhnte Schauspieler hat keine Mittel für die Forderungen des Barockdramas...Die Auffahrt zum Vondeldrama erfordert schon solches Pathos, dass dem Darsteller meist schon nach der ersten Szene die Möglichkeit zu weiterer Steigerung fehlte".

(2) id. p.79.

Tragedy is possible in undefined space but not in timelessness, since the tragic element depends on a progression to calamity in thought and action(1). The setting in Eden must not be too clearly defined since the more nearly it equates to any familiar environment the less noticeable will be the contrast between existence before and after the Fall.

The archangels and angel-chorus are essential to the creation of the effect of supernatural perfection. Vondel's "Choruses rise up to hymns, his scenes to processions. It is no wonder that in...Adam...he introduces angels since he feels within his soul the atmosphere of paradise"(2).

The inclusion within the compass of one day of both wedding celebrations and the Fall not only emphasizes the peripety but associates thoughts and events with the passage of the sun, so that the ever-changing light gives a dynamic inevitability to the development of the tragedy.

Without a true balance between super-nature and sub-nature the tension, prior to the clash of the two extremes in Man, would be diminished. The tragedy of Man's Fall would be diluted by the feeling that he suffered an initial handicap. This balance is inherent in the content of the play and is also shown in the structure. The first act is Lucifer's, the second is the archangels', the third is Lucifer's but the important chorus redresses the balance, the fourth is Man's and the last act is Lucifer's and God's. The angelic and animal characteristics in the individual are represented by

(1) M.Scheler "Vom Umsturz der Werte" p.244.

(2) G.Brom "Vondels Geloof" p.436. Worp's criticism (in "De Invloed van Seneca's Treurspelen op ons Toneel", p.232) that Vondel understood no more than Seneca the close relationship of the Chorus to the action in Greek drama, is as invalid for "Adam in Ballingschap" as it is for most of his later plays.

Adam and Eve(1), the three archangels are matched by Lucifer, Asmodeus and Belial(2) and the angel-guards by the Luciferans(3).

In one comparatively small detail Vondel's artistic genius and his scrupulous fidelity to the scriptures are at variance. To Vondel the fundamental difference between Man's temptation and the angels' is that Man is vulnerable to carnal desires and the angels are not. Clearly the lower animal part of Man's nature needs the discipline of the mind and will (belonging to his higher nature) most, and the lower part would be attacked first by the devil. Both Adam and Eve fall to carnal temptation: Eve to sensual curiosity, Adam to carnal love. "The gradual development of (the) temptation directed by Belial is : Eve, Mother of all living beings; her power over her husband; her dominion over all animals; she is worthy of being a true Goddess(4). From this, Verschaeve concludes that Eve's sin is presumption, though I feel that it is a primal urge which governs her actions. She does not want power or knowledge but excitement. Her ambition is to be the centre of attraction, rather than mistress of the world. Asmodeus predicts that a 'dertle snoeplust'(5) will be the cause of her transgression, and Adam confirms this after the event:

(1) This is explained fully in the last part of this chapter.

(2) I do not share Van Lennep's doubts about the inclusion of Belial since he plays no part in the dialogue at the Infernal Counsel (Vondel's Works, Ed. Van Lennep, Vol. X, pp. 453, 4). For that matter Michael also plays no part in the dialogue in Act II. Also, as Gabriel, Raphael and Michael show three different types of virtue (more clearly defined in "Lucifer" than here), so the three fallen angels exemplify three kinds of evil: vengeance, ill-will and guile.

(3) Mentioned only once, in l. 677.

(4) C. Verschaeve l.c. p. 201.

(5) l. 648.

Een vuile snoeplust was de pijl die Eva grierfde (1446)
and Eve states the case still more clearly:

De zwacke vrouwekunne is van een lust verrast (1525)
And yet Eve commends the fruit to Adam for the divine power
which it offers(1).

Adam prays God's indulgence for his weakness

Dat ick een oogenblick mijn wederga behaegh (1344)
He cries out in his remorse

dit komt van vrouweliefde (1447)

— — —
De vrouweliefde komt my al te dier te staen (1449)
And yet he goes on

Ick won de vlag, in top gezet, uit trots niet strijcken,
En Gode in wijsheit en in wetenschap gelijcken
De Hovaerdy heeft my bedorven en bekoort (1452)

What was their sin - lust or presumption? Whatever
Adam(2) or Eve, or the angels(3) may say, neither Eve nor
Adam were really ambitious or presumptuous. They were perfect-
ly happy as they were, why should they want power? It was
much more natural to their condition that they should want
pleasure, that their carnal desires, stimulated by the delights
of the garden and the excitements of the day's events, should
break away from the only restriction they knew, the control of
mind over body.

But Genesis recounts that Adam and Eve ate of the Tree of
Knowledge, implying that their sin was of the spirit rather
than of the flesh, and Vondel it seems, felt he had to concur
with this.

(1) 11.1275,6.

(2) He repeats his confession of presumption in 11.1694-6.

(3) In the chorus to Act IV.

"Adam in Ballingschap"

Part ii. The Theological Level.(1)

Vondel's misinterpretation of *καθαρός* to mean an edifying corrective of the passions(2) can easily mislead readers into presupposing the intrusion of didactics into his plays. Even if Vondel was consciously aware that his art was edifying (and is this not a quality inherent in the purest aesthetic pleasure?), as a mature artist he would not have attempted to incorporate a didactic purpose into his work, since art and didacticism are mutually incompatible. It is a measure of the greatness of Vondel's art that theology in "Adam in Ballingschap" never protrudes as a science alien to art. We encounter it as if by chance, as we reflect upon the full meaning of the play; it is not thrust upon us, but reveals itself only at a certain level of interpretation.

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- (1) This section considers first the incorporation of Theology in general into "Adam in Ballingschap", and then individual theological questions with special reference to Grotius, as follows: The Cosmos or Order in Creation, the soul and body, the mind or reason, God in Nature, Obedience and Peace, Free Will and Predestination, Redemption.
- (2) J.D.Meerwaldt, "Het persoonlijk element in Vondels Vertaling van de Griekse Tragedi" Tijds.voor Ned.Taal en Letterkunde, 57, p.130.

Obviously all forms of theology are not equally scientific. Natural and dogmatic theology tend to be discursive while the positive and speculative forms are more intuitive. Similarly, what may be called the historical (derived from the Bible, Canonical Books and Pagan literature) doctrinal, moral and intuitive aspects of Vondel's theology will be more or less immediately apparent according as they are explicit or implicit in the material and structure. The historical is mainly implicit in the structure and dramatis personae, the doctrinal is most clearly apparent in the reasoning of the choruses, but is also evident in Satan's prologue and parts of the dialogue, the moral likewise is explicit in the choruses but is also implicit elsewhere(1), and the intuitive is latent in many of the lyrical passages.

Thomas Aquinas like Augustine and Plato, believed in the innate necessity and order of Creation: that God commanded the Creation meant that it was good, and not, as Scotius would have it, that God commanded this thing because it was good(2). Grotius and Vondel follow Aquinas

Vult bonum, causa est boni(3)

Al wat Godt behaecht, is wel(4)

The ugly converse of this is heralded by Lucifer's jubilant cry: "Natuur légt onder, plat getreden, en geschent. De wil helt over van 't geboden goet tot quaet"(5).

This disrupted cosmos is familiar enough and is demonstrable in any drama, contemporary or historical. The story of the Fall alone provides a Paradise scene in which God's unspoiled handiwork can be shown, and this is all-

(1) e.g. Act V sc.ii.

(2) H.Fortuin "De Natuurrechtelijke grondslagen van de Groot's Volkenrecht" Ch.IV pp.93,4.

(3) "Adamus Exul" l.392.

(4) "Lucifer" Act I l.347.

(5) "Adam in Ballingschap" ll.1465, 1468.

important to the theologian concerned not only with the cause of sin but also its effect. Lest we imagine that the effect is as obvious as such phenomena as loss of faith, heathen idolatry, and sects and disunity within the church(1), Lucifer also prophesies the more insidious travesty against Divine Order due to the perplexity and miscomprehension of Man, who preferred the fruit of Knowledge to the clear understanding of God's nature in His Creation:

ick schuif nu ghimpelijck en valsch,
Ben oersprongh van het quaet van my op 's vyants hals"
(2).

Throughout all ages the cry has gone up "How can there be a God...? No God who is good could allow..." And the whole of "Adam in Ballingschap" is Vondel's answer: that we must not impute to God the evil which is Satan's, for here in Paradise is what Man has deliberately spoiled. Belial asks:

"Hoe nu? is al 't geschapen
Niet even goet, en schiep de Schepper eenigh quaet?"

And Asmode, knowing God, knows the answer:

"Geenszins: natuur is goet: in 't overtreên bestaet
De quaetheit."(3)

The great theological significance of the story of the Fall is that it presents an a priori account of what in fact can only be assumed by induction; it reconstructs a picture of the original order of creation from the disorders of a imperfect world. Vondel and Grotius, with similar visions of this perfect world, strove, the one in belles lettres and the other mainly in theses, to contrast nature as it was known to Man with nature as it was created, in order that Man might by virtuous living restore something of the original cosmos out of present chaos. There is then a fundamental difference between the theologian's Paradise and the reformer's Utopia. Grotius' and Vondel's plays are affirmations of their faith

(1) 11.1466-7, 1469-1472. (2) 1.1473. (3) 11.714-717.

that perfect Order exists and always has existed, no matter how much Man may try to undo it. The Utopian idealist may acknowledge such a present good, but his aim is to visualize what could be rescued from actual chaos. Ultimately the a posteriori and a priori viewpoints will merge in recreating the world as it should be, but the former is progressive from a fixed point and the latter is timeless-dynamic. Because to Vondel and Grotius God's Kingdom on earth was timeless it was equally in all time and could be visualized in terms of their own age, and this was indeed a natural process to men whose faith and environmental experience were co-terminate.

For this reason Vondel's topical metaphors, such as those derived from feudalism(1), far from being offensive anachronisms, are rather evidence of his sense of an immutable goodness in the world. Grotius was not able to incorporate into "Adamus Exul" this sense which he certainly shared with Vondel, and so we are aware of anachronisms, which separate Eden from us, both by time and by distance. He himself later considered his "Adamus Exul" of little worth, perhaps because it failed to correlate Paradise and Original Sin with God's goodness and the sin which Grotius perceived within himself.

The peace and concord of the Creation depended primarily on the preservation of the cosmos, and the discipline of each individual creature in its hierarchy. At the lowest end of the hierarchy is the plant life which pays homage to Man

al 't geboonte neight en buckt
Eerbiedigh neder, waerze aendachtigh heenetreden (117)

Next come

de dieren,

(1) And such typically Dutch imagery as "de poort en draeiboom" of heaven mentioned in line 97.

Die, 't Hooft omlaegh, het gras betreên
Of d'oogen slaen naer 's hemels vieren (287)

and above them is set Man(1), who summons the beasts and gives them their names(2). Man is the lord of the world and owes allegiance to God alone.

Tibi benignus reliqua, te fecit sibi(3)

All things on earth are granted to Man in fief from his liege-lord God(4), yet Adam was more than a tenant "van Godt, den eigenaer der dingen"(5), he was also "stedehouder van het opperste gezagh op aerde"(6). Man, whom God made to have dominion of the works of His Hand, was yet a little lower than the angels(7), not that Man should worship the angels, for he too would be crowned with honour and glory(7), and he would inherit the Kingdom of Heaven(8), but he was lower in the hierarchical order because, though created in God's image(9), he still had something in common with terrestrial nature(10), whereas the angels were "lichaemloze hemelingen, / die"- and this suggests the favour which Man enjoyed from God - "hij tot 's menschdoms dienst beriep / in 't paradÿjs"(11). The courteousness of the encounter between Adam and the angels in Eden arises from the mutual awareness between the human and heavenly beings of God's glory in one another. Adam acknowledges the honour which the angels are showing him by their visit, for however much God's presence may be felt in Eden, the earthly paradise, though named after the

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- (1) Hy heft, terwyl de stomme en redenlooze dieren
Naer hunnen voeten zien, alleen en trots het hooft
Ten hemel op naer Godt, zyn Schepper, hoogh gelooft.
("Lucifer", 11.114-6).
- (2) 11.397-8. (3) "Ad.Exul" 1.358.
(4) 11.100-103, 435, 1375. (5) 1.289.
(6) 11.432,3.
(7) Ps. VIII vv.5,6; Vondel's Preface and 1.85.
(8) 1.290. (9) 11.566, 1295.
(10) 11.161,2. (11) 11.291-3.

heavenly(1) can only faintly resemble it(2).

Man's position in the Cosmos is established at the head of the earthly realm, the tenancy of which is granted him until he shall enter his heritage in the heavenly Kingdom. The same structure appears in human relationships. The Church, State and family obey the orders of their overlords, who hold their authority in trust from God. Human parents are entrusted with the charge of their children by the Creator, to whom they belong. In obeying a righteous father, the children are obedient to God(3). The wife likewise, though her husband's equal(4), looks to him for guidance and worships God in him(5):

Wat u, mijn lief, alleen vermaeckt,
En anders niet, zal my behaegen,
Van dat het eerst begint te daegen,
Tot dat de zon haer daghvaert staekt.
Gevolghzaemheit, bescheit, en stilte,
Een vrolijk hart, een blijde geest
Voeght d'eerste bruit, op It eerste feest
Dat Godt mijn hart in It uwe smilte.

The husband must assume his responsibilities as head of the family, but, like God, seeking what is best only through love, not by asserting his will. So Adam instinctively takes charge:

Ick wil u voorgaen met gezangen!
Gij mooght me volgen, rijk van lof (132)

but then turns to ask the advice of his wife as his equal:

Maer nu mijn liefste, van wat stof,
Van waer den zangk best aengevangen? (134)

The natural order throughout the whole creation, in the inanimate universe(6), in plant and animal life(7) and among men and angels(8), can only be disrupted by these creatures who alone can worship God, have the ability to commune with Him(9) and love Him, for only they have the free will without

(1) 11.303,4.

(3) See further pp. 220,4 below

(5) See also 11.643, 901-913.

(7) 11.275-289, 765-7.

(2) 11.419-422.

(4) 1.438.

(6) 11.229-273, 879-888.

(8) 11.291,2, 348-351, 371,2,
403.

which love would be impossible. The rebellious angels had brought temporary disorder into the peace of the heavenly realm, but they have been banished to the gloomy chaos of Hell, and order and concord reign once again in Heaven. But the natural, order in the world depends on Man who is its overlord, and he is entirely free to obey the laws of Creation or rebel against them. The issues at stake are even greater than they had been for the angels, who, having no part of the Cosmos entrusted to them, could not permanently disrupt the Order by disobedience. Lucifer himself is the first to appreciate the full significance of Man's God-given power on earth as a potential weapon against God Himself.

Ick...wensche hem, wien niets kan in zijn wezen deeren,
In zijn geschapenheên te schenden en schoffeeren.
Zoo wordt het helsche rijk van Lucifer gebout,
Dat eeuwich duuren zal. (31)

This is no proud boast. If but one member of the delicately harmonized order breaks the law maintaining the status quo, the whole structure will disintegrate into indeterminate chaos(10). The angels and Man himself are aware of this, and refer to the interaction of the forces within the orderly structure as being as sensitively balanced as a pair of scales(11) and as precisely attuned as the vocal chords and a taut harp-string(12). These images are suggestive of the tension ever present, though not always evident, in Eden. The fulcrum of Man's destiny is his free will, by which he can remain obedient to God's laws, or withdraw his allegiance to God and Heaven in favour of himself and things

(9) 11.51029, 1213-14.

(10) Lucifer himself identifies the Fall of Man with the distortion, if not the collapse of the cosmic structure:
Zoo neemt mijn wraeckzucht al de weerelt op haer tanden,
En ruckt dit groot heelal uit zijnen winckelhaeck(11.34, 5

(11) 11.505-511.

(12) 11.519-526.

earthly. The extremes of life in the macrocosmos, evident in angels and animals, are expressed in the nature of Man, the microcosmos, in terms of soul and body:

Engelscheit en dierscheit mengen
In den mensch zich ondereen (534)

De mensch, uit lijf en ziel bestaende,
Twee deelen, ongelijck van aert
Gevoelt geen strjdt (507)

since d'Alwijze wist twee ongelijcken,
De ziel en 't lichaem door een' bant
Te binden met zijn stercke hant (165).

Here then is the crucial link binding the natural order to the supernatural, whereby Man is God's viceroy on earth as well as his tenant. This bond between God and Man is the mystery of God's grace(1) symbolized in the "gewaeden van hemelsche Erfrechtvaerdigheid"(2).

Verloor de mensch dees gaef, dit lot,
En most hy by zijn kracht volharden,
Natuur kon hem niet houden staen (514)

Without this bond, Man must fall, and the whole balanced structure of the cosmos will collapse about him; this is the theme which re-echoes throughout the scenes which follow, almost forgotten in the glorious ecstasy of the nuptial dance, until it suddenly returns, dreadfully threatening, in the utter abandon which the ecstasy has wrought:

De goddelycke galm van 't heiligh bruiloftsliet
Ontknoopt den bant, die ziel en lichaem hiel
geboden (936).

If only this bond between Man and God, epitomized in the law of all laws of Creation, God's command to Adam and Eve, could be broken "wat zou het paradijs een keel naer 's hemels

(1) called by Vondel "handvest", 11.535-540.

(2) 11.479-485.

boogh/ opsteecken! Welck een damp al 's hemels glans bezwalken", Belial had said(1), and Act IV of Vondel's "Faëton"(2) gives a symbolic representation of the chaos which must result if the Created Order is disrupted.

So in order that Man may maintain his ordained place in Creation, he must understand the mystical harmony between his own body and soul. Vondel and Grotius followed the Aristotelian differentiation between the anima vegetativa (with the power of creating and multiplying), the anima sensitiva, affected by desires or emotions, and the anima rationalis, the mind(3). All aspects of the anima Vondel calls 'de ziel', part of which is the mind or reason (reden)(4) which controls the senses(zinnen) by means of the will. Vondel makes a clear distinction between the soul and the body; and the balance between the sensual desires of the body and the spiritual force of the soul is only broken when the anima rationalis fails to assert itself over the anima sensitiva, which is then overcome by 'snoeplust' or concupiscence, an entirely physical desire(5). The sensual

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- (1) 11.820-1. The heavenly chorus later confirms this prophecy "De hemel zelf gevoelt dien krack" etc. (11.1364-8).
- (2) From which, in my opinion, Belial's images are borrowed; cf.:
nu steigeren de klachten
Van onder door de lucht naer onzen hoogen stoel (Juno, 11.1192,3) and Jupiter says of the earth:
uit haer keele een droogen mont
Vliegt gloeiende damp, en pest, en heet wassem(11.1242,3)
See further pp.232ff. Gerard Brom says significantly that Ovid's "Metamorphosis" was to Vondel and the Contra-Reformationists a perfect mirror to the theological truth of the Fall ("Vondel's Geloof", p.312).
- (3) See A.H.Haentjens "Hugo de Groot als Godsdienstig Denker", p.75.
- (4) 11.155-8.
- (5) This is covertly expressed in 11.716-9.

enjoyment of things created is however right and good in itself:

De vrucht van 's levens boom is maghtigh ons te voeden
Met alle leckerny, die lijf en ziel vernoecht(466)(1).

Only when the senses break through the control of the dispassionate mind will the harmonious integration of body and soul be destroyed, and therewith the whole structure of perfect order(2). For this reason Belial must convince Eve that the commandment against eating the fruit is against all right and reason(3). The moment of temptation is unexpectedly auspicious for Belial, since Eve's ecstasy, being emotional, has borne her anima sensitiva above the constraint of her anima rationalis, and though she has since become more tranquil(4), she is still (literally) more sensitive to emotion than reason(5), so that Belial's prophecy, 'Dan zal 't vernederen kort volgen op 't verheffen'(6), was truer than he himself knew.

The Aristotelian doctrine that dianoetic excels ethical virtue was common to Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, who added the amplification that the mind must assert itself over the passions and senses(7). We see then that the highest quality in Man is his reason, and the essence of the Fall is not the loss of the good things of nature but the loss, through Man's

(1) cf. ll. 1137, 8: Geen spijs noch dranck besmetten 't lijf,
En minst de ziel.

and Acts X vv. 13-15.

(2) ll. 650-1; 1365-8.

(3) ll. 735, 6; 1112, 3.

(4) 'Zinnen' in l. 944 probably means only 'senses'=mind. If however the 'anima sensitiva' is intended, then the meaning would be: 'Now I come again to full awareness of myself, and recognize again my anima sensitiva', which is tantamount to the same thing.

(5) See p. 188, note (iii) below.

(6) l. 742.

(7) H. Fortuin l.c. p. 93, and A.H. Haentjens l.c. pp. 75, 6.

own choosing, of the mysterious perfect grace of illumination of the human mind(1), which was God's covenant to maintain the whole Order in equilibrium. The peripety of this first human tragedy and the "treurspel aller treurspelen" was more than a reversal of fortunes; it was a reversal of the whole(2) natural order of God - Man - beasts and reason - will - senses, for at the Fall the senses became masters of the will, the will of reason, and Man, created in God's image, sank almost to parity with the beasts(3).

The Augustinian-Thomist doctrine was adopted by Du Bartas, Grotius, Vondel and Milton(4). Grotius believed that the mind was to everyone as natural and inborn as the conscience. The origin of the universal knowledge of God, which was immutable, Grotius called the 'oraculum Dei ipsius' - a general feeling which proclaims God's existence. This awareness of God was the impact of His love on Man(5). Adam(6) experienced the 'oraculum Dei ipsius' as the glorification of his soul with a radiancy shining from God. To Grotius revelation was necessary only for the apprehension of things supernatural, the mind was sufficient to comprehend things natural, and through them, certain things supernatural. The Angel in Grotius' Eden says: "Vis conditorem nosse? Rebus

(1) H. Fortuin l.c. p.98.

(2) This is of course not strictly true. The order as it affected Man was reversed until Grace was restored at the Atonement, but the Redemption alone proves that God's position did not change.

(3) "By sin man had reverted to a level on which grace would not function, and grace was therefore withdrawn. Man became natural and so lost the supernatural." F.P.Harton, "The Elements of the Spiritual Life", p.94.

(4) G.C.Taylor "Some Mediaeval and Renaissance Notions and their sources" in "Milton's use of Du Bartas", p.21.

(5) A.H.Haentjens l.c. p.17.

(6) In "Adam in Ballingschap" ll.153,4.

conditis/ utere magistris; quicquid est index Dei est"(1)
and Vondel's Gabriel: "d'Alzegenaeer stort hier zich zelven
teffens uit,/ en waert in dier, en erts, en steen, en plant,
en kruut"(2), and Eva: "'t Is Godt alwat de hof besluit"(3).
Like Duns Scotus, Grotius and Vondel reasoned from the
cosmologic to the ontologic(4).

Lest this sound like pantheism, Vondel makes it quite
clear that nature, studied theologically, can reveal some-
thing of the mystery of God's nature but cannot contain His
essence(5). Rafaël expresses this metaphorically: the beauty
of Eden defies description for God has visited the garden(6)
and left His footmarks behind when He left,⁽⁷⁾ and Adam
emphasizes the distinction between God in nature and God in
His essence in Heaven with a striking hyperbole addresses to
the Archangels: "Gy moet... 't licht in onze duisternissen/
En 't hemelsch paradijs om 't aerdsche een weinigh missen"(8).
So long as Man 'bewaert zijn streeck' in the Cosmos, God's
special covenant to him of intuitive knowledge will enable
him to apprehend the Divine Will in the harmony of nature.
The atmosphere of the garden and the mood of the humans and
angels in it are full of the realization of the harmonious
activity of earth, water, vegetation, animals, the elements,

(1) "Adamus Exul" ll.413,4.

(2) ll.335,6.

(3) l.189. In Act II "Adam heeft de natuur tot uitgangspunt
gekozen om God te zien", C.Verschaeve "Uren Bewondering
voor Groote Kunstwerken", p.148.

(4) See A.H.Haentjens l.c. p.17.

(5) "Want Godt is plaatseloos alsins in alle dingen
Zoo tegenwoordigh, dat hy alles kan doordringen,
En blijven smetteloos in wezen, endtloos wijdt
Gescheiden van al 't geen bestaat in plaetse en tijt".
("Bespiegelingen van Godt en Godtsdienst" Bk.II, ll.715ff)

(6) ll.147-150.

(7) ll.342-4.

(8) ll.428-30.

the sky and heavenly bodies, one for the other and all for Man, who, with the angels, alone knows that all is for God, who has appointed to each its own realm and function. It is small wonder that Man can learn much about his relationship with God from his own relationship with Creation and the mutual harmony within nature itself(1).

As early as "De Vorstelicke Warande der Dieren", Vondel shows the importance he attaches to the right use of the mind for discovering Divine truths in nature. "Niet alleen vond de zoekende, dat God in de dieren en planten heilzame eigenschappen had gelegd, en dat zelfs vele steenen geheime krachten omsloten, - maar dat ook de gewoonten waarmee de dieren waren behept, en de levenswijze, waarmee ze worden bedeeld, voor den nadenkenden waarnemer een aansporing of een waarschuwing inhielden... Het natuuronderzoek zelf was een verheuging des harten, en maakte, als in een voortdurende openbaring van Gods Wijsheid en Liefde, den band tusschen den mensch en zijn Schepper hoe langer hoe inniger"(2).

The spontaneous discipline of all things to one perfect Order reflects the perfect concord of nature and Man with God, and Man, being in concord with God is near to Him, not only in nature, but in His very essence. "Het hart der godtheit leght hier voor ons beide bloot" Adam says(3), and nothing could express more fully the utter perfection of a world in which this could be said without any restraint nor

(1) cf. "Bespiegelingen" Bk.IV ll.941-966, ending in the lines:

Nu zien we hoe de dienst tot 's hemels eer begon

Zoo heiligh als natuur de weerelt reglen kon.

This subject is treated more fully in the next section on the symbolic level of interpretation.

(2) Re. "De Vorstelicke Warande der Dieren" in J.Koopmans, "Letterkundige Studiën - Vondel als Christen Symbolist", pp.226,7.

(3) l.471.

yet fear of arrogance.

The mysterious glory of Creation can only be felt by the angels and Man, who know through their ability to think, that they can also desire, not by instinct, but by will. Adam unerringly goes to the heart of the mystery when he expresses his love for God by praising Him for His gift of free will, immortality and the mind(1). These are the three Divine characteristics of Man without which Love, though in the Maker, could never have become a quality of His creatures. Creation would have been a masterpiece of superhuman ingenuity but it would not have contained the whole perfection of God Himself. The meaning of Divine Love is only apprehensible in the crucial paradox that It entrusts Its Creation and hence Itself to the charge of creatures able to accept It or repudiate It. The whole discipline of the Order depends not so much on the passive or instinctive obedience of all its parts as upon the free choice, and therefore active obedience of one part, Man. "Servire magno est summa libertas Deo"(2), Adamus says, by which Grotius means that freedom of will should not be exercised for expressing arbitrary preference but rather, freeing itself from distraction by unimportant things, to foster the one great joy - Service to God. The free will releases Man from compulsory restriction in order that he may control his own whims or fancies(3).

Grotius' motto was "Pacta sunt servanda" and Vondel's was: "Iustus ex fide vivit", and both are expressions of the principle linking Grotius' faith to Vondel's, that all men must be united to one another through a common loyalty to One God. Peace can only be achieved when one decisive

(1) 11.157,8.

(2) "Adamus Exul" 1.1372.

(3) A.H.Haentjens l.c. pp.78,9.

authority is acknowledged to overrule all differences.

"Zulk een gezag ligt in de natuur van het leven, omdat het leven niet beantwoorden kan aan zijne bestemmingen, wanneer het verstrikt wordt in een chaos van onopgeloste twisten en verwarringen." (1) What is true for the achievement of peace out of chaos is true for the maintenance of peace in the original Cosmos. The angels make it clear that God's peace is peace at a price, demanding the co-operation and obedience of Man. God has granted His creatures the grace of illumination

Die der ongelijcken treck
Van de worstlende ongelijcken
Vreedzaam houdt in hun besteck (540).

But this 'handvest' can only achieve its purpose if Man accepts it and puts it into effect

Bert u handvest, ô gelieven,
En bewaert uw' vaders last(2) (542).

The converse of the right use of free will to engender active obedience to God's laws, is the passivity and weakness implicit in Asmode's word docility. "Gevolghzaamheit", he says, "is voester van de vre" (3) and Adam literally falls from grace as his active allegiance to the peace of God's Order gradually disintegrates into surrender to the disruption of Order caused by Eve's sin, whereby, it seems to him, an easier peace may be attained. So subtle is the distinction between the maintenance of peace by strict adherence to absolute Order

(1) Jos. Vandervelden "De vrienden Grotius en Vondel", Vondelkroniek XI, 1940, pp.65-68.

(2) The full significance of the word 'last' (= commandment) in this context is stressed by its contradistinction with the rhyme-word 'last' two lines further, which bears the sense of trouble:

{ Zoo kan u geen vyant grieven
Houdt u buiten leedt en last

(3) 1.764.

and the attainment of a compromised peace by escaping the conflicts which arise when the real issue is faced, that Adam will appear guiltless unless we follow closely the processes of his temptation.

Eve, evincing the disorder resulting from her disobedience, repeats Asmodé's specious claim that docility engenders peace. Now that the perfect balance between the 'engelscheit en dierscheit' in Eve has been lost, Adam's allegiance to the Order and its Creator is for the first time put to the test. Now he really feels the conflict which the angels have told him of(1), and he begins to feel his discipline to God's laws as an oppression that is the cause of his inward conflict(2). He has in fact lost his sense of perspective, the illuminate grace which enabled him to submit body and soul to the laws of the coëmos without calling them into question. Without this grace 'natuur kon hem niet houden staen', he cannot resolve the conflict of his own power, and he surrenders to his sinful wife in order to gain the peace of docility. There is even a note of self-sacrifice in Adam's tolerance: "Men moet een zwacke zacht en minneljck bejegenen" (3), but what Adam is really doing is sacrificing his innocency. Tolerance can be a sin as Vondel himself had good reason to know, for compromise with evil in order to resolve a conflict was as wrong in state and church affairs as it was in the temptations of the soul.

The existance of God's bond of Order for Man did not in any way reduce his freedom to obey God's ordinance or break away from it. The test imposed on Adam's obedience by his struggle against an accomplished rupture of Order within Eden

(1) 1.1280.

(2) 11.1283,4.

(3) 1.1346.

itself, his world, was far greater than the test of Eve's obedience to an Order still perfect. Adam has nature itself against him it seems, and must succumb, and yet he acknowledges the conflict and so must know himself free to take the other course. Eve herself casts at him the challenge to use his free will and show her the first sign of love(1), which in terms of the conflict has the converse force of abusing his free will to show love for the evil that is in her, sharing with her the new disorder. Though Adam's temptation seems harder than Eve's, we must not forget that Eve was tried by the devil himself. In both Adam and Eve we must, if we are honest, acknowledge that the ultimate conflict was perfectly balanced between the supernatural evil of the devil and the supernatural good of the covenant of God's illuminating grace. The deciding factor, which was therefore entirely free to make its choice in the conflict, was Man's free will(2). Appalled by the catastrophe of Man's disobedience, the angels may be forgiven for seeming to reproach God for carelessness

Helaes, wat baet een engelwacht,
Zoo 't alziende oogh van boven
Den mensch niet gaslaet naer zijn maght (1358).

But they have forgotten Michael's orders received from Gabriel, to set a watch over the mortals in the garden only "zoo ver het Godt geheuge"(3). If the angel guard is permitted to interfere in Man's own conflict, then Man's choice is no longer absolutely free, God's trust in Man is conditional, and the whole inner meaning of Creation containing Man in God's image is lost. Vondel and Grotius both felt very strongly about the Augustinian-Calvinist doctrine of Predestination, but Vondel refrains from satirising it openly

(1) 11.1277-9.

(2) See p.138 above; cf. also "Noah" 11.1355,6.

(3) 11.371-3.

as Grotius had done(1), and achieves a great deal more by recreating a world in which Predestination is unthinkable since it would be quite contrary to the nature of God's Love(2).

If Man is completely free to acknowledge God's omnipotence or repudiate it, he is also free to judge for himself between right and wrong at any time. This means that Man by condemning a wrong action even after it is committed and by seeking to pay the penalty for it (by penitence) is actively assisting to restore the Divine Order which his sin has disrupted.

De vierschaer van 't gemoedt verdaghvaert goddeloosheit
En overtuight ze, en straftze om d'overtuighde
boosheit(3).

Eve, by belittling the gravity of her sin, is fleeing from justice and alienating herself from God, and this must ultimately lead to isolation from the Giver of spiritual life and result in the soul's death. But is Adam's vehement self-condemnation any less sinful? In his obsession with his sinfulness, he cuts himself off from the Divine Judge, and taking justice into his own hands, contemplates man-made vengeance. This too is a denial of God's omnipotence and in its most excessive form seeks self-destruction(4):

De toorne is middelbaer, bestrafbaer is den man,
Die zich met onrecht wreekt, en niet betoomen kan:
De Godtheit, noit verruckt, vertorent zich met reden
Zoo wort de gramschap oock in wijzen zelfs geleden,
Doch in haer tijt bepaelt:(5)

(1) In Ad.Ex. Act IV sc.i.

(2) See further G.Brom "Vondel's Geloof" pp.104-108.

(3) "Bespiegelingen" III 11.1105-6.

(4) In Vondel's treatment of Act V sc.ii, so similar to Grotius he tacitly agrees with Grotius' views on the morality of suicide: "Optime enim Platonici contra Gymnosophistas et Stoicos...sentiant retinendum animum in custodia corporis, nec iniussu eius a quo ille nobis est datus ex hac vita demigrandum" ("De iure Belli ac Pacis" II, xix, 5; p.387.)

(5) "Bespiegelingen" IV, 11.365-9.

The follows the reason why penitence, itself a godly virtue, should not become violent remorse:

die schept ons misdaet hoop
Dat Godt genadigh zich laet zoenen na 'et verloop(1).

But what hope could there be for Adam? He had lost his robes of grace and only exile awaited him. Yet in the concise account of the Fall in Genesis there is evidence that the care of God dominates His moral retribution, for He provides clothing to cover Adam and Eve's nakedness(2). Is this not in itself symbolic of God's goodness and of the renewal of grace to Man even when "de witte zijde van hunne eerste onnozelheit" lies in tatters? Grotius names not only the grace of illumination but the grace of Regeneration(3) and the angel chorus counts Man's lot quite hopeless "ten zij nu Godts genade / De hant reicke aen 't gevallen paer"(4).

Gabriel announces the promise of this regenerating grace:

om den armen mensch een' vasten troost te geven
In zulek een jammernis, belooft de Godtheit nou,
Te wecken, uit het zaet en bloet van d'eerste vrou,
Den Stercken, die den Slangh, den Draeck het hoofd
zal pletten

Door erfhaet, van geen tyt noch eeuwen te verzetten(5)

and Michael dispatches his angels to restore order

Terwijl 't beloofde Zaet, verzoenende Godts toren,
Herstelle uit liefde al wat in Adam went verloren(6)

so that the whole grim account of the utter disruption of the cosmos ends in the strains of the angels' hymn of hope:

Wy tellen d'eeuwen, en het jaer; ja dagh en uur,

(1) "Bespiegelingen" Bk.IV, ll.369-70.

(2) "Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics" Vol.I, p.85.

(3) A.H.Haentjens l.c. p.82f.

(4) ll.1377,8.

(5) "Lucifer" ll.2135-9.

(6) "Lucifer" ll.2174-5.

Dat uw genâ verschijn'; de quijnende Natuur
Herstell', verheerelijcke, in lichamen en zielen;
Stoffeerende den troon, daer d'Engelen uit vielen(1),

The thought in "Lucifer" and "Adam in Ballingschap"(2) corresponds closely to Grotius' views concerning the Redemption which, in his belief, was not for the elect only, but for all men. Satisfaction was necessary because justice was to God as unalterable as love and mercy. The original order must remain, for which justice was necessary, and to expiate Man's sin, God offered Himself to restore the order of justice. Secondly, God's wrath must be diverted, but His wrath was not so great that He did not want Man to return to Him(3).

The literary and philosophical milieu of 17th century Holland produced Hooft at one extreme and Vondel at the other, "het wereldraadsel terugbrengend tot het leerstuk van de Verlossing, en in de stof en de verschijnselen de omhulsels ontdekkende van een alles doordringend Mysterie"(4). Grotius' three original plays are alone sufficient to confirm the similarity of his thought with Vondel's in twenty of his twenty-four plays. In the first, Adamus fails to pay the price of peace in undisturbed Order and he falls from grace. In the second, "Christus Patiens", God Incarnate suffers crucifixion as the price of the peace which Man by his sin had destroyed; and lastly "Sophompaneas" adumbrates the restoration of perfect order and justice and the atonement of God with Man in the reconciliation of Joseph and his brothers who had betrayed him into the hands of his enemies. J.Vandervelden(5) links together Vondel's "Het Pascha" and "Hierusalem Verwoest" with

(1) "Lucifer" ll.2180-end.

(2) ll.1377-1382; 1660-2.

(3) A.H.Haentjens l.c. p.89ff.

(4) J.Koopmans l.c. p.96.

(5) Vondelkroniek XI, 1940, pp.312ff.

"Christus Patiens" since the theme connecting all three is that the price of disobedience is the pain of the cross. But nearly all of Vondel's plays could be linked in such a way with "Christus Patiens", for the Cross casts its shadow on all of them(1). The cyclic thought of Creation-Fall-Restoration of Order or Fall-Passion-Resurrection had been evident in drama since the early moralities(2). Grotius' plays form a similar cycle, and Milton completes the cycle of the Fall ("Paradise Lost") and Resurrection ("Paradise Regained" where Christ's victory over sin clearly implies His victory over Death) with the typological passion of Samson.

The very awareness of cyclic thought in Vondel draws attention to the absence of any clear cycle in his drama. The Redemption is very present in spirit but the Redeemer is never seen. This can be accounted for quite simply by the fact that Vondel could only have made Christ the hero of an epic, like Paradise Regained, or a play, like "Christus Patiens", not written for acting(3). But there is, I believe, another explanation affecting Vondel's thought itself. To Vondel the Redemption was not an event in time but beyond it, existing in the countless ages before the accomplished fact of the Crucifixion(4), and as much among people who did not know God as among those who did. Vondel could most faithfully witness to his belief in the eternity and universality of the Redemption by choosing a pagan dramatic form for the presentation of themes from the Old Testament to audiences of

(1) C. Verschaeve (in "Uren Bewondering voor groote Kunstwerken", p.230) surely fails to see this aspect of Vondel's work, when he says that the promise of "Lucifer" cannot be repeated in "Adam in Ballingschap" and that death is the only alleviation possible for the exiles from Paradise. The promise of the Redemption is made (by implication) in "A. in B."(1.166lff.) and if the hope here and in the last

his own day. The treatment of the Redemption at the only point of its material actuality - in the New Testament e would have tended to focus attention only on its manifestation to Man at a historical moment and in a geographical location. More than a theological doctrine, more even than an expression of his faith, this, Vondel's sense of the Divine Presence in all Creation, was an attitude of life. It is therefore no blasphemy to claim that Vondel's relationship to the historian can be compared with the relationship of St. John's gospel to the Synoptics(5).

scene of "Lucifer" had not been fulfilled, the apprehension of total good and perfect order in Eden would not be possible.

- (2) Hardin Craig "The Origin of Old Testament Plays", Mod.Phil. Apr.1913, pp.473-487.
- (3) Vondel's ode "Ecce Homo" clearly has no part in such an ideenkrêis as we are considering here.
- (4) M.S.B.Kreitzinger "Die Opstandsmotief bij Vondel", p.15.
- (5) cf. J. Koopmans, "Vondel als Christen Symbolist", p.123; see also p. in the next section.

"Adam in Ballingschap"

Part iii. The Symbolic Level.

Tertullianus' statement "Magistra natura, anima discipula"(1) is an ineluctable fundamental of all theological interpretation. It is as evident in the earliest Hebrew writings as it is in Grotius and Vondel(2). Belief in an omnipotent Deity led inevitably to the interpretation of natural phenomena as having a divine cause, so that adversity (through drought, plague, exile, defeat and so on) was in the earliest writings identified with God's wrath, and conversely, metaphors for the supernatural were found in nature: because the snake seemed a sly animal, it was named as the agent of evil in the garden of Eden. The repeated association of thunder and warfare with divine anger and the serpent with evil naturally gave rise to the adoption of such devices as Jupiter's lightning or God's arrows(3) and dragons or snakes to symbolize evil.

The commonest symbols are obviously those whose formulae are most generally known, and since the Scriptures

(1) H. Fortuin "De Natuurrechtelijke Grondslagen van de Groots Volkenrecht" p.64.

(2) See pp. 142-144 above

(3) Ps. XXXVII, v.3.

were the first source of theological study, most symbols are borrowed from scriptural metaphors, such as the lamb for Christ, the dragon for Satan and the lily for the Virgin Mary(1).

From the simple beginnings of metaphors direct from nature or the Bible, men began looking for further signs concealed within the Word of the Scriptures or in natural objects which, if interpreted aright, would reveal God's nature. This teleological study enriched the thought of the Middle Ages and prepared for the great masterpieces of Baroque art, but it was not conducive to objective scientific scholarship. Because certain, generally animate, objects had certain characteristics they were treated not simply as symbols of the Christian faith but even as adumbrations of Divinity itself(2). Hugo/St.Victor calls the world a great book written by God's hand in which every thing and every being is a word full of meaning. The ignorant see only enigmatic letters without understanding the meaning of them. The wise man raises himself from the visible things to the invisible. That is the study of the mediaeval scholar. How many stamens a flower has, how the seed develops into a plant, how the human body is made up of bones, muscles and organs; all this is of no interest to him if it does not tell him of the things that are above, if it does not help him to a better understanding of the supernatural and if it is not a pointer to God(3). "De

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- (1) Others are attributes which express metonymically the events or persons with which they are associated, such as the cross, the staff (for Christ the Shepherd and hence for bishops) and the key (for St.Peter).
 - (2) J.Koopmans "Vondel als Christen Symbolist", p.228.
 - (3) J.J.M.Timmers "Symboliek en Iconographie der Christelijke Kunst" p.741.

inventio speurt het wezenlijke in de geschiedenis, concentreert en intensiveert de gegevens tot krachtige werking; achter het schijnbaar alledaagse en toevallige ontdekt ze de symbolische zin, de achtergrond waartegen het gebeurde dieper waarde wint"(1).

This meant that certain quite legendary characteristics of animals (themselves sometimes legendary) were accepted as scientific fact, so that the subjectivity of the mediaeval scholars' study of nature renders their scholarship, and hence their art, suspect to modern thought, but "wanneer wij uitgaande van onze moderne denkwijze, de ingewikkelde symbolische uitleggingen van simpele dingen gezocht en weinig genietbaar vinden, tonen wij daardoor het middeleeuwse idealisme en de middeleeuwse gedachte niet te begrijpen"(2).

Just as divine revelation was found and sought in nature, so too revelation of the Logos was found and sought in the writings of the Hebrews before His Incarnation. The example of Christ himself and of the writers of the Epistles in introducing parallelisms between the Old and New Testament was eagerly followed by later typologists. Very early triptychs and the illustrations in the mediaeval popular Bibles show the ingenuity of the Church Fathers in linking Old Testament events to those in the New Testament(3). The standard form of these juxtaposed illustrations was prototype - antitype - prototype; an early altar triptych

(1) W.Kramer "De 'Inventio' in Vondels dramatische kunst", De Nieuwe Taalgids XXXV 1941, p.290.

(2) J.J.M.Timmers l.c. p.741.

(3) In the 13th century, the artists at Chartres did not depict a prophet, patriarch or King of Juda without thinking of Christ. In the 15th century the artists thought of the Bible as continuous gospel.(Emile Mâle, "L'Art Religieux de la Fin du Moyen Age en France"p.240).

shows in one panel Eve plucking the fruit, in the centre Christ's Deposition and in the third panel the deposition of the King of Jericho. Similar typologies are: God's indictment of the serpent - the Annunciation - Gideon's Fleece; Eve's creation - the lancing of Christ's side - Moses striking the rock; the temptation of Adam and Eve - Christ's temptation in the wilderness - Esau selling his heritage(1); Adam and Eve expelled from Paradise - Anna and Joachim chased by the priest - Anna the mother of Samuel chased by Eli(2).

Mediaeval symbolism and typology were primarily iconographical, but so important was the didactic force of these visual aids to the early mystics(3) that from their cathedral and church walls they influenced literature(4) and lived on from their Gothic beginnings to become an important factor in the luxurious plastic and literary art of the Baroque period.

A prominent feature of symbolic art is that a work with a deliberate didactic purpose is readily distinguishable from one using symbols purely artistically. In the emblems for instance, as in the Morality plays, an allegory(5) may be pictorially presented and even explained by names and footnotes. Mario Praz describes an emblem as a combination

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- (1) G.Heider "Beiträge zu Christlichen Typologie aus Bilderhandschriften des Mittelalters" pp.56,57.
 - (2) Emile Mâle l.c. p.252, note 2.
 - (3) Mario Praz "Studies in XVIIth century Imagery" Vol.I, pII.
 - (4) e.g. in Holland, Albertus Magnus' "De Natura Rerum" and van Maerlant's "Der Naturen Bloeme".
 - (5)"De personificatie wordt allegorie wanneer niet slechts de persoon in de plaats gesteld wordt van een onstoffelijk begrip, maar wanneer de personificatie, alleen of tesamen met andere personificaties, de draagster is ener handeling"; J.J.M.Timmers l.c. p.16f.

of the 'mute picture' of the plate, the 'talking picture' of the literary description and the 'picture of significance', or transposition in moral and mystical meanings(1). The explanatory 'talking picture' would be too analytical for a work of pure art, and so the 'picture of significance' which a layman is able to form from the artist's 'mute picture' will depend not only on the artist's but on his own interpretation of it. Schopenhauer, calling the 'mute picture' the 'reale bedeutung' of a work of art and the 'picture of significance' the 'nominale bedeutung', says that the allegory contributes no artistic value as such to the work unless the symbols of the allegory are absorbed into the artistic whole. "Wenn...Zeichen und Bezeichnetes ganz konventionell, durch positive, zufällig veranlasste Satzung zusammenhängen; dann nenne ich diese Abart der Allegorie Symbol."(2) In differentiating between symbols which are used arbitrarily and those which form the basis of or contribute to a maintained symbolism (or allegory) I prefer Kramer's definition of symbol(3) to Schopenhauer's and where such symbols are maintained to form the basis of a complete allegorical pattern, the term symbolic allegory will be used(4).

Didactics are as conspicuous in Ripa and Revius as they

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- (1) M.Praz l.c. p.156.
 - (2) "Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung" I, Bk.III § 50.
 - (3) W.Kramer in "Vondel als Barokkünstenaar", p.74 writes of allegories "waar het stoffelijke gegeven door de immanentie der idee die diepe gloed en geestelijke concentratie erlangt, waarin de allegorie in wezen symbool is geworden".
 - (4) The distinction between allegory and symbolic allegory can be clearly understood by comparing "De drie Goddelijke Deugden" by Maarten Vos with Jan Vermeer's "Het Geloof", plates 12 & 13 resp., pp.27,28 in B.Knippling "De Iconografie etc" vol.I.

are absent from Vondel's mature drama and Rubens' paintings. Nevertheless emblems form a transition to poetical allegory (1) and while the analytical emblems seem entirely divorced from the artistic method of Rubens and Vondel, it would be difficult to overestimate the influence which the former had on the latter(2).

In Vondel both aspects of the inventio, "wezensverdieping en werkingsintensivering" find a natural union(3). "Alle aderen heeft hij aangeboord en alle terreinen heeft hij afgelezen om zich het materiaal te vergaderen" like the honey-bee taking its food from various glades and flowers(4) "'om zijn werck levendigh uit te drucken en rijkelijck te bekleeden', want hij deelde het inzicht van Ronsard, dat 'la Poesie ne peut estre plaisante, vive et parfaite sans belles inventions, descriptions, comparaisons, qui sont les nerfs et la vie du livre'"(5). This speaks of Vondel the artist, using symbols for 'werkingsintensivering'. But

(1) Schopenhauer l.c. Bk.III §50.

(2) "De Beeldenaer van den geestrijcken Ridder, Cesar Ripa"(i.e. his Iconologia" of 1593) "nu in Nederlantsch verduitscht, bestellen geestige vonden, om het werck levendigh uit te drucken en rijkelijck te bekleeden" Vondel writes in his Aenleidinge (W.B. Vol.V, p.487) and Timmers adds (l.c. p. 39) "wij mogen...zonder aarzelen zeggen, dat men in de 17de en in een groot deel der 18de eeuw vrijwel geen personificatie of allegorie uitbeeldde, zonder dat men bij Ripa te rade ging...Wanneer een stad als Amsterdam in de 17de eeuw de frontons harer nieuwe gebouwen vulde met allegorieën, schrijft Vondel lange gedichten, om deze voorstellingen aan de hand van Ripa voor zijn medeburgers verstaanbaar te maken". But B.Knipping ("De Iconografie van de Contra-Reformatie" in de Nederlanden" Vol.I, p.15) warns against overestimating the influence of the Italian and Dutch Iconologia on Dutch artists.

(3) W.Kramer "'De Inventio' in Vondels dramatische kunst" p.289f.

(4) Aenleidinge W.B. Vol.V, p.487.

(5) W.Kramer "'De Inventio' etc.", p.294.

Vondel's art and his faith were inseparable, so that eloquent adornment of his poetry has no meaning without the "wezensverdieping" of his religious conviction:

Geen letterkunstenaer, hoe taelrijk, hoe beslepen,
Vint merck of woort, dat Godts volkomenheit verbeelt(1)

So closely is Vondel's thought associated with Baroque art and its iconographical heritage, that Vondel's later drama and Rubens' painting are complementary, and the study of Rubens' pictures alone is sufficient to enhance greatly the appreciation of Vondel(2). Vondel's later plays are particularly rich in graphic detail because his imagery was so affected by the symbols which were not only the embellishments but, even more, the very media of the spirit of Baroque art(3), that he paints his scenes rather than describes them. Vondel, in the preface to his translation of Horace's Poetics, writes:-

"Van Plutarchus heeft elck nu in den mont, dat

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- (1) "Bespiegelingen van Godt en Godtsdienst" Bk.I 1.138f.
(2) See W.Kramer's "Vondel als Barokkunstenaar" a work which has probably contributed more than any other to deepening my understanding of Vondel. E.van de Velde, in "Vondel en de Plastische Kunsten"(p.20) summarises the plastic art of the Contra-Reformation in words almost equally applicable to Vondel's later drama: "In plaats van kalme en rustige opstelling; bewogenheid in de groepering, zoeken naar schilderachtigheid; naar lossere en meer realistische voorstelling, in plaats van kalm en natuurlijk gevoel, heroïsche of dwepende soms overdreven uitingen, lyrisme, romanticisme, in plaats van gelijkmatige en rustige belichting nieuwe lichtspeling, effect gezocht en bekomen door contrasten." See also G.Knuvelde "Handboek tot de Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Letterkunde" II, pp.6ff.
(3) "Since every poetical image contains a potential emblem, one can understand why emblems were the characteristic of that century in which the tendency to images reached its climax - the seventeenth century" M.Praz l.c. p.12.

schildery stomme Poëzy, de Poëzy spreekende schildery is...Hy(Horace) paert menighmâel de Poëzy en Schilderkunst te zamen, gelijkt d'een by d'andere, en begaeft ze beide even ryckelijck met eene zelve overoude hant-vest der vrjheit van alles wat ter zaecke dienen kan te durven bybrengen.(1)

Kramer(2) demonstrates the 'brush technique' in Vondel's language and the effects of this technique are fully visible in "Adam in Ballingschap", the 'painted' scenes(3) of which would eclipse the finest decor(4).

The appredation of art at any level is ipso facto subjective, and nowhere are the dangers of a personal interpretation greater than at the symbolic level. A dove in flight in a picture may or may not have a symbolic significance; flying over the heads of a group of saints it probably will have; appearing in glory in the heavens it will certainly be symbolic - of the Holy Spirit. Similarly symbols may occur in "Adam in Ballingschap" without Vondel's having known of their significance or having intended to use them symbolically. An example from the first few lines of the play will illustrate this difficulty. In line 15, Lucifer says

Men Hoort den schellen nachtegael,
Den voorbo van de zonne en heldren morgenstrael.

The nightingale is a symbol of music(5), and if it has any

(1) W.B. Vol.VII, p.261.

(2) In "Vondel als Barokkunstenaar", by showing how the use of words gives his poetry a dynamic strength and three-dimensional form.

(3) e.g. ll.104-110, 311-334, 394-6, 682-5, 678-703, 967-995, 1007-10, 1068-1075, 1417-19, 1509-15, 1602-09.

(4) The only stage scenery possible must be a plain backcloth, unless, and this seems the ideal alternative, the play is produced in the natural surroundings of a garden as it was by van Dalsum in Eindhoven in 1947.

(5) J.J.M.Timmers l.c. para 1699, p.737. References throughout will be made to this work by denoting only

symbolic significance this may be all that Vondel intended. On the other hand, its context here as harbinger of the sun suggests that Vondel knew of the writing of Bonaventura - "concerning this bird, I have read somewhere that he, knowing he is about to die, settles on a branch, and then at the first light of the new morning, breaks out into beautiful song.

"His sweetest notes accompany the dawn, but when the rays of the sun grow warmer, his voice is raised and becomes louder and still more lovely and his song persists unabated.

"At the third hour he seems to break all bounds; his joy mounts to jubilation, his breast swells beyond measure, his voice rises and rises; yet higher, yet richer its tone becomes. He is rapture itself.

"But when towards midday the sun shines in full glory in the heavens, his fragile little body succumbs to the excesses of his exertion. His voice dies away while his beak still tries to sing, his body quivers and shudders in a last convulsive effort, and then towards the ninth hour, one last sigh...death.

"My son, may your soul be as this Philomel, who lives and dies from his song of love! O may life for you be nothing but a day whose hours are directed to God's blessings, a day full of longing for the endless Morn, the marriage of the Lamb!"(1).

There is an immediate similarity between the rising fervour of this nightingale and Adam's and Eve's praise of God mounting to the ecstasy of the wedding-feast, but there is a deeper significance in the parallelism between the bird's praise of the sun and the mortals' praise of God, together with the ontological symbolism of the soul's relationship to the Creator and the typology between Adam

paragraph and page numbers. (1) 1829, p.777.

and Christ implicit in "Adam in Ballingschap". In fact before attempting an estimation of the meaning of individual symbols in "Adam in Ballingschap", it is necessary to minimize the risk of arbitrary personal judgement by identifying ourselves as far as possible with Vondel's thought, influenced by the typologies, allegories and symbols relevant to his theme.

A whole system relating Adam's life in Paradise to Christ's was evolved, as is evident from the triptychs already mentioned. Adam was created on the sixth day of the week, Christ was born in the sixth era. By Christ's death Man is reborn in God's image. Christ was crucified on the sixth day of the week. Christ came before Pilate in the morning and God created Adam at this time; Christ was placed on the Cross at the third hour and Satan tempted Man at this hour; darkness descended on the earth at the sixth hour and at the sixth hour Eve ate the fruit; the Son called to the Father at the ninth hour - God then called Adam to judgement; Christ was taken from the Cross in the evening, the same time of day as Man's expulsion from Paradise(1).

There is (fortunately) not even the remotest suggestion of such a systematic typology in "Adam in Ballingschap", but such typologies serve as a reminder of the general attitude of mind of the Contra-Reformation artists, to whom there was nothing incongruous in the inclusion in the garden of Eden of such essentially Christian symbols as the palm (for the Victory over death), the phoenix (for Christ) or the Sacrament of Bread and Wine. Similarly the lily may grow there and the unicorn may be found among less mythical

(1) G. McColley "Paradise Lost. An Account of Its Growth and Major Origins" p.159. Also 130, p.93, 956, p.429f.

animals, since they were symbols of the Virgin Mary and the Church as antitypes of Eve.

Dormit Adam ut fiat Eva, moritur Christus ut fiat
Ecclesia.
Dormienti Adae fit Eva de latere; mortuo Christo
lancea
percutitur latus, ut proferrant sacramenta quibus
formetur
Ecclesia (Augustine) (1).

There are two symbolic allegories in "Adam in Ballingschap" to which most of the individual symbols contribute. The first of these denotes the presence in Eden of the two opposed forces of Good and Evil. The symbol of God, the source of goodness, is the Sun, which dominates creation, regulates the elements and nurtures the good things of natural growth. The symbol of Lucifer, 'de haeter van het licht', is darkness(2). The antithesis is clearly stated in the opening two lines.

Ick, eerst geheillight om de kroon van 't licht te
spannen,
En nu van 't eeuwigh licht in duisternis gebannen(2)
Afkeerigh van den dagh en krachtiger by duister (10).

Even while it is still dark, and Lucifer dominates the scene, the herald of the sun's first light is heard, and a gentle spring breeze begins to blow(3). The spring, like the early morning, is full of the freshness of hope of the sun approaching in its full glory(4).

(1) 572, p.277. See also 571, p.277; 575, p.278; 952 and 956, p.429f.

(2) See also W.Kramer l.c. pp.48,49 where the same symbolism in "Lucifer" is considered.

(3) 11.15-18.

(4) According to mediaeval thought, the spring corresponds to the Church season of Advent, the time from Moses to Christ "Tempus quod aliquid luminis, sed multum obscuratis habet, tempus doctrinae et propheticae" 1312, p.586, cf. "Adam in Ballingschap" 11.529,30.

This garden, full of God's radiant glory, will be no place for Lucifer:

Hier most ick schuilen met mijn schiltwacht in een
Of donker lustprieel of myrtegalerye (25) woudt,
But wherever he hides, he will still be on the soil blessed
by God; the 'lustprieel' is reminiscent of 'den lusthof'(1)
where Adam and Eve are to be crowned like a king and queen(2)
and the myrtle branch in the Bible is a symbol of fertility
and in Greek myth of recent marriage(3).

The antithesis between light and darkness is accentuated
by the sense of distance between the battlements of the courts
of Heaven above and the realm of darkness in the depths(4).
In Lucifer's gloating anticipation he visualizes stifling
Adam and Eve with sulphur fumes, and his victory dance would
be marked by the smoke of pitch and sulphur torches(5).
The artificial light of the flame amidst the smoke which
blankets natural light is again in vivid contrast to the light
which floods the dance of jubilation after the wedding feast.

But Lucifer remembers that the sun is rising, bringing
life and colour (in contrast to the death and darkness of
his thoughts) to the beautifully laid out garden of delight,
revealing Adam and Eve, blessed by God. Only from afar, and
hidden away in a corner will he be able to take note of them(6),
there where the shadow is most profound, for the mortals are
vested with God's own raiment of a supernatural fairness,
through which their beauty

uitschijnen kan en gloeien:

Geljkwe door den dau het ryzend licht zien groeien (110)

It is as if the light of the sun itself radiates from
them, who now appear like the dawn, fresh as unspoiled dew

(1) 'Eden' in the Hebrew means luxury or delight, hence the
garden of Eden is interpreted as a garden of pleasure.

(2) C. Gore "A New Commentary on Holy Scripture" p.43
11.472-5. (3) See also 1.115 and the note to this
line in the Pantheon Edition (Ed. E.T.Kuiper)

on the ground. Lucifer may well order: "Duikt, 't is tijt"(7).

As they appear, Adam and Eve are in communion with Heaven which is attentive to their prayers; the one bears a token of the abundance of their God-given lot(8), the other carries the symbol of beauty, love, joy and taciturnity, "een roos, versch afgeplukt en noch geloken"(9). Their prayer breaks out into a joyous hymn to nature and God. Even as the glory of God drives away Lucifer's ignominy, so

Daer rijst het alverquickend licht,
Dat, laegh gedaelt beneên de kimmen,
De schaduwen en bleecke schimmen
Verdrjft van 's aerdtrjx aengexicht (122).

Then we are reminded of the nightingale -

De voglezangh, aen 't licht ontsteecken,
Begint met eene morgenwijs,
Den grooten zegenaer ten prijs,
Aen alle kanten uit te breecken. (126)

'Zegenaer', in line 125, refers strictly to the sun, but so effective is the symbolism here, that its immediate association is with God(10). As Adam and Eve decide to emulate the bird-song, weaving a crown of praise to God, it seems almost impossible that Bonaventura's symbolic account of the Philoman was unknown to Vondel.

(4) ll.54 and 56. The battlements would be on the wall surrounding the Heavenly City (see ll.954-995). The distance is still further stressed by the repeated references of the followers of Lucifer to the long and arduous climbing of a ladder to storm the battlements(e.g. ll.77-9).

(5) ll.63-70. (6) ll.82-91. (7) l.1012.

(8) See p.165 above and note (3).

(9) ll.115,6. A rose is frequently a symbol of the Virgin Mary, who, according to Bernadus, was the 'rose of love'. ll.143, p.513; ll.149, p.515; ll.152, p.516; 1903, p.804; 1905, p.805.

(10) J.Revius, whose symbolism is clearer than Vondel's, since his poetry is intentionally didactic, has a similar passage in "Lof Gods":

Waer ick een nachtegael, ick wou mijn Schepper eeren
Met sijnen grooten lof altijt te quinteleeren
Dat bosschen, berch en dal sou deunen van den clanck,
En de wout-vogeltgens vergeten haren sanck.
("Over-Ysselsche Sangen en Dichten" Bk.I, p.9)

In the Platonic imagery which follows, God, like the sun, is the fount and source of all things(1), and yet the sun can only symbolize the 'bron der dagen'(2), who is 'endtloos schooner dan de zon'(3); yet the warmth of his love can most clearly be expressed in terms of the brilliant sunlight penetrating all things and spreading everywhere, so that the mortals are filled with His light and are themselves radiant with His love(4).

An outstanding example of the ambiguity between the literal and symbolic meaning of contra-reformation art is furnished by Adam's words:

Hier vindt mijn boulust bouwens stof (170).

If only the literal meaning is sought (and there is apparently no reason for seeking any deeper significance than that given in Genesis II v.15)(5), then what follows is only a literal picture of the garden. But what Adam describes is scarcely seen with the eye of an agriculturalist - a tree providing life-giving fruit and nurturing vital spirits in the blood, dew which tastes like pure manna and sweetness. The association of dew with manna certainly suggests the typology of the manna in the wilderness and the water and bread of the Sacraments(6). Moreover, a word

(1) ll.135,6; 143-6.

(2) l.150.

(3) ll.147,8. cf. Milton's "Paradise Lost" Bk.V, ll.171,2:

Thou Sun, of this great world both eye and soul,

Acknowledge him thy greater.

and Revius'"Vader der Lichten" (l.c. p.11):

De sterren, maen en son, en geest, en al moet swichten

Voor God, dat groote licht, den Vader aller lichten.

(4) ll.151-8. See also ll.266-270.

(5) And the Lord God took the man, and put him into the garden to dress it and keep it.

(6) 514, p.252; 855, p.395; 879, p.402; 881, p.403; 899, p.408.

which has been closely associated with God, if not actually symbolic of Him, three times already in this hymn, now recurs as

...de bron, die tweepaer stroomen
Uitlevert, en den hof besproeit (172).

If we now re-read line 170, we discern the ambiguity in this secondary meaning:

Hier vindt mijn (that is Adam's or Vondel's) boulust
(longing to glorify God) "bouwens stof" (matter for His glorification), and hereafter the streams and trees in the garden are much more than just picturesque:

Den Bibel is den hof, dat costelycke Eden,
Dat waerde paradijs, waerin als ick ga treden
Ick vinde 's levens boom, Gods sone, Godten man,
Die 't leven wt den doot de sijne geven can(1).
Ick sie aldaer geplant den boom der clare kennis
Van goet en oock van quaet (den eter niet tot schennis
Maer om de reyne deucht te kiezen, voorgezet,
En 't bose te ontgaen); de goddelijcke wet.
Oock bomen altyt groen als in haer eerste lenten,
De leeraers van Gods woort wt beyde testamenten.
Int midden doet hem op een springende fonteyn,
Die in vier aderen het ongevalschte greyn
Van gout en peirlen draecht aen dieder niets van
wisten(2),
De blijde nieuwe-maer der vier evangelisten.
Hier hoor ick Gods stem, die Adam van de vlucht
Herroept, met een sterck doordringende gerucht,
Hier ruysschen sijne tree'n, hier laet hij my gevoelen

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- (1) If this symbolic significance for the Tree of Life be adopted for "Adam in Ballingschap", Gabriel's statement (ll.368,9) no longer seems to contradict future events, but confirms them. So long, he says, as God rules the world(1.367) the fruit of Christ shall nurture all that is good in Man. A similar symbolism for the tree of life is mentioned by W.M.Frijns ("Vondel en de Moeder Gods", p.559), in which the Tree represents the Cross and its fruit the Eucharist.
- (2) cf. "Adam in Ballingschap", ll.314,5.

Den aengenamen wint mijn siele te vercoelens
Den wint de Heyl'ge Geest, die wonderlyc verquickt
De herten in den brant der droefenis verstickt.
Wat vraeg' ick na't voorlee'n? dit Eden wil ick
bouwen
Tot dat mijn ogens eens het hemelsche aenschouwen(1).

Whatever Lucifer may claim(2), the mortals' domain as they see it, is full of God's goodness. God has poured upon Man in Paradise the abundance of His creation,⁽³⁾ and in this realm of heavenly perfection(4), flowers grow wherever Eve treads(5).

When the angels come to visit Eden, they pass through the silent realms of sheer light(6). They fly like eagles(7)

Die zelf de zon, te sterck in 't schijnen
Braveeren met hun scherpsiende oogh (282)

and although they have looked upon the very glory of God, they still exclaim at the heavenly beauty of the garden(8), like the Promised Land, a 'melck-en-honinglant'. The garden is full of things natural and at the same time supernatural: white lilies and roses for Christ(9), the Virgin Mary(10) and the Saints(11), the white of truth, goodness, virginity, love and radiancy; the red of love, suffering and sacrifice(12):

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- (1) J.Revius "Paradijs" l.c. p.21. See also 857,p395; 419, p.212; 857, p.395; 1191, p.536.
(2) In 11.6-8.
(3) 11.187-8 "...een' vollen horen van overvloeden". This can be symbolic of justice (1201, p.540), the Earth (1716, p.743), the Sea(1719, p.744), or the Sun and Moon(1726, p.746).
(4) 1.201. The palm is generally a feature of the Heavenly Paradise (1347, p.604).
(5) 1.202. Herbs are particularly associated with the Virgin Mary, whence the Blessing of Herbs at the Feast of the Assumption (1149,50, p.515).
(6) 11.299-302.
(7) 1.308.
(8) 1.311.
(9) 1900, p.801; 1902, p.803.
(10) See p.166 above, note 9. Sancta Maria, wit blanckende lelie des hemelsche paradijs, bidt voor ons...Sancta Maria,

precious stones adorn the earthly paradise as well as the heavenly(13); the unicorn, which could purify water as Christ could sanctify it(14), stands with his head over the spring: the sunflower like the nightingale, follows the sun's course and seems to be ardent with its rays(15); the birds emulate the singing of the angels: the grape, fruit of sacramental wine(18), smells sweetly: the lamb is decked not only with the purple of King Adam's livery, but also of the King of Kings(16): the brook yields cream and wine, the milk of Christ's teaching(17) and the blood of His Redemption(18): in all things, animals, ores, stones, plants and herbs, not only is God's handiwork visible, but something too of His own mysterious nature with which Creation is imbued(20), and once again the sun's gentle power is felt as the symbol of this Divine goodness(21).

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- rose sonder doorne, der sondaren eenmedecijn, bidt voors
ons. (Maastricht Litany) 1152,p.515. See also 1149,p.515.
- (11) 1900,p.803; 1905,p.805.
- (12) 1945,p.824, and "Altaergeheimenissen",l.1769f. Red and white have always been prominent colours of Christian symbolism. The instructions to the players of Adam and Eve in the 13th cent. "Jeu d'Adam" was that they should wear garments of red and white before the Fall, and fig-leaves after it. This corresponds to the symbolism of the red cassocks and white surplices of church choirs and the red gloves and white cottas of servers in the Roman Catholic Mass, which in turn may have been the inspiration of Vondel's device of the White Robes of Original Righteousness. (13) cf.11.314,5 with 11.967-74. (14) 1859,p.785.
- (15) This is a recurrent theme in Gezelle's poetry. vis. "Ego Flos", "Zonnewende" and "Myn hert is als een blomgewas".
- (16) The Lamb as metaphor for Christ is first used by John the Baptist (John I v.29). Purple is the symbol of authority, 1948,p.825. Christ was also vested in royal purple before His crucifixion (John XIX v.2). (17) 1294,p.574.
- (18) 887,8 p.404; 895,p.406.
- (20) 11.335,6. (21) 11.332-4.

Adam and his bride, to whom God grants His own nature most completely(1), shall be crowned with everlasting laurel brought from Heaven, tokens not only of kingship and marriage, but also of hope(2) and the many other virtues associated with the colours of its red berries and white pearly dewdrops(3).

In all this divine perfection bathed in the light and warmth of the sun, evil can only be present if it be disguised as goodness(4). To defend the right, Michael appears radiating light from his shield and buckler which are forged with flashing diamonds, and his sword of justice (5) 'daer vier en gloet en voncken /Uit sprongen'(6) when he drove Lucifer to the darkness

Daer 's aerdrÿx navel wat Godt vloect houdt
afgezonderd
Van't koesterende licht, dat al wat leeft verquickt
(387).

(1) 1.337.

(2) Green symbolizes hope (1548, p.665). A wedding was sometimes portrayed in the Middle Ages by a couple joining hands over a book while Christ crowns them (863, p.397). 'Virtue' is portrayed by Ripa as a winged maiden leaning on a spear and carrying a laurel wreath (laurel because it always stays green and is never struck by lightning), and the sun is depicted on her breast, for as the sun gives light and life to the earth, so virtue gives warmth and power to the body ("Iconologia" p.672).

(3) Green, white and red are the most common liturgical colours. Vondel's sheer artistry excels in such visual imagery as this, where the symbolic significance of the colours blends as naturally with the whole picture as the felicitous metaphor of rubies and diamonds on the laurel-crowns. The metaphor too may contain its own symbolism, since the ruby represents the love of fellow-man and health, and the diamond, joy and honesty(1911, p.808).

(4) 11.374-8.

(5) 1203, p.540.

(6) 11.382,3.

When Adam sees the angels approaching, their utter purity(1), the bright whiteness of their forms(2) and the glorious light which accompanies them(3) reminds him that the brightest beauty of Eden is but a natural symbol of supernatural goodness(4).

Gabriel greets Adam as the viceroy or vicar on earth of the highest Authority(5), and Eve as 'full of grace'(6). These greetings alone are suggestive of the vicarious nature of Christ's humanity and Gabriel's annunciation to Mary; and the marriage union of which Gabriel further speaks has a very great mystical significance if it is interpreted in the light of the Wedding Feast at Cana as recounted in the Gospels, the Marriage of the Lamb (in the 19th chapter of Revelation) and the established symbolism of Christ as the second Adam, of the Church as Christ's bride and of Mary as the Mother Church. Adam and Eve's marriage-feast is graced by the angels and blessed by God

op dat de dageraet

Der weerelt schooner rijze en opluicke in u beide(441)
(7).

Eve is the "zuster, bruid en dochter" of her protector(8) even as she is the sister, bride and daughter of God in the 17th century anthology "Het Hofken der Geestelijck Liedekens" (9). She is the 'morgenster der vrouwen'(10) and her description is similar to Mary's description of herself in the

(1) 1.406.

(2) 1.410.

(3) 11.408,9.

(4) 11.419-22; 429,30.

(5) 1.431.

(6) 1.446.

(7) The light of God's glory in the world will shine more brightly for the union of Christ with His Church, cf. Revelation XIX vv.6-9. The marriage banquet was held in Eden under the Tree of Life by the clear waterspring from which a lion (symbol of Christ, 263, p.142) with his lioness drank (11.395,6).

(8) 1.195, 1.445.

(9) W.M.Frjns l.c. p.558.

(10) 1.449 cf. Ave Maria stella

.....
Funda nos in pace

Mutans Hevae nomen (958, p.431).

Magnificat:

Wat wil uw naem en faem zich wijt en zijt ontvouwen(450)
For behold, from henceforth all generations shall call
me blessed (Luke II v.48)

Indien d'alzegenaer, die u zoo hoogh verheft (451)
For he that is mighty hath magnified me (v.49)

De rijkste vader stort in zijnen onderdaen
't Genarjck hart uit, door ontelbaer tal van goeden
(465)

And his mercy is on them that fear him (v.50)
He hath filled the hungry with good things (v.53)

The full mystery of God's love to Man is sensed by
Adam, who returns in his praise to his comparison of God
with the sun:

Gelooft zij d'opperste, die zijn genade streckt
En uitbreit wijder dan de heldre zonneglanssen
Zich spreien overal, uit zijn turkoize transsen(462).

The only nominal(1) imagery in "Adam in Ballingschap"
is the symbolization of God's grace of Original Righteousness
in the robes of supernatural purity and, like its counter-
part the emblem, it has its 'talking picture'(2) in the
Preface and the Chorus in the second act. Strictly a
consideration of this emblematic symbol belongs to the study
of the literal or theological levels of the play rather
than to this section, since no interpretation of its
symbolism as such is needed where a full explanation is
given. But the explanation itself is couched in terms
familiar to us from the symbolic allegory of God as the Sun
and the goodness of Eden as the Sun's light and warmth.
Lucifer described these garments as finely woven white silk
through which the sun shone(3), but the angel chorus gives
them a more supernatural description:

(1) See page 158 above.

(2) id.

(3) ll.106-111.

Dees zuiverheit sproot uit geen zonne,
Die daeghlijx opgaet voor 't gezicht,
Maer uit der hemellichten bronne,
Eerste oirzaeck van al 't zichtbre licht (494).

The lily and rose, with all their perfection and symbolic association cannot equal the beauty of this special gift from God to the mortals.

But even in this bright garden a dense shadow is cast by the Tree of Knowledge, dark enough for the two counsellors of darkness Asmodé and Lucifer, misformed shapes as Lucifer himself says(1), far removed from the perfection of the glowing angels and white-draped mortals who are even now preparing for the wedding banquet. Asmodé's plan for revenge on God is to turn Man's brightness into darkness:

Het allerreetste is dat men listigh hem bestorm,
In zijn volschapien beelt, wiens glans zoo hemelsch
flonkert,
Indienge 't kroost, dat naer den vader zweemt,
verdonkert,
Zoo keert hy 't aenzicht van deze ongelijckenis (567).

But Man can only be approached with care, avoiding the light and open air(2); shadows, corners, a cave, a wood, grove or hedgerow must be used as cover for "het nachtspook, dat by daegh/ ongaerne wort gezien"(3). The disguise which most readily presents itself is that of an eagle, the only animal which dares to gaze at the stabbing light of midday(4). Lucifer's second suggestion of an elephant, whose "Lichaem valt niet te naeu/ om in te schuilen" has always seemed to me somewhat frivolous, and I cannot find a symbolic

(1) 11.5,6.

(2) 1.494.

(3) 11.596,7.

(4) The soaring of the eagle high in the heavens makes it a symbol of Christ, particularly in His Resurrection, and also, in Act II, of the angels who may gaze at God. But these characteristics may also be symbolic of pride and presumption.(1268, p.565; 1288, p.571; 1794, p.768).

significance to justify it, for the elephant is normally a symbol of gentleness. This animal, it is true, is remarkably intelligent and could inflict as spectacular a death on Adam as Lucifer anticipates. It may also be associated in Vondel's mind with the serpent because of the fable of the elephant and the serpent in "Vorsteljcke Warande der Dieren"(1).

At the time that the wedding celebrations are taking place under the Tree of Life, which will culminate in the dance of the heavenly spheres, Lucifer, under the Tree of Knowledge, is anticipating the dance in Hell to celebrate Man's Fall. The only light for these festivities (as in those of his imaginary torch dance in the prologue), will come from flames issuing smoke, which bats' wings disturb(2).

Belial's proposal to poison the couple at the wedding feast: Ick wil de bruiloftsschael vermengen met venijn (728) recalls Gabriel's warning in lines 374-8. But his expansion of this:

De verf van 't blozende ooft zal lekker lockaes
En met haer' glans den worm, die binnen steeckt,^{strecken}
bedecken (731)

is more reminiscent of the fable of Jupiter and the snake:

De Blixem-drager heeft den choor der Hemel-Goden
Op een zeer groot banquet heel vrundlijck laten nooden:
Neptunus flux ter feest met zijnen drijtand quam,
En Mars noch vocht van 't bloed, en van het krijgen gram
Apollo met de glans van zijn doorluchte stralen,
Met al de Water-Goon en Nymphen vande dalen.
Zoo flux 't ghediert vernam het heerlijk avondmael;
Elck een zijn giften bracht op 'shemels opper-zael.
't Was Jupiter zier lieff, hÿ heeft s' in danck
ontfanghen.
Ten lesten met een Roos quam een der Water-slanghen:
Maer Jupiter, beducht dat eenigh boos venijn
Mocht onder 's Roozen blaen en steel gestreken zijn,
"Heeft dit geschenck ontzeyd. Ghy die de Goon wilt eeren
"Met een oprecht ghemoed, wilt u ten hemel keeren.
"Want ydel is de dienst die yemand hem bewijst,
"Wanneer hÿ nyt en boos en Godloos herte rijst. (3)

(1) No.112, W.B.vol I pp.740,1.

(2) 11.682-5. A woman

Man's immortality, his innocence and his shining virtue would be destroyed if Asmodé's scheme succeeds:

Zoo wort de pauwestaert(4) des menschdoms neergestreecken and Belial translates this into the more familiar (818) symbolism: "wat zou...een damp al 's hemels glans bezwalcken"(5)

The conspirators realize that they are wildly anticipating events; the garden is still as full as ever of heavenly glory, or more so -

De hémel overstraelt den hof met rijcker glanssen (829) before which Asmodé and Belial have to withdraw. It is as if the swirling movement, music and colour of the festive dance come to sweep away the lurking dangers of a conspiracy where movement must be concealed (6), noise must be avoided(7) and a cloak of darkness is necessary(8). The dancers are encompassed by a yet brighter light from heaven, for their dance is "van Godt geboden"(9), and spontaneously Adam chooses a dance-form that will emulate the movement of the heavenly bodies, thereby symbolizing the praise of God in Heaven. The effect is heightened by the part played by the angels who, as stars, symbolize their own duties in God's choir(10).

The symbolism in the dance itself is undoubtedly a masterpiece of Christian art. Human love is beautifully expressed by the kindling of the Moon by the Sun(11), and this in turn conveys something of the nature of Divine love, for Adam and Eve, who as mortals on earth have likened God's love to the light and warmth of the sun, now play the parts

with bat's wings, claws and ears portrays envy (1275,p.568) or pride (1288,p.571). The fallen angels were generally depicted with such wings (757,p.364).

(3) W.B.vol I, No.95 p.707.

(4) The peacock symbolizes either vanity or immortality. (1660,1661 p.716; 1801,p.770).

(5) 1.821.

(6) 11.590,1.

(7) 11.624,5

(8) 1.626 i.a.

(9) 1.867.

(10) 11.887,8

(11) The symbols of Woman and Man respectively (1725,p.746).

of the Sun and Moon(1). Indeed, Eve is so kindled by God's love, that she is carried beyond the mere enactment of a mystery to a real experience of that mystery. Her soul is borne heavenward, and

verkeert in zuivre vlam,
Zoekt d'eerste bron, waeruit zy haeren oirsprong nam (939).

Eve, whose place as a mortal is on this earth, has through her human love for Adam been able to feel the Divine love inspiring it so strongly, that she has passed beyond the symbolism of herself representing the moon kindled by Adam's love, beyond the deeper symbolism of herself as God's faithful kindled by God's love; she is all on fire and must go onward and upward:

Ick worde krachtigh naede bron des heils gedreven,
Die mijnen brant alleen kan koelen, laetme gaen. (942)

"Uw element is hier", Adam says to Eve(2), only angels may, like eagles, fly so high in the face of the Sun, and it is courting disaster for mortals to be so presumptuous(3).

Indeed, so bright is the heavenly vision that even eagles and angels(4) could never tire of looking upon

dees groote stadt, daer 't eeuwigh schijnend licht
Van 't alvernoegende en verzadende aengezicht
Den schoonsten dagh verleent, een' dagh, waernaer wy menschen
(Och of die dagh verscheen) uit al ons harte wenschen (989)

-
- (1) In this symbolic pattern we return to the typology of Adam and Eve as the prototypes of Christ and Mary, since the Sun symbolizes Christ, the Moon the Church and Earth the Soul (W.M.Frijns l.c. p.557)
- (2) l.943. The dangers inherent in Eve's uncontrolled ecstasy are further symbolically emphasised by the suggestion of the cosmic disruption which will result if Eve, so recently playing the part of the Moon, leaves her element in order to unite herself with de 'bron des heils', the Sun.
- (3) ll. 945-8 cf. p.174 note 4 above.
- (4) ll.961-2, 965.

Yet the Earthly Paradise is not so far removed from the Heavenly that the one cannot be visualized in terms of the other(1), and the marriage feast in Eden is but a prelude to the longed-for marriage of the Lamb(2) in Heaven(3), for Adam and Eve's love on earth is derived from the one source of Good to which they can attain by stages(4).

But Eve is not yet fully reconciled to such a steady course toward Heaven, for her metaphor of the Earth as Heaven's bride(5) betrays the same confusion of thought as was apparent in her recent ecstasy. She is still very sensitive to emotional impressions, so that Belial, when at last he can speak to her alone, can easily foster her unbalanced fervour by associating her human perfection with the mysteries of Divine perfection. The rose and lily bloom more beautifully under her feet for she is the flower above all flowers, the marvel of all the world's beauties(6).

The efficacy of this approach is immediately apparent. Eve invites her flatterer to come forth from the shadows(7), his natural domain, into the radiance of the garden:

Ontwolck u, dat de zon hier doorschijn (1050).

Belial implies that Eve is as perfect as Mary, for the dolphin(8) fawns at her and the unicorn(9) lays his head on

(1) 11.990-5.

(2) See p.172 above.

(3) 11.996-9.

(4) 11.999-1002. The soul's progress toward Heaven was symbolized by figures climbing Jacob's Ladder each rung of which represented a virtue. The few who reached the top were crowned by God (1165, p.523).

(5) 11.1022-4.

(6) 11.1036-9. See also pp.155, 166, 169, 174 above.

(7) 1.1043.

(8) The dolphin is probably an early symbol of Christ, whose Cross then took the form of an anchor (536, p.263).

(9) cf. "Concordes", W.B. Vol. I, p.190. Since Christ by His Incarnation in Mary's womb allowed Himself to be killed by His enemies, He was symbolized as a unicorn which, according to tradition, allowed itself to be caught by the hunter by going to any maiden it saw and laying its

her lap. He calls the Tree of Knowledge a Phoenix-tree(1), inferring that its fruit would ensure everlasting life and virtue(2).

It is in the shadow of this same tree that Eve is sitting when Adam returns from his communion with the highest majesty when he received "een genadeteken/ van haeren uitstrael op het voorhoofd"(3). It is darkness which this tree has brought to Eve,

Godts appelboom verleent my schaduwen en spijs (1229) and Eve does not find it easy to persuade Adam to join her in the shadow; he will not take the lustre away from his soul for such a trifling pleasure(4).

After the Fall the bright colours of Eden fade away, and a very different festive scene is painted by Lucifer:

Óns hof wort met tapjt van spinragh(5), en feestoen
Van dorre blaen bekleet, om 't zegefeest te houwen (1418).
Asmodé's reward for his evil is the antithesis of the promise for virtue of a glorious place in the brightness of Heaven.

head in her lap (268, p.143). Re 1.1081: Since the unicorn's horn was supposed to be able to purify water (see p. 170 above), ground horn was used as a medicinal powder till the 18th century, and water drunk from a horn was believed to prolong life (1860, p.785).

- (1) 1.1117. Christ's Resurrection was likened to ^{the} Phoenix's rejuvenation in the fire (276,7, p.146; 625, p.301), whence the characteristics of the tree.
- (2) 1306, p.584; 1604, p.692; 1606, p.693; 1871, p.789. cf. 1.1125: The apples from the tree "houden 't menschdom eeuwich jong".
- (3) 11.1214,5.
- (4) 1.1296. cf. 11.155,6.
- (5) Cobwebs are symbolic of heresy.

His celebration shall be by night(1), and his crown shall be of corruptible iron(2).

Nevertheless the Evil has not conquered Good. Adam in his sinful state has joined the powers of darkness, but even in the darkest cave he cannot hide himself from Heaven's brilliance, nor avoid the glow of the all-penetrating Light(3). He is the very personification of sin(4), oppressive darkness is much more desirable to him than daylight(5):

de zon, die 't hoeft haest onderhaelt,
En naer de westkim spoet, is lang voor my gedaelt.
Mijn oogen schuwen 't licht (1562).

The contrast with his very first words in the play(6) is too obvious to need comment.

Adam is redeemed from complete destruction by the very light which he cannot avoid, the light of Goodness which still exists despite the utter darkness of his own remorse - "het helder licht" of his "verlichte reden" of which Eve reminds him(7) - and when God comes to restore order, the dominion of His power is announced by Heavenly lights which cleave the darkness(8), as Good breaks through Evil. As Lucifer had fled before the approaching rays of dawning day, so now Adam and Eve flee into the woods

daer noit zon
Haer aldoordringend licht en straelen schieten kon (1617).
God's glory is now terrifying to them, no longer do they burn with this same light and long to be drawn up into it, and when God finally claims the whole garden by enveloping it in His full radiance, they rush away from it(9). As they

(1) 1.1422.

(2) 1.1426.

(3) 11.1486-9. See also 11.1626-31.

(4) 11.1491-9. Ripa's emblem of Sin is a naked and blind youth roaming along a crooked and dangerous road with a snake round his waist and a worm gnawing his heart ("Iconologia" p.477).

(5) 1.1548.

(6) 11.119-122.

(7) 1.1574.

(8) 11.1602-9 and 1637.

(9) 11.1688-92.

face a future of hardship, Adam knows what they have lost. The hope of springtime, the freshness of the early sunlight could have lasted for ever(1), but after the marriage Eve had longed for a more intense heat. In her eagerness she had passed through her calm springlike contentment, precipitating the brief summer of her ecstasy, setting in motion inevitably, it would seem, a cycle which must end in winter, the season when Man is turned away from God, and is under the domination of spiritual death, the period from Adam to Moses, the time from Septuagesima to Easter (2). As Adam leaves the garden for good he says

Hier heeft de zomer uit.de winter klamptme aen boort(1709).

This is one of the two symbolic allegories in "Adam in Ballingschap", and in it we are aware of the great depth of Vondel's understanding of the two absolutes of Good and Evil which are still more clearly symbolized in "Lucifer". The treatment of the great fundamental antithesis in "Adam in Ballingschap" is nowhere excelled, not even in "Lucifer", and indeed "Adam in Ballingschap" gives a more complete picture by adding a second symbolic allegory. So far we have viewed the antithesis objectively, as an indeterminate conflict of opposites in the centre of which Man finds himself. The other symbolic allegory adds to this its subjective complement, the same ambivalence sensed by Man within himself where the opposing forces are epitomized.

"Het huwelijk van Adam en Eva krijgt een symbolischen ondergrond door de vereeniging, in den mensch, als wezen, van twee elementen: lijf en ziel; de ziel, verwante van het Engelenrijk; het lijf, verwant aan het dierenrijk, en daarmee aan de Hel"(3).

(1) 11.529-531.

(2) 1312, p.586.

(3) L.Simons "Vondels Dramatiek" W.B. Vol.III, p.85.

There is of course nothing new in the characterization of the eternal unrest caused by the conflict of worldly and spiritual forces in Man. Vondel's dramatic themes throughout place certain types of vice and virtue in opposition and from the resolution of the ensuing conflicts a moral conclusion can be drawn. The conflicts of Jempsar against Joseph, Salmoneus against Theofrastus and so on, are just complex developments of the mediaeval moralities with their personifications of Lust, Continnence, Ambition, Humility and the other vices and virtues(1).

According to Simons, "Adam in Ballingschap" is more than a morality, for it is the dramatization of the processes of one man's temptation in dialogue form or, as it were, the management by Prospero of his own Caliban and Ariel natures. But, once again, this is a symbolic, not a literal allegory, and the crux of the question, whether or not the symbolism of Adam as the Soul and Eve as the Body can be upheld or not is this: in the fusion of Adam's and Eve's love for one another before the Fall with their full realization of God's love, do they perceive their love for one another as a sacramental revelation of Divine Love, or are they themselves so very little lower than the angels that the purely natural expression of their love for one another is in terms of worship to God?

To Man in his fallen state, the second, theophilantropic relationship to God is impossible, and only a man of foolhardy presumption would think it not impossible. Vondel, always humbly aware of his fallibility, could only have created from his own experience the sacramental love of Adam and Eve, and would in his maturity in the Roman Catholic church surely have done so. Indeed we have already found

(1) "Bij Vondel immers is de psychologie der personen ondergeschikt aan hun symbolische betekenis" J.G. Bomhof, "Vondels Drama", p.42. See further Ch.V.

ample evidence of Vondel's sacramental thought in this play.

It may be pure coincidence that Adam in his hymn of praise in Act I thanks God for their souls. It may only be Vondel's psychological insight which directs Eve's words rather to Adam than to God; Adam who, she says, is like the noblest nature and ^{has} something in common with worldliness. Her bold statement of the doctrine of soul and body in lines 164-166 however is significant because it comes almost abruptly, because it is given added authority by its reiteration in the angels' chorus to Act II, but most of all because Eve is not a thinker, she is, as Belial pertinently calls her, a simple dove(1), easily influenced by her emotions, receptive to sensual impressions and in her innocence happily yielding to Adam who supplies her need of something tangible in which she can sense God.

It is impossible to think of Eve without thinking of Man's physical nature. Even her ecstasy later(2) is sensuous, almost passionate, rather than spiritual. The power of Adam's reason is felt when he brings her back to earth, and the much greater spiritual depth of his own communion with God is expressed in the cry from his very soul

Heer, hou op...hou op; en zijt uw knecht genadig (1217,19).

Adam's perplexity in addressing his wife(3) is not just flattery or even the sincere admiration of a lover; he is really at a loss to give a name to his relationship with his bride who shall become 'one flesh' with him in marriage, but is already absolutely literally his own flesh and blood.

St. Paul attempts to explain this and admits finding it

(1) 11.748, 1112, 1115, 1147.

(2) Act IV 11.932-944.

(3) 11.199,200.

difficult. This passage(1) occurs in the Roman Nuptial Mass and was certainly familiar to Vondel: - "So ought men to love their wives as their own bodies. He that loveth his wife loveth himself: for no man ever yet hated his own flesh, but nourisheth and cherisheth it, even as the Lord the Church: for we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones. For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall be joined unto his wife; and they two shall be one flesh. This is a great mystery; but I speak concerning Christ and the Church".

The sacrament in Marriage is clearly the 'outward and visible sign' in it of the 'inward and spiritual grace' of Christ's union with the Church, and this is frequently stressed in the Marriage Service. There are passages in "Adam in Ballingschap" where this typological association was certainly in Vondel's mind as he wrote about the first marriage(2), but we are only concerned with it here, in so far as the union of Christ, the second Adam, with the Church, the Mother Church, suggests the bond of the soul with the flesh, or in doctrinal terms, the Holy Spirit with the Body (of the Church). Even without considering the Church's teaching on Marriage, there can be no doubt that Adam's kinship, mental and physical, with Eve must have been something quite outside our ken, and we can only imagine it to be the ultimate completion of what we sense in normal wedlock.

As Simons points out, the angels in Act II address themselves mainly to Adam although Eve is present, whereas Belial confronts Eve later. Gabriel, Raphael and Michael, surveying the garden alone, acknowledge Eve's existence but think of Adam as the representative of both human beings:

(1) Ephesians V vv. 28-32.

(2) See p.172 above.

De alzegenaeer stort hier zichzelf teffens uit,
En waert in dier, en erts, en steen, en plant, en kruit,
Doch meest in Adam, heer van 't edelste geweste. (337)

Similarly Lucifer, Belial and Asmodé consider at length which of the two shall be attacked first and decide that Eve is the weaker.

The important second strophe of the Chorus to Act II(1) embodies Vondel's exposition in his Preface. In line 509(2), the meaning is clearly that the body should want what the soul wants, and this is expanded in the two lines following

De reden onderworpt zich Godt,
Het lijf de ziele, wijs en schrander. (512)

In the further development of this in the second anti-strophe a metaphor is used which could well be the one most relevant and ready to hand in this context, but it gains greatly in force if it is applied literally to the couple in Paradise.

Zoo baert d'eenstemmigheid, in 't paeren
Van lijf en ziele, aen een getrouwt
Een lieflijkheit, die door alle aren
De geesten streelt en onderhoudt. (526)

Och of de Godtheit hem bewaerde
In eene zelve lente en jeught,
Zoo kon de bruiloft eeuwich duuren.
Een bant verbint de twee natuuren (532).

In the marriage of the progenitors of the human race is symbolized not only the co-existence in Man of 'engelscheit en dierscheit' in perfect harmony with one another, but also the central position in the Cosmos ordained for "den mensch, de kleene weerelt"(3). Just as the Divine grace of 'Erfrechtvaerdigheid' was a necessary condition to maintaining the equilibrium between 'de worstlende ongelijcken' of soul and body, so Divine blessing was given to the marriage of the First Man and Woman that the position

(1) Beginning 'De mensch, uit lijf en ziel bestaende'(1.505).

ordained for Man in Creation might be maintained by human kind, the epitome of earthly and heavenly natures, of things temporal and eternal(4).

In the third act the three infernal spirits in council demonstrate the working of temptation. Asmodé, the astute privy councillor raises two fundamental points in the tactics of successful temptation. Adam and Eve must not be attacked together, and the one to be attacked first must be Eve because her fickle love of delicacies (dertle snoeplust) renders her more vulnerable. It is noteworthy that they consider the rosy apple a powerful attraction to Eve and Eve only, because it will deceive her "dry zinnen teffens door een' appelbeet alleen"(5).

Belial, the executive officer, has the means in his seductive cunning to put Asmodé's plan into effect. He immediately appreciates that Eve, sensitive to charm and beauty, can also be lured by the fourth sense of hearing. Sweet musical language shall be the prelude to an entrancement in which she will approach the apple, so luscious to the eye, tempting the mouth to taste, and before she knows it she will have embraced death while her intemperate fancy(6) still inflames her.

There is a dreadful sense of the inevitable in the events which lead from the wedding feast to the temptation

(2) ...d'een wil als d'ander.

(3) Bespiegelingen III 1.92.

(4) The full significance of the symbolism in this Chorus will be apparent if reference is made to pp. 135-142 above, dealing with Vondel's theological notions of the Cosmos and the Soul and Body. See also "Bespiegelingen" III 11.37-268 containing a full account of Vondel's conception of Man as a microcosm of the World.

(5) 1.651.

(6) snoepkoortse, 1.740.

even as Christ's Baptism led to His temptation in the wilderness(1), for both Christ's Baptism and the wedding in Eden were the cause of ecstatic experiences which left Man's worldly nature the more exposed to temptation. If Adam or Eve can be caught by Belial while they are still in an unbalanced state of mystical tension after the wedding banquet

Dan zal 't vernederen kort volgen op 't verheffen(2)(742).

The dance scene, which is the natural precursor of the ecstasy is itself a natural consequence of the marriage sacrament which has just been performed, since in it the whole dual nature of Man, spiritual and sensual, is concentrated upon the fullest possible expression of adoration of its Creator(3). The spiritual confines itself to contemplation of the dance patterns as a form of expression of a mystery - as occurs in the prototype of this dance in "Bespiegelingen van Godt en Godtsdienst"(4). The physical urge finds its outlet in the rhythmic movement of the dance, as in Stravinsky's "Sacre du Printemps".

In the ecstasy which follows it the duality of Man's nature is more clearly revealed in the rift which threatens to break between the two aspects of that nature, symbolized by Adam and Eve. In spiritual ecstasy, Vondel says, God is

(1) N.Beets "Verscheidenheden meest op letterkundig gebied", p.86.

(2) See p.47 above.

(3) "Want nu de mensch bestaet uit ongelijcke deelen
Van lichaem, en van ziel, en 's allerhooghsten wensch
Denhalven niet begeert, maer den geheelen mensch;
Hoe zou de godtsdienst dan volstaen met een van beide,
Of lijden dat men ziel en lichaem deelde, en scheidde?
De godtsdienst eischt dus twee ge-eigent aen den heer,
Noit hoogh genoeg gezet in top van prijs en eer"

(4) id. Bk.III, 11.853f.

pleased

te rucken 's menschen geest
Veel hoger van den romp des lichaems en zijn leest,
Om dus ontboeit van stoffe en aerdscheit op te stijgen
In 't hemelsch kabinet der geesten...

Daer wort geen ziel verduistert,
Door 's lichaems damp, en wolck. daer spreektze Godt, en
luistert
Geheimenissen van natuure noit verstaen.(1)

Adam can and does have this most advanced spiritual experience without danger(2), but Eve, too spiritually immature for such esoteric mysticism, is transported only by emotional fervour, and, lacking the discipline and control by which all mystical experiences must be guided(3), is only restrained by Adam's reason(4), though her acquiescence is only possible because she accepts Adam's will(4) as her own(5).

We remember from the first and second acts that the body and soul must be kept in harmony to form one 'married' (modern theologians and psychologists call it integrated) personality. We also know from the devils' council in the third act that Eve being the weaker of the two will be exposed to the greatest danger from her sensuality if she can be assailed when Adam, her leader and guide, is not with her. and now we hear Eve herself admitting her unbalanced⁽⁶⁾ state:

De goddelijcke galm van 't heiligh bruiloftsliet
Ontknoopt den bant, die ziel en lichaem hiel gebonden(936).

(1) "Bespiegelingen", BK.I, 11.1243-6, 1249-51.

(2) 11.1212-1219.

(3) cf. Hadewijch's letters(e.g.N^{OS} IV,XI,XXX) and Ruusbroec's "Die Gheestelike Brulocht", Werken, Vol.I pp.250-2. Lack of training in spiritual experiences led in the Middle Ages to a hopeless confusion of eroticism and mysticism, resulting in bestial, but by no means malicious, obscenities in sacred places.(J.Huizinga "Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen", Verzamelde Werken Vol.III pp.187-195).

(4) Adam himself names as attributes of the soul - free will immortality and reason (11.157,8).

Adam's cry "toef: gy mostme niet ontzweeven"(7) implies far more than the selfish wish that the wife may stay with her husband. The deeper meaning of his constraint is that Eve must not mistake sensuous rapture for true spiritual ecstasy. But Eve's senses are afire, and her flames can only be cooled in the oblivion which she feels to be the source of all sanctity.

Gently but firmly Adam recalls her: "Uw element is hier, uw liefste spreekt u aen"(8). At the literal level, this says no more than -'you cannot soar above like an eagle while you are only a mortal being. Your husband appeals to you', but it has also the symbolic sense of 'you belong here with your spiritual guide, God's first creature endowed with a soul, whose flesh you are'. Eve's fever subsides, the anxious moment has passed, but the danger is still there. In slow-moving glowing language Eve visualizes Heaven(9) and Adam, with great love and understanding, patiently draws her out of her trance to the familiar objects of the garden around them, and to their love for one another, which provides Eve with a safe outlet for her ecstatic fervour.

But at this point Adam, aware of the danger in himself, (to which of course they are both exposed), of this physical ecstasy becoming unbridled and so turning to lust, feels that he must restore the spiritual element in their mutual love by cutting himself off from earthly influences and retreating into prayer with God. In so doing however, Adam

(5) See 11.203,4.

(6) cf. 11.505-509.

(7) 1.940.

(8) 1.943.

(9) 11.984-9.

is abandoning Eve just when she most needs him, for, in terms of the symbolic allegory, she, the Body, now more sensitive than ever to physical impulses, must withstand temptation without Adam, the Soul; the animal nature in Man is left unguarded by the angelic; 'the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak':

De reden onderworpt zich Godt,
Het lijf de ziele, wijs en schrande.
Verloor de mensch dees gaef, dit lot,
En most hy by zijn kracht volharden,
Natuur kon hem niet houden staen (514).

Eve's last words to Adam before he takes leave of her are charged with a tragic irony which is quite unapparent if they are taken only at their literal value:

Zoo lang het aerdrjck in den arm des hemels hangt,
En d'aerde, zijne bruit, haer vruchtbaerheit ontfangt
Van zulck een' bruidegom, die haer met duizent oogen
Van starren aenlonckt, en bestraelt uit 's hemels boogen,
Zoo lang zal mijne min met d'uwe gaen gepaert,
En elcke dienst en kus blijft my een' weerkus waert(1027).

In the first scene of the fourth act, we see the whole evolution of the stresses between spiritual and physical impulses at the level of the highest religious experience. First, the whole Man worshipped God, but the will must control the senses(1) and discipline them to concentrate upon the mind's vision(2). The physical aspect of Man's nature wanted to break away from the spiritual, it was recalled and the two reunited. But the spirit in Adam, now aware of the harmful power which physical ecstasy may gain over the Spirit, breaks away from sensuous attraction and seeks communion with God in the solitude of the mind alone.

Sensual and spiritual ecstasy must be temperate(3)

Men tre dan achterwaert, om niet te hoogh te draven(4)
and at the symbolic level, the process of disruption

(1) ll. 932-944.

(2) ll. 945-998.

(3) Adam deliberately withdraws at the height of his own spiritual ecstasy(ll.1217-20).

between the Body and Soul began in the ecstasy, the heat of which was like the Summer succeeding the perpetual Spring of Adam's and Eve's innocent youth. They strove for the maturity of mystical experience which, because they were not of similar natures(5), could not be fully shared together. Their two kinds of ecstasy drove them apart and their separation within the marriage bond symbolizes the dissolution of the bond between body and soul, resulting in the ineluctible change from summer to winter(6):

Och of de Godtheit hem bewaerde
In eene zelve lente en jeught,
Zoo kon de bruiloft eeuwich duuren,
Een bant verbint de twee natuuren (532).

Eve, now alone, is totally unaware of her precarious situation, is ignorant too of the remedy for it, since Adam has not warned her to seek refuge from her stimulated senses in the mental concentration of prayer. She bids Adam God speed and turns to hear Belial's seductive voice.

Eve has been called a child-bride, and this is a particularly apt description of this simple, spiritually immature woman, who in her naiveté confuses sensual impressions with the experience of real truths, who, like a child, is totally dependant on the guidance of her spiritually mature companion Adam, and like a young bride is easily exposed to the temptation of acquiring too quickly the maturity she unconsciously envies in her husband, the temptation which, she realizes too late, brings her nothing but worldliness.

Belial carries out his intentions to perfection. Probing Eve's defencelessness systematically, he flatters

(4) "Bespiegelingen" Bk.I, 1.21.

(5) In the symbolic sense only of course.

(6) 1.1708, cf. p.181 above.

her, inspires confidence and admiration for his superior knowledge by harping on her simple ignorance and rousing her curiosity so that she finally takes the first apparently harmless step on the downward path. She asks why the fruit of the tree is forbidden. She questions God's ordinance and blind obedience has been conquered by the first craving for knowledge.

Immediately after Eve's fall comes the clash between the antipoles of right and wrong, the conflict-subject of all Vondel's tragedies. Here however, the precise moment for the mighty collision is when Adam's communion with God has strengthened his spiritual energy in an upward direction and Eve's seduction by Belial has sent her, carrying the germ of his complete wickedness, hurtling downwards.

Various writers have considered that Vondel has deliberately built himself an obstacle to Adam's temptation by Eve, and that Adam's perversion by the far weaker Eve is a shortcoming of the play. This criticism will not stand in the light of a symbolic interpretation.

Adam finds that his own flesh has sinned. This is the basic inescapable fact. That his own flesh is also a separate entity will confuse him, that there also exists the mystical bond of marriage between the two beings will eventually prove his stumbling-block, these are secondary issues. No matter how great Adam's spiritual resistance on finding Eve sitting under the Tree of Knowledge, the established order has been broken, the finely adjusted balance between spirit and flesh has gone and Adam, no longer an integral whole can only seek to restore the balance by adjusting his level to Eve's.

Psychologically the struggle would have been hard enough certainly. David's love of Absalom or Vondel's love of Maeyken or his son Joost was as nothing compared with

Adam's relationship to the very part of him that was his sister, wife and daughter Eve.

Theologically Adam's own flesh had offended, his right hand had done wrong, and rather than enter Hell with two hands he should have cut off the corrupt part(1). Adam realizes this,

Ick kies het leven voor de baerelijcke doot. (1301)

'k Getroostme niet van Godt, maer eer van u te scheiden(1303)

but the sacrifice it would demand is too great for his will-power.

The fruit with all its supposed qualities had no attraction whatsoever for Adam. Eve's praise of the succulence of the apple rebounds from Adam with a contemptuous "Och smaeck!"(2). Adam is appalled at what he knows has happened within him. Could he but be blind to the accomplished fact(3).

The temptation racks Adam in its final stages, and with magnificent strength of will he rises above it.

Durf ick in my het beelt, dat Godt gelijckt, misverven,
Mijn ziel ontluisteren, om zulck een snoot genot?(1295) (4).

But the spirit needs the flesh and while it controls the flesh they live together in harmony. When the flesh is weak, the spirit still needs it, and then comes the moment of real trial. Confronted now with everlasting asceticism the spirit in Adam is no longer willing. Adam's sin is greater than Eve's, for his was deliberate. Or rather, Adam's action of following Eve is the dramatization of the damning resignation of the will to the body the first time that the whole being concurs in an action though knowing it to be sinful. Thus the temptation of first Eve, than Adam, can be seen as the process of temptation in the two elements of body and soul in one man.

(1) Mark 9 v.43.

(2) 1.1236.

(3) 11.1245-7.

(4) Purity, according to theologians, is the preservation of the Temple of the Holy Spirit.

The aftermath of the victory of body over soul is the perfect expression of what any sensitive nature feels after such sin. The body applauds the deed and feels itself again integrated with the soul. Eve is no longer the passionate lover, but Adam's gentle wife. Only the soul feels the complete numb ghastliness of what it has done and the body can be no comfort to it; it is indeed a great grievance. From the depths Adam cries "Mijn vleesch heeft me verraên"(1). The shock and disgust at the first sin of the flesh was the direct cause of this far graver spiritual sin

Een vuile snoeplust was de pjl die Eva grievede,
En my al teffens. Och, dit komt van vrouweliefde.
Ick ben van mijne ribbe en eigen vleesch verraên. (1448)

and repeating the same self-condemnation (for it is really only self-condemnation although Eve is the name given to his own fleshly inclinations):

Het vleesch wil anders dan de geest, verstant en reden,
En wil, getaistert van dien onverwachten smack,
Gevoelen al te spade een' vreeselijcken krack. (1457).

Adam's rebuke of Eve, only aware of his torture but yet aware of her sin, seems cruel, but he is condemning his own fleshly lust which has defiled his spirit:

Eve: Ben ick niet
Uw eigen vleesch en been?

Adam: Ja, 't vleesch dat my verriet,
Verleide, ô valsche tong, met slangegift bestreecken!(1570).

Eve is finally moved by the only emotion she now feels, her ties to Adam. She is his. If he will die, then she will follow him even to death. Life without him is impossible, and in terms of the symbolic allegory this is just a truism.

Eve's confession of guilt and wish to die with Adam recalls all the old affection and the marriage bond between them. The desire to share all with his wife led him to sin. The strong

(1) 1.1445.

ties between man and woman, soul and body, rescue him now from his remorse. He will face the consequences with her and not try to escape them by breaking the marriage-bond and seeking release for his mind in death(1).

The compunction for sin, which Vondel calls 'herkennis'(2), is an experience very like the inverse of ecstasy. If not controlled it too will do great harm in the form of remorse, a totally destructive force. Adam and Eve are still married, the body must remain united to the soul even if God's original covenant binding the two has been broken(3). Eve, who has caused Adam's first sin, now saves him from a second and greater sin, that of suicide, for it is by her appeal to his reason(4) that she rallies him to reassert his spirit over his lust for physical violence. The suicide of Iscariot resulting from his remorse, was his greater sin, since by it he cut himself off from realizing the hope of the Resurrection. Adam's suicide likewise would have irreparably broken the ties of marriage with Eve, by which marriage Mankind would be born to know of its Redemption, and it would have committed the sin of breaking the bond uniting the soul and body(5).

(1) For of course, when the soul parts from the body, that is death.

(2) "Jeptha" Berecht, passim.

(3) "Much misunderstanding exists with regard to Original Sin... We should rather see it as the principle of sin which has passed upon our nature, because in his beginning man refused the height and joy of his vocation and made of self his God, thus putting asunder flesh and spirit, which God had joined together", F.P.Harton "Elements of the Spiritual Life", p.95.

(4) l.1574.

(5) Attractive though Verhagen's interpretation be, I do not believe it can stand in the face of the overruling symbolic significance of the marriage union throughout the play. He says(B.Verhagen "Vondels Dramatische Problemen", Vondelkroniek 11e jaargang, p.99): "Adams zondeval...is in Vondels symboliek; het huwelijk, dus het verlorengaan van het Paradijs; de overgang van de onbezorgde jeugd naar de werkelijkheid van het leven, met zijn onverbidde eischen van harden arbeid, zorgen en angsten - en den dood in het verschiet."

CHAPTER V.

Aller Treurspelen Treurspel.

Since art is "an objectification, qualitative in character of the inner spirit of man"(1) the true significance of a work of art can only be realized by passing through the veil of artistic imagery to the very essence of the artist's spiritual experience beyond. The more profound the experience, the greater are the depths which must be plumbed to find it. A layman's sole means of gaining access to the sanctum sanctorum of an artist's thought is by the experiences which he is able to share with the artist, by which kinship is felt with him and spiritual contact maintained. In the formidable quantity of literature on Vondel, the almost unanimous acclamation of the profundity of his thought by no means testifies to a deep understanding of his art. The realization of this profundity has indeed, I believe, frequently arisen only from an awareness of something elusive in his thought. A reader of Vondel's poetry can only travel with him as far as his sympathetic imagination allows him to share Vondel's inner experiences, and it is in interpreting my deepest experience of Vondel's Idea that I presume to go further than Vondel scholars in the past(2).

(1) B.H.Streeter "Reality", p.37.

(2) After writing this, I found in the opening paragraphs of J.Middleton Murry's "The Nature of Poetry" (in "Discoveries") reassuring evidence that 'the soul's adventure among books' may bring it to a point where communication with the

Any venture into thought-interpretation is wrought with hazards for "allegory is a seer's crystal wherein many can see only a shadow, others only the projection of their own thoughts, few fully discern what its maker would have them discern - 'here we see as in a clouded mirror'"(1). The greatest danger is certainly that of having a preconceived notion of Vondel's Idea and reading that notion into Vondel's work, but the awareness of that danger must not deter us from probing onwards from the safe periphery of the outer aspect, through the realms of Vondel's conscious imagery, to the spirit beyond(2).

The most accessible aspect of "Adam in Ballingschap" has been considered in the chapter on its literal level, we have gone one stage further to investigate its theological and symbolic levels, but to understand the full religious experiences in this play, we must consider Vondel's drama as a whole; for if one thing is certain above all others, it is that the whole of Vondel's drama from "Pascha" to "Noah" betrays an earnest purpose to express his all-pervading faith, and only when we have shared his innermost experiences shall we fully understand that faith. But faith measures the quality

outside world is no longer possible. Here the reader enters the realm of intuitive communion with the poet about which he can say nothing except how he got there - his point of departure and the direction he took. In this chapter I am likewise attempting only to describe an approach to Vondel's thought.

- (1) W.Bendell Stanford "Greek Metaphor", p.24. Allegory is here used in the widest sense of description by suggestion.
- (2) i.e. the experiences of the qualitative (moral, ethical, sensual and aesthetic) nature of Reality. cf. St. Hieronymus: "Sripturas sanctas intelligimus tripliciter, primum juxta literam, secundo medie tropologiam, tertio sublimius ut mystica quaeque noscamus" (Lib.V in Ezech. Tom V p. 172, ed. Vallars.)

of reality. Dogmatic theology which teaches the quantitative knowledge of God only attains quality in the faith of religious experience. If we accept that Vondel's primordial dramatic urge springs from his faith, then we must equally accept that his dramas speak of his own experiences. The attempt to find personal connections between Vondel's own life-events and his plays can be harmful to the true appreciation of them, since they restrict the anonymity which Vondel would maintain in any drama with a universal application(1). But to dissociate a drama of universal application from the life of the very man who wrote it is *prima facie* impossible. Just how difficult it is to strike the right balance between the personal and universal significance of Vondel's drama is illustrated by an excellent study (2) by Balthazar Verhagen, in which he stresses the former at the cost of the latter, in an attempt to show the inalienability of Vondel's spiritual life from his dramatic works.

In seeking to arrive at the central Idea in Vondel's drama, discrimination must be made between those plays which were written with an ulterior motive, whether national, political or religious, and those deriving inspiration from his own spiritual life. Verhagen fails to make this clear when he claims at one point that it is not too much to presume that all Vondel's plays are but expressions in anonymous form of his own hardships, problems, fears and sorrows(3) and yet says later that " 'Hierusalem Verwoest' maakt veel meer" (than Pascha) "de indruk van "maakwerk". De keuze...werd waarschijnlijk minder bepaald door de emotie, dan door religieuze en ethische overwegingen, die nu eenmaal op zichzelf geen

(1) See J.G.Bomhoff "Vondels Drama" p.89.

(2) In "Vondels Dramatische Problemen" Vondelkroniek 11e Jrg. 40

(3) l.c. p.88.

voldoende voedingsbodem voor een echt drama zijn"(1). Similarly, his enthusiasm in tracing the psychological conflicts underlying Vondel's drama misleads him into a declaration that his translations reflect as much as his original works, the activity of his mind all the time of translating(2). Without denying that this may be true of some translations, it is surely belittling Vondel's aesthetic sense and humanist learning to suppose that he only selected for translation such plays as reflected his own thoughts at the time, without ever considering in the first place their artistic merits.

In order to make a study in depth of Vondel's dramatic work, it is convenient to survey his plays, original and translated, in chronological order, and by means of divesting each of circumstantial elements, to arrive at the Idea behind each one separately, in order that an integration of the whole may be made and an assessment of Vondel's innermost convictions attempted. While I fully realize that sectional analysis may do injury to any work of art which forms an organic whole, I feel that some systematic method must be used to unravel the strands of thought which together make up a confusingly complex entity.

* * *

In "Het Pascha" (1610) Corach asks the question which oppresses all Israel "Why does God allow sin?" and Caleb and Josua give the answer, that by suffering from evildoers the righteous are purified to their final redemption, while the sin of the unrighteous turns against themselves to their own

(1) l.c. p.90.

(2) l.c. p.88.

ultimate damnation (1). The typology of Israel's deliverance and Christ's Redemption of Man is clearly propounded in the last chorus.

"Hierusalem Verwoest" (1620), underlining the moral in "Het Pascha", shows the hideous destruction which befalls those who will not believe in the Redemption by which God showed for all time that good can come of evil.

In "Amsteldamsche Hekuba" (1625), a translation of Seneca's "Troades", Helen's infidelity is the cause of war and endless suffering for the women of Troy, and "Hippolytus" (1629) in the translation of Seneca's play of that name, whose purity Phaedra cannot assail, is sent to his innocent death by the wrath of her frustrated love for him.

"Palamedes" (1625) receives the death sentence after a trial by his enemies who fear his power and have brought a false charge of treason against him.

In Grotius' play "Joseph or Sophompaneas" (trans. 1635), the statesman of wisdom and virtue tests his brothers' love and then reveals his identity to them.

"Gijsbrecht van Aemstel" (1637) brings glory to Amsterdam by his heroism and sense of duty to his townsmen even above his love for his wife, during the overthrow of the town as just retribution for the wrongs in which it had unwillingly become involved.

In "Elektra" (Sophocles' "Elektra" translated) (1639), Orestes avenges the murder of Agamemnon his father by his mother and her lover.

"Maeghden" (1639) recalls the legendary assassination of Ursula and the host of maidens returning with her from her pilgrimage to Rome, by Attila and his heathen army near

(1) Act I ll. 263-525. cf. Koopmans "Vondel als Christen-Symbolist", pp. 132-142.

Gologne. Ursula refuses the advances of the Hun leader, who succumbs to her beauty, and her virtue is rewarded by the utter rout and destruction of the Hun army.

In "Gebroeders" (1640) requital is required of innocent sons for the sin of their father in accordance with the relentless law of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.

"Joseph in Dothan" (1640) is a story of hatred and jealousy within a family. Three brothers sell their innocent younger brother into slavery and bring grief and mourning to their father by deceiving him into thinking that Joseph is dead.

"Joseph in Egypte" (1640) suffers innocently for the lust of Potifar's wife who, frustrated by his purity, persuades her husband that she has been assaulted by him, for which he is imprisoned.

The suffering of Peter and Paul in the play of 1641 is not only caused by the sins of others, but partly consists of remorse for their own past sins. Unjustly they are put to death by evil men during Nero's reign, but for the evil that is in them they joyfully accept death as their just due.

"Maria Stuart" (1646) honours the Scots queen executed by the Protestant government in England.

The conflicts between the northern and southern Leeuwendalers (1647) are brought to a happy conclusion when Hageroos discloses her devotion to Adelaart, a young nobleman of the opposing party, by saving his life.

Salomon (1648) is destroyed for idolatry. He loves his wife more than God and thereafter it is but a small step to worshipping her god instead of Him.

Lucifer (1654) falls because of disobedience. His love of God stops short of accepting a Divine paradox, the glorification of Man. He must be true to his own high ideal

of justice even if this means rebelling against God for what is rationaly unjust.

Salmoneus (1657) suffers the fate of a man too spiritually weak to resist the ambition of his forceful wife. He yields to her will to play the Juno to his Jupiter and they are both struck down by Jupiter himself.

Jeptha (1659) fulfils his promise to God against the advice of his counsellors by sacrificing his only child Ifis as a thankoffering for victory, and afterwards suffers not only in his bereavement but also in his remorse that he has wrongly committed murder on his own kin.

Koning Edipus (from Sophocles) (1660) finds himself duty-bound to search out the truth about past events and pursues his search to the bitter conclusion where he clearly sees himself for what he is, with the result that his mother Jokaste commits suicide and he blinds himself before going into exile.

Samson (1660) atones for his concupiscence by the physical agony of blindness and toil in the mill, and regains God's favour and his pristine strength in order to avenge himself on the Philistines.

In "Koning David in Ballingschap" (1660) David suffers the ambitious hostility of his son Absalom as a penance for his own sinfulness in the past, and in "Koning David Hersteld" (1660), his return to his rightful throne is only made possible by the battle in which his beloved son is killed.

Adonias (1661) conceals his ambitious intentions on Solomon's throne behind feigned love for Abizag. His plot is discovered and Solomon is reluctantly compelled to have his own brother killed. Abizag, wrongly suspected while Adonias was alive, must now mourn the man she loved who, in her view, was innocent to the last.

Two brothers defend their district heroically against the tyranny of Nero's colonial rule in "Batavische Gebroeders" (1663), for which one of them must be executed and the other taken captive. They vie with one another for the death-sentence so that lots have to be drawn to decide the matter.

Faëton (1663) is struck down by Jupiter's lightning during a reckless ride on Pebus' chariot after stubbornly keeping his father to his promise to grant him any wish he may make.

"Adam in Ballingschap" (1664) the tragedy of tragedies, is followed by a translation, "Ifigenie in Tauren" (1666), in which Ifigenie is rescued from bondage by her brother just when he, as a captured Greek in Tauris, is going to be sacrificed to the goddess Artemis, to whom Ifigenie had been made priestess.

"Zungohin" (1666), the story of the overthrow of the ruling power in China, a country undermined by corruption and idolatry, ends with a prophecy, that Christianity will suffer persecution and thrive in turn, as one emperor is succeeded by another.

Noah (1667) fails at the last to bring Achiman to repent of his worldliness and luxurious court and submission to his godless wife Urania, and total destruction rains down on the country in the Deluge.

Finally in 1668, two more translations follow: "Feniciaansche", from Grotius' translation into Latin of Euripides' "Phoenician Maidens", and "Herkules in Trachin", from Sophocles' "Trachiniae". The one tells of the rivalry for the throne between Oedipus' two sons, in accordance with the curse invoked by him before he went into exile, resulting in a dual in which both are killed. In the other, Hercules pays the price of infidelity to his wife, who unintentionally

kills him.

Vondel translated two more tragedies (1), though the translations are lost and the exact dates are not known: Seneca's "Hercules Furens", in which Hercules, returning from his twelve labours, hears of the impending slaughter of his wife and children by Lycus, who has usurped Hercules' throne in his absence. Juno, ever seeking vengeance on Jupiter for his inconstancy to her, whereby Hercules was born, invokes a spell of madness on Hercules while he sleeps, so that he turns against his own sons and wife, thinking he is attacking Lycus and his children. He wakes to find their dead bodies lying near him, and realizing what he has done, stumbles off into wretched exile. Medea, from Euripides' play of that name, raging at her husband's faithlessness, kills his new bride and her father and then her own two sons in order to leave her husband alone and destitute when she goes into exile.

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In this long list of plays there seems little evidence of a development towards any particular end nor any coordination round any one central problem. But since we have abundant evidence from Vondel himself(2) that he was by nature an allegorist, it is clear that a superficial glance at the material of his plays will reveal little if anything of the underlying thought. Though his subjects range in time from the Creation to his own day, and in space from the Heavenly Kingdom to a Chinese city and from the upper universe to an amaginary realm on earth, yet if we read the

(1) A.M.F.B.Geerts "Vondel als Classicus bij de Humanisten in de leer", p.2.

(2) In his prefaces and elsewhere. See J.Koopmans "Vondel als Christen Symbolist" p.190.

plays in the spirit in which Vondel wrote them, we shall not allow restrictions of any nature to impede our search for the allegorical, symbolic, or even sacramental meaning of any play. A tragedy with a contemporary subject may be the point at which an eternal truth comes to light, just as biblical, historical or mythical characters may be but the shadows cast by the people of Vondel's day. We know that a single noise will cause piano strings placed near it to vibrate, reproducing the note of each, and that light can be broken up into the colours of the spectrum; and until we superimpose all the sounds and colours we shall not realize that two discordant notes or two apparently entirely dissimilar colours have a common source. So too, the whole gamut of Vondel's themes, diverse and incongruous as they may seem, have but one common origin and together form one central theme: Vondel's experience of reality.

Vondel's early plays are in themselves clear allegories. The Spanish war was the temporal event which reminded Vondel of the eternal nature of the Redemption, which, being beyond time, could equally well be allegorized by the deliverance of Israel from Egypt in "Het Pascha". Even as Josua suffering oppression from Pharaoh had acknowledged

Dat Godt nu zyn belofte in ons niet en vervult
Daer zijn wy oirzaeck van om onzer zonden schuldt(1)

so Vondel saw the destruction about him as God's judgement on all those who are faithless, as the inhabitants of Hierusalem Verweest were. "Palamedes", inspired by the death of Oldenbarnevelt, is the most clearly allegorical of all Vondel's plays and is so obviously an occasional piece that no deeper significance need be sought in it. "Güsbrecht van Aemstel" was similarly an occasional piece (for the opening

(1) "Het Pascha" ll.357-8.

of the new theatre at Amsterdam) but the occasion imposed only a superficial restriction on Vondel's choice of theme, and we may find more than semi-classical glorification of Amsterdam in it. Why did Vondel think of Troy? Was it only Vergil's and Seneca's artistic ability that won his admiration for the "Aeneid" and "Troades", or was there a correspondence between his thought and the themes of these two works? The fundamentally important addition made by Vondel to his model of the fall of Troy is that Amsterdam is only destroyed as a necessary condition of rebirth(1). The cycle of thought, which began with the Redemption-typology in "Het Pascha", that good may come of evil(2), was continued in "Hierusalem Verwoest" where the 'wages of sin is death' and is completed in "Gijsbreght van Aemstel" where just retribution is meted out to evil-doers, whose faith and virtue however, has its reward in Rafaël's prophecy by which glory shall be reborn out of the ashes of a sinful past.

In "Gijsbreght van Aemstel" a second leitmotif is apparent which links it with "Hippolytus", one of the translations of this period.

Of these translations "Amsteldamsche Hekuba", "Hippolytus" and "Josef of Sophomaneas", only the first seems to reflect Vondel's early root idea. The translation of "Sophomaneas" was motivated by Vondel's admiration for Grotius and though its association later with "Joseph in Egypte" was to bring it into close kinship with "Hippolytus", the two translations can have had no mutual connection at that time. "Hippolytus" however, introduces a fresh motif

(1) For similar studies of the subject treated in this chapter, see i.g. B.Verhagen l.c., L.Simons "Vondels Dramatiek", W.B. Vols.II and III, J.Bomhoff "Vondels Drama", J.Koopmans, "Vondel als Allegorist" and J.Barnouw "Vondel". Reference will only be made to particular works where indebtedness is acknowledged.

(2) "'t quaet...den goeden streckt tot heil, den quaede tzynder straffen." ll.515,6.

which will frequently recur in later plays, and this suggests that Vondel chose this play for its theme as well as its artistic merits. Vondel was very happily married, and Badeloch alone is convincing witness of this, for her love for Gjsbreght is a creation from Vondel's heart, not a re-creation of Dido or Hecuba. In "Hippolytus" unrestrained er~~o~~otic love clashes with absolute chastity; in "Gjsbreght" the conflict arises of virtue against virtue, of duty against marital love, and this conflict can only be resolved by the Deus ex Machina Rafaël.

Before going on to consider Vondel's more mature drama, it is well to investigate the implications of Vondel's change of loyalty from the Latin dramatists to the Greek, and from a Protestant faith to Roman Catholicism. Opinions as to the resultant change in Vondel's dramatic thought are widely divergent, but they are at least in agreement that some change takes place at about this time.

There is the opinion that Vondel struggled with his own lack of doctrinal stability in the midst of religious and political tumult, and later found peace in the dogmatic discipline of the Roman Church. At first, Simons says(1), Vondel's faith was undogmatic, and while the struggles around him increased in clamour he fought his despair by venting his feelings in his satires. He was compelled to witness and condemn the disputes and he won through and at the same time mastered his own spiritual conflicts, so that he could thereafter face the loss of his wife and children with courage. Having passed through the conflict between resistance and submission, faith and doubt, he felt the need of personal communion with God and of a strong dogma and

(1) Vondels Dramatiek. W.B. vol.II p.30.

authoritative priesthood. The Greek drama which he now studies is congenial to him in his changed condition. He strives to obey the strict rules of Aristotle and his style evolves in the direction of greater simplicity and restraint.

Barnouw holds a similar view: "Having solved the tragic conflict within himself, the poet saved a reserve of strength for the dramatization of extraneous conflicts. He may have felt like one rescued from the stormy sea who is tempted to relieve his own agony by watching from the beach the struggles of others"(1).

There is on the other hand, the opinion that Vondel needed complete freedom to examine all the sects and doctrines at first so as to grow in breadth; but in order to grow in depth he needed complete trust in one faith. "want leert hij van de Grieken, dat schrik en meelijden een drama bezielen, als Christen ziet hij het diepste drama in de onevenredigheid tussen menselijke schuld en goddelijke genade."(2)

Koopmans, while seeing Vondel's interpretation of world problems in terms of the Redemption as the probing of a great mystery, calls Vondel's Christianity "een dichtelijk-wijsgeerig" system rather than a theological one. "Men zoeke in deze stukken eer breedte dan diepte, en in de eerste plaats geen innige vroomheid"(3).

Verhagen's view, diametrically opposed to Barnouw's, is that Vondel's drama, modelled on the Greek, reveals deep personal conflicts(4), and there is a great deal to support this view. In the early plays the simple allegory ministers

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- (1) "Vondel" p.124. I take this to mean that Vondel's later dramas reveal the inner conflicts of other people rather than his own, though the image of the man suffering agony after his rescue from the stormy sea is not clear to me.
(2) G.Brom "Vondels Geloof" p.204.
(3) J.Koopmans l.c. pp.96,97.
(4) l.c. p.86ff.

to the needs of the world about him. There is little evidence of the tragedy of one man, and the conflict rages on the battle-field, not in the realms of the heart or soul. There is indeed a trend toward the refinement of the personal conflict in the last play of this early group, where Gijsbrecht, the leader of the forces fighting against treachery, is also the embodiment of virtue striving against temptation within himself. The allegory will become less clearly defined as Vondel's artistry improves and as, with increasing experience of life, his understanding matures to greater and greater depth. But the allegory(1) most surely remains,

(1) This word has such a diversity of meanings today, that I use it here and elsewhere in the richest sense it has ever had, which was in the mediaeval and renaissance times. For this reason Dante may well be considered the highest authority, and I quote his letter to Can Grande della Scala which, I believe, most clearly explains Vondel's method:

"the meaning of this work (i.e. the "Divina Commedia") is not simple....for we obtain one meaning from the letter of it, and another from that which the letter signifies; and the first is called literal, but the other allegorical or mystical. And to make this matter of treatment clearer, it may be studied in the verse: 'When Israel came out of Egypt and the House of Jacob from among a strange people, Judah was his sanctuary and Israel his dominion'. For if we regard the letter alone, what is set before us is the exodus of the children of Israel from Egypt in the days of Moses; if the allegory, our redemption wrought by Christ; if the moral sense, we are shown the conversion of the soul from grief and wretchedness of sin to the state of grace; if the anagogical, we are shown the departure of the holy soul from the thralldom of this corruption to the liberty of eternal glory. And although these mystical meanings are called by various names, they may all be called in general allegorical, since they differ from the literal and historical.

The subject of the whole work then, taken merely in the literal sense is 'the state of the soul ~~after~~ death straightforwardly affirmed', for the development of the whole work hinges on and about that. But if, indeed, the work is taken allegorically, its subject is: 'Man, as by

for it provides the safe cloak of anonymity for his most intimate spiritual experiences, and he had a higher purpose in this than that of concealing his own feelings, for as he learned the answers to his problems, he was also experiencing the essence of Reality, and this microcosmic revelation had a macrocosmic significance, belonging to eternity and infinity. This means therefore, that the immediate or moral allegories (where they exist) will become less important than the hidden allegory veiling the inner truth.

The adoption of the Greek dramatic form, complete with its laws of unity and the unrealistic presence of a chorus throughout, baffles us unless we realize the necessity of such a medium for conveying something of the essence of absolute reality rather than material realism. "These features of Vondel's drama loom large to us who are accustomed to a stagecraft that sees its greatest triumph in a delusive reproduction of reality. But Vondel was not a realist. 'In order that a tragedy', he says in the Preface to "Jeptha", 'should be true to life, which is its model, we refreshed our memory by reading and re-reading the poetics of Aristotle and Horace, and the commentaries of their interpreters.' That is less absurd than it seems. Truth in art was not attained, in his opinion, by copying the life that he could grasp with his senses. The mere copying of something real does not result in art... He did not aim at creating an imitation of a real world, for that which he dramatised was to him not reality itself but an allegory of the real." (1) Unless we can fully understand Vondel's philosophical method

good or ill deserts, in the exercise of his free choice, he becomes liable to rewarding or punishing justice."
(Trans^d by D.L.Sayers in her introduction to "The Divine Comedy" pp.14,15.

(1) A.J.Barnouw l.c. pp.133,4.

we shall for ever remain strangers to his art or, what is worse, misunderstand it.

"Elektra", Vondel's first translation from the Greek, furnishes little evidence of anagogical allegory. The tragic theme, it is true, is similar to that in "Hippolytus". In both a son suffers for the sin of lust in his mother, though in the one the payment which the sin exacts is the death of the innocent son caused by the guilty mother, while in the other it is the death of the guilty woman at the hands of the son.

Without laying undue stress on the theme of true and perverted love, since it would be difficult to find an ancient myth in which this theme did not figure, we shall see that there are already in "Hippolytus", "Gijsbrecht van Aemstel" and "Elektra" signs of the clash of sexual passions which is a recurrent theme in Vondel's later drama. As if to emphasize the growing importance of the love-motif, "Maeghden", written in the same year as "Elektra", introduces a secondary tragic conflict of lust against continence which even asserts itself finally over the original intention of the play by which the martyrdom of Ursul would have been the central theme(1). This play, though dramatically unarticulated, is of particular interest as demonstrating Vondel's conscious or unconscious drift towards the personal conflict as the focal point of all tragedy. There are three aspects of the play: the purely extraneous homage paid to Cologne, the allegory of all martyrdoms as human adumbrations of the sacrifice of Perfect Man, and Attila's inward conflict between his feelings for Ursul and his duty as leader of the Hun army. There is even a measure of similarity between Attila's and Pilate's

(1) B.Verhagen l.c. p.95.

indecision in condemning the innocent captive, but Pilate's struggle was infinitely more tragic, since his choice lay between absolute right and compromise, whilst Attila's choice lay only between evils, domination of sexual passions or brute force. Lust and violence are ranged against saintly purity; the allegory is still too clearly defined by Vondel as he passes from the early plays, moralizing on the world situation, to his next play "Gebroeders", where the tragedy of a purely spiritual conflict needs no didactic allegory to point its moral. This difference between conscious and unconscious allegory in Vondel is, as we have seen(1), a peculiarity of the great Christian poets. "De allegorie is de vorm bij uitnemendheid genoemd van de in de aard antithetische Barok. Bij Vondel is ze onmiddellijk te verklaren uit het religieuze karakter van zijn kunst. Voor de religie heeft het eindige slechts betekenis als spiegel, als allegorie voor het oneindige, als verbeelding van het transcendente. Dit verklaart ook de abstracte aard van de beelden. Abstract in die zin, dat de beeldende voorstelling niet opleeft in z'n volle concrete aanschouwelijkheid, maar functioneert als kleurig, doorzichtig embleem met vaste, objectieve, bovenpersoonlijke waarde."(2)

David in "Gebroeders" is faced with the dilemma of his duty to his country conflicting with the feelings of his heart. The sufferings of his people are clearly caused by the sin of their previous ruler, and justice requires that wrong-doing be expiated, either by the repentance of the sinner or the suffering of innocent people on his behalf. Only when David understands this inalienable working of justice can he see that

(1) p.209 note.

(2) W.Kramer "Vondels Lucifer", Nieuwe Taalgids Jrg.34, pt.V, 1940, p.203.

the few must suffer that the rest may be saved. Though the seven 'brothers' were not David's sons, it is clear from Vondel's preface, in which David is likened to Abraham, that Vondel felt the closeness of the family ties binding David to the victims, so that he feels he must cry out

't Zij dat nakomeling dit laecken zal of loven,
De liefde tot het volck en vaderland sta boven(1).

This brings the thought in "Gebroeders" into close relationship with "Gijsbreght van Aemstel". Here is further evidence of Vondel's growing depth of thought. Up till now the state and patriotism have been important though external aspects of the Idea: Holland's resistance to the Spanish, the destruction of his homeland by war, Sofompaneas the perfect statesman, Palamedes the perfect patriot, the glory of Amsterdam defended by Gijsbreght's heroism, and "Maeghden" dedicated to his birth-place, Cologne. After "Gebroeders", the state disappears from the Idea in Vondel's drama, for although Vondel remained a conscientious patriot (as "Batavische Gebroeders" shows) patriotism was not a deeper spiritual experience and had no further part in his search for Reality. Underlying the political justice (and therefore of greater importance to the apprehension of Vondel's Idea) is the thought that Man's sin (in Saul) required the blood of the innocent Son of Man (in the 'brothers') (2).

Similarly, no typological parallel between Joseph in "Joseph in Dothan" and Christ is stated anywhere in the play

(1) Opdracht to "Gebroeders" W.B. Vol.III, p.800.

(2) See Dedicatory Epistle to "Koning David Hersteld", W.B. Vol. IX, p.105, and Berecht to "Gebroeders", W.B. Vol.III, p.803, and "Gebroeders" ll.1171-77. It is not necessary to infer a concealed reference to the Eucharist in "gedijen tot een spijs"(l.1177). The typology is only vaguely suggested by the context of "Gebroeders" among the other plays. Specific references are entirely lacking.

or preface(1), but the likeness in Vondel's treatment is nowhere mistakable. And if this typological allegory be once accepted, an approach to the deeper anagogical allegory can be made. If, instead of reading the play only as far as the interpretation of Joseph as the prototype of Christ, we abandon our intellect and follow our intuition further, we shall share Vondel's spiritual experience of the relationship of Man to God in the tragic paradox of Juda, Ruben and Levi, all sons of one Father, planning to kill their own brother, the son of the Father, Who was raised to glory, not however without causing the Father acute anguish at the news of the death of His Son. Juda's sin is Vondel's sin, Jacob's grief is Vondel's grief for his sin. The expected sequel to this would be the play about Peter and Paul, who were the Juda's and Levi's of the world sharing, as Vondel did, the unfathomable hope of the Redemption.

"Joseph in Egypte", however, comes first; probably in order to complete the Joseph trilogy. Here, as in "Maeghden", purity and trust in God fall victim to lust and wantonness. The similarities with "Hippolytus" are obvious and though the fatality of the one is replaced by the hope of the other(2) (for Joseph's imprisonment was a necessary condition of his exaltation later, even as Christ's death was a necessary condition of His Resurrection) both plays resolve into a tragedy of the affections. In the one, Theseus grieves at the innocent death of his son, in the other, Potifar grieves at the sentence that he had to pass on one whom he could not help loving(3).

Verhagen, whose method throughout seems so sound, passes

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- (1) Though 11.15-26, 545-550 are indications of the parallel far clearer than anything in "Gebroeders".
(2) B.Verhagen l.c. p.95.
(3) "'k Moet haten, dien ik niet kan laten te beminnen! 1.1390.

a most surprising verdict on "Peter en Pauwels". To him this play, with "Maria Stuart", stands apart as an expression of Vondel's Roman Catholic faith only(1). Even if "Peter en Pauwels" fell outside the scope of those plays contributing to a central Idea, they could not both be discounted on the same grounds. Mainly because I agree that "Peter en Pauwels" is an expression of Vondel's faith, do I claim for it every right to be included, since Vondel's faith, the very essence of his spiritual life, was fully Roman Catholic by now. And by the same principle, "Maria Stuart" must stand apart, since it is not an expression of any faith, but merely a piece of propaganda for it, evoked solely by a political event(2).

Even a superficial reading of the two plays will reveal a marked difference in temper. The fervour of the players in "Peter en Pauwels" runs high - Nero's madness, Agrippa's brutality, Cornelia's hatred, Peter's and Pauwels' remorse and fervent longing for reunion with Christ, and Petronel's and Plautil's utter misery at their bereavement. But the symbolism, the inflexible purpose of the Christians and their resignation to God's will, and the obvious futility of the Romans' wrath against the small loyal band of Christians speak of a settled heart and inward peace in Vondel, which he expresses in this clash of utterly wordly and perfectly spiritual values, in which the inability of wordly violence to assail the Christians is made the very bulwark of the

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- (1) B.Verhagen l.c. p.106. I entirely agree with Verwey ("Proza" V pp.201-216) who attributes the dramatic weakness of "Peter en Pauwels" to "Vondel's intellect in zijn kracht. Wij zien hem bezig een drama te maken zonder dramatische aandrift, alleen uit de soevereiniteit van zijn verstandelijke wil"(p.206). But at the same time he considers the play to be a cornerstone of Vondel's dramatic work (p.201).
- (2) Though even here Vondel relates this theme to the Gospels (i.e. in the Chorus to Act I).

Church's faith. To disregard this play as in any sense sectarian is to ignore the significance of its allegory of the Pauline doctrine of the mortification of the flesh, which surely transcends all Christian creeds.

In "Peter en Pauwels" we come face to face with the paradox that the body must die that the soul may live; the Old Adam must die, Paul says, that we be born again into the Resurrection. Nero and his world of violent evil are able to destroy only worldly things such as Peter's and Pauwels' bodies, and this is what they themselves long for, since by mortifying the flesh they are killing the Old Adam which is the cause of sin. Material forces turn against themselves, the flesh destroys itself and the goodness of immortal life rises out of the evil. How much more profound is the thought here than it was in "Maeghden" where personified virtue was martyred to personified vice! The spiritual experience is fuller even than in "Joseph in Dothan", for the apostles are at the same time Joseph the innocent sufferer and his brothers the traitors and would-be murderers. In Peter and Pauwels, as in Vondel himself, the spirit of God in His martyred Son can only survive the assaults of the flesh by continually striving against it and mortifying it.

"Wie hier te diep in verzinckt en neuswjs, in alle personaedjen, verzen en woorden, geheimenissen zoeckt, zalze 'r niet visschen." Who, after reading this in the Berecht(1) to "Leeuwendalers" would dare extract a philosophy from this play? Nevertheless, though it is a pastoral written in a totally different vein from the rest of Vondel's drama, the country of the Northerners and Southerners is a creation of Vondel's own fantasy and its Utopian quality furnishes

(1) W.B. vol.V p.265.

evidence of Vondel's ideals. For this reason it may be reasonably be taken into account when considering Vondel's idea as a whole and reference will be made to it later in this connection.

The by now familiar conflict of love and duty recurs in the next play "Salomon", but the tragic problem is more subtle than it has been previously. In "Hippolytus" and "Joseph in Egypten" the vice was clearly lust and the remedy was plainly purity. Gijsbrecht's dilemma between love and duty was solved for him by Rafaël. Ursul, like Hippolytus and Joseph, experienced no conflict, for not even the alternative of certain death could tempt her to fall from virtue, since God had already prepared her for death at the hands of her enemies. But in "Salomon", though the apparent sin is idolatry and the cause of the sin is lust, the root sin is disobedience for it embraces cause and effect. By disobeying the commandment to "love none other gods but Me", Salomon loved Sidonia literally to the point of idolatry. That Salomon fell from great glory to sin is itself evidence of the depth of the conflict and subtlety of the temptation, for men of strong character do not fall easily, and the choice for Salomon was not easy where a righteous love for his wife gradually degenerated under the weakening influence of Sidonia's domination over him.

Indeed, the tragic element will become more and more refined as the spiritual conflict becomes ever more difficult to resolve, and the tragic hero, of such virtue that only the subtlest temptation can throw him into a spiritual dilemma, will be the more tragic for the height from which he falls.

Lucifer, Jephtha and Adam exhibit only the high positive values which are the mark of the finest tragic hero(1). In

(1) Max Scheler "Vom Umsturz der Werte" p.246.

each a high positive value imperceptibly but inevitably yields to a lower positive value(1); inevitably since the very quality which has produced an essential good in each of these beings is also the cause of a danger which a less fine or less sincere being might avoid, and this danger results in his fall(2).

Vondel's frequent examination of his conscience brought him ever nearer to the focus of the vexing enigma of the clash in his spiritual experience between perfect and less perfect values resolving themselves ultimately into right and wrong. The duality underlying his dramatic conflicts is but the projection of his own experience. "Lucifer" as the fullest expression of this enigma, is but the symbolism in comprehensible terms of the purely abstract ambivalence underlying his every experience. As such, "Lucifer" can best be read as the background to Vondel's total dramatic creation and further consideration is postponed until the survey of Vondel's drama has been completed.

"Salmoneus", written through force of circumstances which moreover required its staging to be similar to that of "Lucifer"(3), excusably adds little to what Vondel has already said. It is a hybrid of "Salomon" and "Lucifer". Undisciplined love for his wife leads Salmoneus to ignore the warning of his counsellors and priests and to associate himself with her ambition to be equal to the highest divinity.

(1) As Vondel's thought deepens, the tragic issue changes from a moral (external to the point of didacticism) to a psychological one. No longer can we speak of the clashing elements of good and evil, but only of conflicting ideals of a sensitive conscience. As Scheler puts it (l.c. p.245) "Die Kraft, die vernichtet, darf nicht wertfrei sein; sie muss selbst einen positiven Wert darstellen".

(2) M.Scheler l.c. p.252.

(3) Berecht to "Salmoneus", W.B. Vol.V, p.710.

If the attainment of true tragedy corresponds to our inability to answer the question "who was guilty?"(1), then "Jeptha" qualifies as Vondel's purest tragedy. General opinion(2) agrees with Vondel(3) in condemning Jeptha, but I do not feel that anybody, even Vondel himself, can answer the question with certainty. Here we stand at the very centre of the labyrinth of the rights and wrongs of human conduct viewed subjectively. No man can find the infallibly perfect, for however receptive the conscience may be to 'the still small voice' of God, his interpretation of that voice will always be restricted by human elements of environment and situation. Only in eternity can perfect objective judgement be made, only there where time and place have no influence. It is really immaterial whether Jeptha sinned or not, and Vondel's condemnation of Jeptha in his *Berecht* is no less tolerant than his condemnation of himself in the lights of his own fallible judgement. It is however important to realize how near Vondel has now come to the point where Truth becomes Reality, for the nature of Reality is such that no single interpretation of it can exist and all intuitive experiences of it may be equally accurate approximations(4).

There is in fact no human answer possible to the question 'is Jeptha's tragedy that he did in fact sin and only realized this too late, or that he did not sin, but supposed that he had done so when sorrow for the loss of his daughter turned into entirely unnecessary self-accusation?'. Certainly the tragedy of the second Jeptha is very much more poignant than the first, but that must not tempt us to restrict by a subjective verdict what has, and must be allowed to keep,

(1) M. Scheler l.c. p.260.

(2) Though W. Kramer takes a more cautious view in "De 'Inventio' in Vondels dramatische kunst" *Nieuwe Taalgids* XXXV, 1941 p.291, and J. Bomhoff (l.c. pp.95-98) states the case clearly that no

the elusive quality of Reality(5).

Passing over the extraneous questions of a hypothetical allegory of the Protestant authority of the conscience (in Jephtha) set against the absolute authority in spiritual matters of the Roman Catholic priesthood (in Jephtha's spiritual advisers)(6), and the rights and wrongs of Jephtha's promise, we are left with the essentials of the tragedy - the positive values of the hero. The great virtue throughout the play is obedience to God. Jephtha finally keeps his promise thereby obeying the dictates of his conscience; the court priest requires Jephtha's obedience to the high priest as God's spokesman, and Ifis offers herself for the sacrifice in perfect obedience to her father's will,

Tot een spiegel voor de jeugd
Die hieruit zal leeren
Godt in d'ouderen eeren (ll.1631-3).

So Ifis, like Christ, is a mirror of the virtue of perfect obedience to God. In this play are gathered together all the themes so far apparent in Vondel's drama - the sacrifice leading to the Redemption, the husband's love of his wife, the father's of his children, and the child's of its father.

King Edipus, like David in "Gebroeders" took the advice

specific guilt can be attributed to Jephtha.

- (3) In his preface W.B. Vol.VIII, p.775.
- (4) "Truth and Reality are not identical conceptions. Truth is reality possessed by the mind...for truth is not reality itself, but reality as the investigator possesses it" S.Alexander "Journal of Philosophical Studies" Jan.1926 pp.12,16.
- (5) Even such authorities as G.Kazemier ("Over de Psychologie van Vondels "Jephta"", in De Nieuwe Taalgids XXIII, 1939), and B.Verhagen do not get beyond considering Jephtha's sin as betraying a personal element in the play. J.Bomhoff's attitude to this question is, I am certain, the right one.
- (6) See G.Brom "Vondels Geloof" pp.288ff. and L.Simons l.c. W.B. Vol.III, p.90.

given him for saving his country from famine, and he paid a bitter price for past wrongs(1). But Edipus' tragedy is greater than David's, for Edipus, an entirely sincere man bent on knowing the truth, learned, like Jephtha, too late what he had done without being able to prevent it. If there be a hidden meaning to the translation of Sophocles' play (and I reiterate my earlier caution against the danger of attributing any deeper significance to a translation than its prima facie merits as a tragedy) then it would be the Christian's searching of his conscience for signs of wrong-doing for which penance must be done, which is comparable with Edipus' earnest enquiry into his past even when the discovery of the truth is likely to cause bitter remorse.

"Samson" - like so many of the later plays, can be interpreted at two allegorical levels, the typological - Samson foreshadowing the Messiah triumphing over his adversaries(2), and the anagogic which symbolizes the workings of grace. Samson sins (the theme of carnal affections once again), repents and requites his sin, whereby God's grace returns to him, the symbol of which is Samson's long hair, the token of his strength(3).

The sorrow of a father for his child is familiar from "Joseph in Dothan", "Gebroeders" and "Jephtha". In all these plays the father suffers for the loss of his innocent child or near kinsmen. The two tragedies about David and his son Absalom however, show us a father grieving for the sins of his son, accepting the sorrow his son causes him as his

(1) J. van den Bergh van Eijsinga-Elias l.c. p.499.

(2) See Vondel's Dedicatory Epistle W.B. Vol.IX, p.175.

(3) cf. also the name Comforter (= Strengthened) for the Holy Spirit in the New Testament.

penance for his own past sins and for ever offering forgiveness to his son. Absolon's sin, like Lucifer's and Salmoneus', is ambition, but the sin causing the tragic conflict is the even more familiar sin of lust (David's own with Bath-sheba and Ammon's with Tamar). Whether or not we accept Verwey's opinion(1), that Jephtha's grief for his daughter was the expression of Vondel's own grief for his son Joost, it is reasonably safe to assume that the two David plays are autobiographical, being the anonymous expression of Vondel's penitent suffering not only for the disgrace of Joost's corruption in business and then his death at sea during his deportation, but rather perhaps of remorse for his own motives in being so harsh in punishing Joost, reflecting, as he thought in his doubts, the strictness of his condemnation of his own past life.

Adonias, Absolon's brother, like him seeks to usurp the throne. To ambition he adds the sin of abusing marital love by seeking in his intended marriage with Abizag only a disguise for his political intrigue. For this Abizag, herself innocent, pays the price, first by being suspected of complicity in the plot, of which she had no inkling, and then by losing a man she sincerely loves.

"Batavische Gebroeders" reminds us that Vondel, while earnestly grappling with his spiritual problems, did not seek the calm refuge of a recluse. That he remained to the last a patriot is by no means an anomaly in a man whose faith was built on the firm foundation of discipline - the obedience of children to their parents, of Christians to their spiritual counsellors and of all men to their

(1) "Een Inleiding tot Vondel" p.570, and "Vondels Vers" p.111.

secular leaders; for all just men of authority on earth received that authority from God, and all men who subjected themselves to a God-fearing authority were but showing obedience to God through them. The two Batavian chieftains have the unenviable task of obeying their Roman overlords without neglecting their responsibilities to their own people. The way out of their dilemmas, how to ease the afflictions of the Batavians without causing an insurrection against the powers set over them, is found for them when one is sentenced to death and the other to captivity. We see again the strong ties of love between two brothers as they both claim the right to die and between their mother and them as she courageously speaks on their behalf. In the martyrdom of the one brother the thought within the play goes beyond history and a demonstration of Holland's greatness to the inner quality of Man simulating the Son of God, whose kingdom was not of this world, who did not attempt to overthrow the Roman rule as His people hoped He would, but redeemed them by dying on their behalf at the hands of wicked men.

With the exception of "Paëton", written in 1663, we have now surveyed the trend of thought in Vondel's drama up to 1664, the year of "Adam in Ballingschap". If we consider the sub-titles which Vondel attached to some of his tragedies, we shall see that they are, with one exception, ("Euripides Feniciaensche of Gebroeders van Thebe"), the deliberate indications of the Idea in the plays: "Het Pascha ofte Verlossinge Israel wt Egypten", "Hierusalem Verwoest, Treurspel, den Joden tot nadencken, den Christenen tot waerschuwing", "Palamedes oft Vermoorde Onnooselheyd", "Hippolytus of Rampsalige Kuyscheyd", "Gijsbreght van Aemstel, d'ondergank van zyn stad en zyn Ballingschap", "Maria Stuart of Gemartelde Majesteit", "Jeptha of Offerbelofte", "Samson of Heilige Wraeck", "Adonias of Rampsalige Kroonzucht",

"Batavische Gebroeders of Onderdruckte Vryhet", "Faëton of Reuckeloze Stoutheit", "Adam in Ballingschap of Aller Treurspelen Treurspel", "Zungchin of Ondergang der Sineese Heerschappye", "Noah of Ondergang der Eerste Weerelt". Now why did Vondel call "Adam in Ballingschap" 'aller treurspelen treurspel'? Surely not because the sub-title sounded effective, nor because it was the most perfect tragedy (for Vondel would have presented the laurels for this to his "Jeptha"). No; he felt that "Adam in Ballingschap" was the most utterly tragic of all, for in it the greatest issues are at stake; not just one life but all human life, not just one sin but all sin, not just one time or place but all times and everywhere that Man is aware of the duality within him arising from God's love and the freedom of will to abuse that love.

If then Vondel is here daring to answer the question 'what is the meaning of life?', (and surely if there is reason to believe that Vondel was probing the inner truths in his other plays, he is doing as much and more here), we too must either hazard an interpretation of his understanding of truth or set ourselves in a camp hostile to his very way of life and thought.

God's perfect Love grants perfect freedom to love and serve Him or to repudiate His Divinity. The processes of Man's free will could be dramatised without difficulty in the manifestation of any spiritual conflict. Divine Love, though Vondel experienced it as surely as he experienced free will, could never be expressed as anything more than one or other anthropomorphised symbol. In his attempts to plumb this mystery at the heart of all being, Vondel sensed that perfect love between humans was but the incarnation of Divine Love, and so he interpreted the various aspects of his own human love, for his children, his wife or his parents, as sacramental,

that is, an 'outward' sign in human life of an inward and spiritual grace. To Vondel the two New Testament Commandments were inseparable; to love One's neighbour as oneself was to love God with all one's heart, soul and mind, for human love was God's love. The total sum of all aspects of perfect human love forms an approximation to the nature of God's love, a fuller understanding of which can only be experienced in the soul. Love or its antithesis (hatred, or, in sexual relationships, lust) figures prominently in every play after "Hierusalem Verwoest". In "Gysbreght van Aemstel", "Leeuwendalers" and "Adonias" an important theme is the love between husband and wife or a lover and his lass; in "Maeghden", "Joseph in Egypte", "Salomon", "Salmoneus", "Samson", "Koning David in Ballingschap", "Koning David Hersteld", and "Noah" lust is shown to be an utter travesty of true love. In "Gebroeders", "Joseph in Dothan", "Jeptha", the two Koning David plays, "Batavische Gebroeders", "Faëton" and "Noah" there is the love of parents for their children; in "Jeptha" and "Noah", the love and obedience of children to their parents; in the Koning David plays and "Faëton" the hatred or disobedience of children. In "Batavische Gebroeders" and "Adonias" brother loves brother(1), and in "Joseph in Dothan" and "Adonias" there is the antithesis of this. In the two remaining plays, the spiritual love of the saints for their Lord is typified by the

(1) As in "Sofompaneas", though for reasons stated (on pp. 199 above) translations are not considered valid evidence for Vondel's Idea. However, if they have any significance in the total picture, it is noteworthy that in every tragedy except "Ifigenie in Tauren" the catastrophes are caused directly or indirectly by inconstancy, lust or incest. In "Herkules in Trachin" there is moreover the true love of Deienira, in "Ifigenie in Tauren" the love of a brother and sister, in "Amsteldamsche Hekuba" the love of a mother for her children, and in "Hercules

spiritual kinship of Plautil and Petronel with the saints, and the very Love of God itself is the theme of the angels in their supernatural kinship with God in the play "Lucifer".

"Lucifer", I have said, is the attempt to present the Idea itself in dramatic form. In order to create an illusion essential if the reader is to be able to experience the emotional force of the spiritual conflict, a degree of anthropomorphism is inevitable. Vondel compromises the purity of his intuition of things beyond human comprehension by translating it into the terms of a universally comprehensible poetry. But, says Middleton Murry, the greatest poetry is a compromise, for "Poetry is relative; but the intuition and the knowledge from which poetry is born is absolute. And there is no reconciling them." That Vondel should have made such a bold compromise is evidence, not of any underestimation of the magnitude of his task as an artist, but only of the intensity of his spiritual experience.

wat op 's harten grond leyd
Dat weltme na de keel; ick word te stijf geparst,
En 't werckt als nieuwe wijn, die tot de spon wtbatst
(1).

The deepest love and kinship of man to woman, of son to father and father to son, and of brother to brother are fused and exalted to pure spirit in the supernatural love in "Lucifer". Lucifer's remorse in lines 1634-55 is more than that of any prodigal son, for his love for God was greater than any man's for man(2). The innermost theme of

(1) Furens" the love of a father.

(1) Vondel, "Roskam" W.B. Vol.III, p.302, and W.Kramer "Vondels Lucifer", De Nieuwe Taalgids 34 pt.V, 1940, p.214.

(2) B.Verhagen, l.c. pp.100-101 reads Lucifer's words too literally. His love for God is not simply like the son's for his father, though in terms of human language that may be the nearest approximation to his real feeling.

"Lucifer" is the contamination of this spiritual love by the world or flesh. As soon as Lucifer breaks the 'spell' of the mutual flow of love between him and God by looking down at Adam and Eve, the corruption of worldly values inevitably begins eroding the higher spiritual values. In the play itself we see only the final stages of the destruction of Lucifer's pure intuition by intellectual reasoning, but, more from the angels and archangels than from Lucifer himself, we sense the perfection of his unquestioning love and loyalty up to the moment that he turned away from God to look down at Eden.

"Lucifer" has rightly been called "meesterwerk van de kunst van het embleem, de geliefde stijlform van de 17e eeuw. Embleem der "staetzucht" zo scherp geslepen, zo geconcentreerd, essentiëel geestelijk doorlicht, dat het spreken blijft door alle eeuwen"(1). But unless we can find Vondel's own philosophy behind the didactic emblems exhibited, as it were, on the front page of his plays, we shall come no nearer to Vondel's Truth than the outward manifestations of such vices as ambition, jealousy and lust, or the virtues of obedience, or purity. We shall be overlooking the deeper significance of Vondel's typology by interpreting his drama in the light of the Ten Commandments instead of the laws of Reality, the two Commandments of Love given by the Redeemer Himself(2). Vondel knew Lucifer within himself, not as Evil,

(1) W.Kramer "Vondels Lucifer" l.c. p.214.

(2) Vondel in his preface to "Samson", written significantly between "Jeptha" and the King David plays, in which parental love figures so prominently, writes: "Hij overwint de vyanden door zijn doot, tot en voorbeelt van den beloofden Verlosser, en Wetgever der menschen, die door het voorschrift van de wet der liefde, in het eenige woort Bemin begrepen, alle voorgaende wetgevers en wijsheit der wijzen overtreft, en de wraeckgierigheit, met wortel met aluit de harten zijner leerlingen ruckende,

nor even as Temptation, but as the whole sum of temporal values threatening the holy. Every tragedy implies the mortification of worldly values that spiritual values may prevail, in martyrdom, penitence and obedience. Human love itself can only remain undefiled if it remains the clear mirror of Divine Love. Vondel's love for his wife must strive to emulate Christ's love for Man, his children's love towards him or his own towards his parents must liken that of Christ for the Father, and he must love his children as God loves Man. The immeasurable spiritual power behind every play is Vondel's inward experience of Divine Love in himself. This is the noumenon beyond allegory, emblem, symbol and type. Jacob's sorrow for Joseph is God's grief at the loss of His Son as Vondel personally experienced this. David's suffering for Absolon's sins and his forgiveness of him is a translation of Christ's suffering for sinful man from Vondel's own experience of pain and forgiveness for his son Joost.

Here we are no longer in the realms of the natural, but the supernatural. Vondel's spiritual awareness that his love for his children must be like God's Love for Man has in practice become the spiritual experience of that Love within himself, and in that supernatural experience Vondel apprehends the very nature of God's Love for His Son(3). We

deze nieuwe en volkome wet plant, waer tegens alle, die op zijnen naem ydel roemen, zich ten hooghste beverlecken, zoo menighmael zy hun leedt en ongelijck met gedachten, woorden, of wercken wreecken, en niet liever door wel-daedigheid hunnenhaeters overtuigen, om te toonen dat zy van den geest der liefde gedreven worden, naer het onbevleekte voorbeeld, hun in dien hemelschen wetgever voorgesteld".

(3) cf. John X, vv.14-15 "I know mine own and mine know me as the Father knoweth me and I know the Father", of which

should not expect to find a confession from Vondel of such a deep sacramental experience, but the preface to "Koning David Herstelt", normally overlooked by Vondel scholars, clearly implies such a confession, provided we bear in mind that the play is autobiographical.

The preface begins: "Onder de natuurljcke hartstoghten is der ouderen kinderliefde, Στοργή bij de Grieken geheeten, overkrachtigh, en niet alleen den redeljcken, maar ook stommen dieren eigen". He refers to Plutarch who reveals "hoe natuur den ouderen inboesemde, hunne afkomst zorghevuldigh op te queecken, en te beschutten, zonder hoop van eenige vergeldinge uit haer te verwachten". There follows a number of references to parental love in classical literature: Elektra's appeal to Klytemnestra as her mother, Niobe's metamorphosis to rock through loss of her children, Jocaste's suicide when her sons are killed in Euripides' "Phoenissae"; the concealment of the sword with which Ifigenie is to be sacrificed from her father Agamemnon(4), the slaughter of the children Polyxena and Astyanax snatched from their mother's arms, Brutus' heroism in sentencing his own two sons, guilty of treason(5). Vondel then cites instances of parental love in the Old Testament: Jacob grieving for Joseph, Moses hidden in the reeds by Jochebed, Rispe protecting her sons' bodies from the birds of prey, Solomon's judgement that the disputed child belongs to the mother who will not allow the child to be divided, and finally "de liefde van den aertsvader Abraham, dus lang overgeslagen, wort hier door betuigt, dat hy, in het opofferen van zijnen eenigen en ter doot gehoorzaemen zoone, zich zelve en

W. Temple says "Once again the analogy is introduced; the Father : the Son : the Son : ourselves. ("Readings in St John's Gospel" p.168).

(4) cf. "Jeptha".

(5) cf. "Adonias".

natuur, uit liefde tot Godt, overwon, waerom 's helts geloof en stantvastigheit met zulck eene heerelijcke belofte gekroont wert, en hy Godt den vader afbeelde, van wien Godt de zoon zelf uitroept: 'Zo lief had Godt de weerelt, dat hy zijnen eenigen geboren zoon gaf'. In dezen toneelhandel draeft de onuitbluschbaere liefde van Koning David tot Absolon...doorgaens vooruit...Koning Davids weeklaghte en lijckgeschrey om Absolons rampzalige doot, aldus in de heilige bladen uitgedruckt: 'Och, mijn zoon Absolon, Och Absolon, mijn Zoon, mocht ick voor u sterven! och Absolon, mijn zoon, och mijn zoon Absolon!' schijnt bykans zijne triomfbazuin te verdooven". Though David in his grief could not realize it, glory will come out of his suffering(1) as surely as he returns to his throne of glory after his exile. "Ick wert ontsteecken", Vondel continues "deze treurstof... t'ontvouwen...op datze"(i.e. the two parts of the one story of David's exile and reinstatement) "tegens elckandere te klaerder afsteecken, en d'onbestandigheit van het beloop der weerelt voor der aenschouweren oogen stellende, hun levendigh inboezemen, dat er heden niets zo vreemt voorvalt, of het is al van outs gebeurt; want onder het omwentelen van het radt van avontuure komen de zelve zaecken, in andere tijden, plaetsen, en personaedjen, t'elckenmaele weder boven"(2).

If we had no record of young Joost's delinquency, we should have reason enough, from these last words of Vondel alone, for reading the story of David and Absalom as an anonymous autobiography.

In this preface there are a considerable number of

(1) "de zon der koninglijke herstellinge komt ten lange leste uit dezen duisteren nacht en nevel van den vaderlijcken rouwe met schoonen straelen te voorschijn".

(2) W.B. Vol.IX, pp.104-6.

references to women defending their children or suffering their loss. Mothers play an important part not only in Vondel's translations (of "Troades", "Phoenissae", "Hercules Furens", and "Medea") but also in his own "Gysbreght van Aemstel", "Gebroeders", "Jeptha", "Batavische Gebroeders" and "Faëton". This has been attributed to the influence of the Greek dramatists(1), but no one who has understood the implication of the preface quoted above could subscribe to this opinion. Since the whole range of Vondel's experiences were to him but microcosmic manifestations of the Absolute, then it is clearly misunderstanding Vondel to make any restrictive reservations or exceptions to that fundamental principle of his philosophy. Not the least of the factors drawing Vondel to the Roman Church was the richness of its Sacramental and symbolic thought. Vondel apprehended through his own spiritual experience the mystical relationship of God to Christ, of God and Christ to Man, of Mary to Christ, of Mary to the Mother Church, and of Man to the Mother Church. We have Vondel's translation of the metaphors of the Son of Man, the Son of God, the Mother of God, and Christ's Bride in his plays and if we can read that translation aright we begin to share Vondel's apprehension not only of the Father - Son mystery, but also, in the plays where a mother suffers, we can sense the suffering of Mary, the Mother of God, as Vondel apprehended something of that suffering in his love for his wife, and this relationship was the sacrament of yet another aspect of the one mystery, the union of Christ with His Church as His Bride. The mystery must be veiled, veiled with the imperfect medium of human expression, but if we dare but raise that veil, then in truth

(1) J. van den Bergh van Eysinga-Elias l.c. p.500.

Het floers is weg van de eeuwigheid geschoven and Badeloch, Rispe, Filopaie and Walbrug, with a common personal origin, Vondel's Maayken, all come to real life in the one glorious vision of the mystery of the Virgin Mother.

"Faëton", written at a crucial point in the sequence of Vondel's drama, (three years after the Koning David plays and a year before "Adam in Ballingschap") will be a purposeless transliteration of Ovid to those who cannot see any autobiographical significance in these dramas, and just another emblem, (this time of "kroonzucht") to those looking only as far as the application of Vondel's didactics to his religious or social situation. If we relate "Faëton" only to Vondel's life-events, it is just another anonymous expression of the father - son theme(1), but if we allow it an anagogical significance relating to Vondel's spiritual life, it adds another important aspect to the picture.

Verhagen sees a similarity between Jephtha's promise to God and Febus' promise to his son(2), though in reality they are no more than one another's complement. Jephtha subjects his free will to the Will of God, as he interprets it through his conscience, Febus' promise to Faëton is complete freedom of will, which gift Faëton abuses. Faëton, half-god, half-human, is promised a free choice by his divine father because of his semi-divine nature. By abusing this promise, and by disregarding his father's advice and disobeying his orders for the journey, Faëton falls from heaven to sudden death on earth.

This is the outline of the story with Faëton at the centre of it, and similarities with "Lucifer" and "Adam in

(1) L.Simons W.B. Vol.II p.50.

(2) B.Verhagen l.c. pp.94,104.

Ballingschap" are obvious; the disobedience in Faëton, Lucifer and Adam is the disobedience in Vondel himself.

But what of Febus and Jupiter? Febus loves his son, and because of that love he makes a promise which he must keep even when it is certain that Faëton will abuse it. He cares for his son, bent on his perilous purpose, right up to the last, giving him his instructions as if for a journey through life

Hou niet te hoog, noch ook te laag met uw gareelen (1.448)
De middelweg alleen is veilig, hoe men rijde (491)
Blijf binnen uw besteck van wederzij vooral (493)

When Faëton's reckless course endangers the whole earth, the heavenly hosts appeal to Jupiter to stem the utter destruction. He is loath to take the life of Febus' own son, but the need is urgent and Faëton must be punished. To the last Febus does all in his power to protect his son from Jupiter's thunderbolt. Danger is now nearly past, he says -

De Zonnekloot zal haest te water gaen en zinken
Jup. Zoo wij met eenen strael hem in den afgrond klincken (1260)
Febus ...My dunckt dat ick dien dagh op 't hart gevoel (1262)
Och zoon, in welck een staet verlaet ge uw lieven vader!
Juno Hoe menigh vader lijdt in zijnen zoone alleen? (1265)
Febus Ick wensch den donderkloot op deze borst te stuiten (1268).

So, like David, Febus would fain die in the place of his son, and he is so stunned by the loss of his son that he can scarcely bring himself to return to his daily task of bringing life and light to the world in his sun-chariot.

There is a suggestion of the two great aspects of Divine Love, mercy and justice, in Febus who represents the new law of love, mercy and forgiveness no matter what the cost to him, be it even his own life, and Jupiter (the god

of justice) who must save the disciplined order or creation, without which justice could not exist, by punishing the evil-doer, even though this must cause bitter anguish to his son, who, like Christ(1), cries out in his anguish: "och mijn zoon. Och waert ge nooit geboren!"(1.1457).

Yet this same Febus, granting his son freedom of choice and later suffering at his son's presumption and fall, bears more resemblance to God the Father than to God the Son. And elsewhere Febus resembles sinful Man, when he is reproved by Jupiter for recklessly assigning his god-given power to his son in order to establish his own prestige in his son's eyes.

There is in fact no question of a maintained symbolism here, and least of all intentional symbolism. But in Febus we can sense something of Vondel's understanding of the mystical relationship between God, Christ and Man in the relationships of Febus toward his Adam-like son and his Omnipotent father. The expression of such a mystery cannot be complete since it is confused by the paradoxes inherent in any mystery; yet by including within the experiences of one figure, Febus, two kinds of human love, parental and filial, themselves symbolic of aspects of the one whole Divine Love(2), Vondel comes nearer in this play than in any other, to expressing his own spiritual experience in the thoughts of the players. Just as Febus has in him something of Jupiter as well as Faëton, so Vondel contains divine

(2) If for clarity's sake a purely illustrative distinction may be made between the nature of the love of God and of Christ, Jephtha, whose child, unlike Absolon and Faëton, is quite innocent, suffers as God the Father for His Son rather than as Christ(cf. David and Febus) suffers for sinful Man. Jephtha too, like David and Febus, would

(1) rather die himself than lose his child ("Jephtha" 11.1116,7)
(1) "But woe to that man by whom the son of man is betrayed!"

goodness and sin. As Febus' relationships as father and son placed him between the human and the godly, so too Vondel's relationships on earth were the human experiences through which Divine Love could be imparted.

If Febus is completely symbolic of anybody, he is symbolic of Vondel. This being so, it is scarcely necessary to repeat that Ovid's story was chosen by Vondel not as a cloak for an intended autobiography but simply because it corresponded so fully with his spiritual experience.

In this play then, we find a combination of the various elements of thought implicit or explicit in all Vondel's significant(3) plays. Central is God's love with its promise of free will, resulting in the tragedy of man's abuse of that free will, his disobedience to God's Will and abuse of his divine nature to be a god unto himself; and the only means by which the order of justice can be restored is through the suffering of God Himself for that sin, the Satisfaction which has restored mankind in the Redemption(4). But equally central in the play is Vondel himself, living in Jupiter and experiencing something of God's sorrow for the sins of Man and the suffering of His Son(5), living in Febus, sharing something of Christ's Passion, living in Faëton as the sinful son of God abusing His love and promise of free will, and living in all three as Vondel the father, husband(6) and son.

"Good were it for that man if he had never been born"
(Mark XIV,21).

- (3) The word is used here to mean simply those plays which are significant to this study, i.e. excluding the purely 'occasional' works.
- (4) See the quotation from A.H.Haentjens, p.151 above.
- (5) Act IV sc.ii especially ll.1112-1152.
- (6) Husband, since Klymene, Febus' mortal wife, plays an important part in the early stages of the play.

"Lucifer" and "Faëton" are complementary images of the Absolute using symbols for supernatural qualities. Having attempted to interpret the Absolute in its essence, Vondel's way is prepared for expressing fully the Absolute in the Particular: Man; for Vondel remains to the last a practical man of the world, not a mystic(1). In essentially human experiences he learns the Truth, and in human form, that Truth, which is found within ourselves, is most comprehensible. "Adam in Ballingschap" is the objectification of Reality incarnate. Here we see the actual duality in man, the perfection that was Christ's, the second Adam's, and the disobedience that was Lucifer's, and the two extremes clash and struggle for supremacy in Man, Adam. "Adam in Ballingschap" is of all Vondel's plays the fullest externalization of Vondel's spiritual life, even as Adam's conflict is the truest possible externalization of Vondel's conflict, for in Adam as in Vondel are the dual natures of the flesh and the spirit, the material and the holy: perfect love which can only be interpreted in terms of God's Love, and carnal affection; perfect spiritual unity with God which can be disrupted by communion with the devil, with their symbolic equivalents in the contrasts of Paradise and barren wilderness and of the robes of original righteousness and the leaves of nature.

The chain of Vondel's drama is like a necklace of many coloured stones; several stones have but different shades of the same colour(2), the clasp without which the

(1) See G. Brom "Vondels Geloof" p.366.

(2) "Herhaling moes daar wees, maar die bejaarde kunstenaar wou hom gedurende die laatste jare van sijn lewe tog so beslis moontlik uitspreek oor die sondes van die opstandiges wat hy veral in sy lektuur en die lewe raakgezien het", M.S.B.Kreitzinger "Die opstandsmotief by Vondel", p.184. While agreeing with Kritzinger that

in the chain could not be complete is the intangible "Lucifer", but the diamond pendant of the necklace is "Adam in Ballingschap", reflecting all the colours and yet itself an/separable whole. Here we can catch a glimpse of the different tones of every aspect of Truth appearing severally in the plays, they will elude us if we try to separate them. Adam and Eve have in their innocence the natures of Joseph, Ursul, Gysbreght, Badeloch, Peter, Pauwels(and Petronel and Plautil), Ifis, Noah and Gabriel; and in their fallen state they have something of Attila, Jempсар, Peter and Pauwels, Salomon, Sidonia, Salmoneus, Filotomie, Samson, Absolon, Adonias, Faëton, Urania and of course Lucifer.

It is not then surprising that passages in "Adam in Ballingschap" are similar to those in other plays. Lucifer's prologue is comparable to Symon's and Elias' in "Peter en Pauwels" for instance; Adam longs for death as the wages of sin in similar mood to that of the apostles; the temptations of Samson by Dalila(1) and Salomon by Sidonia follow a similar method to that of Adam by Eve; the sun is glorified by the chorus in "Faëton" as Adam and Eve praise the sun as a symbol of God's glory, and so on. Similarities can also be traced in the treatments and characters in Vondel's translations. One translation is of particular interest as showing similarity not only of treatment but also in its Idea.

Hercules in "Hercules Furens", born of a divine father and mortal mother, had lived a life of glory under divine

the theme of rebellion frequently recurs, I entirely disagree that this was due primarily to external causes.

- (1) In Samson's monologue, ll.257-333. In Dalila's method, rational, appealing and threatening in turn, there is a marked similarity with Eve's.

protection, and was an exemplary virtuous (pius) being. Juno, jealous of his semi-divine heritage and the divine favour shown to him, sought to avenge Hercules' birth on Jupiter his father. But she had not succeeded in attacking him openly and he had survived the twelve labours, thereby vanquishing Hades and gaining potential immortality. Juno says of Hercules "quaerit ad superos viam"(1), and Lucifer says of Adam "Een andre klaerheit komt in 't licht der Godtheit stügen"(2). It was at the very peak of Hercules' achievement that the spirit of Madness, Juno's emissary, succeeded in its surreptitious assault. In his frenzy Hercules killed his wife and children and brought disgrace and exile on himself. Moreover he could not take his arms with him, since they were gifts from the gods.

Lucifer was, like Juno, jealous of Adam's Divine heritage, and promise of immortality. Unable to attack him openly, he sent Belial, his crafty confederate, to assail him (through Eve) at the height of his glory immediately after the wedding-feast. Adam did not kill his children, but he cut them off from eternal life by his action, and he, like Hercules, must needs go into exile rather than take his own life, leaving the robes of Original Righteousness, also a gift from Heaven, behind him. Like Hercules, the Second Adam was the Son of God and yet born of mortal woman, and when Hercules finally dies he reappears to his mourning mother as a spirit in Heaven(3).

The similarities between Hercules, Adam and Christ join a pattern of similarities between Hercules and Samson(4), who was, in Vondel's words, intended of God's wisdom to portray a

(1) "Hercules Furens" 1.74.

(2) "Lucifer" Act II, 1.357.

(3) "Hercules Oetaeus", Act V. The Chorus sings "Alcides once again has conquered Hell".

(4) See F.M.Krouse "Milton's Samson and the Christian Tradition", pp.44,45.

a great Redeemer by his birth, life and death(1). Hercules, like Samson, degenerated from mighty deeds to unworthy slavery through love for Queen Omphalia,^{and} fell ultimately, like Adam, through love for a woman, Iole. We have also seen(2), that Samson's sin cost him his special gift from God, even as Adam lost his white robes of innocence. Indeed the "staetsveranderinge" symbolized by the metamorphosis from veiled innocence to shameful nakedness has its counterparts in many plays, and in none more vividly than in "Lucifer". These metamorphoses are only manifestations of a change in heart, mood, or condition. The transformation of Lucifer from God's deputy to monstrous fiend is really no more comprehensible than the contrast of Heaven and Hell. But the change in Adam and Eva brought about by the fall is complementary to the change of scene from Eden to exile in the outside world. We can readily encompass that because only perfect and imperfect humanity is involved, and with it an unspoiled order of nature which we have all sensed because we are part of that natural order. The artist can see the contrast between virgin nature and nature defiled by Man, as is evident in the great quantity of lyrical poetry in the world, and pastorals in particular. "Leeuwendalers" is but a pleasing fantasy of a paradise country, where the laws of Pan the Nature-god bind all creatures in simple concord and happiness. Pan himself (and let us not forget Vondel's injunction not to take his "Leeuwendalers" too seriously!) is the symbol of the spirit and flesh in Man, the soul in Adam and the body in Eve, for "zijn bovenste deel vertoont den hemel; zijn onderlijf en ruige bocksvoeten, het

(1) Preface to "Samson".

(2) P. 221 above.

aertrijck met zijn rughte"(1). So Pan lives, as we should expect, in a land not unlike Eden, and Adelaart and Hageroos love one another with the same pure naivety as Adam and Eva(2).

The studies of "Adam in Ballingschap" frequently, I believe, underrate Vondel's apprehension of the Absolute. To Verhagen "It seems reasonable to suppose that Vondel's marriage was indeed happy, but it may have cost Vondel himself a great struggle, possibly too, sacrifice of principles and consequent remorse, to keep it so. His dramas certainly seem expressions of such a conflict"(3). Without denying that this may have been so, we are not concerned with such a hypothesis since, far from increasing our understanding and appreciation of Vondel's drama, it actually restricts it by belittling the spiritual depth of Vondel's thought and confining his mental processes to those conditioned by personal experience. In two contrasting paragraphs Vondel clearly suggests the significance of the lust-motif in his plays as being the utter antithesis of Divine Love. In the first of these paragraphs(4) Samson is said to be by his birth and grace a forerunner of the promised Redeemer announcing the new law of Love and in the second, this same Samson "van den allerhooghsten met zulck eene onoverwinbaere kracht en sterckheit gewapent, wert endelijck ontwapent door de loosheit en bekoorlijkheit van zijne boelschap, om de reuckeloze jongkheit te waerschuwen zich van de bekoorlijke streecken der lichtvaerdighe schoonheden te hoeden, waer door zoo veele dappere mannen ten val

(1) Preface to "Leeuwendalers" W.B. Vol.V, p.265.

(2) Compare for instance "Leeuwendalers" ll.403-410 with "Adam in Ballingschap" ll.1006-1011.

(3) l.c. p.98.

(4) Preface to "Samson", see page 227 note (2) above.

geraecten"(1). The abuse of the divine gift of human love as a sacrament of Divine Love is an epitome of the sin against God's Love in the abuse of His gift of free will. It is the awareness of the degeneration of this spiritual love to merely sexual lust which moves Adam at the crisis in the play to seek direct communion with God where the physical presence of Eva cannot distract him(2).

If a requisite of drama is that it be true to life, I can only assume that the writer of this criticism did not experience in Vondel's drama the quality of Absolute Truth which is at the centre of very existence:

"In de 'Adam in Ballingschap' is eveneens"(as in 'Lucifer') "eene stof verwerkt, die voor een treurspek niet geschikt is: geene epische, maar eene symbolische stof is hier verwerkt. De daad, die de 'staatsverandering' veroorzaakt, is symbool en daarmede vervalt het dramatische effect"(3).

To those who see in "Adam in Ballingschap" artistic weakness because they cannot share the experiences in the play, Verschaeve sounds the warning note, that such a judgement necessarily calls ^{the} intelligence of the critic in question(4). And yet this same writer finds the edification in the play a hindrance(5); whereas symbolism must be a legitimate metaphor and rationalization: legitimate clarification in any work of art that attempts to transmit the artist's apprehension of Reality. Does a parable lose its intuitive artistic merit because it is

(1) Preface to "Samson" W.B. Vol.IX, p.176.

(2) Act IV ll.1028-1031.

(3) J.van den Bergh van Bÿsinga-Elias l.c. p.508.

(4) "Uren Bewondering voor Groote Kunstwerken" p.137.

(5) "Vondels Drama tegenover het Drama over 't Algemeen" in "Verzameld Werk", p.349.

edifying?

One thing remains to be said that would have been said earlier, but that it would then have rendered subsequent reasoning vague, if not impossible; and it is this. I make no apology for appearing arrogant in my plea that readers of Vondel should reflect more deeply on the total structure of his drama, for only by such an anagogic approach can the Truth in each play be apprehended. The result will necessarily be subjective and consequently fallible, and although I have stated my case throughout as though I were sure of my conclusions, I am the first to admit that my interpretation of Vondel's dramatic Idea will change, and must do so; for if Vondel needed 77 years to acquire the spiritual insight of "Adam in Ballingschap", to presume a full understanding of the play with less experience of life would be to deny it its very nature of Reality.

Conclusion.

To state a case for or against the influence of one work on another frequently seems to me hazardous if not presumptuous. Having outlined the classical background to our two Adam plays and discussed the points of theology on which both poets show agreement in their plays, I would have preferred to leave the synopses of the plays themselves to yield sufficient evidence of the extent of Grotius' influence on Vondel to enable the reader to form his own personal conclusions. It is however scarcely possible to preserve silence when two such redoubtable authorities as J. van Lennep and B.H. Molkenboer hold such contrary views on the subject.

Molkenboer expresses admiration for the accomplishments of an eighteen-year-old law student in his "Adamus Exul". No one could disagree with him in that. Almost as remarkable, he continues, is the fact that the seventy-seven-year-old Vondel took his example from Grotius, "toch heeft hij dat, zelfs vrij ruim gedaan...reeds de titel van Vondel's werk blijkt een vertaling te zijn van Adamus Exul, en wat den bouw in "Adam in Ballingschap" betreft is het duidelijk, dat hij in de grote lijnen naar Grotius' klassicistisch stuk is opgezet."(1)

Apparently as sole qualification for this statement,

(1) W.B. Vol.X, pp.751-2.

Molkenboer then gives a list of eighty or more passages for comparison. This, I submit, is both superficial and misleading, for unless a comparison of the passages is intended to bear out the indebtedness of Vondel's play to Grotius', either the whole of "Adamus Exul" should have been given or such 'comparative' excerpts should have been entirely omitted.

Of these juxtaposed excerpts, eleven either bear no resemblance or even reveal marked dissimilarities(1). A great number bear only such resemblance as must occur in two plays on similar themes(2), and while the remainder are indeed comparable, many of these similarities may be considered due to influences common to both poets independantly, either from their similar theological outlook or their one biblical source, or their common knowledge of classical drama(3). Of those still remaining, some are purely incidental and the subject matter of the passages is so trivial that the question of influence is not worth debating (4) and the others, all of which contain striking likenesses,

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- (1) Notably those passages compared with "Adam in Ballingschap", ll. 653 & 747, 257 (Genesis is, of course, the common source for both, but how different from Grotius' is Vondel's way of saying it!), 203, 191, 1140, 1199, 1217, 1221, (though indeed some similarity is recognizable between Grotius' lines here and "Adam in Ballingschap", ll. 1222, 3) 1242-4, 1305 (though ll. 1270-1274 might have been quoted) 1344.
 - (2) Such are those referring to "Adam in Ballingschap" ll. 557-562, 242, 285, 999-1002, 1139, 1136, 1120, 1187, 1199, 1204, 1227 and 1230, 1242-1244, 1252, 1270-1274, 1258, 1356, 1359, 1414, 1460 etc., 1480, 1482-83, 1573, 1562-63, 1589-95.
 - (3) i.e. in "Adam in Ballingschap", ll. 1-5, 14-22, 314-315, 61-62, 1167-68, 134-138, 343-344, 216, 219, 243-244, 225-226, 251-255.
 - (4) i.e. in "Adam in Ballingschap" ll. 14-22, 229-232, 1182 and 1199.

cannot all be considered definite evidence of borrowing, since one or two are Senecanisms which have parallels in other plays of Vondel(1). We are left then with seventeen comparable passages where influence seems likely if not certain, affecting however, only about seventy lines of Vondel's 1709, which, on the face of it, would not seem to constitute any very serious indebtedness to Grotius. Let us examine these passages more closely.

Lucifer (in ll.640-645), like Satan in "Adamus Exul", proposes to tempt the man first. But, far more important than the devil's ambition to dispose of the stronger enemy first, is the final decision in "Adam in Ballingschap" to undermine Adam's resistance by implanting sin first in his wife.

Adam in both plays asks for an account of Creation, from the Angel in Grotius' play and the chorus of angels in Vondel's. But the six days of Creation are so closely associated with the Fall of Man in Genesis, that some explanation of Man's presence in Eden would almost inevitably figure in any long poem on this theme. If we are to attribute the presence of an angel-chorus in "Adam in Ballingschap" to the influence of the Angel in "Adamus Exul", we must be ready to provide an alternative chorus of virtuous beings, in accordance with Vondel's normal practice, which he could have used instead.

Eve's excuse "de halve misdaet is begaen"(2) is indeed fairly certainly taken from Grotius' "Magna delecti mei iam pars peracta est"(3), although even here the possibility of classical influence cannot be excluded(4).

(1) i.e. in "Adam in Ballingschap" ll.119-122, 1236-1238.

(2) l.1197.

(3) "Adamus Exul" ll.1295,6.

(4) "Hippolytus" l.717 in Vondel's translation: "'t grootste deel des schelmstux al voorheen/ Bedreven is! See p.114 above.

The brief interlude after Eve's Fall , in which Adam is seen returning from his quiet stroll in the garden, in Grotius' play offering Adam the delights of its beauty and refreshment, in Vondel's treatment, dramatically more potent, the perfect environment for contemplation and prayer, is an instance of Vondel's enrichment of Grotius' treatment.

Eve accounts for her presence under the Tree of Knowledge in words nearly identically the same in both plays, and her excuse and invitation to Adam in "Adam in Ballingschap" is not only clearly influenced by Grotius' dialogue(1), but understandably so, for Eve's naïve admission that the command not to eat provoked her appetite, and her sensuous praise of the apple, reveal Grotius' understanding of human nature.

Eve's sudden realization of what she has done as she sees the colour drain from Adamus' horror-struck face and her immediate reaction to save him by making herself solely responsible is another part of "Adamus Exul" which Vondel rightly considered worthy of imitation(2).

Satan's and Lucifer's reference to God's repenting of having created Man(3) is a small detail, and in any case there are similar expressions in Vondel's other plays(4).

Despite the precedent in Seneca's drama and the Morality plays, the occurrence of Adam's hallucinations, similar in both plays, indicates fairly conclusively that Vondel was influenced by Grotius here and also in the general treatment of Adam's remorse, so that the manners of

(1) "Adamus Exul" ll.1344-1348. (2) "Ad.in Ball" ll.1353-5
(3) id. ll.1556,7; "Adam in Ballingschap" l.1485.
(4) e.g."Lucifer" l.2117, "Faëdon" l.1457(See also note (1), p.234 above), "Noah" ll.447,8.

suicide which Vondel's Adam contemplates can safely be assumed to come from "Adamus Exul", although we cannot dismiss the possibility that both poets were influenced independantly by Du Bartas or even possibly by Euripides(1). So too, Eve's acceptance at the last of the guilt for their sin and her desire to die with Adam can almost certainly be attributed to Grotius(2).

The disturbances which herald Uriel's arrival in Eden are so like those which attend God's approach in "Adamus Exul" that there can be no doubt of Vondel's indebtedness in this passage, and the similarity continues through Adam's terror and flight into the woods, until Vondel diverges somewhat from Grotius in ll.1621-1625.

The dialogue with the Voice of God has in both plays a common source in Genesis which results in a consistent similarity of treatment, but the similarity persists up to the end of the play where there is no biblical authority to account for it. Eve in both plays describes the envelopment of the garden in fiery light and is reminded of the torches burning at their recent marriage, and Adam's tottering departure and farewell to the garden is somewhat similar to Adamus'.

In deference to Molkenboer it seemed necessary to enter, albeit unwillingly, the controversy regarding Grotius' influence on Vondel, if only to affirm my agreement with van Lennep that "aan hem, die het Latijnsche en het Nederlandsche dichtstuk gelezen en ze onderling vergeleken heeft, zal gebleken zijn, dat Vondel, verre van het werk zijns voorgangers vertaald of tot voorbeeld genomen te hebben, een geheel

(1) See note (1) p.123 above.

(2) "Adamus Exul" ll.1726,7; 1800-1802, and "Adam in Ballingschap" ll.1579, 1588.

eigen weg is ingeslagen, alleen nu en dan beelden of uitdrukkingen bezigt, waarin overeenkomst met die van De Groot te vinden is, en hem slechts in zeer enkele gevallen opzettelijk schijnt te hebben nagevolgd."(1).

Vondel's artistic maturity and depth of thought are understandably so much greater than Grotius' that it does justice to neither work to compare the two closely. One example may be taken to illustrate the disparity between Grotius' imperfectly organized play and the harmonious expression of an Idea in "Adam in Ballingschap".

Grotius created his Adam and Eve as noble and intelligent which was right enough so long as their natures were unspoiled, but during their temptations and when they had sinned he allowed his own artistic creations to take full control of the situation, so that they are portrayed too favourably right up to the time that they are summoned by God. Vondel must have realized that Grotius by doing this failed to mark the contrast between virtue and sinfulness and, what was worse, left the impression that Adam and Eve had not really done any great wrong. Vondel's Adam and Eve before their Fall are no less sympathetically portrayed than Grotius', though Eve especially has a very different nature, and after the Fall their behaviour is more convincing because it is the reflected distortion of all that had previously been virtuous in them.

If then Vondel's artistry outshines Grotius' at his best, it is hardly conceivable that Vondel was seriously indebted to Grotius, though in fairness to Grotius it must be remembered that his play is eclipsed by Vondel's, not because it is so inferior but because Vondel's is so magnificent.

(1) Vondel, Werken: Ed. J. van Lennep, Vol. X pp.423,4

Grotius suffers the same handicap that has made "minor poets" of the lesser contemporaries of the Elizabethan giants.

Lascelles Abercrombie establishes what he means by 'great' poetry(1) by comparing various poetical works and illustrating by that means in what way the one attains greatness where the other does not. By comparing "Adam in Ballingschap" with "Adamus Exul" in the same way, Vondel's poetry stands every test of greatness which Abercrombie makes.

In the first place the experience in "Adam in Ballingschap" is far more intense than in "Adamus Exul", so it has "a fuller expressiveness, a more magical incantation"(2). Secondly Vondel's play shows imagination rather than fancy(3). Then again the whole form(4) of "Adam in Ballingschap" is much more closely integrated. "It is not only an account of the range of its matter though that is important...but its greatness also consists in the consistent shapeliness or coherent unity of final impression"(5). It is "a perfect system of its own inter-relationships: nothing is there that does not belong to everything else there". But, Abercrombie continues, "though

(1) In "The Idea of Great Poetry".

(2) l.c. pp.41,2. Abercrombie defines poetry (on p.18) as 'incantation'; a means of communicating experience in such a way that the reader shares it without its being described.

(3) l.c. p.42. Mercutio's speech (as an illustration of fancy) contains an element of conscious imagery which is absent from the intuitive vision of "The Dream of the Rood". The same could be said of "Adamus Exul" and "Adam in Ballingschap".

(4) 'Form' is the poem after reading, the whole impression it leaves; the sum total of its experiences transplanted to our minds for contemplation. l.c. p.59f.

(5) l.c. p.147.

every poem must be its own peculiar microcosm, it must also, by virtue of what we call its form, be some aspect, large or small, of a world eternal and universal: the ideal world"(1). How applicable this is to Vondel's play is evident from most of the two preceding chapters.

?-w Vondel's play too is greater as a tragedy. The sense of evil in Adam's deed is greater than in that of Adamus and the good in him, his love for God and Eve, which generates the tragic conflict, is correspondingly greater(2). In considering the relationship of a great poet to his work, Abercrombie points out that poets, of whom Dante is the grand type, do not just recreate their own personalities. "These poets create in their works the figure of their own personal lives as certainly as Shakespeare creates Hamlet or Milton creates Satan; and they do it in precisely the same manner - not by truth to life in the realistic sense, but by concentration and enhancement"(3). Is this not relevant to Vondel's Eden and the figures in it?

Finally, both plays are intended to be edifying, but where this purpose is entirely absorbed by the artistic 'form' of the one, it remains an inartistic excrescence in the other. "To expound an argument as such, is, no question of it, to fall from poetry. But if a poet gives us his vivid intuition of his argument and of all it means to him, if he expresses it as an experience, with a technique which can convey his exultation of reason, emotion and spirit in living in the sense of truth, and the labour and delight of attaining this, he is giving us what must, by any workable definition, be accepted as poetry"(4).

(1) l.c. p.70.

(2) cf. l.c. pp.167-171.

(3) l.c. p.211.

(4) l.c. p.220.

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APPENDIX

HUGO GROTIUS' "ADAMUS EXUL"

from the Edition of 1601.*



*) "H.Grotii Sacri in quibus Adamus Exul etc..."
British Museum c.28.f.10.

ADAMUS EXUL

- ACTUS PRIMUS -

Trimetri Jambici

- SATHAN. Saevi tonantis hostis, exul patriae
Coelestis, adsum, Tartari tristem specum
Fugiens, atram Noctis aeternae plagam
Odium bonorum sede me infausta extrahit,
5 Diros scelesta mente versantem dolos.
Terribile iniquum, triste, formidabile
Quod et ipse Sathan horream, quaero scelus.
Hac spe per omnes Orbis ibo terminos,
Hac spe citatus clausa littoribus vagis
10 Transibo maria, saevus ut rictu Leo
Patulo timendus per locorum devia
Quaerit quod avido dente dilaniet, pecus.
Hac spe, quod unum maximum fugio malum,
Superos videbo. Fallor ? an certe meo
15 Concussa Tellus tota trepidat pondere ?
Bene est. Abunde est. Fiat hoc, fiat, nefas
Quod Mundus horret. Ecce, quae petitur, prope
Apparet Heden: proxima Auranitidos
Amoena cerno; Lambit hic Babylonios
20 Narmalca campos, Susianes intimis
Fugiens ab agris, Bdellii qui fertiles,
Ubi sub profundo nascitur terrae specu
Fulvum metallum, plurimusque ubi Sardonyx
Latet in fodinis; parte labitur altera.
25 Arvis rigandis aptus unda Narsares,
Solaris ignis conscius, qui fervidas
Succingit oras; propius ^{his} a partibus

Phoebi sub ortum lubricas curvans aquas
Non largus undis alveus tangit tuas
30 Assyria Cauchas, praeviumque in Tygridis
Delapsus amnem Persicos fugit ad sinus.
Regione dextra medius Euphrates fluit,
Et amne pingues diluit glebas suo,
Paludibusque prodigus Chaldaicis
35 Participat undas; Parte ab illa, quae videt
Solis renatum surgere Oceano iugum,
Iucunda sancti forma se latissime
Distendit horti, cuius in gremium fluit
Sectus quaternis tumidus Euphrates vadis.
40 Hic densa tenuis languidos Zephyri sonos
Arbusta referunt, silvaque argute tremens
Ludit susurro; semper hic placido nitet
Solare vultu lumen; arridet favor
45 Constantis aurae; dulce adulatur dies
Firme serena fronte; non nubes loco
Impendet, atri non ab irato Polo
Funduntur imbres, nec trisulci fulminis
Timet ista telum, nec tonitruum murmura
Beata novit regio: solvit frigora
50 Tepor benignus, Verque perpetuam gravem
Defendit hyemem: nullus horrenti fremit
Boreas ab Arcto: nullus aetherias aquas
Minatur auster. Quicquid est optabile,
Gratumque in unum pariter adfluxit locum,
55 Iusso exulare, quicquid est alibi, malo.
Quaecunque visus ardor, aut gustus iuvat
Convenit. omneis iste delicias locus,
Et amoena servat, quem beatae prodigus
Sortis colendum tribuit Adamo Deus.

- 60 Postquam ille coeli Machinam candentibus
Astris repletam, fertilisque effecerat
Telluris orbem, iamque roseis per polum
Invecta bigis sexta fulgeret dies,
Quo nil sub astris majus Orbis cerneret
- 65 Hominem creavit, pulveremque ignobilem
In iusta finxit membra, et inflata pater
Vegetavit aura, nec tamen vitam dedit
Sensusque solos, propriae sed imaginis
Expressit altum mente in humana decus,
- 70 Docuitque eundem qualis, et cuius manu
Formatus esset nunc, prius qui non erat.
Quaecumque volucris aerem, terram fera
Vel Piscis undas habitat, illius omnia
Parent habenis; tota qua tellus patet,
- 75 Unius ager est: quaeque possideat sola
Nec ipse novit dominus; et quicquid vago,
Quae varia lucis non suae alternans vices
Refugit in orbem, Luna continet ambitu,
Saevo tyrannus unus imperio premit.
- 80 Tantique regni generis ut serie suus
Superesset haeres, uxor Adamo data est.
Ex osse fictam masculino foemininam
Miratus Orbis stupuit, et Titan novus
Vidisse nil tam meminit admirabile
- 85 Post se creatum: nunc uterque in florido
Spatiatur horto nudus: omnis abest Pudor
Rudibus malorum: fraudis expers, et doli
Sincera virtus colitur, et grato Deus
Celebratur ore: nulla securos mali
- 90 Vexat cupido: mortis ambo vulnera
Impune temunt: Morbus et Lethe dolor,

- Ipsaque vel dolore deterior metus
Fugiunt ab illis. Sorte, Proh, quantum mea
Sors distat ista! Nos rotanti sidera
95 . Coelo coeui, non vel ignis prodi
Fervente flamma, vel tepore volatili
Humentis aerae, non aqua, aut Terrae gravis
Torpente gleba, sed sine ulla corporum
Compage facti maximo aequales Deo
100 Mancipia poenae vivimus, nec vivimus,
Mors una, quam nec novit humanus timor
Mihi summa voti est; nec, quod extremum est malis,
Licet perire. Media quo tellus loco
Subsidit, ad se gravia quo trahit, et duos
105 Spatio remotos spectat aequali Polos,
Hic ora solvit Tartari invisi domus,
Ignota radiis Solis: immensis hiat
Caverna tenebris: ambitu obscuro patet
Tristis vorago: spissa caligo specum
110 Occupat inanem: vastus hic horror silet,
Et ampla vacuo spatia laxantur loco.
Mersum profundis omne Sathanum genus
Latet sub antris: quicquid infensi dare
Potuit Tonantis ira, nos vexat malum.
115 Sedet repostum mente sub memori scelus
Animosque duos stimulat, et serus pudor
Semper quietam conscio cordi negat.
Luctus, pavorque regnat, et certus timor,
Et herilis ira sequitur: interdum dolor
120 Mutatur odio, poenae et impatiens reus
Ut Saevus hostis, ardet, et summum putat
Inferre nulli posse, quod patitur, malum,
Miserosque non sic esse, quam solos, dolet.

- Poenam levabit sacius: Hedenis licet
125 Colat arva felix, speque non dubia meum
Super astra sibi promittat Adamus locum,
Tutoque conjunx perfruatur gaudio,
Non sic abibunt odia: nec vivax dolor
Deponet iras: Pace sublata procul,
130 Perpetua bella pertinax animus geret.
Violenta certam mens aget discordiam
Malum datura. quod malum? quicquid boni
Aetherea servat aula, vel Tellus creat
Amica, quicquid Pelagus, aut aër habet
135 Gratum, eius omne est. Bella contemnit mea,
Hostemque dedignatur: in risus suos
Mea vertit odia: certus, et fisis Deo
Tamiam parata tendit ad coelum via.
Hoc, hoc videndum est, regna ne summa occupet,
140 Qui iam tenet terrena. tum demum Poli
Fugisse ab arce pudeat imbellem exulem,
Si, ut dentur alii, regna deserui mea,
Locumque generi pulsus humano dedi.
Perge ira, perge, magna conantem opprime,
145 Adsitque ab alto Tartari fundo exitum
Quicquid profunda conditur caligine.
Fauces Averni, et Noctis aeternae Chaos
Adversa superis regna, sociique impii
Una ruina simul in hostem emittite,
150 Quodcumque nostrum est. Veniat ignotum Scelus,
Cuiusque nos didicimus experti malum
Parere iussis imparata Superbia.
Adsit rebellis maximo impietas Deo,
Gravis adsit Error, adsit Ambito nova
155 Rerum novarum cupida; non illex gulae
Desit libido, vana nec falsi fides,

- Levitasque rebus credula in non cognitis
His his ministris noster utetur dolor.
Quaecunq̄ue pestis Tartaro obscuro sata
160 Blando Cerastas lubricos vultu tegis
Hoc agite: poenas poscite exilii graves,
Ruptoque Averni carcere, et nigri specus
Portis ahenis, latiorēm invadite
Telluris orbem: pectus Adami malis
165 Concutite, cesset nulla peccato manus.
Ubi laetus hortum lambit Euphrates latex,
Quocunq̄ue spectes, media ramos exserit
Arbos, opacis lumen admittens comis.
Ubique grato poma pendent pondere,
170 Curvantque matrem: fulvus his auri color
Delectat̄ oculos, spemque non vanam facit,
Placere gustu posse: sed vetuit Deus
Tangi, nec ulta passus est carpi manu,
Scientiamque tam malorum, quam boni
175 Poenam severus statuit, et sanxit minis:
Nam mancipatus nunc homo virtutibus
Ignorat omne crimen; in medio tamen
Utriusque positus, cum volet, flectet viam.
Quocunq̄ue vento flante poterit libera
180 Pelli voluntas: parte dimidia nocens,
Qui velle potuit, esse coepit. Spem mea
Capit ira: recta si recedens semita
Semel caducos devium per tramitem
Gressus movebit, gemina et animae, et corpori
185 Decreta mors est. Poma si vetitae arboris
Gustabit unquam, subito in exitium ruet,
Poenasque, socius, Tartari et novus incola
Pro perpetrato scelere communes dabit.

- Accingere ira. si moveri vir potest,
190 Tentetur ipse: si moveri non potest,
Tentetur eius uxor: hoc prosit mihi
Non esse solum: Foeminae ingenium leve,
Negligere iussa facile, nec coepti tenax,
Variatur ultro, plurimum indulget sibi,
195 Majora semper spe superba praecipit,
Amatque solum, quo caret: prae incognitis
Antiqua sordent: displicet, quod non novum est.
Sortis beatæ taedium, inconstantia,
Spes vana, Pomi dulcis aspectu color,
200 Gustus cupido, quod volo, spondent mihi:
Spondet sine illis Mulier, apta author malis.
Sed audietne, quem sibi infensum putat,
Mihique vacuas hostis aures porriget?
Pax offeratur: mente depositum pia
205 Simuletur odium: qui palam laedit, iuvat.
Gestare nescit odia, quisquis non tegit.
Facile est amorem fingere, atque optans sibi
Mentitur ipse. Credula est spes improba.
Dicam futuros Numini summo pares,
210 Novosque Divos. Forte non possent capi,
Nisi magna vellent capere: stat facilis fides,
Sequuta votum. Si tamen firma in bonum
Haeret voluntas, si mihi facilem negat
Inimicus aurem, forma sumetur nova.
215 Non oculus ullus Daemonum cernit genus,
Non aliqua tangit dextra: nil sensus suum
Reperit in illis. Forma materie carens
Simplexque species alia quaevis corpora
Assumit, et sic sensui foris obvia
220 Dat se videndam. Consili sapiens mei

Serpens minister fiat: animal callidum
Servire fas est spiritus vafri dolis.
Anguis per hosti lubricum repens solum
Ignotus ido: lingua sermones seret

225 Trisulca: verbis virus inflabo meum,
Et qui venenum maximum spirat draco
Maius loquetur: utraque tentanda est via,
Fallamque gemina fraude sub amico virum,
Evam sub angue. Stabo et urgebo scelus,

230 Regamque edentis ora, carpentis manis.
Quid adhuc moramur? ista quae lucet dies
Homini parem me reddat, aut hominem mihi.

Anapaes-
stichi
Dimetri
et 235
Mono-
metri.

CHORUS. Quisquis ab alto culmine rerum

Infra se humili sede locatos

235 Despicit audax, videat ne mox

Urgente suam mole ruinam

Pondere sidat: gravior semper

Casus ab alto est. Levius contra

Leviora cadunt. Sequitur maior

240 Cura beatos, quo plus nactos

Plura timentes.

Qui modo magni civis Olympi

Aurea coeli templa tenebat

245 Nunc oclusus tristisque specus
Conditus umbra poena nunquam

Pereunte perit, soloque Deo

Ante inferior, dum minor uno

Esse recusat, nunc supra se

Omnia cernit.

250 Quanto praeceps cecidit lapsu

Qui prius alma luce coruscus,

Quique aetheria splendidus aura

Stabat in ortu! Talis Eoa

Parte diei fax Luciferi

- 255 Praevia Solis grata sereno
Lumine fulget, quae, mutato
Nomine surgens dux tenebrarum,
Noctis et atrae signifer exit
Hesperus idem.
- 260 Quid in exitium ruiture tuum
Rerum authori parere negas
Cumque obtigerit res quae potuit
Maxima, frustra maiora paras?
Hoc esse, quod est solus, qui te
- 265 Facit esse cupis. Pugnas illi,
Cui nihil obstat.
Extimus orbis complectentis
Caetera coeli, quem felices
Habitant turmae, celebransque suum
- 270 Sub mille Choris vox grata Deum,
Quem nec celeri turbine versat
Lex redeuntis certa diei,
Nec qui lunae variat formas
Menstruus ordo, nec qui celeres
- 275 Tempestatum labente vices
Digerit anno, sed perpetua
Tenet immotum statione quies,
Prope tunc visus mutare loco est,
Dum male Sathan movet*aetheria
- 280 Transfuga sedes, bellumque ciet.
Sensit turbas Sphaera rebelles,
Totusque nefas horruit aether,
Geminique Poli tremuere malis,
Nec bene firmus substitit axis,
- 285 Et Naturae facie versa
Metuit tingi Cynosura salo,
Metuere graves Ara aquilones,

*Original has: aetherias

Helæceque Notos.

Ipsæ inciperet mox Aegoceros

290 Laxare diem, Caucæque breves
Ducere noctes, Solque in tenebras
Capiem regnum tradere lucis
Iura sorori, nisi magna Dei
Iussa capessens sumpserat audax

295 Arma Michaëli. Ille rebelles
Domuit turmas: ille tenaci
Compede vinctas iussit superis
Migrare locis, et præcipites
In Tartareas depulit umbras.

300 Illius armis prostrata iacet
Furiosa cohors, quæ poenarum
Monet exemplo potiora sequi.
Eheu satis est. Hæc mala finem
Dent criminibus, dent suppliciis,

305 Nec quem in bivio dubium versat
Viti labes, hærensque pio
Pectore virtus, deflectat HOMO
Trepidum recto de calle gradum,
Possit ut illo sata progenies

310 Tandem coeli vacuum exilio
Supplere locum.

* * *

- Actus Secundus -

ADAMUS. Dies tenebras legis æternæ Vice,
Fugans resurgit: Certus ordo temporum
Solis reducit aureum terris caput:

315 Stellis fugatis maius exoritur iubar;

Nox iussa luci cedit, et Phoebæ soror.
O quantus ille est, cuius ingenti manu
Coeli rotatur axis, et turbo celer
Refert Olympum duplici fultum Polo,
320 Vastumque mundi pondus aequalem trahit
Retrahitque in orbem! Sidera authoris sui
Secuta legem temperant anni vices,
Titan coruscis explicat lucem comis,
Et Luna ducens mille stellarum choros
325 Tenebrosa noctis rumpit. Aetherei sacer
Sonus ille motus cantat artificem manum
Omnesque stellæ celeris ad coeli modos
Plaudunt choreis: Ipse nos Mundus monet
Servire rerum conditori, nec sinit
330 Haerere terris: supera nos rapit in loca,
Mentesque proprium ducit ad primordium.

ANGELUS. O te beatum, cuius in pæcordiis
Imago magni nobilis fulget Dei,
Et cui, quod unum maximum et summum bonum est,
335 Rationis usus cum Dei cultu datur.
Adame, quantum cerne præstes caeteris
Rebus creatis: Saxa et hos lapides Vide:
Sunt ista, qua tu maximi authoris manu
Formata: nullos sed quibus tribuit parens
340 Natura motus: Arbores quas aspicias
Foliis virescunt, et suos fructos ferunt,
Annisque crescunt, rursus et senium mora
Patiuntur ævi: nulla delectat tamen
Plantam voluptas, nullus excruciat dolor.
345 Pisces, feraeque, et alitum altivolans genus
Vident colores, audiunt vocem et sonos,
Capiunt odores, pabulum gustu probant,
Manusque in illis tactus exercet suum:

Nocitura discunt fugere, quae prosunt sequi.

- 350 Sensu trahuntur: Non habent mentem ducem,
Nec cogitata mutuis sermonibus
Capiunt, feruntque: nulla Relligio Deum
Demonstrat: omnis in brevi vita est salus.
Tibi praeter illa mortis expers et mali
355 Anima tributa est imperatrix sensuum.
Laudum suarum te Deus testem sacris
Parere iussis voluit, haec lex est data:
Tibi benignus reliqua, te fecit sibi.

ADAMUS. Deus est profecto, cuius et terra, et fretum

- 360 Et utraeque Phoebi sentiunt Numen domus.
Praesentia illi cuncta: principio carens
Fini carebit, ipse principium simul
Finisque rerum: cuncta mille a seculis
Futura cernit: Fecit omnia, et omnibus
365 Factis opifera prospicit prudentia:
Non corpus illum claudit, aut servat locus:
Sed ubique vivit, omnis expers termini:
Origo veri, Fons boni, Sapientia
Regina mundi, quae potest quicquid cupit.
370 Coelum ille in orbem versat, et terram suis
Firmat columnis: ille quodcumque est grave
Depellit: idem quod leve est sursum trahit,
Motuque motus ipse principium caret:
Nunquamque variat unus: attamen in tribus
375 Subsistit unus. Est enim rerum parens,
Is, qui pontenti cuncta moderatur manu:
Est natus, ipso patre at aeterno satus,
Divina ratio, Mens patris; Lex omnium,
Sermoque, cuius incomprehensa fuit
380 Virtute factum quod prius fuerat nihil:
Utrumque Sancti Spiritus Concordia

Amorque iungit: Tresque sunt Unus Deus.

ANGELUS. Quam multa paucis, Magna parvis vocibus
Satis explicasti, quantaque ingenii tui
385 Mensura summum pectori insculpsit Deum,
Quem novimus (pro) parte: perfecto modo
Deus ipse novit, seque dum capit, et cupit
Pleno, quod aliis dividit, fruitur bono.
Deus ipse Mens est, universum quae replet
390 Superatque mundum: coepta nullo tempore
Nulloque desitura: Quod verum est videt
Etiam ante, quam sit: vult bonum, caussa est boni.
Procul hinc remoti, proximi certe tamen,
Sumus per illum nos ministri coelites,
395 Animaque vestrae. Quippe respondet locis
Pars nulla nostri: dividi nec possumus:
Tamen hic, vel illic esse recte dicimur,
Non simul ubique: et anima *vobis quamlibet
Infusa membris tota inhaeret singulis,
400 Qua corpus illud, non et ulterius patet.
Nostrae actioni temporum non competit
Mensura, semper non idem facimus tamen:
Incipimus, et desinimus: haec absunt Deo.
Ab eo creati mortis immunes sumus.
405 Non vera scimus integre, non omnia,
Nihil futuri. Nostra rebus de bonis
Pendet voluntas: Mente ab illius bonum.
Adame nobis maxima est foelicitas,
Hoc velle solum, quod Deus vult, et facit:
410 Parere iussis, sponte rectori obsequi,
Laudare iustum, patram amore prosequi,
Et discere illum quem nihil rerum latet.
Vis conditorem nosse? Rebus conditis † Omitted in Original

*Original has: nobis

Utere magistris; quicquid est, index Dei est.

415 ADAMUS. Cum nil fuisse tot feras, pisces, aves,
Ipsaque me, Telluris, et Coeli globos,
Solemque, Lunamque, ante perpaucos dies
Tacitus revolvo totus extra me feror,
Stupidusque rerum miror artificem Deum.

420 Age, si vacabit (scire nam perfectius,
Quae facta fuerint, ante me factum, potes)
Narra petenti, quo modo, quoque ordine,
Tam magna numeris machina impleta est suis.

ANGELUS. Gemina ante tempus omne, cum solum foret
425 Nil praeter ipsum, corpora effecit Deus,
Moli priori conditae simplex erat
Materia: partes mutuo aequales sibi,
Perfecta species, orbis in iusti modum
Rotunda, nullis angulis protuberans

430 Ne discreperat finis a primordio.
Natura nullas motuum patiens vices,
Secura lethi, non timebat deteri,
Tantum revolvi prona, nec mutans locum,
Referebat orbis sempiterno turbine

435 Dimensa tempus: Magna coeli Machina
Pendebat axi fulta, cui gemini procul
Finis utroque terminabantur Polo.
Concava profundae Molis intra viscera
Latebat experte Lucis, et formae Chaos,

440 Quod cuncta possis dicere, et possis nihil.
Depressa nondum gravia tunc secesserant,
Nec levia superos evolarant ad locos:
Sed mixta liquidis sicca, frigida fervidis
Confusa magnis parva, duris mollia,

445 Cumulo latebant: cuncta quae sunt effici

Ex mole poterant, cuncta formis perfici.

ADAMUS. Iacuitne inanis *illa materies diu?
An subito species rebus effulsit sua?

ANGELUS. Non illud una singulis formis opus
450 Perfecit hora: quippe lapsu temporum
Digesta varios cuncta ceperunt gradus.
Pars ista medio, quam tui calcant pedes,
Confinis axi pondere oppressam suo
Terram recepit: illa, primo turbidis
455 Submersa in undis delitescibat salo
Cincto tenebris. Subito divina manu
Formatus aer cursibus liber vagis
Incubuit undae. Flamma tantum splendidae
Ministra lucis deerat: Umbrae Machinam
460 Densa tenebant conditam caligine.
Itaque ex capaci Mole luciferum Deus
Secedere Ignem iussit, et iusso obsequens,
Secessit ignis fervidus, siccus, levis.
Quaterna nondum ceperant sedes suas
465 Principia: nondum clauserat littus Mare,
Aërve terram concavi specie globi:
Natura nondum proximo Lunae loco
Ignem locarat: qui simul in auras Chao
Abiit relicto, non in excelsum fuit
470 Redactus orbem, flamma sed massam in rudem
Coacta tanquam temere Eois aetheris
Partibus adhaerens, et citato turbine
Correpta coeli mobili luxit face:
Rursumque, bis sex tracta, praecipiti rota
475 Eadem per horas, pristinas parti alteri
Tenebras reduxit, alteri lucem novam.
Sic, temperanda noctis alternae vice,

*Original has: ille

Primi diei fuit opus primum dies.

ADAMUS. Quibus illa, si fas scire, disposita est modis
480 Rerum parens quadriga, quae nunc mutuo
Complexa sese, parte ab omni convenit,
Vastumque inane *cuncta complendo fugat?

ANGELUS. Redeunte rebus luce, praecepit Deus
Inania auris spatia repleri vagis,
485 Vastumque vacuis aëra expandi locis,
Qui mediis undis separaret ab inferis
Superos madores: ille mandati tenax,
Diffusus ultro, in alta secum pendulos
Vexit liquores: ivit ad Coelum vapor,
490 Ubi nunc librantur onere praecipites suo
Nubes, et imbrem ventre parturiunt gravi.
Non una regio est Aëris: trina occupat
Distinctus ille spatia: Supremum coquit
Contigua flammae fervidae vicinia:
495 Ibi, qui malorum posteris utinam tuis
Nunquam sit index nuntia cladis face,
Fulget Cometes: ille siccos halitus
Locus, ille servat siderum labentium

Coelo figuram: Media qua regio patet,
500 Ibi frigus, humorque[†] habitat, et varii vage
Pendent vapores. Patria haec pluvias parit,
Celerisque venti spiritum, cum despuit
Fervor liquorem, frigus aut medi loci
Praecludit altum flatibus calidis iter.
505 Ibi tonitruum murmur, et vis fulminis
Corusca magna nascitur discordia.

Ibi tristis imber algido strictus gelu
Aut in nivem duratur, aut in grandinem.

Inferna sedes quae repercussae trahit *Cuncta omitted from Orig.
+Orig. has: dabitat.

- 510 Flammae colorem crassior, nebulas graves
Roremque purum proximo immittit solo,
Sic aëris transire septum duplices
Inter madores alter aspexit dies.
Cumque hac eadem luce campulsu Dei
- 515 In maria, et amnes, se recepissent aquae,
Et destitutis quos inundarat locis
Littoribus iret clausus, et ripis liquor,
Caeloque nudum Terra monstraret sinum,
Fructus sequenti iussa produxit die.
- 520 Quodcunque germen floridos campos tegit,
Et herba succo quae salutifero viret
Tunc iussa primum crescere est, et vividum
Efficere semen. Tempore ex illo arbores
Alimenta Terrae matris infixae bibunt
- 525 Radice, semperque aëris genetabili
Vegetantur aura, traditisque in viscera
Crescunt ab undis: sede sublimi trahunt
Ignis foventem cuncta vitalis facem,
Genusque totum planta ne secum auferat,
- 530 Moritura, formae proferunt similes suae.

ADAMUS. Verene quarto credimus factas die
Stellas, et ipsas Solis, et Lunae faces?

- ANGELUS. Cum per quaternas Mundus aetherius vices
Repetisset, unde coeperat volvi, locum,
- 535 Orbis figura subiugem Coeli globo
Aptavit ignem, quodque vacuum liquerant
Aether et aër Circulo spatium suo
Media occupavit flamma: post haec siderum
Opus secutum est: illa non humili ex Chao
- 540 Formata noris, melior et sublimior
Materia genuit astra, naturam parem
Sortita Coelo, cuius infixae in globis

- Noctem, diemque lumine illustrant vago:
Horas tenebris, et diei dividunt,
545 Tollunt vapores coelicae attractu facis,
Serena, et imbres, et procellas praemonent,
Annoque partes, partibus tribuunt dies.
Bina astra lucent ex solo spectantibus,
Majora reliquis: Phoebus ignis fervidi,
550 Terris calorem reddit in speculi modum,
Rector diei, cuius immensum iubar
Obscurat illa lapsa coelo sidera:
Sed Luna noctis domina fraternum sibi
Furata lumen splendet aliena face,
555 Cumque alma Phoebe Solis opposita viae
Regione vadit, lumen adversum bibit,
Seseque in orbem redigit, ut plenus nitor
Rumpat tenebras: Solis at complexibus
Cum soror inhaeret, Nox ut illunis silet.
560 Quantoque proprius lumen est Titanium,
Majora Lunam damna cornigeram manent.
Haec praeter ambo, plura Sphaeris sidera
Infixa variis quarta conspexit dies.
Bis quatuor sunt astra portantes globi:
565 Sideribus horum summus innumeris nitet,
Sphaerisque in aliis singulae lucent faces,
Orbe in Supremo fasciae latae via
Bissena gestat signa, quae Sol permeans
Nunc Noctis aequat, et diei terminos,
570 Nunc liberali prorogat lucem manu,
Nunc laxat umbras. Illa habet *geminos domus
Septentriones, illa pluvias Suculas,
Verisque, et Autumnus indices Atlantidas.
Illic procellis tumidus Orion furit,
575 Flagratque anhelus fervidus mento Canis.
Septem vagantes qui ferunt stellas globi *Original has: geminas

Istum sequuntur: omnibus motus duo.

Nam concitatus maximi lapsus poli,

Quamquam diurno turbine invitos trahat,

580 Tamen coactis cursibus contrarii

Ultra moventur: nanque supremi diem

Vis rapida Mundi parte ab Eoã trahit;

Illos reducit lentus adversos gradus

Ab accidente ad Solis ortivi domum.

585 Nec una cursus spatia: nam senas quater

Mundus per horas inferos secum globos

Convolvit: illi proximo torpet gravis

Saturnus astro, qui suam bis quindecim

Tarde per annos destinat Caelo viam.

590 Inferior illo Iupiter ter quattuor,

Vicinus annos Mars sibi indulget duos.

Sol sequitur illos annuo cursu suum

Mensurus orbem: certa nec Solis comes,

Lucifera stella, parva nec fax Mercuri,

595 Maiora poscunt spatia: quis cunctis subest

Contenta Phoebi menstruo cursu soror;

Haec cum videret opera, qui fecit Deus

Laudans probavit.

ADAMUS. Quae feras, Pisces, aves,

Iumenta, angues vidit effingi dies?

600 ANGELUS. Ubi secundam Phoebus accendit facem,

Iussit per amnes, Numen, et vitreos lacus,

Lumanibusque reflua momentis freta

Natare Pisces: Iussit et Volucres citis

Secare pennis aëris liquidi vias.

605 Ergo creavit monstra foecundi maris,

Immensa cete; et omne squam nigerum genus,

Alisque fultum: mille species singulis;

- Faciesque generum mille Natura suos
Prodente luxus: singulis anima est data,
610 Quae forma princeps corporum est viventium,
Quae sentit, auget, vegetat, alit, et procreat.
Nam cum videret magnae opus dextrae Deus
His, allocutus comprobavit vocibus:
Alimenta in usus quaeque sumentes suos
615 Maiore mole crescite, et numeros quoque
Augete vestros sobole, et ovis insitas.
Excludite animas, quaeque, mistis sexibus
Depositae in alma condidistis viscera,
Servate iusto redditura in tempore,
620 Innumerae ut ab humo suspici possint aves,
Vastique Pisces impleant undas salis.
Sequente luce, sexta quae Mundo fuit,
Tertiaque Phoebus, caeteris animantibus,
Tibique prima, Conditor iussit Deus
625 Centrum cavatis ire Serpentes viis,
Centum veneni genera, si Numen sinat,
Vitanda cantis. Iussit incultis feras
Errare silvis, pascere et viridantibus
Armenta campis, cuncta spectant patriam
630 Quae prona terram, nec suos audent Polo
Monstrare vultus, atque coelestes domos
Contra tueri fixa perpetuum solo.
Adame tantum est haec quod a te differant,
Quem vultus ipse destinat maioribus,
635 Te, cum creasset imagine imbutum sua,
Deus, quievit septima sancta die,
Fecisse fassus ultimo maius nihil.
Sed ad te euntem coniugem video tuam:
Abito, quo me munus appellat meum.
640 EVA. O sempiterno foedere auspiciis Dei

Mihi iuncte coniunx logius praesentia
Tua carere iusta me pietas vetat,
Amorque, sancta corda succendens face.

ADAMUS. Consors cubilis cui meis ex ossibus

645 Composuit ossa, cui maritali Deus

De carne carnem finxit, ut redeat suum,
Quod inde natum fuerat, ad primordium,
Quam bene putavit, nulla quem fugiant Deus,
Non posse vera me frui sine compari

650 Felicitate: Semper animos dulcior

Tangit voluptas, sorte quam gratus pari
Socius frequentat: ista natura est boni,
Communicari gaudet, et multis suo
Prodesse fructu: nemo participi carens

655 Vivit beatus. Solus et felix dolet.

Cum liberali cuncta rerum Conditor

Mihi bestiarum genera tribuisset manu,

660 Quibus arbitrato nomina imposui meo.
Deesse visa est socia, quae solo foret
Diversa sexu. Tunc Dei immissus manu

Omnes mihi artus altus invasit sopor.
Somno iacebam pressus, et topor gravis
Sensus ligabat, spiritusque ex intimo
Pectoris anhelans capitis officiis dabat

665 Vocationem; dumque securum quies

Profunda tenuit, ultimo dorsi loco
Succincta geminis terga qua lumbis patent,
Hac parte costam corpori eripuit meo,
Vacuumque hiatum carne supplevit Deus.

670 Ubi recreata membra, qui primus fuit

Somnus reliquit, ex meis, uxor tua
Formata membris astitit species mihi,
Quam cum viderem, languidos artus adhuc

Stupor occupavit, flamma quem solvit nova,
675 Et amoris ignis. Postea, omnipotens Sator
Coniugia verbis nostra firmavit sacris.
Angete misti, dixit, Humanum genus,
Imago nostra: terra, quam late patet,
Vestra regatur sobole: quas Tellus feras,
680 *Aërque volucres gestat, aut Pisces mare,
Imperia vestri sanguinis discant pati.

EVA. Felicitatis magna pars, aut unica,
Vir est maritae: dulce nunc quicquid mihi est.
Te sine nocebit.

ADAMUS. Sic amoris mutui
685 Ut duret ardor, utque communi bono,
Aevum fruamur, nosque deliciae beent
Hedenis, almi munus egregium Dei,
Ipsam colamus omnis authorem boni,
Primumque amemus, quasque nobis praecipit,
690 Leges sequamur pariter, ut vetitae arboris
Vitare gustum, caeteris liceat frui.
Iucunda quae vox auribus sonuit meis?
Sanctas supremi Regis aetherius Chorus
Laudes celebrat: ex propinquo succinam.

695 CHORUS. Artifex Rerum tibi grata laudes
Ex
varie
car-
minum
genere
Mens novo celebrabit hymno,
Testemque magnitudinis.
Mundi domum citabit,
Maestas tua gloriam
700 Induta fulget, laudisque amictu
Decorata sancto lumine splendet:
Aëris vasti cuius expandit
Dextra cortinam, nitidaeque velo
Aureo flammae vestit orbem.

* Orig.: Aërque pisces gestat, aut undas mare

- 705 Tu nubes pluvia graves
In conclavia dividis, rapidis et instans
Auriga loris flatibus imperas
Vectus alite vento.
Tibi, Legati munere fungentes,
- 710 Silvarum quatiant superna Cauri.
Sentit Ortus, sentit Occasus
Flammae ministrae vim genitabilem.
Tibi nos ministri, nec minus ventis
Agiles, nec igni, rapimur iussa
- 715 Exsequi proni tua.
Te Tellus tibi fixa, tremis: que turbine circum
Diverso aetherios passa rapi globos,
Ullis ipsa trahi curriculis negat,
Illam prima dies gurgite viderat
- 720 Obscuro, et pelagi fluctibus obrutam.
Coelum littus erat: summaque montium
Cinctorum tenebris condiderat iuga
Exlege Oceanus vado.
Tu subito verbis Deus altitonantibus undam
- 725 Cedere iussisti: vix iussa recesserat unda.
Tunc parentes Domino fluctus
Fugere procul: liquere solum
Telluris aquae, quae praecipiti
Lapsae pulsu vertice ab alto
- 730 Inter valles humili primum
Sedere loco, donec iussos
Temere sinus.
Inclusum est a te praescriptis finibus aequor
Sublimi ne rursus humum sub gurgite condant,
- 735 Terraque delapsis siccum caput extulit undis.
Natos iugis in altis
Iubes salire fontes,

Quos cum feris, bibentes

Sitim levent. Onagri:

740 Ad *quos aves sedentes,
Dulci canant susurro,
Sub arborum coma.

Humores pluvios super alta cacumina fundis,
Et procul ex magno despectans infera coelo,

745 Participas terrae depressum e nubibus imbrem,
Ebria quo fructus genitrici prodit ab alvo:
Inde, quo vivunt pecudes, gregesque,
Nascitur foenum: generantur herbae,
Mitibus succis, meliorque pastus,

750 Pinguibus crescunt segetes in arvis:
Inde procedent Oleae nitentes,
Quoque vis cordis satiata gaudet
Palmitis humor.

Te succos tribuente suos in montibus altis,

755 Fertilibus Cedri crescent ad sidera ramis,
Quas habitat passer, tremuloque ciconia rostro:
Saepe etiam summa pendentes abiete nidi
Emittent trepidis pullos super aëra pennis.

Montium alta cacumina

760 Esse perfugium facis
Capreis silvestribus:
Te iubente cuniculi,
Te iubente vagi petunt
Concito lepores pede,

765 Scrupeae abdita rupis.

Luna tua formata manu est, quae mensibus annum
Distinguat, reparansque levis dispendia formae,
Nunc gemino cornu, nunc pleno fulgeat orbe.
Ipse etiam certis fulgor Titanias horis

* Orig.: quod

770 Occidit, et priscae terras cum tradidit umbrae.

Exantris prodite genus monet omne ferarum.

Fulvae feroces *tunc catuli leae,

Praedae manentes pabula, rugiunt,

Potus, et escam voce famelica

775 Deum rogantes: Lucida cum dies

Coelo refulsit silvicolum cohors

Omnis ferarum nescia conspici

Arboreum redit ad cubile.

Ipsa homo, si quid habet quod agat, ne ignavus oberret,

780 Invigilat curis intenta⁺ mente diurnis,

Quas solvit veniens securo lumine Vesper,

Somnum olli, requiemque ferens. O maxima Mundi

Regnatrix, lataeque opifex Sapientia terrae,

Tu coelumque, solumque regis: tua maxima (quanquam

785 Nec facunda satis) cantat praeconia Tellus,

Te te velifero subgurgite

Magna et parva gerens animantia,

Piscesque innumeros, celebrat mare.

Illic luminibus Pistris micat,

790 Squammigero et fluctus dorso subit,

Ludentique secat tergo freta

Artificem testata manum.

Sic quicquid tuus Orbis habet

Pendet a dominae gratia dextrae:

795 Ad tuos pendent animantia nutus;

A te rapaci destinata morti,

Amittunt vitam.

Iustis temporibus pabula bestias

Nutrient, tua tribuente dextra,

800 Quae sua cum bona liberali

Dividit cumulo, satiantur omnes

* Orig.: tum

+ Orig.: minte

Pecudes, feraeque. Simul opiferam
Avertes faciem, difficilique vultu
Intueberis, recedet

805 Spiritus vacuas in auras,
Destituetque inane corpus,
 Quod repente agitari
Reciprocanti desinet halitu,
Tenuemque sese in pulverem vertet:

810 Rursumque tui Numinis aura
Favente gravidis foetus ab alvis
Nascentur, quae suum
Non sinant genus interire,
 Terra recentes

815 Ut pro interemptis capiat colonos.
Donec Sol, reperator Eoi,
Variis vicibus saecula volvet,
Donec obscura nocte micantes
Cingent rotatum sidera Mundum,

820 Numinis laudes resonabit Orbis
 Divina Scilicet
Nullis maiestas interibit annis;
Ipsam, ipsam capiunt gaudia cum videt
Machinam tantam, quam magnus opifex

825 Ante Septimum effecit diem.
Illius Tellus concussa nutu,
Trepidat, tactique montes,
 Picæo fumo

 Aëra involvunt: nebulasque vertex
830 Halat, et crassos agitât vapores.
Astra dum septem libero cursu
Coelum rotabit, non desinemus
Rerum parentis celebrare nomen,
Vaga septisoni carminis Harmonia.

- 835 *Aeternumque modis sacris
Indulgere iuvabit,
Gaudioque maximo
Tollere in astra Deum.
Si quid erit malorum,
840 Benignus ille tollet,
Sanctorumque Chorus modulabitur omnis ALLELUIA.

Actus Tertius.

- SATAN. Hostem superbis pedibus adversos mihi
Gressus moventem video: iam Tempus meis
Se praebet iris: obvius +tandem mihi
845 Adamus ultro venit, et solus quidem.
Coelicola monitor liberum socio latus
Deseruit, odiis commodus nimium meis.
Nodis inextricabilis fallaciae
Vinctum tenebo: rite disposui plagas:
850 Amore ficto facilis ambiguo dolo
Quaeratur aditus. Lentus inimicum vides,
Sathan, nec illum dente discerpis fero?
Fraenum recusat impotens animi sui.
Sic ille magni summus armenti metus
855 Quoties bovem scrutatur, et longe lupus
Vestigiorum perlegit tacitus notas
Silet, et citatum sustinet tardus gradum:
Ubi praeda rursus prior ante oculos stetit,
Maiore cursu sequitur, et villos quatit,
860 Rictuque pandit ora, nec patitur moras.
UBI spes refulsit, via difficilis tegi est.
Tamen est tegenda: semper armatos minus
Provisa feriunt tela: simuletur fides.

*Orig.: accinamque

+Orig.: tantum

- Terristris orbis rector, et princeps freti
865 Adame, dextram liceat amplecti tuam.
Quo saeva torques lumina, et gratos mihi
Avertis oculos? Renuis oblatam fidem?
Et me Tonantis dextra tibi non disparem,
Formavit, et me fulgidus civem suum
870 Conspexit aether. Testor immitem mihi,
Tibique amicum, forte nec semper Deum,
Mihi mille amicos, cum beatus viverem
Fuisse, quem nunc tota destituit cohors
Secuta sortem. Tu, rogo, clementior.
875 Miserere miseri; supplicum dextram vide
Securum amoris pignus, aeternum mihi
Promitte foedus. Quid sacrum quassas caput?

- ADAMUS. Deo rebellis, perfide, execrabilis
Procul nefandos corpore a puro *amore
880 Tactus: amicus est mihi quisquis Deo.
Tu, sempiternis propter horrendum scelus
Damnate poenis procul ab aspectu fuge
Pii, et beati.

- SATHAN. Gerere quid tandem iuvat
Inimica semper odia? Si nescis, malum
885 Est mentis ira, pervigilque animi dolor:
Invidia, luctus, cura, tristitia, et metus,
Odiumque. nullos ista felices premunt.
Miseros perurit ista carnificum manus,
Et pertinaces: Semper in melius trahi
890 Sors est beati. Pone nunc iras truces.

ADAMUS. Seges ante multo mergite in coelestibus
Metetur arvis, Terra sidereas faces
Rotata tollet, proferet flammam mare:

Dabit ignis undas: ante vel caput in suum
895 Sursum relapsas volvet Euphrates aquas,
Vel pronus amnis Tigrin in fontem feret,
Quam Pax, amor, fidesque, cum Coeli exule
Mihi sit ulla. Qualis agnos cum lupis
Concors societas iungit, inter nos erit,
900 Dum, lucis ortu vecta purpureis rotis
Aurora surget, Noxque dum stellas feret,
Dumque ego beatus, tuque dum infelix eris.

SATHAN. Fortis potenti pugnet: in miseros potest
Qui bella gerere, spiritus humiles gerit.
905 Princeps ferarum, nunquam in imbelles Leo
Desaevit agnos: non boves rictu petit.
Adversus urso bellicas tollit iugas,
Orisque hiatum pandit, et dentem asperat.
Nocere tibi me posse si credis, metu
910 Depone bellum, nec tuis dignum puta
Odiis, sed ultro pacis oblatae fidem
Suscipe: clientem perditum felix fove.

ADAMUS. Non esse dignum te meis odiis puta,
Sed minus amore es.

SATAN. Non ita abiecti sumus
915 Adame, nec te vana fallat opinio,
Ut non amicis mente, consilio, aut ope
Prodesse liceat: abstulit sortem Deus
Quam potuit, animis pristinum mansit decus,
Et cor profunda providum sapientia.
920 Sunt reliqua nobis regna, sunt vires suae,
Multa et potestas. Deus ab aetheria tonans
Se iactet aula. Melius imperium tibi,
Tellus fretumque cessit: ab nobis loca

Inferna parent. Subditum pedibus tuis
925 Regnum tenemus. Regitur umbriferum Chaos
Scepтрis sacrorum Daemonum. Tua sic meis
Imperia sunt vicina, regnemus simul.

ADAMUS. Quod Terra Scepтрis paret et Pontus meis
Donum est Tonantis, mutua qui me fide
930 Sibi obligavit: non ego illius cliens
Alios clientes quaero, non socios mihi,
Contentus ista sorte quam tribuit Deus,
Damnunq̄ue censens omne cum vitio lucrum.

SATHAN. Oblata ab aliquo quis recusat munera?

935 ADAMUS. Quemcunq̄ue non tam dona, quam donans iuvat.

SATHAN. Perpetua gerere bella prodest nemini.

ADAMUS. Mihi quod nocebit? Nil timens, spero nihil.

SATHAN. Misero quod est necesse, felici expedit.

ADAMUS. Relligio quod permittit, id solum expedit

940 SATHAN. Ferire foedus, ecqua relligio vetat?

ADAMUS. Communionem criminis foedus vocas?

SATHAN. Quodcunq̄ue nostrum est fiat hoc pariter tuum.

ADAMUS. Vestrum daturus, nil potes praeter malum.

SATHAN. Nunquam nocebo: qua licebit, prodero.

945 ADAMUS. Hoc ita futurum quis fidem faciet mihi?

SATHAN. Promitto, polliceor, paciscor, spondeo.

ADAMUS. Desertor, exul, perduellis, perfidus.

SATHAN. Iurabo magni Numen aeternum Dei.

ADAMUS. Qui iam, quod in te est, aetheris regno caret.

950 SATHAN. Si fallo, semper ira me illius premat.

ADAMUS

Poenam timebis, qui nihil peius times?

SATHAN. Iuvare socios soleo.

ADAMUS.

Sic, simul ut ruant.

SATHAN. Quia pertinaci fretus insipientia

Pacem recusas, odia nunc primum mea,

955 Irasque disces. Semper immites dolos

Versabo: semper hostis instabo tibi:

Nullus vacabit fraude, vel bello dies,

Nec coeptus unquam cedet ex animo furor,

Ut, qui negasti foederis consortium

960 Patiare poenae. Parta, iam parta ultio est.

960 ADAMUS. Saevi, feroci, dum libet, nec bellicas

Leges recuso, nec tuas metuo minas,

Cui sagittis cor tuis impervium

Divinus ambit triplici scuto favor.

965 Deum timere, nec aliud tutissimum est.

Exul recede.

SATHAN. Vos quoque exilium manet.

CHORUS. Euphrates Capoten nate sub ultimum

Asclep-
iadei

Montana Armeniae qui peragrans loca,

Tauro nubifero laberis obvius,

970 Qui vires reparans Cappodoce in solo,

Primum flumineo victus ab impetu,

Praeceptis occiduas qua ruis in plagas.

Invitum pluvios diripit ad Notos,

Ripis non alibi nobilioribus.

975 Inclusum poteris volvere gurgitem,

Quam qua deliciis sacra perennibus,

Heden quadruplici lambitur alveo,

Tellus pinguis ubi, glebaque densior

Amnis temperie diluitur tui.

980 Mundi illic opifex dextera fertile

Ornavit variis arboribus nemus.

Pendent de gravidis poma parentibus,

Et ficus virides, prunaque mitia,

Et cum Crustumini castanæe piris.

985 Nux illic bifido tecta putamine

Incumbit foliis, iunctaque amygdalis

Insultant rubidis mespila frondibus.

Sunt mites cerasi, fragaque moraque

Ambo purpureis tincta coloribus.

990 Horti sed mediæ qua regio patet

Binas Omnipotens condidit arbores:

Vitam hæc perpetuam denotat, altera

Praesignat duplicem planta scientiam:

Quam carpi vetuit, ne meritam trahat

995 Mortem culpa gravis: nam dolor, et labor,

Cum curis miseris, et senium grave,

Ac mors, ac illud, si quid erit mali,

Contingi vetito cortice delitent.

Adamus platani suppositus comæ,

1000 Et vinctus viridi tempora laurea,

Nudus, cum tenera coniuge, cum libet

Ripis Assyrii fluminis assidens,

Sacro dulcisoni carminis alite

Divinae celebrat mira potentia.

1005 Auditis volucres cantibus advolant:

Certant dulce sequi carmen aëdones:

Euphrates tacito murmure consonat,

Quotquot sunt fluviis sorte beatior.

Non illum superat Nilus in aequora

1010 Qui septemgeminò funditur ostio,

Exundante Pharum gurgite qui rigat:

Non telo citior currere missili,

Tigris contiguo proximus alveo.

- Non qui per calidam labitur Indiam
1015 Ganges aurifero flumine nobilis.
At vos o homines, (si bene pergitis
Felices nimium!) parcite, parcite
Iussum legiferi spernere Numinis,
Nec fructus vetita carpite ab arbore
1020 Omnis matre mali. Magna rebellibus
Semper poena comes. Cernite Tartari
Cluastos sollicito carcere daemones
Depulsos patrii finibus aetheris
Si sunt grata Dei numera, si timor
1025 Non deest in Dominum, non amor in patrem,
Aeternum dabitur vivere; sic genus
Vestrum perpetua sorte beabitur:
Sic et cum geminis pacta parentibus
Contingent similes federa posteros:
1030 Transcurset Domini gratia perpète
Haeredum serie, nec minor est Dei
Prospectura piis cura minoribus.

Actus Quartus

- EVA. Quod illud animal tramite obliquo means
Ad me volutum flexili serpit via?
1035 Sibila retorquet ora setosum caput,
Trifidamque linguam vibrat: oculi ardent duo.
Arrecta cervix surgit, et maculis nitet
Pectus superbis: caerulis picti notis
Sinuantur orbes, tortiles spirae micant
1040 Auri colore; *lubricos longos sinus
Tendit volumen; terga se in gyros plicant.
Nunc se reclinat flexile in collum caput,
Retroque spectat, quodque caudae proximum, *Original: lubricus

Nodatur agmen lumine adverso videt.

1045 Quodcunque tandem est, propius huc ad me venit,
Pronos propinqua fundit anfractus via,
Longosque tractus pedibus advolvit meis:

Attollit ora: miror an queat et loqui

* SATHAN. Utilia certe proloqui, et possum tibi,

1050 Et non omittam. Gratulor vestris ego
Cessisse regnis, quicquid immenso ambitu
Spatiosus aër claudit: Omnes bestiae,
Quas Terra, vel quas pelagus, aut aër habet,
Gaudemus illa sorte: res est maxima

1055 Parere natis non feros dominos pati,
Sed iussa capere humana: si quando regit
Ratio regentes, servitus est libera.

Miramur unum hoc, omnis authorem boni
(Nam sic vocari gaudet) istis fructibus

1060 Vetuisse vesci. Tanta quae menti sedet
Invidia? Qui Telluris imperium dedit
Is vos, nec uno patitur horto perfrui?
EVA. Quascunque plantas istud arbustum gerit,
Quoscunque fructus, usibus nostris gerit.

1065 Hortum per omnem, queis libet, vesci licet.

Sed arbor una, qua Nemus media patet,
Vitanda ramis poma curvatis gerit.

His abstinere lex monet magni patris,
Ne forte vitae consequamur terminem.

1070 SATHAN. Ne crede, pomi unius ob dispendium
Debere certam protinus mortem sequi.

+ Perire poterunt, perpeti vitae Deus

* The edition of 1752 has between ll.1048,1049:
Vocalis adsum, lingua nec deerit tibi:

+ Original has petire.

- Quos destinavit? Fata res omnes agunt.
Praevisa tantum facimus, et ab alto venit
- 1075 Quodcunque patimur. Scripta divina manu
Decreta durant semper, et recto suis
Connexa caussis cuncta vadunt tramite.
Ratus ordo, series certa, dia necessitas
Futura cogunt. Si volunt ea vos mori
- 1080 Effugere non est: si negant, decerpere est
Impune fructum, nullus impendet metus,
Negant profecto: nulla vos lethi manet
Conditio. Nullus imminet mortis dolor.
Mors ipsa nihil est, si mihi credis, nisi
- 1085 Mutationum perpetes semper vices.
Quidquid creatum est ut sit, id nunquam perit,
Peritque semper: Lethifera quaevis dies,
Natalis eadem est rursus: haec contraria
Pugnant per omne tempus, et vincunt simul.
- 1090 Mors ipsa vitam, et ortus interitum trahunt.
Quod rere poenam id esse Naturae scias.
Metuere lethum non decet: poteris mori
Certe, et renasci in melius: haec lex corporum est,
Perfectiorem semper ad sortem trahi.
- 1095 Sed forsanim animam morte plectendam putes.
Deterius erras: Anima non didicit pati,
Sed agere tantum. Quod perit sensim perit,
Membris solutis: anima nec partes habet,
Nec ulla damna temporum patitur moris.
- 1100 Subsistit in se, nec foris vitam petit,
Quam tribuit: ipsa sola principium sibi est.
Nec mihi profecto facile persuadetur
Damnasse inusu poma perpetuo Deus.
Nam quis negaret opera divinae manus
- 1105 Merito probanda? Quicquid est, etiam bonum est:

Gratosque rebus singulis fines dedit
Natura cur sint, esse nil frustra iubens.
Rebus creatis si putes uti nefas
Hanc quae cavenda fecit, accusas manum.

1110 EVA. Incerta iussi causa: sed certum tamen
parere iusso. quicquid est vetuit Deus.
Memini, recordor, ista conditio fuit
Praescripta nobis tradita Nemoris sacrae
Possessione, ne boni simul, et mali

1115 Magistra nostras planta polluerit manus.
Dare quenque ius est muneri legem suo.

SATHAN. Cur non et illam muneris legem dedit,
Cum Terra vestris, cum iuberetur salum
Parere sceptris? Aliqua magnae portio est

1120 Telluris arbos, dona quae facit irrita.
Si licet, et aequum est muneri semper suo
Detrahere partem, nulla tandem gratia est.
Totum redire dona repetenti potest.
Mutare factum parte nec minima decet,

1125 Si liberalis semper, idemque est, Deum.
Perpende cuncta: maius et secretius,
Aliquid necesse est subsit: indubie subest.
Invidit illud, quod latet fructu, bonum,
Scientiamque, quae bonum miscet malo,

1130 Servare soli conditam voluit sibi:
Pro servitus odiosa, famulatus gravis,
Curari ab illo, sola cui cura est sui!
Malus est vocandus, qui sui causa est bonus.
Utrum videtur, prospicitne, an despicit,

1135 Qui cuncta largo gloriae pretio facit,
Sibi summa servans? O iugum intolerabile!
Quam satius est non esse, quam non liberam?

- Centum fideles militum coelestium
Turmas, beata sors quibus crimen fuit,
1140 Et invidendum robur, et paritas minax,
Pepulit Tyrannus, et gravem indixit fugam,
Coelique alumnos inferae densis specus
Dammavit umbris: Quicquid orent, supplices,
Culpanque, si qua est culpa, fateantur suam,
1145 Aures reorum precibus inclemens negat,
Non desituro puniens miseros malo.
Si nunc recentis imperi primordiis,
Altum elevatos gravius iterum deprimit,
Quid faciet olim? quam putas subdent facem
1150 Animo insolenti tempus, et regni mora?
Bonum est cavenda discere alieno ex malo.
Si vos amaret, mortis auferret metum:
Si non, quod unum restat, excusso iugo
Vos vindicate. Statis in vestro solo.
1155 Aetherea non hic aula, non exercitus
Coelestis isto castra disposuit loco.
Accingere animo: Servus aufugiat metus.
Nullum periculum sine periculo vincitur.
Cum res sit anceps, certa res audacia est.
1160 EVA. Procul absit: absit hunc ut invidiae putem
Stimulis peruri, et angere ab alieno bono.
Qui tribuit ipse, quicquid libitum est, habet.
Telluris ergo dominus, et dator arborem
Invideat unam? Dira Sathanum suae
1165 Rebellionis quod luat poenam cohors,
Nihil illud ad me: sed tamen iustum puto.
At tu, recense, cuius ingenium feras
Exsuperat omnes, quod putes vetito bonum
Latere fructu.

SATHAN. Nomen hoc ipsum docet.

- 1170 Animae est voluptas scire, res cognoscere
Bonas malasque: nam malum non est malum
Qua scitur: una haec mentis est felicitas
Species in aliis quae renident singulis,
Congerere in unum, et intus oculis integrum
- 1175 Perspicere Mundum, cuncta cum causis simul
Insculpere animo, maximum cuius bonum est
Notitia veri certa, falli nescia.
Nam perspicaci mentis intellectui
Patet universum, tendit ad finem vigor
- 1180 Rationis istum, quoque plus invenerit
Minus quiescit id quod ultra est quaerere.
Ita semper animum cura discendi quatit,
Nunquamque quod habet respicit, sed quo caret.
Deus unus omnes nec laborans vindicat
- 1185 Sibi notiones, sponte quae sese offerunt,
Cunctas scit artes, cumque non discat sapit:
Socium recusat: caeteris animantibus
Mentem aut negavit, aut, quod aequae iniurium est,
Mancam, atque mutilam tribuit, et sapientiae
- 1190 Condit molesta studia sollicitudine.
Ipsisque vobis, quos sibi promiserat
Similes futuros, istud invidit bonum,
Arripite pacti iura: promissum dari
Ipsi occ upate: quod tenax renuit Deus,
- 1195 Dabit arbor ista, numen arcanum gerens.
Equidem sciebat ille, qua primum die
Comesta succum poma vitalem darent,
Cessuram ab animo protinus calliginem,
Caecaeque tenebras, nilque distantes Deo
- 1200 Vos cognituros, quicquid aut nocet, aut iuvat.
Hinc illa lex est quae sacro fructu frui

- Vetat: hinc inanis mortissiniectus timor,
Mala ut timentes abstineretis bonis:
Mihi tu momenti crede; nulla ad ius sui
1205 Sibi vindicandum negligenda accasio est.
Quod non habes tibi quaere, ne perdas tua:
Nunc ille forsam mobilis rector Poli
Eripere, quicquid ante tribuit, cogitat:
Tu fac, quod ille cogitat: fraudem occupa.
1210 Difficilis est res glorie custodia
Nisi vetera servans semper acquiras nova.
Concessa nisi quis usque sustineat bona
Ducet ruinam pondus, et dominum premet.
Captare lucrum, maxima est damni fuga.
1215 Quae res agatur cerne, si quicquam vides:
Ex homine mersus unus efficiet Deam.

*

- EVA. Adeone et alia praeter hominum pectora
Ratio occupavit? Bruta namque haec bestia est,
At bruta certe verba non visa est loqui.
1220 Ferme, ut prohibitos edere fructus audeam
Facerent et eius pertinax persuasio,
Et mea cupido. Forte melius sensuum
Tamen est dolosas illecebras vincere,
Quam se ut voluptas vera nobis subtrahat.
1225 SATHAN. Permite vanis ne superstitionibus
Te fascinandam, neve naturae tuae
Demens rebella: si quid est placitum tibi,
Puta licere, quoque te sensus rapit
Sequere, nec ipsi praelium indicas tibi.
1230 Natura tutrix, et parens animantibus
Sensus magistros tribuit, ut rerum foris

*In the edition consulted by Prof. Molkenboer in W.B., vol.X, l.
1216 is followed by: Novumque fies Numen: audendum puto.

- Percepta facies intimarum virium
Illas moneret: profuturae si forent,
Ut appetitus visa sequeretur bona,
1235 Sui obfuturae, fugeret: haud temere insita
Menti cupido fertur ad finem suum.
Odre, visu, quicquid aut gustu placet,
Naturae amicum est: nanque odos, color, sapor
Et si quid istis simile, non per se iuvant,
1240 Sed appetitum res ad optandas trahunt,
Desideratis perfrui dantes bonis.
His ducibus utens conde visceribus tuis
Cupita merito poma: continge arborem:
Decerpe pendens aureum ramis onus.
1245 Iam restat ori tantum ut admoveas tuo.
Minimum est, quod unum facere te magnam potest.
- EVA. O dulce pomum, quam tua haec species meis
Arridet oculis, quam vel olfactus iuvat!
Utinam soluto te metu possem frui,
1250 Tuosque succos discere, et magnas mihi
Vires, vel uno hoc, quod sub aspectu latent.
Satisne ratio docuit, interitum pati
Corpus nec animum posse, sed vanum metum
Torquere mentes? Satin' et invidiam Dei
1255 Lex illa monstrat quae vetat poma frui?
Nonne illud etiam patuit, aequalem Deo
Me cognituram quicquid aut gratum iuvat,
Aut triste laedit? Nonne sensus praecipit
Gustare magnam commodi faciens fidem!
1260 Quid hoc quod artus horror incussit meos,
Et ima gelidus ossa perripit tremor?
Causam timoris nescio: timeo tamen.
Placet admoveere poma, sed renuit manus
Parere, dextra pondus accusat suum,

- 1265 Alioque fertur. Fructus a labris fugit,
Et fixa pigris ora sub malis stupent.
Arborque trepido tota subsiluit solo.
Quid agere tentas mulier? authorem boni,
Qui cuncta fecit, te beavit commodis,
1270 Unamque rebus ante posuit conditis,
Hunc tu paras deserere? Res brutas duas,
Hoc reptile animal sequeris, et sensus tuos?
Meliora praefer monita: si nil te movet
Timor ille mortis, dona sed moveant Dei.
1275 Nihil ista prosunt? At mali moveat metus.
Perpende utrumvis. Cogita praesens bonum,
Malum futurum. Pendula est sententia.
Mens ipsa dubio trepida consilio labat.
Quid tam diu haeres anime, quid te interrogas,
1280 Quid te laccessis, atque consilium diu
Tam facile torques? Vince: nodos disseca.
Diffringe, quicquid obstat, et tete expedi.
Expende, quantum praemii secum ferant
Arcana pomi: Quicquid est rerum scies,
1285 Novumque fies Numen: audendum puto.
Humana morsu pendet ex uno salus.
Non sola tua res agitur: hac hora potes
Prodesse mille saeculorum posteris.
Servosne parere an liberos melius putas,
1290 Homines, Deosne? Sors utra est felicior?
Ignoscet ipse forte si videat Deus,
Mihi videri melius esse nihil Deo.
Quod si severus crimini veniam meo
Non est daturus, hoc quoque vocabit nefas,
1295 Tam prope fuisse: magna delicti mei
Iam pars peracta est: arborem vetitam attigi,
Pomumque carpsi, quodque dicet pessimum,
Deliberari: constat accusatio,
Faciãmque nil ut peius, inscribet dicam

- 1300 Quod poene feci. Quid iuvat, cum ceperis
Labare retro trahere pendentem pedem?
Res est inepta, et stulta peccati modus,
Culpam per aliam tuta fit culpa via.
Aut me, superni lege sprete Principis
- 1305 Divina faciet laesa Maiestas ream,
Aut crimine ipse criminis felicitas
Absolvat: hoc, hoc potius eligere est meum.
Iam dextra manus perfice, atque ori admove,
Iamdudum hianti, quicquid hoc pompo latet:
- 1310 Tuque os beata recipe fructum ex arbore,
Ut, mox receptum ventris immittas cavo.
O persuavis gustus, o tenero sapor
Gratus palato, quam tuus succus iuvat,
Quam me beasti! restat hoc unum modo,
- 1315 Tanti ut maritus particeps fiat boni.

SATHAN. Fiat profecto: plurimum dices meis
Debere monitis, cum, quod est res, senties.
Scies bonum, sciesque, ne dubita, malum:
Hanc auferet tibi nulla notitiam dies,

- 1320 Similesque matri liberos paries suae;
Iam se recludent lumina, et quod nunc latet
Dabitur tueri: Quid, precor, maius petas?
Et, ecce, (primum sortis indicium tuae)
Commoda maritum duxit huc occasio.
- 1325 Ego ad latebras tacitus abreptam meas.
Ad delicatam tu virum invita dapem.

ADAMUS. Lente per omnem saepe sustento gradu,
Spatiatum hortum, repeto vix sero locum,
Primum unde nostrae fuerat auspiciam viae.

- 1330 Ab arbore ista sumpseram primordium,
Non desiturae sacra quae vitae nota est.

- Exinde lato, ripa qua iacet, ambitu
Reliquas pererrans singularum fructibus
Satiatus, isthuc redeo: nam nusquam obvia
1335 Mihi facta coniunx dubito quo lateat loco,
Et quo petacem prandio expulerit famem.
Fallorne, an ipsam video? Prope sistam gradum.
Ubi tamdiu haeres? Cuius alimento dapis,
O socia thalami, corporis vim sustines?
- 1340 EVA. Haec ipsa viridem gramine imposito thorum,
Haec arbor umbram tribuit, haec etiam cibum.
ADAMUS. Quid video? Nonne haec illa, quam Deus imperat
Vitare, cuius fructibus pasci vetat?
- EVA. Adame, sic est: vetuit attingi arborem:
1345 Fructum cavere iussit: hoc ipsum fuit
Cur non caverem: Cerne quam rutilus color
Praestringat aciem luminem: ecquid tu putas
Intus latere, si foris tantum est boni?
- 1350 ADAMUS. Gelidus per artus vadit excussos tremor,
1350 Exanguis asto, crinis erectus riget.
Vix ipse valido spiritus gemitu viam
Perrupit: omnis adsit huic miraculo
Spectator Orbis: ipse homo gemit, et tremit.
Quod facinus aures pepulit? haud vanas Dei
1355 Percipio leges: Ipse iam videor mori.
EVA. Non est, marite, crede cur trepides: nihil
Est perpetratum, quod citet suspiria.
Quin potius aude tu quoque, atque hilaris cape
Tibi coniugali traditum pomum manu.
- 1360 ADAMUS. Egone ut. supremi iussa contemnens Dei
Purus profanam te sequar, vir feminam?
EVA. Cum iudicaris velle quidquam est dignius,

Quam cum volueris caeca iudicia exsequi.

In arbitranda crimen est properatio.

1365 Tu me immerentem voce condemnas tua
Praeiudicatam proferens sententiam.
Fecisse fateor: iure non factum, nego.

ADAMUS. Herile iussum iure contemni putas?

EVA. Si sceptrum iniquo rectorum imperio tenet.

1370 ADAMUS. Si Dominus aequus est ames, si non, feras.

EVA. Servire et ipso turpius letho putes.

ADAMUS. Servire magno est summa libertas Deo.

EVA. Quin hoc laboras potius ut fias Deus?

ADAMUS. Ex homine Numen effici ratio negat.

1375 EVA. Dabit illud arbor, quam tuis oculis vides,
Omnis magistra quae boni est.

ADAMUS. Eadem et mali est.

EVA. Mala scire gaudet ipse, quem laudas, Deus.

ADAMUS. Ut careat: at tu experta percipies malum.

EVA. Procul absit omen: me facinoris non piget.

1380 ADAMUS. Peccare nolle prima virtutis via est,
Pudor secunda: facta didicit reddere
Infecta nullus: alterum superest iter.
Revertere illuc, unde fuerat tutius
Abiisse nunquam. Vix enim ad mores bonos

1385 Sero reditur. Quem malorum poenitet,
Pudetque vere, est innocenti proximus.
Spes aliqua veniae est, si potes resipiscere.

EVA. Quantum moveri nescius sedeat Deo
Amor ultionis poena Sathanum docet.

- 1390 ADAMUS. Quae spes tibi est residua ?
EVA. Desperem ut nihil.
ADAMUS. Deus est timendus.
EVA. Timere quis metuit parem.
ADAMUS. Moriere.
EVA.. Vivam.
ADAMUS. Digna poena es.
EVA. Praemio.
ADAMUS. Quid, misera, fies?
EVA. Diva.
ADAMUS. Quo tandem modo?
EVA. Virtute pomi.
ADAMUS. Quo frui vetuit Deus?
- 1395 EVA. Quia invidebat.
ADAMUS. Maximum hoc reri est nefas
EVA. Per conjugalem te precor, supplex fidem,
Tuos per oculos, et per amplexus meos,
Per, si quid unquam dulce fuit ex me tibi,
Ne me relinquant: iunge te socium mihi,
1400 Ut nuptialis pacta serves foederis.
Si consequatur vota successus mea,
Felicitatis te esse participem dicet.
Si non, (quod absit) miserias opus est tuum
Meas levare vocis alloquio tuae,
1405 Socio labore, consili sapientia.
Utriusque sortis inita si communio est,
Neutram recusa ferre. Quin potuis metus
Omnes omitte: prospero res in statu est.
Felix mihi animus forte divina viget:
1410 Te quoque beabo: profuit pomi mihi
Gustus vel unum hoc maxime, quod sentiam
Sine labe posse, quicquid est, carpi, et capi.
Sed me fidelis cura sollicitat tui,
Quod scrupulorum mole te infestus graves.

- 1415 Collo superbum cum Superstitio iugum
Imponat, hoc tibi tute servitio places.
Dum te beatum credis, iritas malum:
Donumque sponte, renuis ablatum, tua,
Carere dignus. Quid necas magnam indolem
1420 Et te ipse torques? Natus es maioribus.
Effunde habenas mentis, et laxa impetum,
Quem male coërces; non quid habeas, sed vide
Quid habere possis. Hoc erit vere tuum,
Quod, non ab alio traditum, debes tibi.
1425 Metu vetaris? hoc timere ipsum time.

ADAMUS. Non est pavere fortis: odium criminis
Probo, quam timorem. Sed amor adversus Deum
Me deligatum retinet aeterna fide.

- EVA. Amare stultum est quempiam, tanquam effici
1430 Non possit hostis: sic amicum dilige,
Olim nocendi ne sit inimico locus.
Sini iuvat amoris candidi ductum sequi,
Nec hoc vetabo: quid maritali fide
Prius esse oportet? huc se amor vertat tuus,
1435 Quo sacra thalami iura, quo foedus vocat.
Quod facinus unquam tale, quod tantum nefas
In te, marite, coepi, ut in dubium meam
Fidem vocares? me beatam nuncupo,
Suspecta quae sum coniugi? vere mala,
1440 Male sim necesse est, si nec Adamo proba.

- ADAMUS. Quid est agendum? Lubricas agitant duo
Curas amores: hinc Dei, atque hinc coniugis:
Uterque magnus: illa suspectam mihi
Se male putabit, ille contemni arguet.
1445 Grave est et hoc, et illud: utinam cogerer!

Eligere durum est haereo, animi pendeo.
Sicut reciproco littus alluitur mari
Fervente fluctus semper alterna vice,
Sic totus agitor, refluoque aestu feror.

1450 Pars utra vincet? Magne te testor Deus,
Hactenus in ipsa coniuge haud illiud mihi
Placere, quam te; cuius illa umbram refert.
Sociae bonorum, vita quo auxilio mea
Sustenta floret, una quae mecum caro est.

1455 Quid huic negandum? vilis unius tibi
Iactura pomi est, Ut ne contemnam boni
Legem parentis? Fallor? an voluit Deus
Coniugis amores anteferri caeteris
Etiam parentum? Voluit: huc Pomum mihi.

1460 EVA. Vox Homine digna. Sume secretum bonum,
Adame, sume: Quicquid est usquam mali,
Bonique disce. sentiat Deus aemulum,
Socium recusans. Nos quoque expectant preces.
Sed quid tibi ambit languidas pallor genas,

1465 Caputque nutat? Omne ruat in me malum,
Si quod futurum est: Parcat, o, parcat viro.

Sap- CHORUS. Lugeat tristi revoluta motu
phici Aetheris sedes, celeresque moestum
cum Naeniae cantum meditentur Orbes.

is 1470 Lugeat moerens miseros alumnos
Terra, et humanam doleat ruinam
Pontus insuetis agitatus undis:
Tuque qui cursu rutilo diurnum
Promis, et celas decus alme Titan,

1475 Fac tuos condant tenebrosa vultus
Nubila, invitus mala ne tueri
Tanta cogaris, nitidum Coelum

- Contrahat nubes pluvias, ut aër
Tristia Adami mala lachrymantēs
1480 Exprimat imbres.
O miser vere, miser ipse nescis
Obrutis quantis iaceas periculis.
Heu tibi qualis cumulus laborum
Imminet! Quantis agitaris undis,
1485 Nescius fortis! Tibi iam patescet
Corporis nudi pudor, hunc amictu
Stulte frondoso, foliisque tectum
Rere ficulnis: male sanus error
Sopit interni stimulum pudoris.
1490 Quis status mentis tibi, cum videbis,
Consciis tanti sceleris, sequelam
Vindicis poenae, meritoque tandem
Te tua agnosces periisse culpa?
Mille te postes miserum sequuntur:
1495 Criminis luctus memor, et malorum
Pertinax sensus: Tibi mors severis
Instat ab tergo metuenda telis.
Occidis magni decus ante mundi,
Cuius et Tellus prius et profundi
1500 Gurgites regnum metuere ponti.
Illa fictorā referens imago
Occidis: tecum series minorum,
Spesque tam magni generis peribit.
Quanta delicti fuit execrandi
1505 Culpa, quae necdum genitos peremit?
Si Deus tristem tibi mortis horam
Proroget clemens veniaque largus
Quam tua in longum mala proferuntur?
Languor instabit, maciesque turpis,
1510 Corpori, aerumnis comes imminebit
Morbus, et morbo gravior Senectus.

Semper urgebunt alii labores:
Cura te semper nova, pessimumque
Vita malorum.

- 1515 Posteris omnes Hominum novercae
Ira Naturae sequitur, malique
Criminis seros amor in nepotes
Transit a primo comitatus ortu.
Laedet haeredes sceleris paterni
- 1520 Dita cantages, animique morbum
Nulla delebit mora saeculorum.
Dicet infami vitio parentum,
Dicet Adamo generata proles,
Unius morsu cecidisse pomi.
- 1525 Dicet infelix soboles: scelesta
Omnium matrem simulatus anguis
Fraude decepit: Mulier maritum
Capta fefellit.

Actus Quintus

- SATHAN. Cessere voto cuncta: sublimem meo,
1530 Superis superior vertice exaequo Polum.
Nunc regna Terrae teneo, nunc Sceptrum maris:
Aëria spatia sub meum misi iugum.
Iam poena me delectat, exilium iuvat
Laetetur Acheron omnis, omnis gaudeat
- 1535 Phalanx Averni. Vindicem agnoscant suum,
Regumque Regem. Iam satisfeci et mihi:
Quin multa restant: nondum Homo, nondum mala
Suprema sentis: fertile hoc horti solum
Deserere iussus profugus ignotas procul
- 1540 Inquire terras: verte, quo cupies, gradum:

- Quocunq̄ue curreſ regna percurrere mea.
Ego te per omnes pertinax latebras premam,
Furiſque tradam: nulla reſtabit fuga,
Nec tempus unquam faciet aerumnas leves:
- 1545 Longa malorum ſenſus accreſcet die.
Errabiſ agris ſemper incultis, egeſ,
Exul, pavens, inviſus, et dubii Laris,
Tibiſque ſoli ſors mea invidiam dabit:
Atque anima multis feſſa vix tandem malis
- 1550 Inferna viſet regna: non tecum mea
Morientur odia: liberos gigneſ mihi.
Ita perge Sathan: omne perturba genus:
Certatur omni ſcelere: nil vetitum ſibi
Putet ira: frater dirus in fratrem ruat.
- 1555 Maiore ruruſ ſcelere mulctetur ſceluſ.
Creſcat furor cum ſobole: poeniteat Deum
Hominis creati: nec ſuorum pignorum
Adſpicere nutrix Terra ſuſtineat nefas,
Redire ut iterum tentet ad priſcum Chaos,
- 1560 Seseque, et illoſ vindice immergat ſalo.
Adame, quantum eſt haec quod ignoras mala?
Sed et hoc peribit: cuncta non uno impetu
Simul patebant: corporiſ te dedecus
Primum movebit: conſueſ frondeſ tibi:
- 1565 Nec ſic abibit, ille qui tegitur, pudor.
Tacituſ deinde conſciis praecordiis
Flagrabit aeſtuſ: ſtabit ante oculoſ tui
Imago ſcleriſ: illa te quatiet metu.
Tunc incitatuſ ſemet accendet dolor,
- 1570 Vultuſque in omneſ ibit, et ſententiam
Sibi dicet ipſi: candidum exoſuſ diem
Pudor ille mentiſ abdiſtaſ quaeret ſpecuſ.
Spes fugiet: animuſ turbiduſ ſeſe obruet.

- Libet videre crimen agnoscens suum
1575 Quos det colores, membra quis teneat stupor,
Aut primus in quae verba prorumpat dolor.
Videre miserum non iuvat: dum fit miser,
Conspicere cupio: Subdoli anguis commodam
Servabo formam, simul ut intuear duos
1580 Neutri videndus: ibo, et allabar prope.
Sed ecce rapido motus Adamus gradu.
Prosiluit amens: omnis in facie est color.
Stetit furenti similis et certe furit.
Abit, haeret, errat, sistit: ardescunt genae
1585 Mutatur habitus: pallor ardorem fugat.
Trepidat, resultat, queritur, exclamat, gemit.
Tacitos dolores ore turbato exerit.

ADAMUS. Quis sum? Quid egi? Quo feror? quod me solum,
Quae regio tantis cernit oppressum malis?

- 1590 Inopemne servat dies Hedenis nemus,
An tristis Acheron? dira Furiarum loca
Aspicere videor: Mors quid a tergo mihi
Crudelis instas? pectus hoc, pectus feri:
Miseranda coniunx agmen infernum vides?
1595 Ego video: dirum Noctis obscurae genus
Me circum oberrat: ducit omnem exercitum
Scelus, et rebellis fastus, et facti pudor.
Hinc pallidorum longa morborum cohors,
Turpisque egestas sequitur, et duri labos
1600 Sudoris author: parte ab hac luctus venit:
Tremulo senectus tarda procedit gradu,
Vicina lethi. Turba curarum ingerit
Se parte ab omni: nec procul tristi Fames
Metuenda vultu ducit aerumnas graves,
1605 Bellique nutrix impotens Discordia

Tollit, cruentas sanguine innocuo, manus.
Perspicere nequeo: semper ulterius malum est.

EVA. Quae fingis amens spectra? quis te agitat furor?
Quove aestuantes huc et huc vultus refers.

1610 Acieque falsas turbida species vides?
Compesce sensus: comprime affectus truces,
Parumque sanae mentis affectum doma.
Resipisce, et animos ipse pacifica tuos.
Comprimere primos impetus si non potes,

1615 Novusque mentis raptus ignorat modum,
Recolligendo tempus indulge tibi,
Rationis usu spiritum indomitum exue.

ADAMUS. Quin parte ab omni rector astrorum tonas,
Quin motus ira bella ventorum undique
1620 Immittis: Omne nubibus coelum horridis
Convolvitis: Imbres cadere collectos iubes?
Oppono cuivis vile supplicio caput.
Intende dextram: vindices flammam Poli
Iaculentur ambo: stelliger subita cadat
1625 Mundus ruina: non potest an nos gravis
Errare lapsus: me, vel hanc Coelum premat,
Utriusque merito.

EVA. Sana meditari incipe,
Et imprecari ne velis demens tibi.
Decreta si qua est poena non tarde venit

1630 ADAMUS. Quaecumque fuerit, sera ventura est mihi.
Iamiam decebat stare in inferno specu
Utrumque nostrum: sustines sceleris reos
Gestare Tellus? concavos aperi sinus.
Cur non dehiscis, aut in Acherontis plagam
1635 Te, nosque mergis? gemina compages soli

Pateat revulsa, quaque stamus noxii

Opaca Tellus corpora absorbat duo.

Sui forte terra pondus ignavum iacens

Nescit moveri, veniat e silvis fera,

1640 Saevam minaci fronte concutiens iubam,

Quae lacera toto membra dispergat solo,

Aut aliqua rostris viscera haec curvo rapax

Perfodiat ales: Conscia aut sceleris mei

Impellat Heden integrum lapsu Nemus,

1645 Totamque silvam. Caudicum pondus grave,

Truncosque supra corpus excipiam meum!

Hortique tumulo condar, atque istam arborem,

Quae passa scelus est, in meum vertam caput.

EVA. Meliora, coniux, loquere: nemo sic perit

1650 Ut non salutis spe foveri debeat.

ADAMUS. Quae spes salutis post nefas tantum mihi?

Heu, quos dolores, quos miser questus dabo,

Vocesque quas? Quae verba sufficient mihi?

Periere virtus, ius, fides, felicitas,

1655 Et qui redire perditus nescit decor.

Nostram supremi Numinis legi gulam

Praetulimus, animae corporis stimulos bono,

Hortoque pomum. Nulla conspiciet dies,

Pulsa miseria pristinis nos gaudiis

1660 Iterum fruentes. Instat aeternus dolor,

Poenaeque tristes: deseruimus non Deum,

Et nos Deus deseruit, O dirum nefas,

O scelus iniquum, triste, et auditu horridum!

Mens illa soli nata famulari Deo

1665 Emancipari gestit, et sese abdicat:

Sui esse iuris voluit, et vili arbori

Servire coepit: animus almo debitum

Parenti amorem vertit in se, nec malo
Contentus isto, devio res infimas
1670 Gressu secutus ista praefecit sibi,
Quibus imperabat, passus et contagium
Rerum minorum sponte decrevit sua.
Relinque corpus qui reliquisti Deum
Crudelis anime, et eripe hoc cruciatibus
1675 Vivum cadaver: quid iuvat poenas tuas
Proferre? Possum, debeo, cupio mori.

EVA. Supplicia votis aggravas demens tuis.
Mortalitatem pateris, et mortem petis.

ADAMUS. Pereo ante mortem: spiritum exemit dolor.
1680 Infamis author sceleris, exosus Deo,
Miserque, iam sum sine sepulcro mortuus.
Longas omittam languidae poenae moras,
Nec aeger ultra fumus extendam meum.
Quodcumque vitae resat, abrumpam manu
1685 Iuste severa. Quid mihi exsequias nego?
Quid pereo vivus? quid meos Manes moror?
Ibo, ibo solus, qua rapax annis cadit,
Ubi prona tumidus ducit Euphrates vada,
Fluvioque mersus procul Erythraei ad maris
1690 Provolvar undas. Tu, manus potuis veni
Ministra poenae, quae fuisti criminum:
Perfringe guttur ictibus, pomum prius
Cui tradidisti, concitatis pulsibus
Dirumpe ventrem, viscera infausta extrahe,
1695 Dapesque, iniquas, corque delicti capax
Evelle: nusquam corpore in toto tuum
Vulnus peribit. Morte sanandum est scelus.

EVA. Quod odit auget, scelere qui punit scelus.

Dignum esse vita monstrat hoc, dignum nece
1700 Quod te putaris. Maius isto crimine
Crimen relinquet vita, si mortem petis.
Non vincia rumpens anima corpus deserat,
Sed corpus animam. Si tuam expectas diem,
Iam praestitutum tempus aderit, Spiritum
1705 Cum lassa sponte membra dimittent sua,
Iugumque solvat arbiter vitae Deus:
Illo iubente morere. Nunc insania
Rogo ne subactus fata praecipites tua.

ADAMUS. Non ita pudorem caecus extinxit furor,
1710 Ut, quicquid usquam est, impio aspectu fugem.
Pisces, volucres, cumque iumentis feras,
Sentire video criminis poenas mei.
Ea cuncta clamant: Morere, decide, occide,
Et execrandi capitis intuitu leva
1715 Coelum, atque terram: spiritum nocuum expue
Parvas: orbem hunc integrum purgabimus.
Minime resistam: vota conveniunt bene,
Cui animam in ista luce detentam morer
Mihi causa nulla est: omnia amisi bona,
1720 Regnum, salutem, gaudium, mentem quoque:
Nunc vita restat: hanc quoque amitto libens.

1722 EVA. Quo te ipse coniunx impiae morti ingeris?
Quo pergis amens? forte post vitae moram
Moriere melior. Temporis longo potes
1725 Proficere tractu: quicquid errasti hactenus,
Mea culpa certe est. Poena me meritam manet.
Ego te fefelli misera. Iam facies scelus
Ultro, atque certum? unicum hoc aufer malum.

* Orig. has: hanc

+ Orig. has: certus

Mihi crede coniunx.

ADAMUS. Credidi semel, et nimis.

1730 EVA. Perimesne memet?

ADAMUS. Nolo, ne possim, occida.

EVA. Ratione quamvis careat, et flecti dolor
Magnus recuset, pauca miserandae precor
Verba ut maritae mente pacata audias,
Quae potius ad me tute deberes loqui.

1735 O fata! mulier misera soletur virum,
Et ipse leges sexus invertat suas!
Quin refice monitu femina hunc, monitu tuo
Quem perdidisti. Melius alloquium incipe.

Non nunc ut omnes cordis affectus domes
1740 Peto, vel dolores mente tranquilla ut feras,
Vincasque temet (licet et hoc fuerat viri,
Superare luctus, nec malis tergum dare)
Adame, tantum vivere ut cupias precor.
Tu fortis esse credis, atque animi gravis,

1745 Mortem minacem spernere: ego contra, ipso
Timidum vocari iure, qui vitam timet.
Contempsit ille, qui nec optavit mori.

Virtute fretus mascula, adversa impetu
Perfringe solido, nec tuas damna manus.

1750 Quodcunque querere, est error: immerito cadis,
Nisi te ipse perimens iure te perimi facis.

ADAMUS. Unde illa virtus tanta tantis in malis
Emersa lucet? Aliquis etiamnum sapit,
Et recta suadet? Multa, quae memoras, scio

1755 Ratione fulta, sed dolor cogit sequi
Etiam improbata: fertur in praeceps sciens
Animus, negatque sana consilia exsequi.
Furore teneor: ille me insontem potest

Iam facere solus: ille me absolvit reum.

1760 Socia malorum desere infaustum virum,
Deliberatas luere me poenas sine.

EVA. Per sancta thalami sacra, per ius nominis
Quodcunque nostri, sive me natam vocas,
Ex te creatam, sivi communi patre

1765 Ortam sororem: sive potius coniugem,
Ne me relinquant: nunc tuo auxilio est opus,
Cum versa sors est. Unicum lapsae mihi
Firmamen, unam spem gravi afflictæ malo
Te mihi reserva dum licet, mortalium

1770 Ne tota soboles pereat unius nece.
Si te miseriae, si tuæ clades movent,
Hoc cogitatio; summa tetigisti mala:
Auferre quidquid mors potest, vita abstulit.
Nil peius ultra restat; in tuto es loco.

1775 ADAMUS. Bona mors futura est, quæ tot extinguet mala,
Aut non molesta, si nihil peius dabit.
Placet interire, parce vanis vocibus.

EVA. Ergone vacuos vidua, deserta, et vaga
Curram per agros, mistaque errabo feris?

1780 Si, Adame, pietas vera quaerenda est tibi,
Me perime meritam: si tibi ignotum est scelus,
Ego sum magistra: sive tu iugulum petis,
Praebebo iugulum, sive adhuc sterilem cupis
Invadere uterum, dirue anfractus cavos

1785 Sinuantis alvi. Facere me quicquam mali
Authore dubitas? Non soles. Dextram para.
Si tu recusas feminae facient manus
Opus virile. Non ego insons occidam.

Non si ipse Cœli rector in mea viscera
1790 Vestat coruscas fulminis trifidi faces,
Poenas rependam sceleribus tantis pares

- Scelerata coniunx: non sat est quod sum nocens,
Feci nocentem: nec sat est: nisi mors vetat,
Pariam nocentes. Ego duplex feci nefas,
1795 Cum fallor, et cum fallo: restat tertium.
Quid trepida cessas? Luere quid doctrix mali
Poenas recusas? Anime, quid torpes adhuc?
Luctus, dolores, lachrymas, planctus, mala
Innumera patior: ista debebam Deo.
- 1800 Quid dabo marito? Nil, nisi ut moriar prior.
Utcunque miserum est, moriar Adami tamen
Coniunx, nec ullus nocte depulsa dies
Viduum videbit stare in ancipiti tuam
Marite causam disce. Non est tertium,
1805 Aut vivis, aut occidis. Au placuit scelus?
Aliud paratum est. Non veto. Monstro viam.
Non vivo sine te: sed mori mecum potes.
Unum in dubbus statue: nil sine me facis.
Mori volentem praece, viventem sequor.
- 1810 ADAMUS. Iam parce coniunx, parce, parebo tibi,
Parebo rursus. Vincis affectus meos
Aequos, iniquos: sola tu mentem domas.
Eat dolores hic quoque ad reliquos dolor,
Non interire. Quid tibi, coniunx, negem?
1815 Iubente te, vel iussa contemnam Dei,
Iubente te, vel sustinebo vivere.
- EVA. Quis ille strepitus? Audio ventos truces
Late finentes: audio murmur grave,
Quod gravia minitans aëre ex summo cadit.
1820 Repente logo, terra mugitu fremens
Concussa caecos egit ad coelum sonos,
Retroque cessit: capitibus nutans Nemus
Fragore vasto tonuit: omnes arbores

Concussit horror, silvaeque erexit comam.

1825 ADAMUS. Pavet animus: horret corpus: insedit meos
Torpor per artus. Frigidus sanguis coit.
Ultor nefandi sceleris, Edicti memor,
Vindexque spretae legis adventat Deus,
Fugiamus illuc, qua frequentes arbores

1830 Lucem recusant: Abditi densis comis
Lateamus: iterum criminis nostri dolor,
Me stimulat: iterumque erubesco, et palleo,
Foliisque tectus non satis videor mihi.
Aspicio nudum corpus: heu! quid cingula

1835 Frondosa prosunt? Intus est, intus pudor.
Quae poena, Mulier, crimini par nos manet?
Moriemur ambo. Iam tuae pereunt preces.

VOX DEI. Adame, quas nunc^{*} te in latebras proripis?
Quae te recondit umbra? cernentem omnia,
1840 Praesentem ubique, cuncta cui rerum patent,
Nunc deletescis? Ipse te appello Deus,
Quem rapidus aether trepidat, et Tellus gravis
Iustae potentem iudicem sententiae.

Ego te creavi, te creatum maximis
1845 Muneribus auxi. Natus auscultata patri,
Cliens patrono, nunc hero servus tuo.
Fugitivi prodi.

ADAMUS. Pareo: audivi truces,
Metuende rector, per nemus sacrum sonos;
Venti severum murmur aptum gaudiis

1850 Commovit hortum. Membra concussit pavor,
Tremuique totus: illa maiestas tui
Insueta vultus me fugavit territum.
Ingenuus istis et verecundus pudor
Accessit: ecce nudus obscenos male

*Original has: in te.

1855 Velatus artus ad forum sistor tuum,
Talem creasti

VOX DEI. Nuditatis conscius
Per quem fuisti? Nullus in terris fuit
Qui te doceret. Sed pudor crimen sequi
Solet, et malorum conscio habitat pectore.

1860 Fatere veram iudici causam tuo.
Defensiones, ne tuum crimen gravent,
Omitte vanas. Nonne pomum ex arbore
Vetita comedere es ausus, et legem meam,
Poenamque mortis spernere, infidum caput?

1865 ADAMUS. Mea culpa non est. Crimen huius feminae est,
Quam mihi dedisti sortis auxilium meae:
Pellace quae me voce, et exemplo suo
Cepit: comedi.

VOX DEI. Coniugi coniux nocens
Dic, causa tantae quae fuit dementiae?

1870 EVA. Serpens, Creator, dextera fictus tua
Astu fefellit simplicem, atque insons ego,
Quam sexus ipse perviam fecit dolis,
Seducta pomum gutturi admovi meo.

VOX DEI. Fraudibus nimis apte serpens, quem creatrix dextera
1875 Usui hominum destinarat, quos inique subdola
Sceleris infandi minister perdidisti machina,
Bestiis invisus aliis abis, atque animantia
Cuncta fugies, et fugabis: virus horrendum vomes;
Triste spirabis venenum mortis atrae nuntium,

1880 Signa divinae notanda praeferens sententiae:
Praeque iumentis, ferisque, poena queis instat gravis,
Poena te gravior manebit: ista per se insontia
Sentient luctus heriles: Fraude tu meritas tua

- Semper aerumnas dolebis: utque te mentem duce
1885 Haec homa ad terrena flexit rebus a coelestibus,
Tu quoque in summa natabis terra, et infixus solo
Ventre serpes, non rapaci subriges corpus pede.
Tanta victus comparandi difficultas te premet,
Ut tenebrosa cavatae conditus terrae specu
1890 Pulvere hibernas per horas pauperem pellas famem:
Dum tibi reciprocantem vita ducet spiritum
Commode nullus voracem pascet esuriem dies.
Tu ferox homicida Sathan, angue qui tectus latens
Perfidiseffascinasti feminam mendaciis,
1895 Non vice hac una rebellis, sed priori crimine
Aetheris damnatus exul ultimas poenas pati,
Iam malo crudeliori non reliquisti locum.
Spes tamen te vana fallat: non enim voto tuo
Inferi Regis dominis mancipabo feminam,
1900 Quae licet mereatur illud, tu mereri non potes,
Cuius infido est subactus sequior sexus dolo.
Lucis antiquae favillam, quae salutis praevia est,
Mente in humana fovebo, nec sinam cinere obrui.
Bella, sempiterna bella mulier, et tu perpetim
1905 Mutuis odiis geretis: ipse succendam faces:
Ipse cordi feminino, cuius una est indoles
Mente conceptum tenaci gravius odium prosequi,
Inseram hostiles furores, et simultates dabo
Quas datas alat impotenter, nec sinat frigescere.
1910 Proferam certamen istud cuncta late in saecula,
Illius proles ut armet se genus contra tuum,
Invicemque bella vexent posterorum posteros.
IPSE veniet, ipse carmen sum et humanam Deus,
Non viro genitus, sed uno feminino ex semine,
1915 Virginali natus alvo, generis humani Salus,
Qui Triumphator superbum conteret tibi verticem,

- Et feri victor veneni tempus utrumque opprimet.
Illius ductu piorum caetus armata manu
Spolia referet saepe opima, vimque superabit tuam.
- 1920 Non tibi tuto licebit Marte aperto cernere,
Non in os prodire contra: semper aversos petes,
Ausus inflixisse tantum caeca calci vulnera.
Proditrix mulier mariti, quae dolosis vocibus
Te nimis facilem dedisti, multa te expectant mala.
- 1925 Mille te novi dolores mille cruciabunt modis.
Cumque materna sub alvo conditum factum geres,
Aegra languebis, nec ipsis imperabis sensibus
Passa varios appetitus sana quos mens respuat,
Usque dum te terminatis praestitutis mensibus
- 1930 Onere maturo levatam solvat immitis dolor.
Te manent uteri labores, te puerperium grave,
Tegne sobolis educandae cura praesertim premit,
Quam reges licentiosa mollis indulgentia:
Pressaque aerumnis ad unum misera te vertes virum.
- 1935 Ille erit tibi refugium, spesque praesidium, et salus,
Ille, quem tu perdidisti. Subdita illius iugo
Iussibus parere disces, ille te imperio reget.
Cape tuas, Adame poenas, quem ducem non assecclam
Esse oportuerat maritae, quique culpam feminae
- 1940 Praepedire debuisti mascula prudentia,
Non inire perpetrati criminis consortium,
Quique muliebri lepori post habens legem meam
Vetita persuasus profana poma violasti gula.
Terra propter te dolebit sterilis, effoeta, arida:
- 1945 Sponte lolium; sponte tribulos, sponte progignet rubos,
Non nisi compulsas fruges. Insativis fructibus
Ferridam pasces orexim. Panis aerumnis tibi
Plurimis constabit emptus: opere defessos gravi
Defluet sudor per artus, testis aegri corporis:

- 1950 Solis et quoties per orbem lumen orietur novum
Multa perpresso renatus alter exsurget dolor
Usque dum lethalis hora reddat Adamum solo.
Nam suum sese resolvet corpus in primordium,
Cumque sis pulvis, necesse est te reverti in pulverem.
- 1955 Poteram repente crimen infandum intuens
Utrunque mortis impetu prosternere,
Animasque vestras procul ad infernos specus
Deprimere poteram: praetuli clementiam
Iuris rigori, nec malis solatium
- 1960 Tantis negavi, vos sacro sub foedere
In spem salutis erigens: vitae quoque
Proferre volui spatia, et humanum genus,
Quod omne vestris inditum membris latet,
Servare: nomen indet uxori suae
- 1965 Adamus Evae: prima nam mortalibus
Parens etatrix illa victuris erit,
Similesque sorte gignet et forma sibi.
Sede ut pudori consulam vestro simul,
Et sanitati, corpore tegmen dabo.
- 1970 Quod induatis, pinguis exuvias ovis:
Ne, gravibus auris, atque coeli iniuria,
Superatus, animae fomes intereat calor.

ADAMUS. O dura sors! o poena peccati minax!

O longa misero vita, languenti gravis!

- 1975 Ah quam dolenda multa vivendo diu
Semper redibunt! Quam malum est tarde mori!
Quam dura res cum miseris fieri senem!
Scelerate Sathan, gentis humanae lues,
Quo nos tulisti! Quod nefas commisimus!
- 1980 Ex corde culpae conscio suspiria
Mihī iam trahuntur: tristis hos vultus gravet
Imber, fluantque turbidis lachrymae genis.

See ille sacis est, nec libet curis malis

Nec flere satis est, nec licet: durus malis
Lacrymare nescit oculus. Ipsum non levi
1985 Feriatur ictu pectus, et planctu sonet,
Pronaeque ab omni capite lacerentur comae.
Heu iure quanti sceleris actus sum reus,
Meoque vidi crimine iratum Deum.

VOX DEI. Adamus, ecce (qui prius speraverat
1990 Boni malique gnarus aequalis mihi
Futurus esse, similis aeterno Deo)
Nunc qualis astat? nunc quis in vultu est color?
Maiores quaerens pristina amisit bona.
Sed iam videndum est ne sua carpens manu

1995 Vitale pomum, Nemore sub medio sita
Quod peperit arbor, speret indictam sibi
Effugere mortem, luce et aeterna frui:
Vos ergo, Cherubi coelites, mihi quos ego
Legi ministras, ite, et horto pellite
2000 Par istud hominum: sacra deliciis loca
Miseri relinquunt, alia Telluris sola,
Glebasque quaerant, et parentem exerceant.
Vos state in aditu nemoris, Ortivam ad plagam,
Et impeditae flammeo versatilis

2065 Macrone teli, ne quis infigat pedem.

EVA. Quis subitus ardor iste, quae lux emicat?
Corripuit hortum flamma, et excelsae arbores
Ardent sine igne, fervidumque incendium
Trepide vagatur: qualibus coelum nitet
2010 Illustre facibus: integrum flagrat nemus.
Haec digna thalamis taeda praelucet meis:
Hominum propago patriam hac discet nota.

ADAMUS. Fugiamus aestus: ista divinae manus
Sunt opera, quae nos ire in exilium iubet.

- 2015 O magne rector, o gubernator Poli
Non iam resisto. Volo, volo discedere:
Suffulta pigris membra, sed genibus labant,
Retroque, quoties gradior abreptus feror.
Quo miser abibo? Quem locum profugus petam?
- 2020 Ubi morabor, quamque tellurem excolam?
Monstra latebram quaeso longinquam, abditam,
Ubi nulla siga pristini restent boni,
Ubi nil in animum perditam Hedenem mihi,
Pomosque revoet, cum meis mergar malis.
- 2025 Nemus beatum, verque perpetuum loci,
Felixque regi, cuius heu frustra mihi
Concessus usu tempore interiit brevi,
Arborque vita, cuius effectu frui
Vetat altera arbor luridae pestis parens,
- 2030 Valete; tuque uae quatergemino alveo
Alluere tellus dulcia Euphratis vada
Felicitatis caecia, *atque animi mei
Quem saepe vobis cantico prompsi sacro,
Et quicquid hucus iste servavit boni
- 2035 Nunquam videnda rursus, aeternum vale:
Hoc vos supremum tueor. Eu fugio, exeo:
Mortifera viti dira morborum lues,
Languor caducus horridus febrium tremor,
Labor, dolorque cumulus instantis mali
- 2040 Vos ite mecum istis exilii duces.

*Orig. has: at qui
