

Josip Torbarina:

The Setting of Shakespeare's Plays

(With special reference to Illyria in *Twelfth Night*)*

And as imagination bodies forth
The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen
Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name.

A Midsummer-Night's Dream, V. 1. 14—17.

It may sound trite to say that for Shakespeare all the world was a stage; but there is in it more than meets the eye. If we turn his phrase around, we can say that on the small stage of his theatre the whole known world of the time, and not only his time, was represented: from Scotland in the North to Egypt in the South, from Bordeaux in western France to the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, and beyond.

The place of action is closely connected with the characters of a play and, if we continue misquoting the tag from *As You Like It*, i. e. that "all the men and women are merely players", we can say again that Shakespeare's players, his *dramatis personae*, include the whole of humanity, men and women of all races and denominations: ancient Greeks and Romans, Trojans and Egyptians, Jews and Gentiles, Moors and Moroccans, Goths and Old Britons, Italians and Frenchmen, Spaniards and Austrians, Danes and Dutchmen, Illyrians and Bohemians, and of course, first and foremost, English men and women.

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In fact we might say, as it has often been said, that no matter what the nominal indication, the place of action in Shakespeare's plays, even in the Roman tragedies, is always England, and that his characters, whatever their avowed nationality, are always English. But this would be simplifying matters a little too much; for, at the other end of the scale, there have been scholars who claimed that, for example in his Italian plays, Shakespeare gave such a "true-to-life image" of Italy, that he displayed such an intimate knowledge of Italian life and conveyed such a strong "illusion of local colour", that he obviously must have visited the country.

The truth, as usual, lies somewhere between these two extremes. We may rightly suppose that in writing *The Merchant of Venice* or the first act of *Othello* Shakespeare wished and tried to conjure up what he believed to be a Venetian setting. But we may equally well suppose that, although the action of two of his plays is set respectively in "a wood near Athens" (in ancient Greece) and in "the Forest of Arden" (in contemporary France), in both *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* and in *As You Like It* Shakespeare described the English countryside peopled by English men and women.

This does not necessarily mean that he knew nothing about ancient Greece or contemporary France. But not a single scholar, writing about Shakespeare's knowledge, or rather lack of knowledge, of geography, could resist the temptation of cracking a few jokes about the sea-coast of Bohemia. Now, is it at all likely that he knew nothing about the country which had given England a queen and which was shortly to receive a queen from England? The country which had given John Huss to the protestant world? He certainly must have known that Bohemia had no sea-coast, just as he knew that palm-trees did not grow in the real Forest of Arden and that wild geese did not "rise and caw at the gun's report" in Ancient Athens. Many of the anachronisms, for which Shakespeare is often taken to task, serve a definite artistic purpose and must have been consciously introduced into his plays.

Besides, if Shakespeare or an English contemporary of his wished to know something about a foreign country it was not necessary for him to make a long journey in order to see it. There were books, especially travel books; there were English travellers to distant parts of the world who told tales about the places they had visited (after all it was the English who invented tourism); and there were, though fewer, foreign visitors to England who gave accounts of their native lands. Much could be learnt from hear-say. And finally, we might credit Shakespeare with a little imagination and a considerable "power of local colouring" which comes from the suggestion of his sources.

The problem then which faces us is this: how much could Shakespeare have known and how much he actually knew about the various countries in which he set the action of his plays? How far did he wish to reproduce a "couleur locale" of the respective country and how far did he succeed in doing so?

Let us now, from this point of view, cast a synoptic glance at all the plays of the canon. The chronology of the writing of the plays need not disturb us here because for our purpose it is pretty irrelevant. It is equally immaterial here whether all the scene-headings specifying the place of action were written by Shakespeare or not. For the moment we may also disregard Shakespeare's indebtedness to his sources because it would unnecessarily complicate matters if we tried to disentangle exactly how much information of this kind he could have drawn from his immediate source. Although Shakespeare's pen was on the whole rather vague in giving his plays "a local habitation", it is obvious that he was much vaguer in some cases than in others. I venture to suggest that from this aspect his plays naturally fall into seven distinct groups, as follows:

I. **England.** All the ten Histories (in historical chronology, from *King John* to *Henry VIII*) plus *The Merry Wives of Windsor*.

II. **Old Britain.** *King Lear* and *Cymbeline*, to which may be added the Scottish *Macbeth*.

III. **Italy.** *The Taming of the Shrew*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *Othello*.

IV. **Other European countries:** Navarre (*Love's Labour's Lost*), Illyria (*Twelfth Night*), Denmark (*Hamlet*), France (*All's Well that Ends Well*), Austria (*Measure for Measure*).

V. **Rome.** *Titus Andronicus*, *Julius Caesar*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Coriolanus*.

VI. **The ancient world.** *The Comedy of Errors*, *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Timon of Athens*.

VII. **Imaginary lands.** *As You Like It*, *Pericles*, *The Winter's Tale*, *The Tempest*.

Of course, there are a few border cases where it would be difficult to draw a clear demarcation line between one group and another. I am well aware that many people would feel inclined to place Athens of *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, Illyria of *Twelfth Night* and Britain of *Cymbeline* in the category of "imaginary lands". A little later I will try to make a case for placing at least Illyria on somewhat more solid ground.

Viewed from this angle and in this order Shakespeare's plays shift gradually from the realistic scene of the Histories, firmly set on English soil, to the vague fairy Island of *The*

Tempest forlorn in an undefined sea. This is outwardly manifested also by a more detailed specification of localities in the plays which in my suggested list come first.

I. **England.** The place of action of the Histories and of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* is mainly set in England; mainly, but not entirely. *1* and *2 Henry IV*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *2 Henry VI*, *Richard III* and *Henry VIII* are set exclusively in England; but the scene of *Richard II* is laid "dispersedly in England and Wales", while the action of the remaining four Histories (*King John*, *Henry V*, *1* and *3 Henry VI*) takes place "sometimes in England and sometimes in France". In fact twenty of the twenty-seven scenes of *1 Henry VI* are laid in France; in the last (4th) scene of act II of *Henry V* we pass from England to France and stay there for the rest of the play; we are in France for the whole of act II and III of *King John*; and, finally, we are in France for one long scene (III. 3) of *3 Henry VI*. The fact that some parts of France, which concern us here, were for a time an English possession, does not seem to make an essential difference.

When the place of action is England (or Wales), it is very precisely specified. There are scenes set in various counties of England (Gloucester, Warwick, Hereford, Kent), in castles (Pomfret, Kenilworth, Sandal, Baynard's, Windsor, Flint), in abbeys (Westminster, Swinestead), in cities and towns (York, Coventry, St. Albans, Bury St. Edmunds, Northampton, Southampton, Rochester, Warkworth, Shrewsbury, Tewkesbury, Salisbury, Wakefield, Tamworth, Bosworth, Barnet, Bangor, Gadshill, Langley, Bristol), and when the scene is set in or around London, the particular locality is clearly defined (the Tower, Bridewell Palace, Eastcheap, Southwark, Black-Friars, Smithfield, Cannon Street, Blackheath, Dartford, etc.).

Compared with this long list of English place-names, French geographical names indicating places of action are relatively few. We have the provinces of Picardy, Gascony and Champagne, next to the cities of Angiers, Harfleur, Rouen, Agincourt, Troyes, Orleans, Auvergne, Bordeaux and Anjou. This is not in proportion with the number of English place-names mentioned, when we consider that practically one whole play (*1 Henry VI*), three whole acts of another (*Henry V*), two acts of a third (*King John*) and a long scene of a fourth (*3 Henry VI*) are set in France. But it reflects Shakespeare's naturally scantly familiarity with France and his obviously second-hand acquaintance with its geography.

In the scenes of the Histories laid in England the landscape and the atmosphere are obviously English, whilst in the French scenes we only occasionally feel that Shakespeare is

making an attempt at depicting the French countryside. A good example is the Duke of Burgundy's long speech in the last scene of *Henry V* where he gives a description of "this best garden of the world, Our fertile France", complaining that her vine "Unpruned dies" and her "vineyards, fallows, meads and hedges . . . grow to wildness" (V. 2. 36—55). The fertility of France is also alluded to in *1 Henry VI* when Joan of Arc says to Burgundy:

Look on thy country, look on fertile France,
And see the cities and the towns defac'd
By wasting ruin of the cruel foe. (III. 3. 44—46)

But we must not forget that the adjective "fertile" is applied also to England, once in *1 Henry IV* (III. 1. 78) and twice in *2 Henry VI* (I. 1. 239, III. 1. 88). And, generally speaking, from the text itself it is difficult to tell whether we are in England or in France; and even in modern stage productions it is seldom that the shifting of scene from England to France, or vice versa, is so beautifully and so pointedly conjured up as it is in the transfer of the action from London and Southampton to "an apartment in the French king's palace" at Rouen in Sir Laurence Olivier's film version of *Henry V*.

The marking of a special locality may be, but seldom is, stressed and enhanced by the speech of the characters of various nationalities. Of course, in an English play all characters speak English. We do not expect Julius Caesar to speak Latin in an Elizabethan play. The thing is slightly more complicated when we have representatives of two or more nationalities together on the stage at the same time. In some of the Histories we have a considerable number of French men and women. In *King John* there are 5 French characters against 16 English, in *Henry V* 13 French against 27 English, in *1 Henry VI* 15 French against 20 English. Naturally, all the French characters speak excellent English, with an occasional French word or phrase thrown in; and nobody seems to be disturbed by the theatrical convention that long dialogues between French and English characters are couched in choice English.

But for definite purposes, especially in order to produce comic effects, Shakespeare makes his Frenchmen speak broken English and his Englishmen talk French with an English accent using English constructions. So we have, again in *Henry V*, the amusing English lesson imparted to the French princess Katharine by Alice, a French lady attending on her, who had visited England and learnt a little, very little English (III. 4). We have further in the same play the comic scene on the field of battle in France between Pistol, who can speak only English, and a French soldier, who speaks no English at all, whilst "a

boy" acts as interpreter between the two (IV. 4). Finally, we have the charming scene at the end of the play when King Henry woos "la plus belle Katharine du monde" in broken French while she lisps her confession of love "brokenly with her English tongue". And in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* we have a Frenchman in England, Doctor Caius, who speaks in very broken English indeed throughout the play. Here, of course, the intention is not to create a "French atmosphere" but simply to produce a comic effect.

Shakespeare differentiates also among the various sections of the population of the British Isles. His Welshmen, Scotsmen and Irishmen display their national characteristics. But while the "serious" characters, e. g. the Scottish Earl of Douglas in *1 Henry IV*, speak correct English, the "lesser fry", the captains Fluellen, Jamy and Macmorris, in the comic scenes of the same play (e. g. in III. 2) speak an English tinged by their respective Welsh, Scots and Irish native speeches. And, again in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, the Welsh parson Sir Hugh Evans speaks English with a very strong Welsh accent from the beginning to the end of the play.

The French princess Katharine is not the only woman who cannot speak English. Women in general seem to be less good at languages than men. The Welsh Owen Glendower in *1 Henry IV* speaks good English, but his daughter, Lady Mortimer, speaks only Welsh, much to the disgust of her husband who desperately exclaims:

This is the deadly spite that angers me,
My wife can speak no English, I no Welsh. (III. 1. 191—192).

And so the father has to act as interpreter between his daughter and his son-in-law. The scene direction says: "Glendower speaks to Lady Mortimer in Welsh, and she answers him in the same." Later in the same scene "the lady speaks in Welsh" three more times and finally "sings a Welsh song". Shakespeare does not provide the Welsh text! Commenting on these scene directions J. Dover Wilson aptly remarks: "The boy playing Lady Mortimer was probably Welsh, as he sings a Welsh song; and as Glendower 'speaks to her in Welsh', he also was probably played by a Welshman, who perhaps acted Fluellen in *Henry V* and Sir Hugh Evans in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*."¹

II. Old Britain. Of the dramas whose action is set in ancient Britain *King Lear* is the most "British", or rather English, play. It is true that among the dramatis personae we have a "King of France", but he is a fairy-tale Frenchman, just as

¹ *The First Part of the History of Henry IV*. The New Shakespeare, Cambridge, 1946. Note to III. 1. 195.

Lear and his three daughters are fairy-tale characters. We do not know where exactly King Lear's Court is, or the Earl of Gloucester's Castle, or the Duke of Albany's Palace, but "the Heath" of the storm-scenes is an English heath all right; and when in IV. 3 the scene shifts to the neighbourhood of Dover, and stays there to the end of the tragedy, we are on solid English ground. If in the timelessness, spacelessness and universality of the play, which are being stressed more and more in recent years, we try to find a "fixed mark", it is on the White Cliffs of Dover that our "invention" has to anchor.

Macbeth, of course, is purely Scottish. All the scenes of the play except one (IV. 3, which takes place in England) are laid in Scotland: at Forres, Inverness, Fife, Dunsinane and near Birnam Wood. All the characters save three (Old Siward, Young Siward, and an English doctor) are Scots. Neither the Weird Sisters nor their Heath are of this earth. The play then is essentially Scottish; it is Scottish more in character and spirit than in actual depiction of scenery. The only more clearly defined and described setting, that of Macbeth's Castle at Inverness, is perhaps the least Scottish. The Castle "hath a pleasant seat", "the air Nimble and sweetly recommends itself Unto our gentle senses"; there "the heaven's breath Smells wooingly"; "The air is delicate" (I. 6). This does not give a good picture of either Scottish landscape or Scottish weather. But this sunlit scene, "one of the few sunlit scenes in *Macbeth*" (J. Dover Wilson), serves a dramatic purpose: the first two sentences quoted are spoken by Duncan who will shortly afterwards be murdered in this castle with its "pleasant seat". But some people have taken Shakespeare at his word here and concluded from this passage that he must have visited Scotland. In this context Sir Sidney Lee, in his *Life of Shakespeare* (pp. 40—42), aptly remarks: "Shakespeare's accurate reference in *Macbeth* (I. 6. 1—6) to the 'nimble' but 'sweet' climate of Inverness, and the vivid impression he conveys of the aspects of wild Highland heaths, have been judged to be the certain fruits of a personal experience; but the passages in question, into which a more definite significance has possibly been read than Shakespeare intended, can be satisfactorily accounted for by his inevitable intercourse with Scotsmen in London and the theatres after James I's accession." A. W. Verity, who quotes this passage in his edition of the play (CUP, 1922, p. XXVI), ends up by saying that "with this conclusion we may rest satisfied". And so we may.

Cymbeline is a more complicated case in respect not only of place but also of time and action. The "three unities", or better Shakespeare's disregard of them, are closely connected and interwoven here, so that it is difficult to speak of the place

of action without considering the time sequence, the action itself and the sources of the play. Of the 27 (or 28) scenes of the play, 17 are set in a vaguely archaic Britain. We hardly know where Cymbeline's castle is. We feel somewhat more at home in the 6 (or 7) scenes of which the action is set in Wales, and especially at or near Milford-Haven which is the only place-name definitely mentioned in the play. But we are entirely perplexed by the four "Roman" scenes of which three (I. 4, II. 4 and 5) are placed in an obviously Renaissance setting whilst one short scene (III. 7 or 8) is laid in "a public place" of ancient Rome. The characters appearing in the first two of these four scenes (I. 4 and II. 4) are Posthumus and the Italians Philario and Iachimo. Next to them in the first scene mentioned (I. 4) we have "a Frenchman, a Dutchman and a Spaniard", the latter two being non-speaking parts. In scene II. 5 (which in some editions is a continuation of II. 4) Posthumus is alone on the stage. In the scene set in ancient Rome (III. 7 or 8) the characters are "two Roman Senators and Tribunes". And so, while Cymbeline (or Kimbeline, according to Spenser whom Shakespeare knew) reigned

What time th'eternall Lord in fleshly slime
Enwombed was,²

the villain Iachimo, as J. M. Nosworthy rightly says, is certainly "not a representative of Rome but of the corrupt Italy of the Renaissance", of "That drug-damn'd Italy", to quote Imogen's words, which "hath out-craftied" Posthumus (III. 4. 15). It is true that all these "flagrant anachronisms", as Nosworthy further says, "must . . . have been relatively unobtrusive on the Jacobean stage where Romans, Italians and Early Britons would alike wear contemporary costume", but these, even for Shakespeare, exceptional inconsistencies, contradictions and incongruities are chiefly due to the fact that the three main sources from which he drew do not seem to be completely fused in the play. The historical matter, for which Shakespeare is only slightly indebted to Holinshed's *Chronicles*, "serves merely to round off a play that is mainly concerned with specifically comic or romantic themes, namely, the wager-story and the story of Belarius and the kidnapped princes".³

The names of the characters contribute still more to complicate matters. E. g. Posthumus, like many other "Britons" in the play, has a Latin name (Leonatus) while the name of his "British" servant is Italian (Pisanio). Owing partly to this "confusion of the names", noticed already by Dr. Johnson, most

² *The Faerie Queene*, Book II, Canto X, 50.

³ For this whole passage on the sources see J. M. Nosworthy's Introduction to his edition of *Cymbeline* (The New Arden Shakespeare, 1955. Pp. XVII—XXVIII).

critics of *Cymbeline* have been baffled and undecided in which category to place the play. Hazlitt praised it as "one of the most delightful of Shakespeare's historical plays", adding, however, that "it may be considered as a dramatic romance". Tillyard considered it to be "complementary to the tragedies". G. Wilson Knight, who "also regards the final plays as a vital extension of Shakespearean tragedy", "interprets *Cymbeline* as a national play".⁴

Viewed in relation to the place of action *Cymbeline* belongs, with *King Lear*, to the "British plays", although by its atmosphere it naturally has its place among the last plays or romances, together with *Pericles*, *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest*. Dr. M. C. Bradbrook speaks of "the golden world that in *Cymbeline* is called Brittain" (*Shakespeare and Elizabethan Poetry*, p. 233).

III. **Italy.** Professor Mario Praz has so exhaustively dealt with "Shakespeare's Italy"⁵ that it is difficult to speak on the subject without repeating what has been so admirably said before by him. It is natural that Venice should take precedence of all other cities as setting of the "Italian plays", mainly on account of its trade relations with England. Venice figures in two of the titles; we have *The Merchant of Venice* and *Othello, the Moor of Venice*. Although the scene of this latter play, but for the introductory first act, is laid "at a Sea-Port in Cyprus", *Othello* is essentially a Venetian play, not merely because Cyprus in those days was a Venetian possession, but also because all the characters except the "noble Moor", who is himself "in the service of the Venetian state", are natives of Venice. Despite all this Mario Praz sees "no Venetian local colour" in it; and although he finds a surprising "accuracy in certain local allusions" in *The Merchant of Venice* (the gondolas, the Rialto, and especially the "tranect" or "traject" or "traghetto"), the characters of the play, according to him, are not "more Venetian than anything else". He finds "inconsistencies", "inaccuracies" and allusions to typical English customs in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and he rightly concludes that Shakespeare here "was thinking of London and using Milan and Verona as mere labels". To him "Messina of *Much Ado About Nothing* is clearly an imaginary town"; I should add that perhaps it is less of an "imaginary town" than Padua of *The Taming of the Shrew* which opens with an "In-

⁴ All quoted by J. M. Nosworthy, o. c., pp. XXVI, n. 2, XL and XLIV.

⁵ *Shakespeare Survey*, VII. C.U.P., 1954. Reprinted with "considerable additions" in *The Flaming Heart* (New York, 1958, pp. 146—167) from which I quote.

duction" obviously set in England. About Messina Shakespeare seems to know at least that, at the time when the events of *Much Ado* are supposed to take place, it was under Spanish rule. Witness the two "dons": Don Pedro, Prince of Arragon, and Don John, his bastard brother. It is only in *Romeo and Juliet* that Mario Praz sees "a much stronger local colour" due mainly to the fact that "Romeo's love expresses itself in the metaphors of the school of Serafino Aquilano" and of the Petrarchan "flamboyant sonneteers". And finally, I should like to emphasize, what Mario Praz mentions in passing, that in all these plays the clowns and servants are English types and that in most cases they bear English names: Sly, the tinker, and Curtis in *The Taming of the Shrew*, Speed and Launce (to say nothing of his Crab, that "sourest-natured dog that lives") in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Sampson in *Romeo and Juliet*, Launcelot Gobbo and his father in *The Merchant of Venice*, Dogberry and Verges in *Much Ado About Nothing*.

IV. Other European countries. Of the five plays that come under this heading, the setting of the first four (Navarre, Denmark, France, Austria) need not detain us long.

For *Love's Labour's Lost* the scene is laid in Navarre. The main male characters are the King of Navarre and three "Lords attending on the King"; the women are the Princess of France and three "Ladies attending on the Princess". But what is the nationality of Sir Nathaniel, a curate, Holofernes, a schoolmaster, Dull, a constable, Costard, a clown, Moth, page to Armado, "A Forester" and Jaquenetta, a country wench? Of course they are English, for, as Mario Praz rightly says in another context, "the practice of the stage . . . is always to give a contemporary national character in comic scenes".⁶

Hamlet the Dane is sent to England where, according to the First Grave-digger, it will not be seen that he is mad, for "there the men are as mad as he". Although he never reaches his destination, he knows so much about England, especially about the theatres and stage conditions in London. The Grave-diggers themselves display what is considered to be typical English humour; and the Players, "the tragedians of the city", are also very English, much more so than the "English ambassadors" who appear in the last scene of the play and have very little to say. The whole of Ophelia's herbary, her fantastic garlands, her crow-flowers, nettles, daisies and long purples, her rosemary and pansies, her violets and rue, her fennel and her columbines, and even the willow which grew askant the brook in which she was pulled by her garments, heavy with their drink, from her melodious lay to muddy death, all these

⁶ O. c., p. 165.

are part and parcel of the English flora. But *Hamlet* with its universal appeal transcends any particular country or climate. For over ten years the Prince of Denmark had found a home at the Dubrovnik Festival, in the starlit Fort Lovrjenac set in the blue Adriatic Sea, a home as congenial as was his native Elsinore enveloped in almost eternal mists.

In *All's Well that Ends Well* we have a few more French localities mentioned as settings of the play in addition to those already exploited in the Histories. We have Roussillon on the border of Spain, we have Marseilles and Paris. The characters are mainly French, but in the Florentine scenes (9 out of 23) we have the Duke of Florence, "an old widow of Florence", her daughter Diana and her "neighbours and friends" Violenta and Mariana. The "officers and soldiers", however, both "French and Florentine", are essentially English, and it was quite natural to see them, in Sir Tyrone Guthrie's 1959 production of the play at Stratford-upon-Avon, dressed in khaki uniforms of the modern British army.

Vienna of *Measure for Measure*, with its ghost village or suburb of Saint Luke where, at the moated grange, resides the dejected Mariana, is pure London, despite the fact that in the play we hear of the neighbouring countries of Hungary and Bohemia (here, apparently, without a sea-coast!). Elbow, Froth, Pompey, Abhorson, Barnardine and Mistress Overdone are characters, as far as I can see, typical of low life in Shakespeare's London.

The setting of *Twelfth Night* presents a more complicated and a slightly more controversial problem which must be dealt with at somewhat greater length. The scene of the play is laid in Illyria. It is clear that Shakespeare wished to give his play a romantic setting in a distant land about which little was known and which by this very vagueness was meant to appeal to the popular imagination. But on the other hand I think it is wrong to suppose that to Shakespeare Illyria was just a name, a nebulous country about which he knew nothing at all. On the contrary, I am convinced that he knew exactly that Illyria was the seacoast of Croatia (in present-day Yugoslavia) and that to him the "City on the coast of Illyria" was Dubrovnik, which was then better known abroad by the Italian version of its name as Ragusa.

First of all I have to mention that, apart from the fact that the setting of the play is described (by Rowe) as "a City on the Coast of Illyria" and that in the First Folio Orsino is called "Duke of Illyria", the name "Illyria" occurs ten times in the text of the play (I. 2. 2, 3; 3. 21, 43, 126, 134; 5.30; III. 4. 298; IV. 1. 39; 2. 118). Shakespeare obviously wishes us to feel that we actually are in Illyria. In some of the "Italian" plays (in *Othello*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*)

Italy is never mentioned, in others only seldom (three times in *The Merchant of Venice*, three times in *Much Ado About Nothing*, twice in *The Taming of the Shrew*). Of the other plays only in *Cymbeline* it is mentioned as many times as Illyria is in *Twelfth Night*; moreover the name here is used rather with a geographical than a political connotation, and it refers to the Roman Italia. I find this significant despite the fact that in the "Italian" plays geographical place-names provide a substitute for the name of the country. From the fact that the "City in Illyria" is not more clearly specified and is not given a definite name, some people conclude that Illyria itself is not a concrete country but a place of the imagination. To this I may reply that although the scene of acts II to V of *Othello* is laid "at a Sea-Port in Cyprus" and although the sea-port is not given a name, nobody has yet claimed that Cyprus in *Othello* is an imaginary island.

What did Shakespeare mean by placing the action of *Twelfth Night* in Illyria? As a typical answer to this question I may quote from the notes to one of the latest editions of the play: "*Illyria* — The Dalmatian coast (in modern times the Adriatic seaboard of Yugoslavia). At that time it was ruled over by Venice, and would suggest to Elizabethan audiences the exotic richness of Italian culture. But it is clear from the names of characters (like Sir Toby Belch) and places (like the inn called 'The Elephant', or the church of St Bennet) that contemporary England was as much in Shakespeare's mind as was Illyria."⁷

A still more recent editor, Oscar James Campbell, says in his Introduction to the play: "The scene is ostensibly laid somewhere on the Dalmatian coast, but in reality the action takes place in any region remote and unfamiliar enough to seem a natural setting for extraordinary experiences."⁸ In the Introduction to a somewhat older popular edition we read: "Illyria has been identified with that part of Dalmatia, east of the Adriatic Sea, which, at the time when the events of *Twelfth Night* are supposed to take place, was under the dominion of Venice. It is likely, however, that the poet did not see it as a definite locality, as, in other plays, he saw Venice, London, and Rome. Like the enchanted island of *The Tempest*, and the moonlit wood of *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, it is a place of the imagination, and, like them, it seems as 'real' as any actual place described by an Elizabethan traveller on his return to his native land."⁹

⁷ Notes by E. F. C. Ludowyk. CUP, 1963, p. 7.

⁸ *Twelfth Night*, ed. by O. J. Campbell, A. Rothschild, S. Vaughan. The Bantam Shakespeare, New York, 1964, p. 2.

⁹ *Twelfth Night*, ed. Evelyn Smith. Nelson, London, 1926, p. 11.

This is more or less the view expressed by most editors of the play (Charles Knight, Morton Luce, etc.) and taken up even by some Croatian scholars and translators (Dr. M. Bogdanović, Dr. V. Krišković). They all agree that Illyria is the sea-coast of Croatia under Venetian rule, that it is a place of the imagination, and if they try at all to see the "City in Illyria" as a definite locality, they identify it with the ancient city of Split (Spalato) built within the walls of Diocletian's palace on the Dalmatian coast. Quite recently Professor Mira Janković made a gallant bid for Zadar (Zara).¹⁰ I think we ought to "thank heaven, fasting", that Shakespeare has chosen to lay the scene of one of his best comedies in Illyria and leave wrangling as to which of the Croatian places on the coast is meant by "a City in Illyria". But if we are to make a decision in favour of a definite locality, the only possible town that comes into consideration to be identified with Shakespeare's Illyrian city is Dubrovnik. In this I agree entirely with Rudolf Filipović to whose arguments, expounded in a well-documented study,¹¹ I wish to add a few more.

The title of the ruler of Illyria in *Twelfth Night* gives a clue as to which part of the Croatian coast is supposed to be the setting of the play. Who then is Orsino? He is Duke of Illyria. What is a duke? According to the OED, "In some European countries", a duke is "a sovereign prince, the ruler of a small state called a duchy". In Shakespeare's usage "duke" is "a title of some sovereign princes" (A. Schmidt). So we have the Duke of Florence in *All's Well that Ends Well*, the Duke of Milan in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and in *The Tempest*, the Duke of Illyria in *Twelfth Night*, and in *Measure for Measure* Vincentio is "the Duke" of Austria residing in Vienna. It is still more significant that the word "duke", again according to the OED, "used to render the Venetian Doge". OED quotes "The Duke, and Senators of Venice greet you", from *Othello* (IV. 1. 281); but the word is used in this meaning also in *The Merchant of Venice* (II. 8. 4; III. 2. 281), in *The Taming of the Shrew* (IV. 2. 83) and throughout in *Othello*.

Now, on the Illyrian coast the only free state ruled by a sovereign prince was the Republic of Dubrovnik, governed on the same lines as Venice. "Here," i. e. at Dubrovnik, to quote an English authority, "for the first time, the winged lion of St. Mark ceases to appear; and the absence of this emblem of Venetian subjugation, the boast of the Ragusans, cannot fail to inspire every one with respect for a people, who preserved

¹⁰ *Grad u Shakespeareovoj Iliriji* (A City in Illyria). Filološki Preled, Beograd, 1964. Pp. 141—153.

¹¹ *Shakespeareova Ilirija* (Shakespeare's Illyria). Filologija 1, JAZiU, Zagreb, 1957. Pp. 123—138.

their country from the all-absorbing power of Venice."¹² The ruler of Dubrovnik was called "Knez" (which actually means "prince") or "Rettore" in Italian, so that it would be quite natural for Shakespeare to use the same title for both the Ragusan Rector and the Doge of Venice.

And so Illyria of *Twelfth Night* cannot be "that part of Dalmatia... which... was under the dominion of Venice" and Orsino is not a Venetian governor; he is Duke of Illyria, and consequently cannot reside in either Split or Zadar but only in Dubrovnik. Shakespeare knew very well the difference between a Venetian governor and the "Duke of Illyria". Cyprus in *Othello* is under the dominion of Venice; and both Montano and, after him, Othello himself are called "governors". In the list of characters Montano is styled "Othello's predecessor as governor of Cyprus"; and when the Third Gentleman in II. 1 says: "The Moor himself... is in full commission here for Cyprus", Montano replies: "I am glad on't, 'tis a worthy governor" (II. 28-30). A little later in the same scene Cassio too calls Othello "the governor" (I. 55) and when, after Othello's suicide, Montano resumes again his former function, he is addressed by Lodovico as "lord governor" (V. 2. 366). If Shakespeare had wanted Orsino to be a deputy of the Doge in Venetian Dalmatia, he would have called him "governor", as he calls Montano and Othello; he would not have styled him "duke", which title he reserves exclusively for sovereign princes. Of course, English dukes, in the Histories and elsewhere, are a different matter altogether.

Orsino is called "duke" in the list of the dramatis personae, in all the stage-directions, and the same title is prefixed to his speeches throughout the play. But in the greater part of the text he is styled "count"; in fact he is called "duke" only twice (I. 2. 24; I. 4. 1). This, however, need not disturb us. I am inclined to agree with F. G. Fleay who says that "Duke in this play is synonymous with Count".¹³ And not only in this play; Fleay's arguments may be corroborated by some quotations in the OED, s. v. "count", where the word is synonymous with "duke", or almost (e. g. "The Counts or Dukes of the midland parts." 1652).

In his already mentioned study on "Shakespeare's Illyria" Rudolf Filipović quotes from a great many English travel-books which might have been known to Shakespeare and supplied him with information about Illyria. Of these I will single out one which seems to me to be the most significant. It is an

¹² Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson: *Dalmatia and Montenegro*, etc. London, 1848. Vol. I, pp. 273-274.

¹³ Quoted in Morton Luce's edition of the play (*The Arden Shakespeare*, 1906. Note to I. 2. 24).

account of Sir Richard Guylford's journey to Jerusalem, published in London in 1511. On his way Guylford visited Dubrovnik which he calls Arragouse; and this is the oldest English form of this place-name, six years older, as Filipović points out, than the one quoted in the OED, and nearer to the word "argosy" which derives from it.¹⁴ In Guylford's description of Dubrovnik Filipović noticed even a verbal parallel with a passage in *Twelfth Night*. Sir Richard says that Dubrovnik is "the most stronge and myghty Towne... in the Countre of Slauanye or Dalmacie and in the Prouynce of the Royalme of Croacie". Then he gives a fairly detailed description of the city, mentioning that "there be also *many Relyques*"; and towards the end of the passage he again mentions "many other *grete Reliques*" (the italics are mine), where the word "reliques" obviously means "remains, antiquities, monuments".

Now, in III. 3 of *Twelfth Night* Sebastian, ship-wrecked on the coast of Illyria, asks Antonio:

Shall we go see the reliques of this town? (l. 19)

and a little later he says:

I pray you, let us satisfy our eyes
With the memorials and the things of fame
That do renown this city. (ll. 22—24)

The most interesting "thing of fame" for an English visitor, whether he was called Sir Richard Guylford or Sebastian in Shakespeare's play, would have been the ancient cathedral of Dubrovnik, according to tradition built by Richard Coeur de Lion when, returning from Palestine, he was ship-wrecked on the coast of Illyria.

A slightly older contemporary of Shakespeare's, the Portuguese poet Didacus Pyrrhus, who had settled at Dubrovnik as a Jewish refugee, mentions this cathedral in a Latin poem entitled *De Urbe Rhacusa* and printed in Venice by Aldo Manuzio the Younger in 1582. The poem is addressed to the Ragusan physician Thomas Budislavić-Natalić and is appended to a much longer poem on the famous Ragusan families which gives the title to the little book and is dedicated to the Senate of the Ragusan Republic.¹⁵ The poem gives also an interesting

¹⁴ R. Filipović, *Najstariji izvor za etimologiju engleske riječi "argosy"* (The oldest known source for the etymology of the word argosy). Ivšičev zbornik, Zagreb, 1963. Pp. 55—59. R. Filipović, *A Note on the Etymology of "Argosy"*. Notes and Queries, Vol. 10. No. 8, Aug. 1963. Pp. 288—289.

¹⁵ *De illustribus familiis quae hodie Rhacusae exstant*. Anno MDXXCII Kal. Ian. Ad amplissimum senatum Rhacusanum, Didacus Pyrrhus. See also my *Italian Influence on the Poets of the Ragusan Republic*, London, 1931. Pp. 80—81.

account of the remaining buildings and monuments of Dubrovnik but, significantly, Didacus singles out the ancient cathedral, this "resplendent golden temple", this "monument erected by the King of the Britons" than which there is no greater work in Illyria:

Aurea templa nitent, Regis monumenta Britanni,
Quo non exstat opus maius in Illyria.

The cathedral was completely destroyed in the great earthquake of 1667, but at the time when Didacus Pyrrhus was writing, Richard's votive gifts, his "aurea signa", were still to be seen in it:

Macte animo invicto, et rebus Ricarde secundis
Hic tua dependent aurea signa tholo.

Another, though minor and more recent "relique" or "thing of fame", which might have attracted the attention of Sebastian on his sight-seeing tour round the Illyrian city, was a fine English Medieval brass lectern, which must have been bought in England at the time of the Reformation, when these symbols of the unreformed religion were being discarded from English churches, and brought home by some Ragusan merchant. This is still preserved in the treasury of Dubrovnik cathedral.¹⁶

There are more references to Illyria and Illyrians (especially to Illyrian pirates, as we shall see later) in some of Shakespeare's other plays, and there is at least one, however slight and disguised, allusion to Dubrovnik itself. Let us take this first. In I. 1 of the *Comedy of Errors* Egeon's story begins from Epidamnum (Dyracchium in Latin, Drač in Serbo-Croat, now in Albania) near which he is ship-wrecked, and from there he discovers

Two ships from far, making amain to us,
Of Corinth that, of Epidaurus this. (ll. 92—93)

Commenting on these lines R. A. Foakes, in his edition of the play, says: "Probably Shakespeare had in mind the Epidaurus on the Adriatic coast (later Ragusa, now Dubrovnik), rather than the town on the east coast of Greece; for the former, shown prominently in the atlas of Ortelius, was north of Epidamnum, while Corinth was well to the south and east. The appearance of the ships coming towards Egeon at Epidamnum from appar-

¹⁶ A. S. Oswald, *In Ragusa Cathedral: An English Medieval Lectern*, "The Times" (Sept. 29, 1936). See also by the same author a letter entitled *An English Medieval Lectern at Ragusa* in "Country Life" (June 27, 1936).

ently opposite directions would thus be most easily explained.¹⁷

I quite agree; with one slight correction. The Illyrian Epidaurus was originally a Greek settlement some seven miles to the south-east of present-day Dubrovnik; later it became a Roman colony which was destroyed by the Slavs in 614 A. D. The fugitives from the ruined city moved then somewhat to the north and founded Ragusium. The old city, when it was rebuilt, was called Civitas Vetus (later translated by the Italians to Ragusa Vecchia). Today it is called Cavtat which is derived directly from the accusative of its Latin name Civitas (Civitatem). To an Englishman this confusion between Dubrovnik and "Old Ragusa" is quite natural for, as Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson says, "Ragusa was therefore justly looked upon as the successor of Epidaurus; and in after times, by a strange transfer of name, the village that grew up on the site of Epidaurus obtained the appellation of 'Old Ragusa'."¹⁸ In a footnote he adds that *Ragusa Vecchia* is called *Zaptat* "in Illyric". It is interesting that, writing in 1848, he still calls the language spoken at Dubrovnik "Illyric".

In *Cymbeline* Shakespeare mentions twice the ancient Dalmatians (III. 1. 74 and 7. 3).¹⁹ In the first of these instances Cymbeline says:

I am perfect
That the Pannonians and Dalmatians for
Their Liberties are now in arms.

If we look up in Holinshed the passage from which these lines are directly taken, we shall realize that Dalmatia was not merely a name to Shakespeare, that he was well aware of the fact that in his day it was inhabited by Croats (or Slavons, as Holinshed says), and that he knew what he was talking about. The passage in Holinshed (Book III, Ch. 18) runs as follows: "But receiving advertisements that the Panonians, which inhabited the country now called Hungary, and the Dalmatians, whom now we call Slavons, had rebelled . . ."²⁰ It is hardly necessary to add that today a great part of what used to be the ancient province of Pannonia is also in Yugoslavia.

Finally, if we agree with Professor G. B. Harrison, as I think we must, that "these late eclipses in the sun and moon" in *King Lear* (I. 2. 107) were suggested by a pamphlet entitled

¹⁷ The Arden Shakespeare, 1962, note to I. 1. 93.

¹⁸ O. c., Vol I, p. 275 and note.

¹⁹ Noticed first by Dr V. Krišković, *Shakespeare i mi*, Hrvatska Revija, 1941/XIV, No 1, p. 3.

²⁰ Quoted by Alfred J. Wyatt in his edition of *Cymbeline* (The Warwick Shakespeare, p. 214).

Strange, fearful and true news which happened at Carlstadt in the Kingdom of Croatia and published in England on 11th February 1606, then Shakespeare would have been acquainted also with the name of Croatia.²¹ Professor Kenneth Muir quotes Harrison and disagrees with him. He believes that "the play (i. e. *King Lear*) was written between March 1603 and Christmas 1606", and he naturally thinks that "if we accepted Harrison's theory we should have to suppose that *King Lear* was written in the last ten months of 1606"; he therefore concludes that "there are closer parallels with Gloucester's remarks (about the eclipses, etc. J. T.) in Florio's *Montaigne*".²² Both Krišković²³ and Filipović²⁴ quote Harrison with approval.

Apart from books, and especially travel-books, there is another large field from which Shakespeare might have drawn information about Illyria: stories and yarns of Illyrian sailors visiting England and of Illyrian merchants residing in London; and their number was almost legion. Speaking of "Shakespeare's accuracy in certain local allusions" concerning Italy, in his already quoted essay on "Shakespeare's Italy", Mario Praz says: "There are two possible alternatives: either Shakespeare travelled to the North of Italy, or he got his information from intercourse with some Italian in London. — There is no evidence for the first alternative. As for the second, Shakespeare may have had frequent occasions to meet Italian merchants; the Elephant Inn, which he mentions with praise as being the one where it was 'best to lodge' in the unknown Illyrian town of *Twelfth Night*, and being, of course, nothing else but the inn called 'The Oliphant' on Bankside, was patronised by Italians."²⁵

Professor Praz draws this piece of information from G. S. Gargano's book on the "dissolute life" of Italians in Shakespeare's London. From this book, however, it appears that many of the "Italians" who patronised "The Elephant" (or "Oliphant" or "Elephant and Castle") were actually Illyrians; and the Illyrians in London would probably speak about Illyria and not about Italy. The most important and most likely informant of Shakespeare, and one whose name figures in the title of the first essay of Gargano's book, was "Il mercante Paolo Gondola" who, in a letter written from London between

²¹ T. L. S., 30 Nov. 1933, p. 856. See also his Introduction to *King Lear* (The Penguin Shakespeare, 1937, p. 12-13) and his *Introducing Shakespeare* (Pelican Books, 1939, p. 120).

²² The New Arden Shakespeare, 1952, p. XXI.

²³ O. c., p. 5.

²⁴ *Shakespeareova Ilirija*, p. 134.

²⁵ *The Flaming Heart*, p. 165.

1590 and 1592, mentions his own and his friends' visits to the "casa dell' Elefante".²⁶

Gondola, or more correctly Gundulić, was a native of Dubrovnik and belonged to one of the famous Ragusan families. At the time when Paolo was in London, or shortly before, to one of his relatives in distant Dubrovnik a son was born who was to become a famous Croatian poet: Ivan Gundulić (1589—1638), whose epic poem *Osman* is considered a classic by his fellow-countrymen while his pastoral play *Dubravka* still holds the stage in Yugoslavia. It is true that in the text of his essay Gargano calls Gundulić "il Raguseo" and "il Dalmata", but he still considers him Italian. He was probably misled by the custom of Ragusan merchants who, for practical purposes and "for export", used to Italianize their names, knowing that a foreigner could more easily pronounce and retain names like Bobali, Gondola, Gozze or Nale than the original Slavonic forms Bobaljević, Gundulić, Gučetić or Nalješković. It is tempting to speculate that the only play in which Shakespeare mentions "The Elephant Inn" is *Twelfth Night* because it was precisely there that he might have heard, from Gundulić or from some other Ragusan merchant, stories about Illyria.

Gundulić was not the only Ragusan resident in London at the time. In fact, as I said before, they were fairly numerous. Paul Gundulić himself, who was then a very young man, had been sent to learn his trade from another Ragusan merchant who had a well-established firm in London. His name was Nikola Gučetić (Nicholas de Gozzi, or Gozze). Among the manuscripts preserved in the British Museum I came across a petition of this same de Gozzi addressed "To the Righte Honorable the Lord Highe Treasurer of England" in which he asks that "a small case contayninge forty five pounce waighte of Venice golde and siluer", which had arrived for him from "Hamborrowe", should be returned to him. The case was seized because it had been brought "ouer lande uncustomed" by "one Robert Surtis, pursuer of a ship called *the Fancy* of London".²⁷

All through the 16th century we come across Ragusan merchants among the "aliens dwelling in the city and suburbs of London". In the correspondence of Lodovico Beccadelli, Archbishop of Dubrovnik 1555—1564, there are two letters addressed to Reginald Pole in which Beccadelli begs the English Cardinal to intervene in favour of some Ragusan merchants living in London who had been affected by a prohibition concerning Italian merchants only. Beccadelli makes a point of

²⁶ *Scapigliatura italiana a Londra sotto Elisabetta e Giacomo I, Venezia, 1928, p. 41.*

²⁷ See Appendix.

stressing that the Ragusans are not Italians ("i Ragusei... oltra che non sono Italiani...").²⁸ He knew that they were Illyrians all right. Many of these merchants he mentions by name. To this list of names Professor Filipović adds a few more. Chapter IV of his *Shakespeare's Illyria* speaks of "Personal contacts between Englishmen and Croats in England" and there, among others, he mentions also two Ragusans, Matthew Bobaljević and Nicholas Nalješković, who lived and died in London and were buried in two of the City churches. In the State Archives of Dubrovnik, especially among the "Lettere e Commissioni" of this time, there are frequent and numerous references to Ragusan merchants who were resident in London towards the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century, i. e. at the time when Shakespeare was living there.

Having considered the possible channels, books and oral descriptions, through which Shakespeare could have drawn information about Illyria, and having touched upon some traces of this knowledge in *Twelfth Night*, let us now see whether there was any, conscious or unconscious, attempt from his part to reproduce a local colour, to create an Illyrian atmosphere in the play and, if there was, how far Shakespeare succeeded in conveying it.

Most critics writing about *Twelfth Night* speak of the loveliness and idyllic character of the play. For Hazlitt it is "justly considered as one of the most delightful of Shakespeare's comedies. It is full of sweetness and pleasantries"; to John Masefield it is "the happiest and one of the loveliest of all Shakespearian plays"; to Georg Brandes it is "perhaps the most graceful and harmonious comedy Shakespeare ever wrote"; John Bailey says that "it is of music and love that it is made, at least the serious part of it"; but he is the first to stress also the "realism" of the play. "On the whole", he says, "no play is fuller than this of Shakespeare himself, that double being, the greatest of all romantics and, at the same time, of all realists too!".²⁹ J. Dover Wilson also speaks of the realism of the play. Dealing with "Character and comedy" in Shakespeare, he says: "Last and best came *Twelfth Night*, which for sheer lightness of touch goes as far as even Shakespeare can reach, blending music and revelry, realism and romance, the wittiest prose and the most ravishing poetry."³⁰

But it is only Leslie Hotson who lays the whole stress on the realism, in other words on the seamy side of the play. In

²⁸ J. Torbarina, *Fragments iz neizdanih pisama Lodovika Beccadellija*, "Dubrovnik", 1929/I, Nos 9—10, pp. 320—340.

²⁹ All quotations, except Brandes' (which comes from "Selected Commentaries" in *The Bantam Shakespeare*, 1964), are taken from "Select Literary Criticism" in J. C. Dent's edition of the play (*The New Clarendon Shakespeare*, Oxford, 1938, 1962).

³⁰ *The Essential Shakespeare*, CUP, 1948, p. 91.

his book on *Twelfth Night* he dedicates a whole chapter to "Illyria for Whitehall". "Why Illyria?" he asks, "What reasons appropriate to *Twelfth Night* led Shakespeare to choose Illyria—that sea-coast far away, beyond the Adriatic? Were the connotations of *Illyria* for him and his audience the lyric, the idyll, or the illusion which the romantic sound of the name so often suggests in a modern ear?" And the answer is: "Far from it. Something more robustious. What the Dalmatian-Croatian *Illyria* brought to mind was thoughts of wild riot and drunkenness, and the lawless profession of piracy." Then he quotes two English contemporaries of Shakespeare's who speak of the "riotous" Illyrians and of their "wine bibbing", and finally concludes: "All in all, a boisterous coast, Illyria. A fit stage for what Dowden happily called 'the reeling heights of Sir Toby's bacchanals'."³¹

This may sound a little exaggerated and I know that it has given offence at least to two of my fellow-countrymen, but it is exactly the impression, the first impression at least, that in those days Illyria, and even its most civilized city, was likely to make on a pampered visitor from western Europe. Let me quote one example in favour of this view. The Italian prelate Lodovico Beccadelli, mentioned before in this essay, who had been spoilt in the refined princely courts of Italy, a few months after his arrival at Dubrovnik, which he reached early in December, 1555, to settle down in his new see as archbishop, wrote to one of his relatives in Italy: "Questo è un paese da Schiavoni, cioè da robusti, et non da par nostri deboli."³² In fact, something more robustious, as Hotson says! This same Beccadelli, when he finally landed at Dubrovnik, having crossed the Adriatic from Ancona in a wild sirocco and having been tossed about on very rough seas for 37 days (!), wrote home to a friend in Italy: "Sono otto giorni che arrivai qui, i quali ho speso in visite; et maravigliomi come io sia stato così robusto ('robustious' again! J. T.) c'habbia sopportato tanti et così lunghi disagi, oltra li quali ci è stato il sospetto continuo delli Scocchi, che fanno di bello in questo mare."³³

Yes, the "Scocchi", the Uscocs or pirates of Senj in the northern Croatian Littoral, were a menace! They wrought havoc in the Adriatic Sea; at times they endangered even "la Serenissima". But in Illyria they were more famous than notorious. Their fellow-countrymen were, and are, proud of them. The Yugoslav popular ballads sing of their exploits; a whole "cycle"

³¹ *The First Night of "Twelfth Night"*, London, 1954 (1961), pp. 151—152.

³² J. Torbarina, *Fragmenti etc.*, p. 322.

³³ *Ibidem*.

is dedicated to them. They were known far beyond the confines of the Adriatic Sea and their fame had reached England.

It is here, I think, that we have to look for the Illyrian "couleur locale" of *Twelfth Night*. From this point of view III. 3 and V. 1 seem to me to be clue scenes. They tell Antonio's story which, having begun in II. 1, is resumed and developed in III. 3, and concluded in the last scene of the play (V. 1). In III. 3 we learn that it is not safe, even for a young man of Sebastian's skill in fencing, to wander alone around Illyria. Antonio says that it was "not all love to see" Sebastian that spurred him forth to follow him,

But jealousy what might befall your travel,
Being skillless in these parts; which to a stranger,
Unguided and unfriended, often prove
Rough and unhospitable. (II. 8—11)

In V. 1 Antonio himself is styled "notable pirate" and "salt-water thief" (l. 63) by Orsino. It is true that Antonio "shakes off these names" and says:

Antonio never yet was thief or pirate,
Though I confess, on base and ground enough,
Orsino's enemy; (II. 69—71)

but we hear, first from Antonio himself and later from both Orsino and his First Officer, of some of his piratical feats and exploits. In III. 3 Antonio says:

Once in a sea-fight 'gainst the count his galleys
I did some service, of such note indeed
That were I ta'en here it would scarce be answered.

And to Sebastian's remark:

Belike you slew great number of his people,

he explains:

Th'offence is not of such a bloody nature,
Albeit the quality of the time and quarrel
Might well have given us bloody argument. (II. 26—32)

When, in V. 1, Antonio is brought in by the "officers", Orsino says of him:

That face of his I do remember well,
Yet when I saw it last it was besmeared
As black as Vulcan in the smoke of war:
A baubling vessel was he captain of,
For shallow draught and bulk unprizable,
With which such scathful grapple did he make
With the most noble bottom of our fleet,

That very envy and the tongue of loss
Cried fame and honour on him.

And the First Officer continues:

Orsino, this is that Antonio
That took the *Phoenix* and her fraught from Candy,
And this is he that did the *Tiger* board,
When your young nephew Titus lost his leg. (11. 45—58)

The only place on the Illyrian coast where people felt safe and lived in peace, free from the fear of pirates and other dangers, the only possible setting for the idyllic part of *Twelfth Night*, was the territory of the small Republic of Dubrovnik. In the rest of the coastal area things were different. And these conditions continued far into the 17th century. A good illustration of this is offered by Gundulić's pastoral play *Dubravka*, first performed at Dubrovnik in 1628. In the second scene of the play "a Fisherman" comes from the parts of Dalmatia which were under foreign dominion to Dubrovnik as to "a sweet nest of dearest liberty" ("u gnijezdu slatkomu slobode primile"). Whilst in his part of the country "the dire wild beast" ("srdita zvijer"), i. e. the winged Lion of St. Mark, "snatches, grasps and holds everything in its claws" ("grabi i hita i u noktijeh sve drži"), at Dubrovnik "everyone is master of himself and of his belongings" ("svak sebi i svemu svomu je gospodar").³⁴ It is an insult, therefore, from an Illyrian point of view at least, to transform the Duke of Illyria into a Venetian governor.

In *Twelfth Night* Antonio knows that it is safe for Sebastian to wander around the streets of the Illyrian City, to "beguile the time and feed his knowledge with viewing of the town" while he, in the meantime, takes care of more substantial food and orders dinner for the two of them ("bespeaks their diet") "in the south suburbs, at the Elephant" where he will wait for him. If Antonio himself does not "without danger walk these streets", it is only because Orsino has a personal matter to settle with him on account of his piratical raids (III. 3 *passim*).

We must remember, as Leslie Hotson reminds us, that in other two of his plays Shakespeare mentions Illyrian pirates. The first is "Bargulus, the strong Illyrian pirate" in *2 Henry VI* (IV. 1. 108) and the second is "one Ragozine, a most notorious pirate" in *Measure for Measure* (IV. 3. 78). In the passage from *2 Henry VI* the Duke of Suffolk says of "a Lieutenant":

³⁴ See A. Haler's edition of the play (Zagreb, 1944), ll. 97—106, and his Introduction (ll. 10—11).

this villain here,
Being captain of a pinnace, threatens more
Than Bargulus, the strong Illyrian pirate.

The name Bargulus is taken from Cicero's *Offices*, "a work much studied in Elizabethan schools",³⁵ where he is a pre-Slav Illyrian pirate. But Shakespeare makes him a contemporary of Henry VI (1422—1461) or, more likely still, his own contemporary, and consequently a Croatian pirate. Although "Ragozine" in *Measure for Measure* is grammatically treated three times in the play (IV. 3. 78 and 83; V. 1. 535) as a proper name, I feel certain that Shakespeare meant it to signify "a native of Ragusa"; the more so since in Sir Richard Guylford's travel-book the inhabitants of Dubrovnik or Ragusa are called "Aragosynes", with a prothetic "a"; and if that is dropped, we get the name of Ragozine. Most critics today agree that Ragozine here means "a Ragusan"; Leslie Hotson, for example, who says: "For sea-thievery, we find Shakespeare elsewhere citing 'Bargulus, the strong Illyrian pirate' and the Ragusan 'Ragozine, a most notorious pirate', and aptly bringing that 'notable pirate, salt-water thief', Antonio, into *Twelfth Night's* Illyria."³⁶

The story of Antonio has not yet been satisfactorily explained. So, e. g., Morton Luce, commenting upon III. 3. 33—37 in his edition of *Twelfth Night*, says: "The chief difficulty I have found in paraphrasing this passage lies in the apparent inconsistencies of the story; nor is it easy to gain the point of view of the speaker." (The Arden Shakespeare, 1906, p. 112). For the moment I do not wish to add new guesses to those already existing, but I do feel tempted to offer a solution which would suit the general trend of my interpretation of the setting of *Twelfth Night*. If Shakespeare mentions Illyrian pirates in two other plays, why should he not mention an Illyrian pirate in a play of which the scene is laid in Illyria?

There are many things that speak in favour of this thesis. The Uscocs took over from the old Narentine pirates, whose base was the estuary of the river Neretva or Narenta, the pride of place among Illyrian pirates. All through the 16th century they were the Illyrian pirates "par excellence". They were known far beyond the borders of their country, books were written about them (Minuccio Minucci wrote a *Historia degli Uscocchi* in 1603; it was continued by Fra Paolo Sarpi, and has often been reprinted) and they are mentioned also by English travellers. So, for instance, George Sandys, who travelled down the Adriatic in 1610, wrote: "But the Pirats here about do now more than share with them (i. e. *the Venetians*)

³⁵ The New Arden Shakespeare, 1957, Andrew S. Cairncross' note to IV. 1. 107.

³⁶ *The First Night of "Twelfth Night"*, pp. 151—152. R. Filipović, *Shakespeareova Illirija*, p. 131, note 26.

in that Soueraigntie (i. e. of the sea)."³⁷ What is more, among the Uscocs there were, strangely enough, a considerable number of Englishmen: real English Uscocs! By the end of the 16th century Senj (Segna) had become "the resort of all disorderly people of every nation, who passed indifferently under the name of Uscocs"; and Léon Brulart, the French Ambassador at Venice, relates that, "of the Uscocs who were hung, on the 14th of August, 1618, nine were Englishmen; five of whom were gentlemen; and another belonged to one of the noblest families of Britain" (quoted by Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson in *Dalmatia and Montenegro*, II. 389—390). So we may safely conclude, I trust, that Shakespeare must have been thinking of the Uscocs of Senj when mentioning the Illyrian pirates.

For their raids and incursions the Uscocs used very small fast craft. So do the Illyrian pirates in Shakespeare. The Lieutenant in *2 Henry VI*, whom Suffolk compares with the Illyrian pirate Bargulus, is described as being "captain of a pinnace", and a pinnace is explained to be "a ship of small burthen, built for speed".³⁸ Antonio in *Twelfth Night* is also captain of "a baubling (i. e. paltry, insignificant) vessel... For shallow draught and bulk unprizable". Sandys, to continue quoting his passage, says that the Uscocs "gather such courage from the timorousnesse of diuers, that a little Frigot will often not feare to venter on an Argosie".³⁹ We saw that Beccadelli, crossing the Adriatic in a Ragusan vessel, was afraid lest "a little Frigot" of the Uscocs should venture on his argosy; and Antonio of *Twelfth Night*, although he was captain of only a "baubling vessel", attacked "the most noble bottom" of Orsino's fleet.

Antonio also "took the *Phoenix* and her fraught from Candy". Ragusan ships on their "Mediterranean cruises" often called on Candy (i. e. Crete). A member of Beccadelli's suite made a voyage in an argosy from Dubrovnik to Crete early in April of 1556, taking a letter from Beccadelli to the "Arcivescovo di Candia".⁴⁰

The Uscocs, moreover, were gallant pirates. They were gentlemen-robbers. Speaking of Senj, in his book *Dalmatia, the Quarnero and Istria*, T. G. Jackson rightly says that the city "is known in history chiefly as the stronghold of the Uscocs, whose piracies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries... endangered the commerce of the Adriatic, and embroiled the Venetians the Austrians and the Turks in constant disputes, and finally in open warfare". And then he goes on: "The Uscocs,

³⁷ Quoted in G. T. Jackson's *Dalmatia, the Quarnero and Istria*, Oxford, 1887. Vol. III, p. 181, note.

³⁸ A. S. Cairncross in the New Arden ed. of the play. Note to IV. 1. 106.

³⁹ G. T. Jackson, 1. c.

⁴⁰ J. Torbarina, *Fragments* etc., p. 323.

whose name is said to mean 'deserter' or 'refugee', were originally honest men and patriots who retired before the Turks when the kingdoms of Bulgaria, Serbia and Bosnia successively fell under the Mussulman yoke, and who maintained a guerilla warfare against their conquerors on the confines of Croatia and Dalmatia."⁴¹

Yes, in some respects the Uscocs were originally, and remained to the end of their history, "honest men and patriots" despite all their cruel exploits. And Antonio in *Twelfth Night* is precisely this type of "honest pirate". His brilliant feats and naval enterprises were such

That very envy and the tongue of loss
Cried fame and honour on him; (V. 1. 52—53)

in other words: even his enemies, even those who envied his courage or were jealous of his bravery, and the voices of those he had caused to suffer loss, could not help singing his praises and admiring him as an honest man. Now why indeed should not Antonio be an Uscoc and "his city" Senj?

So much for the pirates. And now a few words about the "wine bibbing" in Illyria. Profesor Rudolf Filipović has noticed "the abundance of wine" mentioned by the writers of most English travel-books about Illyria, and he concludes, rightly I think, that this "probably led Shakespeare to make the people in his Illyria drink so much".⁴² Of course, the Illyrians liked to drink. Sir Toby says that he will drink healths to his niece Olivia "as long as there is a passage in his throat and drink in Illyria" (I. 3. 41—43). And in Illyria there was, and still is, plenty of drink. The Illyrians were no Malvolios; just as their Elizabethan contemporaries liked "cakes and ale" and ginger that was "hot in the mouth", so they liked their wine and all the good things of life.

It would not be fair to end this account of Illyria in Shakespeare's days on a note of piracy and drunkenness and bacchanals. There were other things in Illyria; there was music, that music with which *Twelfth Night* begins (with the Duke's "If music be the food of love, play on") and ends (with Feste's Song "When that I was and a little tiny boy"). There was painting too, there were theatrical performances, there were strolling players and jesters, there was especially literature. All down the Illyrian coast, at Zadar, Šibenik, Split, on the islands of Hvar and Korčula, people made noble efforts, often against great odds, to cultivate the fine arts and letters; these flourished particularly at Dubrovnik where conditions were much more favourable for the development of arts than elsewhere.

⁴¹ G. T. Jackson, o. c., 174—175. A more faithful rendering of "Uskok" would be "runaway" or "fugitive".

⁴² *Shakespeareova Ilirija*, p. 138.

At Dubrovnik there was music in plenty, church music and secular music, both vocal and instrumental. A Venetian ambassador who called there in 1575 says that there "molti sono ottimi musici". In an elegy written in the late 60's of the century the Ragusan poet Mavro Vetranović speaks of lutes and flutes, violins and cornets, monochords and harpsichords and clavicymbals (leuti, flauti, violuni, korneti, monokordi, arpikordi, glavočimbali). Among the musicians and composers there was native talent and there were also guests from across the Adriatic. From archbishop Beccadelli's correspondence which is a mine of information on cultural conditions at Dubrovnik around the middle of the 16th century, we learn that among his friends there was a "M. Lamberto, Musico eccellente non solo a Ragusa, ma ancho in Italia".⁴³ Many native composers are mentioned by name. And finally, early in the 17th century we find more than traces of the development of melodrama and opera proper at Dubrovnik so that, according to J. Andreis, "old Croatia is perhaps the first country outside Italy to have known and adopted opera".⁴⁴

As for painters, from the second half of the 15th century onward there was at Dubrovnik a native school of painting with Nikola Božidarević (Ragusinus) and Mihajlo Hamzić at its head. Some of their pictures are still above the altars for which they were painted. In the 40's of the 16th century we have the Ragusan painter Vlaho Držić praised highly by his friend Pietro Aretino under the name of Biagio Drusiano, Raguseo. From those days date also several paintings by great Italian painters, mostly commissioned by rich Ragusans. There is still at least one genuine Titian in the Dominican church at Dubrovnik. It represents St Mary Magdalen and the donor, a member of the noble family Pucić-Pozza, kneeling next to St Blaise, the patron saint of the Ragusan Republic, carrying on a tray a model of the city of Dubrovnik. Ivan Nalješković-Nale was a personal friend of Titian and corresponded with him as well as with Pietro Aretino. Aloysius Gučetić-Gozze who, like many another Ragusan, had a palace at Ancona, distinguished himself as a patron of arts in Italy. At his request Titian painted a "Madonna appearing to St Francis, St Blaise and a Donor". The donor is Gučetić himself and he is seen kneeling by the side of his patron saint. In the middle of the foreground is a cartellino inscribed: "Aloy-

⁴³ See my *Fragments* etc., p. 325.

⁴⁴ For this whole passage on music at Dubrovnik see his "Muzička kultura u primorskom području Hrvatske u XVI, XVII i XVIII stoljeću" in *Historijski razvoj muzičke kulture u Jugoslaviji* by J. Andreis, D. Cvetko and S. Đurić-Klajn, Zagreb 1962, pp. 23—58. See also "Music in the Adriatic Coastal Areas of the Southern Slavs" by D. Plamenac in G. Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, New York 1954, p. 758.

xius Gotius Ragusinus fecit fieri MDXX, Titianus Cadorinus pinsit."⁴⁵

Beccadelli himself was a personal friend of Titian who painted his portrait. It is one of the Master's best and can be seen today in the Galleria Pitti at Florence. In Beccadelli's suite that crossed with him the Adriatic from Ancona there was Don Pellegrino Brocardo, "pittore e musico", "persona virtuosa, et massime nelle cose della pittura".⁴⁶ It was Don Pellegrino who painted for the archbishop's villa on the island of Šipan a large fresco, traces of which are still to be seen.⁴⁷

Yes, there was much of the Renaissance atmosphere in this Illyrian Republic, and the Ragusans knew how to live and enjoy life. In time the archbishop became acclimatized and accustomed to the "robustious" Slavonic character of his new see. He grew deeply attached to Dubrovnik, and three years after his arrival there he was able to write to Cardinal Turriano: "Io sono in una terra fuor d'Italia, ma di lingua in gran parte, e costumi non lontana dai nostri, et stovvi volentieri, et molte cose piacer me la fanno."⁴⁸ Consequently when, in June 1560, he was preparing to return to Italy, his sorrow was heart-felt and sincere. The regret he felt is expressed in a Latin ode⁴⁹ and in a fine sonnet addressed to his intimate friend Michelangelo Buonarroti with whom he often exchanged letters in both prose and rhyme. In his sonnet Beccadelli compares the Ragusan archipelago with the beautiful gardens which Alcinous, king of the Phaeacians, grew by the sea on the island of Scheria, the meeting-place of Odysseus and Nausicaa. At the thought of having to leave these islands, these "vagli scogli", especially his beloved Šipan, Beccadelli feels a "great pang of heart" (to use Viola's phrase) and in moving terms bids farewell to Dubrovnik which to him is the paragon, "the mirror of Illyria and its greatest glory":

Lasciovi et duolmi, et con ardente core
Ragusa abbraccio, mia diletta sposa,
Specchio d'Iliria et suo pregio maggiore.⁵⁰

What better or more suitable setting for the idyllic part of *Twelfth Night* could be imagined or desired!

⁴⁵ The picture was originally painted for the church of San Francesco at Ancona. After 1870 it was removed to the church of San Domenico, and since 1924 it has been kept in the Museum of Ancona. More about Titian's relations with Dubrovnik see in my *Italian Influence*, etc., pp. 28, 34, 35, 43.

⁴⁶ See my *Fragments* etc., pp. 321, 323.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 334.

⁴⁸ "Al Vescovo di Ceneda", 26th October 1558. J. Torbarina, *Fragments* etc., p. 330.

⁴⁹ "Carmen VII", in G. Tommasino's *Carmi Latini inediti di Monsignor Lodovico Beccadelli*, S. Maria Capua Vetere, 1923.

⁵⁰ J. Torbarina, *Italian Influence* etc., p. 51.

In this paragon of Illyrian cities there was also drama and lyric poetry. Among the playwrights there was one at least whose fame has crossed the frontiers of his native land. He is Marin Držić (1508—1567) who, some forty years before Shakespeare wrote his *Comedy of Errors*, had used the same source, Plautus' *Menaechmi*, for his comedy *Pjerin*, and, more than a hundred years before Molière's *L'Avare*, had written his *Skup* ("The Miser"), his own version of Plautus' *Aulularia*. *Skup* still holds the stage in Držić's homeland, while his masterpiece *Uncle Maroje*, another miser, has been performed in many countries outside Yugoslavia, among others in England (at the Belgrade Theatre in Coventry).

Lyric poetry, from our present point of view, is perhaps still more relevant, for here we can detect a link, however slight and mediate, between English and "Illyrian" literature, and prove, I hope, that Shakespeare must have read at least one Illyrian sonnet.

All through the 16th century there was at Dubrovnik a flourishing school of Petrarchan poets. The fame of one or two spread to France and England. Of course, Englishmen and Frenchmen of those days did not study Serbo-Croat in order to read the Illyrian poets. But some of the Ragusan Petrarchists wrote poetry in both Serbo-Croat and Italian, which was then a kind of "diplomatic" language in the whole of Europe. Such a poet was, for instance, Sabo Bobaljević (1529—1585). Some other poets, like Miho Monaldi (c. 1540—1592), wrote exclusively in Italian. A typical bilingual poet was Dinko Ranjina (1536—1607) who in the same year (1563) published at Florence his collection of "Miscellaneous poems", his *Pjesni Razlike*, in Serbo-Croat, and had the luck of having 27 of his Italian sonnets included in Lodovico Dolce's popular anthology entitled *Rime Scelte*. It is through this latter channel that he reached France where he was imitated by Philippe Desportes, one of the poets of the Pléiade group, who literally translated three of his Italian sonnets into French.⁵¹ Now, Desportes in his turn had a great admirer in England in the person of Henry Constable who "drank too deep of the Franco-Italian wells" and who in his later poems showed "a growing dependence on Desportes".⁵² And so, via Desportes, some reverberations of Ranjina's Italian poetry reached Henry Constable.

Another Illyrian poet, who wrote both in Latin and Italian but not in his own mother tongue, was Lodovico Paschale (1500?—1551), a native of the city of Kotor (Cattaro) somewhat farther down the Illyrian coast to the south of Dubrovnik.

⁵¹ J. Vianey, *Le pétrarquisme en France au XVIe siècle*. Montpellier, 1909, pp. 233, 236.

⁵² Sir Sidney Lee, *The Elizabethan Sonnet* in "The Cambridge History of English literature", CUP 1908, Vol. III, pp. 260—261.

According to Giovanni Maver, he was also imitated in England "da Henryk Constable, precursore del sonetto shakespeariano".⁵³ Paschale was certainly imitated by yet another English poet whose work Shakespeare knew very well indeed. This was Thomas Lodge (1558?—1625) who, in his sonnet-sequence *Phyllis* (1593), translated into English three of Paschale's Italian sonnets.⁵⁴ Among them is "one of the best known of Lodge's sonnets"⁵⁵: "It is not death, which wretched men call dying", which is a faithful rendering of Paschale's "Morte non è quel che morir s'appella". The other two sonnets come also direct from Paschale: "You sacred Sea-nymphes pleasantly disporting" renders Paschale's "Ninfe de'l mar che con soave errore", and Lodge's "As where two raging venoms are united" derives from Paschale's "Qual duo veneni uniti l'huom tal'ora".

But this is not all. In his romance *A Margarite of America* Lodge included a translation of one of Paschale's sonnets, this time, however, acknowledging his debt, for he says that it was written "in imitation of that excellent Poet of *Italie*, Lodovico Pascale". Before printing the sonnet itself, which begins "Those glorious lampes that heauen illuminate", he quotes the first line of Paschale's original: "Tutte le stelle hauean de'l ciel l'impero."⁵⁶

Lodge calls Paschale "that excellent Poet of *Italie*", and Sir Sidney Lee in his essay on *The Elizabethan Sonnet* also considers Paschale to be Italian. He says that it is surprising that three of Lodge's sonnets "should come direct from an obscure Italian author, Lodovico Paschale, whose sonnet-sequence appeared at Venice in 1549. Paschale was an undistinguished native of Cattaro, in Dalmatia".⁵⁷ To L. E. Kastner Paschale is "a rather obscure Venetian".⁵⁸ To Giovanni Maver Dalmatia is an Italian province, and Paschale is one of two (the other being Ranjina) among the "numerous Dalmatian Petrarchists" who were imitated "outside Italy".⁵⁹

Now, was Paschale Italian? If I thought that he was, I should not have mentioned him in this context. In spite of his Italian-sounding name, he was no more Italian than the various Beaumonts, Beauchamps and Beauforts in England are French. There were, and still are, very good Croats in Dalmatia who have pure Italian names. To his fellow-countrymen Paschale is

⁵³ G. Maver, *La letteratura croata in rapporto alla letteratura italiana* (Estratto dal volume *Italia e Croazia*), Roma 1942, p. 481.

⁵⁴ L. E. Kastner, *Thomas Lodge as an imitator of the Italian poets*, "The Modern Language Review", Cambridge 1907, Vol. II. pp. 155—161.

⁵⁵ Sir S. Lee, o. c., p. 262.

⁵⁶ G. B. Harrison (ed.), "*Menaphon* by Robert Greene and *A Margarite of America* by Thomas Lodge", Blackwell, Oxford 1927, p. 206.

⁵⁷ Sir S. Lee, o. c., p. 262.

⁵⁸ L. E. Kastner, o. c., p. 158.

⁵⁹ G. Maver, l. c.

neither obscure, nor Venetian, nor Italian, nor undistinguished. He himself says that he is a Dalmatian. His book of poems bears the title *Rime Volgari di M. Ludovico Paschale da Catharo, Dalmatino*. He seems to be proud of being a "Dalmatino", and in those days Dalmatian, Illyrian, Slav and Croat were synonyms, at least in Dalmatia. Paschale's almost exact contemporary from the island of Hvar, Vinko Pribojević, writing his discourse *De Origine Successibusque Slavorum* ("Of the Origins and Fortunes of the Slavs") calls himself also a Dalmatian. He is "Frater Vincentius Priboeuius Pharius Dalmata" and in the text itself he says that he is "Dalmatian, therefore Illyrian, and finally Slav" ("Dalmata et proinde Illyrius ac demum Slauus").⁶⁰

Paschale calls his homeland Illyria; Kotor to him is one of the foremost Illyrian cities:

... (urbs) qua non praestantior ulla
Tollitur Hadriatici sinuoso in Littore ponti,
Virtutumque virumque ferax, quibus Illiris ora
Praecipuis longe ante alios se iactat alumnis.⁶¹

In another Latin poem he speaks of the "fines Illyrici", meaning the Gulf of Kotor. He addressed poems to and exchanged epistles with other Illyrians in places all along the coast. We know that he was in friendly relations with his fellow-citizens Albert Dulmi and Dinko Buća, with the Ragusan Clement Ranjina, with Hieronymus Brtučević from Hvar and with the gentlewoman Marča Grisogono from Zadar. But the most distinguished among his correspondents was the famous poet Hannibal Lucić from the island of Hvar. In his canzone "Spirto beato e santo" dedicated to Lucić, Paschale praises Lucić's Croatian poems which he calls Dalmatian and says that even the best Italian poet (from Italy!) will feel envious when he hears the charming sound of Lucić's "new Dalmatian lyre":

Nè fia d'invidia scarco
Qual più nel dir si loda
Fraquanto l'Appenin soggetto mira,
Qualhor (e in dir son parco)
Il suon leggiadro s'oda
Della tua nuova Dalmatina lira
Che tanta gratia spira
Ne' suoi soavi accenti...

Paschale implicitly makes a nice distinction between himself, an Illyrian poet writing in Italian, and the Italian poets proper who live in the shade of the Apennines. So we see that despite

⁶⁰ Vinko Pribojević, *O podrijetlu i zgodama Slavena* (ed. G. Novak). Latin text and Croat translation (by V. Gortan). Zagreb, Yugoslav Academy, 1951, p. 58. The discourse was delivered at Hvar in 1525; it was first printed at Venice in 1532.

⁶¹ *Ludovici Pascalis... et aliorum illustrium poetarum Carmina Venetiis*, 1551.

his Italian name and although he wrote exclusively in Italian and Latin, Paschale was an Illyrian and felt as such.⁶²

After this long but unavoidable digression let us return to Lodge and Shakespeare. Everyone knows, of course, that Lodge's romance *Rosalynde, Euphues Golden Legacie* (1590), "fetcht from the Canaries", provided Shakespeare with the plot of *As You Like It*. It is perhaps less well known that Lodge's *Scillaes Metamorphosis* (1589), reissued in 1610 as *Glaucus and Scilla*, "is sometimes cited as a forerunner of (Shakespeare's) *Venus and Adonis*";⁶³ as a matter of fact, most critics consider it as a prototype of Shakespeare's work. Some go even further. "From Lodge", says Dr. M. C. Bradbrook, "Shakespeare adopted melodic variety, an interest in the pastoral setting."⁶⁴ And, which is here more to the point, Shakespeare seems to have known also *A Margarite of America*. Professor G. B. Harrison, in his Introduction to Lodge's romance, which he edited together with Robert Greene's *Menaphon*, says: "*A Margarite of America* is perhaps the best of Lodge's fanciful works, though not so well known as *Rosalynde*, which has been more studied because it was the original source of Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, and has therefore suffered somewhat from unfair competition. Yet it is likely that Shakespeare was familiar with *A Margarite of America* too, since several reminiscences from it occur in his plays which seem to be too close to be coincidence. Protomachus' farewell counsels to Arsinous (pp. 129—132) are very similar to the "few precepts" which Polonius bestows upon Laertes, and the poem *Humanae Miseriae Discursus* (page 120) taken with *Arsadachus'* remorseful groan, 'True it is that Plutarch saith that life is a stage play which euen to the last hath no decorum', seem to be echoed in 'All the world's a stage'.⁶⁵

If Shakespeare was familiar with *A Margarite of America*, as he seems to have been since there are traces of it in *Hamlet* and in *As You Like It*, he must have read Paschale's sonnet "Tutte le stelle . . ." in Lodge's English version which is included in it. And if his interest in Lodge was such as to leave in his own plays and poems traces of three of Lodge's works, it is very likely that he was acquainted also with Lodge's sonnet-sequence *Phyllis* which, as we have seen, contains three more of Paschale's sonnets in Lodge's translation. And so, with a

⁶² J. Torbarina, *Kotoranin Ludovik Paskvali u engleskoj književnosti*. Hrvatska Revija, 1934/VII, No 7. pp. 337—346. I have since learnt that Paschale belonged to the clan of the Paskovići from Muo in the Boka Kotorska, and that Pasković was the original Slav form of his surname.

⁶³ F. T. Prince in his Introduction to *The Poems*, The New Arden Shakespeare, 1960, p. XXX, note 2.

⁶⁴ *Shakespeare and Elizabethan Poetry*, London 1951, p. 62.

⁶⁵ O. c., p. XII.

little trouble, it should not be very difficult to discover some mediately reverberated echo of Paschale's "Dalmatian lyre" in the *Sonnets* of the Swan of Avon.

So this was Illyria. I wished to say a few words about its culture, about its music, painting and poetry in the 16th century in order to show that it was not a place fit to harbour only pirates and drunkards of the type of Sir Toby and Sir Andrew, but that on the contrary it could provide a suitable home for Olivia and Viola, for Sebastian and the Duke Orsino.

As a complement to this account, from *Twelfth Night* we learn a few more data about the Illyrians. We hear, implicitly and indirectly, that they were tall (I. 3. 21), that they delighted in masques and revels (I. 3. 126), that they liked dancing of all kinds (I. 3. 133), that their women were witty (I. 5. 30) and that in fighting they were "skilful, bloody and fatal opposites" (III. 4. 296-298). Of course, in this field we have to proceed very carefully, for all these things apply as much to Shakespeare's contemporaries in England as to the Illyrians of *Twelfth Night*. It would therefore not be wise, for instance, to deduce from the Duke's beautiful lines about

The spinsters and the knitters in the sun,
And the free maids that weave their thread with bones
(II. 4. 43-44)

that Shakespeare was thinking here of sunny Dalmatia or even that he must have visited Illyria, for we can well imagine women spinning and knitting and weaving bone-lace out of doors on a warm summer day in England. I am more inclined to detect a faint Illyrian local colour in the mountains and caves mentioned by Olivia when she upbraids Sir Toby who is, in her opinion,

Fit for the mountains and the barbarous caves,
Where manners ne'er were preached! (IV. 1. 48-49)

But we must not exaggerate, for the setting of all Shakespeare's plays, when we come down to brass tacks, is England and, as I mentioned before, all his characters are essentially English. I may repeat here once more E. F. C. Ludowyk's remark that "it is clear from the names of characters . . . and places . . . (in *Twelfth Night*) that contemporary England was as much in Shakespeare's mind as was Illyria";⁶⁶ but if we turn his phrase around, that means that Illyria was as much in Shakespeare's mind as was contemporary England; and that is good enough for me. Yes, Sir Toby Belch and Sir Andrew Aguecheek are English, the Elephant Inn and St Bennet's

⁶⁶ See note 7.

Church are in England, but once at least in the play Shakespeare explicitly wishes to convey the impression that we actually are in Illyria. Mentioning the famous "bed of Ware" he thinks fit to add that it is "in England" (III. 2. 43); in other words, the characters of the play are not in England. But, to quote E. F. C. Ludowyk again, "elsewhere he does not seem to have troubled to remind the audience that the play is set in Illyria";⁶⁷ he is not so careful when he speaks about the Elephant "in the south suburbs" or about "the bells of Saint Bennet".

Despite all this, there seems to be in the atmosphere of *Twelfth Night* something "more robustious" than in the other plays, something that distinguishes it, for example, from any of the Italian plays or, for that matter, from any other play in the canon. Being an Illyrian myself, I may be excused for having spent a little more time and space trying to prove that the setting of *Twelfth Night* is neither less nor more Illyrian than the setting of the "Italian plays" is Italian, and that it is not simply an airy nothing to which Shakespeare's pen has wantonly given the name of Illyria.

V. **Rome.** There are three Roman plays proper: *Julius Caesar*, *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Coriolanus*. To these may be added the somewhat spurious *Titus Andronicus* with its Goths and Aaron the Moor. In all these four plays Shakespeare is indebted to his sources perhaps more than in his other works. *Titus Andronicus* is mainly Senecan and Ovidian, but for the other three plays Shakespeare's principal source was Thomas North's version of Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* (1579) which he closely followed particularly in *Julius Caesar*. This fact is responsible for the more strongly felt Roman atmosphere in all three plays and for the local colour of the Egyptian scenes in *Antony and Cleopatra* with their pyramids, their crocodiles and serpents, especially "the serpent of old Nile".

VI. **The ancient world.** The four plays which I ventured to class under this heading (*The Comedy of Errors*, *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Timon of Athens*) are only vaguely and nominally set in the Ancient World. Troy, Athens and Ephesus are mere labels. In *The Comedy of Errors*, next to the sham Greek characters, we have "Balthazar, a merchant", "Angelo, a Goldsmith" and Pinch, that wonderful Elizabethan schoolmaster and conjurer. The Trojans and Greeks in *Troilus and Cressida*, the Athenians in *Timon of Athens* might belong to any nation. But the "Wood near Athens" in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* is a purely English wood, and so are the characters of the play; the courtiers are English, the Mechanicals are still more so, and even the Fairies belong to

⁶⁷ See his note to III. 2. 43 in his edition of the play (CUP, 1963).

the English countryside and to English folklore. But here both the English landscape and the English characters are presented in their universal nature so as to be acceptable to the whole world.

VII. **Immaginary lands.** In this section I should like to include three of the four romances: *Pericles*, *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest*: I exclude, a little reluctantly, *Cymbeline* because, as I have tried to show before, with regard to the setting it stands upon somewhat firmer British ground. From this point of view, as a compensation, I should like to include here *As You Like It*. If I am not mistaken, this is the only play where, at first at least, no place of action is mentioned. We are not told where Oliver's House is, or the Court of Duke Frederick, and we no more know where we are when we come to the Forest of Arden. Judging by the names of some of the characters (Amiens, Jacques, Le Beau) we might be in France. But what about Touchstone, Sir Oliver Martext, William and Audrey? With these characters we seem to be in England all right. In fact, the play seems to me to be more English than the Histories. It is much more so even than *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*. And that is perhaps why it appeals to audiences outside England much less.

As for *Pericles*, *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest*, when Shakespeare came to write them, "he was no longer concerned with historical drama or with comedy of intrigue but with the golden inconsequences of romance, which is a thing *per se*, existing in undefined dimensions of space and time, and is devoted, to the exclusion of more mundane affairs, to the adventures of princes and princesses, to the finding of long-lost children, to wizards and witches and hermits dwelling in desert places, to the righting of old wrongs and to the life that is happy ever after".⁶⁸

The "various countries" in which the action of *Pericles* is "dispersedly" set, are of the vaguest. So are Sicilia and Bohemia of *The Winter's Tale*; and so is "the Sea, with a Ship; and afterwards an uninhabited Island" of *The Tempest*. In all three plays we seem to be "at sea" in the real sense of the word. In *Pericles* we are all the time by the sea, while two of the scenes are set "on shipboard": in III. 1, after Gower's Prologue and the Dumb Show, "enter Pericles, on shipboard", and in V. 1 we are "On board Pericles' ship, off Mytilene". In *The Winter's Tale* Sicilia, of course, is an island, and even Bohemia had to have an exit to the sea. The nationality of the dramatis personae in these plays is far from being clearly defined. Of the main characters in *The Tempest*, for instance, some are Spanish-

⁶⁸ See J. M. Nosworthy's Introduction to *Cymbeline*, The New Arden Shakespeare, 1955, p. XXVI.

Neapolitan and some Milanese. But who thinks of Prospero as of an Italian? "Prospero," says J. M. Nosworthy in a different context, "is more effectively the hermit magician than the wronged Duke of Milan".⁶⁹ And where are we to place Ariel and Caliban?

With this view of the fairy-tale and fairy-land character of the Last Plays most critics agree. But a voice of dissent has very recently been raised with regard to *The Winter's Tale*. The latest edition of the play, according to the publisher's notice, "claims that *The Winter's Tale* is by no means the pure fantasy which it is sometimes said to be", and its editor, in his otherwise excellent study of the play, says that *The Winter's Tale* "has a much stronger element of realism than most critics seem to believe".⁷⁰ It would take too long to try and confute this view here, but I do want to raise a point which concerns the setting of the play and which seems to me to speak in favour of the fairy-land quality of *The Winter's Tale*.

From this point of view the play presents an interesting problem. I suggest that Shakespeare meant both "Bohemia" and "Sicilia" to be countries of the mind. At least as far as "Sicilia" is concerned this can be corroborated by a consideration of the use he makes of the names "Sicilia" and "Sicily". When he concretely means the island to the south of Italy, as he does in some of his plays, he uses the current geographical name Sicily; when he means an imaginary land, as he does in *The Winter's Tale*, he uses the name "Sicilia".

The fact that the form "Sicilia" is used throughout in Robert Greene's *Pandosto*, which is Shakespeare's main source, does not seem to make much difference. Had Shakespeare wished to give "Sicilia" a more concrete, a more realistic meaning, he would have changed it to Sicily, just as, for reasons best known to himself, he made Greene's King and Queen of Bohemia become monarchs of Sicilia, while Greene's King of Sicilia became King of Bohemia in *The Winter's Tale*, so that "events which take place in Sicilia in Greene, occur in Bohemia in Shakespeare, and vice versa".⁷¹ For Shakespeare's audiences, who were familiar with Greene's popular story, this must have increased still more the feeling of unreality of the setting. As if Shakespeare wished to say: "What does it matter where the scene is laid!" This exchange of localities may also be partly responsible for the sea-coast of Bohemia.

Outside *The Winter's Tale* Shakespeare mentions the Italian island once in *Titus Andronicus* (III. 1. 241) and four times in *Antony and Cleopatra* (II. 6.7, 35, 45; II. 6.24). In all five

⁶⁹ Ibidem, p. XLV.

⁷⁰ See J. H. P. Pafford's edition of the play, The New Arden Shakespeare, 1963, p. LXVII.

⁷¹ Ibidem, p. XXIX.

cases it is called Sicily. The only apparent exception is "Sicilia" in 2 *Henry VI* (I. 1. 48); but this is a solemn proclamation of peace read by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, who is introduced by the Duke of Suffolk. Suffolk says:

Here are the articles of contracted peace
Between our sovereign and the French King Charles,
(I. 1. 40—41)

and then Gloucester reads the document, mentioning "Reignier King of Naples, Sicilia, and Jerusalem".

In *The Winter's Tale* the place is always called "Sicilia". In this form the name occurs ten times in the scene-headings and twelve times in the text of the play, five in prose passages and seven in verse. In three of these cases the name has the meaning of "the king of Sicilia". In one only instance the form "Sicily" is employed, but then it is required by the rhythm of the line:

Let what is dear in Sicily be cheap. (I. 2. 175)

In another case, counted above with the rest, "Sicilia" is used in the First Folio text, although "Sicily" would suit the metre much better:

Nor shall appear in Sicilia. (IV. 4. 590)

In the later Folios this had been changed to:

Nor shall appear in Sicily,

but "Sicilia" has been restored in most modern editions.

I am convinced that this consistent and almost exclusive use of "Sicilia" in *The Winter's Tale* is not accidental and that Shakespeare intentionally wished to emphasize the difference between the real Italian island and the fabulous setting of his play. This, of course, does not preclude the realistic depicting of characters in a fantastic setting; nor can realism or the lack of realism be considered a merit or demerit in itself.

It has been my aim implicitly to show that the accuracy in the depiction of the place of action, no matter how differentiated, has no relevant bearing or the intrinsic artistic value of a particular play. But this, however, has affected its popularity outside England. It is a fact, for example, that the Histories, with their national characteristics and their realistic scene laid in England, are not popular in other countries; the only possible exception is *Richard III*, by no means the best of the Histories. But apart from *Richard III* there are much better plays among the Histories than is, for instance, *The Taming of the Shrew*, a very popular play indeed on the Continent of Europe and in America.

The popularity of a play is not in proportion to the realism of its setting. In fact it is the indistinct nature of Hamlet's

Denmark, Othello's vague Venice, and still vaguer Cyprus, Lear's ancient Britain and Macbeth's Scotland that have caught the popular imagination of the world. Of course, these four plays represent Shakespeare's highest achievement in tragedy, but the same applies to other dramas, especially to the "Italian plays", to *Romeo and Juliet* and *The Merchant of Venice* which are set in an imaginary Italy as seen by those who have never seen it. It applies also to *Twelfth Night*, a great favourite even outside England, for slightly different reasons.

No matter where the scene of his plays was laid Shakespeare could not help creating English characters, but his greatness lies in the fact that he invested them with general human characteristics giving them an aspect of universality which made them acceptable to people of all races and nationalities. Neither could he help placing his characters in an English setting, no matter where the scene of the play was nominally laid. Despite all this we often find Shakespeare making an effort to evoke a local colour in some of his plays laid in outlandish settings. This effort is greater and more successful in some plays than in others, but it is always conscious and made to suit the specific artistic atmosphere of the play. That is why Illyria of *Twelfth Night* is more real and realistic than either Sicilia or Bohemia of *The Winter's Tale*. Briefly, I tried to show that in laying the scene of his plays in definite places, Shakespeare knew what he was doing and that in this respect there was more method in his madness than is generally supposed.

APPENDIX

As an illustration of Illyrian activities in Shakespeare's London here is, printed for the first time from an apparent autograph preserved among the manuscripts of the British Museum, the text of a petition addressed by Nikola Gučetić-Gozze, a Ragusan merchant residing in London in the latter part of the 16th century, to the Lord High Treasurer of England. Unfortunately the document is undated but we can safely make a fair guess that it belongs to the last decade of the 16th century. If we knew that it was composed by Gučetić himself, this would be the earliest known document written in English by a Yugoslav.

To the Righte Honorable the Lord High Treasurer of England

In moste humble manner complayninge showeth to your honor your suppliant Nicholas de Gozzi so it is (right honorable) that not longe sittens a freinde of your suppliant's did sende unto hamborrowe a small case contayninge forty five pounce waighte of Venice golde and

siluer to be transported from thens to him heere in london, which was there deliured (as appeareth) unto one Robert Surtis, pursser of a shipp called the Fancy of London, who brought the same to this towne, but either brought no letters therewith, which is verrie unlikely and not used, or elles concealed the same from your suppliant, and without his knowledge did bringe the same *ouer lande uncustomed*, with intent (as your suppliant greatlie doubteth) to detayne the same to his owne use, or elles by *compactinge* with one *Clement Bankes* his neighbour, an *informer*, to make the same to be forfeited for that the said Bankes hath *seazed* theruppon which your suppliant greatlie feareth to be a practize betweene them for that the men are both of badd condicions and have bothe practized as badd or farre warse matters to the great losse and preiudice of diuers as shalbe proved. After which seizure so made, the said pursser, takinge the marke which was uppon the said case, went very cunynglie to enquire among diuers marchantes to whome the same shoulde be consigned; uppon the sighte of which marke, and by letters which your suppliant did receive shortly after, he did then firste knowe, that they shoulde comme consigned to him. Maie it therefore please your good Lordshipp, consideringe your suppliant's Innocency in this behalf, to cause the said goulde and siluer to be discharged and deliured to him, payinge her Maiestie's customes, and other dueties for the same, and that suche strickt examynacion be had of this lewde and trecherous practize and suche due punishment inflicted uppon the offender as shalbe thought meete, that others, beinge feared by their example, may abstaine from the like badd and ravenous devises; for this sinister practize may be suffered, all merchants may be preiudiced, their letters concealed, their goodes landed without custome seized uppon and forfeited, and they consequentlie undone, wherof may it please your good Lordshipp to have tender consideracion. And your suppliant shalbe bounde to pray for the prosperous estate of your good Lordshipp in honnours, health and happines longe to contynew.