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- <sup>1</sup> In 1899 Sir Edmund Antrobus who had recently inherited Stonehenge and the land around it, put the monument up for sale. In the campaign to try to buy it for the nation Hardy's support was enlisted because of its prominence in one of the closing scenes of *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*. He agreed to be interviewed and a reporter from *The Daily Chronicle* was sent down to Dorchester to meet the author at Max Gate. Hardy had always had a keen interest in the archaeology of Wessex, and when the foundations of his house were being dug three skeletons were discovered. In 1884 he gave a paper to the Dorchester and Antiquarian Field Club in which he said he believed that these were Roman in origin. He was actually mistaken, and their true origins were only revealed in 1986 when excavations were conducted near Max Gate for the Dorchester by-pass (see Bellamy 46). The findings were startling. Max Gate was discovered to lie almost at the centre of a late iron-age henge whose dimensions almost exactly matched those of Stonehenge, and the skeletons discovered in Hardy's garden dated from about 3,000 BC. The space under Max Gate has never been excavated, but in an irony that Hardy would have appreciated, he wrote his account of *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* at his desk poised above numerous undiscovered prehistoric burial pits. In 1891, however, he discovered in his garden something that might have given him another clue to the existence of this subterranean henge. It was a large sarsen stone buried three feet down in the earth and which he brought to the surface and placed in his garden. He called this the "Druid Stone" and it later featured in the poem "The Shadow on the Stone". "I went by the Druid stone," he wrote, "That broods in the garden white and lone" (Hardy 1976, 530). But the fact that he called it "The Druid Stone" suggests that it was associated in his mind with Stonehenge. When he was interviewed by *The Daily Chronicle* he offered no opinion about the origins of the monument but said that he delighted in the "state of

dim conjecture" (Hardy 1967, 200) surrounding its history and purpose, including, of course, that it had played a part in Druidic rites of human sacrifice. In the interview Hardy expressed architectural and engineering opinions about the monument, carefully explaining its weathering, its possible preservation and its appearance. He also spoke of how it acted as a trigger for the imagination, stressing the loneliness of its situation, its solemnity and its height. He also recalled a peculiar aural effect that he had experienced amongst its pillars. "If a gale of wind is blowing," he said, "the strange musical hum emitted by Stonehenge can never be forgotten" (200).

- 2 Some nine years previously when Hardy was writing *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* Stonehenge figured in similar terms but in a more dramatic way. When Angel and Tess approach the monument "rising sheer from the grass" in the "open loneliness" and "black solitude" it is the size and verticality that first impresses them, reaching to "an indefinite height overhead" (Hardy 2008, 415). At first the fallen blocks appear to Angel to be a "Temple of the Winds" (415) but when he recognises that it is Stonehenge, Tess asks if it is "the heathen temple...?" (416). Resting on the "Altar Stone",<sup>1</sup> she puts a further question to Angel:

"Did they sacrifice to God here?" ....

"No," said he.

"Who to?"

"I believe to the sun." (Hardy 2008, 417)

- 3 Tess's choice of the word "sacrifice" instead of "worship" is, of course, a significant one. It brings to mind the "dim conjecture" about Stonehenge concerning Druids and human sacrifice that, though they were seriously doubted in archaeological circles by Hardy's day, persisted in the popular mind.<sup>2</sup> It also takes the reader back in the story to the "druidic mistletoe" that hung on the ancient trees of the Chase on the night of Tess's violation by Alec d'Urberville, and it anticipates the imminent immolation and slaughter of Tess herself, sacrificed to the laws of the land. Contemporary archaeological belief endorsed the idea that Stonehenge was in fact a solar temple (e.g. Evans 326), with several commentators earlier in the century suggesting that during the period of Roman occupation it had actually been a temple of Apollo (Davies 190 and Gidley 15). Which brings us to the sound produced by the "stiff breeze" as it played upon the edifice.
- 4 In recent years there has been a strong interest in the acoustic properties of pre-historic monuments. The audio-archaeologist Rupert Till has examined many buildings in this light, including the stones of Stonehenge, and has confirmed the authenticity of Hardy's observation of this effect (Banfield 20-21). But significant here is the difference between the way in which Hardy recorded it in *The Daily Chronicle* and how he expressed the same effect in the novel. In the newspaper he was quoted as saying that it sounded like a "strange musical hum"; in the novel, however, it creates "a booming tune, like the note of some gigantic one-stringed harp" (Hardy 2008, 415).
- 5 The idea that the sound of the wind at Stonehenge resembles that of a harp recalls, of course, Angel Clare's harp playing. It takes us back in the novel to Talbothays, its wild garden and an evening in June during the courtship of Angel and Tess. It also invokes an element in the mythological patterning of the novel. I have previously explored the presence of solarism in this novel but now I think this to be even more extensive than I first believed.

- 6 Angel and Tess first met in Marlott during the May-time “Club Walking” incident. Hardy calls this a “local Cerealia” (Hardy 2008, 19) a fertility rite associated with the Greek goddess Ceres to assure the success of the harvest. Ovid (in both the *Metamorphosis* and the *Fasti*) mentions the way in which the female celebrants of the Cerealia wear white clothing only and are either virgins or are sexually chaste during the period of the rites (Ovid 1986, Book X, ll. 430-434, and Ovid 2011, Book 4, 11, ll. 618-619). As Hardy accounts for this episode, however, the association of another Greek deity is invoked, because the whole incident takes place under the benevolent auspices of the sun. The sun lit up their white garments and their “luxuriant” hair. Each girl was “warmed without by the sun” and each one “had a private little sun for her soul to bask in” (Hardy 2008, 20). Later in the novel the sun appears even more prominently in a context that links it specifically to solar worship. It occurs at that point when Tess has returned to Marlott with her child and is once again taking up agrarian life. “The sun,” Hardy wrote,
- on account of the mist, had a curious sentient, personal look, demanding the masculine pronoun for its adequate expression. His present aspect, coupled with the lack of all human forms in the scene, explained the old-time heliolatries in a moment. One could feel that a saner religion had never prevailed under the sky. The luminary was a golden-haired, beaming, mild-eyed, God-like creature, gazing down in the vigour and intentness of youth upon an earth that was brimming with interest for him. (Hardy 2008, 99)
- 7 The name of Phoebus Apollo lies just beneath the surface of this mythopoetic event, and the prominent mythographer Max Müller, with whose work Hardy was familiar, described the rising sun in similar terms. It was, he said, “the revelation of nature, awakening in the human mind that feeling of dependence of helplessness, of hope of joy [...] the spring of all religion” (Max Müller, “Comparative Mythology” in Müller 1867, ii, 99-100).
- 8 The sunshine presides over Tess’s first entry into the valley of the Froom providing an “ideal photosphere” (Hardy 2008, 119) for her arrival and the sunlight of dawn “that strange and solemn interval, the twilight of the morning” (145) lights up her first intimacy with Angel in the water meads around Talbothays. Hillis Miller linked the action of the sun in this novel with “the fecundating male source” (Miller 122), and nowhere is this more powerfully expressed than during the moment of Angel’s return to Talbothays having announced his marriage plans to his parents. As the couple embrace,
- Tess’s excitable heart beat against his by way of reply; and there they stood upon the red-brick floor of the entry, the sun slanting in by the window upon his back, as he held her tightly to his breast; upon her inclining face, upon the blue veins of her temple, upon her naked arm, and her neck, and into the depths of her hair. At first she would not look straight up at him, but her eyes soon lifted, and his plumbed the deepness of the ever-varying pupils [...] (Hardy 2008, 187)
- 9 The sexual excitement of this event is achieved partly through the way in which Angel’s physical presence elides into the rays of the sun slanting behind him, and both the sun and Angel enact a process of symbolic penetration.
- 10 But the sun is not always a benevolent masculine force. Its fertilizing power drives the milkmaids of Talbothays to distraction, and as Tess lies on the Altar Stone at Stonehenge, the rising sun performs another act of penetration but one which has greater destructive implications than even her loss of virginity in The Chase: “Soon the

light was strong, and a ray shone upon her unconscious form, peering under her eyelids and waking her” (Hardy 2008, 418). Finally solar influence is denied all benevolence as “the sun’s rays smiled [...] pitilessly” on the figures of Clare and ‘Liza-Lu attending Tees’s execution at Wintoncester.

- 11 Hardy’s notebooks reveal that he was fully aware of the dominance of solarism in late-nineteenth century mythography. In 1885, for example, he copied out some details from an article by Müller entitled “Solar Myths”, which summarized the current view that sun worship formed the basis for all religions:

~~The sun~~ <Solar Myths>,” Hardy wrote, “Greek, Roman & Vedic myths: traced back to their source, found always to apply to the sun in his ever varying aspects [...] everywhere the same story, the same worship of the sun, myths of the sun, legends of the sun, riddles of the sun. [...] We with our modern ways of life are not aware how everything we think or speak of do is dependent on the sun. (Hardy 1985, entry 1359)

- 12 He was also a great admirer of both John Addington Symonds and Andrew Lang, who, though they adopted rather different approaches, held shared beliefs in the centrality of solarism in the myth-making process. In the novel, the courtship of Angel and Tess follows minutely the pattern of the solar day and the solar year. Beginning in the spring dawn it reaches a crescendo in August, begins to sink in September with the prospect of marriage, and sinks to its lowest point on their wedding day on the last day of the year: “The sun was so low on that short last afternoon of the year that it shone in through a small opening and formed a golden staff which stretched across to her skirt, where it made a spot like a paint-mark set upon her” (Hardy 2008, 236).

- 13 Angel Clare is frequently and positively identified with the solar deity, Apollo. His harp playing is a strikingly unusual leisure activity,<sup>3</sup> and in mythology Apollo was the harp-playing god of music. Apollo took this skill with him when, after killing the Cyclops he was banished from heaven by his father, Zeus, and took up temporary residence with King Admetus in Thessaly. Similarly Clare feeling at odds with the strict evangelical ideologies of his father and brothers and their “untenable redemptive theolatriy” (Hardy 2008, 131) took on voluntary exile in agricultural activities. Working as a herdsman and shepherd, he even pointed out to Tess the superior pleasures of “pastoral life in ancient Greece” (141). Tess is deeply moved by the prophylactic power of Clare’s harp playing in guarding against the ghosts of her past life (“But you, sir, can raise up dreams with your music, and drive all such horrid fancies away!”, 140), and in the legends of Apollo he is often associated with animals. For example, Sophocles called Apollo “the wolf slayer” (*Electra*, qtd in Lang, ii, 207-208). Hardy exploits this association in the context of Angel’s solar status. “Her affection for him,” Hardy writes, “was now the breath and life of Tess’s being; it enveloped her as a photosphere, irradiating her into forgetfulness of her past sorrows, keeping back the gloomy spectres that would persist in their attempts to touch her. [...] [But] she knew that they were waiting like wolves just outside the circumscribing light” (Hardy 2008, 213). Apollo’s character was not, however, solely protective or supportive. On the contrary in the ancient world he was regarded as an apotropaic god, that is one who brought healing and comfort to mankind, but who also brought plague, pestilence and death. “The fair humanities of old religion,” said Andrew Lang, “boast no figure more beautiful; yet he, too, bears the birth-marks of ancient creeds, and there is a shadow that stains his legend and darkens the radiance of his glory” (Lang ii, 207-208). Similarly, in his “Hymn to Proserpine”, Swinburne expressed this double sidedness of the character of Apollo: “Yea, is not even

Apollo, with hair and harpstring of gold, / A bitter God to follow, a beautiful God to behold?" (Swinburne 58). Yet for Tess Angel Clare is an object of worship: "She hung on his words as if they were a God's" (Hardy 1967, 361) and her feelings persist even after he has deserted her. When he returns to Wessex from Brazil, the narrator tells us that "he was still her Antinous, her Apollo even" (Hardy 2008, 408).

- 14 But as he appears in Hardy's novel, Clare is not quite the Apollo of Max Müller, Andrew Lang or even the wider world of Victorian Hellenism. Instead he bears many of the characteristics of the Olympian deity but in a weakened or diminished form. This is nowhere better seen than in his less than impressive harp playing. Apollo was the god of music, supreme in execution and performance. Angel's harp, like his "progressive" ideas, is second-hand and "both instrument and execution were poor" (Hardy 2008, 138). Angel's adoption of late nineteenth-century views on the freedoms of neo-paganism are highly tenuous, with the result that the first challenge to them results in his rapid collapse into the orthodoxies Victorian socio-sexual morality. So Angel resembles not so much the Apollo of nineteenth-century Olympianism, the embodiment of what Walter Pater called the "rational, chastened, [but] debonair" (Pater 1980, 162), but appears as a weakened latter-day version of the god. For the origins of such a figure we have to turn from the mythographers to the work of Heinrich Heine, and especially his essay "The Gods in Exile" (1853). Heine was a radical poet, journalist and writer who challenged many of the religious and social orthodoxies of his native early nineteenth-century Germany. Heine's "romantic paganism", as Osama Mamoru showed many years ago, deeply impressed Hardy (Mamoru 1939, 517). His rebelliousness against convention at the expense of feeling, his struggle, as Matthew Arnold called it, "in the war of liberation of humanity" strongly elicited Hardy's sympathy. Hardy had read Heine's *Die romantische schulle* before 1881 since he quotes it in *A Laodicean*, and he quotes Heine again in *Two on a Tower* (1882). In 1890, according to Florence Emily Hardy he was once again reading Heine, (Hardy 1928, 301) and when they made a journey to Montmartre in Paris he visited Heine's grave. "The Gods in Exile" is an antinomian text, part myth, part history, part fiction, about the way in which the pagan gods were suppressed and driven into exile by the growth of the power first of Christianity and then of the Church. As Heine described it:

[...] when the true Lord of the universe planted the banner of the cross on the heavenly heights, and those iconoclastic zealots, the black band of monks, hunted down the gods with fire and malediction and razed their temples, then these unfortunate heathen divinities were again compelled to take to flight, seeing safety under the most varied disguises and in the most retired hiding-places. (Pater 2014, 269)

- 15 Heine's Gods represent various human impulses and desires repressed or ignored within the orthodoxies of nineteenth-century culture. They are a remnant of pagan vitality that had a powerful influence on the expression of neo-paganism in the work of Pater, Swinburne, John Addington Symonds and Vernon Lee. Symonds, in particular, developed a version of Hellenism that ran counter to contemporary Olympianism, stressing the sensual and sensuous aspects Greek art and life. "Years before we met", Hardy wrote to Symonds, in 1889, "I used to read your essays (as correctives to those of M. Arnold [...])" adding that "I get raps from critics who appear to think that to call me a pessimist and a pagan is all that is necessary for my condensation" (Hardy 1978, 1 190-191). But it was probably Hardy's meeting with Walter Pater, first in 1886 then for a longer period in 1888, that increased his interest in the underground persistence of the

cult of pagan sentiment.<sup>4</sup> Pater had long been fascinated by Heine's idea of fallen gods in exile and throughout his life it maintained a strong hold on his imagination.<sup>5</sup> His first reference to the idea occurs in his 1869 essay on Leonardo da Vinci, and then again in his essay, "Pico della Mirandola", where Pater included a long quotation from Heine with the account of how a latter-day Apollo was "content to take service under graziers" (Pater 1980, 24-25). But it is in three of his imaginary portraits, "Denys l'Auxerrois" (1886), "Duke Carl of Rosenmold" (1887) and "Apollo in Picardy" (1893) that he develops this notion most extensively. Heine depicts Apollo as a god coming into conflict with Christian orthodoxy and having to "accept service with cattle breeders [...] as once before he had tended the cows of Admetus..." (Pater 2014, 294). For Pater in "Apollo in Picardy", he was a "god [...] in exile" who had become "a hireling at will..., singing his way meagrely from farm to farm, to the sound of his harp" (279). Similarly in *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*, Clare joked of his harp playing that "he might have to get his living by it in the streets some day" (Hardy 1978, 133). "Mr Angel Clare", says one of the milkmaids summing up his latter-day Apollonian characteristics, "he that is learning milking, and that plays the harp – never says much to us. He is a pa'son's son, and is too much taken up wi' his own thoughts to notice girls. He is the dairyman's pupil – learning farming in all its branches. He has learnt sheep-farming at another place, and he's now mastering dairy-work. [...] Yes, he is quite the gentleman-born" (Hardy 1967, 129).

- 16 Though "Apollo in Picardy" was not published until 1893 it is highly likely that Pater had already conceived the idea when he spent time in London as Hardy's neighbour, and discussed with him a subject that had been an abiding passion. As a result there are a number of points of strong similarity between Pater's Apollo and Hardy's Angel Clare – points that are not shared by Heine. First, there is the double-sided nature of the God. This was one of the most prominent characteristics of the Olympian figure of Apollo. In Pater's story Apollo is benign. He "charmed away other people's maladies", and "calmed the respirations of a troubled sleeper" (Pater 2014, 281-282). At the same time, however, he attracts victims such as wild animals, then "surfeited [...], destroys them when his game with them is at an end" (282). In "Apollo in Picardy" Pater wrote of the way in which Apollo charmed his prey. "Though all alike would come at his call or to the sound of his harp, he had his preferences [...]" (282) and Angel's harp playing in the wild garden at Talbothays, too, is powerfully necromantic. As Clare plays in the open space Tess, drawn by his music "listened [...] [and] like a fascinated bird, could not leave the spot" (Hardy 2008, 138). The garden itself is redolent with a spontaneous, "natural", liquid sexuality. Tess "undulated upon the thin notes of the second-hand harp" penetrated by their harmonies which "passed like breezes through her, bringing tears into her eyes" (138-139). In a synaesthetically sensual moment Tess's sexual arousal becomes identified by the "natural" arousal of the garden: "the dampness of the garden [is] the weeping of the garden's sensibility" (130). But the focus of that arousal is the correspondence created between the music produced by Clare's harp and the fecundating action of the plants: "The floating pollen seemed to be his notes made visible" (139).<sup>6</sup>
- 17 The sexual, fertilizing power of pollen in connection with music plays an important role previously in this novel. It occurs at the point when, in an earlier phase of her life, Tess is working for Mrs d'Urberville at Tantridge. It is September and persuaded by her co-workers she begins to make regular journeys to the nearby town of Chaseborough



and its Saturday market. On one occasion she follows her friends to the house of a hay-trusser and peat-dealer where, in a hut in the back garden they are having “a little jig” (Hardy 2008, 71). From outside “she could hear the fiddled notes of a reel” coming from “a windowless erection used for storage”. “From the open door there floated into the obscurity a mist of yellow radiance [...]”. The identity of the yellow mist is revealed “when she came close and looked in”. She now “beheld indistinct forms racing up and down to the figure of the dance”. The dust from the floor was thrown into the air and “this floating, fusty debris of peat and hay, mixed with the perspirations and warmth of the dancers” to form “a sort of vegeto-human pollen” (72).

- 18 Here again, sexual arousal is likened to the transmission of pollen and is triggered by music. But in contrast to the Olympian calm of Talbothays where the music “wandered in the still air with a stark quality like that of nudity” (Hardy 2008, 138), Hardy supplies a scene of frenetic metamorphosis in which the ordinary people of Trantridge are transformed into some of the demi-gods of classical mythology. Hardy wrote:

Of the rushing couples, there could barely be discerned more than the high lights—the indistinctness shaping them to satyrs clasping nymphs—a multiplicity of Pans whirling a multiplicity of Syrinxes; Lotis attempting to elude Priapus, and always failing... At intervals a couple would approach the doorway for air, and the haze no longer veiling their features, the demigods resolved themselves into the homely personalities of her own next-door neighbours. Could Trantridge in two or three short hours have metamorphosed itself thus madly! Some Sileni of the throng sat on benches and hay-trusses by the wall; and one of them recognized her. (Hardy 2008, 72)

- 19 The role call for this “metamorphosis” is a significant one. When it was published as an extract in *The National Observer* in November 1891 this episode was given the ironical title “Saturday Night in Arcady”, alluding to the principal domain of Pan, the lustful fertility god who pursued the virginal Syrinx in an attempt to rape her. Priapus, offspring of Dionysus and brother of Pan, attempted, according to Ovid, to rape the nymph Lotis at a celebration in honour of Dionysus, while Silenus was the drunken teacher and follower of Bacchus (Ovid 2011, Book 1, ll. 415–433). These are some of the most lascivious gods in the mythological pantheon, and all of them are associated in one way or another with Bacchus or Dionysus. So this dance at Chaseborough is much more than a simple “jig”: instead it is some kind of Bacchanalian orgy. But where, we might ask, is Dionysus? The answer comes immediately: “A loud laugh from behind Tess’s back, in the shade of the garden, united with the titter within the room. She looked round, and saw the red coal of a cigar: Alec d’Urberville was standing there alone” (Hardy 2008, 73).
- 20 This is the strangest metamorphosis. Alec d’Urberville the young, irresponsible buck of the Slopes suddenly becomes a Dionysian figure complete with the familiar phallic thyrsus in the form of a lighted cigar. D’Urberville is a modern figure, whereas Pater in his imaginary portrait, “Denys l’Auxerrois” went back to the Middle Ages. He developed the idea of the god Dionysus “a denizen of old Greece itself actually finding his way back gain among men [...] in an ancient town of medieval France” (Pater 2014, 167). In Pater’s story Denys is a restless spirit creating disturbances in Auxerre with “wild social licence” (77). Under his influence “the hot nights were noisy with swarming troops of dishevelled women and youth all with red-stained limbs and faces, carrying their lighted torches over the vine-clad hills, or rushing down the streets [...]. A shrill music, a laughter at all things, was everywhere”. As Pater’s editor Lene Østermark-Johannsen



points out, the origin of this incident is to be found in Euripides' description of the women of Thebes who have "become wild, unruly and mad under the influence of Dionysus" (177n) and we know that *The Bacchae* had a powerful influence on Hardy. Not only did he possess an 1850 imprint in the Bohn's classical Library, he copied (with approval) the words of a review of a more recent translation of the play from *The National Observer*: "There is nothing more fascinating for a modern mind than to study the essential forces of Paganism.... The *Bachæ* is a play of surpassing interest. Dramatically & artistically it is p[erha]ps the poet's most finished work: instinct with a feeling for nature, it is ever suggestive of the charm of mountain, wood, & river, &c." To this Hardy added a note saying, 'I quite agree with the above criticism'" (Hardy 1985, entry 1905). But Hardy also seems to have read carefully Heine's version of the legend in "The Gods in Exile", similarly re-enacted in the medieval world of the Tyrol.

- 21 In Heine's account of the exile of Dionysus a young fisherman lends a boat once a year to three mysterious monks who call at night at his house. On the seventh occasion, filled with curiosity, he hides on the boat and travels with them to a location on the local river. Disembarking, the fisherman is amazed by what he sees. "There were many hundreds of young men and young women, most of them beautiful as pictures, although their faces were all as white as marble [which] gave them the appearance of moving statues" (Pater 2014, 296). Throwing off their habits, one "monk" reveals "a repulsive, libidinous face, and pointed goat-ears, and scandalously extravagant sexuality" – clearly the figure of Pan. The second "monk", "a big-bellied fellow, not less naked, whose bald pate the mischievous women crowned with a wreath of roses" is Silenus, and the third is Dionysus: "[...] he unbound the girdle of his robe, and with a gesture of disgust flung off from him the pious and dirty garment, together with crucifix and rosary, [and] lo! there stood, robed in a tunic brilliant as a diamond, a marvellously beautiful youth with a form of noble symmetry [...]. The women caressed him with wild enthusiasm [and] placed an ivy-wreath upon his head [...]. The scene is "filled with romping, dancing, and vine-crowned men and women", all to the sound of music. "But," says Heine turning to the reader, "I forgot that you are [...] most cultured and well-informed [...] and have long since observed that I have been describing a Bacchanalia and a feast of Dionysius" (297).
- 22 Hardy, too is describing a Bacchanalia, and has borrowed some of the same ithyphallic followers of Dionysus from Heine. But in *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* the connection between Dionysus and Alec d'Urberville extends beyond this scene. Dionysus or Bacchus was most famous as the inventor of wine, he subverted conventional morality, and had a most potent effect on women. In the novel Hardy gathers together these characteristics as he opens Chapter Ten. "Every village", he writes, "has its idiosyncrasy, its constitution, often its own code of morality. The levity of some of the younger women in and about Trantridge was marked, and was perhaps symptomatic of the *choice spirit* who ruled The Slopes in that vicinity. The place had also a more abiding defect; it drank hard" (Hardy 2008, 70; my emphasis). The "choice spirit", Alec d'Urberville, like his mythological forebear, is wild, unconventional, and sensual. Dionysus was an exotic god, an outsider, who descended on Thebes from Asia. Alec d'Urberville is also an outsider, who descended upon Wessex from the north of England, the son of a successful businessman. In legend Dionysus was known as the ivy god of epiphanies and disguises who often shocked or surprised humans by his sudden and unannounced appearances. D'Urberville surprises Tess when she is teaching bullfinches to whistle. "She became aware of a movement among the ivy-boughs which cloaked the garden-

wall". Then, "looking that way she beheld a form springing from the coping to the plot. It was Alec d'Urberville [...]" (67). Alec then skulks in his mother's bedroom with the intention of jumping out on Tess but thinks better of it. Later in the novel he appears suddenly beside the bonfire at Marlott, disguised as a local farm labourer; and when he leaps up from an altar tomb in Kingsbere church, on which he looked like a monument of tomb furniture, "the shock to her sense [...] was so violent that she was quite overcome [...]" (384).

- 23 Alec d'Urberville comes to Tantridge with a false identity: he is a Stoke disguised as a d'Urberville, but his most extravagant disguise is his sudden conversion to Evangelical Christianity: "less a reform than a transfiguration" (Hardy 2008, 325), which Hardy expresses as a corporeal change from Paganism to Paulinism:

The former curves of sensuousness were now modulated to lines of devotional passion. The lip-shapes that had meant seductiveness were now made to express supplication; the glow on the cheek that yesterday could be translated as riotousness was evangelized to-day into the splendour of pious rhetoric; animalism had become fanaticism; Paganism, Paulinism; the bold rolling eye that had flashed upon her form in the old time with such mastery now beamed with the rude energy of a theolatri that was almost ferocious. (Hardy 2008, 325)

- 24 Similarly in Heinrich Heine's "The Gods in Exile" the figure of Dionysus, or Bacchus, hides beneath an ecclesiastical guise. After his nocturnal experiences, the young fisherman decides to report the events to the superior of a local monastery. As he is telling his story he realises that the monk before him was the same person that he had seen on the previous night "as a heathen demon" (Pater 2014, 298).
- 25 Hardy even supplies his Dionysus with maenads. In the *Bacchae*, Dionysus has about him a group of wild women who perform ecstatic rituals during the Bacchanalia. Three of these are mentioned by Euripides as violent and possessed: Agave, Autonoe and Ino. After the dance at Chaseborough three women, Car Darch, Nancy her sister and a "young married woman" (Hardy 2008, 74) leave the dance and travel along the road in a state of maenadic, inebriated ecstasy. They were possessed "with a sensation that they were soaring along in a supporting medium [...] themselves and surrounding nature forming an organism of which all the parts harmoniously and joyously interpenetrated each other. They were as sublime as the moon and stars above them, and the moon and stars were as ardent as they" (74). Describing maenadic ecstasy R.P. Whittington Ingram writes that "the limitations of self are laid aside, and the dancer feels at one with the god, with her fellows and with all nature" (Winnington-Ingram 154). When Tess laughs at one of the girls, Car Darch, for her absurd behaviour, Car strips off her bodice, appearing like a figure from Greek sculpture, "as luminous and beautiful as some Praxitelean creation" (Hardy 2008, 76). Meanwhile the other girls close ranks against Tess, threaten to hunt her down, but suddenly she is carried off on horseback by Alec d'Urberville. In one of his manifestations Dionysus is a hunting god. In the *Bacchae* (Otto 109) he spurs on the maenads and as Dionysus Zagreus, he pursues wild animals. It is in the appropriately named woodland area named "The Chase" that Alec violates Tess and begins the first phase of a hunt which persists to the last scene of the novel.
- 26 Tess first became aware of The Chase when she went to claim "kin" with the d'Urbervilles living at Tantridge. "The Chase", Hardy wrote, is "a truly venerable tract of forest land, one of the few remaining woodlands in England of undoubted primaeval date, wherein Druidical mistletoe was still found on aged oaks, and where enormous

yew-trees, not planted by the hand of man grew as they had grown when they were pollarded for bows" (Hardy 2008, 43-44). Hardy stresses the age of the forest, "primaeval", the size of the trees that make it up, "enormous" and its mythological associations, "Druidical". By the time that Tess and Alec arrive there the September night has cooled, the moon has gone down and fog has arisen amongst the trees. Hardy repeatedly stresses the profound darkness. "The Chase was wrapped in thick darkness", "The obscurity was now so great [...] everything else was blackness alike"; "darkness and silence ruled everywhere around", forcing Alec to move about instinctively like a blind man "obliged to advance with outstretched hands to avoid contact with the boughs" (82). Dionysus was an ancient chthonic fertility god of the underworld for whom The Chase is an appropriate habitat. It is an extremely ancient place, as ancient as the act perpetrated upon Tess. Furthermore, the Chase stands outside the world of culture and human society, placed deep within the world of arboreal nature. Several of the characters including her mother point out that what happened to Tess was essentially a "natural" act ("Tis nater, after all", 94) and part of the cycle of nature. In The Chase the only witnesses to Tess's violation are the inhabitants of that natural world: "gentle roosting birds in their last nap and [...] the hopping rabbits and hares" (82).

- 27 The events of The Chase involve a sacrifice, the sacrifice of Tess's virginity, but it seems to have gone unnoticed that both the circumstances and the details of those events have close parallels in her second sacrifice, the sacrifice of her life at Stonehenge. Both The Chase and Stonehenge are pervaded by darkness so great as to produce the sense of sensory deprivation. In The Chase, Alec advanced "with outstretched arms" and at Stonehenge Angel and Tess proceed "gropingly for two or three miles" (Hardy 2008, 415). In both incidents Tess is exhausted and lies on or near the ground. In The Chase she first sits, then falls back into a deep sleep; at Stonehenge she lies on an altar stone and falls asleep. In both incidents she is covered by the overcoat of the accompanying male. Alec "pulled off a light overcoat that he had worn, and put it round her tenderly" (81) whereas Clare "flung his overcoat upon her" (416). In both scenes her body provides a horizontal axis, and in both she is surrounded by tall objects rising from the ground. In the first it is the natural, ancient trees of The Chase; in the second it is the ancient stones of the man-made Stonehenge, "older than the centuries" and "rising sheer from the grass" (415). The upward thrust of the stones of Stonehenge is stressed several times. The "vast erection" (415) has "vertical surfaces" (415), comprising "towering monoliths and trilithons" which reach up to "an indefinite height overhead" (417). The events of The Chase are represented as part of a violent but natural cycle, and the sexual act is softened by its natural, woodland setting. Not so the drama at Stonehenge, where the intransigent nature of Druidic law elides into the inflexible statutes of British law and is expressed by the presence of the ancient stones, oppressively "square and uncompromising" (415).
- 28 Throughout her life Tess seems to have been caught between conflicting forces: chthonic Dionysianism and draconian Apollonianism, often expressed metaphorically in terms of the contrast between darkness and light, night in conflict with daylight. There are many important twilight moments in the novel (including the events at The Chase and Stonehenge) and several are expressed as a struggle between illumination and darkness. Sometimes they exist in Manichean opposition. For example, at Chaseborough: "It was a fine September evening, just before sunset, when yellow lights struggle with blue shades in hair-like lines" (Hardy 2008, 70-71). More frequently,

however, the relationship is a complementary one: “In the twilight of the morning, light seems active, darkness passive; in the twilight of evening it is the darkness which is active and crescent, and the light which is the drowsy reverse” (145). In the earlier part of the nineteenth century Dionysus and Apollo had been seen as contrasts between the irrational and instinctive and the rational and the tranquil. Following in the wake of Winckelmann, Hellenism had been seen largely in terms of the triumph of Olympianism with Apollo at its head while the chthonic deities were relegated to the margins. But this balance changed. The admiration accorded to the serenity and balance of the Olympian gods was slowly withdrawn in favour of the Mysteries. As Margot Louis points out though, “mythographers at the middle of the nineteenth century seemed often to glorify the Olympian gods of light and of conscious wisdom” (Louis 12); as the century wore on the emphasis shifted “toward the chthonic deities and the gods of the Mysteries” (12); and by the end of the century “the focus turned towards the orgiastic and ecstatic elements of the chthonic rites” (14). The denunciation of the Olympians for their cold indifference to human affairs and their inadequacies as custodians of moral worth was slowly accepted as was the celebration of the energy and vitality of the Dionysian mysteries. Pater in his contribution to the posthumous collection *Greek Studies* was one of those who clearly began to mark out the new ways of reading ancient mythology, and it is easy to see where Heine’s “The Gods in Exile” fits within this pattern. The shift in the balance of attitudes in the nineteenth century to the figures of Greek myth could be expressed in the changing fortunes of attitudes to Apollo and Dionysus. The historians Walter Burkett and John Raffan trace the way in which Apollo and Dionysus were sometimes treated as opposing forces even within Greek culture itself but often as complementaries or as equals. They point out that the figures of both gods appear at Delphi and, according to Plutarch the year was divided between them. The four winter months belonged to Dionysus and the summer months belong to Apollo (Burkett and Raffan 224; Lang ii 216). In *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* Alec d'Urberville's violation of Tess takes place in September, and his pursuit of her continues in the bleak days of the winter at Flintcombe Ash. Angel Clare, however, courts her through the spring and summer then in the winter rapidly vanishes westward like the sun itself, over the horizon to Brazil.

- 29 But there are other points of affinity between these two principles. As the sons of Zeus, Apollo and Dionysus were brothers and it was claimed that Dionysus was buried in the temple of Apollo at Delphi. In the novel the events of Tess's “sacrifice” in *The Chase* and her arrest on the Stone of Sacrifice at Stonehenge represent terrible re-enactments. In *The Chase*, Alec/Dionysus is at home in a natural arboreal setting, “a truly venerable tract of forest land” (Hardy 2008, 43); at Stonehenge Angel/Apollo finds his appropriate setting in another forest, in the man-made “forest of monoliths grouped upon the grassy expanse of the plain” (415). Tess, it would seem, is caught between two inexorable and destructive forces – one linked to the ancient Chthonic God Dionysus, the other to the God Apollo.
- 30 The dialectic movement between the extremes of Dionysian and Apollonian plays an important part in the structure of *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* and the question inevitably arises as to whether Hardy might have been familiar with the same dialectic used by Nietzsche's in his *The Birth of Tragedy* (1872). “Wherever the Dionysian voice was heard”, wrote Nietzsche “the Apollonian norm seemed suspended or destroyed. Yet it is equally true that, in those places where the first assault was withstood, the prestige and majesty of the Delphic god appeared more rigid and threatening than before”

(Nietzsche 35). Yet, says Nietzsche, neither side ever prevails because they are in fact complimentary. Though this is very close to the view that Hardy seems to take in *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*, the evidence suggests that when he was writing his novel he knew little or nothing about Nietzsche or *The Birth of Tragedy*. The book was not translated until 1909 and though there are brief references to Nietzsche in Hardy's notebooks, it would appear that he first came to an understanding of *The Birth of Tragedy* in 1902 when he read and annotated a review of a French translation by Arthur Symons (see Hardy 1985, entry 2194). But as Richard Seaford points out, the idea of dialectic between Dionysus and Apollo was not peculiar to Nietzsche. For at least a century before Nietzsche wrote *The Birth of Tragedy* numerous German intellectuals – far more than in England or France – had pondered the Dionysiac not as mere matter for scholarship but as a principle that retains significance for the contemporary world". The Apollonian and the Dionysiac, he adds, "were elaborated as contrasting ideal types of beauty by the art historian Winckelmann (1717-1768), as contrasting creative principles by the philosopher Schelling (1775-1854), and by the jurist and anthropologist Bachofen (1815-1887) as contrasting principles that include sexuality, gender, spirituality, and social organisation" (Seaford 143). As Hardy employs these principles, Tess becomes the victim of complementary ontologies, hunted down first by the principles of one and then by the principles of the other. Pater's Apollo was a cruel hunter and the words he used to describe him have a strange resonance with the famous last lines of *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*. Apollo he says, "surfeited [...] destroys [his victims] when his game with them is at an end" (Pater 2014, 282). Hardy too, invokes a hunting metaphor: "'Justice' was done, and the President of the Immortals, in Aeschylean phrase, had ended his sport with Tess" (Hardy 2008, 420).

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## NOTES

1. See "The Stones of Stonehenge", <http://www.stonesofstonehenge.org.uk/2015/02/altar-stone-stone-80.html> (last accessed 1 August 2018).
2. As recently as 1874 Lewis Gidley had written: "There are so many proofs of Stonehenge being a Druidical temple, that it seems remarkable that any antiquarians are not satisfied that this was the case" (Gidley 1874, 15).

3. Professor Suguru Fukasawa, formerly the President of the Thomas Hardy Society, Japan, pointed out to me that the harp-lute, developed at the end of the eighteenth century by Edward Light, was a much smaller and portable version of the full sized harp. It is very likely that this is the kind of harp that Hardy had in mind.
  4. According to Millgate, though Hardy met Pater in the summer of 1886, they spent rather longer as neighbours in Upper Phillimore place in the summer of 1888 (Millgate 2004, 252, 268, and 274).
  5. According to Pater's editor Donald L. Hill (Hill 1980, 322).
  6. Pater uses the phrase "music made visible" on two occasions in "Apollo in Picardy". See Pater 2014, 273, 280.
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## ABSTRACTS

Triggered by Hardy's account of Stonehenge in *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* and his subsequent support of the purchase of the monument for the nation, this paper explores the mythological structure of the novel. Seen from one point of view, the narrative turns on a dialectic between Apollo and Dionysus where Angel Clare is allied to the sun god, Apollo, and Alec d'Urberville to the chthonic god of the underworld, Dionysus. Hardy's interest in solar mythology is well known. Less well explored is the pattern of light and dark, summer and winter in this novel, a pattern that corresponds to the annual rise and fall of the power of these two ancient gods. Though we might expect that this mythical polarity might have derived from Nietzsche, it is more likely that Hardy found something similar in the work of Walter Pater and in Heinrich Heine.

Cet article se fonde non seulement sur l'évocation de Stonehenge dans *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* mais aussi sur le soutien apporté par Hardy à l'acquisition du monument par la nation, pour explorer la structure mythologique qui sous-tend l'œuvre. De ce point de vue en effet, la narration peut être saisie comme affrontement dialectique entre Apollon et Dionysos – Angel Clare se trouvant associé au dieu solaire, tandis qu'Alec d'Urberville partage bien des traits avec le dieu chtonien du monde sous-terrain, Dionysos. L'intérêt de Hardy pour la mythologie solaire est bien documenté ; moins connu en revanche est le schéma narratif et symbolique opposant dans *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* la lumière et l'ombre, l'été et l'hiver – schéma qui se cale sur le rythme annuel d'assomption et de chute de ces deux dieux antiques. Or, alors que cette polarité dérivée de la mythologie semble issue directement de Nietzsche, il est plus probable en réalité que Hardy l'ait découverte à travers l'œuvre de Walter Pater et celle de Heinrich Heine.

## INDEX

**Mots-clés:** objet, mythologie, Stonehenge, Apollon, Dionysos, Bacchus, Heine (Heinrich), Pater (Walter), Müller (Max), Nietzsche (Friedrich)

**Keywords:** object, mythology, Stonehenge, Apollo, Dionysus, Bacchus, Heine (Heinrich), Pater (Walter), Müller (Max), Nietzsche (Friedrich)



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