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<td>Author</td>
<td>高橋, 勇(Takahashi, Isamu)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Publisher</td>
<td>慶應義塾大学藝文学会</td>
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<td>Publication year</td>
<td>2000</td>
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Frailty, thy Name Is Human: 
The Tragic Quality of Reginald Heber’s *Morte D’Arthur*

Isamu Takahashi

The nineteenth century was the period in which the Arthurian legend, for the first time since the Middle Ages, enjoyed a considerable popularity in Britain, and the literary achievements of the King undoubtedly culminated in the works of Alfred Tennyson. Although it was he who, with his own talent and vigour, wove the various Arthurian materials available to him into the most coherent and consistent epic on a grand scale for a modern age, it has been proved that he did not pioneer the subject; Tennyson already had ample resources to depend upon. In the latter half of the eighteenth century arose the so-called Arthurian revival, which gradually developed, and there appeared a number of allusions to the matter of Britain in the succeeding century.\(^1\) Reginald Heber (1783-1826), a clergyman and later the Bishop of Calcutta, was an Arthurian writer of that period. Half brother of the renowned book collector Richard Heber, he had close relations with such fathers of the medieval revival as Walter Scott and Robert Southey, and shared with them enthusiasm for medieval literature. He left two Arthurian pieces, both of which were to be published posthumously in his biography by his widow Amelia Heber.\(^2\) While one, a poetic drama entitled *The Masque of Gwendolen*, was based upon a comparatively minor tale of Sir Gawain and the Loathly Lady,\(^3\) he intended the other to be a ‘sort of epic poem’,\(^4\) coming to grips with the Malorian mainstream of the —274—
legend. The poem, *Morte D'Arthur* (abbreviated below to *Morte*), fragmentary as it is, examines human weakness and short-sightedness which sow the seeds of unexpected doom, focusing on the triangular love affair of Arthur, Ganora (the name Heber employs for Guenever), and Lancelot. In *Marte* has, on the whole, received favourable appreciation though always with some limitations. Above all, Heber has been credited with the first serious treatment of the Arthurian legend in the several post-medieval centuries. Before and around the time Heber composed the poem, few writers alluded to authentic Arthurian stories, and none attempted to deal with them as their main subject. M. W. MacCallum in as early as 1894 commented that Heber 'is entitled to the credit, and it is great, of having been the first in these latter days who seriously treated the Round Table and the death of Arthur as subject for an heroic poem', a remark with which Theodore I. Reese agreed.

Not only Heber's reverence for the legend but his depiction of the characters in *Morte* has also been much praised, extracting from Reese, for example, a laudatory appreciation that he was 'the first to take the "nineteenth century" approach of examining Ganora as a woman and a psychological study of a woman under stress'. In other words, Heber explored the psychological description of his dramatis personae, as Beverly Taylor and Elisabeth Brewer have noted: 'Heber must be credited for endowing his characters with a psychological complexity not found in earlier nineteenth-century British Arthurian works.' James Douglas Merriman is another who gives a favourable appraisal.
of Heber's characterisation, though from a slightly different angle: he estimates \textit{Morte} highly for its retaining the triangular love affair, considering that 'the true greatness of the Arthurian cycle lay precisely within the already established relationships of its characters and stories'.\textsuperscript{(10)} Merriman, like Taylor and Brewer, thus concludes that \textit{Morte} anticipated the later treatments of the legend by Tennyson or Morris.\textsuperscript{(11)}

The literary merit of \textit{Morte} as a whole, however, has been given far less praise than its priority and characterisation. Criticisms are laid against the poem's seeming lack of a thematic point, which was obscured in the course of Heber's regularising the medieval story. Particularly intolerable to the critics is his tendency to subtract immoral and supernatural elements from the original story. MacCallum harshly says that Heber was drawn to the Arthurian story 'for its romantic colouring; not [...] for its tragic and still less for its mystical and symbolic qualities'.\textsuperscript{(12)} Without the mythically important supernatural elements, in Merriman's opinion, 'all that was left were the harmless (and trivial) thrills of such fairy-tale magic as enchantments, spells, and transformations — the mere gimmickry — or “machinery” — of the supernatural'; and, without the immoral elements in the relationship between Lancelot and Ganora, 'the fierce tragedy of the old myth is converted to a bittersweet tale of star-crossed lovers, a sentimental epic of bad conscience'.\textsuperscript{(13)} Although Reese alone appreciates the tragic quality of \textit{Morte} briefly,\textsuperscript{(14)} the piece is generally regarded as 'nothing more than a good story, a readable work which lacks the substance necessary for real distinction', or, at most, 'the best effort up to 1830'.\textsuperscript{(15)}

The 'best' of pre-Tennysonian Arthurian works begins, after a brief introduction by the narrator, with the wedding ceremony at Pentecost of King Arthur and Ganora, who has been raised as a village maid but
is actually, unbeknownst to the others, the daughter of King Ladugan. She is sadly enduring the occasion: although she had fallen in love with a forester called Cadwal during her village life in Derwent, he had left her some seven years before; she therefore has determined to forget her early love and honour the splendid marriage to the peerless King. All of a sudden, a white hind breaks into the feast, pursued by a beautiful huntress. Even though she warns Ganora of future disaster and advises her to kill the hind, her 'fiercest foe' (1. 47), Ganora mercifully protects the prey.

In the next canto, we are informed that the hind is a disguised form of Morgue, Arthur's sister, who became the 'goblin leader of a goblin crew' after Arthur, in order to end the 'unpermitted love' of his sister and her lowborn lover, had slain the latter (II. 27 and 25). Now she is at court, and during the night resumes her human form to plot the destruction of Arthur for the sake of Modred, her son by the murdered lover. He desires not only Arthur's throne but also his bride, who had been promised him by Morgue. On the morning following the nuptial celebration, the adventure of Balin commences with the arrival of a damsel seeking the knight who is able to unsheathe her father's enchanted sword, thus proving himself to be destined to regain her usurped land. After a series of failures by the King and the knights, Balin successfully draws the sword and leaves court with the damsel. Canto III relates how Ganora, forty days after the wedding, wanders into a chapel, which safeguards the 'three-times hallowed Grayle' (III. 15), and recognises in the mural paintings a likeness of her beloved Cadwal. Above his image are the arms and name of Sir Lancelot, the 'most dear' to the King (1. 26). After raving at his desertion of her and then recovering her composure through prayer, she later learns from court damsels that Lancelot disdains all ladies of the court, nursing a love for an unknown rustic maiden said to live in Derwent. At this
discovery the fragment breaks off.

As could be easily understood from the summary above, Heber excluded most immoral or heinous elements from his narrative. Arthur’s mysterious birth is never mentioned; Modred is made the son of Morgue by her earlier lover, not begot by the incestuous relationship between Arthur and Margawse; Balin does not refuse to return the sword to the damsel; and, most importantly to the structure of the poem, Ganora and Lancelot fell in love long before she marries Arthur. Since it forms the main part of the narrative, Ganora and Lancelot’s early love has invited some particular attention. The ‘excuse’ for them (as MacCallum calls it) makes the legendary story into, in Merriman’s words as already quoted, ‘a bittersweet tale of star-crossed lovers, a sentimental epic of bad conscience’. (17) This alteration is seen, with the sole exception of Reese, more or less as a defect in the poem; and it is unanimously explained in terms of ‘moralisation’. (18) Yet this generally convincing interpretation overlooks another element introduced into the poem by Ganora’s early love: namely, her loveless marriage to the King.

While the ‘Logrian king’ was greatly delighted in leading Ganora to the nuptial celebration, as ‘love’s ascendant planet rul’d the hour’ (1. 7 and 8), she is so distressed, cherishing a love for Cadwal-Lancelot, that

The chaunted anthem’s heaven-ascending sound
Her spirit moved not with its sacred swell;
And, all in vain, from twenty steeples round
Crash’d with sonorous din the festive bell;
Upon her tranced ear in vain it fell!
As little mark’d she, that the monarch’s tongue
Would oft of love in courtly whisper tell;

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While from the castle bridge a minstrel throng,
To many a gilded harp attuned the nuptial song. (1. 14)

Thus the future sorrows are foreboded from the beginning of the narrative, Ganora conceiving no lover’s affection for her bridegroom. Although, however, ‘fate compelled her from her tended sheep, | In Arthur’s kingly bower to wear a crown and weep’ according to the narrator (1. 11), she was by no means ‘compelled’ to wed Arthur. Her resolution to forget her beloved, who appears to have abandoned her seven years before, provides a reason for this undesired marriage. But a further reason is given, slight and passing though it may seem, which the poet seems to have regarded as a general cause for human wrongdoings.

Hearing Arthur, who misunderstands her tears, consoling her, Ganora inwardly chides herself: ‘rein the troublous thoughts so far that rove: | Faithless or dead, he little needs thy care […] ; | Then turn to him who claims thy plighted love’ (1. 32). One did not need her while the other does; she has therefore chosen a person who encourages her self-respect, that is, her pride. This might appear innocent, just as she appears later in the narrative:

Pleased she beheld, whose unacquainted eye
   Found in each varying scene a pleasure new.
   Nor yet had pomp fatigued her sated view,
   Nor custom palled the gloss of royalty.
   Like some gay child a simple bliss she drew
   From every gaud of feudal pageantry,
   And every broider’d Garb that swept in order by. (III. 8)

(120) — 269 —
Reese indeed states that ‘[w]hat pride she has is harmless: pride in being chosen by the great King, in her conscientious attempts to serve the King who dotes on her, and in the success of these efforts’. But it seems more fitting to interpret this satisfaction of hers as meaning that Ganora, ‘a village maid, who rank nor splendour knew’, has learnt a secular vanity; for she comes to feel proud of the power she wields over the mighty King:

She was belov'd; for well the fair might know
How that stern heart was fixed on her alone,
When, melted all in love's delirious flow,
The vanquish'd victor at her feet was thrown;
And she was inly vain to feel such power her own. (iii. 5)

Her feeling here is well in accord with that shown at the wedding feast in the first canto cited above, and, moreover, this can also be seen as an expression of Heber's view of what may be called 'womanly pride'.

Heber provides a similar situation in another of his Arthurian pieces, The Masque of Gwendolen, which features a Welsh lady Gwendolen courted by Kay, Dagonet, and Merlin, none of whom will ever succeed in gaining her heart. At the beginning of the work Gwendolen is depicted as a haughty young girl who scornfully laughs at her doters:

Am I blam'd
For others madness? What if I am fair
And what if fools have eyes to gaze withal?
Should their rank folly make me miserable?
Or should I chain this laughing countenance
In frowns and rigour? […]

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(121)
They are not fools alone who doat on me [...]. (fol. 4r)

And, she continues, she would plague Merlin, the mighty magician, by dallying with him. It makes her laugh 'To mark his formal courtesies, his sighs, | His wordy flattery, and what wreathed smiles | Ripple his hideous visage' (fol. 4r). Later in the story, when she finally refuses Merlin's request that she should be his wife, she develops this remark:

I own my folly, with remorse I own it,
Which play'd with such a suitor; but mine ears
Drank in thy wisdom, and it soothed my pride
To see the powers of magic tamed for me,
And the strong features of a face like thine
Relaxing in my presence! (fol. 9r-9v; i, p. 450)

This shows a striking resemblance to the 'vain' feelings of Ganora, even though there is a great difference between their attitudes towards the suitors: rejection and acceptance. Besides, their dalliance without a sincere affection will invite a subsequent calamity on themselves and/or their country, for Gwendolen is transfigured into an ugly shape by the angered Merlin's spell. Such dire results of the 'pride' of the fair, Heber succinctly predicts in another poem:

Shame on her whose pride or malice
With a lover's anguish dallies!
Scorn our scatter'd reason rallies:
Thou shalt mourn thy tyrant sallies,
Ere that thou art old [...] !([21])

(122) — 267 —
As his elder friend Scott does when relating a story concerned with the King, Heber, in his Arthurian poems, certainly assigns to the female protagonists' pride a considerable importance as the very causes of their future misery.

Pride, though named as one of the Seven Deadly Sins, is, for Heber, neither a vice nor a sin in itself, however. In 1805, soon after taking his Oxford BA degree, he gained the University Bachelor's Prize for an English prose essay entitled 'A Sense of Honour', which was recited at Oxford on 26 June, 1805. In the essay is developed, inevitably immature and pompous as it seems, a speculation on the nature and utility of a 'sense of honour', which, he argues, is dependent on 'that sort of educated self-love which, when excessive, we stigmatize by the name of pride, as we do its opposite extreme by the reproach of meanness'.

The habit of educated self-love, or the habit of self-respect as he puts it otherwise, 'is productive of very remarkable and advantageous effects on the human mind', and it is therefore 'necessary to train up youth to the desire of praise, and teach them to feel the luxury of self-approbation'; for such praise and external distinctions inform us that 'we are justified in entertaining high thoughts of ourselves, and may reasonably expect from the world that love, that reverence, and all those other advantages which we are taught to consider as the peculiar birthright of merit'. Then he declares that this is honour, which 'is a pleasurable reflection on our own merit, occasioned by the knowledge of our claim on the love and reverence of the world'.

His approval for the utility of a sense of honour is, of course, not without condition: it should be 'well directed' because it must occasionally happen, that by a faulty, or too narrow perception of utility, the stream of honour may be poisoned at its
very source, and a local or mistaken interest preferred to the broad principles of general justice and expediency. [...]  

If we were only roused to action by the prospect of immediate gratification, and the pressure of immediate pain, virtue alike and enterprise were at an end. We see it daily and hourly in those in whom the faculty we are now discussing is faint or extinguished. Their views are short and indistinct; their hopes and wishes grovelling; their actions without vigour; and the whole system of their energies paralyzed by a sullen and indolent content.  

With all its danger, self-respect is, he asserts, still indispensable to human beings since, 'in the weakness and short-sightedness of human nature, we cannot but discover the force and utility of this species of auxiliary impulse of which the motive is always at hand, and which derives a never-failing influence from the very consciousness of our own existence'. He accordingly concludes at the end of the essay that '[a]s an auxiliary impulse it may be allowed; as a final object never'.  

Heber's concept of the good and bad aspects of self-respect is perfectly in concordance not only with the descriptions of his female protagonists but with those of others in Morte. When Balin endeavours to draw the enchanted sword, 'Dawn'd on his hollow cheek a martial pride, | And the dark smile of warrior extacy | Across his care-worn visage seem'd to glide' (II. 53). It is scarcely deniable that these lines present something ominous about the self-respect of Balin, who was probably intended by Heber to undertake a disastrous adventure just as Malory relates. Even the victorious King Arthur, much nobler than the captive knight 'with a settl'd smile of calm disdain' (II. 55), affords brief glimpses of his 'pride for pride's sake' in having the fair Ganora, 'that
beauteous flower', as his bride and in maintaining the society of the Round Table as his 'band of liegemen true' (1. 8 and 24). Also, having tried seven times to unsheathe the spellbound blade in vain, 'Arthur back the charmed steel restor'd | And turn'd with sullen scowl his eyes away' (II. 46). Their somewhat 'dark' self-respect is certainly not without basis, but it should have been, we might conclude from Heber's arguments above, well directed and pointed towards a virtuous end.

It must be emphasised again that Heber thought it useful and necessary for human beings to have self-respect, and that pride is for him merely its excess. To be sure, he admits that there is only one motive deserving the name of virtue: religion. At the same time, however, he, perhaps pertinently to a son for a lord of the manor, accepts the secular way of life, saying, 'to condemn as illegal or impious every other desire or principle, would be in opposition to all the wants and feelings of mankind'.

He understood 'the weakness and short-sightedness of human nature' well even in his twenties, and presumably much better in his thirties after a decade of clerical life. It seems that in his poetry, the causes of any wrongdoings are not simply attributed to human evilness. Each character in Morte has reasonable motives for his/her deeds, but they are miserably destined to lead to a tragic end.

Thus Ganora makes up her mind to protect the wounded hind, almost heroically, only to allow the 'fiercest enemy' into court. Having heard the dark prophecy about her future from the huntress, Ganora sits with 'Her milk-white arms around the quarry spread' and 'Then rais'd to Heaven her eyes of mildest blue, | And to her cheek return'd a dawning red, | As, with collected soul, she bow'd herself and said' (1. 8):

And I can suffer! let the storm descend;
Let on this helpless head the thunder break;
Yet, excercis'd in grief, yet, God to friend,
I can endure the worst for mercy’s sake! (1. 9)

There would be no denying that this is a merciful, well-intentioned decision in itself, but it brings eventual benefits for Morgue, who, in turn, has a very understandable reason for her enmity against the King. It is not only because of Arthur killing her lover but also because of her maternal, if dark, affection towards Modred: ‘O thou, for whom of mortal things alone, | Unthankful as thou art, yet ever dear, | My soul bends downwards from its cloudy zone, | And on mine elfin cheek a mortal tear | Warm lingering, tells me of the times that were!’ (Π. 19). Again, though maternal love itself is not accusable, Morgue’s strong will has been misdirected to an evil end, making her son feel miserable about his past, present, and future. The same kind of situation, where an honourable act proves to be a plain error, is shown when Arthur, after the departure of the hunting troop which has pursued the hind into the wedding feast, utters challenging words against the assumed enemy Morgue:

“Sister!” he spake, (half utter’d, half represt,
From his shut teeth the sullen accents stole ;)
“And deem’st thou, sister, that thine arts unblest
Can tame the settled bent of Arthur’s soul?
No; let the stars their fiery circles roll;
Let dreams of woe disturb the prophet’s breast;
Can these, or those, the warrior’s will controul?
’Tis chance, ’tis errour all! — Oh, trusted best!
Be thou mine omen, sword! I reck not of the rest!” (1. 55)
Yet, as he is entirely unaware of the hind being his sister herself, his seemingly lofty, heroic oath a little comically degenerates into a pointless boast. Nevertheless, it is certainly not his fault to fail to discover Morgue’s disguise since he is a mere human, however victorious and virtuous he might be.

In Heber’s Arthurian world, what is innocent or understandable in its original intention thus may lead to unexpected evils or wrongdoings, due to the weakness and short-sightedness of human nature. Pride in particular, viewed as a form of self-respect, is given an ambivalent evaluation unlike the biblical saying that ‘[p]ride goeth before destruction, and an haughty spirit before a fall’. While self-respect is a necessary and useful impulse for weak and myopic humans, it must be carefully guided by the will to be virtuous; the same weakness and myopia, however, often lead them astray from the path to virtue; and misdirected self-respect — pride — can yield a disastrous result. This idea also offers a clue to the absence in Heber’s stories of an ultimate origin of evil like Satan. Though Morgue, ‘an elfin grey’ (ll. 21), in Morte and Merlin, a ‘Spawn of a demon’ (fol. 4r), in The Masque of Gwendolen both appear to be the causes of the tragedies in the respective poems, they have their own reasons and motives for their deeds and are not presented as embodiments of evil. Heber’s conviction of God’s absolute superiority to evil probably plays a certain role in these characterisations. In the sublunary world, where humans bring about tragedies upon themselves, each person makes his/her choice or decision, unable to know the results. This human condition seemed to him to be the cause of the tragedies of the Arthurian legend, less passionate and more abstract as it is than that in Malory; and his point of view, we could conclude, brought him to the much praised psychological description of his characters: he could not help examining the very
causes of human (mis)deeds. In this way, the long celebrated and the long neglected aspects of his Arthurian poems — the characterisation and the moralisation — must be considered together if we are to appreciate the literary value of Heber's *Morte D'Arthur* properly.

Notes

I would like to express my profound gratitude to Dr Roger Simpson of University of East Anglia, who has long encouraged me and provided a number of helpful suggestions. My sincere thanks also go to Professor William Snell of Keio University, whom I have asked time and again to read my drafts and give me his insightful comments. I am very grateful to Professor Toshiyuki Takamiya of Keio University for allowing me to utilise the manuscript of *The Masque of Gwendolen* in his possession, without which my study on Heber would never have even commenced.


(3) *Fragments of the Masque of Gwendolen* is included in Amelia Heber, *Morte D'Arthur: A Fragment*, in Amelia Heber, *Poetical Works of Reginald Heber* (London: Murray, 1841), pp. 203–21. As this title indicates, the work was published fragmentarily, but there exists a complete manuscript, which is now in the possession of Professor Toshiyuki Takamiya, Keio University. Mrs Heber reports that this work was composed in 1816 for a Christmas entertainment (1, p. 448).


(5) *Morte D'Arthur: A Fragment*, in Amelia Heber, *Poetical Works*, pp. 145–202. Although Mrs Heber says that this work was begun around 1812, it is a possibility that a long poem mentioned...
in his letter of 1810 is *Morte*. In 1815 he seems to have been continuing its composition, but it had been abandoned by 1819. See Amelia Heber, 1, pp. 366, 372, 426, and 504.


(8) Reese, p. 117.

(9) Taylor and Brewer, p. 62.

(10) Merriman, p. 167.

(11) Merriman, p. 173; and Taylor and Brewer, p. 62.

(12) MacCallum, p. 189.

(13) Merriman, p. 170.

(14) He calls the poem ‘a most interesting and effective interpretation of Arthurian tragedy’ (p. 118) and sums up the misfortunes of Ganora, who is ‘a young girl, innocent of any conscious wrongdoing, caught in a web of circumstances which will destroy all happiness for herself, her lover, her husband, and her country’ (p. 117).

(15) Taylor and Brewer, pp. 63 and 60.

(16) All the references to the poem here are taken from the text in Mrs Heber’s biography, using canto and stanza number.

(17) MacCallum, p. 190; and Merriman, p. 170.

(18) Simpson, who deliberately remains detached from an evaluation of individual poems, also places the Heber poem in the context of the early-nineteenth-century reference to the Launcelot and Guenever affair, where their adulterous relationship is ‘muted, satirical or disapproving’. See Simpson, pp. 205–06.

(19) Reese, p. 111.

(20) *The Masque of Gwendolen* is cited from the Takamiya manuscript by folio number followed by page number in Mrs Heber’s biography in the case that the part is published there.
(21) 'To a Welch Air: "Codiad yr Hydod"', in Poetical Works, p. 303 (II. 7-11).

(22) In The Bridal of Triermain (1813) is described Gyneth, Arthur's haughty daughter by an elfin lady Guendolen, bringing about misfortunes upon both the knights of the Round Table and herself. Moreover, the whole story is framed by a song by a minstrel named Arthur, who is reproving Lucy for shunning his love because of her pride. Walter Scott, The Bridal of Triermain; or, the Vale of St. John: A Lover's Tale, in The Poems and Plays of Sir Walter Scott, Everyman's Library, 550 and 551, 2 vols (London: Dent, 1911), II, pp. 240-92.

(23) This essay is included in Mrs Heber's biography, II, pp. 587-601, where she indicates the year of the recital as 1801. She, however, quotes a letter describing the last days of Heber's university career at Oxford which says that '[t]he year after he had taken his degree, he, almost of course, gained the university's bachelor's prize for the English prose essay' (I, p. 41). See also George Smith, Bishop Heber, Poet and Chief Missionary to the East, Second Lord Bishop of Calcutta, 1783-1826 (London: Murray, 1900), pp. 26 and 352.


(30) 'A Sense of Honour', II, p. 593.

(31) Proverbs 16. 18.

(32) He condemns Byron for his Manichean dualism which juxtaposes God and the Devil equally, though deliberately distinguishing the gloomy Byronic theology from the genuine Manichean concept of good and evil. See his review of Byron's poems in Quarterly Review, 27 (July 1822), 476-524, which is reprinted with some omissions in