Shakespeare and the Embodied Heroine

Staging Female Characters in the Late Plays and Early Adaptations

Lori Leigh

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Staging Female Characters in the Late Plays and Early Adaptations

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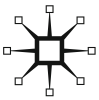

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For David Carnegie

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List of Abbreviations

BD	Philip Highfill, Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward Langham. *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers and Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800.* 16 vols. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973–93.
DF	*Double Falsehood*
EI	*The Tempest, Or The Enchanted Island*
FP	*Florizel and Perdita*
H8	*Henry VIII*
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
TNK	*The Two Noble Kinsmen*
WT	*The Winter's Tale*

Introduction

The "embodied heroine" on the Shakespearean stage sounds oxymoronic, a figure of speech without a figure. Arguably, the one element Shakespearean heroines unequivocally lack is a body—a female body that is. Boy actors usurped the position of gender-appropriate casting in the professional theatre troupes of Renaissance England. This use of boy players is fuel for critics to suggest the essential identity of Shakespearean "women" is male and that their identification is as men to men. Lisa Jardine states that women on the Shakespearean stage "reveal nothing of 'real' womanly feelings" (29, 33). Such a perception, however, seems to narrowly locate the female roles decisively in the historical context in which the plays were first performed while disregarding the fictive world of the play (that which captures audience's imaginations as they are watching), female audience members, and over four centuries of performance history. This performance history, where female characters were literally embodied by women, begins with the Restoration, a period which launches from Shakespeare's own theatrical milieu. Can these Restoration adaptations be used as a way of shedding light backwards on the handling of female roles by Shakespeare? Can they suggest ways in which these roles may have performatively been embodied?

One of the hallmarks, some would say horrors, of English Restoration and eighteenth-century theatre are its adaptations of William Shakespeare's plays. Most theatre history texts and companions to Restoration theatre would seem incomplete without covering the topic. (In the 2000 *Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre*, the third chapter is dedicated to "Adaptations and Revivals" and precedes the chapters on "Comedy" and "Tragedy," and in the 2001 *Blackwell Companion to Restoration Drama*, "Shakespeare and other Adaptations" has its own chapter under "Kinds of Drama.") Likewise, since the early twentieth

century, with Frederick Kilbourne's 1906 *Alterations and Adaptations of Shakespeare* and the more well-known and ironically titled *Shakespeare Improved* (1925) by Hazelton Spencer, book-length studies have been devoted to the subject. More recently, works like Michael Dobson's *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation and Authorship* (1992) and Jean Marsden's *The Re-imagined Text: Shakespeare, Adaptation, and Eighteenth-Century Literary Theory* (1995) exhibit less distaste for the adaptations than their earlier counterparts and try to appreciate them in their political and historical contexts. What these book-length studies have in common—note the keywords "poet," "text," "literary theory" in the titles—(indispensable as they are) is their primary focus upon the written word, or Shakespeare the author, rather than stagecraft or Shakespeare the theatre-maker.

Like the Shakespearean adaptations, the advent of actresses on the professional public stage forms another illuminating chapter in English Restoration and eighteenth-century theatre history, and one that entails an inevitable focus on stagecraft. What changes did the Restoration adaptors deem necessary to make Shakespeare's plays suitable for actresses, and what do those alterations reveal about the female characters in the original plays? What an adaptor chooses to cut, amend, or highlight is telling—often capitalizing on what was successful in the original play, but frequently removing or obscuring parts to fit Restoration tastes and sensibilities. Always, however, there exist hints and traces that reflect staging and storytelling of thematic importance in the Renaissance play.

Discussions of Restoration adaptations of Renaissance plays usually figure in books about Shakespeare as a cultural icon or the origins of "bardolatry," and the Restoration's role in keeping the plays alive on stage while at the same time "translating" or updating them for a new audience. Neoclassicism was in vogue in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and Restoration playwrights observed its tenets when writing their plays or adaptations. More often than not, the adaptations are now subject to ridicule for their simplifying and sentimentalizing of Shakespeare's plots, and, more importantly, his language. Modern editors, though, recognize the importance of these adaptations in the performance history of Shakespeare's plays. Both Stephen Orgel's Oxford edition of *The Tempest* and Christine Dymkowski's Shakespeare in Production edition of the play consider the massive influence of William Davenant and John Dryden's adaptation of *The Tempest*. The Arden Shakespeare Third Series edition of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* also discusses the influence of Davenant's adaptation of that play, *The Rivals*, on subsequent performances and adaptations.[1] If these adaptations

have had an impact upon subsequent performances of the plays for centuries, and if one (arguably the) major influence on these adaptations was the introduction of women, then there is much to discover about Shakespeare's female characters through them.

How is female gender expressed and how does it function on the Shakespearean stage—of both the Renaissance and the Restoration? In comparing the female roles in Renaissance plays to their Restoration and eighteenth-century[2] adaptations, what is revealed about women in these dramas? How do female characters as presented in the script get staged in performance? How are the physical signifiers of female gender (body parts: hair, nails, breasts, feet, legs, and vocal chords) employed in the script and staging? What is the significance of scenographic elements (costume, props, lighting, set) in relation to staging these women? Furthermore, how does textual characterization (character names and development, language, and imagery) also inform gender? Are there vocal signifiers such as speech, singing, and silence that can be related to the depiction of gender? How are recurring motifs such as chastity, feminine madness, and cross-gender disguise expressed? In what ways did the adaptations make Shakespearean plays more "suitable" for actresses? Did they remove gender ambiguity in the female roles, thereby reinforcing polarities between men and women and stereotypical notions of gender roles?

Despite the fact that the adaptations often altered the language and plot so that little of the original text remained intact,[3] they do yield insights into Shakespearean women in several ways: 1) regardless of final outcome, the adaptations used the original texts (characters and plot) as a starting point and inspiration; 2) the audience of the time still considered the plays "Shakespeare," or "Fletcher" when we consider his collaborator; 3) substantial alterations were made specifically with the addition of female actresses in mind; 4) adaptors and theatre artists/managers such as William Davenant, whose career spanned both the Caroline and Restoration periods and who was active both before and after the Restoration, probably had first-hand knowledge of how the originals were staged; 5) most importantly, adaptations continued and continue to this day to affect performances and interpretation of the plays.

Such an investigation requires a methodology that uses drama and theatre themselves as a way of theorizing—"dramaturgy from within" (the world of the play) rather than merely using "explicitly theoretical writings as ways of opening ... work" (Proehl 110). "Dramaturgy" is a word that is returned to many times in this book. Though multifaceted, and often difficult to define, "dramaturgy" is used here as a

characteristic: an exploration of the parts of a script and how they fit together to create meaning—specifically, how can the female characters mean. In other words or other than words, gestures/movement, speech, props, costumes, music, spectacle, stage directions, use of space, and the audience in addition to the language are considered. There is a danger in reading plays rather than imagining them because theatre is a temporal art and reading is not. Reading a play, we can pore over the words, flip back, or read ahead. The theatre denies us lingering, is always moving forward, and is presented in multidimensional form and color. Reading is limited to the sense of sight, the visual. Theatre engages with other senses and often relies on these to convey meaning. For example, Shakespeare's theatre is dependent on aural aspects, especially the sounds words make. Andrew Sofer calls this approach of imagining plays "contextual reanimation," which is, "a 'thick description' of the stage event as best we can reconstruct it, using such cues as verbal and actual stage directions, visual records of historical performances, and (where available) eyewitness accounts" (Sofer 4). The theatre historians Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume label the method "production analysis":

> By this term we mean interpretation of the text specifically aimed at understanding it as a performance vehicle—"reading with a directorial eye," if you like. While heavily grounded in textual analysis, such criticism will be undertaken on the principle that what should emerge is a sense of multiple possibilities in actual performance.[4] (Milhous and Hume 10)

This crucial element involves understanding a play as a detailed, but malleable, score for performance and investigating the performative options offered by the script. Sofer goes on to say that "Recent productions of the plays can offer important, although never definitive, clues to original staging choices. They can also indicate when an ingenious interpretation is incommunicable to the audience" (Sofer 4).

When scholars adopt such an approach, incorporating "recent productions," more often than not these are productions staged by internationally recognized, large, big-budget professional theatres such as the Royal Shakespeare Theatre in Stratford or the reconstructed Globe in London. The scholar writing about the staging choices is also, more often than not, an audience member. In contrast, I directed several of the performances examined here, which has provided me with first-hand experience in staging choices and prompted me to read with a

"directorial eye." These productions are also representative of theatre as a whole: plays that happen in universities, community groups, regional professional theatres, and Shakespeare festivals. Described in the Appendix, these productions have been used as case studies or fieldwork as a way of conducting and also implementing research that happens on the rehearsal floor.

In some ways, this work is returning to a critical approach that has its roots in the eighteenth century. Inherent to a practice that utilizes "contextual reanimation" or "production analysis," or using drama itself as a way of theorizing, is character analysis or character criticism. As Jessica Slights notes about a related topic, "In 1981, Jean Elshtain issued a plea that political philosophy recognize female agency as a valid focus of study" (357). Elshtain argues:

> The feminist political thinker aims to transform her discipline as well as her social world in important ways. This necessitates locating the woman as subject of political and social inquiry, moving away from the abstracted, disembodied "product" of social forces featured in much contemporary social science. This female subject, as the object of inquiry, must be approached as an active agent of a life-world of intense personalization and immediacy. (Elshtain 304; qtd in Slights 357)

Theatre is an art form of embodiment and immediacy, and what Slights (who conjures Elshtain) describes is closer to the way live audiences experience female characters than viewing characters as mere archetypes, symbols, or agents for critical discourse. There are of course the pitfalls of "essentialism" and "ahistoricity" to avoid in character criticism, and while this work is focused in other directions, I do not discount or disregard issues and larger socio-political contexts such as patriarchy. Slights challenges us to understand female characters as "active agent[s] in the life-world of the play" and assess "the role a rehabilitated notion of character might play in the development of an ethical—and also historically aware—criticism of Shakespearean drama" (357).[5] A crucial component of investigating Shakespearean women using a performative approach is examining their character and action in the context of the given circumstances of the fictional world of the play, which is at times connected with the theatrical reality. As explored in detail below, character and actor are often intimately intertwined.

The beginning of this Introduction indicated studies that investigate the staging of women in Renaissance drama almost always turn to discussions of boys, or more specifically to transvestism: boy actors

portraying women and cross-gender disguise employed by heroines in the plays. In *Gender in Play on the Shakespearean Stage*, Michael Shapiro discusses audience responses to male performers in female roles. The evidence suggests two opposing but compatible conclusions: on the one hand, the power of cross-gender casting to disrupt conventional gender roles implies a high level of awareness by audiences of the presence of "play-boys" in female roles; on the other hand, English theatregoers seem to have accepted boys in women's parts as the norm of theatrical representation (41).

Henk Gras argues that English audiences accepted boys as women because the two were thought to be interchangeable (of a similar temperament) just as Rosalind/Ganymede says to Orlando in justifying her role-playing as his mistress in *As You Like It*, "Boys and women are for the most part cattle of this color" (qtd in Shapiro 41). Shapiro adds, "As apprentices in adult acting companies, play-boys are thought by some scholars to have been as powerless as women, but the crucial difference (in addition to differences of social class) was that the play-boys' situation was temporary" (41–2). The disempowered boys grew to be dominating men.

Shapiro's conclusions are supported by similar dynamics in all-male theatre troupes in the twenty-first century. The Shakespeare and Queen's Men Project (SQM) produced three professional repertory productions of Queen's Men's plays using "original practice" and all-male casts. Dr Helen Ostovich, an editor, and director Peter Cockett, related to me stories of their three "boy" actors, who were actually all in their mid-twenties, having "locker-room problems" with the older male actors playing the men's roles. Ostovich said:

> They were having their bums pinched, and were teased with salacious remarks. The boys snapped and told the other actors off, reminding them that "boys" were still men, and still actors, not living a part, but simply playing a part. I believe after this point, the boys approached Peter to request male-character parts to balance the female-character work. (Ostovich)

Peter Cockett said he never gave male roles to the "boys," however. On *Performing the Queen's Men*, the SQM's website, the rehearsal room dynamic is described before a company play reading:

> Matthew Krist, who played Goneril in *King Leir*,[6] took the opportunity to address the company and to request that since he was playing

> a lady he would appreciate being treated as a lady. Apparently he had been subjected to a variety of unwelcome approaches from other members of the company and was tired of their lewd comments and pinches on his backside. The request was highly amusing to us all and was presented in a humorous fashion but Matthew made it clear that his frustration was in part genuine. (Cockett)

Cockett, along with Scott Clarkson, an older male actor, both contended that if the boys had been actresses they would never have been treated this way, but perhaps this is where twenty-first-century attitudes differ from those of the Restoration (Cockett).

Looking at the boy actors of the Renaissance and the actresses of the Restoration, they seemingly do have much in common. Both groups were justified by some on moral grounds: boy actors protected women from the immorality of the public playhouses, while in the Restoration women made the stage moral by "seemingly" observing the Deuteronomic prohibition of transvestism and preventing homoeroticism. At the same time, both groups were chastised by others as immoral: both could be looked at as whores or sexually indecent. Boy actors and actresses were both considered second-class citizens and subject to prejudice and abuse (though, as Shapiro states, it was temporary for the boys). One marked difference is that unlike the boy players (at least at first) the actresses were initially treated as a novelty. Audiences were probably not lured to the Renaissance playhouses by the mere gender of the boy actors; it was standard practice, not novel spectacle.

This is not to say that Shakespearean audiences did not come to the playhouses to see the female characters that the boys performed on stage. An eyewitness account from Henry Jackson, of Corpus Christi College, who saw a performance in 1610 of *Othello* by the King's Men at Oxford, chronicles at least one audience member's experience of the play-boys:

> But indeed Desdemona, killed by her husband, although she always acted the matter very well, in her death moved us still more greatly; when lying in bed she implored the pity of those watching with her countenance alone. (Qtd in Gurr, *Shakespearean Stage* 226)

Fifty years later, for a production of *Othello* on 8 December 1660 by Thomas Killigrew's King's Company, Thomas Jordan added a "Prologue to Introduce the First Woman that Came to Act on the Stage in the Tragedy, call'd The Moor of Venice": "I come, unknown to any of the rest / To tell you news, I saw the Lady drest; / The Woman playes to day, mistake me

not, / No Man in Gown, or Page in Petty-Coat" (1–4). Whether or not Desdemona was the first female Shakespearean role to be played by a woman (see Howe 24; also Payne Fisk, "Restoration Actress" 74; and *English Restoration Theatre* 3), Jordan's titillating depiction of Desdemona is interesting when compared to Henry Jackson's reaction to the boy actor's portrayal of the same female role. Jackson embraces the convention of cross-gender casting and furthermore commends his Desdemona. Shapiro says:

> Jackson was consciously responding to the character's emotional situation and paying tacit tribute to the actor's skill in presenting it. The two blend in his mind, as he uses the character's name and feminine grammatical forms and only indirectly praises the actor's ability to evoke pathos for Desdemona by referring to her facial expressions. Jackson is far more absorbed in the character of Desdemona than in the artistry of the male performer. (43)

Jordan's prologue focuses not on the character of Desdemona but on the female sex of the player. In a mere four lines he manages to squeeze in not only the word "lady" but also "woman," and pays close attention to clothing, specifically female attire. Unmistakably, the interest is in the performer's suitability for the role on account of her physical appearance rather than her ability to convey character. Later in the prologue Jordan does not miss his opportunity to discredit the boy actors, and unlike Jackson rejects any possibility that they are at all suitable for the female roles:

> Our women are defective, and so siz'd
> You'd think they were some of the Guard disguiz'd;
> For (to speak truth) men act, that are between
> Forty and fifty, Wenches of fifteen;
> With bone so large, and nerve so incomplyant,
> When you call Desdemona, enter Giant. (29–34)

The focus again is on physicality: men are too gigantic to play young women. Jordan may be adding temperament to the list, with "nerve so incomplyant," or being sexually suggestive. "Nerve," in a now obsolete usage, meant "penis" and was used this way in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries ("nerve," n.6. *OED*). If this is the implication above, as appears likely, anatomy is the critical element here.

Jordan specifically mentions "men" of "forty and fifty" here rather than boys; and perhaps his complaint has relevance only in the

Restoration when most boy actors from the Renaissance stage who were still acting would be around that age. On the other hand, we also know that at least some Restoration audiences accepted and enjoyed the men acting "wenches." Samuel Pepys saw Edward Kynaston act a woman's role in a revival of *The Loyal Subject* by John Fletcher at the Cockpit (Whitehall Palace). Pepys praises Kynaston in his diary as "the loveliest lady that ever I saw in my life, only her voice not very good" (7 January 1660/61).[7] Though Pepys is not enthusiastic about Kynaston's voice, it is no small compliment for him to be called the most beautiful woman Pepys had ever encountered in his life. Like Jackson's account of the boy player Desdemona, Pepys' description uses a feminine pronoun for the male Kynaston: "her voice." Character and actor are again blended, regardless of gender. Countering Jordan's "men as giants" presentation, Pepys seems to have accepted the convention of men playing women. Once women entered the professional acting arena, however, they stayed.

From the foregoing discussion, it is clear there was a range of responses to both boy players and women when they first appeared on the stage. What is important to understand is, without doubt the boys were able to play female roles with sufficient skill and "believability" that spectators responded to the fictional character, rather than being constantly reminded of the disparity between the genders of character and actor (Shapiro 46). Even though gender boundaries were blurred and there was awareness at times—metatheatrical or otherwise—of the boy underneath the dress, the English Renaissance accepted the convention of boys playing women. Obviously, the Restoration actresses added something to the roles that boy actors could not, even if they were at times hampered by the adaptations of Renaissance plays. Furthermore, actresses in the Restoration paved the way for a female Shakespearean heritage.

What the actresses brought to the stage was not limited to the female body. As Dympna Callaghan's *Shakespeare without Women* notes, Shakespeare's theatre has an absence of any body other than a white male body, that is, there were no gender or racial alternatives. Callaghan, following Peggy Phelan, suggests that representation does not necessarily equal power; otherwise, "almost-naked young white women should be running Western culture" (Phelan 10; qtd in Callaghan 4). Clearly, the introduction of women on the English stage did not necessarily bring about a more feminist representation of women; indeed Shakespeare's female characters offer a more feminist reading than do their counterparts in the Restoration adaptations.

Considerations of women characters in studies of Restoration adaptations usually surface in discussions of the introduction of actresses on the professional public English stage. I use "professional public" rather than the common phrase "all-male" stage because I do not wish to ignore the work done by recent scholars that points to a previously unacknowledged history of women players in England (dancers, women in masques, singers, women in local festive drama, etc.), or the impact of the Italian and French actresses on early modern drama (see, for example, Brown and Parolin). Based on the evidence currently available, however, women did not appear in the female roles in Shakespeare's plays on the professional public stage until the Restoration. Critical studies of Restoration English actresses seem to concentrate on the exploitation of the female body or the male gaze, and equate actresses with whores and prostitutes. The actresses themselves often feature more in these studies than any analysis of dramatic character. This is partially because many of the roles were adapted with certain actresses in mind. The character, therefore, owes a substantial debt not just to the playwrights (Shakespeare and/or Fletcher in the original; Davenant or another in the adaptation), but also to the personality and strengths of the actress herself. Part of the dramaturgy of most plays, especially plays of the Renaissance and Restoration, is an understanding of the actors/actresses who originated the roles.[8] But while this is something that both Shakespearean plays and their adaptations have in common, studies of Restoration drama tend to spend far more time looking at the actresses than the characters (replicating exactly what they accuse the Restoration audiences of doing). Studies of Renaissance drama, on the other hand, tend to give an equal share of attention to both actors and characters or focus entirely upon characters.[9]

Most scholarly works on actresses in Restoration and eighteenth-century theatre paint contradictory portraits of empowerment and exploitation. Jacqueline Pearson's 1988 *The Prostituted Muse: Images of Women and Women Dramatists 1642–1737*, as the title suggests, discusses how "most actresses who appeared on the public stage had a scandalous reputation for immorality" and "the period's fascination with the sex lives of famous actresses" (28). She concludes:

> Actresses, then, were extremely popular in the theatre of the period, praised for their accomplishments as often as they were attacked for immorality. They were called on to perform prologues and epilogues, to play male parts, and occasionally to perform whole plays without their male colleagues. They were outnumbered by men in

> the theatrical companies and, as we shall see, almost invariably in plays. They were usually paid less than their male colleagues. Despite this they exerted an important, sometimes a decisive, influence on plays and theatre of the period. (31)

Pearson highlights here the importance of women playing male roles for the new transvestite theatre, which I return to below.

Following Pearson chronologically, Elizabeth Howe's 1992 book *The First English Actresses: Women and Drama 1660–1700* is an examination of the actresses in the Restoration.[10] Unlike Pearson, whose focus is broad, extending to women in all areas of Restoration theatre (managers, audiences, and mostly dramatists), Howe concentrates solely on the female performers. She concludes that the actresses experienced a mixture of agency and objectification, but she leans more heavily than Pearson on the side of disempowerment for the women. Consider two of her chapter titles: "Sex and Violence" and "The Actress as Dramatic Prostitute." (Note also how the word "prostitute" has appeared twice already: in Pearson's title and in one of Howe's chapter titles.) According to Howe, "As performers, the first English actresses were used, above all, as sexual objects, confirming, rather than challenging, the attitudes to gender of their society" (37). Though indispensable for its information on Restoration actresses, Howe's book is a rather disheartening and disturbing chronicle of the mistreatment and sexual exploitation of women. It attempts to demonstrate that most of the so-called "power" women might have gained from being admitted to perform in theatres was illusory, in light of lower wages, the equating of actresses with prostitutes, and drama written to display women for the "male gaze."

Typically associated with the idea of the male gaze in Restoration plays are scenes of rape. Pearson argues, "the danger felt to be most theatrically appealing was rape: it has been said, though with some exaggeration, that 'a rape, or an attempt at it, was almost an essential feature of a Restoration play' ... most often used for a titillating combination of violence and eroticism" (96, citing Black xviii). It may be surprising to learn that Pearson's citation comes from an introduction to an edition of *King Lear*—a 1680 adaptation of Shakespeare's play by Nahum Tate. Shakespearean adaptations often involve the addition or reworking of rape scenes. In Tate's *King Lear*, Cordelia is almost raped before being rescued by Edgar. Also, in the final act of Tate's adaptation of *Coriolanus*, called *The Ingratitude of a Commonwealth* (1681), he adds a scene in which Virgilia, the wife of Coriolanus, pleads for mercy from her husband's enemy, which fills the enemy with lust for her (46).

Furthermore, Thomas Durfey introduced a new rape subplot to his *The Injured Princess*, an adaptation of *Cymbeline*.

More recently, Jean Marsden, in *Fatal Desire: Women, Sexuality and the English Stage 1660–1720*,[11] asserts that while rape scenes in the Restoration were popular, rape or attempted rape was relatively rare on the Jacobean stage, thus offering one explanation for the addition of rape scenes to Shakespearean drama. As Marsden observes in a footnote, Karen Bamford presents a different view on the frequency of rape or attempted rape on the Jacobean stage in her *Sexual Violence on the Jacobean Stage*. Marsden argues, however, that Bamford uses a wider definition of rape than is reasonable because she includes scenes such as Iachimo in Innogen's bedchamber in *Cymbeline* and the "proposed" rape in Webster's *Appius and Virginia* (75). While I am hesitant to agree with Marsden that rape was "relatively rare" on the Jacobean stage, I contend that it was the model or the way in which rape was depicted that was so altered from the Renaissance to the Restoration. Furthermore, Derek Hughes' "Rape on the Restoration Stage" challenges many of the arguments of Pearson, Howe, and Marsden by providing evidence that rape was not "an essential feature" on the Restoration stage; nor can its popularity be tied conclusively to the introduction of women on stage. This issue will be explored in more detail in Chapter 4 in relation to Lewis Theobald's *Double Falsehood* (an adaptation of *Cardenio*), in which the heroine is raped.

Another dramatic device thought to be for the titillation of the male audience was the motif of women in male garb, or "breeches roles," a practice that was extremely popular during the Restoration (Howe 56; Pearson 103). This convention involved roles written for women who disguise themselves as boys, or females playing male roles just as the boy actors of Renaissance drama performed women's roles. Such roles were obviously inspired by the boy players of the Shakespearean stage. Breeches roles in Restoration drama are treated with contempt by modern critics as avenues to put women's legs, hips, and buttocks on display because of the tight stockings worn with breeches. Furthermore, in roles where she was in disguise, the revelation of a woman's true sex offered an opportunity to show, feel, or expose female breasts (Howe 56). While I would never deny that such sexual exploitation occurred, I find some positive implications in the practice of cross-dressing as well. Restoration actress Susan Mountfort said of her breeches role of Florellain in William Mountfort's *Greenwich Park*, "there's such an Air and Freedom belongs to Breeches, to what our Dull and dragging Petticoats allow of, that adsheartlikins I fancy my self of the Masculine Gender,

and am for ravishing the first woman I meet" (*The London Stage* Part 1 84; qtd in Howe 83). There are other possibilities within this convention which are explored in my discussion of Dryden and Davenant's adaption of *The Tempest*, and of Theobald's *Double Falsehood*. In addition to an actress finding liberation in the mere clothes of a man, surely sword fighting and the other "masculine" activities that breeches roles permitted women to assume—though limited to the world of the playhouse—offered a considerable sense of liberation.

When discussing Restoration transvestism in light of Renaissance boy players, Pearson observes:

> It is true that Restoration and eighteenth-century plays on the whole draw back from the most subversive implications of the motif. Women, for instance, conventionally fall in love with the female transvestite, preferring her to the men in their lives: but no play that I know of actually ponders the implications of this. Do such women find in the transvestites a gentleness, a valuing of female qualities, even a sense of equality, which they do not find in their men? On this the plays are silent, and the motif is used, with one or two exceptions, for straightforward comic and poignant effects. (102)

By "the most subversive implications," Pearson is suggesting homoeroticism, or more specifically lesbianism. She is arguing that the plays are silent on this, but the nature of Pearson's own pondering of the implications she has exposed reveals that they are not. If in reading the plays she is asking what attracts woman to woman, then surely some audiences would have done the same when watching the plays performed.

Moreover, if it is thought that women audience members watching Renaissance boy actors felt a connection with them through the characters, could it not be thought that the male audience members of the Restoration saw something of themselves through the women who were portraying male roles? John Harold Wilson and Pearson suggest that part of the appeal of the female transvestite was the mockery of male behavior (Pearson 103). Citing Viola's duel in *Twelfth Night* as an illustration, Pearson argues that the Renaissance transvestite tradition was more likely to mock female behavior when the female character disguises herself as a boy (104). She also suggests that another key difference between the Renaissance and Restoration conventions is that female dramatists wrote for the Restoration stage. Pearson notes that "After 1660, the female transvestite is played by a female performer, and the play too may be written by a woman: mockery of male behaviour is

now likely to be prominent, and the balance of power is significantly altered" (104). Her observation is interesting and certainly valid; however, none of the Shakespearean adaptations were written by female playwrights. Mary Pix asked in her prologue to the tragedy *Queen Catharine*, "But how shall Woman after him [Shakespeare] succeed / And what excuse can her presumption plead." Did the women dramatists of the Restoration feel unqualified to adapt or rewrite the work of Shakespeare?[12]

In addition to the work of Pearson, Howe, and Marsden on the portrayals of women, companions to Restoration drama typically include sections on women—again, presumably due to the importance of the introduction of actresses on the professional English stage. Deborah Payne Fisk's "The Restoration Actress" in *A Companion to Restoration Drama* (2001) offers a concise introduction to Restoration actresses (much of the same material that was covered by Pearson, Howe, and Marsden). What is most interesting about Payne Fisk's work is that she re-theorizes Restoration actresses. She relates the contributions of Restoration actresses and argues against evidence that has been presented (and widely accepted) that portrays Restoration actresses as merely oppressed "sex objects." She offers evidence, for example, that contradicts the assertion that Restoration actresses were paid less than the men, and asserts that "Of the some 1,200 prologues and epilogues extant from 1660–1700 no more than 2 percent eroticize the actress (1 percent if you do not include innuendo to sexual availability)," before concluding that many generalizations about women in the period need to be qualified ("Restoration Actress," 77, 81). She observes:

> To uncover "unconscious structures" of oppression is one thing; to overlook evidence that calls into question easy stereotypes is another. Breathing life into words in a way that convinces and moves audiences has always posed a challenge, even for the most skilled of performers. That actresses lacking a tradition of training could so quickly master the notoriously difficult demands of Restoration language should command far more attention than is credited. (88)

Certainly, there is truth to Payne Fisk's statements, and acting itself, as a public art form, would have given women a sense of agency even if representation did not always equal power. Where I question Payne Fisk is in her discussion of the impact the introduction of the female body on the stage had upon Restoration plays. I have argued above that the English Renaissance audience generally accepted boy actors in women's

roles. Payne Fisk contends that Shakespeare rarely gives physical details of his female characters so as not to draw too much attention to what would have been a boy's body. According to her:

> Only a theatre that employs actresses can sustain such repeated references to women's breasts, lips and shoulders, even their scent; significantly theatre traditions that use boy actors to play female roles tend to produce scripts that direct the spectator's focus away from an embodied specificity to an abstracted ideal. This is especially true of male roles. Plays written for the Greek, Noh or Renaissance stage simply do not have speeches detailing the glories of the male or female body in erotic or highly physical terms ... A theatre of female impersonation cannot afford the implicit comparison between a material, "authentic" male body and an artificially represented female body; thus, the language of Greek or Noh drama directs the viewer toward the manifestation of movement or emotion—what the body produces, not what it is. ("Restoration Actress," 83–4)[13]

Payne Fisk begins her likening of Renaissance theatre to Greek and Noh theatre by discussing the "distancing effect" that all of these traditions employ in order to compensate for boys/men playing women. She claims, "A boy performing Cleopatra in the 3,000-person-capacity Swan or Globe might well succeed, particularly if we consider that even the groundlings, although pressed close to the stage, were positioned to see the ankles rather than the faces" ("Restoration Actress" 74). This view is not supported by Renaissance audience experience or audience experience at the reconstructed Globe in London, however.[14] The first Restoration stages such as Lincoln's Inn Fields were converted tennis courts and seated perhaps 400 audience members, and the later Drury Lane was slightly larger (Owen 3), but the indoor Blackfriars—where *The Tempest*, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, and *The Winter's Tale* (to name a few) were performed—also held fewer than 600 audience members. This is not to mention court performances which would have been still more intimate. The difficulties inherent in having boys portray women were not solved merely by spatial arrangement. Henry Jackson's portrait of the boy actor playing Desdemona quoted earlier in this introduction, for example, concentrates on facial expressions.

Even more difficult to accept is the idea of a stylistic distancing effect. Payne Fisk compares Renaissance theatre conventions to the stylized intonation of Asian and Greek theatre—which obscures differences between male and female voices and shapes the delivery of language.

She also states that elaborate costuming, makeup, and masks designated gender, class, and occupation of the dramatic character. She envisions stylized representation rather than a "real" woman, and finally suggests that what we know of Elizabethan acting styles suggests they were similarly bound by such theatrical conventions (74–5). Masks were not used, however, in Shakespearean theatre—a major point of difference with Greek and Noh traditions (but not with Kabuki or Chinese opera). The face—including the eyes, cheeks, lips, and expressions—was exposed in Renaissance theatre. There is also substantial evidence to problematize any oversimple labeling of Elizabethan acting styles as "stylized."[15] Physicality in the Elizabethan and Jacobean courts would have been gendered and codified, but this would have been natural to the audiences of the time. This is not to dismiss what a female body would have brought to enacting female characters, but it is suggesting the issue has more complexity. Additionally, Chapter 3 counters the claim that Shakespeare's plays omit references to sexual female bodies.

The female audience of the Restoration related to Shakespeare's female characters played by women. They certainly eagerly supported performances, including adaptations, of Shakespeare. While the tragedies were among the plays most requested by female audiences, other genres were also popular; Dryden and Davenant's adaptation of *The Tempest*, for example, was often requested (Pearson 40, n. 79). In late 1736 the Shakespeare Ladies Club was formed: a group of women who organized to convince theatre managers to perform more Shakespeare plays. Pearson notes that "In 1735–6 Shakespeare formed 14 per cent of the repertoire: in 1736–7 this rose to 17 per cent and at Drury Lane to a massive 29.2 per cent" (Pearson 40; citing Avery 156). Shakespeare's plays that had not yet been performed on the Restoration and eighteenth-century stage suddenly appeared, including *The Winter's Tale* (discussed in Chapter 3). Though evidence suggests that the Shakespeare Ladies Club often wished for a return to the "original" Shakespeare, they were also inspired by the performances of the adaptations and encouraged these plays as well. The prologue to James Miller's *The Universal Passion* (1737), an adaptation of *Much Ado about Nothing*, and the epilogue to George Lillo's *Marina* (1738), a version of *Pericles*, both pay tribute to the Shakespeare Ladies Club (Ritchie 62, 66).[16]

In Marsden's earlier work, *The Re-Imagined Text: Shakespeare, Adaptation, and Eighteenth-Century Literary Theory* (1995), she states (ironically in a note), that "The subject of women, as well as the more general topic of rewritten morality, has been almost entirely neglected" in studies of Shakespearean adaptations (161, n. 8). Marsden's solution to this issue

is a section titled "Rewritten Women." Both following earlier scholars and foreshadowing her later work that includes non-Shakespearean Restoration writers, Marsden argues that women's roles were for titillation (for the men) and breeches roles for "showing off a well-turned feminine ankle" (*Re-Imagined Text* 30). Marsden's critical position is that women's roles generally portrayed women as objects of pathos who primarily occupy the domestic sphere. She uses period conduct books to illustrate how adaptors aligned their writing with contemporary views about women and notions of femininity and female behavior, which they depicted as "ennobled by love and fraught by fear" (32). According to Marsden:

> Such a recasting of feminine nature requires major revisions to Shakespeare's work in general, for, while love is an important element in romantic comedies and in some tragedies, it does not play a central role in many other plays, such as the political plays and the histories. By contrast, in the adaptations a focus on love is no longer restricted by genre. Almost every play focuses on a love story; where no love story is present in the original plays, new plots are created; where a love interest seems understated, adapters re-emphasize its importance, focusing attention more strongly on the domestic realm—marriage, love, and family. (34)

Marsden touches on an important point here: there were various reasons—political, social, commercial, to name a few—for the alterations made to Shakespeare's plays. Acknowledging the reasons for the rewriting of Shakespeare's plays is integral, and this territory is well covered by scholars like Marsden and Dobson. But again, as stated above, the overall focus of Marsden's book, including her section on "Rewritten Women," is "literary" not performative. Marsden wants to know why playwrights adapted Shakespeare's plays in the first place and why they then stopped doing so (and returned to the originals). She concludes by saying there are no simple answers to her questions. In the Restoration, she states, Shakespeare's works were not yet perceived as "the pinnacle of English poetry, but rather [they had] a different perception of where his genius is located ... The issue thus becomes a question of whether the essence of Shakespeare's talent lies in mimesis or in logos, in representing nature or in language" (*Re-Imagined Text* 150). Shakespeare's talent lies in both—logos and mimesis are not mutually exclusive. The Restoration freely adapted Shakespeare because his genius did not lie in his language for them (which was the product of a barbaric age) but in

his characters and plot. Adaptations declined, Marsden says, "because interest in Shakespeare's language grew until it became a 'given,' a set of words that could be chopped or pieced out, but not subverted" (152). Finally, in part due to the rise of scholarly editions of Shakespeare's works, adaptations slowly disappeared and the text became something to be analyzed and not just staged. The equation of language too much with reading, and performance with plot forgets that there is a performance inherent in the language. In the 20 years since the publication of *The Re-Imagined Text*, much has been written on the Restoration actress, but not specifically on the actresses and female characters in Restoration adaptations of Shakespeare.

Looking at the changes made to female characters upon the advent of women on the Restoration stage provides insight into how Fletcher and Shakespeare, knowing that they had only boy actors at their disposal, created female characters. Because the playwrights were creating female characters for boy actors, perhaps the inherent combination of gender attributes led to a more accurate and complex depiction of women. The often discussed ambiguity that runs through all of Shakespeare's plays and his characters has been credited as one of the reasons for their popularity through the ages; certainly, the female roles escape final pronouncements and are indeed still not only playable but coveted by today's actresses. It is a distrust of such ambiguity and fear of disorder that marks Restoration adaptations: "In contrast to the adaptations, with their painstaking linguistic simplicity, Renaissance literature abounds with puns and sometimes elaborate conceits, literary figures which by their very nature promote ambiguity by adding an additional layer of meaning" (*Re-Imagined Text* 11). The absence of a female body in the Renaissance theatre prevented the characters from being "sex objects" as they sometimes became in the Restoration.

Whatever questions remain, this book is undoubtedly indebted to these investigations of women on the Restoration stage as well as to studies of the adaptations. It is also fortunate that so much primary material exists on Restoration, and especially eighteenth-century, theatre. Beginning with the plays themselves as my primary sources of information, the staging and dramaturgy of the female characters is explored. Each chapter begins with an introduction to the adapted play and an overview of the women's roles in the original play and how the dramatis personae were altered. Each comparison of a Restoration adaptation with a Renaissance play helps to illuminate themes and motifs conveyed through the character as well as implications for dramatic possibilities. Connections to other plays of both periods (Renaissance

and Restoration/eighteenth century) uncover patterns in the staging of women. I have chosen depth over breadth, and therefore my study has been limited to four of Shakespeare's late plays (two sole-authored and two collaborative) and their respective adaptations, giving a total of eight plays and six authors (Davenant, Dryden, Theobald, Garrick, Shakespeare, and Fletcher) over two eras—in reality three—of theatre history (the Renaissance and the Restoration/eighteenth century). The chapters are organized chronologically with respect to date of adaptation, with the exception of Lewis Theobald's *Double Falsehood*, for it is a special case as explained below.

In the first chapter, "Other Worldly Desires," the Jailer's Daughter and Emilia in Fletcher and Shakespeare's *The Two Noble Kinsmen* and William Davenant's 1664 adaptation, *The Rivals*, are investigated. The first section of this chapter, in the course of exploring the reasons Davenant chose to make the Jailer's Daughter the central character of his adaptation, discusses the defining characteristics and staging of the Jailer's Daughter's "feminine" madness. Then the character of Emilia is investigated in light of the Jailer's Daughter, drawing parallels between the two women. Why did Davenant cut Emilia's sister Hippolyta, her childhood friend Flavina, and all references to her Amazonian roots? Why, when the Jailer's Daughter prefers Palamon so strongly, does Emilia seem unable to choose between the kinsmen? I argue she cannot choose either man because she has placed her faith in chastity and a preference for women. The ultimate characteristic the two heroines share is frustrated desire that in a patriarchal realm can only find expression in "an-other" world. For the Jailer's Daughter, these fantasies and dreams are created through madness, while for Emilia they lie in a remembered female friendship and female world.

In Chapter 2, Dryden and Davenant's *The Tempest Or, The Enchanted Island* (1667) is considered, a play which has been called the most popular of all Shakespearean adaptations. This adaptation has had a substantial influence on performances of Shakespeare's play over a century as it was performed more regularly than the original version until the nineteenth century (see Chapter 2, p. 67). If one excludes the roles of the goddesses in the masque, *The Tempest* is Shakespeare's only play to include just one female role: Miranda. Dryden and Davenant's adaptation gives Prospero another daughter, Dorinda, and adds a breeches role, Hippolito, a man—played by a woman—"one that never saw woman." In "No Woman Is an Island" gender anxieties and ambiguities in both versions of the play are discussed. What happens to Miranda when she is not responsible for carrying the thematic weight of "woman" in the

adaptation? How can we begin to envisage Shakespeare's Miranda as a living, breathing woman rather than an emblem or ideal? How does the breeches role of Hippolito function in the adaptation and does it say anything about Shakespeare's play? Is there agency in such a role or is it merely for titillation purposes? These are some of the questions that are explored in this chapter.

Chapter 3 advances almost an entire century from when *The Enchanted Island* was written, to focus on David Garrick's 1756 *Florizel and Perdita*, an adaptation of *The Winter's Tale*. Performed in the mid-eighteenth century, *Florizel and Perdita* marks the beginning of the decline of the adaptations. It demonstrates the effect of an adaptation where less of the language and plot are altered but much of the stage action has changed. As noted above, *The Winter's Tale* is noteworthy because it was one of Shakespeare's plays that was not revived during the Restoration; 80 years passed from the closure of the theatres in 1642 before the play was adapted (see Chapter 3, pp. 98–9). Why were Restoration dramatists hesitant to approach *The Winter's Tale*? Part of the answer lies in the difficulty with neoclassical unities, but the strong female characters also proved problematic. Why did the adaptors choose to focus on Perdita and diminish the roles of Hermione and Paulina? Rather than having a "penchant for Perdita,"[17] my chapter focuses on Hermione and Paulina—their sexuality, strength, and possibly sorcery—demonstrating through the numerous references to Hermione's body (pregnant and otherwise) including her eyes, lips, and tongue, that she is created as a sexual woman, even if she was originally played by a boy.

Fourth and finally, I discuss Theobald's 1727 *Double Falsehood*, a play he claimed was a Shakespearean adaptation. Many scholars believe the original play to have been a lost Fletcher and Shakespeare collaboration titled *Cardenio*. In this chapter, *Double Falsehood* is read as an adaptation of the lost *Cardenio*, hypothesizing where it is likely Theobald amended a Jacobean or Jacobean-derived script. Elements of *Cardenio*'s source, Miguel de Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, are employed as a sort of "control group" when necessary. The chapter begins by investigating the heroine Violante, using her cross-gender disguise as an anchoring point from which to explore gender and her journey through the play, from loss of virginity through rape to her ultimate confrontation with her betrayer in the denouement. The name "Violante" becomes connected with "violation," just as names of other female characters in Shakespeare's late plays hold symbolic resonance. Singing is connected with grieving, and possibly rape; silence becomes a form of resistance.

Cross-gender disguise functions as an unsuccessful escape from gender, but ultimately becomes a device that empowers the heroine.

From one angle, as has been aptly pointed out, all productions of Shakespeare are adaptations. Dramatists such as Davenant and Dryden adapted heavily with language; today productions often adapt with design or acting to convey interpretive choices and techniques that suit our social contexts and politics. Considering the influence of the Restoration adaptations on the performance history of Renaissance plays, especially those by Shakespeare, and in light of the introduction of actresses on the Restoration stage, important insights can be gained from investigating the representation of the female sex through such works. Whether dealing with little-known texts or re-examining familiar works, I hope that this book fosters a deeper knowledge and understanding of the performative nature of female gender on the early modern English stage.

1

Other Worldly Desires: The Jailer's Daughter and Emilia in Fletcher and Shakespeare's *The Two Noble Kinsmen* and Davenant's *The Rivals*

Introduction: women's parts in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* and *The Rivals*

Little has been written regarding John Fletcher and William Shakespeare's 1613 tragicomedy *The Two Noble Kinsmen* and William Davenant's 1668 (performed in 1664) adaptation, *The Rivals*.[1] This is likely due to the history of contempt for Restoration adaptations of Shakespeare plays in general (see the Introduction), but also because for many years scholarly discussions of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* centered on questions of authorship, primarily the question of Shakespeare's involvement in the play. The most comprehensive account of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* and *The Rivals* that I have found appears in Arthur Colby Sprague's *Fletcher and Beaumont on the Restoration Stage* (1926). Sprague regards Fletcher's collaborator as a "riddle" and goes on to give a concise but detailed account of the changes Davenant made to the original play (Sprague 129). He is interested in "the contrasting dramatic ideals of the Jacobean and Restoration eras" (xv), and the section on *The Rivals* opens Part II of his study, "Alterations and Adaptations," where Sprague compares 20 Restoration plays to their Jacobean sources. Following many adaptations of Renaissance plays, Davenant cut the text considerably, Sprague observes, removing almost the entire first and fifth acts. Additionally, Davenant imposed the unities of action, time, and place, and he ensured love became the dominant theme of the play (129–31; cf. Introduction p. 17, above). As discussed in the Introduction and as others demonstrate, love usually becomes central in the Shakespearean adaptations. Finally, as Sprague also notes, *The Rivals* removed the tragic elements from *The Two Noble Kinsmen* and added farcical characters to the play, planting it firmly in the realm of comedy rather than

tragicomedy (263; cf. Chapter 3's discussion of Garrick's removal of Mamillius from *The Winter's Tale*, thereby removing death and tragedy from the end of that play).

Partly to achieve such structural and thematic changes, Davenant made many alterations to individual characters in the play. Given the broad scope of his project, Sprague devotes little attention to what I want to focus on in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* and *The Rivals*: the female characters in the two plays. Given that female roles occupy such a central position in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, *The Rivals* must be included in any examination of the dramaturgy of female characters in early modern English theatre. In this introductory section, I demonstrate how women's parts are integral to *The Two Noble Kinsmen* and then go on to explore the character of the Jailer's Daughter by reference to her counterpart, Celania, in *The Rivals*. Likewise, in the final section, I will center my analysis on the other female in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* and *The Rivals*, Emilia (Heraclia), while linking the two original female characters structurally and thematically.

The Two Noble Kinsmen is unusual in its large number of female roles, in terms of both actual stage presence and quantity of female characters. The third-largest part in the play belongs to Emilia (368 lines), and the Jailer's Daughter follows closely with 324 lines, nearly as many as Theseus' 326 lines (Potter 134). Additionally, the play contains all the three major Renaissance stereotypes of women: maid, wife, and widow, which are present from the first scene of the play. As David Bradley notes in *From Text to Performance in the Elizabethan Theatre*, the female roles in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* require a cast of ten boy players (239). A scan of Bradley's chart on "Cast-lists of public theatre plays from 1497 to 1625" reveals that ten boys is well above the average requirement (230–43). If we count the Five Countrywomen (Morris dancers), which Bradley omits from his tally, there are potentially 15 roles in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* for boy actors, perhaps more if we count the nymphs in 1.1.

Commenting on the typical requirements for Shakespeare's plays in particular, Stanley Wells in "Boys Should be Girls: Shakespeare's Female Roles and the Boy Players" writes, "By my calculations, and allowing for doubling, thirty of Shakespeare's plays—well over two-thirds of the total, written from the beginning to almost the end of his career—call for no more than four boy actors" (174). To further demonstrate *The Two Noble Kinsmen* as being somewhat of an anomaly for Shakespeare, the play opens with at least nine boy players playing eight female roles on stage (Boy, three nymphs, Hippolyta, Emilia, Three Queens), and possibly ten boy players are necessary if the vague "another" who holds the garland over Hippolyta's head in the wedding procession is a woman.

Similarly, 3.5 demands eight boy actors to portray women: the Jailer's Daughter, Five Countrywomen, Hippolyta, and Emilia. Therefore, even if we consider the possibility of doubling, more than twice the number of boys are required compared to most of Shakespeare's other plays. Lois Potter notes, "If all [female parts] were played by boys, as T.J. King assumes in his *Casting Shakespeare's Plays* (King 252), *The Two Noble Kinsmen* had more speaking roles for boys than any Shakespeare play since *Richard III*" (64). Fletcher's plays, on average, require more boys than do Shakespeare's, but they never call for more than nine boys (*Women Pleased*, *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife*, and *Fair Maid of the Inn* all call for nine boys) (Bradley 241–3).

The issue of boy players did not factor into *The Rivals* or any of Davenant's plays since he had actresses available to play the female parts. Furthermore, in an age when playwrights were eager to show off the "new" actresses and frequently wrote additional female roles as part of the adaptations—as was done in the Davenant and Dryden adaptation of *The Tempest*—Davenant might well have been drawn to *The Two Noble Kinsmen* for its female roles.[2] He did remove some female roles when condensing the cast in general, however. Notably, he cut the three Queens and Hippolyta, although he retained the Countrywomen who dance the Morris and added four huntresses (probably played by the same women as the Countrywomen). He retained Emilia's woman but gave her the proper name of Cleone (she is never named in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*). He also included a minor role for a nurse and a larger role for a maid (waiting-woman), Leucippe, who with her love-interest, Cunopes, forms a large part of the low comedy. Only Celania (the Jailer's Daughter), Heraclia (Emilia), Leucippe, and the ever vague "attendants" appear in the dramatis personae or "Actors Names" in the front matter of *The Rivals*, thus making it impossible to determine the exact number of women used in his cast.

Whether or not the number of its female parts attracted Davenant to *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, certainly the scope of, and dramatic possibilities inherent in, particular female roles in the play would have attracted his attention. Davenant was most interested in the Jailer's Daughter, who becomes Celania in his version, and in Emilia, whom he renames Heraclia. These two women become central characters in *The Rivals*, and their roles are expanded to match those of the two kinsmen, Arcite (Theocles in *The Rivals*) and Palamon (Philander). Davenant gives roughly 227 lines to Heraclia and 278 to Celania. This is all the more significant given that Davenant's play is about half the length of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. In the latter, Palamon is the largest part, comprising

589 lines, while his counterpart in Davenant's play, Philander, has approximately 337 lines. Recalling Emilia's 368 lines and the Daughter's 324 lines in the original play, we can observe that in Davenant's adaptation the Daughter's role becomes larger than Emilia's and only 59 lines shorter than Palamon's.

I belabor this line counting to help demonstrate that certainly, the Jailer's Daughter is the starring role in *The Rivals*. In addition to the aforementioned lines, she performs eight songs (some of them with three stanzas) or snippets of songs on stage. The expansion of the Daughter's role becomes even more intriguing when we consider that it was common practice for Restoration adaptations to cut subplots entirely. The remainder of this chapter concerns the Jailer's Daughter and Emilia, the only prominent female roles retained in *The Rivals*.

The Jailer's Daughter in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* and *The Rivals*

Why did Davenant choose to expand the role of the Jailer's Daughter and make her the protagonist of *The Rivals*? Potter remarks that Davenant may have seen performances of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* before the Civil War, and his adaptation "shows how the text was understood by someone who may have drawn on recollections of its pre-war staging" (75). Often repeated is the anecdote that Davenant may have been responsible for Thomas Betterton's success in the role of Hamlet (and other roles as well)—he supposedly coached Betterton to play the role as it had been passed down to him, advice that originated with Shakespeare himself. Less frequently discussed is the success of Mary Saunderson (Mrs Betterton) in the role of Ophelia, which Colley Cibber also attributes to Davenant, who "gave her such an idea of it [the part of Ophelia] as he could catch from the boy-Ophelias he had seen before the civil wars" (Davies, *Dramatic Miscellanies* 131). It is fascinating to consider this idea in light of the connections between the two mad women: Ophelia and the Jailer's Daughter. Did Davenant "coach" the actress(es) playing the Jailer's Daughter in the same manner as he did Saunderson when she played Ophelia, recollecting what was notable about the role in the original staging? Whether or not he had seen early performances, Davenant certainly comprehended what the role of the Jailer's Daughter had to offer both actress and audiences. The success of (Mary) Moll Davis, the actress who portrayed Celania in *The Rivals*, corresponds to the success of actresses who play the Jailer's Daughter in modern productions. In *Roscius Anglicanus*, John Downes says of *The Rivals*, "all the women's

parts admirably acted; chiefly Celia, a shepherdess, being mad for love; especially in singing several wild and mad songs; 'My Lodging it is on the Cold Ground', &c. She performed that so charmingly, that not long after, it rais'd her from her bed on the cold ground, to a Bed Royal" (*Roscius Anglicanus, or, an historical review* 33). Though Downes mistakenly calls the Daughter "Celia" rather than "Celania" and labels her "a shepherdess" when she is actually the daughter of the keeper of the prison, the substance of the story is likely true.[3] The popularity of "My Lodging it is on the Cold Ground" is further attested to by its multiple publications and parodies.[4] Davis' performance of it in *The Rivals*, which supposedly catapulted her to the status of King Charles' mistress, is also discussed in connection with the song's reprinted version in an eighteenth-century songbook, *Old Ballads* (1784), where it is titled "The Mad Shepherdess" (Evans 285). These two references, in unrelated sources, to Celania (the Jailer's Daughter) as a "shepherdess" are noteworthy, and I return to the point below in discussing the character's madness. First, however, I examine the circumstances crafted for the Jailer's Daughter by Fletcher and Shakespeare that bring about and develop her madness. These circumstances reveal why audiences feel so connected to this character and therefore why Davenant thought she was so crucial to his adaptation of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. Finally, this section explores the defining characteristics of feminine madness, how feminine madness is staged, and how "distraction" offers agency by affording an avenue for expression—sexual and physical as well as verbal. These liberties of expression were not always available to women in the Renaissance and clearly Davenant was uncomfortable with giving them to his heroine in the Restoration.

The hopelessness and isolation of the Jailer's Daughter

In *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, Fletcher and Shakespeare create a world of isolation for the Jailer's Daughter that is provoked by an impossible romance. These circumstances distinguish her from the rest of the characters in the play and also foster a strong relationship with the audience. Additionally, the Jailer's Daughter's situation establishes her independence and the path to her madness. Davenant recognized the range and complexity afforded by such a role and thus chose to make Celania (the Jailer's Daughter) the central figure in his adaptation, *The Rivals*. When comparing Celania in *The Rivals* to the Jailer's Daughter in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, however, it becomes evident that Davenant, while capitalizing on her madness, removed most of the underlying reasons for it.

An important attribute of the Jailer's Daughter is her class. As with Violante in *Double Falsehood* (which may contain remnants of another

Fletcher and Shakespeare collaboration and is discussed in Chapter 4), the social status of the Jailer's Daughter is somewhat ambiguous, but nevertheless the key to understanding the conditions which propel her madness as well as her relationship with the audience. The most important point about the Jailer's Daughter's class is that although she is not the lowest on the social scale, Palamon still is out of her reach socially. She says, "Why should I love this gentlemen? 'Tis odds / He never will affect me: I am base, / My father the mean keeper of his prison, / And he a prince. To marry him is hopeless" (*TNK* 2.4.1–4). Later, she adds that Palamon does not care for her because, "I have nothing / But this poor petticoat and two coarse smocks" (*TNK* 5.2.83–4). The Daughter is a plebeian, low in the social scale compared to a prince. This is vital, and it must be the basis for an alteration Davenant made in *The Rivals*. Celania's father is no longer the "jailer"— he is elevated to Provost. He is given a man, Cunopes, who maintains the prisoners and holds the keys of the prison (Act 2; pp. 17–18).[5] In fact, it is Cunopes who is referred to as the keeper in *The Rivals*. Such a rise in class foreshadows that the odds against Celania (the Daughter) marrying Philander (Palamon) are not insurmountable, whereas in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, as the Jailer's Daughter says, marriage is "hopeless." Compare Celania's parallel speech wherein she questions her love for Philander: "Why shou'd I love this Gentleman? 'Tis odds, / Hee'l never find a feature in my face; / To tempt so much as a kind look from him" (*The Rivals* Act 2; p. 18). Adjectives like "mean" and "base" are gone; that Philander will surely not find her attractive is now the only issue. What was once a class barrier now becomes a problem of mere fancy or taste in facial "features." Tastes can easily be swayed but the same is not true for the rank into which one is born. In contrast, the futile desire of the Jailer's Daughter in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* fosters her isolation, her connection with the audience, and the feeling of entrapment (lack of a proper outlet for her love of Palamon and sexual frustration) that ultimately ushers in her madness.

The audience often sees the Jailer's Daughter alone in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. Her confession of love to Palamon begins with the stage direction, "Enter the Jailer's Daughter alone" (2.4.0.1), which appears two more times, in 2.6 and 3.1, and she is also alone in 3.4. In all four scenes, the Daughter enters alone, exits alone, and is the only character to appear. The Daughter's isolation is reinforced, as is her connection with the audience, who become her scene partner, receiving the direct address of her soliloquies. In *The Rivals*, Celania's isolation is greatly diminished, though not eliminated entirely. In Davenant's play, she

only appears alone twice, and in the first instance is quickly interrupted by her maid Leucippe (2; p. 18; and 3; pp. 28–9). In giving Celania a female confidante, Davenant makes a key dramaturgical alteration. In *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, the Jailer's Daughter is located decisively in a world of men: her father, brother, wooer, and her father's friends.

It is love for her father's prisoner, in both versions, that motivates the Daughter/Celania to arrange for his escape. In *The Rivals*, Celania is given further motivation to release Philander because she has been falsely led to believe he will be put to death. In the original play the Daughter holds on to a single motivation: to make Palamon know she loves him. This provides her with one prospect: that she can enjoy him sexually and he will love her in return. (She does not consider marriage an option at this point.) The Daughter has no reason to believe she is saving Palamon's life; she is only giving him liberty in hopes of satisfying her lust for him. In the adaptation, Celania is not entirely alone in the knowledge of her love nor is she alone in releasing Philander. Both her maid, Leucippe, and the princess Heraclia (Emilia in *TNK*) know of Celania's affection toward Philander. In addition, Celania plots with both Leucippe and Cunopes to acquire the keys to the jail and free Philander. In *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, the Daughter, much more self-reliant than her corollary in *The Rivals*, single-handedly and secretly—sharing her intentions only with the audience—liberates Palamon.

Davenant begins the escape scene with, "Enter Celania with the prison keys and Philander" (2; p. 22). This scene is surely inspired by the Daughter's lines in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, "nor scarcely / Could I persuade him to become a free man, / He made such scruples of the wrong he did / To me and my father" (2.6.23–6) because what follows in *The Rivals* is Philander resisting release for fear his honor would be tainted since her father would likely be hanged for allowing his escape. She convinces him that her father would surely be pardoned and that there is no dishonor in saving his own young life. While some modern productions stage the Daughter releasing Palamon (as Celania does Philander in *The Rivals*), no such scene exists in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*.[6] As the Daughter is relating Palamon's freeing to the audience in 2.6, the event has, like her confession of falling in love with him, already happened, located somewhere in the past, in memory, and is irrevocable. By keeping Palamon's release off stage, Fletcher and Shakespeare situate the event in the Daughter's mind, her world and experience, as well as in the audience's imaginative space. Since, as discussed below, Palamon does not respond to her help as she expects, this creates a certain "interior" aspect to the character of the Daughter that relates to and foreshadows her impending madness.

In Davenant's staging of the prisoner's release in *The Rivals*, Celania says she will bring him to the door, tell him where to stay, and present him with appropriate clothes for his journey (*The Rivals* 3; p. 24), whereas the corresponding soliloquy of the Daughter in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, in which she merely plots the escape (again, the escape happens off stage), is sexually charged: "Let him do / What he will with me, so he use me kindly—/ For use me so he shall, or I'll proclaim him, / And to his face, no man" (2.6.28–31). These lines are cut from Davenant's more modest version. In the original, like other plays in the romance tradition, the Daughter purposefully sets off to follow her beloved: "That way he takes, / I purpose, is my way too." (2.6.17–18).[7] Not only is the Daughter more sexually explicit in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, she has greater agency—a point discussed at greater length below. The Daughter, ironically, does in a sense take the way Palamon takes, for both of them are in pursuit of their love at the risk of danger and death.

Unfortunately for the Daughter, Palamon's love interest is Emilia. When he is next seen on stage, he does not even mention the Daughter. There is no display of gratitude or concern that their meeting has failed, either by Palamon's deliberate evasion or from an honest misunderstanding. In the third act, alone in the dark woods, the Daughter begins her descent into madness. She begins vividly to imagine Palamon torn apart by wolves, indicates she has not eaten or slept for two days, and wishes for death. She says, "Let not my sense unsettled, / Lest I should drown, or stab, or hang myself. / Oh, state of nature, fail together in me, / Since thy best props are warped!" (3.2.29–32). The Daughter is struggling for control of her mind and body. Davenant makes this descent explicit in a parallel speech in *The Rivals* when Celania exclaims, "Alas, I grow mad" (3; p. 30). In both plays the Daughter's madness is fueled by hunger, exhaustion, and fear for Palamon's/Philander's life. The madness in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* originates, however, from the Daughter's separation from the other characters in the play and her entrapment in a hopeless, unrequited love; in *The Rivals* Celania is not altogether alone and has no class barrier that makes her love completely without prospect.

Gendered madness, agency, and alternate realities

It is at this juncture that the Daughter becomes what Douglas Bruster defines as the "pathetic mad singer," which he contends is always female in early modern drama (281). It is not that mad women are the only ones who sing in Renaissance drama (cf. the Fool in *King Lear*), but that the effect was gendered. Male characters whose madness is meant to be sympathetic do not typically sing. Discussing how songs

are used for characterization, William R. Bowden argues that as a "general rule" early modern audiences seem to have found madness funny (singing "bedlams, half-wits and sham-lunatics"), except in a few rare instances that mostly involved young girls. He speculates that "Perhaps the susceptibility of a masculine audience to the appeal of feminine beauty and fragility helped to set these cases apart; perhaps the clear voices of the boy actors were a factor" (38, n. 8). Preceding Bruster's discussion of feminine madness, Maurice Charney and Hanna Charney assert, "Madness allows women an emotional intensity and scope not usually expected in conventional feminine roles. Their madness is interpreted as something specifically feminine, whereas the madness of men is not specifically male" (451). By the time of the Restoration, madness on the stage became confined almost entirely to women. Restoration writers presumably realized that madness could provide actresses with "emotional intensity and scope," and also that it could offer the audience sexual titillation, for many of the conventional signs of madness were also sexually suggestive. Additionally, I demonstrate that the Daughter has agency through her madness, culminating in an ability to construct an alternate reality or world through which she may enact fantasies about her unachievable desires.

There are defining characteristics of early modern feminine madness—which Fletcher and Shakespeare, and Davenant to a lesser extent, employed. As stated above, musicality and an overall connection with sound/noise are integral. Ties between madness and music, women and music, and music and sex were frequently drawn in the Renaissance. In fact, gentlemen were warned against becoming masters in music or indulging in music too often for fear that it would feminize them or align them with a lower class of servants or paid performers. The second fear is not, of course, unrelated to the first, for women performing music for the pleasure of men was just another instance of power imbalances in a patriarchal world (Trillini 4–5). Linda Phyllis Austern asserts, "both women and music as potential inflamers of the passions ... could, through strictly masculine control, serve as earthly reminders of divine love and providence" (343). Music was often depicted allegorically as a woman or endowed with feminine attributes. Singing, therefore, can be viewed as an inherently feminine mode of expression.

Importantly, the Daughter's speech may be approached as music—to an even greater extent than Shakespearean dramatic language usually is. It is usually in verse and full of rhythmic repetition, alliteration, and onomatopoeia. The imagery in the Daughter's speech stresses sounds and noise, often through animals such as birds. Given the connection with

music and singing, it is no coincidence that the Daughter is fixated on birds: the screech-owl, hawks, and nightingales. Moreover, the Daughter describes her love for Palamon by saying, "in my heart was Palamon and there, / Lord, what a coil he keeps! To hear him / Sing in an evening, what a heaven it is!" (*TNK* 2.4.17–19).[8] In *The Rivals*, Celania also describes Palamon's songs. She tells Heraclia how Palamon bravely bears his imprisonment so that he barely sighs, but when he does:

> He strait redeems the Error of that sigh
> By singing, which he does to that degree
> Of ravishing that even the Prison Wal
> Which only Eccho other's Misery
> Bear a part in's Music. (*The Rivals* 2; p. 13)

It may be no coincidence that Philander's (Palamon's) songs in Davenant's play are endowed with the ability to *ravish*, a word synonymous with sexual violation. "What a coil he keeps" refers to the tumult caused by him. "Coil" can refer to the male genitals, "possibly alluding to the penis coiled up in repose" (Rubinstein 324). The Daughter is first attracted to the *songs* of Palamon. He now makes *noise* (an aural disturbance) in her heart, which contributes to her madness. When the Daughter initially imagines the wolves, she *hears* them, "Hark, 'tis a wolf!" (*TNK* 3.2.4). When she searches for a way to rescue Palamon, it is *vocally*, by "hallow[ing]" or "whoop[ing]" (3.2.8–9).

When the Wooer reports finding the Daughter to the Jailer, he describes first her *voice*: "I heard a voice, a shrill one, and attentive / I gave my ear, when I might well perceive / 'Twas one that sung and, by the smallness of it, / A boy or woman" (*TNK* 4.1.56–9). After Act 1, all of the many songs in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* belong only to the Jailer's Daughter, with the exception of the Morris dance in Act 3. Renaissance theatre relied heavily on aural aspects anyway, but it must have been advantageous given the use of boy players to express this "feminine madness" through song. While a boy did not have the breasts (at least not real ones) of a woman and may have worn a wig to signify long hair, the boy's voice was essentially the most feminine characteristic that he naturally possessed or that was non-prosthetic. The Daughter even makes reference to this voice, perhaps in a metatheatrical moment, when talking of Palamon's many children in 4.1, "and all these must be boys / (He has the trick on't) and at ten years old / They must be all gelt for musicians / And sing the wars of Theseus" (*TNK* 4.1.130–3). In other words, the boys would be castrated to retain their feminine voices for

singing. All three of the actresses in the Restoration (Winifred Gosnell, Mary Betterton, and notably Moll Davis) who portrayed Celania in *The Rivals* were noted for their singing voices and musical abilities (*BD* 6: 277–8; 2: 96; 4: 222).

It is also entirely likely that the mad singing voice of the Jailer's Daughter was at some point accompanied by a lute, recalling the frequently mentioned stage direction in *Hamlet*, "Enter Ophelia [distracted, with her hair down, playing on a lute]" (4.5.20.1–2). Julia Craig-McFeely argues that "Clearly, the lute has a special association with and for women in England, but there is undoubtedly a paradox between the lute as a symbol of the lascivious and of venal love, and the lute in its far subtler guise of a vehicle for the expression of higher sensibilities" (310). Craig-McFeely cites numerous examples of visual art from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries that clearly code lutes for lust or sexual activity, often prostitution. Even the Flemish word for lute, *luit*, also meant vagina (301). For her, this paradox reveals the lute to be an emblem for complex emotions (a "window to the heart"): sensibility, harmony, and matrimony when in the hands of gentlewomen while at the same time being a symbol for sexual degradation. Craig-McFeely attempts to resolve the paradox by seeing the *visual* lute as an emblem for lust and sex and the *aural* lute as expressing inner feelings and harmony. The contradictory symbolism seems to merge seamlessly at times and Craig-McFeely is not able to fully untangle it. One example she cites is from Shakespeare's *Richard III*: "He capers nimbly in a lady's chamber / To the lascivious pleasing of a lute" (1.1.12–13).[9] This ambiguity is at home in the theatre where the audience would simultaneously experience both the visual image of a character with the lute and the sound of lute-playing. Given the emblematic nature of the lute, both sexually evocative and emotional, it is fitting for the mad female singer to be connected with such an instrument. Like Ophelia's songs, the Daughter's are from an English folk tradition and could naturally be accompanied by a lute. It is interesting that Sir Peter Lely's famous portrait of Moll Davis—contemporary with performances of *The Rivals*—pictures her holding and playing a stringed instrument, though it is a guitar (see Figure 1.1). We can never be sure whether or not Celania and/or the Jailer's Daughter played the lute in performance of the mad songs, but certainly music played an integral role in the madness of the characters.

In addition to her singing voice (possibly accompanied by instrumental music), there are other physical—non-aural—manifestations of feminine madness that the Daughter expresses. In the stage direction

Figure 1.1 *Mary Davis*, by Sir Peter Lely, 1678 (By permission of the National Portrait Gallery, London)

just discussed, Ophelia enters with "her hair down." A woman with her hair down is a common trope for female madness on the Elizabethan stage. Hair in early modern drama is consistently linked to elevated passion, mourning, or grief, and madness. Disruption of order (that is, rape, loss of life, mental imbalance, or political chaos) is always symbolically placed upon a woman's physical body, and disrupted hair signifies a disturbed mind. It is not necessary to repeat here the numerous examples of such stage directions from Shakespeare, Fletcher, and other dramatists of the period as this has been done many times elsewhere.[10] I point to an instance pertinent to the play at hand, that I have not found cited elsewhere in discussions of disheveled hair, possibly because it does not occur in a stage direction, but rather in dialogue. The Wooer describes the Daughter's appearance in 4.1 in the following lines: "The place / Was knee-deep where she sat; her careless tresses / A wreath of bullrush rounded" (4.1.82–4). Compare the Wooer's picture of the Daughter to that of Bellario by Philaster in Fletcher and Beaumont's *Philaster*:

> I found him, sitting by a fountaine side,
> Of which he borrowed some to quench his thirst,
> And payd the Nymph againe as much in teares;
> A Garland lay him by, made by himselfe,
> Of many severall flowers, bred in the bay,
> Stucke in that misticke order, that the rarenesse
> Delighted me: but ever when he turnd
> His tender eyes upon um, he would weepe (1.1.114–21; vol. 1)

Though Bellario, who is actually the disguised heroine Euphrasia, is dressed as a boy and not in a state of madness, she is disturbed and, like the Daughter, is described as sitting by the water's edge, with flowers made into a head garland to symbolize extreme grief. Like the Daughter, Bellario/Euphrasia is grieved by her love for Philaster, and at last in the final act she says to him, "My birth no match for you, I was past hope / Of having you" (5.5.175–6).

Moments earlier in *Philaster*, Bellario reveals s/he is actually Euphrasia by "discover[ing] her hair" (5.5.112.1; vol. 1). It is worth mentioning that "hair down" was also used in Renaissance theatre as a conventional way for a heroine in cross-gender disguise to reveal her womanhood.[11] Considering the examples collectively, "hair down" was in the Renaissance one of the ultimate (if not *the* ultimate) expressions of femininity, almost a synecdoche for woman. In a state of madness, therefore, when a woman's hair is loose and/or disordered we have

women removing the "disguise," if you will, not of maleness as signified by clothing etc., but of a male-controlled female decorum. To further illustrate that instances of "hair down" are connected, note the only other mention of hair in relation to the Daughter. She sings, "For I'll cut my green coat, a foot above my knee / And I'll clip my yellow locks, an inch below mine eye" (*TNK* 3.4.19–20) or in *The Rivals*, "For straight my green gown into breeches I'le make, / And my long yellow locks much shorter I'le take" (3; p. 32). This initial song of the Daughter is founded on "Childe Waters," a popular English folk ballad, where the woman wishes to follow her lover as a page, just as Euphrasia as Bellario does. The Daughter's journey through madness to Palamon is akin to a heroine's journey to her lover disguised as a boy/man, and also akin to the paradox of being disguised and revealed simultaneously. If the action of the hair being unpinned occurred on stage, it is tempting to imagine that the Jailer's Daughter performed the action while singing this ballad.

The Wooer's description of the Daughter is cut entirely from Davenant's play so we have no way of knowing for certain whether or not Celania adopted "careless tresses," but she must have employed some of the conventional signifiers of feminine madness. The stage direction "*Enter Celania (distracted)*" had to be legible to the audience. Furthermore, without Celania uttering or singing a single word, Leucippe, her maid, says of her, "Alas; she's distracted, I have found her, / But she has lost her self" (*The Rivals* 3; p. 32). Clearly in her entrance Celania displays to both Leucippe and the audience conventional, physical signs of madness. Unlike the Jailer's Daughter, Celania must share the stage with two other people at this point and therefore is limited by her physical and vocal range; in other words to convey madness. As Leucippe's quip on "found" and "lost" reveals, the tone of this scene in *The Rivals* is decidedly comedic. The comedy, however, does not issue from Celania but from Cunopes, who recites a witty monologue about madness, and from Leucippe, who comments on the ugliness of Cunopes' face. (Cunopes was played by Cave Underhill, a Restoration actor famous for comedic roles and physicality. Cibber described him as: "His Face was full and long; from his Crown to the end of his Nose was the shorter half of it, so that the Disproportion of his lower Features, when soberly compos'd, with an unwandering Eye hanging over them, threw him into the most lumpish, moping Mortal that ever made beholders merry!" [*BD* 15: 84].) In a staged reading of this scene at Victoria University of Wellington in 2011, the actor playing Cunopes (after he was shown a photograph of Cave Underhill)

entered with a grotesque expression, drawing huge laughs from the audience. It soon became evident that the comic duo of Leucippe and Cunopes upstage Celania and her madness in this scene. Any extreme physicality of Celania only detracts from the witty banter of Leucippe and Cunopes and seems out of place in Davenant's scene. Since the Jailer's Daughter is alone in her scene/soliloquy there is no danger of her being upstaged by other characters, which gives a player the freedom to explore movement.

Madwomen must have had a set of physical movements that displayed "distractedness." Mad characters often "run mad." In Robert Wilson's *The Cobbler's Prophecy* a character "*runs raving*". Note also Isabell's stage direction in the third act of Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy*: "*she runs lunatic*." Ophelia runs in and out (or on and off stage) in scenes in *Hamlet*, and there is some indication that the Daughter probably did the same. The Quarto of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* has her exit in the middle of 4.3 but gives her a speech one line later.[12] The Gentleman in *Hamlet* also says of the mad Ophelia:

> She speaks much of her father, says she hears
> There's tricks i'th'world, and hems, and beats her heart,
> Spurns enviously at straws, speaks things in doubt
> That carry but half sense. Her speech is nothing,
> Yet the unshaped use of it doth move
> The hearers to collection; they yawn at it,
> And botch the words up fit to their own thought,
> Which as her winks and nods and gestures yield them,
> Indeed would make one think there might be thought,
> Though nothing sure, yet much unhappily. (4.5.4–13)

The description of Ophelia pounding of her chest, making erratic head and eye movements, as well as "gestures," all provide clues to the physical behavior of the mad woman on stage. Before the Daughter joins the Morris dance, the third Countryman states she is "as mad as March hare" (*TNK* 3.5.74) and that she will dance "the rarest gambols" (*TNK* 3.5.76). Springtime (March), the mating season, causes wild behavior in hares and March hares are thus "characterized by much leaping, boxing, and chasing in circles" ("March," *n*.2.C2. *OED*).

Inspired by gestures such as these, and considering her role in the Morris dance, the role of the Jailer's Daughter requires immense physicality. That *The Rivals* eliminates participation in the Morris dance could be

attributed to Davenant trying to maintain what would be considered some dignity, or some sense of decorum, for the woman who would ultimately end up Philander's (Palamon's) wife. She may have been doing something, however, for the first Countryman says when he bars Celania from their Morris, "we have business here that does concern / The Prince, matters of the state and will not be disturb—Sir / I cannot bear with her affronts" (*The Rivals* 3; p. 35). What exactly her "affronts" are remains a mystery. The script only indicates that she is singing, and perhaps this is what the Countryman is alluding to since a few lines later he says, "Woman, I say leave thy singing, or I'le give thee a good Douze'i'th Chop" (meaning a blow in the jaw), but perhaps Davenant did allow some antic gestures for the madwoman.

Despite this suggestion that Davenant possibly allowed for some physical (in addition to vocal) expression of madness, he heavily abridged another key scene that demonstrates the range of physicality required in Fletcher and Shakespeare's Jailer's Daughter: the fantasy of the ship under sail enacted with the Jailer, the Brother, and the Jailer's friends in front of the audience. Upon returning home from the woods, the Daughter imagines she is on a ship and enacts the hauling of the ropes, the raising of the anchor, and the steadying of the sail. In the fantasy, she casts her father as the master of the ship:

> DAUGHTER. You are master of a ship?
> JAILER. Yes.
> DAUGHTER. Where's your compass?
> JAILER. Here.
> DAUGHTER. Set it to th'north.
> And now direct your course to th'wood, where Palamon
> Lies longing for me. For the tackling,
> Let me alone; come, weigh, my hearts, cheerily!
> ALL (*severally*). Ugh! Ugh! Ugh!
> 'Tis up!—The wind's fair!—Top the bowline!—
> Out with the mainsail!—Where's your whistle, master?
> (*TNK* 4.1.141–8)

The make-believe adventure continues for several more lines and the scene ends while the Jailer's Daughter and the others on stage are still aboard the imaginary ship sailing toward the woods. This kind of physicality—possible through feminine madness—has a sense of empowerment, and freedom from restrictions usually attributed to women in the period.

In *The Rivals* the scene is reduced to a short exchange between Celania and Cunopes:

> CELANIA. And are you not the Master of a Ship?
> CUNOPES. Yes! here's the Vessel! 'tis a Man of War.
> (*views himself*)
> Only it wants due stowage. I am hungry,
> My Guts are grown Artillery, and roare
> Like Cannons.
> CELANIA. Set your Compass to the North
> And steer towards *Philander*.
> *See how the Dolphins caper there,*
> *The Fish keep Holy-day.*
> *They dance Coranto's in the Air,*
> *And thus they shoot away.*
> (*Exeunt.*) (Act 4; p. 41)

There is no "play within a play," or no theatrical re-enactment of the ship, complete with a crew including the Daughter, charting the seas. The focus is on Cunopes rather than Celania, and his low comedy banter about his hunger.

In addition to this reduction of the potential physicality of the role, Davenant diminishes the Daughter's sexually charged language and agency. As other critics have demonstrated, female madness on the early modern stage was laden with sexual innuendo and imagery. As Bruster states, "Like the mad speech of the She Food in Fletcher's *The Pilgrim* and like Isabella in Middleton and Rowley's *The Changeling*, the mad discourse of the Jailer's Daughter points to what was becoming a convention of early modern theatre, a convention that licensed sexually explicit language by female characters when they are 'mad'" (281). I would add that the way in which the language itself is performed can have sexual energy when one examines the punctuation, especially that of the Daughter's soliloquies, and considers the rapid, excited breathing implicit in their delivery. Davenant removes the Daughter's first mention of the ship and the sea, which becomes in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* a continuing metaphor for her (sexual) journey to Palamon: "Yonder's the sea and there's a ship; how't tumbles! / And there's a rock lies watching under water; / Now, now, it beats upon it; now, now, now! / There's a leak sprung; a sound one!" (*TNK* 3.4.5–8). Since a ship is traditionally gendered female, a leaky wench is one who has lost her virginity. Davenant also cuts the Daughter's "I know you, you're a tinker; sirrah tinker, / Stop

no more holes but what you should" (3.5.83–4), again lines with a clear sexual quibble. Also not in *The Rivals* are the Daughter's three references to kissing Palamon (*TNK* 2.4.25; 2.6.22, 37). There are numerous examples such as these where Davenant cuts lines containing sexuality and/or innuendo from the Jailer's Daughter's role. With the lines from *The Two Noble Kinsmen* that Davenant does retain, he often amends to remove the sexual connotations. Later in this same soliloquy, after she sings, the Daughter ends with, "Oh, for a prick now, like a nightingale, / To put my breast against. I shall sleep like a top else" (3.4.25–6). Davenant's lines read: "O for a Hawthorn; like a Nightingale / To leave my Breast against, or else I shall sleep like a Topp" (*The Rivals* 3; p. 33). "Prick" is obviously a pun on the male member.[13] The Daughter is the only character in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* to use the word "prick" or "cock," words that do not appear at all in *The Rivals*.

In addition, Davenant takes away the Jailer's Daughter's role in the Morris dance, a dance that has sexual implications since the maypole used in it was itself a phallic symbol. Before the Morris dance the Daughter has an exchange with the Countrymen performing the dance. Compare the dialogue in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* to the parallel passage in *The Rivals*:

> SCHOOLMASTER. Strike up and lead her in.
> 2 COUNTRYMAN. Come, lass, let's trip it.
> DAUGHTER. I'll lead.
> 3 COUNTRYMAN. Do, do! (*TNK* 3.5.90–1)

> 1 COUNTRYMAN. Woman [Daughter] avoid: if it be your vocation to be mad Pray be mad in some more fitting place, This is no place for Mad-folks. (*The Rivals* 3; p. 33)

Because she is mad, Celania is not welcome in the Morris dance in *The Rivals*; but not only is the Jailer's Daughter welcome in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, she insists on leading. Again, this is an example of feminine madness resulting in a female character occupying a place normally reserved for men and bending the rules of a patriarchal decorum.

When the Daughter later recalls her participation in the Morris dance, she associates herself with the Duke's "chestnut mare" who is infatuated with Palamon's horse, the horse that will "ne'er have her" (*TNK* 5.2.51–65).[14] The eroticism of horses is widespread through *The Two Noble Kinsmen* and other early modern drama. In his list of reasons for the emblematic equation of women and horses, Bruce Boehrer in *Shakespeare among the Animals* states, "identification of femininity with

bestiality attaches in particular to the exercise of female sexuality, so that the mare becomes a powerful emblem of feminine unchastity" (24–5).[15] The Daughter concludes, "He'll [Palamon's horse] be the death of her," and so he is, in a way (*TNK* 5.2.67). I am pointing here to the equivalence of death and sex in the early modern period, especially loss of virginity (maidenhead) as a form of "death." The Doctor's cure for the Daughter's madness in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* is the "way of flesh" (5.2.35). The characters in the subplot now find themselves play-acting in a drama where the Wooer rather unfittingly portrays the role of Palamon. The Doctor further instructs the Wooer to "please her appetite" (*TNK* 5.2.37). The final time the Daughter appears on stage she exits to have sex with the Wooer, whom she believes to be Palamon—the ultimate climax to her sexually frustrated madness.

Keeping with the trend of restraining the Daughter's sexual agency, Davenant makes the Physician's cure for madness a cordial that will make the woman sleep (*The Rivals* Act 4; p. 45).[16] This is quite a radical shift in prescriptions: having sex versus drinking a medicine. Later in *The Rivals*, the audience sees that the Physician's cordial was an incomplete cure and that Celania's senses will only be restored fully when she is joined with Philander. In Davenant's play, we witness the Daughter's healing union with Philander and her restoration to sanity: "How much am I to love and Fortune bound! / Finding Philander [Palamon], I my self have Found." (*The Rivals* Act 5; p. 56). Upon Heraclia's urging, Philander agrees to marry Celania in order to cure her of madness. In Fletcher and Shakespeare's play, the Daughter's future is left somewhat unresolved. Since the Physician's cure in *The Rivals* is unsuccessful and Celania will be healed only by Philander, it prompts the question: Is the physician in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* also unable to heal the Jailer's Daughter? The Jailer tells Palamon that his daughter is well and will be married soon (*TNK* 5.4.27–8). The Jailer's Daughter herself however disappears from the stage.[17] In the audience's eyes (and mind), an end to her madness never occurs and this lack of resolution opens up the possibility of a tragic ending for the Jailer's Daughter, perhaps mirroring that of Arcite. Does having intercourse with the Wooer truly restore her senses? If so, does she then recognize he is not Palamon? What sort of further heartbreak will she endure upon such a revelation? One thing certain is that the Jailer's Daughter in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* will never have Palamon, who after Arcite's death is given Emilia to be his wife.

That Davenant withdraws much of the Daughter's sexuality might seem surprising to those who associate Restoration adaptors with using the "new" actresses to exploit female sexuality (see Introduction). There

are a few points here that are important to consider. First, because in Davenant's version Philander ultimately marries the Daughter, the playwright had to make her a suitable partner for the noble knight, not someone who might be perceived as a bawdy wild woman. Next, it is doubtful Davenant removed all sexuality from the role, for Moll Davis was possibly doing something sexual on stage that attracted the attention of men, notably Charles II. Indeed, after she sings "My Lodging it is on the Cold Ground," Celania has the stage direction, "*that done, she lies down and fals a sleep*" (*The Rivals* 5; p. 49). Images of women lying across the stage sleeping have obvious sexual implications, especially for the male gaze. In *The Rivals*, Celania still talks of Philander's sexual virility: "many are now by child with him" (41; cf. *TNK*: "There is at least two hundred now with child by him," 4.1.128). Therefore, Davenant may have made the actress sexually available on stage while maintaining appropriate decorum for the character. He removes sexuality from her verbal register, especially where it makes her the aggressor. In other words, Davenant's Celania is lovesick for Philander and recognizes his "manhood" (in a sexual way), but Fletcher and Shakespeare's Daughter, while also lovesick, is sexually frustrated in a way that acknowledges *her* drive and desire: "What pushes are we wenches driven to / When fifteen [puberty] once has found us!" (*TNK* 2.4.6–7). While in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* the Doctor wishes generally for the Daughter to have sex as a physic, the Daughter herself initiates the specific filling of this prescription: she says to the Wooer (as Palamon), "we'll sleep together" (5.2.109).

There is a final characteristic of early modern feminine madness yet to be discussed: a firm association with nature.[18] Like Ophelia, the Daughter is associated with botanical imagery (flowers and trees, also herbs in Ophelia's case) and water. The Wooer talks of the Daughter gathering flowers by the lake and says:

> about her stuck
> Thousand fresh water-flowers of several colours,
> That methought she appeared like the fair nymph
> That feeds the lake with waters, or as Iris
> Newly dropped down from heaven. (*TNK* 4.1.84–8)

The Wooer likens the Daughter to the mythological Iris, personification of the rainbow, due to the array of colorful flowers about her. Compare Gertrude's description of Ophelia: "There is a willow grows askant a brook, / That shows his hoar leaves in the glassy stream. / There with fantastic garlands did she make, / Of crow-flowers, nettles, daises, and long

purples" (4.7.166–9). Of course in *Hamlet* Ophelia never again appears on stage, but in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, shortly after the Wooer's description, the Daughter enters, one would imagine, as the Wooer has just described her with colorful flowers, like a goddess. The Daughter is also beside the water, and ultimately throws herself in the lake in an attempt to escape the Wooer. He saves her from drowning just as he later attempts to save her by implementing the Doctor's remedy of "sing[ing] to her such green songs of love" and "com[ing] to her stuck in as sweet flowers" (4.3.82–3). "Green" has obvious associations with nature (another feminine noun in Latin), and there are also connections of the color with coolness and wetness, qualities of a female body in Galenic physiology.

Furthermore, the Daughter's entire *mise en scène* is firmly planted in the woods. The environment occupied by the Jailer's Daughter throughout much of the play—alone on stage and in the woods—mirrors the emotional space she inhabits. It is in the woods where the Daughter has left Palamon under a cedar tree next to a brook. Possibly, this is the same water she returns to when the Wooer spies her, as previously discussed. In 3.2, 3.4, 3.5 and in the offstage scene described in 4.1, the Daughter is continually in the woods, making a physical journey symbolic of an interior world connected also with her sexual fantasies. (Along these same lines, one could imagine the water as a literal mirror, reflecting the self.) As the Daughter travels directionless through the woods, so her mind aimlessly wanders. Mary Thomas Crane argues that, "real privacy, especially for illicit activities, was, until well into the seventeenth century, most often represented as readily attainable only outdoors," notably in the homes of the poor where the space would often be shared by the entire family (5). Crane goes on to invoke Elizabeth Grosz in connecting outdoor spaces with contemporary (feminist) theories of subjectivity:

> An outdoor space that represented "temporary" and "disparate" shaping pressures on the subject, and that encouraged "improvisation," might well have offered more freedom to the nascent subject than did the interior of a patriarchal household. Outdoor privacy was associated with both "wild" spaces such as forests and fields [Jailer's Daughter], and with cultivated gardens [Emilia, discussed below]. In truly rustic spaces, privacy is a function of isolation and solitude, when actions take place far away from other prying eyes. (7–8)

"Wood" or "wode" as an adjective could also mean mad.[19] If traditionally an enclosed garden is emblematic of virginity, then one can imagine what the open woods might signify sexually.

Like the imagery in the Daughter's ballads (for example Robin Hood), the use of nature evokes pastoral elements. These aspects of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* were not lost on Davenant, who in the "hunt in song" in *The Rivals* borrowed elements from Ben Jonson's pastoral in *The Sad Shepherd* (Sprague 136). He also made Theseus' counterpart, Arcon, into the Prince of Arcadia, a place synonymous with the utopian vision of pastoralism and harmony with nature. When Arcadia is represented in visual art, it is often accompanied by images of nymphs prancing about in green, blossoming forests; compare this to the image of the Daughter as Iris constructed by the Wooer in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. In this context it is worth examining the choice of name for the Daughter made by Davenant: Celania. The closest name to be found in Shakespeare is that of Celia in the most pastoral of his plays, *As You Like It*. Moreover, the alias Celia adopts in that play upon entering the forest of Arden is Aliena, a typical pastoral name. The name Celania, in *The Rivals*, appears to be a combination of Celia and Aliena. This brings us back to the repeated error in commentary contemporary with the Restoration performances of labeling Celania a shepherdess rather than a jailer's (or actually a provost's) daughter. In *The Rivals*, as it probably was in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, the audience's impression of the Daughter was of someone closely associated with nature and the pastoral tradition. While the Daughter's world is not a "utopia," the Jailer says that in her madness she is continually "dreaming of another world and a better" (*TNK* 4.3.5).

Therefore, through the fantasies of her madness, the Daughter creates her own world. Given the audience's invitation into the Daughter's world effected through her many solitary scenes, one can easily see why she remains a well-liked character in drama. Likewise, madness, viewed this way, is inherently theatrical and forms a kind of play within a play. It attempts, like plays, to imagine and enact a new world. This madness conceives a place of music and of nature, where the Daughter experiences a certain license to speak sexually, move freely, to "lead" the dance. It is also a world where desire finds expression, and social class does not inhibit one's right to love and marriage. In the other world, the Daughter says, "We maids that have our livers perished, cracked to pieces with love, we shall come there and do nothing all day long but pick flowers with Proserpine. Then will I make Palamon a nosegay; then let him mark me—then" (*TNK* 4.3.22–7). In this place she is able to expand her world beyond men and find company with other heartbroken maids. The Daughter is able to occupy a "feminine" space through her madness, free from the restraint of male domination. The Daughter does not even acknowledge her madness, for she states mad people go

to hell, yet she is "of the blessed" (4.3.31). While madness is viewed as a disease to be cured through marriage in both plays, in *The Rivals* the Jailer's Daughter's madness does not celebrate quite the independence or liberation it does in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. On the other hand, in Davenant's play the cure is at least via a marriage Celania chooses rather than one initiated through a "bed-trick" or arguably a rape. In *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, the Doctor steps in to "cure" the Jailer's Daughter with sex, which if effective will also lead to a marriage and consequently reinstitution of patriarchal control. As discussed above, it is a marriage that the Daughter, once cured (if cured at all), very well may not want, upon realization it is the miscast Wooer, not Palamon, to whom she is betrothed. As she says near the beginning of the play, the Daughter does, after all, understand the "difference of men" (*TNK* 2.1.56).

Emilia's "female world" and desire

The Jailer's Daughter's affections always lie firmly with Palamon. She says, "Then, I loved *him*, / Extremely loved *him*, infinitely loved *him*! / And yet he had a cousin fair as he too, / But in my heart was *Palamon*" (2.4.14–17; emphasis added). In contrast, the "difference of men" is something that Emilia, Fletcher and Shakespeare's other maiden in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, does not register. She has great difficulty deciding between the two titular cousins. Exemplifying Emilia's indecisiveness about her two suitors is 4.2 or "the picture scene." While looking at miniatures of the kinsmen, Emilia, after alternating between extolling and denying the virtues of both Arcite and Palamon, ultimately concludes she "Cannot distinguish, but must cry for both!" (4.2.54). Davenant eliminated this scene in *The Rivals*. He replaced it with one in which Arcon (Theseus) tests Heraclia (Emilia) to discover which way her affection truly bends, though the result is still the same. Heraclia's/Emilia's inability to favor one over the other is interesting in both *The Rivals* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. Though her irresolution serves the plot by sustaining the rivalry between the cousins, if carried too far it troubles the final resolution since it may raise questions about her capacity to love either gentleman. Perhaps Arcon in *The Rivals* presents it best when he says, "she but for one should sue / Affection never hovers betwixt two" (Act 5; p. 49). His words echo an earlier sentiment by Celania's maid, Leucippe: "Love both of them? / I have so much Experience in Love / To know then, that it must be neither" (2; p. 9). It is as if *The Rivals* openly articulates the ambiguity in Fletcher and Shakespeare's play: it may be possible that Emilia cannot choose which cousin she loves because

she loves neither. Ironically, although Davenant expresses this idea he removes many of the elements provided by the original playwrights to explain why Emilia loves neither. Her predicament is especially intriguing when contrasted with the Jailer's Daughter's decisive fixation upon Palamon. This is just one of the many instances where the situations and staging of Emilia and the Jailer's Daughter counterpoint or complement one another.

Carol Thomas Neely compares the Jailer's Daughter to Emilia on their relative levels of desire and on other points as well, which some productions of the play have emphasized (88). Neely explains Emilia's "lack of desire" as a resistance to the "heterosexual patriarchal imperative" and a longing for an "all-female world" (88). She stops short of an obvious possibility. I contend Emilia is not *without desire*; she merely lacks the desire for either kinsman that so fundamentally forms the logic of the Jailer's Daughter. In light of my discussion of the Jailer's Daughter, I explore these parallels in depth as I believe them to be essential in understanding the dramaturgy of Emilia. They illuminate the possible reasons for Emilia's lack of desire for men and consequently her wavering choice. Emilia may lack desire for these two men and for all men; if so her desires may be exclusively for women. Again, I will use Davenant's adaptation, *The Rivals*, as a way of investigating Emilia in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, since what he chose to cut or amend is telling. While other critics have argued for a queer reading of Emilia in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (see below), mine is the first to use *The Rivals* to support such a reading.

Whereas the Jailer's Daughter was a creation of Fletcher and Shakespeare, Emilia's origins are found in the source material: Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*. Yet the part of Emilia has not enjoyed the success on stage of the Jailer's Daughter, with many audiences viewing Emilia as a passive and essentially undramatic character. In fact, it has been argued that the character of the Jailer's Daughter was provided to compensate for Emilia's unfitness for the female protagonist role in the play. In part, this is due to her lack of passion toward the kinsmen, which many interpret as a general ambivalence. I would like to challenge this notion: perhaps this is a misunderstanding of the character resulting from an inability to see the play through anything other than a heteronormative lens. We want Emilia to want the kinsmen, and therefore we can only view her in the negative—as "not wanting" or "lacking desire"—rather than, as I contend below, wanting something/someone else.

In both *The Rivals* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, Emilia is the "love object" of the two noble kinsmen or two rivals, Palamon (Philander) and Arcite (Theocles). The name "Emilia" itself, derived from Chaucer's

Emily, may have a Latin root—*aemulus*—meaning "rival" or "emulate," both of which are fitting.[20] She is the object of rivalry as well as a character who, like the kinsmen, is connected with twinning, likeness, and emulation. In *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, she is the sister of Hippolyta, brought to live with the queen and her new husband Theseus in Athens. Davenant cuts the role of Hippolyta, thereby taking his first step in removing all references to Heraclia (Emilia) as an Amazon, which is a substantial part of her identity in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. In classical Greek mythology, as in the play, Hippolyta is Queen of the Amazons, the nation of all-female warriors. Note the second Queen's address to Hippolyta in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*:

> Honoured Hippolyta
> Most dreaded Amazonian, that hast slain
> The scythe-tusked boar, that with thy arm as strong
> As it is white wast near to make the male
> To thy sex captive (1.1.77–81)

The second Queen later refers to Hippolyta as a "soldieress" (1.1.85). Amazons were often characterized as divinely tall, brave, and generally possessing many typically masculine traits. Considering that Emilia would have been played by a boy actor, one can see advantages in her being an Amazon: women with mannish qualities. Amazons appear with regularity in Renaissance drama and literature, with many writers believing that they existed as a real tribe. In *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, the famous medieval explorer writes, "Below Scythia, from the sea of Caspy [Caspian] to the River Thanay [Don] is the land of Amazonia, which is the Land of Women, where women live by themselves with no man among them" (111). Spenser located the Amazons in South America. This race of women was clearly a fascination for the early modern imagination and was undoubtedly tied up with the reign of Queen Elizabeth I.[21] It is interesting that in Richard Edwards' 1566 play *Palamon and Arcite*—another Renaissance dramatization of *Knight's Tale*—Queen Elizabeth I apparently favored the boy actor playing Emily and gave him several gold coins "for gatheringe her flowers prettily in the garden and singinge sweetlie in the prime of March" (Rollins 204). In *Amazons and Warrior Women: Varieties of Feminism in Seventeenth-Century Drama*, Simon Shepherd says:

> The habit of seeing Elizabeth as a female warrior was quite common. One of the most famous fancy-dress occasions was the visit to

> Tilbury in August 1588 to encourage the troops to resist the Armada. When Heywood describes it some years later he brings out the sense of political play-acting: Elizabeth was "habited like an Amazonian Queene, Buskind and plumed, having a golden Truncheon, Gantlet, and Gorget; Armes sufficient to expresse her high and magnanimous Spirit." (22)

Understandably, there were links between the Virgin Queen and Amazons. As Louis Montrose notes, "Amazonian mythology seems symbolically to embody and to control a collective anxiety about the power of a female not only to dominate or reject the male but to create and destroy him" (71). For the Elizabethans and Jacobeans (the anxiety did not lessen with James on the throne), Amazons as characters are at times viewed as virtuous, but describing someone as an Amazon is "pejorative; it can indicate aggressive lust, unbridled will, disobedience" (Shepherd 14). Shepherd says, "On the stage it is frequently used as an insult, applied to women who fight and drink, especially wives who are aggressive and women who refuse traditional submission to men" (14). While Fletcher and Shakespeare's Emilia is not aggressively lustful, she does possess many of the other characteristic traits of the Amazons. Shepherd makes a distinction between Amazons and warrior women. Though the terms are sometimes used interchangeably, Amazons used their strength for lustful or brutal ends whereas warrior women or "warlike woman," to use Spenser's phrase in *The Faerie Queen* for the female knight Britomart, employed their power to uphold strong moral views and chastity (5–6). It is fitting then to regard Emilia's Amazon-like qualities as aligning with the warrior–women's stance on these attributes.

In Davenant's adaptation, Emilia is renamed Heraclia, and with no Amazon queen as her sister she is instead niece to Prince Arcon of Arcadia, Theseus' counterpart. The role was played by Restoration actress Anne Gibbs Shadwell, wife of the playwright and poet laureate Thomas Shadwell.[22] A potential origin of the name Heraclia is Greek (following most of the names in *The Rivals*); it is the feminine version of Heracles or Hercules, the Greek demigod and paragon of masculinity, strength, and courage. This name is perhaps fitting if Davenant was recalling the Amazon-like qualities of Emilia in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, but as we shall soon see it becomes rather ironic when situated in *The Rivals*.

In removing Hippolyta and all references to Emilia's Amazon roots, Davenant weakens her character in general, as can be seen from the very beginning of the play. As previously discussed, Davenant cut the first act of Fletcher and Shakespeare's play in which Emilia first

appears, holding up her sister's bridal train. What is interesting is that while the dialogue, certain characters, and the situation (Theseus and Hippolyta's wedding) have been removed, *The Rivals* opens with a very similar physical score to *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. In both versions, there is a series of kneeling, rising, and weeping. In both plays, Emilia and Heraclia kneel and rise: signifying submission, honor, and strength. In *The Rivals*, Heraclia kneels in tribute to Arcon, who twice asks her to rise. After the second "rise" Arcon "lifts her up" (Act 1; p. 4). After being raised, Heraclia speaks of her fear at Arcon's absence and weeps with the thought of war and the potential bloodshed of her uncle. Later, in Act 2, Heraclia continues to speak of how afraid she is of war: "those fears / Which did present me with the chance of War / And my dear Uncle's hazard" (1; p. 11). In *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, Emilia kneels to Theseus on behalf of a *woman* (*women*), joining Hippolyta to petition him to avenge the three widowed queens who are unable to bury their husbands because Creon, ruler of Thebes, has refused his victims their burial rites. Emilia rises without indication that she is being raised. Finally, being an Amazon, she has no tears or fears at the thought or description of war or bloodshed. As Hippolyta says:

> We have been soldiers, and we cannot weep
> When our friends don their helms, or put to sea,
> Or tell of babes broached on the lance, or women
> That have sod their infants in (and after ate them)
> The brine they wept at killing 'em. (*TNK* 1.3.18–22)

The weeping in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* comes from the three queens, not from the Amazonian Emilia.

Instead of an Amazon, in *The Rivals* Heraclia is repeatedly referred to in both dialogue and stage directions as a "princess" (front matter; pp. 4; 17; 21; 25; 45; 53; 56). While Chaucer's *Knight's Tale* refers to Emily (Emilia) once as a "queen or princess," in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* Emilia is never called a princess. Since in *The Rivals* Heraclia is niece to Prince Arcon and he is childless—a fact he laments in the first act ("Had I a Child, my Joyes would then be full, / Which now prove Empty and not worth a Smile")—she is his closest kin and is responsible for carrying on the royal blood line via marriage and children (1; p. 5). This is not the case in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* where Emilia is merely sister to King Theseus' newly wedded queen, Hippolyta, who presumably will produce an heir for Theseus. Tied with her ability to produce an heir that will ultimately succeed Arcon, Heraclia's title gains even greater

significance, making her into more of a valuable "object" (a princess) for the kinsmen to acquire. In both versions, Emilia/Heraclia becomes an "object" for the two kinsmen to obtain, but in *The Rivals* the emphasis is not merely on Heraclia's person but also on her title.

What Davenant seems eager to retain from *The Two Noble Kinsmen* is this objectification of Emilia as the knights' lady and a member of the royal family, while neglecting nearly all the attributes that make her anything other than an archetypal princess. Furthermore, "princess," especially in a play derived from the romance tradition, and thematically invested with knights and ideas of chivalry, conjures the "damsel in distress" motif. Certainly, unlike the Amazon Emilia in the original, Heraclia is the stuff of a princess or damsel in distress. Davenant's repeated use of "princess" points to an irony in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, where the damsel in distress motif is reversed. It is the two kinsmen, the knights, who are the ones imprisoned in a tower and ultimately in need of rescue, not the princess. It is two women in the play, the Jailer's Daughter and Emilia, who hold the power to rescue the knights. The Jailer's Daughter frees Palamon from prison, and after both Palamon and Arcite have broken the law and are sentenced to death, it is Emilia who is given the authority to save one of their lives via marriage. Only when Emilia fails to choose do the knights duel for her. But this is not to save her, but rather to save themselves from death and thereby obtain Emilia as a wife. There are still traces of this narrative inversion in *The Rivals*, since, rather than doing the rescuing, both knights must themselves be rescued.

Finally, by cutting Hippolyta and the (direct) references to the Amazons, Davenant removes Emilia's inherent connection with, and preference for, women and/or the company of women in general. As already discussed, Amazonia was "The Land of Women," and as Laurie Shannon suggests, Emilia's entire worldview is based on a female standard (672). This is evident, she contends, in Emilia's comparison of the two kinsmen to either their mothers or homosexual models. Shannon observes, "She [Emilia] compares Arcite to Ganymede and his brow to Juno's. As for Palamon, his melancholy appearance is 'as if he had lost his mother'" (672; *TNK* 4.2.28). Furthermore, Emilia finally wishes to marry one of the kinsmen to escape their mothers (and "longing maids") cursing her cruelty if she lets them die (3.6.245–51 and 4.2.1–6). Interestingly, the word "mother" is not found once in *The Rivals*. If the kinsmen suffer death, Heraclia is concerned with her "reputation" and that her "honour shall / Contract a blackness from their funeral," but nowhere does she mention a community of women (4; p. 45). Also

cut from the adaptation is Emilia's pleading for the lives of Arcite and Palamon, which invokes "the powers of all women" (*TNK* 3.6.193) as well as her connections to Diana, goddess of women and chastity, to whom she prays and sacrifices. Whereas Fletcher and Shakespeare contrast the Jailer's Daughter's world of men with Emilia's world of women, Davenant blurs or removes these comparative worlds.

As previously discussed, the Jailer's Daughter's "world of men" in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* is eliminated in *The Rivals* through the addition of a female companion and maid. Tellingly, however, as with the Amazons, Davenant completely removed all references to Emilia's female friend Flavina. In *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, when Pirithous takes his leave of Hippolyta and Emilia to join Theseus in battle, Emilia remarks, "How his longing / Follows his friend," and the two women discuss the great love that exists in the friendship between Pirithous and Theseus—often recounted in classical myth (1.3.27–8). The conclusion to the scene, nonetheless, is that Hippolyta, Theseus' new bride, has surely usurped Pirithous' place in Theseus' affections. Emilia is reminded of her deceased "play-fellow" and prompted to speak some 36 lines recounting her friendship with the late Flavina. In *Shakespeare and Ovid*, Jonathan Bate interprets Emilia's recollection of her relationship with Flavina as a retelling of Venus' plucking of Adonis' flower:

> The flower that I would pluck
> And put between my breasts—O then but beginning
> To swell about the blossom—she would long
> Till she had such another, and commit it
> To the like innocent cradle, where, phoenix-like,
> They died in perfume. (1.3.66–71; Bate 265)

In *Venus and Adonis*, as Adonis dies and his body melts away, a flower springs up, which Venus places in her bosom to commemorate where Adonis also once lay. The flower represents unrequited love (265). Additionally, Bate draws upon Shakespeare's poem "The Phoenix and the Turtle," where the two creatures are symbols of the love between a man and a woman in marriage, and states, "In Emilia's image, the paired flowers become two phoenixes—a wonderful contradiction of the bird's defining uniqueness—and thus proclaim the perfection of same-sex love" (265). Emilia and her friend having flowers that "phoenix-like" "died in perfume" describes the flowers against their breasts as burning to emit the sweet scents. Burning brings with it connotations of heat and

passion. The phoenix imagery is another possible connection of Emilia to Queen Elizabeth I and also to her Amazon roots.[23]

Later in this tributary poem to her friend, Emilia says:

> had mine ear
> Stol'n some new air or at adventure hummed one
> From musical coinage, why it was a note
> Whereon her spirits would sojourn—rather, dwell on,
> And sing it in her slumbers (*TNK* 1.3.74–8)

This potentially becomes an interesting comparison to the love songs of Palamon and the Jailer's Daughter. The nature of the friendship is indeed different this time from that of Theseus and Pirithous as no member of the opposite sex will exceed Emilia's feelings for Flavina. Hippolyta concludes Emilia's speech with, "You're out of breath / And this high-speeded pace is but to say / That you shall never, like the maid Flavina, / Love any that's called man," to which Emilia responds, "I am sure I shall not" (1.3.82–5). Hippolyta's comment is a clear signal to an actor of how Emilia's speech about Flavina is to be delivered. Fast-paced and breathless indicates passion, not passivity or deficient desire. Hippolyta protests that like Theseus and herself Emilia will eventually love and marry someone of the opposite sex, but Emilia objects with "I am not / Against your faith, yet I continue mine" (1.3.97–8). Plainly, Emilia is yearning for her friend and resolute in her "faith."

Why did Davenant remove these lines from the original and cut the "absent" character of Flavina from the story entirely? Perhaps this part of the story simply seemed unnecessary to him, but it does begin to offer some motivation for Emilia's indecisiveness and ambivalent responses to the kinsmen's love. More likely, it was because there was no place for Emilia's "female world" in Davenant's play. Expressed through her feelings for Flavina, Emilia's female desire, as discussed further below, seems to indicate either homoeroticism or a firm commitment to chastity (not that homoeroticism and female chastity are mutually exclusive). Others have noted how Davenant weakened the friendship between Arcite and Palamon and eliminated any potential homoeroticism in their relationship; it is therefore logical that he did the same for Emilia and her friend. In his discussion of *The Rivals* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, and other Restoration and eighteenth-century adaptations of plays that contain similar male friendships (Shakespeare's *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *The Winter's Tale*, and Fletcher's *Monsieur Thomas*), Huw Griffiths states, "a development can be seen in which the stories move away from

the privileging of homosocial, and potentially homoerotic, relationships between individual men towards an emphasis on familial relationships, now more properly understood as domestic and heterosexual" (242). Though Griffiths' focus is on male relationships, and significant female friendships are not as prominently explored in Renaissance plays, the same principle applies. In other words, Davenant, unlike Fletcher and Shakespeare, would not have a female character such as Princess Heraclia state her clear preference for her female friend over marriage.

In *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, Emilia's "female world" is reflected in her onstage physical environment. Unlike the Jailer's Daughter's wild woods—symbolic of her madness and possibly her sexual appetite—Emilia's private locale is that of the enclosed garden or the medieval *hortus conclusus*, where she is first seen by Arcite and Palamon. Emilia's *hortus conclusus*—in contrast to the Daughter's open, dangerous sexuality—is associated with the body of the Virgin Mary in Christianity or virginity in general—restrained, "safe" sexuality. In addition, if the Jailer's Daughter's woods are a reflection of her wildness, her madness, then Emilia's cultivated garden can be viewed as mirroring her ordered, reasoned, disciplined (perhaps innocent) mind. Yet, the enclosed garden, like the woods, offered a woman privacy away from the meddling eyes of other members of the household and servants, and Mary Thomas Crane describes it as a space of solitude (8).

While the enclosed garden is specifically emblematic of female chastity, it is at the same time (and in an unrelated way) associated with a more general form of sexuality: outdoor forbidden sex, like the woods of the Jailer's Daughter. Shakespeare often locates sex outdoors (*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *As You Like It*), thus invoking a long literary tradition. Both sexual meanings of the garden become important to Emilia's character.

In *The Rivals*, Davenant retains this garden imagery. Restoration public parks and "pleasure gardens" such as Vauxhall, Hyde Park, and St James Park were strongly associated with romance or sexual license (Crane 12).[24] Heraclia says she will "take / A turn i'th' Garden whose kind Walks and Air, / Make the Evenings oft to me delightsome prove" (*The Rivals* 2; p. 13). Davenant refers to the garden in the stage directions as "the Palace-Garden," which would have been enclosed (14). Emilia and Heraclia are both depicted walking in the garden with their women where they are observed by the kinsmen.

This setting becomes another point at which the actions of the Jailer's Daughter and Emilia echo one another. Davenant has the kinsmen "as in the balcony" in this scene with Heraclia (*The Rivals* 2; p. 14), while the original is not specific as to the location of the kinsmen in the

corresponding scene (2.2). Since the scene prior (2.1) places Palamon and Arcite "above" or in the upper level, and as their entrance comes seven lines after their exit in that scene, it is likely that they remain above, with Emilia walking in the garden below (2.1.49.1). This staging is also supported by Arcite's "I'll throw my body out / And leap the garden, when I see her next" (2.2.218–19); Arcite could only leap into the garden if he were above it. In the previous scene in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, the Jailer's Daughter was watching Palamon, her love, from below. (As discussed previously, Palamon is both literally and metaphorically above her.) In this scene, the kinsmen are the viewers, spying on Emilia from above. In *The Rivals*, Celania still watches the kinsmen, only Davenant has placed her at a window above to watch the kinsmen below (*The Rivals* Act 1; p. 7). In both versions, the *desirer* watches the *desired*. In other words, the Jailer's Daughter observes Palamon who is unaware of her watching him, and later Palamon (and Arcite) observes Emilia/Heraclia who does not register his (their) presence. Thus, we have in the garden scenes of both plays a kind of intimate, voyeuristic sexual activity, with the kinsmen gazing upon Emilia/Heraclia, though Emilia/Heraclia does not reciprocate the kinsmen's desire.

While the staging in both plays is similar, Heraclia's garden in *The Rivals* loses its symbolic power since the character does not possess the strong connection to women that Emilia does in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. First, if Heraclia does not have the Amazonian identity and relationship with the goddess Diana, then placing her in an enclosed garden does less to suggest her ties to virginity. Second, the content of Emilia's/Heraclia's exchange with her woman in the garden points to other issues integral to the discussion at hand. A garden could reflect forbidden sexual activity, but both Emilia and Heraclia are unattainable and forbidden to the kinsmen situationally in that the former are royalty and the latter prisoners. This is not necessarily where the unlicensed desire ends in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, however, especially if we take into account Emilia's relationship with women, her words about Flavina, and later her inability to choose either kinsman. Cut by Davenant, Emilia's first line upon entrance is, "This garden has a world of pleasures in't" (*TNK* 2.2.118). Given all material referenced above about the garden and Emilia's female space, the use of the word "world" seems appropriate (see also Potter 2.2.118n.). Also notable is her use of the word "pleasures." While "pleasure" can merely mean "enjoyment," it also may have sexual connotations. Davenant may have been avoiding this association.

Next, in both versions Emilia/Heraclia and her woman (named Cleone in *The Rivals*) discuss the flowers in the garden. The first flower

Emilia spots is a narcissus. Though here Emilia calls Narcissus a "fool," the very mention of the name conjures the longing for likeness, similar to what earlier Emilia described with Flavina: "What she liked / Was then of me approved; what not, condemned" (1.3.64–75). Valerie Traub, in *The Renaissance of Lesbianism in Early Modern England*, argues that the homoeroticism in Emilia and Flavina's relationship is desire based on likeness, twinning, and similarity (femme/femme) rather than difference (172–5). In the garden, Emilia thinks the narcissus is so beautiful that she asks for the flowers to be woven into the fabric of her gown. Laurie Shannon further connects Emilia's dialogue with her woman to Flavina:

> The conversational shift to silk weaving incorporates and echoes two elements already seen in Emilia's Flavina narrative: flowers and dress, blossoms and patterns, suggesting the intimacy of women in a dressing chamber. The references to work and art in producing the silk gown strengthen the sense of plenitude, showing that the feminine space inhabited by the women is a creative economy. (675)

"Of all flowers," Emilia says, "a rose is best" because "it is the very emblem of a maid" (*TNK* 2.2.135–7; *The Rivals* 2; p. 15). Discussed more in depth below, the "rose" becomes an emblem for Emilia herself throughout *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. Once more, this is a reference to her chastity, but again, there is another layer. Emilia's woman's reply immediately conjures up an image of a rose falling from the stem or a maid losing her virginity through seduction: "Sometimes her modesty will blow so far / She falls for't" (*TNK* 2.2.144–5; *The Rivals* 2; p. 15). As David Lucking points out, the word "rose" was slang for "pudend; maidenhead" ("He that the sweetest rose will find / Must find love's prick, and Rosalind," *As You Like It* 3.2.108–9) and also had associations with prostitution ("to pluck a rose") (41–2). (There is a long history of flowers in art symbolizing female anatomy.) This could offer an entirely new significance to Emilia's "a rose is best."

Davenant has Heraclia exit with her woman after the rose banter on the lines, "The sun is set. Lets walk in: Keep the flowers / To see how near Art can resemble them" (*The Rivals* 2; p. 15). With this exit, he cuts a brief, but much debated, exchange between Emilia and her woman:

> EMILIA. I am wondrous merry-hearted; I could laugh now.
> WOMAN. I could lie down, I am sure.
> EMILIA. And take one with you?

> WOMAN. That's as we bargain, madam.
> EMILIA. Well, agree then.
> *Exeunt Emilia and Woman*
> (*TNK* 2.2.151–3)

Editors, such as Potter and those of the Penguin and Oxford editions of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, note that "laugh and lie down" is a proverbial reference to a card game and can have sexual connotations (Potter 2.2.152n.; Bawcutt 195; Waith 115). Fletcher (and Rowley) make(s) a similar reference elsewhere. In *The Maid in the Mill*, Gerasto sings:

> Come follow me (you Country-Lasses)
> And you shall see such sport as passes:
> You shall dance, and I will sing;
> Pedro hee shall rub the string:
> Each shall have a loos-bodied gown
> Of green; and *laugh till you lie down*.
> Come follow me, come follow, &c. (2.1.151; vol. 9; emphasis added)[25]

Under the "laugh and lie down" entry in *A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature*, Gordon Williams cites the use of the phrase in several ballads of the period and into the Restoration (787). One ballad in Pepys' collection is titled "Laugh and Lie Down," in which the lyrics describe how a young couple "made a bargain to laugh and lie down" after the man kissed her "amain" while his "hand ... play'd at all alike" upon the green meadows (787; see Figure 1.2).

Thus, even the word "bargain" could have sexual undertones (see Williams 71–2). At this point it is clear that the dialogue between Emilia and her woman has sexual implications. Shannon asks what exactly the nature of this erotic wordplay is:

> The familiarity of the usages "thou" and "wench," the "merry" flirtatious tone of the otherwise markedly serious Emilia, and the by now obvious inference that Emilia, at least, cannot be referring to a sexual "bargain" with a man—all these converge to suggest that these final lines refer to a sexual encounter between Emilia and her Woman. The ambiguity of the lines—are they hypothetical? Do they refer to some (future) "bargain" with a "mad" man?—is substantially dispelled by Emilia's "now" and her imperative tense in "Well, agree then." One is left with a sense that an "agreement" is concluded, that, indeed,

LAUGH and lie DOWN:

OR, A

DIALOGUE

Between a young Gentleman and his Sweetheart, as they sat upon the Banks of the **Kelder** *; a little above the Bridge of* **Brighouse**, *in* **Yorkshire**, *on* **March** *the First ; both being Inhabitants within the said Township. Tune of,* ***As I was walking one snu shining day.***

AS I was a walking one eveing most clear,
By the bank of a River I chanc'd for to hear,
A young Man, and a Virgin of beauty and fame,
But for fear to disgrace her, i'll not tell her name:

This young Man did hand her along on the way,
And unto the Virgin I heard him to say,

I love thee my Jewel, the joys of my heart,
From the foot, to the crown upmost lovely thou art.

Then she answer'd him quickly, *You do not me love,*
You sp[e]ak but in jest, only me for to prove:
But what makes your hand to be fumbling here?
It makes me to shake and to tremble for f[ear].

That you should o're come me, & make me submit
To your will and pleasure; but, alas! I'm not fit:
For want of possessions you will not me chuse,
But just for the present my body t'abuse.

No, no my sweet Jewell, it shall not be so,
For if thou fear that, then away will I go:
And along the green meadows I think I must walk,
Then let us part quickly, and cease all our talk;

Then farewell, adieu, for no longer I'll stay,
Well what haste are you in? she gently did say:
I would not have Lovers to break in a rage,
For before that should be I'll be your Foot-page.

Then back with all haste he turn'd to her again,
And began to salute her and kiss her amain;
But his hand play'd at all alike, but i'll not swear
For all the *King's* ransom, what as they play'd there.

But this I will say, yea, and swear it to boot,
And boldly affirm it, if I be put to't,
That they made a bargain to laugh and lie down,
For a goodly black hood & a gallant Serge-gown.

And then they fell to it with might & with main,
And when they had done once they fell to it again,
What liquor she had got, I cannot well say,
But this I am sure she went reelining away.

And as they were a walking the Thresh did sing
With a voice so delightful it would please a *King*.
Cease, cease, said the young Man, the Air for the fill,
For thou hast sung well, and I have not danc'd ill.

And now with this *Item*, I intent to conclude,
Because that my lines are both simple and rude,
See that once of you Maids to bluch or look red
With this *Song*, but the *Parties* on *whom* it was *made*.

Licens'd according to Order.

Printed for *J. Shooter*.

Figure 1.2 Ballad, "Laugh and Lie Down," 1691 (By permission of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge)

> may already have been established ("That's as we bargain, madam"). (Shannon 675)

I would suggest Davenant's cutting of the "laugh and lie down" exchange between Emilia and her woman is significant, particularly in a place where he made otherwise little alteration to the original—he discarded only these three of their lines. Perhaps the excision was Davenant's attempt to lessen the bawdy language of the women (cf. the cuts made to Celania/Jailer's Daughter discussed in the previous section), whose sexual implications would have been clear to the Restoration audience given the popularity of ballads like Pepys' one referenced above. But this reasoning is flawed since he retains at least some of the sexual innuendo connected with the rose. Furthermore, if it was only Emilia's woman who was being bawdy, as some editors of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* suggest, Davenant would have no objection to this as the maidservants in *The Rivals* (cf. Cleone/Woman and Leucippe) are given license to be lewd. Given Davenant excised all mention of Emilia's friendship with Flavina (and his overall curtailing of her connection with women), his removal of these lines shared by Emilia and her woman before they exit to "walk in" could support Shannon's interpretation of this scene as pointing to a "sexual encounter" between the two women.

Almost immediately following the kinsmen's spying on Emilia in the garden, both find their way out of prison: Arcite through Pirithous, and Palamon by the Jailer's Daughter. While the Jailer's Daughter searches for Palamon in this interval, Emilia is sought out by Arcite. It is here in both versions that Arcite, after being revered for his valor in wrestling and running in the country games, is given to Emilia/Heraclia as her servant. First, she is asked her estimation of Arcite. In *The Rivals*, Heraclia says, "His being young makes him appear more noble, / His Worth encreases by his want of years; / Because new risen he more bright appears" (24). This response is closer to that of Hippolyta's "I admire him. / I have not seen so young a man so noble," than to the feelings of Emilia (*TNK* 2.5.17–18). In the corresponding passage in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, Emilia remarks, "Believe, / His *mother* was a wondrous handsome woman; / His face, methinks, goes that way" (2.5.19–21; emphasis added). In *The Rivals*, Arcite is judged based on his youthful, noble appearance whereas in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, Emilia compares his looks to a female standard. In the original, Theseus prompts Emilia to think even more on Arcite: "Sister, beshrew my heart, you have a servant, / That if I were a woman, would be master. / But you are wise" (*TNK* 2.5.62–4). She replies to this idea with, "I hope,

too wise for that, sir" (*TNK* 2.5.64). Once again, she iterates her "faith" for women.

This preference for women, sexual and/or otherwise, continues through the final three acts of the original. Moving into the third act of *The Rivals*, Davenant retains the May Day festivities that are also found in the third act of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, though he alters them somewhat by adding the "hunt in song." Both Emilia and Heraclia, along with the other nobility, are spectators to the festive entertainment provided by the country folk. In the original, this is the only point in the entire play that the Jailer's Daughter and Emilia are on stage together. In *The Rivals*, the two heroines are friends and share scenes in the second and fifth acts, destroying the contrasting worlds Fletcher and Shakespeare set up for each of the women respectively (that is, the Jailer's Daughter's "world of men"; Emilia's "world of women"). Even though at this point Emilia and the Jailer's Daughter are on stage simultaneously for the first and only time in the play, they do not speak to one another. Since Emilia and the Jailer's Daughter do not interact, it reinforces the class divide in the play. The lower-class Jailer's Daughter will not be friends or interact with the noble Emilia as she does in *The Rivals*. Furthermore, Emilia never knows of the Jailer's Daughter's affections for Palamon, and the Jailer's Daughter never has to confront Palamon's feelings for Emilia.

After the third act, *The Rivals* becomes increasingly removed from its Shakespearean source as the action drives toward marriage and a comedic ending. By cutting much of the fourth and fifth acts, *The Rivals* loses many other references to Emilia's chastity and association with females. Davenant omits "the picture scene" (4.2) from his play, and in doing so removes Emilia's likening of the kinsmen to homoerotic or female models. Additionally, the removal of this scene deletes Emilia's references to running mad—another echo of the Jailer's Daughter. Interestingly, this is the first soliloquy spoken by Emilia in Fletcher and Shakespeare's play—as opposed to the many soliloquies of the Jailer's Daughter—and it invokes madness. While gazing upon Arcite's picture and thus his beautiful features, she contemplates how maids, even Nature herself, would run mad for Arcite, thereby pointing to the fact that she herself is *not* running mad (*TNK* 4.2.7–11). Later in her soliloquy, Emilia says she cannot distinguish between the two kinsmen and would run mad for Arcite if her brother asked her which of the two she loved, and yet, she would run mad for Palamon if her sister were the questioner. In other words, unlike the Jailer's Daughter who is mad for Palamon, Emilia's soliloquy suggests she may be unable to run mad for either man or men

in general. Consciously or not, Davenant perhaps alludes to this when Heraclia says in her moment of deliberation: "The Noble Theocles shall live—but Why? / Philander is as much too good to dy: / Distracted thus I know not which to choose, / One I would save, but not the other loose" (*The Rivals* 4; p. 45). Though "distracted" here means confused or conflicted, the choice and use of that particular word is loaded since her counterpart (Celania/Jailer's Daughter) has just been described as "distracted" in the sense of being deranged.

There is one final pertinent scene in these last acts of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* yet to be discussed. Before the kinsmen's competition, Emilia makes a sacrifice at the altar of Diana, her patron goddess. Emilia enters according to these directions:

> *Still music of recorders. Enter EMILIA in white, her hair about her shoulders, Wearing a wheaten wreath. One [maid] in white holding up her train, her hair stuck with flowers. One [maid] before her carrying a silver hind, in which is conveyed incense and sweet odours, which being set upon the altar, her maids standing aloof, she sets fire to it. Then they curtsey and kneel.* (5.1.136.2–7)

Imagining Emilia's appearance here one can easily draw parallels with the Wooer's description of the Jailer's Daughter at the water, with both descriptions of the women echoing the marriage ceremony which opened the play (4.1.83–5). The Jailer's Daughter's hair is "careless" (4.1.83) and indicative of her mad state while Emilia's hair flows down, signifying her virginity, a focal point in this scene. In both cases, hair is emblematically tied to sexuality and femininity, albeit highlighting divergent aspects. I have said earlier that for the Jailer's Daughter, her "mad" hair is a removal of or rebellion against a male-controlled female decorum. Though still under the control of patriarchy in this world, virgins, by definition, are women who have not yet been possessed by men. Therefore Emilia's hair down, like the Jailer's Daughter's hair, is a symbol of some freedom from male domination.[26] Both the scene of the Jailer's Daughter by the water (described by the Wooer) and Emilia's altar scene feature the heroines with flowers in their hair and accompanied by music. The Jailer's Daughter is found singing, indicative of her feminine madness, while Emilia enters to the "still music of recorders." The Jailer's Daughter is alone in the Wooer's description of her until interrupted by him in the offstage action, whereas Emilia is on stage in the company of at least two other maids. Additionally, both women, in a sense, prepare themselves for marriage or sexual union: Emilia with the victor of the competition and the Jailer's Daughter with Palamon,

although with different attitudes toward it. The Jailer's Daughter is lovesick for Palamon: weeping, sighing, smiling, and kissing her hand. Emilia is solemn and conflicted at the least. She reiterates that she cannot choose between the kinsmen and presents to Diana the option of continuing in the goddess' band as a virgin.

Likewise, the Jailer's Daughter is found knee-deep in water while Emilia is setting fire to an altar. The fire is lit for the purposes of sacrificing a silver hind (a female deer), another emblem of virginity. There is the suggestion that the hind stands in, as a sacrifice, for Emilia whose virginity is soon to be lost. Emilia says of Diana that the goddess will allow her female knights "no more blood than will make a blush, which is their order's robe" (5.1.140–2). Here we have an association of loss of virginity with sacrificial blood. In asking Diana's divine wishes, Emilia is again torn between the two kinsmen and expresses desire to remain in her world of women: "I am bride-habited, / But maiden-hearted" (5.1.150–1). Diana reveals her signs to Emilia appropriately through a rose tree which replaces the hind. Emilia immediately interprets the single rose on the tree as signifying the single life she is to live, "but one rose! / If well inspired, this battle shall confound / Both these brave knights and I, a virgin flower, / Must grow alone, unplucked." (165–8). The evocation of Diana, a rose, and virginity is similarly employed in Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, when Theseus tells Hermia that she must obey her father Egeus and marry Demetrius or she will spend her life as a nun:

> Chanting faint hymns to the cold fruitless Moon.
> Thrice blessed they that master so their blood,
> To undergo such maiden pilgrimage,
> But earthlier happy is the Rose distil'd,
> Than that which withering on the virgin thorn,
> Grows, lives, and dies, in single blessedness. (1.1.73–8)

When Hermia insists upon living and dying a virgin, Theseus counters by offering her the options of death, marriage to Demetrius, or "on Diana's altar to protest / For aye austerity and single life" (1.1.89–90). Diana's altar is a place to vow abstinence. Of course, Hermia has a clear preference for Lysander as impetus for avoiding her father's choice of a groom and consequently her desire to remain a virgin. Emilia, however, is at Diana's altar because she cannot choose a husband and wishes to remain a virgin. As Theseus makes clear in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Diana's altar is the place to protest marriage or insist upon

virgin entitlement. Even Palamon knows of Emilia's devotion to Diana when he prays to Venus. Palamon reminds his patron goddess of her power to make even Diana "throw / Her bow away and sigh," just as Palamon would have Emilia throw away her Amazon virgin identity and "sigh" for him (5.1.93–4). A moment after Emilia has resigned herself to a single life, the rose falls off the tree to the sound of a "sudden twang," which she takes as a sign that she is, in fact, to lose her virginity to marriage (5.1.168.1). Nevertheless, Emilia second-guesses Diana's fallen rose with "I think so—but I know not thine own will; / Unclasp thy mystery!—I hope she's pleased" (5.1.171–2). Even though Emilia exclaims that Diana's signs were "gracious" she evidently remains conflicted by the entire affair.

Even with its sense of spectacle, it should not come as any surprise that Davenant cut this ritual scene. In *The Rivals*, there is no formal competition for Heraclia and therefore no need for the knights to implore their respective patrons on behalf of victory. Heraclia is simply meant to choose the kinsman she prefers. Even so, Davenant may have cut this scene for its thematic relevance to Emilia's chastity and female world. Additionally, since he had not set up parallels between his two heroines, there is no description of the Jailer's Daughter by the water with flowers stuck in her disheveled hair. In short, there is no place for Heraclia at Diana's altar in the play as Davenant has adapted it.

Nonetheless, it should be noted that while Davenant removed Emilia's female world (chastity and female desire) from *The Rivals*, he does, at some level, register her reluctance to be with either kinsman. After begging Arcon for both kinsmen's lives in Act 4, Heraclia makes clear that she was not doing so out of love: she speaks of avoiding being "enjoy'd" by one of them and states that she will let them both die (*The Rivals* 4; 45). In the following act, Heraclia abruptly changes her attitude and concludes that at least one of the kinsmen should live, but still she plans to plead for both hoping to slacken the prince's resolve. The prince, however, cannot conceive that she loves neither and insists upon finding out which way her inclination leans. This "testing" of Heraclia's favor, and also of the honor of the kinsmen, proves unsuccessful time and again, with Arcon ultimately concluding that he is doing more harm than good. Finally, Arcon determines he will have Philander taken from the room, so that "On Theocles, She then may fix her mind, / Which [is] unconstant now, and unconfin'd" (54). Before the audience is able to witness the result of this final test, Heraclia discovers she must save Celania from her madness by giving her Philander to wed, thus settling for Theocles herself. In this regard, perhaps Davenant's Heraclia is closer to Fletcher and Shakespeare's

Emilia than she would initially seem, for her choice here ultimately has more to do with a woman—saving a woman's life—than it does with the kinsmen. Of course this idea only surfaces when read in light of the original, since all other aspects of Davenant's play point to a heterosexual union for Heraclia, which at last she calls "bliss" (*The Rivals* 5; 56).

In *The Two Noble Kinsmen* Emilia never chooses between the kinsmen, thereby leading to Theseus' competition—a competition she refuses even to attend. When Theseus insists upon her presence at the combat—as the prize—he compares her to the only star shining in the darkness (5.3.18–20). Emilia's response to his metaphor is "I am extinct," meaning her light is out or that she considers herself dead (5.3.20). When Emilia is joined initially with Arcite, as the winner of the battle, it is anything but "bliss." At this point she is clear about her position as she begins by questioning, "Is this winning?" and concludes with "I should and would die too" (5.3.138–44). I am not suggesting Emilia's grief springs solely from her reluctance to marry. Naturally, Emilia's anguish is firmly connected with Palamon's impending execution, seemingly provoked by her mere existence. What I *am* suggesting, however, is that while Arcite expresses happiness mixed with sorrow at winning the combat and therefore Emilia, nowhere does Emilia articulate anything other than grief at "winning" Arcite. With Palamon on the executioner's block seconds after the betrothal of Arcite and Emilia, we have not only verbal images of death and marriage but the two side by side on stage. Some modern productions stage 5.3 and 5.4 as a continuous scene, with Palamon entering and the block and axe being set up with the bridal party still on stage.

Emilia will not be wedded to Arcite as she is in *The Rivals*. As he is dying after an accident on his horse (one Emilia had given him), Arcite gives Emilia to Palamon. This creates another analogous situation for the Jailer's Daughter and Emilia in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. Though in *The Rivals* almost all parallels—be they similarities or disparities—between the two heroines disappear, they each end the play marrying a kinsman. In the original, both women will save Palamon from near death and be joined sexually with him. The Jailer's Daughter, nevertheless, actually only has intercourse with Palamon in the fantasy world of her mind, the place where most of her adventures occur. Her body has sex with the Wooer "in the habit of Palamon" (5.2.0.1). While the stage-picture that ends *The Rivals* is that of happy, evenly matched couples, Fletcher and Shakespeare's play ends with Theseus instructing Palamon to "lead your lady [Emilia] off" to their wedding that will follow Arcite's funeral (5.4.121). Here we have death and a kind of birth,

neither happening without pain—a human microcosm mimicking the macrocosm of the seasons and earth.

This directs us to a final position shared by the heroines in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. For both Emilia and the Jailer's Daughter, female desire is thwarted. Throughout the play the Jailer's Daughter longs for Palamon but is unable to obtain him due to his love for Emilia and, more pointedly, due to restrictions of class, as *The Rivals* makes clear by its revisions. Ultimately, she is persuaded by the Doctor, her father, and the Wooer to marry, which in a way is against her wishes. She is deceived into believing the Wooer is Palamon when she goes to bed with him—her authentic desire lying with the real Palamon. Likewise, Emilia cannot choose and is forced by Theseus into a marriage when her true desire or "faith," as I have been suggesting here, belongs to a life in the company of women. Here we have social constructs such as patriarchy and the class system—not unrelated—placing restrictions on female desire. With Davenant's elevation of Celania's (the Jailer's Daughter's) class, she will have Philander (Palamon) in *The Rivals*, and Heraclia (Emilia) as well will find "bliss" in Theocles (Arcite). An audience readily accepts this "bliss" for the character since Davenant took pains to remove all that has been discussed above regarding her sexuality and female world. In Jacobean tragicomedy, obviously, things are much more complicated for the female characters. They are given license to express desires—not found or not so explicit in the Restoration version—only to have those desires frustrated. To exist, the desires of both women must live in another world. For the Jailer's Daughter, her desires thrive in the fantasy world created through her madness, and, for Emilia, her passion is relegated to her past that like her deceased friend, Flavina, exists only in her memories.

2

No Woman Is an Island: Female Roles in Dryden and Davenant's *The Tempest, Or The Enchanted Island* and Shakespeare's *The Tempest*

Introduction: female roles in *The Enchanted Island* and *The Tempest*

If *The Two Noble Kinsmen* and its adaptation, *The Rivals*, are lesser known and studied works, then on the other end of the spectrum is William Shakespeare's *The Tempest* and its adaptation. *The Tempest* was Shakespeare's last solo play and the play that occupies the prestigious place of first play in the 1623 First Folio. Transformed by John Dryden and William Davenant into *The Tempest, Or The Enchanted Island*, it was arguably the most popular of all Shakespearean adaptations in the Restoration and early eighteenth century.[1] This adaptation was revived more often than any other play between 1660 and 1700. John Dryden confessed in the Preface to *The Enchanted Island* that "from the very first moment it so pleas'd me, that I never writ any thing with more delight" (*EI*, Preface). Samuel Pepys saw more than seven performances, remarking in one diary entry: "after dinner to the Duke of York's house, to the play, 'The Tempest,' which we have often seen, but yet I was pleased again, and shall be again to see it, it is so full of variety" (qtd in Clark liii; *Pepys' Diary*, 3 Feb. 1666/67). Dryden and Davenant's play was turned into a successful opera by Thomas Shadwell in 1674, and in the same year it was parodied in a "burlesque" by Thomas Duffett titled *The Mock-Tempest, Or the Enchanted Castle*, set in an infamous London brothel and prison. To this can be added allusions to the play in other plays of the period such as Thomas Durfey's *The Marriage Hater Match'd*. When Lady Hockley snubs Lord Brainless' wife Lady Pupsey for formerly being a player, Lord Brainless asks Captain Darewell to contradict such a claim. Lord Brainless says, "Darewel, thou canst witness the contrary of that, thou toldst me her Breeding was such that, she has been familiar

with Kings and Queens," to which Darewell responds, "Ay my Lord in the Play-house, I told ye she was a High Flyer too, that is, I have seen her upon a Machine in the *Tempest*" (Durfey 5.3; p. 50). Realizing he has been tricked, Brainless says, "In the *Tempest*, why then I suppose I may seek her fortune in the *inchanted Island*" (5.3; p. 50). Joseph Roach observes that "[a]ccording to Tom Brown, the acid-tongued observer of the London underworld," the playhouse itself even became known as "The Enchanted Island" (19). As Christine Dymkowski states in her Introduction in the Cambridge Shakespeare in Production Series edition of *The Tempest*, "The version of *The Tempest* most familiar to play-goers throughout much of its performance history has not been Shakespeare's Folio text, but the adaptation by William Davenant and John Dryden, first staged on 7 November 1667 by Duke's Company at Lincoln's Inn Fields and subsequently published in 1670 by Henry Herringman" (6). Only in the nineteenth century, with William Macready's 1838 production, did Shakespeare's text of *The Tempest* regain its place on the stage. *The Enchanted Island* has had a substantial impact on performances of *The Tempest* and thus on its female role(s).[2]

The Tempest is the only Shakespearean play with a solitary female character, Miranda.[3] In *Shakespeare in Modern Culture*, Majorie Garber writes:

> My suggestion for a keyword for *The Tempest* and its effect upon modern culture would, in fact, be this problematic word "man". "Man" as a general substantive for all mankind raised a number of problems for the late twentieth century. Did it include "woman"? ... Two female characters crucial to the narrative—the powerful witch, Sycorax, Caliban's mother (whom Prospero supplanted), and Claribel, the daughter of the King of Naples (married to an African and sent to Tunis)—are absent from the play's dramatis personae, a fact that did not go unnoticed by feminist readers in the twentieth century. (7–8)

Ann Thompson in "Miranda, Where's Your Sister?" focuses on the absence of female characters, and concludes: "Much early feminist criticism consisted merely in privileging female characters and identifying with their viewpoints, especially if they could be claimed to be in any way subversive or protofeminist. This is clearly impossible in *The Tempest*" (47). Thompson goes on to relate her twentieth-century female students' negative reactions to Miranda when she taught the play. Jessica Slights in "Rape and the Romanticism of Miranda" echoes Garber's mention of feminist critics' focus on the absent women of *The Tempest*—Sycorax and Claribel—and adds the widow Dido to the list (361). Slights,

however, counters Thompson and other feminist critics in her reading of the play and contends that this concentration on the "absent women" has taken away attention from Miranda, arguing that critics from the eighteenth century onwards have been "notably silent" about Miranda and/or have viewed her simply as an emblem, an allegorical figure or cipher for Prospero's political plans (360). Slights concludes:

> When feminist critics do elect to discuss the play's only human female presence, Miranda appears in their commentaries most often as a prototype of that unlikely invention of Puritan conduct book authors and late-twentieth-century scholars: the woman who is chaste, silent, and obedient. Small wonder then that Ann Thompson's female students find Miranda "an extremely feeble heroine and scorn to identify with her." (361)[4]

However interesting and useful investigations of Sycorax, Claribel, the widow Dido (and we should include Miranda's unnamed mother) are to interpretations of Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, from a performative perspective the absence of these women from the dramatis personae means just that: they are not characters that have physical presence and therefore they have no tangible relationship to the stage, actors, or audiences, and therefore are of little consequence to this project. Slights employs Anna Jameson's 1832 *Shakspeare's Heroines* as a lens for viewing Miranda's "gendered corporeality":

> Jameson points out that Miranda's humanity is deliberately juxtaposed with the magical nature of the island's other inhabitants. When she is compared with the "subtile essence" of the "ethereal sprite" Ariel, "Miranda herself appears a palpable reality, a woman, 'breathing thoughtful breath,' a woman, walking the earth in her mortal loveliness, with a heart as frail-strung, as passion-touched, as ever fluttered in a female bosom." Bracketing for a moment its dated prose, I want to point to this passage's clear attempt to move us away from an account of Miranda as an incorporeal being and toward an understanding of her as a material girl. As the repetition of the word "woman" insists, the rhetorical emphasis here is on Miranda's humanity, her physicality, and her sexuality—in short, on what Jameson would call her womanliness. (362)

Following Slights and Jameson, I am interested in how we can better understand the dramaturgy of Miranda herself as a physical, "breathing"

female presence on stage in order to go beyond a discussion of "absent" female characters. How is Miranda more than "chaste, silent, and obedient"? In Shakespeare's play, she is not silent or always obedient; and while she is chaste, she also expresses physical, sexual desire. Furthermore, how does Miranda express her "womanliness"? Rather than this being an uncomplicated, stereotypical depiction of "female," how does Miranda, at the same time, possess "manliness" or masculine attributes? Dryden and Davenant's *The Enchanted Island* becomes a useful vehicle for exploring Miranda and female role(s) in both the plays.

Just as critics have been dissatisfied with Miranda as the sole representation of the female gender in *The Tempest*, one of the biggest alterations Dryden and Davenant made to Shakespeare's play was the addition of three other female characters: Dorinda, Miranda's sister, Sycorax, Caliban's twin sister (not Caliban's mother as she is in *The Tempest*), and Milcha, Ariel's partner.[5] Furthermore, they added at least one extra role for a woman, Hippolito (a man's part but specified to be played by a woman). Hippolito is Prospero's surrogate son, rightful heir of the Dukedom of Mantua and brought to the island by Prospero to escape death and usurpation. From a performance point of view, Dryden and Davenant were not content with having only one female character on stage as there was in the original. Earl Miner contends that Miranda is unbelievable as a character and "Davenant therefore followed, as it were, Shakespeare's principle in *King Lear*: if one female character of a certain kind would be incredible by herself, make two of her and a man of the same kind" (101). Restoration playwrights also strove to achieve symmetry and balance, and thus many plays have two sets of lovers rather than one. Additionally, there was an increasing tendency to write plays about love, marriage, and sexual relations (cf. Introduction, p. 17). Certainly though, one of the biggest impetuses for the adaptors' addition of the female roles was that they, unlike Shakespeare, could use actresses (making the dearth of women in Shakespeare's play unappealing).

Notably, the multiplication of women did not lead to the representation of the aforementioned absent women in Shakespeare's play: Sycorax (Caliban's mother), Claribel, or Miranda's mother. The adaptors in trying to reinvent Shakespeare's play probably took little notice of these women who never appear on stage, but instead are merely referred to by other characters. Rather they created entirely new women/roles, which seem to be based in part on Fletcher and Massinger's *The Sea Voyage*, as acknowledged in Dryden's Preface to *The Enchanted Island*.

In his Preface, Dryden writes that Fletcher had imitated Shakespeare's plot for *The Tempest* in *The Sea Voyage* and as evidence for his claim states

the basic design of Shakespeare's play was "the Storm, the desart Island, and the Woman who had never seen a Man" (*EI*, Preface). Therefore, integral to Dryden and Davenant's understanding of Shakespeare's play was the idea of Miranda as a woman who had never seen a man. (Dryden states in the Preface that Davenant was the originator of Hippolito.) Central for the adaptors was the definition of the female parts as well as the male role played by a female in relation to the opposite sex. Thus in the dramatis personae of *The Enchanted Island*, Miranda and Dorinda are both listed as "(Daughter to Prospero) that never saw man" (note the parenthesis), and Hippolito as "one that never saw Woman, right Heir of the Dukedom of Mantua" (note his dukedom is listed after his relationship with women). Ferdinand, however, is listed after "Alonzo, Duke of Savoy," as "his Son."

Ironically, Shakespeare's design of Miranda is the opposite of what Dryden and Davenant contend. Miranda is not a woman who has never seen a man, but in fact, she is more accurately described as a woman who has never seen a woman. When Prospero asks Miranda to search her memory for any artifact of Milan, she says, "Had I not / Four or five women once, that tended me?" (1.2.46–7). It is significant that what lingers in the young woman's memory is women, but she states this is rather like a "dream" (1.2.45). Later Miranda will say to Ferdinand, plainly:

> I do not know
> One of my sex, no woman's face remember—
> Save, from my glass, mine own. Nor have I seen
> More that I may call men than you, good friend,
> And my dear father (3.1.48–52)

Though her experience of the male sex extends only to her father and Caliban (earlier, Miranda acknowledges Caliban as a man [1.2.445–7]), the humans Miranda has been with are men. This is perhaps where Claribel, Sycorax, and Miranda's mother figure in the theatre. They point to an attribute of Miranda's character—that she has been brought up without women—and this is likely to have an impact upon the way the role is played.

Then, as Jocelyn Powell asks, "How could anyone think the design of *The Tempest* was the idea of a woman who had never seen a man (although Miranda provides the play with a telling image)?" (70). Dryden and Davenant's observation about Miranda demonstrates that the adaptors saw her as central to the story, her relationship with Ferdinand as key, and the inherent sexual politics in Shakespeare's play as integral.

Each of the female roles the adaptors added can be viewed as springing from this idea or more specifically from Miranda herself, from aspects of her intelligence, independence, and desire. The newly created females and female roles (with perhaps the exception of Sycorax and Milcha) seem to be inspired by the results of making Miranda central to the plot. It is her story—more than any other in Shakespeare's play—that the adaptors chose to expand. Because Shakespeare's Miranda has never seen a woman (and has been primarily in the company of a man/men) there are several indications that she views herself not through a patriarchal lens (as a second-class citizen) but on a par with men. It is interesting then to consider Hippolito as Miranda's masculine counterpart and as a male role played by a female actress. Additionally, since Miranda is alone except for her father on Shakespeare's island, such a situation gives her a sense of strong independence and she is afforded the opportunity to act in a way that might not be allowed to other women, whereas the addition of Dorinda in *The Enchanted Island* tempers and diffuses Miranda's independence. In the following, I investigate Miranda in Shakespeare's play and the changes Dryden and Davenant made to her character with the addition of both Dorinda and Hippolito.

"Miranda! where's your sister?": Miranda and Dorinda

"Miranda! where's your sister?" is the first line spoken by Prospero in *The Enchanted Island* (1; p. 5).[6] This question points to one that could be posed to Shakespeare's Miranda as well: "Where's your sister?" or "Where are the women in your life?" Of course, the answer Dryden and Davenant's Miranda gives Prospero is that her sister, Dorinda, is merely on top of a rock on another part of the island. Shakespeare's Miranda, just as she has few answers to the mystery that is her life, would have no reply since she does not have a sister or a mother or any female presence in her world. What happens to Miranda when she is given female companionship as she is in the adaptation? One of the answers is prompted by this very dialogue. In Shakespeare's play, the very first voice heard on the island does not come from Prospero but from Miranda. It is she who starts the main action of the play following the prologue of the storm. The first voice the audience hears from the island—juxtaposed with the confused noises, the cries from the ship, and the "tempestuous noise of thunder and lightning"—is that of a compassionate young woman telling her father to calm the storm: "If by your art, my dearest father, you have / Put the wild waters in this roar, allay them" (1.2.1–2). In *The Enchanted Island*, it is Prospero's voice that is initially heard, keeping tabs on the whereabouts of his daughters.

Furthermore, in *The Enchanted Island* focus is taken away from Miranda not merely by Prospero's voice but by the visual effects on stage. In Thomas Shadwell's operatic version of Dryden and Davenant's text, the stage directions opening this scene after the storm read:

> *In the midst of the Shower of Fire the Scene changes. The Cloudy Sky, Rocks, and Sea vanish; and when the Lights return, discover that Beautiful part of the Island, which was the habitation of Prospero; 'Tis compos'd of three Walks of Cypress-trees, each Side-walk leads to a Cave, in one of which Prospero keeps his Daughters, in the other Hippolito: The Middle-Walk is of a great depth, and leads to an open part of the Island.*
>
> *Enter Prospero and Miranda* (Shadwell 1.2; 5)

The storm may have been a greater spectacle in the operatic version but nevertheless this direction gives an indication of what the scene change would have been like in Dryden and Davenant's production of the play. The painted shutters with the caves of the daughters and Hippolito definitely would have been in use in the earlier version (see Powell 78). In Shakespeare's play, Miranda herself would have been the image of beauty and peace contrasted with the violent storm. In *The Enchanted Island* the image is not provided by the characters/actors but rather by the painted image of Prospero's tranquil garden and the darkness of the theatre (an effect from the storm) becoming immersed in light.

Therefore from the beginning of Shakespeare's play, Miranda alone is the focus for both Prospero and the audience. Miranda is the only child credited with preserving Prospero in the original. She is Prospero's sole heir to the Milanese throne: "I have done nothing but in care of thee, / Of thee, my dear one, thee my daughter" (1.2.16–17). In two lines, Prospero repeats the singular, affectionate "thee" three times to refer to Miranda. In *The Enchanted Island*, everything Prospero has plotted and planned has not been just for Miranda but for her and her "pretty sister" Dorinda as well (1; p. 5). Importantly for this project, the relationship dynamics between Prospero and his two daughters and also the relationship between and portrayal of the two sisters are revealing about the portrayal of Miranda in Shakespeare's play.

As noted above, Prospero's initial question to Miranda in Dryden and Davenant's play asks the young woman the whereabouts of her sister. Here begins a trend that sets up Miranda as her sister's "keeper" (she is the elder, more mature sister). Though it could be far-fetched to label Dryden and Davenant's Miranda wise, next to Dorinda she is depicted as

more responsible and knowing. When Dorinda describes the shipwreck to Miranda, she is even ignorant of what a ship is:

> DORINDA. From yonder Rock,
> As I my Eyes cast down upon the Seas,
> The whistling winds blew rudely on my face,
> And the waves roar'd; at first I thought the War
> Had bin between themselves, but strait I spy'd
> A huge great Creature.
> MIRANDA. O you mean the ship. (1; p. 12)

At the end of this first scene of the sisters, they exit with Miranda longing to see their father's magic work, while Dorinda "more long[s] to see a Man" (1; p. 14). Sexual curiosity reigns in the forefront of Dorinda's mind, while Miranda seems to have some interest in other matters. In the following scene of the sisters, Prospero even instructs Miranda, "be you, Miranda, your Sister's Guardian" (1; p. 27) and chastises her later when she fails somewhat in her duty by allowing Dorinda to see Hippolito, a man. In *The Enchanted Island*, it is Dorinda who disobeys Prospero, and Miranda who is fashioned first as the more obedient daughter. Never in Shakespeare's play does Prospero explicitly forbid Miranda to see a man, unlike *The Enchanted Island* where the overbearing patriarch constantly warns his daughters of the dangers of man. When Dorinda and Miranda are at the cave of Hippolito, the man they have been forbidden to see, it is Miranda—albeit after much temptation—who ultimately turns back, obeying their father's calls. She tells Dorinda, "Do you not hear my Father call? go in," to which her sister replies coyly, "'Twas you he nam'd, not me; I will but say my Prayers, / And follow you immediately" (2; p. 29). As Dorinda lingers to get another peep at the man, Miranda warns her, "Well, Sister, you'l repent it" (2; p. 29). Dorinda stays long enough to have an amorous exchange with Hippolito and instantly falls in love with the first man (other than Prospero or Caliban) that the women have ever seen. Miranda, however, does not love Hippolito. Prospero asks, "You do not love it?" to which Miranda replies, "How is it likely that I should, except the thing had first lov'd me?" (3; p. 31). Prospero then commends his eldest daughter for having a "mind not apt to take the light / Impressions of a sudden love" (3; p. 32). As in *The Tempest*, Prospero in *The Enchanted Island* has a plan for Miranda to love Ferdinand and arranges a meeting between them, which is discussed below.

This trend of Miranda being the wiser, more capable sister continues throughout *The Enchanted Island*. In the fifth act, when Ferdinand is

condemned to death for "killing" Hippolito (a plot change from *The Tempest* discussed below), Miranda even engages in a debate with Prospero for her lover's life. At one point she argues:

> MIRANDA. Do you condemn him for shedding blood?
> PROSPERO. Why do you ask that question? you know I do.
> MIRANDA. Then you must be condemn'd for shedding his,
> And he who condemns you, must dye for shedding
> Yours, and that's the way to leave none living. (5; p. 73)

A few lines later, Miranda even persuades Prospero that he cannot be both Ferdinand's judge and executioner (5; p. 73). Prospero calls Ariel to fetch Caliban to do the deed, and here there is another interesting development. Miranda is allowed to see and hear Prospero's conversation with Ariel, giving an insight into his art and plans, which are left ambiguous in Shakespeare's play.

These "stronger" attributes of Miranda in *The Enchanted Island*, however, only exist within her comparative relationship to her younger sister, Dorinda. In Shakespeare's play, an important part of Miranda's character is that she is an intellectual, as is shown through her many articulate speeches, most of which are absent from the adaptation. Prospero says that "here / Have I, thy schoolmaster, made thee more profit / Than other princes can that have more time / For vainer hours, and tutors not so careful" (1.2.171–4). In *The Enchanted Island*, Prospero remarks only that he has been Miranda's tutor (1; p. 7). There is no comparison to how Miranda's education surpasses what would be normal and no use of the word "prince," a gender-neutral term for a royal child. Shakespeare's Miranda has received superior tutelage from a duke who loves books as much as his dukedom. Later when Miranda and Prospero visit Caliban she talks of how she pitied Caliban and taught him language and also instructed him "each hour / One thing or other" until he attempted to violate her (1.2.355–6). Prospero calls Miranda his "more braver daughter" that could "control" Ferdinand if she saw fit to do so (1.2.439–41). "Braver" here could mean that Prospero is praising Miranda's general worthiness, but also implies that she is "courageous, daring, intrepid, stout-hearted" ("brave," *adj*.1.a. *OED*). Interestingly, Miranda is compared not to another daughter, but to a son, the Duke of Milan's "brave son." She is worthier and more courageous than a prince or a son. Though the editors of the Arden Third Series *Tempest* note that "control" here means "rebuke, reprove," it could also mean "overpower, overmaster," which it does elsewhere in Shakespeare. Earlier Caliban

had said, Prospero's "art is of such power / It would control my dam's god Setebos" (1.2.373–4). *The Enchanted Island* lacks any reference to Miranda being Prospero's "more braver daughter." In Shakespeare's play, Miranda has power, independence, and intelligence, and Dryden and Davenant must have recognized these attributes. In their play, however, these attributes become mere shadows, diminished and revealed only in comparison to her shared relationship with her younger sister.

Dryden and Davenant's Miranda not only shares with Dorinda her relationship with Prospero, but also her relationship with Caliban. No longer has Caliban merely tried to rape Miranda; in *The Enchanted Island* he has also tried to assault her sister. Prospero says to his slave, "I have us'd thee (filth that thou art) with humane care, and lodg'd thee in mine own Cell, till thou didst seek to violate the honour of my children" (1; p. 11). We therefore have not a pointed attack against Miranda but a general violation of the women on the island. In both plays, Caliban has the same vulgar reply of "Oh ho, Oh ho, would t'had been done: thou did'st prevent me, I had peopl'd else this Isle with Calibans" (1; p. 12). In *The Tempest*, Miranda, who remains silent in the scene until this point (possibly to demonstrate her resistance to visiting her would-be rapist), replies with the "Abhorred slave" speech:

> Abhorred slave,
> Which any print of goodness wilt not take,
> Being capable of all ill; I pitied thee,
> Took pains to make thee speak, taught thee each hour
> One thing or other. When thou didst not, savage,
> Know thine own meaning, but wouldst gabble like
> A thing most brutish, I endowed thy purposes
> With words that made them known. But thy vile race
> (Though thou didst learn) had that in't which good natures
> Could not abide to be with; therefore wast thou
> Deservedly confined into this rock,
> Who hadst deserved more than a prison. (1.2.352–66)

Dryden and Davenant retain this speech but reassign it to Prospero (*EI* 1; p. 12), thus starting a long tradition in performance and print of Prospero speaking lines which are assigned to Miranda in the Folio (see Vaughan and Vaughan's "Introduction" to *The Tempest*, 135–6). Regarding this speech, Melissa Sanchez states, "Miranda's outburst contradicts the innocence and passivity imagined not only by the men who surround her but also by many editors as well; as

Orgel notes, these lines were attributed to Prospero by commentators such as John Dryden, Lewis Theobald, and George Lyman Kittredge and continue to be reassigned in modern productions of the play" (65).[7] Dryden was not merely a commentator, however, he was the playwright who put Miranda's words into the mouth of Prospero in performance.

Edward Capell in *Notes and Various Readings to Shakespeare* claims that Dryden's rationale for giving the lines to Prospero was because Dryden thought the speech was assigned to Miranda by players who did not like a character of her importance being on stage for so long without participating in the dialogue (60). This is weak reasoning at best since many important Shakespearean heroines stay silent on stage at length—a pertinent example is Hermione in *The Winter's Tale* (see Chapter 3). Novak and Guffey, editors of *The Works of John Dryden*, reason that the adaptors would have thought Prospero a more likely teaching candidate for Caliban and that the speech was too philosophical for a woman (359). While Maximillian E. Novak and George Robert Guffey may have pinpointed some of the underlying reasons for the switch, I would like to suggest that Dryden (and Davenant if he was responsible for this decision as well) had another motivation. If Miranda does not verbally acknowledge what Caliban has said to her then it allows for the possibility that she is completely unaware of what he has tried to do to her. In other words, Miranda is ignorant of sex, which is exactly what Dryden and Davenant later show her to be. With her passionate retort, Shakespeare's Miranda makes it clear she has understood what Caliban attempted upon her virginity and states that he deserves worse than prison. While arguably such a speech is a departure from decorum, in the context of Caliban's attempted rape Miranda's violent words seem appropriate. Sanchez (though her discussion centers on the subject/ruler relationship) concludes that Miranda's "Abhorred slave" speech, her "denial of Caliban's claim to her body," demonstrates her "own independence from Prospero" (65). She adds, "Miranda repeatedly uses the first person singular to emphasize her identity apart from Prospero by describing her earlier relationship to Caliban without any reference to Prospero's presence at all" (66). Shakespeare's Miranda understands how Caliban was trying to possess her sexually and asserts her autonomy in reviling his attempted rape on her.

By pairing Miranda with another female, Dryden and Davenant provide opportunities for the women to comically explore sexuality since they know nothing of men other than what Prospero has taught them. Miranda's sexual naivety is evident from her initial onstage interaction

with Dorinda. The following dialogue ensues from the sisters' curiosity about the men aboard the ship:

> MIRANDA. And shortly we may chance to see that thing,
> Which you have heard my father call, a Man.
> DORINDA. But what is that? for yet he never told me.
> MIRANDA. I know no more than you: but I have heard
> My Father say we Women were made for him.
> DORINDA. What, that he should eat us Sister?
> MIRANDA. No sure, you see my Father is a man, and yet
> He does us good. I would he were not old.
> DORINDA. Methinks indeed it would be finer, if we two
> Had two young Fathers.
> MIRANDA. No Sister, no, if they were young, my Father
> Said that we must call them Brothers.
> DORINDA. But pray how does it come that we two are not
> Brothers then, and have not Beards like him?
> MIRANDA. Now I confess you pose me.
> DORINDA. How did he come to be our Father too?
> MIRANDA. I think he found us when we both were little,
> and grew within the ground. (1; p. 13)

The addition of Miranda's female companion, Dorinda, was of course prompted by the "new" actresses. As has been suggested, this conversation potentially becomes ironic when linked with the offstage reputations of the actresses playing Miranda and Dorinda. Howe argues:

> Here, played by an actress whom the audience perceived as sexually experienced and available, Miranda's purity and ignorance of the male sex becomes a huge suggestive joke, her naiveté merely an opportunity for innuendo. Dryden and Davenant gave her an equally naïve sister, Dorinda, in order to increase the possibility for such innuendo—the two discuss the strange creature, man, and display a comically smutty ignorance of the facts of life. (63–5)

"Sexually experienced and available" in the context of Howe's study equates to promiscuity or prostitution. Conflicting evidence around the exact casting of *The Enchanted Island* raises difficulties with Howe's hypothesis.[8] No one can say for sure that the actress portraying Miranda (or Dorinda) was sexually "available." (For example, Mary Betterton, wife of Thomas Betterton, appears in one cast list for *The Enchanted Island*; she

was unavailable, both in the sense that she was married and also that she was considered chaste.) What can be concluded is that there is potential for metatheatrical mocking depending on the casting. As indicated by the above discussion of the "Abhorred slave" passage, Shakespeare does not repeatedly draw attention to Miranda's sexual naivety as Dryden and Davenant do. Shakespeare's Miranda is aware of sex and that she is a virgin; she tells Ferdinand it is "the jewel in my dower" (3.1.54).

In *The Enchanted Island*, Miranda and Dorinda's curiosity about men leads to a clear expression of their desire. Dorinda says she "long[s] to see a Man" (1; p. 14). Though Dorinda is ultimately the victor and Miranda resolutely the dutiful daughter, the two women squabble over who will approach Hippolito first (2; pp. 28–9). In a staged reading of this scene at Victoria University of Wellington in 2011, the argument quickly turned physical between the two sisters, and the sexually induced sibling rivalry produced much laughter in the audience. Indeed, the two sisters have been described as "craving" and "sexually eager."[9] Such explicit sexuality is contained, however, by the play's ending when both daughters are married and patriarchal alliances reinforced. The addition of Dorinda provides Miranda with a female companion to share and express her desires, but before the resolution Dorinda will prove a complication to her sister's desires.

Unlike Davenant and Dryden's Miranda and Dorinda, Shakespeare's Miranda never verbalizes any longing to see a man until after she sees Ferdinand. From the beginning of the play until she meets Ferdinand, she does not leave her father's side. Prospero relates their hidden history to Miranda and conjures her to sleep. Next father and daughter visit Caliban, and immediately afterward, the introduction of Ferdinand to Miranda takes place. This all occurs in Act 1, scene 2, or within the first half-hour of performance. In *The Enchanted Island*, after visiting Caliban, Prospero and Miranda separate; Prospero exits the stage while Miranda awaits Dorinda, who becomes her companion throughout most of the play. Several events occur before she encounters Ferdinand: Hippolito, Miranda, and Dorinda meet; the shipwrecked courtiers have two scenes; the comedic subplot is introduced; even Ariel and Ferdinand appear in a brief interlude together. Therefore Ferdinand and Miranda do not meet until well into the third act of *The Enchanted Island*, or over halfway into the performance. Though the language and action involved in the meeting in *The Enchanted Island* are very similar to that of *The Tempest*, they have a contrasting effect. First, having the meeting occur so late in the adaptation lessens its importance to the plot and reduces the centrality of the relationship of the lovers. It would seem Hippolito and Dorinda's meeting upstages that of Ferdinand and Miranda in that

it happens much earlier in the play and that Hippolito and Dorinda are alone on stage during their wooing. Ferdinand and Miranda must share focus with not only Prospero, but also Ariel. Though Prospero and Ariel are also present in this scene in Shakespeare's play, when it is not juxtaposed to another private, intimate meeting of lovers, their presence does not seem so intrusive. Additionally, Prospero and Ariel's focus on the union of Ferdinand and Miranda seems more potent and paramount in Shakespeare's play as the plot has been rapidly pushing toward this event since the first appearance of Prospero and Miranda. Finally, *The Enchanted Island* loses the emblematic nature of such a scene as compared to *The Tempest* in which father and daughter are continuously together until Miranda meets Ferdinand. After the lovers' meeting Shakespeare's Miranda will never appear on stage again without Ferdinand, thus foreshadowing the daughter leaving her father to be joined with the prince. The dramaturgical structure of *The Enchanted Island* achieves a very different impact. Indeed, more attention is placed on the separation of the sisters: woman departing from woman. The final words in the play Prospero speaks to his daughters are:

> My *Ariel* told me, when last night you quarrel'd,
> You said you would for ever part your beds,
> But what you threaten'd in your anger, Heaven
> Has turn'd to Prophecy.
> For you, *Miranda*, must with *Ferdinand*,
> And you, *Dorinda*, with *Hippolito* lye in
> One Bed hereafter. (*EI* 5; p. 80)

Prospero does not appear to lament his loss of Miranda, or Dorinda, but instead reinforces the break in companionship of the sisters.

In Shakespeare's play, Miranda exhibits desire after this encounter with Ferdinand and moves away from her father as sole companion. Upon meeting, they enact a scene of love at first sight (complete with music), and she says plainly to her father, "I have no ambition to see a goodlier man" (1.2.483–4). Later in the third act, when Miranda visits Ferdinand she reinforces this statement, "I would not wish / Any companion in the world but you, / Nor can imagination form a shape, / Besides yourself, to like of" (3.1.54–7). When Ferdinand asks Miranda why she weeps at his profession of love, she confesses her desire:

> At mine unworthiness that dare not offer
> What I desire to give, and much less take

> What I shall die to want. But this is trifling,
> And all the more it seeks to hide itself,
> The bigger bulk it shows. Hence, bashful cunning,
> And prompt me, plain and holy innocence!
> I am your wife, if you will marry me;
> If not, I'll die your maid. To be your fellow
> You may deny me, but I'll be your servant
> Whether you will or no. (3.1.77–86)

"Her commentary on her inner turmoil suggests, however, that sexual arousal, rather than chaste gladness, is prompting her ... With its conventional pun on orgasm as a 'little death,' Miranda's speech reveals her as both engagingly self-aware and forthrightly honest about her erotic desires" (Slights 368). Even the imagery embedded in "all the more it seeks to hide itself, / The bigger bulk it shows" conjures Miranda's belly swelling, foreshadowing the implications of a sexual encounter (that will happen after marriage). At Victoria University of Wellington in 2011, I directed students enrolled in a second-year theatre course in a performance of this scene. When the text prompted Miranda to weep, the actress unsuccessfully attempted to wipe her eyes, sniffle, frown, and lower her head, which read as untrue and pathetic. I asked the actress what she did when she felt overwhelmingly happy, and a massive, infectious grin spread across her face followed by a slight dance of excitement. We explored this further until tears came to her eyes from the joy. The result was astounding. Everyone in the rehearsal room, as well as the audiences in the performances, began smiling and laughing, and the true nature of the moment was conveyed. We used Miranda's happiness in this moment to motivate her expression of desire. She took Ferdinand's hands in the monologue (quoted above) and unexpectedly kissed him before her quick exit (see Figures 2.1 and 2.2).

Miranda's desire in Shakespeare's play also demonstrates her independence as she schemes to visit Ferdinand of her own accord. Though Prospero is watching from a distance, Miranda is unaware of her father's presence. She tells Ferdinand, "My father / Is hard at study; pray now, rest yourself. / He's safe for these three hours" (3.1.19–21). Shakespeare's Miranda has carefully chosen a time when she presumes her father is studying to be alone with Ferdinand. Since there are no other women on the island, Miranda does not have a maidservant or nurse as other Shakespearean heroines have. She does not even seem to acknowledge that it is any sort of breach of decorum for her to hold such an extended confidence alone with Ferdinand. Additionally, Miranda proposes her own marriage in this scene, which ends with her giving her hand to Ferdinand. Though this is

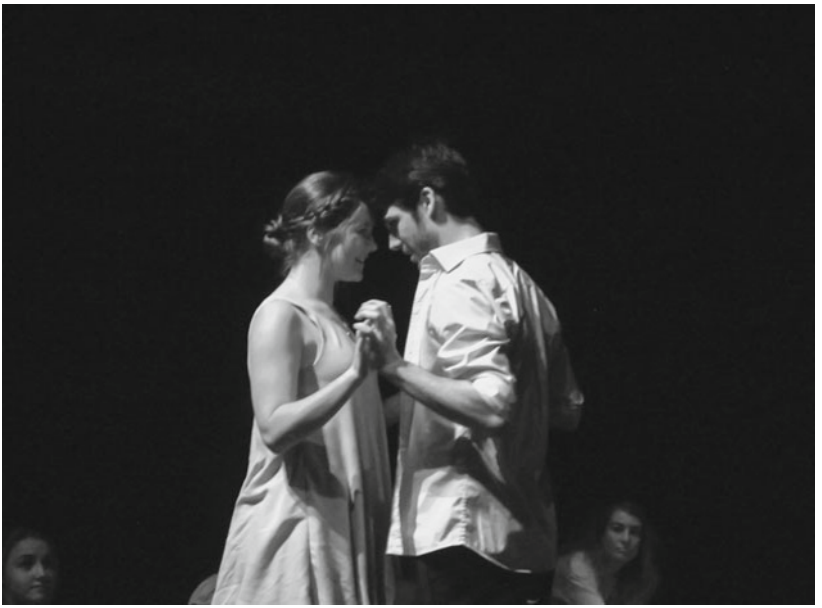

Figure 2.1 Miranda (Alice Varcoe) offers to marry Ferdinand (David Lancaster), *The Tempest* 3.1 (photograph by author)

part of her father's agenda, Miranda has no knowledge at this point of his plan, and therefore is acting as an independent agent. Faithful obedience to Prospero is important to Miranda, but at many times, such as this one, she gives higher priority to the pursuit of her own desires. Even the revelation of her name to Ferdinand is against Prospero's "hest" (3.1.36–7).

When Miranda visits Ferdinand in *The Enchanted Island*, she has permission from Prospero. He tells his daughter, "you may see him," and asks her to implore Ferdinand to befriend Hippolito. Miranda says, "You shall be obey'd in all things" (4; p. 51). The entire tenor of Miranda and Ferdinand's meeting has changed. She does not openly embrace him with her desires; the above-quoted speech is cut. She does not propose marriage nor does she ask him plainly "Do you love me?"—a short, monosyllabic line carrying weight and emphasis (3.1.67). Instead Miranda is full of general mistrust and apprehension:

> But how can I be certain that you love me?
> Look to't; for I will dye when you are false.
> I've heard my Father tell of Maids, who dy'd,
> And haunted their false Lovers with their Ghosts. (4; p. 52)

Figure 2.2 Miranda (Alice Varcoe) kisses Ferdinand (David Lancaster), *The Tempest* 3.1 (photograph by author)

Like Prospero's imprisonment of Ferdinand in *The Tempest*, Miranda tests Ferdinand's affection for her with her request that he befriend Hippolito. Fearing that Miranda's heart sways too much toward Hippolito, Ferdinand becomes jealous after Miranda's request and rails:

> It is too plain: like most of her frail Sex, she's false,
> But has not learnt the art to hide it;
> Nature has done her part, she loves variety:
> Why did I think that any Woman could be innocent,

> Because she's young? No, no, their Nurses teach them
> Change, when with two Nipples they divide their
> Liking. (4; p. 54)

This is a far cry from the sincere romance between Ferdinand and Miranda in *The Tempest*. Ferdinand's aside in *The Enchanted Island* conveys a general wariness of women stemming from their very nature and nurturing. Women's breasts, their very bodies, instruct other women in the art of inconstancy. Sandra Clark notes in this connection, "What is actually a culturally constructed stereotype of femininity is seen here [in Dryden and Davenant's play] as inherent and natural. Without any apparent prompting from society Miranda and Dorinda are already disobedient, perverse, and in need of control" (liv). This is part of the entire design of *The Enchanted Island*: a thematic exploration of the nature versus nurture debate, very topical at the time. Miranda, by virtue of her female gender, cannot be trusted by Ferdinand.

Shakespeare's corresponding scene shows two lovers professing freely their affections in dense passages of beautiful poetry and rhetoric. Ferdinand is imprisoned by Prospero, though not literally in a prison. Presumably the scene takes place in the open air since he is bearing logs and speaks of the sun setting. In the Blackfriars or at court, this would be imagined by the audience, but of course in the Globe, Ferdinand and Miranda would be outdoors. Emblematically, the outdoors is appropriate for the unencumbered nature of Miranda and Ferdinand's romance. Though no sexual encounter is to occur, it is also a fitting place for a private, "secret" meeting between lovers, of the kind discussed in the previous chapter. There is weeping and a handfast at the end of the encounter. Miranda leaves of her own free will and promises to return in half an hour. In *The Enchanted Island*, the dialogue becomes terse, mostly single lines, back and forth between Ferdinand and Miranda. Here Ferdinand is literally in a cave, a more appropriate setting for the darker shades of love this new scene exhibits. There is nothing peaceful or free about the staging of this scene (thus reflecting the nature of the dialogue). As soon as Ferdinand touches Miranda's hand, Prospero's looming voice is heard off stage calling Miranda back again. Throughout the scene, Miranda is aware of Prospero's presence. Instead of thinking Prospero is safely occupied in study, Dryden and Davenant's Miranda fears his entrance at any moment. The impending entrance of Prospero adds tangible fear to the fraught emotional fear between the man and woman, the distrusting of each other's fidelity and honesty. When Miranda finally

departs from Ferdinand, it is prompted by the stage direction "*A noise within*," indicating Prospero's footsteps as he approaches (4; p. 54). When Prospero appears, the audience sees Miranda enact exactly the behavior Ferdinand has described as false—and inherently feminine. Though Prospero sees through her guise, Miranda lies to her father about her true feelings for Ferdinand: "At second sight / A man does not appear so rare a Creature" (4; p. 54). After her deceitful exchange with her father, Miranda says, "Forgive me, truth, for thus disguising thee; if I can make him think I do not love the stranger much, he'll let me see him oftner" (4; p. 55).

From here on in *The Enchanted Island*, desire is thwarted and love becomes increasingly complicated. Ferdinand's jealousy of Miranda is paralleled by Dorinda's jealousy of Hippolito (although hers is justified—Hippolito declares that he would have all the women in the world, including her sister Miranda). The scenes involving the lovers become chase-like with advance and retreat, full of arguments, anger, deceit, and hurt feelings. Ultimately true love is put to the test, for all four lovers, by jealousy and comparison. When all begin to suspect each other, Ferdinand says to Dorinda, "Madam, I beg your pardon, while I say I only love / Your Sister" (5; p. 78). The other lovers then confess in turn:

> MIRANDA. O blest word! / I'm sure I love no man but Ferdinand.
> DORINDA. Nor I, Heav'n knows, but my Hippolito.
> HIPPOLITO. I never knew I lov'd so much, before I fear'd
> Dorinda's constancy; but now I am convinc'd that
> I lov'd none but her, because none else can
> Recompense her loss. (5; p. 78)

Again, it is fear, mistaking, and distrust that prompt such confessions.

It is only Prospero, not Miranda, in Shakespeare's play that challenges Ferdinand's love. By the time Ferdinand has proven himself to Prospero and obtained his blessing and her hand, it is obvious that Miranda and Ferdinand's desires are expressed physically. Prospero is obsessive with his warnings about premarital sex. When he leaves the lovers to sit and talk while he converses with Ariel, his attention is abruptly brought back to them, "Look thou be true. Do not give dalliance / Too much the rein. The strongest oaths are straw / To th' fire i'th' blood. Be more abstemious" (4.1.51–3). Clearly, Miranda and Ferdinand are doing something here to express their mutual affection. The use of "dalliance" implies flirting, which is probably very physical since Prospero's ears (and the

audience's) have been engaged with listening to Ariel. The image of "fire i'th' blood" also suggests heated sexual passion. Obviously, it is not Ferdinand alone who is performing these actions. A few lines later, when Prospero begins to present his masque, he instructs the lovers, "No tongue, all eyes. Be silent!" (4.1.59). "In some modern performances, Ferdinand and Miranda are caught 'French-kissing' here, but it is far more likely that Prospero simply asks them to be quiet" (Vaughan and Vaughan's edition 4.1.59n.). While how explicitly this scene is played will vary from production to production, the point is that the scene prompts Miranda to express physical, sexual desire.[10]

In conclusion, Shakespeare's Miranda on stage is anything but "feeble" and "silent." Her intelligence, independence, and desires complicate her chastity as well as her obedience to patriarchal dominance. Many of these attributes are fostered by her being the sole female on Prospero's island. Though Dryden and Davenant seem to hint that Miranda has some of this intelligence and independence, it is only relative to her naive younger sister, Dorinda, to whom Miranda ultimately ends up being closer in nature than Shakespeare's Miranda. Though the women are able to freely exhibit desire, more often than not it becomes comedic because of their ignorance, which Prospero has maintained out of anxiety about the dangers of sexual relations. One cannot help but wonder, when Dorinda finally vanished from productions of *The Tempest* in the nineteenth century (when performances returned to Shakespeare's text), if portrayals of the character of Miranda absorbed her sister's naivety and simultaneously lost any position of strength within the play with the loss of her role as older sister. Certainly the critical dismissal of Miranda as weak and submissive would seem to support such a theory: the Restoration version's performance history affected not only subsequent productions but also literary interpretations of the play as well.

"I must confess, I was inform'd I am a man": Hippolito and Miranda

Tom Brown, the Restoration observer who called the playhouse "The Enchanted Island," wrote in 1700:

> The *Playhouse* was the *Land of Enchantment*, the *Country of Metamorphosis*, and perform'd it with the greatest speed imaginable. Here, in the twinkling of an Eye, you shall see Men transform'd into *Demi-gods*, and *Goddesses* made as true Flesh and Blood as our Common Women. Here *Fools* by slight of hand are converted into

> *Wits, Honest Women* into *errand Whores*, and which is most miraculous, *Cowards* into *valiant Heroes*, and rank *Coquets* and *Jilts* into as chaste and virtuous *Mistresses* as a Man would desire to put his *Knife* into. (Qtd in Roach 19)

In Dryden and Davenant's *Enchanted Island*, the magical metamorphosis that occurs on stage is that of a woman transformed into a man. Hippolito, Dorinda's counterpart, has been kept in a separate cave from the daughters to save his life as Prospero believes Hippolito will perish if he sees a woman. Prospero says, "By calculation of his birth / I saw death threat'ning him, if, till some time were / Past, he should behold the face of any Woman" (2; p. 24). The prologue to the adaptation describes Hippolito, the man who never saw woman, as a potent force of magic:

> Who by our dearth of Youths are forc'd t'employ
> One of our Women to present a Boy.
> And that's a transformation you will say
> Exceeding all the Magick in the Play.
> Let none expect in the last Act to find
> Her Sex transform'd from man to Woman-kind.
> What e're she was before the Play began,
> All you shall see of her is perfect man.
> Or if your fancy will be farther led,
> To find her Woman, it must be abed. (Prologue to *EI*)

The prologue contains a wealth of information about gender roles not only on the Restoration stage but also on the Shakespearean stage. It is doubtful that Hippolito was played by a woman because the company had a shortage of young male actors, or a "dearth of Youths," as Powell notes: "Dryden was clearly disingenuous in apologising in his prologue to the 1667 performance that 'one of our women must present a boy.' The whole part is set up for it, as the woman on stage asks the mixed audience what women are like" (72). As discussed in the Introduction, breeches roles were very popular on the Restoration stage. In fact, featuring women in male roles had become somewhat of a specialty of Restoration theatre, including Dryden's work. Dryden's 1667 tragicomedy, *Secret Love, Or The Maiden Queen*, had featured Nell Gwyn in the male role of Florimel. Pepys said of Gwyn's performance that he liked "best of all when she comes in like a young gallant; and hath the notions and carriage of a spark the most that ever I saw any man have. It makes me, I confess, admire her" (*Diary*, 2 March 1667). Later,

in 1672, Dryden's play was presented with an all-female cast (Downes, ed. Summers 100).

A favorite point of focus for scholars is the use of Restoration breeches roles for titillation, to show off a woman's hips, legs, and buttocks. Often the revelation of the character's true sex (female) provided a further opportunity for sexual arousal as it was often done with exposed breasts. In contrast, Dryden and Davenant warn that such a discovery will not occur on stage in *The Enchanted Island*; the actress will remain "perfect man." The final couplet: "Or if your fancy will be farther led, / To find her Woman, it must be abed," however, points to the sexual nature of such an offstage transformation.

What is often neglected in discussions of the Restoration breeches roles, however, is that the source of such stage "magic," the transformation of gender, was certainly inspired by Renaissance theatre, in which female roles had to be portrayed by boy actors. Though evidence suggests that there was a range of responses to boy actors (see Introduction, pp. 5–9, above), there is an indication that they too were sexualized. The prologue to the 1664 Restoration play *The Parson's Wedding* makes as much clear:

> When boys play'd women's parts, you'd think the Stage,
> Was innocent in that untempting Age.
> No: for your amorous Fathers then, like you,
> Amongst those Boys had Play-house Misses too:
> They set those bearded Beauties on their laps,
> Men gave 'em Kisses, and the Ladies Claps.
> But they, poor hearts, could not supply our Room.
> They went but Females to the Tyring-Room,
> While we, in kindness to our selves and you,
> Can hold out Women to our Lodgings too. (Qtd in Thorn-Drury 5)

"Ladies Claps" directs us to yet another important and often understated point as well, that there were women in both Renaissance and Restoration audiences, women with desires. The "ladies" were giving the sexy boy actors either applause or venereal disease—perhaps both, depending on how the prologue is interpreted. Both the prologue and epilogue to *Secret Love, Or The Maiden Queen* demonstrate the dynamics of female desire directed at the cross-dressed actresses. The prologue was spoken by Mrs Boutell, dressed in men's clothing:

> The Ladies we shall not so easily please;
> They'l say, what impudent bold things are these,

> That dare provoke, yet cannot do us right,
> Like men, with huffing looks, that dare not fight!
> But this reproach, our courage must not daunt;
> The bravest Souldier, may a Weapon want:
> Let her that doubts us still, send her Gallant.
> Ladies in us, you'l Youth and Beauty find,
> All things but one, according to your mind:
> and when your Eyes and Ears, are feasted here,
> Rise up and make out the short Meal, elsewhere.
> (Qtd in Thorn-Drury 1–2)

In other words, the cross-dressed actresses suspect they will leave the women in the audience sexually frustrated and suggest the women go on to fulfill that need outside of the playhouse. The epilogue, spoken by Mrs Reeves, also in men's clothing, states:

> Oh, would the higher Powers, be kind to us,
> And grant us to set up a Female house;
> We'l make our selves, to please both Sexes then,
> To the Men Women, to the Women Men.
> Here we presume, our Legs are no ill sight,
> And they will give you no ill Dreams at night:
> In Dreames both Sexes, may their passions ease,
> You make use then as civill as you please. (Qtd in Thorn-Drury 3)

After the request for a theatre company with only women, Mrs Reeves states that they can please both men and women. "Here," in the playhouse, the actresses' legs are a pleasure to look upon, and outside of the playhouse the legs can linger in dreams: "In Dreames both Sexes, may their passions ease." This indicates that in the fictional world of theatre both men and women can enact fantasies—another instance of the liberating power of breeches. While I am not dismissing the use of Restoration actresses in breeches for male sexual fantasies, it is important to recognize that the breeches roles also relate to female desire; to view the convention as prompted by the Renaissance boy actors; and finally to concede that such roles could offer an actress a sense of empowerment as well. The physicality offered to a woman in breeches rather than a petticoat must have been liberating. The breeches were much lighter in weight than skirts and allowed the women to break from decorum (see Introduction pp. 12–14, above). When viewed this way we can begin to conceive how, just as Dorinda was inspired by

Shakespeare's Miranda, Hippolito can also be seen as stemming from her. Such a comparison not only reveals the original Miranda's agency in crossing stereotypical feminine gender lines, as Hippolito does in *The Enchanted Island*, but also demonstrates how having the "exemplar" of a particular gender—male in the case of Hippolito and female in the case of Miranda—played by an actor of the opposite gender complicates the theatrical experience.

Shakespeare's Miranda would have been played by a boy actor depicting a young woman; conversely, Hippolito was played by an actress representing a young man. Just as there is irony in the original Miranda being thought to have never seen a man when in fact she was played by a male, irony is also present when Hippolito, played by a woman, has supposedly no knowledge of the female gender. As I have been suggesting though, perhaps it is closer to reality that Miranda's character has never seen a *woman* (whom she remembers clearly).

As Prospero compares Miranda on at least two occasions to a prince—she has received an education surpassing most princes and is "more braver" than Alonso's son—Miranda views herself in light of men. Ferdinand calls her a "goddess," but she calls herself a "god." When imploring Prospero to calm the storm, she says, "Had I been any god of power, I would / Have sunk the sea within the earth" (1.2.10–11). Additionally, the fact that Miranda has been raised by Prospero since the age of three and he alone has been her companion justifies an actress in giving Miranda some masculine traits.

When Miranda visits Ferdinand in the log-bearing scene, she not only offers to carry the log for him, she attempts to take it from him. She says, "If you'll sit down / I'll bear your logs the while. Pray give me that; / I'll carry it to the pile" (3.1.23–5). At stake here is not just Miranda's willingness to lower herself to this menial task, but bearing logs is heavy work—"odious," as Ferdinand calls it. Miranda not only has the physical strength and willpower to perform such a task, the audience literally sees her try (if not succeeding) to take the log from Ferdinand. She even claims she can do it with "ease" since her goodwill is in it (3.1.30). She is thus able to cross the border defining gendered behavior. In *The Enchanted Island*, the log-bearing is cut entirely, affording Miranda no opportunity to display physical strength. In the 2011 Victoria University of Wellington student performance, we used this moment to enable Miranda and Ferdinand to flirtatiously struggle over the log (see Figure 2.3).

Whereas Miranda in Shakespeare's play could be understood as a woman character possessing some (stereotypical) masculine traits,

Figure 2.3 Miranda (Alice Varcoe) offers to take Ferdinand's (David Lancaster) log, *The Tempest* 3.1 (photograph by author)

Hippolito can be viewed as a male character who retains feminine traits—in part because he is played by a woman. The nature of performance can mean that having a male actor play a female role (Miranda in *The Tempest*) and an actress portray a male role (Hippolito in *The Enchanted Island*) highlights gender differences more than if the role was cast to the appropriate gender.

It does not seem to be the (male) gender of the actor that makes Shakespeare's Miranda have these "masculine" traits. In contrast, Dryden and Davenant work hard to depict Hippolito as a man and at the same time never let the audience completely forget that a woman is underneath the costume. The play abounds in metatheatrical references to Hippolito's true gender. When Hippolito meets Dorinda, he says, "I must confess, I was inform'd I am a man" (2; p. 29), and he later uses his gender to qualify his knowledge of other women in the world to Dorinda: "Pray believe me; / As I am a man, I'le tell you blessed news" (3; p. 56). Likewise when Ferdinand asks Hippolito what he is (meaning where he originates), he answers, "I well hop'd I was a man, but by your ignorance / Of what I am, I fear it is not so," to which Ferdinand replies, "Sir, there is no doubt you are a man"

(3; p. 48). Here we have Hippolito questioning his gender—wondering if Prospero has told him a lie—with a nod and wink to the audience at herself as the actress wearing the breeches. In Ferdinand's reply, however, comes the reinforcement that Hippolito *is* a man.

The name "Hippolito" itself is a reference to both Euripides' Hippolytus, son of Theseus and the Amazonian queen, and also to Hippolita, one of the Amazonian women in Fletcher and Massinger's *The Sea Voyage*. In *The Sea Voyage*, it is Hippolita who says "We must and will have all men," which echoes Dryden and Davenant's Hippolito's desire to have all women, which is discussed below (Schille 267; Miner 101). Candy Schille understands Hippolito as "one more way Dryden and Davenant display and chastise libidinality constructed as specifically female" (277–8). Laura Rosenthal reads Hippolito's character as expressing "socially inappropriate female desire" that "leads to this play's one significant and nearly fatal act of violence. Ferdinand stabs a male character but a female performer" (208). Rosenthal adds:

> Ferdinand's near murder of the sexually indefatigable Hippolito attempts to balance the play's anxieties over the new Prospero's inability to exert sexual control over his daughters. The swordfight itself can be read by the audience as a battle between men over women but also as the equally violent defeat of a character whose name recalls the Amazon queen Hippolita. (208)

Like the critics of Shakespeare's Miranda, this is an understanding of Hippolito that reads character as mere symbol. "Libidinality" is not construed as purely female since it originates from a male character. Likewise, if Hippolito is understood as a woman then the "socially inappropriate female desire" becomes sexual desire for another woman/women: Hippolito and Dorinda's mutual homoerotic desire. Similarly, the sword fight between Hippolito and Ferdinand and Hippolito's "defeat" can be read other ways. After all, it is Ferdinand who reinforces Hippolito's status on stage as a man, and Ferdinand who is reported to have wept over Hippolito's body.

Prospero certainly treats Hippolito like a man. The superior tutelage that Miranda receives in Shakespeare's play—again possibly exceeding what would have been normal for a woman at that time (even a princess)—now seems to be directed toward Hippolito. At the end of Hippolito's first scene, he is instructed by Prospero to "Go in and read the Book I gave you last" (2; p. 26). This gives the audience the sense that Hippolito has been schooled by Prospero, reading countless books

in his cave. Prospero has also taught Hippolito courage. When Prospero explains to Hippolito why he has kept him prisoner he says, "A black Star threatens thee, and death unseen / Stands ready to devour thee," to which Hippolito answers, "You taught me not to fear him [death] in any of his shapes / Let me meet death rather than be a Prisoner" (2; p. 25). Silly as it may seem to the audience, Hippolito also proves his courage in his willingness to encounter and fight with women, creatures Prospero has led him to believe are dangerous and life-threatening.

Prospero's instruction of the pupil falls short though when the dramatists need to increase Hippolito's naivety for the purposes of their plot and comedy. Like Dorinda, Hippolito has no knowledge of sex, or of sword fighting. Dryden and Davenant have linked the two—sex and sword fighting—emblematically. (Recall Brown's sexually violent image of man thrusting his knife into a woman.) Hippolito is "sword-less" and must use Ferdinand's sword in order to duel for Miranda. A mockery is made of Hippolito's ignorance of the weapons:

> HIPPOLITO. A Sword, what's that?
> FERDINAND. Why such a thing as this.
> HIPPOLITO. What should I do with it?
> FERDINAND. You must stand thus, and push against me.
> While I push at you, till one of us fall dead.
> HIPPOLITO. This is brave sport.
> But we have no Swords growing in our World.
> FERDINAND. What shall we do then to decide our quarrel?
> HIPPOLITO. We'll take the Sword by turns, and fight with it.
> (4; p. 59)

This entire exchange draws the parallel between sex and sword fighting. The "thing," of course, signifies a penis. The pushing that results in one of them falling "dead" (orgasm) is sexual intercourse. The odd terminology in Hippolito's phrase, "we have no Swords growing in our World" emphasizes Hippolito's naivety but has a secondary sense of penises becoming erect.

Ferdinand realizes Hippolito is so unskilled that he insists the terms of their duel be based on the winner striking only the first blow. Not only does Ferdinand teach Hippolito how to use a sword, but he also teaches him how to have sex. In Act 5, when Prospero tells Dorinda and Hippolito they will be married and share a bed, Hippolito is overjoyed but foolishly unaware of the ramifications of such an act. Ferdinand pulls him aside to whisper, "Hippolito! you yet are ignorant of your great / Happiness, but there is somewhat which for / Your own and fair Dorinda's sake I must

instruct / You in" (5; p. 80). Hippolito's reply to Ferdinand clarifies that he knows exactly what this thing is even if he does not know how to do it: "Pray teach me quickly how Men and Women in your / World make love, I shall soon learn / I warrant you" (5; p. 80).

Though this lack of knowledge of swords and sex makes Hippolito seem somewhat foolish or perhaps rather "unmanly"—just as Hippolito is both woman and man—these two areas also provide interesting vehicles for the actress. Hippolito is courageous and unafraid to fight Ferdinand (cf. *Twelfth Night*'s cross-dressed Viola who shies away from her fight with Sir Andrew). Though unskilled, there is no "womanly fear" beneath Hippolito's fighting. The stage direction reads "They fight a little," and therefore, the actress, in breeches, is handling a sword and engaging in a choreographed fight with the actor playing Ferdinand. When Ferdinand hurts Hippolito, he denies his wound and continues to engage in the fight until the blood loss becomes too overwhelming. Therefore, the character, if unaware, is again shown as courageous. In addition, the actress playing Hippolito would have been physically engaged in the fight sequence as much as the actor playing Ferdinand.

While Hippolito may be inexperienced and unknowledgeable about sexual matters, he is nevertheless the object and initiator of a lot of the sexual desire in the play. This becomes fascinating when one considers that much of this desire can be read as homoerotic since it is between two actresses and, as discussed below, a good portion of it is targeted at the females in the audience. There is a great deal of spectacle and "magic" in Hippolito's first appearance to Dorinda. The stage directions read, "The Scene changes, and discovers Hippolito in a Cave walking, his face from the Audience" (2; p. 26). A few lines later they direct Miranda and Dorinda to enter "peeping" (2; p. 26). The intrigue of Hippolito's hidden face is not for a revelation to the audience; he has already been on stage for an entire scene with Prospero. The mysterious presentation of Hippolito is for the pleasure of the women: Miranda and Dorinda, and also for the enjoyment of the audience. Hippolito's cave would have been painted in perspective on a shutter upstage with Prospero's daughters located somewhere on the forestage (downstage) while peeping, thus inviting the audience to join the activity of looking in on Hippolito. Even the use of the word "peeping" implicates the women as engaging in a voyeuristic, illicit moment. The first observation the women make about the "man" focuses on his legs:

> DORINDA. O Sister, there it is, it walks about like one of us.
> MIRANDA. I, just so, and has legs as we have too. (2; p. 26)

As noted before, legs in breeches were a common source of sexual titillation, and yet here it is the women who are shown gazing, "peeping" admiringly at the legs of a "man" while at the same time making a metatheatrical reference to those legs being the same as theirs, or in other words, female legs.

Following this "peep show," Dorinda and Hippolito meet and seem to fall instantly "in lust" with one another. The looking progresses to touching when Hippolito says, "You have a hand like mine, may I not gently touch it?," which is followed by the stage direction, "*Takes her hand*" (2; p. 30). Again on one level the line indicates that both man and woman are in essence the same creature with similar body parts, but the line's emphasis on this "sameness" (and the desire for sameness) points to the reality that Hippolito is examining a hand that is truly like his—a woman's hand. This handholding between Dorinda and Hippolito is also sensual. The scene certainly lends itself to erotic possibilities for the two actresses. In the staged reading of this scene at Victoria University of Wellington, the actress playing Hippolito indicated an erection on the lines, "Oh Heavens! I have the same sense too: your hand / Methinks goes through me; I feel at my heart, / *And find it pleases, though it pains me*" (2; p. 30; emphasis added). Later in the text, Dorinda describes to Prospero giving her hand to Hippolito: "when he had it, with a furious gripe / He put it to his mouth so eagerly, I was afraid he / Would have swallow'd it" (3; p. 34). Dorinda then relates her response to Hippolito's behavior: "Then, Sir, I grew I know not how, and touching his hand / Agen, my heart did beat so strong as I lackt breath / To answer what he ask'd" (3; p. 34). Not only has the audience just witnessed this intimate scene between Hippolito and Dorinda, but they are receiving it a second time by Dorinda's recounting of the events. Since this encounter is retold by Dorinda, from a female point of view, it becomes another place where female desire is expressed and another opportunity for the women in the audience to directly connect to the events on stage. Prospero is so disturbed by Dorinda's retelling he commands, "Let him not dare to touch your *naked* hand" (3; p. 34; emphasis added). Prospero can see all too clearly where things are leading.

Furthermore, throughout *The Enchanted Island*, Hippolito is depicted as seductively handsome. Miranda describes him "As of the gayest thing I ever saw, so fine it appear'd more fit to be belov'd than fear'd, and seem'd so near my kind, that I did think I might have call'd it Sister" (3; p. 31). There is an obvious metatheatrical reference to the actress playing Hippolito in Miranda's description of him as "so near my kind" and "Sister." Prospero also says Hippolito has a "pleasing form" (3; p. 31), while Dorinda calls

him "lovely" (3; p. 33). When Miranda implores Ferdinand to befriend Hippolito, she says that "his [Hippolito's] sweetness and his goodly shape (if I, who am unskill'd in forms, may judge) I think can scarce be equall'd" (3; p. 33). Even Ferdinand confesses to Hippolito "you are more beautiful than I" (4; p. 59). Ferdinand does not say this in a moment of friendship and flattery, but when he is afraid Hippolito's looks will steal the heart of his beloved Miranda. Hippolito seems to be aware of his own beauty as well. Though he is trying to convince Dorinda not to see Ferdinand, he portrays Ferdinand as "a terrible, huge, monstrous creature" and adds "I am but a Woman to him" (4; p. 57). Hippolito reminds Dorinda that he is more attractive than Ferdinand while simultaneously reminding the audience that it is his feminine features that allow him to be so loved by women.

Hippolito's sex appeal is further exploited by his libertine attitude and behavior. Whereas Shakespeare's Miranda is content with only Ferdinand and similarly Ferdinand with Miranda, and Miranda and Dorinda prefer monogamy in Dryden and Davenant's play, Hippolito decides he will have all of the women in the world. When Ferdinand instructs Hippolito that he must be faithful and have only one woman, Hippolito responds, "But, Sir, I find it is against my Nature. / I must love where I like, and I believe I may like all, / All that are fair" (4; p. 50). Furthermore, Hippolito becomes convinced that other men—Ferdinand and even Prospero—scheme to steal beautiful women from him. He goes so far as to try to employ Dorinda to aid him in finding other women, in this case her sister, Miranda.

This pervasive sexual appetite is what ultimately leads to Hippolito's untimely "death" by the sword of Ferdinand. Hippolito is revived, though, by Ariel, who pours some "vulnerary herbs" into his mouth and gives Prospero some "weapon-salve" (5; p. 74). Barbara Murray contends that Ariel's herbs, "Moly," "trickling Balm," and "purple Panacea," are garlic, myrrh, and valerian respectively, three herbs used to bring about a woman's menstruation (32). Murray is therefore arguing for an "in-joke" where the audience knows "however closely she may approximate to manliness, she will remain, and can be medicined to remain, subject to the volatile emotions and to the distressing monthly liability." She adds, "in theatrical reality, for the highly experienced young woman playing the role, a debilitating and noxious flow of blood would be caused by such a herbal concoction" (32).

Yet what Murray cites here is only half of Hippolito's cure. The "vulnerary herbs" are orally administered to him, but he must also receive "weapon-salve." The second part of Hippolito's cure is a mysterious, perhaps magical,

salve that was thought to bring life-saving healing properties when applied to the sword that inflicted the wound. Weapon-salves feature in many English dramas of the seventeenth century, including Davenant's *Unfortunate Lovers* (1638), Charles Sedley's *The Mulberry Garden* (1668), and Aphra Behn's *The Young King* (1679), and several physicians of the era supported its use. It represents a nexus of Renaissance science and magic (Bynum 9, 15). If Hippolito's complaining of loss of blood is part of an "in-joke" about menstruation as Murray contends, then what is to be said for Miranda's stopping of the blood with the weapon-salve, which involves rubbing a sword?

As Hippolito lies on the couch wounded, Miranda visits him because Prospero has told her to administer the weapon-salve. Even on the brink of death, Hippolito offers to love Miranda. Schille and Rosenthal's reading of Ferdinand as having conquered Hippolito's (female) desire fails to account for Hippolito trying to seduce Miranda *after* his defeat. She rejects him, but the action that follows—assuming a linking of sex and sword fighting—is visually emblematic:

> MIRANDA. I cannot be unconstant, nor shou'd you.
> HIPPOLITO. O my wound pains me.
> MIRANDA. I am come to ease you.
> (*She unwraps the sword*)
> HIPPOLITO. Alas! I feel the cold air come to me,
> My wound shoots worse than ever.
> (*She wipes and anoints the Sword*)
> MIRANDA. Does it still grieve you?
> HIPPOLITO. Now methinks there's something just laid upon it.
> (5; p. 77)

The audience sees a highly sexual man (woman) lying on a couch with Miranda beside him. He offers her his love, and when she refuses, he winces in pain. To comfort him, she takes his sword, undresses it, and rubs it. The symbolic meaning of such an action requires no explanation. The scene has been read as one of masturbation and orgasm:

> The effect of this fancy is to create an image which, with all the detached style of the previous scenes, manages to make explicit the complex sexual sub-text hitherto unexpressed. Ariel tells Prospero to "anoint the Sword which pierc'd him with this Weapon-salve, and wrap it close from air till I have time to visit him again." It is a simple enough instruction; but it is not what takes place. Prospero sends

> Miranda to Hippolito, and she arrives "carrying Hippolito's Sword wrapp'd up." It should be Ferdinand's sword, and it should not be wrapped up until it is anointed with the salve. The conduct of the scene itself makes clear the reason for this Freudian slip on the adaptor's part. (Powell 73–4)

Powell's observation is correct. As noted above, for a weapon-salve's healing properties to take effect, it is meant to be applied to the sword that inflicted the wound. I would not call such a stage direction a "Freudian slip," however, as this implies an unintentional mistake on the adaptors' part. Much more likely, the "mistakes" of both the wrong sword and the wrapping of it before anointing are deliberate. The same directions are repeated in Shadwell's operatic version performed seven years later (5; p. 72). Furthermore, in Duffett's 1674 parody of *The Enchanted Island*, *The Mock-Tempest*, he could not resist capitalizing on this scene and therefore creates much spectacle surrounding this moment. In his smutty version Hippolito is cured with a "Suppositorial Ligneous puffe and blow," or a wooden plug to be inserted into Hippolito's anus (or vagina) and blown on by the company of actors, rather than just Miranda, while singing the chorus "Let not his Soul / Get out of the hole" (Duffett 5.2; pp. 49–50). Duffett is taking this much farther than "sub-text." Further evidence for a "sexual sub-text" in *The Enchanted Island* is the fact that the weapon-salve scene immediately precedes the accusation of cheating by the sets of lovers.

Dryden is true to his words in the prologue, and at the end of *The Enchanted Island*, Hippolito remains a man. He regains his dukedom and Dorinda is given to him as a wife. As promised, there is no sudden revelation of the character's true gender as is often the case with cross-gender casting. Though Hippolito is a male character, the play has been loaded with metatheatrical references to the actor's true (female) gender. The last scene of the play, however, is devoid of these allusions. Each of the gentlemen entering the final reunion—Alonzo, Antonio, Gonzalo—readily accepts Hippolito as a man. Alonzo even salutes the young prince as the proper Duke of Mantua (5; p. 79), which is perhaps intended to contain or cleanse Hippolito's metatheatrical femininity through emphasis of the fictional character's position in the male political realm. Again, this onstage action and dialogue—what is actually happening in the world of the play and also the playhouse—complicates any reading of Hippolito as regulated or "medicined" to remain strictly female. Just as Miranda does in Shakespeare's play, Hippolito ruptures stereotypical gender boundaries while s/he seemingly moves through

the play with a fluid rather than fixed gender, operating as both male and female and exploring desire through both genders.

Dryden and Davenant claim Hippolito is "perfect man," but such an assertion is troubled by the sophisticated ironies discussed above. Shakespeare's Miranda is designed to be the model of perfect woman. In *The Tempest* Ferdinand hails Miranda as "O, you wonder!," punning on her name's derivation from the Latin: "a feminine thing required to be wondered at." The name "Miranda" also contains suggestions of the concept of mirroring or reflection. "Mirror" can mean "a model or example ... a person or thing embodying a feature or characteristic deserving imitation" ("mirror," *n.*1.a. *OED*). It is interesting that both Shakespeare's Miranda and Dryden and Davenant's Hippolito are allowed to defy gender stereotypes and that much attention is placed upon their respective characters' genders, which are opposite to that of the performers enacting the roles. The irony of Miranda being portrayed as the ideal woman while being played by a boy would have been obvious to Shakespearean audiences. Conversely, with Hippolito an actress is playing a male character, though unlike Shakespeare, Dryden and Davenant repeatedly emphasize such casting. These situations markedly foreground the performative nature of gender. They also might imply that the ideal man or woman is not "perfect" or pure, but rather a composite of both genders. The audiences are actually seeing their own respective genders, or a reflective version of themselves, become what is desirable about the opposite sex.

Howe concludes that *The Enchanted Island* ultimately presents a cynical view of love and blames it on the new actresses, arguing, "As the Dryden-Davenant *Tempest* shows, society's view of the actress discouraged an idealized presentation of true love moving smoothly to an unequivocal happy ending, fostering instead, in the best writers, a harsh, yet subtle appraisal of the complexity of relations between the sexes" (65). Surely, however, it was not merely real women and society's knowledge of them that led to Dryden and Davenant's view of love in *The Enchanted Island*. The men, especially Hippolito with his libertinism, are equally responsible for the difficulties in the relationships. It is Ferdinand and Hippolito's duel over Miranda that leads to Hippolito's "death."

Though the plot does not "move smoothly," Dryden and Davenant's Miranda and Dorinda do have a happy ending, each of them being given in marriage to her respective and well-matched lover at the end of the play, with emphasis put on the sexual encounter that will follow. Alonzo, Ferdinand's father, says "Heaven make those Beds still fruitful in / Producing Children to bless their Parents / Youth, and Grandsires

age" (5; p. 80). Miranda and Dorinda follow Alonzo with yet another blissfully ignorant exchange:

> MIRANDA. If Children come by lying in a Bed, I wonder you
> And I had none between us.
> DORINDA. Sister it was our fault, we meant like fools
> To look 'em in the fields, and they it seems
> Are only found in Beds. (5; p. 80)

Dryden and Davenant are making explicit here the inability of two women to reproduce. The shift away from the metatheatrical acknowledgment of Hippolito played by a woman, as discussed in the first section of this chapter, is perhaps to prepare the audience to accept the marriage and consummation that will follow. This creates a final image of Hippolito as fulfilling his "manly" obligations in bedding Dorinda and producing heirs. The same is true for Miranda at the end of Shakespeare's play. Focus at the end of the play is placed upon her ability to produce children with Ferdinand that will make Prospero's issue "become kings of Naples" (5.1.219). Both plays ultimately register gender anxieties and ambiguities as well as the complexities of love and sexual relationships. In other words—though done in a way to suit the Restoration—Dryden and Davenant are taking their lead from Shakespeare in exploring what it means to be man or woman. The authors of *The Enchanted Island* could not conceive of a solitary woman thriving on a desert island and thus gave her not only a female companion, but also a male counterpart. Shakespeare seems comfortable in allowing Miranda to be her own island. The removal of women from her life does not have the adverse effects many critics believe it does. This is because Miranda's isolation shelters her from women whose behavior is dictated by a patriarchal culture; it also enables her independence and grants her centrality.

3

Silence and Sorcery, Sexuality and Stone: Absent Parts to Understanding Hermione and Paulina in Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* and Garrick's *Florizel and Perdita*

Introduction: *The Winter's Tale* adapted and women's roles on Garrick's stage

While the previous chapters discuss adaptations from the early years of the Restoration, David Garrick's adaptation of Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* into *Florizel and Perdita* was made in the mid-eighteenth century and so some discussion surrounding the context of this work is needed. In the first section of this chapter I will explore the background to Garrick's adaptation and then focus later on how this impacted on the women's roles in the play. "Silence" is a fitting start to any exploration of early adaptations of Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* since the play enjoyed its own period of silence. Unlike other late Shakespearean romances such as *The Tempest* or *Cymbeline*, *The Winter's Tale* was not eagerly revived during the Restoration or the early years of the eighteenth century. Why did nearly 80 years pass before Shakespeare's play returned to the stage in any form? The simplest and most common answer is that adaptors, motivated in part by concern for the neoclassical unities of time, place, and action, were unsympathetic to both the 16-year time gap in the play and the geographical oscillation (beginning in Sicily, shifting to Bohemia, and then returning to Sicily for the final act). Other reasons include locating a seacoast on landlocked Bohemia, the play's reliance on fantasy and folkloric elements such as the famous man-eating bear, and finally the bawdy language and sexual themes. An example of some eighteenth-century attitudes toward sexual themes is illustrated by a passage spoken by Leontes which Sir Thomas Hanmer labeled "spurious." Hanmer italicized words

that William Warburton actually deleted from his text, claiming they were added by "some profligate player":

> It is a bawdy planet, that will strike
> Where 'tis predominant, *and 'tis powerful, think it,*
> *From east, west, north, and south. Be it concluded,*
> *No barricado for a belly. Know't,*
> *It will let in and out the enemy,*
> *With bag and baggage.* Many thousand on's
> Have the disease, and feel't not.
> (Qtd in Dash 273; *WT* 1.2.200–6)

Before and during the time of Garrick's theatre, critical editions of Shakespeare were popping up everywhere, and reactions in the eighteenth century to *The Winter's Tale* on the page were mixed. Alexander Pope questioned Shakespeare's authorship of the piece, saying, "only some characters, single scenes, or perhaps a few particular passages, were of his hand" (Pope 311). Under David Erskine Baker's 1782 entry for *The Winter's Tale* in *Biographica Dramatica, or, a Companion to the Playhouse*, he notes that various critics have been suspicious of Shakespeare's authorship and calls the play "one of the most irregular," yet says that it has "so many amazing beauties glittering through the different parts of it, as amply to make amends for these trivial deformities" (405). Critical opinion of the "deformed" play certainly influenced its adaptors. One such example is Hanmer's observation that the land-locked Bohemia must have been a printer's error and that Shakespeare surely meant to set his scene in Bithynia, an ancient kingdom with a coastline. As a result, most of the published eighteenth-century adaptations of *The Winter's Tale* set the play in Bithynia rather than Shakespeare's Bohemia.

I use the plural "adaptations" because while *The Winter's Tale* was not staged in the Restoration or the early part of the eighteenth century, David Garrick's version of the play was not the only adaptation; nor was it the first. Locating the multiple versions of *The Winter's Tale* performed and published in the 1740s, 1750s, 1760s, and 1770s is painstaking. Henry Giffard mounted a full-length production in 1741 at Covent Garden (with Hannah Pritchard as Paulina) that he publicized as "first-time-acted-in-a-hundred-years"; it quickly closed (Dash 272). Next, Macnamara Morgan adapted Shakespeare's play into *The Sheep-shearing or, Florizel and Perdita* for the Theatre Royal in 1754. This version, a farce, had reasonable success on the stage and focused on the pastoral fourth act of Shakespeare's play. In Bell's 1788 edition of Shakespeare, under "Plays Altered from Shakspere,"

there is listed "*The Winter's Tale*, a play altered from Shakspere. By Charles Marsh. 8vo. 1756" (257). Charles Marsh was a young Cambridge student, and while his version was published, it is doubtful that it was ever staged. In the same year (1755–56), Garrick's version of *The Winter's Tale* appeared on stage at Drury Lane. Tellingly, it was subsequently published and billed under the title *Florizel and Perdita*. Therefore, we have at least three versions of *The Winter's Tale* in the eighteenth century prior to Garrick's *Florizel and Perdita*, and these versions may have influenced Garrick's play. Garrick was certainly aware of Morgan's adaptation, and it may have demonstrated to Garrick that audiences enjoyed both the focus on the young lovers separated by class and the pastoral aspects of the play. Vanessa Cunningham says it is clear from the pages of *The London Stage* that audiences delighted in "dancing shepherdesses and singing shepherds" (87). Garrick, however, labeled his *Florizel and Perdita* a "dramatic pastoral." Whereas Morgan had completely cut Leontes, Hermione, and Paulina from his pastoral, Garrick returned these characters to the plot and therefore claimed to have put the "dramatic" or serious material back into the play. In the prologue to his play, he claimed "'Tis my chief Wish, my Joy, my only Plan, / To lose no Drop of that immortal Man [Shakespeare]!" (Prologue to *Florizel and Perdita*). Compared with earlier adaptations of Shakespeare's play, Garrick retained more of Shakespeare's language. Since Garrick's was the first version to include the heroine Hermione and Paulina as well, and to enjoy real success on the stage, it is his adaptation that naturally fits the purposes of this study.[1]

Despite the fact that Garrick's *Florizel and Perdita* was never fully taken into the standard repertoire of Drury Lane, it was an achievement for him in three capacities: actor, theatre manager, and writer. The play had 13 performances in its initial season and was praised by critics. Thomas Davies in his *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick* says, "Mutilated as Garrick's revived play was, it had considerable merit as well as success" (278). Warburton also commended Garrick's version of *The Winter's Tale* (Cunningham 13). The audiences seem to have been especially captivated with Perdita, played by Susannah Cibber. In his account of the play, Davies adds, "The sheep-shearing was preserved with a very pleasing song on the subject, which Mrs Cibber, in the part of Perdita, sung with that sweet simplicity which became the character" (*Memoirs* 278). Another of Garrick's biographers, Arthur Murphy, lauded Mrs Cibber's performance of Perdita as well, saying she gave "every grace" to "the innocent and blooming Perdita," and that she

> sang in the sweetest strain. Her song, which begins "Come, come my good shepherds, our flocks let us shear", was worthy of her,

> whose musical powers were admired by the great Handel, when he produced her in his Oratoria of the Messiah. "The roses will bloom, when there's peace in the breast" was heard for a long time in every street in the metropolis. (Qtd in Bartholomeusz 34)

With lyrics by Garrick and music composed by Arne, Perdita's song was very popular and reprinted several times in song books and collections (Bartholomeusz 33–4). Finally, Perdita's popularity is of course evidenced by the title of Garrick's adaptation.

Why did Garrick (and other adaptors) make Perdita the focal point rather than Hermione or Paulina? Perdita is a young lover and a beautiful princess. There was "a penchant for Perdita" in the eighteenth century probably because "in many ways Perdita's behaviour resembles that of the idealized stereotypical woman"; she "defers with humility to the man she loves" (Dash 280). While Irene Dash observes that Perdita also exhibits power and strength of character, she also notes how Garrick diminishes that side of Perdita's character, for instance, by cutting her "Nature's bastards" debate with Polixenes in Act 4. Garrick could have made similar changes to Hermione and Paulina, only these would have been more substantial. For example, an adaptor would have to change Paulina's entire character and function if he wanted to remove all debates between a woman and a king. The changes suit Garrick's larger plan (discussed below) to portray a more sympathetic Leontes than Shakespeare had drawn: Perdita is young and offers Leontes hope and a focus on the future; on the other hand, Paulina and Hermione are reminders of Leontes' jealous destruction. Perdita can sing and dance but Paulina and Hermione have little to rejoice about. Dash concludes:

> Thus the penchant for Perdita in the eighteenth century took two forms: concentration on those sections of the play that revolved around the most conforming of the three women, Perdita, and rejection of those sections where the strength and conviction of Paulina and Hermione most clearly shine. Although the full-length play was returned to the stage in the nineteenth century, the eighteenth-century versions, particularly Garrick's, left a residue of influence on interpretations of the women. This was logical. For, in comparison with the short-lived productions of the work in the 1740s and in 1771, the versions of the fifties had prolonged theatrical exposure. In them, the images of the women who remained were altered to conform to acceptable female patterns. Bowing, therefore, to the power of the men who rewrote their roles and to the spectators

> who applauded their actions, the strong, self-reliant women of *The Winter's Tale* relinquished the stage. (283)

I would add that simply changing the title from *The Winter's Tale* to *Florizel and Perdita* was in itself a form of lessening women's roles in the play. Lady Macbeth says of her husband's reaction to Banquo's ghost that it "would well become, / A woman's story at a winter's fire, / Authoris'd by her grandam" (*Macbeth* 3.4.63–5), and in Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta*, Barabas remembers "those old women's words, / Who in my wealth would tell me winter's tales, / And speak of spirits and ghosts that glide by night" (Act 2, lines 24–6). "Winter's tales," therefore, were notably women's tales. Shakespeare's title evokes a story from a feminine perspective, and Paulina and Hermione facilitate the grandest tale in the play.

How did Garrick diminish the female roles? He cut or altered the parts of the play where the strength of Paulina and Hermione are paramount. Jennifer Vaught says, "In Garrick's adaptation he diminishes the power of mothers, daughters, and their female friends at home," and cites several specific examples to support her argument (199–200).[2] Therefore, I will not repeat a lengthy analysis of the changes Garrick made to Shakespeare's women in *The Winter's Tale*. A brief comparative plot summary of Garrick's play is telling enough.

Garrick sets his entire play in Bohemia (or in Bithynia in some printed versions). The first scene opens with Camillo telling a gentleman who is new to court the action of the first three acts of *The Winter's Tale*: how Leontes' jealousy caused Polixenes to flee for his life, the imprisonment and death of Hermione, and the abandonment of his daughter. (Here the story is clearly from a male—Camillo's—perspective.) Paulina is also now residing in Bohemia, having run away from Sicily in fright. On Paulina's first entrance, she is weeping (1.1; p. 4). From the beginning, one can notice a clear change in the women as drawn by Garrick. His weepy Paulina is a far cry from Shakespeare's masterful woman. Leontes aims to visit Bohemia, when his ship meets a storm, losing all the crew save Cleomines, a lord who is sent to Delphi for the oracle in Shakespeare's play but who here functions as a companion for Leontes. Stranded and wet, Leontes and Cleomines encounter the old Shepherd who provides them with dry clothes and invites them to his sheep-shearing festival. From this point forward, Garrick's text roughly follows Shakespeare's fourth act, making use of the pastoral elements and the comedy of the Clown and Autolycus. The only major difference is Leontes' presence, in disguise, at the sheep-shearing. Once Polixenes "divorces" Florizel and Perdita, Leontes decides to intercede on their behalf for the kind, old

Shepherd's sake. Soon, all true identities are revealed, and Paulina takes the royal families to visit the statue of Hermione, also located in Bohemia.

Garrick's cuts reveal two things that were possibly more important to him than observing the neoclassical unities: the emending of Shakespeare's inappropriate language—either bawdy words or characters (often women) who behaved offensively (for example in *The Winter's Tale*, Paulina calls the king a "fool," while in Garrick's play, Paulina calls herself the fool); making Leontes a sympathetic character. The changes aligned with Garrick's established reputation for bringing "order" and "decency" into the playhouse (Cunningham 26). Eighteenth-century audiences also wanted to see star actors, such as Garrick, in leading roles. Therefore, as well as sanitizing Shakespeare's language, Garrick adapted the role of Leontes to suit himself. Garrick was a star, and he refocused the role of Leontes on penitence: weeping and crying out for Hermione. Garrick's Leontes even attempts suicide in his guilt. Jean Marsden says Garrick's plot "depicts the restoration not of a monarch, but of a husband and father" (*Re-Imagined Text* 84). Summing it up best, Cunningham says, "Garrick's drastic cutting and altering certainly achieved his aim of showing Leontes in a more favourable light, but it was gained at the expense of the strength, dignity and resilience shown by the female characters in the first three acts" (86).

Garrick was not the only star in his play, however. Susannah Cibber's performance in the role of Perdita was mentioned above, and Garrick was joined by Hannah Pritchard as Hermione. Hannah Pritchard was possibly the most popular actress of her time and often played opposite Garrick as the leading lady. Her most famous role had been that of Lady Macbeth (Roberts, "Shakespearean Comedy" 226–8). In *Florizel and Perdita*, Pritchard appeared for the final scene only, the statue scene. Jeanne Addison Roberts says that Pritchard

> seems to have had a genius for body language, and even in Garrick's truncated version of *The Winter's Tale*, where she spoke hardly 10 words as Hermione, the *Universal Museum*, 1762 ... describes her rendering of the statue as "truly great," elaborating, "While she descends from the temple her face is a perfect picture, and her countenance so serene and composed, so expressive of that part that perhaps the whole of theatre cannot produce so remarkable an instance." ("Shakespearean Comedy" 226)

Garrick may have been the first writer to dare to bring the statue scene back on stage, but earlier in the eighteenth century Nicholas Rowe

had chosen it as the frontispiece to his 1709 illustrated edition of Shakespeare. Stephen Orgel describes the image (see Figure 3.1):

> what is most striking about the scene is the absolute dominance of Hermione, her scepter raised in a gesture of command. In the text, the scene is firmly under the direction of Paulina, who stage manages the restoration and reconciliation, but all the women here express surprise. The figure immediately to the left of Hermione is presumably intended as Paulina, but her gesture is identical to that of the amazed Leontes, and she is distinctly subordinate to the queen. (*Imagining Shakespeare* 127)

Though I agree with Orgel's description of the "dominance" of Hermione in this image, his interpretation of Paulina does not accord with how I read the action in the illustration. Orgel states that in the text Paulina controls the scene while in this picture she merely expresses surprise (the same reaction as Leontes). But Paulina shares focus with Hermione in this image. Leontes and the members of the court appear to be retreating, legs apart, while Paulina seems firmly grounded. Finally, her gesture is not identical to that of Leontes. One of Paulina's hands is holding the curtain, and her other hand is outstretched. This gesture is one of revelation and it appears as if Paulina is presenting Hermione to the crowd. While it is true that the statue scene undoubtedly provided a theatrical coup for Garrick as Leontes, it also has great potential to empower actresses in the roles of Hermione and Paulina.

Though the general disempowerment of the women in *Florizel and Perdita* has been explored before, I would like to investigate what Garrick's adaptation specifically strips from Hermione in the first three acts and from Paulina throughout the play.[3] This reaches its crux for both women in the statue scene—created by Shakespeare and retained in the adaptation. Just as the adaptations discussed in Chapters 1 and 2 have provided useful retrospective perspectives from which to re-examine Shakespeare's plays, Garrick's version of the statue scene can shed light on Shakespeare's ending. This will demonstrate how Garrick's "residue of influence on interpretations of the women" may influence modern views of the statue scene (Dash 283). In other words, what are the possibilities for Hermione as statue? How does female sexuality, and the use of silence and stone function to depict the character of the queen? What makes Paulina powerful, possibly magical, in Shakespeare's play?

Figure 3.1 Frontispiece to *The Winter's Tale* from Nicholas Rowe's *The Works of Mr Shakespear*, vol. 2, 1709 (By permission of Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand)

"Tongue-tied, our queen?": The presence and absence of Hermione

As discussed above, Hermione is missing—in person (and body)—from most of Garrick's *Florizel and Perdita*. According to Dash, "Hermione's strength becomes unnecessary if there is no challenge, no contest, for her to face" (274). But in Garrick's version, Hermione is reported as encountering a similar sequence of challenges to those in Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*. She is "left to the injuries of a powerful king, and jealous husband"; "clapp'd up in prison, where she gave the king a princess"; has "the child bed privilege deny'd"; is "haul'd out to an open mockery of a trial"; and dies (1.1; p. 3). There are two major changes to the events as they happen in Shakespeare's play. First, in Garrick's version, there is no Mamillius; and therefore Hermione's loss is not compounded by a second young child being taken from her. Second, Hermione is said to have died "in the very prison where she was deliver'd" (1.1; p. 4). Since there is no Mamillius (and Hermione is not on stage), Hermione does not receive the news of his death and collapse at her trial. Another adjustment made by Garrick—that has not been noted previously as far as I can tell—is that Perdita is not 16 but 18. After Perdita has unwittingly disgraced the family and disrupted the social order by presuming to marry Florizel, who is a prince, the Clown pleads with the old Shepherd to go to King Polixenes and "Let him know the truth of the matter; how you found her by the sea-side some *eighteen years* agone" (3.1; p. 43; emphasis added). Leontes' grief however has lasted only 16 years. If this change by Garrick was deliberate, this makes Hermione's death after two years a result of the conditions of imprisonment rather than the instantaneous shock of losing two children. Shakespeare makes Leontes, in denying the oracle, much more directly responsible for Hermione's apparent death, since the death of Mamillius seems to be a punishment for his offending Apollo. Finally, Hermione's swooning on stage in *The Winter's Tale* makes both Leontes and, importantly, the audience witnesses to her death; Paulina says, "This news is mortal to the queen. Look down / And see what death is doing" (3.2.145–6). When this scene is staged—as we observed in the 2011 Wellington Summer Shakespeare production—great pity is felt for the queen who, after standing her ground in an unjust trial, is ultimately made to fall with the news of the death of her son.

In addition to these changes to the plot, the impact of Hermione's story is radically altered in Garrick's play by the fact that it is narrated by the male character Camillo. Her death is not reported by Paulina. The story is not a "winter's tale" or an "old wives' tale." Indeed

the witnessing by the audience of Hermione's plight and Leontes' treatment of her is of the utmost importance in *The Winter's Tale*. In Garrick's version, the audience "meets" Hermione in an "absence," a woman they have never seen who has already been dead 16 years. The audience watching Shakespeare's play is not only able to see first-hand Hermione's strength, poise, and resilience, but also able to experience her presence. This enables them to sympathize when Hermione dies, and to believe, along with Leontes, that she is in fact dead, adding to the wonder at her resurrection. In *The Winter's Tale*, the audience spends the first three acts of the play with Hermione and as a result experiences her palpable absence from the stage and metaphorically also from life, until the very last scene of the play. Leontes says, "Prithee bring me / To the dead *bodies* of my queen and son" (3.2.231–2), and later, "I *saw* her, / As I thought, dead" (5.3.139–40; emphasis added). Thus, Hermione's strength of character is not merely conveyed in the struggles she meets and the language which she uses to gracefully face them, but also in her very presence, the actress on stage embodying Hermione in the midst of adversity. The contrast of these scenes with the following news of her death and later reappearance as a statue that is brought to life raise some of the biggest questions of the play: How do we know what we know? How can you tell (tale)? What is shown? Do we know by seeing? (see Orgel's "Introduction" to *The Winter's Tale* 57). By eliminating Hermione's body from the stage in the first three acts of the adaptation, Hermione's character lacks life. She is already merely a "ghost," inhabiting the stage only through the memory of other characters. The audience is unable to experience, along with Leontes, the exhilarating expectation of revisiting Hermione in the final act since, like Perdita, they have never seen her before. Furthermore, when Hermione's body is finally visible on stage in the statue scene, Garrick's alterations deprive the heroine both of her sexuality and of her use of silence, a deprivation which is of major thematic importance.

In the first scene of *Florizel and Perdita*, Hermione is described by Camillo who is telling the gentlemen about Polixenes' visit to Sicily:

> Most royalty, and with the utmost freedom of society,
> was he entertain'd both by Leontes, and his queen Hermione;
> a lady, whose bodily accomplishments were unparallel'd, but by
> those of her mind. The free strokes of youth and gaiety, in her
> extended civility to Polixenes (pleas'd as she was to see her
> lord delighted) bred him suspicion of her conduct. (1.1; p. 2)

This speech is reminiscent of one in the first scene of the original play, though the context is different. Even in Garrick's play, the first mention of Hermione calls forth her "bodily accomplishments" along with her "mind." Tellingly, Hermione is absent from 1.1 of *The Winter's Tale*. Camillo and Archidamus do not speak at all about the queen, only the friendship between Polixenes and Leontes and the great hope of the king's son Mamillius. In opposition to Garrick's adaptation, Hermione is seen before she is verbally acknowledged in any way. When 1.2 of the original opens and Hermione appears for the first time on stage, if the audience was not immediately drawn to the big-bellied character then surely the first words of the scene, Polixenes' "Nine changes of the watery star" (nine months), would have directed attention to the heavily pregnant queen. The audience sees Hermione's body, with a clear, visible sign that she is sexually active. The first words spoken about Hermione in *The Winter's Tale* are to Hermione. Leontes says, "Tongue-tied, our queen? Speak you" (1.2.27). In a mere six words, Leontes has encapsulated Hermione's drama. He speaks first of her "tongue," a body part, and a body part that for women is explicitly "tied" to sex: either through intercourse or speech. A woman with a "loose tongue" was also considered sexually aggressive, hence Leontes' later reference to Paulina as a "bawd" (2.3.67). Not only does Leontes' question place emphasis on Hermione's sexual body, but it also points to her silence. The opposite of a "loose tongue," silence, is of course connected with chastity and the stereotypical qualities of a "good wife." One could argue that this first line to Hermione is placing emphasis on her as a blameless, pure wife who speaks only when her husband/king says "Speak you." Could this be the conflict at hand: Leontes' fear of his wife's sexual agency and unwillingness to acknowledge that a woman can be both sexual and a chaste, "good queen"?

In fact, the word "queen" appears 55 times in *The Winter's Tale*. This is more than double the number of times "king" is spoken (24), despite there being two kings in the play. Not only does this demonstrate the importance of Hermione's role in the play, but for an early modern audience who relied on ears as much as eyes, hearing the word "queen" repeated so often must have conjured up simultaneous images of both a royal majesty and an immodest woman. Originally the word "quean" meant simply "female," and later, in early Middle English, the word meant "a hussy" ("quean," *n*.1. *OED*). In the early modern period the vowel sounds of "queen" and "quean" merged (see Etymology, "quean," *n*.1. *OED*). In a play so full of sexual language (recall that some early critics assumed it could not be Shakespeare's work), this homophone is telling.

Hermione, however, has no intention of remaining "tongue-tied" or silent, even as she proves her worth on terms other than sexual desirability. Her immediate response to Leontes' question (and request) is "I had thought, sir, to have held my peace until / You had drawn oaths from him [Polixenes] not to stay. You, sir, / Charge him too coldly" (1.2.28–30). Hermione was merely waiting to speak so that she could triumph in getting Polixenes to stay when Leontes had failed to do so. Next, she accentuates Leontes' coldness and thereby implies her warmth (kindness). This warmth is alluded to later when Leontes claims Hermione's body temperature is "too hot" (1.2.108). In fact, it is Hermione's eloquent language, her speech, that reveals her mind, which Camillo in Garrick's play says was "unparallel'd." As Hermione says, "A lady's 'verily' is / As potent as a lord's" (1.2.49–50). In 1.2, Hermione's conversation with Polixenes revolves around sexual sinning. Hermione is able to operate as a female sexual being and as an intelligent woman whose speech has power equal to that of men. Her tongue can convince Polixenes to stay without luring him to bed.

The next time silence appears around Hermione in *The Winter's Tale* is when she is at her trial in 3.2. She is hauled out in the open air and subjected to treatment violating her rank as queen and daughter to a king. The Folio stage direction "Silence" (3.2.10n.) is sometimes, as it is in John Pitcher's edition of *The Winter's Tale*, made to be the final word of the Officer's speech. But, as Pitcher notes, in the Folio "silence" is printed in the margin in italics. If it is indeed a stage direction, it would create a moment in performance for the audience to focus on the body of Hermione, which has been clearly mistreated. Pitcher adds a stage direction indicating that Hermione is brought into the proceedings "as a prisoner" (3.2.10.1). This is an intriguing performance option. Early modern stage directions that call for "prisoners" or "as from prison" usually dictate that the prisoner is in "chains/fetters/gyves/irons/manacles/shackles" and often guarded (see Dessen and Thomson, "prison; prisoner," 171). Marsh's version has the stage direction, "Hermione *is brought in, guarded;* Paulina *and* Ladies *attending*" (p. 18). This would have been a very different version of Hermione's body from that shown at the opening of the play.

Informed by these considerations, in the Wellington Summer Shakespeare production, which I directed, Hermione entered guarded, without any of her attendants. She was wrapped in a white sheet, which was covered with derogatory names such as "strumpet," "whore," and "adulterer" (see Figures 3.2 and 3.3). The guards pushed her, yelling insults as she made her way to the front of the crowd (audience) where

Leontes was seated at the trial. Hermione claims in her trial that "on every post" she has been "proclaimed a strumpet" (3.2.99–100). Later, in 4.4, when Autolycus sees the Clown and Shepherd approaching, he says "Every lane's end, every shop, church, session, hanging, yields a careful man work" (4.4.687–9). Pitcher notes at this point, "lane's end[:] where notices were posted and people stopped to read them (giving Autolycus the chance to pick their pockets)" (4.4.688n.). It occurred to me that perhaps the "lane's end" could somehow be created on stage, thus drawing another parallel transformation between the tragic first half of the play and comedic second. The notices in the second half of the play, perhaps stating the punishment of the Shepherd by Polixenes, turn into a comedic device for the pickpocket, Autolycus. (The Clown says, "See, see, what a man you are now!" to the Shepherd giving him an opportunity to point to such a notice.) In the first half of the play, the notices proclaim "Hermione is a strumpet." I wanted to give this sense of public embarrassment and of Hermione "hurried ... i'th' open air," so she wore the "notices" or proclamations in the form of the white sheet. In this production she was in the "open air" as the play was outdoors, and the heat was disappearing from the summer day as this scene occurred at dusk during each performance. The actress used the sheet to keep warm, indicating her coldness and perhaps a fever. Having her enter through the crowd emphasized the public nature of the trial, and it was a powerful moment of silence when she finally reached the stage before turning to address not only Leontes but also the audience.

Her limbs might be bound and the courtroom silent, but Hermione's tongue is again not tied for very long. More than responding "Not guilty" to her indictment, Hermione speaks close to 100 articulate lines during the trial. In fact, Alexandra Gilbreath, who played Hermione in Greg Doran's 1998–99 production of *The Winter's Tale* with the Royal Shakespeare Company, comments on Hermione's three long speeches in the trial scene as "the most difficult part to play: how on earth would anyone find the strength to speak, let alone form concise and persuasive arguments. But she does" (Gilbreath 84). Hermione does not collapse here. She speaks "here standing" (3.2.39). Compare this to Katherine, Queen of England, on trial in Fletcher and Shakespeare's *Henry VIII*, who "*kneels at his [the king's] feet. Then speaks*" (*H8* 2.4.12.3). Hermione does not even drop to her knees when Leontes rejects the oracle pronouncing her "chaste." She only falls to her "death" at her trial when hearing of the death of Mamillius. As discussed above, in Garrick's version the audience does not witness the trial and hears that Hermione dies much later in prison, rather than as a likely result of injustices inflicted by Leontes.

Figure 3.2 Hermione (Amy Usherwood) wrapped in a white sheet featuring the words "strumpet," "whore," and "adulterer," *The Winter's Tale* 3.2 (photograph by Thomas Horder)

Not only does Shakespeare's trial scene exhibit the power of Hermione through her speeches in what is also her "death scene," Hermione says something during it that may be a key to understanding the full power of Apollo's oracle. Since there is no trial scene in *Florizel and Perdita*, the oracle is only referred to when Camillo speaks of Leontes' "defiance of the plain answer of the oracle, by him consulted at Delphi" (1.1; p. 4). Later, in the fifth act of Garrick's play, Camillo reports: "Nothing but bonfires—the oracle is fulfill'd! O, *Paulina*, the beatings of my heart, will scarce Permit my tongue to tell thee what it bears" (5.2; p. 51).

Figure 3.3 Hermione (Amy Usherwood) at her trial, *The Winter's Tale* 3.2 (photograph by Michael Edge-Perkins)

Paulina immediately responds, "I know it all, my friend; the king of *Sicily* is arriv'd" (5.2; p. 52). Before learning, as she does from Camillo's next line, that Perdita has been found, Paulina assumes the oracle is fulfilled by Leontes' reunion with Bohemia (Polixenes) and forgiveness. In Shakespeare's play, the oracle proclaims, "Hermione is chaste, Polixenes blameless, Camillo a true subject, Leontes a jealous tyrant, his innocent babe truly begotten, and the king shall live without an heir if that which is lost be not found" (3.2.130–3). Fulfillment of the oracle's crucial final clause seems to depend on Perdita, the king's heir and daughter, being found. While this is without doubt true, given that her very name is Latin for "lost" and the gentlemen's speeches in 5.2 of Shakespeare's play revolve around Perdita being found, Camillo's and Paulina's lines in Garrick's fifth act point to a wider possibility for the oracle that is inherent in Shakespeare's play. Perdita is not all that Leontes has lost. Both Shakespeare's play and Garrick's adaptation place emphasis on the reunion of Polixenes and Leontes, a friendship lost and then found. The first words of the oracle, however, are about Hermione: "Hermione is chaste." The word "lost" is spoken by Hermione shortly before the oracle is read, when she says to Leontes,

"To me can life be no commodity; / The crown and comfort of my life, your favour, / I do give *lost*, for I do feel it gone / But know not how it went" (3.2.91–4; emphasis added). What is lost is the loving relationship between Leontes and Hermione, which she regards as highly as her life.

Including Hermione (and also Polixenes and Camillo) in an understanding of the oracle's prophecy also gives better sense to Hermione's lines later when she says to Perdita, "For thou shalt hear that I, / Knowing by Paulina that the oracle / Gave hope thou was in being, have preserved / Myself to see the issue" (5.3.125–8). Most editors of *The Winter's Tale* consider these lines a mistake by Shakespeare, since Hermione was present at the trial when the oracle was read. Hermione believes her daughter has been murdered: "The innocent milk in its most innocent mouth, / Haled out to murder" (3.2.98–9). Mamillius, her son, is the king's heir at the time the oracle is read. It is possible Hermione interprets the oracle as saying that if Leontes does not find, forgive, repair what is lost—his respect and love for his wife, as well as his friendship with Polixenes and Camillo—then Mamillius will die as punishment: "the king shall live without an heir." Leontes' response to the oracle is not repentance or reconciliation with Hermione. His reaction is that the oracle has lied and the trial will go forward. Rather than repairing his relationship with Hermione, Leontes will continue to punish his innocent wife. Therefore, when the servant reports Mamillius' death, he uses the word "gone" meaning lost, which is repeated by Leontes, before using the word "dead." It is at this point that Hermione faints. From what she observes, Leontes has no intention of finding what is lost and therefore he will live without an heir. Leontes has effectively killed Mamillius through his defiance of the oracle. Only after Hermione is carried off stage does Leontes say he will "new woo . . . [his] queen" (3.2.153). Paulina calls Leontes to repentance and he accepts all punishment and grief. That Leontes will try and repair what is lost gives "hope" that the child carried off by Antigonus is, in fact, still "in being."

After all, the oracle is meant to be enigmatic, secretive, and powerful. How can Leontes find a lost child and reconcile himself to a dead queen? I use the words "die" and "dead" for Hermione because it is part of Shakespeare's plan in *The Winter's Tale* that both Leontes and the audience believe Hermione is truly dead (lost). How else can she be found again in the statue scene? This is another downfall of Garrick's play. It is less miraculous to bring back what was already lost or absent from the beginning than it is to have a Hermione who

was present and who swooned in front of the audience be brought back in the final scene. In Shakespeare's play, Paulina tells Leontes and the lords:

> I say she's dead—I'll swear't. If word nor oath
> Prevail not, *go and see*. If you can bring
> *Tincture or lustre in her lip, her eye,*
> *Heat* outwardly or *breath* within, I'll serve you
> As I would the gods. (3.2.200–4; emphasis added)

It is as if Shakespeare, through Paulina, is daring his audience to doubt Hermione's death. There is an insistence here upon not only Hermione's death, but again on her body. Paulina speaks of Hermione's eye, her lip (cf. the discussion of "tongue" above), her heat (cf. "warmth" above), and her breath. Sixteen years later, Leontes will still reminisce about Hermione's "full eyes" and the "treasure from her lips" (5.1.52, 53). In his repentance, he mourns the loss of Hermione's body without blaming her for her sexuality.

In Shakespeare's play, he further insists upon Hermione's death and her lack of silence—even after death—by having her ghost appear twice: once to Antigonus and a second time in Leontes' mind. (Furthermore, Paulina arguably functions as a voice of Hermione.) Those who would dismiss Antigonus' sighting of Hermione as a mere dream or fantasy of his mind may need reminding that it is here that Hermione names her lost child "Perdita" (3.3.32). Paulina says to Hermione in the final scene not that her daughter is alive but "Our Perdita is found." Hermione seems to already know the name she has given her daughter. I believe these "ghosts" of Hermione are also missing pieces to understanding the statue scene. In the Wellington production, we had Hermione's specter appear in the storm delivering some of the lines Antigonus recounts in 3.3 (see Figure 3.4). One impetus for this choice was the desire to explore a physical staging of this idea. Though not called for in the script, the appearance of Hermione in such a fashion added to the mystery and terror of the storm, and empowered her. Perched on the shoulders of her women, her height towered over the audience and the stage, with Leontes' empty throne lingering in the background. Hermione seemed to be presiding over the oracle, personally delivering to Antigonus the news of his fate.

In *Florizel and Perdita*, the "dead" Hermione is consistently described as a "saint." Save Camillo's reference to her "bodily accomplishments,"

Figure 3.4 Hermione's (Amy Usherwood) specter as described by Antigonus, *The Winter's Tale* 3.3 (photograph by Michael Edge-Perkins)

nowhere is there an emphasis on Hermione's body, not on her eyes, her lips, or her warmth. Leontes' first mention of Hermione is as follows:

> Pardon, *Hermione*!
> 'Twas this that sped thee to thy proper heav'n;
> If from thy sainted seat above the clouds,
> Thou see'st my weary pilgrimage thro' life,
> Loath'd, hated life, 'cause unenjoy'd with thee—
> Look down and pity me. (1.2; p. 11)

In Antigonus' vision of Hermione in Shakespeare's play, he describes her as wearing "white robes, / Like very sanctity," but very beautiful (3.3.21–2). He also sees her as a "creature" of sorrow whose head moves from one side to the other (3.2.18–19). Additionally, Hermione is said to be full of haunting sorrow—gasping and shrieking. She is ominous and prophesizes Antigonus' death by the bear. "According to romance logic, the creature that Antigonus encounters [is] a Fury from Greek tragedy as much as a Kindly One" (Pitcher's edition 7). In Shakespeare's fifth act, Leontes imagines Hermione's ghost and imagines if he took a new wife that "would make her sainted spirit / Again possess her corpse, and

on this stage, / Were we offenders now, appear soul-vexed, / And begin, 'Why to me?'" (5.1.57–60). Continuing in this line of thought, Leontes says that Hermione would cause him to murder her replacement, his new bride. Paulina then elaborates on Leontes' image by saying if she were Hermione's ghost she'd shriek in his ears so loudly that they would rip apart. Whereas Garrick would like to portray Hermione as a saint, Shakespeare shows her as not just holy but powerful, gorgeous, and terrifying. Both times Hermione appears as a "ghost" in Shakespeare (even if just through the dialogue of other characters), Hermione uses her voice to its utmost capacity: she shrieks. In Leontes' imagination in Garrick's play, Hermione is like an angel sitting "above the clouds," whereas in Shakespeare, Hermione's spirit joins again with her body, a body that is so much focused on in the play.

Hermione's stone

I have argued above that Garrick's "absent" Hermione reminds us of what makes Shakespeare's Hermione so viscerally present: her body and her voice. Shakespeare's Hermione is not purely a saint; she is a woman with a real, sexual, beautiful, perhaps dangerous, body. She has a voice that breaks through silence (after waiting her turn to speak in the court-room), even the silence of the grave. When Garrick's Hermione finally presents herself, it is in the statue scene, and this is where my argument culminates: where Garrick's Hermione meets Shakespeare's and how Garrick's interpretation of the heroine has perhaps left its mark on sub-sequent recreations of Hermione.

As discussed above, no adaptor before Garrick realized the theatrical potential of the statue in *The Winter's Tale*; or perhaps they were not willing to risk that element of fantasy. While Pritchard was commended for her performance in Garrick's statue scene, a review in *The London Chronicle* for a performance of *Florizel and Perdita* at Drury Lane on 24 March 1757 suggests some audience members were critical of the irrationality and lack of reason they detected in Shakespeare's play:

> Her having lived sequestered for many Years might be allowed, if she did not stand for a Statue at last. This Circumstance is certainly childish, as is likewise the pretended Revival of her by Music. Had Hermione been discovered to us in a rational Manner, the Close would have been pathetic, whereas at present, notwithstanding many Strokes of fine Writing, Reason operates too Strongly against the Incident, and our Passions subside into Calmness and Inactivity. (Qtd in Bartholomeusz 32)

Since Garrick had eliminated most of the other fantastic elements of the play (for example the man-eating bear, the importance of the oracle), his statue scene does appear oddly out of place in *Florizel and Perdita*. Furthermore, Garrick's version of the statue scene is substantially different from Shakespeare's.

Garrick's Hermione is revealed in a similar fashion to Shakespeare's, only in *Florizel and Perdita* the reunion occurs in Bohemia rather than Sicilia. Hermione is a statue in Paulina's keeping that the royal family has come to look upon. Most of Leontes' lines describing the statue in the adaptation are verbatim from Shakespeare, but without the first three acts the references to her "wrinkles" and "warm life," and to her standing as "when first [Leontes] woo'd her," to "her lip," her "breath," and "her eye" all lose their significance. The audience has not seen these attributes embodied (if even imaginatively) as they are in Shakespeare's play. When Paulina "awakes" Hermione's statue with music, as she does in *The Winter's Tale*, the characters on stage do not remain silent. Garrick has Leontes "retiring" or standing back, and exclaiming: "Heav'nly pow'rs!" (5.2; p. 63). Paulina says of Hermione, "When she was young, you woo'd her; now in age / She is become your suitor" (5.2; p. 63). In Shakespeare's play, Paulina's lines are "When she was young, you wooed her; now in age / Is she become the suitor?" (5.3.108–9). In Garrick's adaptation, Paulina tells Leontes that Hermione woos him. If we recall the trial scene, part of Leontes' repentance was that he would "new woo his queen." In Shakespeare's play, Paulina is alluding to this with a rhetorical question, to which Leontes responds by presenting his hand to his queen. After Leontes presents his hand to Hermione in Garrick's play, he holds her, saying, "I cannot hold me longer from those arms" (5.2; p. 63). In *The Winter's Tale*, it is Hermione who initiates the holding, as Polixenes says "She embraces him" (5.3.110). Hermione says nothing here. Leontes simply exclaims, "O, she's warm! / If this be magic, let it be an art / Lawful as eating" (5.2.110–12). The rest is silence. Here Hermione's body becomes a different, even more potent means of communication. Hermione's embracing of Leontes calls the staging, the physical action, to the fore.

Garrick's Leontes continues commentating throughout the entire "resurrection" of Hermione, and indeed Hermione does not remain silent either. Cutting off their embrace, she says:

> Before this swelling flood o'er-bear our reason
> Let purer thoughts, unmix'd with earth's alloy
> Flame up to heav'n, and for its mercy shewn,
> Bow we our knees together. (5.2; p. 64)

This Hermione is certainly saintly, calling Leontes to "purer thoughts." After this, she says to Leontes, "My lord, my king,—there's distance in those names, / My husband!," and then she verbally and physically forgives him: "No more; be all that's past / Forgot in this enfolding, and forgiven" (5.2; p. 65). After the couple pray, Hermione holds Leontes again while overtly stating that the embrace signifies forgiveness. Dash writes, "Garrick makes explicit what may or may not have been implicit in Hermione's embracing of Leontes in Shakespeare's drama" (279), while Vaught argues that Garrick portrays "Hermione as a saintly figure to be worshiped" who is "sexually unthreatening" and a "holy icon" (202). Figure 3.5 shows how Hannah Pritchard appeared as Hermione in the statue scene of Garrick's *Florizel and Perdita*.

If Garrick's language was not enough to convey Hermione as a "sexually unthreatening" saint, then surely the dominant cross around Pritchard's neck and the long white robes that cover her entire body, together with her gender-signifying hair, was. Pritchard was also known for the "supreme Ugliness" of her person and "grew heavy at the end of her career" (Roberts, "Shakespearean Comedy" 226). Over a decade earlier, as discussed above, she had played Paulina in *The Winter's Tale*. She was already an aging actress and this suited Garrick's version since he cut the first three acts. In other words, Garrick did not have to deal with casting an actor who could play across an age gap of 16 years. The audience in Shakespeare's play can remember the young Hermione that graced the stage and then compare her with the older Hermione in the fifth act; they can imagine and even witness the effects of time on Hermione's face and possibly her body.

There is a final change to Shakespeare's statue scene that Garrick makes which is worth noting here—the statue's artist. In *The Winter's Tale* the statue is "newly performed by that rare Italian master Giulio Romano" (5.2.94–5). Stephen Orgel says this "invocation of Giulio Romano is striking for a number of reasons: this is the only allusion in Shakespeare to a modern artist and, indeed, one of the earliest references to Giulio in England—Shakespeare here, as nowhere else, appears to be in touch with the avant-garde of the visual arts" (*Imagining Shakespeare* 112). Here Garrick's play follows very closely Shakespeare's, only his statue is "perform'd by the most rare master of Italy" (5.2; p. 54). Why did Garrick eliminate the name of the original? Many critics have taken issue with Romano being the creator of Hermione's statue since he was primarily a painter. Orgel answers the question "Why Giulio Romano?" in the following way: "The answer, such as it is, is usually found in an epitaph for Giulio quoted in Vasari's *Lives*, beginning 'Videbat Jupiter

Figure 3.5 *Mrs. Pritchard in the character of Hermione*, engraved by S.F. Ravenet and F. Aliamet, 1765 (By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library)

corpora sculpta pictque ... : Jupiter saw sculpted and painted bodies breathe and the houses of mortals made equal to those in heaven through the skill of Giulio Romano'" (122). Implicit in the question "Why Giulio Romano?" is an assumption that the statue was *sculpted* by Romano. Actually, Shakespeare is purposefully ambiguous here. It is merely stated that the statue is "newly performed" by Romano. The statue is *painted*—this is clear from Paulina's insistences not to touch it: "The statue is newly fixed; the colour's / Not dry" and "The ruddiness upon her lip is wet. / You'll mar it if you kiss it, stain your own / With oily painting" (5.3.47–8; 5.3.81–3). Would it not make better sense of both the lines in the scene and what we know of Romano if he had painted, rather than sculpted, the statue?

Why did Shakespeare specifically choose Romano over all the other master painters to render the visual aspects of Hermione's statue: her big belly; her tongue, eyes, lips, warmth; her becoming yet haunting nature? Why did Garrick refashion the artist into a nameless "most rare master of Italy"? I am by no means the first to point out that Romano is linked with pornography. He was a student of Raphael, and was not only a noted painter, but also an architect. Arguably the most (in)famous of Romano's works were a set of erotic images titled *I Modi* ("The Ways"), which were engraved from Romano's drawings by Marcantonio Raimondi in 1524 and accompanied by Pietro Aretino's explicit sonnets (Orgel, *Imagining Shakespeare* 112). Romano's drawings were of 16 sexual positions to be hung in the Palazzo Te in Mantua, a building constructed for Frederico II Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, for which Romano was commissioned as architect. Despite censorship efforts, the work was popular and published in more than one edition, and a set of woodcuts (although a bit cruder) based on the engravings survive. (Two prints from Raimondi's original engraving also survive.) The lovers in the work are from Greek mythology, and the action occurs in either a classical environment such as a Greek sanctuary or temple or in a sixteenth-century setting with contemporary furniture and beds. The men all have over-sized penises; the women hairless groins and prominent vulvas. Aretino's accompanying poems describe the action with lines such as "Let's fuck, my love, let's fuck quickly" (Orgel, *Imagining Shakespeare* 114). Would Shakespeare have been familiar with this aspect of Romano's work? There is evidence to suggest he was. Ben Jonson mentions Aretino twice in *Volpone*: "for a desperate wit there's Aretine / Only his pictures are a little obscene" (3.4.109–10); and "some young Frenchmen, of hot Tuscan blood / That had read Aretine, conned all his prints" (3.7.74–5; also qtd in Orgel, *Imagining Shakespeare* 119).

Aretino is also mentioned by Thomas Nash in *Summer's Last Will and Testament* (1600) and in John Marston's *What You Will* (1607), and in Thomas Middleton's *A Game at Chess* (1624)—another play with moving statues—Aretino's pornography is referred to in 2.2.

Just as it was widely known in the Renaissance, Romano's association with pornography was well known in the eighteenth century and this artist simply would not suit Garrick's pious Hermione, it seems. In Reverend Charles Lamotte's 1730 *An Essay upon Poetry and Painting, with Relation to the Sacred and Profane History with an Appendix Concerning Obscenity in Writing and Painting*, he lists "Marc Antonio" (Marcantonio Raimondi), "Peter Aretine," and "Giulio Romano" in his index. Under "Antonio, Marc," he writes "Engraved the obscene Postures of Giulio Romano," and under "Aretine, Peter," he says, "wrote obscene Verses, which were affixed to Giulio Romano's lewd Pictures" (205). "Romano, Giulio," he notes, "painted lewd Pictures" (208). In the appendix (which is found in both the 1730 and 1742 editions of the work), the following appears: "It was ... about the year 1525, that Giulio Romano, the most celebrated painter of his time, instigated by the Enemy of Mankind, invented twenty designs, whose subjects were so scandalously lewd, that they cannot be modestly named." And further: "George Vasari, who relates this in his *Lives of the Painters*, 'It was hard to tell which was most lewd and filthy, seeing the pictures of the painter [Romano], or reading the verses of the poet [Aretino]'" (189–90). Recall that it was from a note in Vasari's *Lives* where most scholars believe Shakespeare lifted the name "Giulio Romano." Also in the eighteenth century, in a 1744 translation (from the French) of Jean de La Fontaine's *The Loves of Cupid and Psyche*, Mr Lockman quotes a 1725 book on the life of Aretino that lists amongst his works "those well-known infamous Postures (designed by Giulio Romano, and engraved by Marc Antonio of Bologna) under each of which Aretine wrote a sonnet, as lewd as the Actions represented in the Pictures" (63).

It could be argued that Garrick removed the artist's name because of comments like Theobald's calling it a "strange absurdity" and a "known and wilful anachronism," or Warburton's saying it was "quite unworthy Shakespeare" and "He [Shakespeare] makes this famous painter, a statuary; I suppose confounding him with Michael Angelo; but, what is worst of all, a painter of statues, like Mrs. Salmon of her wax-work" (Theobald's *Shakespeare* 328; qtd in Johnson's *Shakespeare* 340). Garrick left other anachronisms in the text, however, such as the oracle (which was unnecessary in his version of events). Additionally, he left "strange absurdit[ies]" such as the references to the statue being painted in his fifth

act. The stronger argument is that Garrick was aware of the indecency linked with Romano.

Shakespeare was probably aware of Romano's pornographic pictures and I have suggested above that at least one reason Garrick removed the name was because he also knew of the artist's reputation for indecency. I am not, however, suggesting that the statue of Hermione is meant to be a work of pornography. What I *am* saying is that Hermione's statue is not saintly, as Garrick would have it; it is sexual. Orgel notes that "the ability to render sexuality both explicit and ideal is certainly one of Giulio's most obvious talents," and that "[t]he imagined world of sexuality in *The Winter's Tale*, too, is the world of Giulio Romano, both in its idealized Ovidian incarnation and its Aretine naturalism" (*Imagining Shakespeare* 123, 125). Let us examine the use of "posture" not in relation to pornography or Cleopatra's "whore." The *OED* finds it first used in Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, a source Shakespeare often turned to for inspiration. The pictures in Kalander's garden-house are described thus in the *Arcadia*:

> A naked *Venus* of white marble, wherein the graver had used such cunning, that the natural blue veins of the marble were framed in fit places, to set forth the beautiful veins of her body. At her breast she had her babe *Æneas*, who seemed (having begun to suck) to leave that, to look upon her fair eyes, which smiled at the babe's folly, meanwhile the breast running. Hard by was a house of pleasure built for a Summer retiring place, where *Kalander* leading him, he found a square room full of delightful pictures, made by the most excellent workman of Greece. There was *Diana* when *Actæon* saw her bathing, in whose cheeks the painter had set such a colour, as was mixed between shame & disdain; & one of her foolish Nymphs, who weeping, and withal lowering, one might see the workman meant to set forth tears of anger. In another table was *Atalanta*; *the posture of whose limbs was so lively expressed, that if the eyes were the only judges, as they be the only seers, one would have sworn the very picture had run*. (bk 1, ch. 3, pp. 13–14; emphasis added)

Kalander's pictures sound exactly like the work of Romano, who painted gods and goddesses, and "who, had he himself eternity and could put breath into his work, would beguile Nature of her custom, so perfectly he is her ape" (*WT* 5.2.95–7). Like the painter of Atalanta's posture described above ("one would have sworn the very picture had run"), Romano "hath done Hermione that they say one would speak to her and stand in hope of answer" (5.2.98–9). Kalander's statue of Venus is naked

and her "natural blue ... beautiful veins of her body" are highlighted. Leontes says of Hermione's statue, "Would you not deem it breathed, and that those veins / Did verily bear blood?" (5.3.64–5). Shakespeare's statue, then, is a sexual woman.

While the inclusion of "Giulio Romano" in the original provides a clue to how the statue might look, he is not necessarily the creator of the statue as is often claimed. Donna Woodford argues that all "births" in *The Winter's Tale* are credited to men, and makes a very good case for a fear of maternal agency pervading the play. Yet there's room for differing points of view when she states: "The statue is merely another example of a male attempt to appropriate and take credit for the female power of childbirth" (194), which is related to her earlier comments that the older Hermione is silent, stone-like, and a mere object of spectacle in the final scene.

Likewise, Frances Dolan says that "although Paulina controls access to Hermione's 'statue'—repeatedly threatening to withhold it from Leontes by pulling the curtain around it—she is not its creator. Paulina credits a 'rare Italian master,' Julio [Giulio] Romano, with the masterpiece" (228). In Garrick's play, Paulina credits "the most rare master of Italy"; in the original she does not say this. It is Paulina's steward who says the statue is "in the keeping of Paulina, a piece many years in doing and now newly performed by that rare Italian master Giulio Romano" (5.2.92–4). This statement is complex and ambiguous. The statue, he says, has been kept by Paulina and has taken many years to create—16 to be exact. It has only recently been completed by being painted. Romano in Paulina's narrative is presumably the painter—he is not specifically credited as the sculptor. The word "performed" is loaded with theatrical meaning here. The work of Romano is a performance; it is imaginary. It is painting, or in the world of Shakespeare's playhouse, it is women's makeup. The statue scene is pure theatre and Paulina is both playwright and director. Hermione is the actor and co-creator of the statue. Paulina refers to "our carver's excellence, / Which lets go by some sixteen years and makes her / As she lived now" (5.3.30–2). Who makes Hermione age 16 years? Hermione. Who is the carver? Hermione with the aid of Paulina. Paulina makes a point of claiming the statue as hers: she says "*my* poor image" and "the stone is *mine*" (5.3.57, 58; emphasis added). Hermione says, she has "preserved" herself (5.3.127). This is empowering Hermione. It is she who has kept herself alive.

What happens if Shakespeare's statue scene is viewed this way—in a sexual, feminine sphere—as a "winter's tale" or a wives' tale? What about Hermione's silence, which many scholars, including Woodford

above, have uncomfortably observed and which Garrick eliminated from his version?

Leontes, Polixenes, their children, and other members of the court have traveled to Paulina's house to see the statue. Upon pulling the curtain, Hermione is revealed standing. That she is standing is important because she is already upon some sort of pedestal, for later she has to "descend." Visually, much like Rowe's frontispiece, Hermione rises spatially above everyone on stage. I have already discussed how in the first three acts Hermione is very much in control of her speech and silence. The first words uttered to her in the original ask if she is going to speak. Now, it is Leontes who is asked to speak. When Paulina reveals the statue, she says, "Behold, and *say* 'tis well," but no one speaks, for her next line is "I like your silence" (5.3.20–1; emphasis added). She asks again for someone to speak before finally pointing her request specifically at Leontes. He first notices Hermione's posture and then the wrinkles on her skin. He wishes for her to be warm and says she stands like when he first wooed her. Perdita kneels to her mother's stone, but when she tries to kiss it Paulina intercedes, telling her the "colour's / Not dry" (5.3.47–8). If the oracle's fulfillment was only the reunion of Perdita and Hermione and this is Hermione's primary focus upon returning to life (as many commentators suggest) then why not wake the statue here, with Perdita kneeling before her mother? Paulina seems to suggest that the statue is not ready yet. We do not know what Leontes is doing, only that he is silent, but Camillo's and Polixenes' lines seem to suggest he is in anguish. Camillo says:

> My lord, your sorrow was too sore laid on,
> Which sixteen winters cannot blow away,
> So many summers dry. Scarce any joy
> Did ever so long live; no sorrow
> But killed itself much sooner. (5.3.49–53)

Pitcher notes that "sore laid on may mean thickly applied, possibly another metaphor from painting" (5.3.49n.). Like Camillo, Polixenes notes Leontes' "grief" (5.3.55). Leontes remains silent until he must verbally stop Paulina from drawing the curtain. He says he wishes that he were dead and asks who made the statue, to which Paulina does not reply. Leontes becomes so afflicted and enraptured by Hermione's statue that he wants to kiss it. Paulina discourages Leontes as she did Perdita. This time the "oily painting" Leontes will "mar" is Hermione's red lips (5.3.81–3). The statue must have been attractive, sexual, and

inviting. After this, Paulina asks again if she should close the curtain. Three times (a significant number), Leontes is tested by Paulina about drawing the curtain. Only after the third time Leontes insists he wants to see Hermione does the statue seem ready to be awakened.

Jorg Hasler has discussed how in the first three acts of Shakespeare's play, Leontes' isolation is developed by his continually sending people away. He sends away Polixenes, Mamillius, Perdita, Paulina, and Hermione (204). His language is fraught with the repeated use of "hence," "out," and "away." This is another reason why a statue becomes an appropriate choice for confronting Leontes. He cannot send a statue away. He can only cover it up by allowing Paulina to draw the curtain. If Paulina closes the curtain, Leontes does not have to look at Hermione with a mixture of pain, agony, and longing. If the statue is covered up, so is Hermione's sexuality and beauty. If Paulina closes the curtain, the theatre show ends. Like theatre, the statue is dangerous. If we view the statue as only holy and asexual as Garrick did, then it is relegated to the domestic sphere, and therefore safe. Leontes must be confronted with Hermione as a woman—whose sexuality he was so threatened by in the first three acts. He must not only want the play to go on, but he must participate in it as well.

Leontes then says to Paulina, "What you can make her do / I am content to look on; what to speak / I am content to hear, for 'tis as easy / To make her speak as move" (5.3.91–4). Leontes wants to look at Hermione, and he wants to listen to her as well. Paulina tells him, "It is required / You do awake your faith" (5.3.94–5). Of course Paulina is saying that no miraculous event can happen without Leontes' belief, but "faith" could also mean his love vows for Hermione.[4] Paulina uses the verb "awake" when she commands Hermione. Both Leontes and Hermione are obviously fearful in this tender moment. There is some hesitation on Hermione's part, which is understandable given her husband's former lack of belief. Paulina has to do some convincing before Hermione moves ("nay, come away") and she must tell Leontes "Start not" and "Do not shun her" (5.3.104–5). Hermione steps down to join the living. Now Leontes must accept not just an image of Hermione but the woman herself. His first action is to woo her by presenting his hand. Recall that he had said in 3.2 that he would "new woo his queen" to find what is lost. Leontes giving his hand to Hermione is almost a re-enactment of a marriage scene, with Paulina functioning as priest. When Leontes does speak, he says "O, she's warm!" (5.3.109). He is attesting to her life, her humanity, and her sexuality. Hermione does not speak, but how could anyone suggest—as Woodford does—she is not

an active participant in a scene that completely revolves around her presence? Surely to argue thus is valuing words—the literary—over body language, and the theatrical, live body on stage.

Does Hermione's silence conjure some sort of resistance?[5] No. As Shakespeare's first three acts show, she does not remain silent in adversity. Leontes may have figuratively "killed" Hermione, but it is she and Paulina that are completely in control of the queen's 16-year death and her resurrection. Leontes has already said—and Hermione presumably heard—that if she wants to speak then he will listen. Garrick's version of the statue scene demonstrates what happens when Hermione speaks; it ruins the dramaturgy of the scene. The ritualistic scene focuses on action and movement; the dialogue is brief and stripped of complex imagery while the emotions of characters become paramount. Hasler observes, "such a large portion of the dialogue is devoted, openly or indirectly, to the task of controlling mood and pace, and directing the performance from moment to moment" (210). It should be mentioned that Leontes has his own fair share of silence in Shakespeare's play. Hasler adds, "The emotions stirred up in 5.3 are of the kind that is beyond words, his (Leontes') [and I would add Hermione's] silence therefore is the best and most adequate response" (210). Hermione is "tongue-tied" here because there are no words. Leontes has repented for 16 years, and three times requested that the curtain not be drawn over Hermione (symbolically, that the play not end with Hermione's death). She has no further need to defend herself or to accuse or attack Leontes. After they join hands, Hermione (not Leontes as in Garrick's adaptation) initiates the couple's embrace. Camillo says, "She hangs about his neck" (5.3.111). Leontes and Hermione stay locked in this embrace, ignoring all others on stage, until Paulina asks Perdita to intervene. When Hermione finally speaks in this scene, it is appropriately to her grown daughter whom she has never met. Just before the end of Shakespeare's play, Paulina says she will "Lament till I am lost" for her dead spouse (5.3.135). Leontes counters the widow by asking her to take a husband from him, and credits Paulina with finding his wife. Leontes says "Thou [Paulina] hast found mine" (5.3.138). Again, this final wordplay in *The Winter's Tale* on "lost" and "found" revolves around the finding of the lost Hermione, in accordance with the oracle.

This last antithesis of lost/found is (appropriately) absent from *Florizel and Perdita*. Garrick might be applauded for being the first theatre practitioner since Shakespeare to recognize the theatrical potency of Hermione's statue and return it to the stage with *Florizel and Perdita*, but it should also be recognized that while Garrick recovered the statue,

he did not find Shakespeare's Hermione. Instead of a spectacle with magical, musical silence, Garrick found a pure, saintly image to be worshipped and from whom one can expect nothing but Christ-like forgiveness—an aging wife whose body seems to have little more function than the icon of wife she is carved to be. If Shakespeare's Hermione is any kind of idol at all, she is, as Pitcher observes, "every kind of false idol in one. It is not a statue but a living person, not a woman but a male actor in drag, not a queen but a lowborn player. It is inanimate, but by petition and 'faith' it can be made to move and speak" (*WT* 47). Ironically, it is a boy actor playing Hermione in Shakespeare's play rather than a woman playing Hermione in Garrick's that draws attention to female sexuality, including the repeated references to painting/women's makeup. Garrick's Hermione must speak in the statue scene because she has been silent in the first three acts of the play, while Shakespeare's Hermione can embrace her husband in silence because she has spoken freely before. Shakespeare's Hermione can be miraculously brought back to life in the statue scene because she has had a presence, a feminine body that her husband lost when he was arguably threatened by her sexual agency, which he perceived to be out of his control. It is the power of Hermione's body that opens up possibilities for exploring female sexuality on stage without rendering her a mere object since Shakespeare also endows her with a "mind"—strength of voice and speech.

"Got big tits you're a witch / Fall to bits you're a witch": Paulina's paranormal powers

Quoted in the heading to this section are lyrics from a song featured in Caryl Churchill's 1976 play *Vinegar Tom*, an investigation of gender and power through the witchcraft trials of seventeenth-century England. The lyrics register what is at stake in Paulina's plight in *The Winter's Tale*: power that is feminine and at times therefore figured as unnatural or wicked. Shakespeare, however, turns such a construction on its head by mingling Paulina's "wicked" powers with the holy, the mysterious, and the undefined, resulting in a potent mixture that successfully brings about a redemptive miracle. In removing the first three acts of Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* from the onstage action, Garrick's version diminishes the strength and sexuality of Hermione. As discussed above, Vaught and Dash argue that by cutting the first three acts Garrick also lessens the power of Paulina. I would add that what remains of Paulina in Garrick's play is shaped in a way which weakens her character and strips her of her inherent sexuality. Like Hermione, what is

absent from Paulina's character in *Florizel and Perdita* points to what is so vividly present in Shakespeare's play. But unlike Hermione, Paulina is on stage from the beginning of Garrick's play, and therefore the adaptor made more conscious changes to how her character is depicted. Though in the adaptation Paulina is described in a similar way as the character is in *The Winter's Tale*—with strength of character—the onstage action in Garrick's play does little to support her in this light. In this section I will discuss Paulina's power (or the lack of/weakening of it in Garrick's play), followed by her sexuality, and ultimately how both of these forces, power and female sexuality, help to contribute toward constructing Paulina as the center of *The Winter's Tale*'s magic and mystery.

The perpetual power of Paulina

In *Florizel and Perdita*, Paulina is introduced by Camillo as he is telling a gentleman the events of 16 years ago in Sicilia (the first three acts of *The Winter's Tale*). Camillo first says that Paulina's "free tongue was the king's living scourge and perpetual remembrance to him of his dead queen," and that she has "fled with her effects, for the safety of her life, to Bohemia" upon the queen's death (1.1; pp. 3–4). The image of Paulina as the "instrument of divine chastisement" (as Camillo describes her) and reminder of Hermione seems true to Shakespeare's play, but "perpetual" is surely an inaccurate descriptor if Paulina left Sicilia immediately following Hermione's death. This is scarcely the Paulina of *The Winter's Tale*, who carries on such a mission with Leontes for 16 long years. Dash notes that in removing the first three acts of *The Winter's Tale*, "Paulina's role as the voice of conscience also loses its meaning" (274). There is little evidence in Garrick's play of Paulina as a "living scourge" and "perpetual remembrance" to Leontes of Hermione.

Since there is no trial of Hermione in *Florizel and Perdita* and it is reported that the queen died in prison, Paulina is not the witness of Hermione's "death" as she is in *The Winter's Tale*. In that play—after Hermione has fainted at her trial—Paulina re-enters to openly call Leontes a "tyrant"; she does so twice in this scene. She then blames Leontes directly for Hermione's death and charges that he is beyond forgiveness from the gods. Some eighteenth-century critics certainly found Paulina's aggressive language to be a character flaw. Theobald, for one, was not impressed by Paulina's calling the King a fool (3.2.184):

> It is certainly too gross and blunt in Paulina, tho' She might impeach the King of Fooleries in some of his past Actions and Conduct, to call him downright a Fool. And it is much more pardonable in her to

> arraign his Morals, and the Qualities of his Mind, than rudely to call him *Idiot* to his Face. (Qtd in Dash 273)[6]

Sixteen years after the trial, when Shakespeare's play returns to Sicilia—the same time Garrick's play begins (though his version is set in Bohemia)—Leontes and Paulina are still together. Though there is not the heated confrontation of the trial scene, Paulina reminds Leontes that he "killed" Hermione. She insists that the oracle must be fulfilled and prevents Leontes from remarrying. She even goes so far as to role-play Hermione, almost literally re-membering (embodying) her. When Leontes imagines that Hermione's spirit would haunt him if he were to take a new wife and that this would provoke the new wife's murder, Paulina says:

> I should so.
> Were I the ghost that walked, I'd bid you mark
> Her eye, and tell me for what dull part in't
> You chose her. Then I'd shriek that even your ears
> Should rift to hear me, and the words that followed
> Should be, "Remember mine." (5.1.62–7)

Garrick's play shows none of this, and therefore the characteristics that Camillo claims Paulina possesses have significantly less impact. In *The Winter's Tale* the last time Leontes and Paulina are seen on stage prior to the time gap, they are together just as they are together here, when the play returns to Sicilia 16 years later. This cements the impression in the audience that Paulina has not left Leontes' side since Hermione's death. She has indeed been "perpetual" in Shakespeare's play.

Furthermore, in Garrick's version, the act of Paulina fleeing Sicilia for fear of losing her life clashes with the fearless Paulina Shakespeare's play portrays. Garrick's Paulina enters the first act of his play weeping. In *The Winter's Tale*, two essential attributes of Paulina, shown clearly in the onstage action, are that she is courageous and that she refuses to flee. In 2.3, Paulina bursts into a private room where Leontes is struggling to sleep after ordering that he be left alone. Paulina has come to present the king's newborn daughter to him, a task that Emilia, Hermione's waiting-woman, says the queen had wanted but dared not ask someone of high rank to carry out: "[Hermione] but today hammered of this design, / But durst not tempt a minister of honour / Lest she should be denied" (2.2.48–50). At the prison, Paulina counters the Gaoler's reluctance to release the baby without a warrant with "Do not you fear. Upon mine honour, I / Will stand betwixt you and danger" (2.2.63–4). Paulina

will face danger for someone of lower class. In the Wellington Summer Shakespeare production, Paulina entered the Gaoler scene with female attendants, thus creating an onstage dynamic of women surrounding one man, the Gaoler. The Gaoler asks Paulina to dismiss her attendants; she complies with his request and manages on her own to gain his trust and belief, so that he allows her to take the baby despite his lack of warrant to do so. When Paulina presented the baby to Leontes in our production, we highlighted that the dynamic is reversed. Paulina entered alone an all-male environment of lords and attendants (see Figures 3.6 and 3.7).

During the scene in the private chamber, Leontes orders Paulina to be taken out seven times. She encounters manhandling from the lords and yet remains: "Let him that makes but trifles of his eyes / First hand me! On mine own accord I'll off" (2.3.61–2). In addition to the physical pushing by the lords, Leontes presses Paulina verbally with abuse, calling her a collection of offensive names, and finally threatens her with death: "I'll ha' thee burnt!," to which she replies, "I care not" (2.3.112). Even at the moment when Paulina says she will finally be gone, she does not leave the stage but continues to speak, saying "Look to your babe, my lord, 'tis yours—Jove send her / A better guiding spirit!" and

Figure 3.6 Paulina (Sophie Hambleton) with baby Perdita, *The Winter's Tale* 2.3 (photograph by Michael Edge-Perkins)

Figure 3.7 Leontes (Jonathan Price): "I'll ha' thee burnt!" *The Winter's Tale* 2.3 (photograph by Michael Edge-Perkins)

is only stopped by more pushing from the lords. Again though, Paulina resists the shoving and exits of her own accord. Upon exiting she tells the courtiers, "What needs these hands? / You that are thus so tender o'er his follies / Will never do him good, not one of you. / So, so; farewell, we are gone" (2.3.125–8; see Figure 3.8).

Paulina does not flee death in Shakespeare's play. In fact, she often seems to face it, as her reply to Leontes' threats later in Hermione's trial indicates. There, she asks the king, "What studied torments, tyrant, hast for me? / What wheels, racks, fires? What flaying, boiling / In leads or oils? What old or newer torture / Must I receive" (3.2.171–5). Though she is also framing Leontes as a tyrant, Paulina is unafraid to conjure punishment by death in a moment when she is broaching treason.

The strength of Paulina's character is evident not only in these courageous acts and her use of her tongue, but also in her reputation and position at court, which are often reflected through other characters. Paulina's position at court is something that Garrick retains from Shakespeare's play. In *The Winter's Tale*, Paulina is repeatedly described by other characters as "worthy," "honour[able]," and "good." Likewise in *Florizel and Perdita*, Paulina is depicted as "excellent," "true," and

Figure 3.8 Paulina (Sophie Hambleton): "What needs these hands?" *The Winter's Tale* 2.3 (photograph by Michael Edge-Perkins)

also "good." In *The Winter's Tale*, Paulina enters at least one scene, perhaps more, with attendants, which are a sign of her high status. In both plays, she has a steward: unnamed in *The Winter's Tale*; "Dion" in *Florizel and Perdita*. Thus both plays show Paulina to have a respectable position at court.

What Garrick eliminates from his play, however, is how Paulina's significance at court in *The Winter's Tale* goes beyond an honorable reputation and official status. She calls herself Leontes' "physician" and "counsellor" (2.3.53, 54). Earlier Paulina refers to her words as "medicinal," but she seems to practice physical medicine as well. Even though she was unable to assist in the delivery of Perdita (due to a premature birth), Leontes refers to Paulina (albeit derogatorily) as the midwife to Hermione (2.3.158). Additionally, when Hermione collapses at her trial, it is Paulina whom Leontes begs to "tenderly apply to her / Some remedies for life" (3.2.149–50). Though the audience cannot be sure what these remedies are, it is evident that Paulina is a healer of sorts and Leontes trusts her with the life of his queen. In regards to Paulina's role as counselor, Leontes tells her in the fifth act, "O, that ever I / Had squared me to thy counsel" (5.1.50–1), and in the scene discussed

above, the audience witnesses Leontes being guided by Paulina's advice—rather than the lords'—that he remain a widower.[7]

What is more, by the fifth act it seems Paulina is at the center of the court and blessed with Leontes' special favor. Once Perdita is found, Paulina's steward reports that she was in the midst of the celebration: "She [Paulina] lifted the princess from the earth, and so locks her in embracing as if she would pin her to her heart, that she might no more be in danger of losing [her]" (5.2.74–7). Any director of Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* could exploit these details to explore Paulina's intimacy with the royal family. In the Wellington production, we certainly investigated this close relationship through physical touch between the king and the widow that would not normally be allowed. Paulina often took the king's hand, held his face or placed her hand upon his back when speaking to him. Just before Florizel and Perdita enter Sicilia in Act 5, Paulina held Leontes' hand when the two were alone on stage and they quickly moved away from one another when the courtiers re-entered with the couple to demonstrate decorum in the court. Though Paulina was played by a young actress, she was still several years older than our very young Leontes, and he naturally saw her in a mentor-like role (see Figure 3.9). The actor playing Leontes remarked

Figure 3.9 Leontes (Jonathan Price) takes Paulina's (Sophie Hambleton) hand, *The Winter's Tale* 3.3 (photograph by Thomas Horder)

that Paulina was the closest substitute Leontes could have to Hermione and that Leontes longed for a woman's touch, for warmth in the coldness of his life.

Leontes even asks Paulina twice to lead him: once after the trial to the dead bodies of his family, and a final time at the end of the play, after Hermione is restored to him. The word "lead" becomes telling when connected to Paulina's character as a whole. The audience also sees Paulina piloting the king as they exit from both of these pivotal scenes. In *Florizel and Perdita*, Paulina assumes none of these roles and is not even present at the fulfilling of the oracle; rather the news is related to her by Camillo and a gentleman. It is Leontes alone in Garrick's version who raises Perdita and clasps her to his heart, not Paulina. Garrick's Paulina is completely separated from the reunion.

In *The Winter's Tale*, it would be inappropriate to hear that Paulina was not present at the fulfillment of the oracle. Shakespeare's Paulina, presumably along with Hermione, has been waiting to reunite Leontes with his wife until Perdita has been found. She has kept a secret 16 years from Leontes while interacting with him on a daily basis. When Rogero speaks of Paulina's house, he says she has gone there "twice or thrice a day, ever since the death of Hermione" (5.2.102–5). Perdita's return to Sicilia is the instance of divine intervention in which Paulina has put her trust. In Garrick's adaptation Paulina is in Bohemia with Hermione, therefore the play hinges on Leontes' arrival in Bohemia rather than Perdita's appearance in Sicilia. Since Hermione and Paulina are a country and sea away, there is not the extreme dramatic tension created by Paulina's secret, and she is not understood or seen to be the link that holds Leontes and Hermione both together and apart as she is in Shakespeare's play. It is Paulina who possesses the most knowledge in the original. An actress playing Paulina can use her secret to heighten the drama in Act 5. Paulina knows Leontes' wife is alive and only as far away as her "removed house" when she convinces the king not to take a new wife. The actress playing Paulina in the Wellington production used this information to raise her emotional stakes in 5.1, realizing that if Leontes remarried her plan to unveil Hermione would be destroyed.

The female sexuality of Paulina

In addition to curtailing Paulina's power in her strength of character as well as in both her official and unofficial position at court, Garrick stifled her female sexuality. It is as if to endow Paulina with any power or position, Garrick needed to ensure she was safely relegated to an "asexual" sphere. Conceivably, it was easier to adapt Paulina this way

than it was Hermione, a character on whose sexuality the plot depends heavily (that is, her ability to be a wife and mother). Nonetheless it is integral to Shakespeare's play that the audience view Paulina as a female sexual being. Part of the beauty of Leontes' redemption is that he aligns himself with the female Paulina and eventually embraces her form of mysterious power which is, ultimately, gendered female.

Of course Shakespeare did not have an actress for Paulina but a boy player. Garrick was able to cast a female in the role but his choice of actress supports an argument that he shaped the character in a way to diminish her sexuality. The dramatis personae of *Florizel and Perdita* lists a "Mrs. Bennet" in the role of Paulina. This was "Elizabeth Bennet (1714–1791), an actress of varied, but limited talents" (*BD* 2: 33) who was often mistakenly listed as "Mrs" but in fact had never been married and lived platonically with another actor, William Gibson, "in no criminal way. They paid their housekeeping share and share alike" (2: 33). Miss Bennet was a remarkably independent and respectable actress of the eighteenth century, noted for her "philanthropy ... and integrity" (2: 34). It is a credit to Garrick that he chose for Paulina a woman who off stage was known for managing her own affairs, just as Paulina in Shakespeare's play does. There were two other qualities Miss Bennet was known for, however: being chaste (unmarried) and being a second-rate actress. Miss Bennet described herself as a "spinster" in her will (2: 32). Though the actress played many roles, a review of Drury Lane bills readily demonstrates she was not considered a leading lady and played mostly small or supporting roles (2: 32). Garrick's casting of Miss Bennet as Paulina supports his adaptation of the role so as to make Paulina sexually unavailable/unthreatening, shifting her from the center of the action to a dramaturgical position peripheral to the action.[8]

Likewise, from the beginning of Garrick's play, Paulina is seen as an old woman. In addition to the absence of the 16-year gap, Garrick never alludes to a younger Paulina of the past. Just as the adaptation desexualizes Hermione, Garrick's making Paulina an aged widow—as she is often portrayed in productions of *The Winter's Tale*—can relegate her to a non-sexual sphere. This is not necessarily, however, the way the character was perceived by everyone in the eighteenth century. *The Picturesque Beauties of Shakespeare*, a book that features selected scenes accompanied by engravings, contains a plate from 1786 of 2.3 of *The Winter's Tale*—the scene discussed above and omitted from Garrick's play—where Paulina is depicted as a young and beautiful woman (66; see Figure 3.10). Antigonus, Paulina's husband, stands behind her as he does so often in performance; tellingly, the stage dynamics virtually

Figure 3.10 Paulina bringing the child to Leontes, engraved by Isaac Taylor Junr from a drawing by Robert Smirke, 1786 (By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library)

require such blocking. Antigonus also appears to be much older than Paulina. In *The Winter's Tale*, Paulina is certainly older than Hermione, but she is not past the childbearing age. Antigonus refers to their three daughters, the youngest of which is five years old: "I have three daughters—the eldest is eleven; / The second and the third, nine and some five" (2.1.144–5).

Conceiving of Paulina as a wife and mother is important because it enables her to have a strong comprehension of Hermione's experiences and strengthens the female bond. Secondly, Paulina's role as a wife

and mother clearly associates her with the feminine sphere and means that her power must be viewed in this way—again as a sexual woman. Finally, the husband-and-wife relationship of Antigonus and Paulina further demonstrates how her power extends beyond the court and into the personal household. Anna Kamaralli states:

> The husband of a shrew is traditionally a comic figure, but here again Shakespeare plays with the convention, making Antigonus amusing as a witty, rather than a merely pathetic character. There is an unmistakable hint of pride in his observation of her confrontation with the King:
>
> La you now, you hear!
> When she will take the rein, I let her run;
> But she'll not stumble. (2.3.50–2)
>
> And a normalising of this state of marital affairs:
>
> LEONTES. And, lozel, thou art worthy to be hang'd
> That wilt not stay her tongue.
> ANTIGONUS. Hang all the husbands
> That cannot do that feat, you'll leave yourself
> Hardly one subject. (Qtd in Kamaralli, "Female Characters" 1129; 2.3.108–11)

These lines demonstrate the enormous respect Antigonus has for his wife. The marriage of Antigonus and Paulina is vital in Shakespeare's play as demonstrated when the specter of Hermione foretells Antigonus' punishment for carrying out Leontes' abandonment of Perdita: "For this ungentle business / Put on thee by my lord, thou ne'er shalt see / Thy wife Paulina more" (3.3.33–5). Here, separation from Paulina—equated with death itself—is the punishment of Antigonus.[9]

In *Florizel and Perdita*, the audience never views Paulina in her role as wife as they do in *The Winter's Tale*. Antigonus is only mentioned once, and he is never seen because he is already dead when the play begins, meaning that the audience sees Paulina only as a widow, not as a wife and mother. The depiction of Paulina as aged widow carries through to the end of Garrick's play. At the end of Shakespeare's play, Camillo and Paulina are to be married; like Leontes she will no longer remain unmarried.[10] Paulina has previously lamented her forthcoming loneliness and longed for her mate in her heartbreaking lines:

> I, an old turtle,
> Will wing me to some withered bough, and there
> My mate, that's never to be found again,
> Lament till I am lost. (5.3.132–5)

It should also be noted that Leontes' language ("Thou shouldst a husband take by my consent") implies advice or suggestion to Paulina rather than a direct command (5.3.136). In *Florizel and Perdita*, Leontes responds to Paulina's lines with "No, no, Paulina; / Live bless'd with blessing others" (3.4; p. 66). There is no marriage of Paulina and Camillo in Garrick's play. Leontes' imperative suggests Paulina will remain an old maid, and find happiness in a solitary saintly life.

Perhaps even more than Paulina's marriage to Antigonus and her forthcoming marriage to Camillo, it is the derogatory names that Leontes calls Paulina in the second act of *The Winter's Tale* which register her as a sexual woman. My point is not that the offensive words Leontes uses against Paulina are true; rather that they show his obsession with her femaleness and sexuality. Kamaralli argues that "The King's fears of the persuasiveness of the female tongue, and in particular the linking of these fears of female sexual licentiousness and witchcraft, lay bare the gamut of traditional anxieties surrounding female speech, but his pathological state refuses these fears credibility" ("Female Characters" 1129). I will return to the idea of Paulina as witch shortly.

One of Paulina's first speeches to Leontes is pointedly about how she is not a man: "Good queen, my lord, good queen, I say good queen, / And would by combat make her good, so were I / A man, the worst about you" (2.3.58–60). And when Paulina must use combat to defend herself in the present moment from forced removal by the lords, she threatens them with her nails, a specifically feminine weapon (see 2.3.61–2, quoted above). In a mere 25 lines, Leontes' description of Paulina degenerates from "audacious lady" to "mankind witch" (2.3.41; 2.3.66). Many editors gloss "mankind" as "mannish, unwomanly" (Pitcher 2.3.66n., for example). While Leontes may be suggesting Paulina's behavior is masculine since she is appropriating male authority, many actresses and theatre practitioners could take this adjective as a prompt to project Paulina's power as manly. Paulina's rebuttal to "mankind witch," however, is "[I am] no less honest / Than you are *mad*, which is enough, I'll warrant" (2.3.69–70; emphasis added). Leontes' use of "mankind" makes better sense if he means Paulina is a "mad" witch, a usage of "mankind" now obsolete but common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries ("mankind," *adj.*2. *OED*). Furthermore, it is clear that Leontes has a fear and distrust of womankind at this point so it is doubtful he would want to associate Paulina with men.

In this scene Leontes calls Paulina names indicative of mature age. He says she is a "crone" and a "gross hag," but no one else in the play ever refers to her old age. If anything is certain in the first three acts of

The Winter's Tale, it is that Leontes falsely accuses, and he calls people precisely that which they are not. It is only Paulina, in the final scene of the play, after 16 years have passed, who refers to herself as an "old turtle" (see 5.3.132, quoted above). Hermione too is said to be "wrinkled" and "aged" after 16 years. Additionally, Leontes labels Paulina a "callat" meaning a "lewd woman, trull, strumpet, drab" (2.3.89; "callet," *n*.1. *OED*). Paulina is not a prostitute or whore, but Leontes' name-calling continues to reinforce that he sees and labels things opposite to what they truly are. It also highlights that Paulina contains power both in and of her own gender and sexuality. She is not sexually immoral, but her sexuality and her female confidence are frightening to Leontes, leading him to conclude they must be illicit.

Of course there are multiple explanations for why Garrick cut Leontes' name-calling of Paulina, one of which surely must be that Garrick was playing Leontes himself and rewrote Shakespeare's play to present Leontes in a favorable light. Without the slander, though, an audience loses not only Paulina's power in combating it, but also a sense of who she is, for Leontes betrays his deep angst about her character in the names he calls her. Thus, Garrick's adaptation weakens the character of Paulina in multiple ways.

In addition to her unruly tongue, her age, and sexual behavior—related insults for a woman—Leontes insinuates that Paulina is a witch and a midwife. Why does Leontes specifically label Paulina so? These two categories of women in early modern England were considered to be powerful, mysterious, and dangerous. In Robert M. Schuler's "Bewitching the Shrew," he discusses how an "unruly woman–witch nexus" existed: "[a]s in Shakespeare's plays, so in Elizabethan culture generally, the categories 'shrew' and 'witch' were often conflated" (388). Schuler cites Reginald Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, a book that inspired Shakespeare's creation of the witches in *Macbeth*, saying the "cheefe fault" of supposed witches "is that they are scolds" (qtd in Schuler 388). Though the term "midwife" does not bring the same immediate negative connotations as "witch," a midwife in early modern England often had the same associations. A midwife could act as "a witch and a bawd" (Savage 482).[11] In her study of the midwife character in the Restoration play *The Twin-Rivals*, Elizabeth Savage notes that "Common stereotypes of midwives in seventeenth-century English society imagine them as treacherous—and even traitorous—enablers of female duplicity and disrupters of proper lineage" (482). It is Perdita's legitimacy that Leontes doubts, and midwifery is the female ability to exercise authority over (and cheat) legitimacy. This is where Paulina's power culminates, at the center of Shakespeare's

play. Through Leontes' *negative* name-calling, Shakespeare is framing Paulina in the audience's eyes to have *positive* supernatural-like powers, and Garrick therefore denies Paulina her power with the removal of these categories. Dash concludes her comparison of Garrick's Paulina with Shakespeare's by saying, "No longer does her strength lie in intellectual power and righteous outrage. Instead the emphasis rests on Paulina as magician and Paulina the old woman" (276). While I concur that Garrick's adaptation highlights her as "Paulina, an old woman," as shown above, I contend that Garrick's version weakens Paulina as magician.

Paulina as paranormal

In *The Winter's Tale*, the mysterious quality of Paulina begins with the act of naming; she is able to be called names because for some time she has no name. In Garrick's play, as noted above, Paulina's name is mentioned by Camillo in the first act. This occurs roughly three minutes into the performance. Yet in Shakespeare's play, Paulina's name is not mentioned until the end of the third act (well over an hour into performance). When she first appears on stage, early in the second act, Paulina is unknown to the audience, having not been spoken of thus far in the action. She demands to see the keeper of the prison where Hermione is detained; he knows Paulina by reputation and has been charged specifically not to admit her. Paulina has a similar entrance in the following scene in Leontes' chamber where he knew she would come; again, her arrival is expected (2.3.42). As the action continues, and even in Hermione's trial, Paulina's name remains unspoken. For three acts, the audience watches a nameless main character whose presence is always expected by the other characters in the action. That Paulina's name is not spoken for almost half of the play functions in several important ways. First, Paulina is not referred to with a consistent title, such as "Duchess" or "Queen" (as sometimes other nameless characters are)—she is called "lady," "madam," and "wife" juxtaposed with "witch," "crone," "hag" and many other derogatory names. This variety of "names" creates suspense and leaves the audience pondering Paulina's relational identity. It presents her as a mystery and gives her the capacity to be seen as anything, and for her undefined identity to linger in the imaginations of the audience. Furthermore, there is no equivalent character for Shakespeare's Paulina in his source, Robert Greene's popular novel *Pandosto*. Many early modern audience members would have been familiar with Greene's novel, and therefore Paulina's appearance would have come as a complete surprise. She is Shakespeare's own invention, which makes her even more enigmatic.

In *The Winter's Tale*, "Paulina" is first mentioned by Antigonus, when he recounts the visitation of Hermione's specter, which identifies her at last. As he abandons Perdita in the Bohemian storm, Antigonus recalls Hermione's foreshadowing words about Paulina (3.3.33–5, quoted above). Therefore, the initial revelation of Paulina's name happens in a supernatural moment. Furthermore, the most important function of Hermione's haunting of Antigonus is the act of naming itself. It is in her appearance in Antigonus' vision that she christens her daughter "Perdita," meaning "lost."

It has not gone unnoted that Paulina's name is probably linked with St Paul of the New Testament, since she becomes both Leontes' spiritual guide and the figure who brings about the circumstances for his redemption. Richard Finkelstein in an article on the Apostle Paul's connection to *Pericles*, another late romance, observes with regard to *The Winter's Tale*, "Paulina makes restoration possible in *The Winter's Tale* by preserving Hermione, repeatedly associated with grace by the language of the play. Pauline ideas—emphasizing grace as a free gift, a very limited role for human will, and the sinfulness of law—also fit comfortably with the pattern of [*Pericles*]" (122; see also Pitcher's edition 141 n. 9).

Both holy and occult powers become mingled in the label "midwife" which Leontes gives to Paulina in *The Winter's Tale*.[12] Despite the fact that Paulina does not assist in Hermione's labor process, she is figured as a midwife, which furthers her capacity for secretive (exclusively female here) powers. In the second act, when Paulina learns from the gentle waiting-woman Emilia that Hermione has delivered a child, Paulina's initial question is about the sex of the newborn. Determining the sex of the child was, of course, an important function of the early modern midwife. Caroline Bicks discusses how the midwife label and context suit Paulina in Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* as she presents Leontes with his baby daughter: "She holds, in effect, the 'office' of midwife by virtue of her testimonial role, one that is intimately bound up with her access to a maternal utterance and a paternal audience" (33). Midwives, and likewise Paulina, held great power in their ability to "pronounce the shape and quality of royal lineage," and "Shakespeare acknowledges a center of cultural power that does not stem from the court, but from the birthroom" (34). When elaborating on the connections between witchcraft and midwifery in Leontes' name-calling of Paulina, Bicks states:

> [Leontes] invokes the connection between female witches (who are unnaturally opposed here to a female ideal) and the semiotic power they potentially wielded ... In the king's mind, Paulina has transgressed

> against royal will by deconstructing his reconstruction of the royal family. In the same scene, she tells the king to prepare for the child's christening by finding "some gossips for your highness" (2.3.41). Leontes' labels of "witch" and "midwife" lose their constitutive power in the face of Paulina's return to the original, spiritual meaning of "gossip" (god-sib) as she calls to the king to observe the outward signs of inward grace, to follow God's forms and services. (141)

Bicks concludes that "Shakespeare's midwives perform and witness what men rarely saw, and their power to produce early modern subjects lies beyond any human grasp" (21). Though Leontes prevents Hermione from having the usual freedom afforded to women during childbirth at the time—making her deliver in prison and denying her both the "childbed privilege" and churching—the king cannot stop the power that Paulina has in her midwife role.[13]

The special knowledge midwives had of female bodies and childbirth gave them strength and forced men, even kings, as well as powerful women, to be reliant on them. There is a mystery to Paulina's private female powers. Garrick's omissions serve to reduce this force, since his Paulina is never constructed as a woman with enigmatic, mystic healing abilities.

Garrick's choice to diminish the importance of Apollo's oracle, mentioning it only three times as opposed to Shakespeare's 14 references, is another means by which he lessens Paulina's powers, for the oracle can be seen as a macrocosm of them. Kamaralli, reading shrew-(Paulina)-as-oracle, argues, "The mouthpiece of Apollo was well known to be the Delphic Sybil, indisputably female, and the ultimate embodiment of the crone/wise woman archetype" ("Female Characters" 1130). In *The Winter's Tale*, Paulina herself seems to be a human embodiment of the oracle, reminding Leontes and his Lords in the fifth act, "the gods / Will have fulfilled their secret purposes. / For has not the divine Apollo said? / Is't not the tenor of his oracle / That King Leontes shall not have an heir / Till his lost child be found?" (5.1.35–9). In *Florizel and Perdita*, there is no mention of "secret purposes," and Paulina is not present with Leontes in Sicilia to act as upholder of the oracle. The audience only hears second-hand, via Camillo, of Leontes' sending to the oracle at Delphi; and, according to Camillo, it has taken Leontes 16 years to decide the oracle is true. In *Florizel and Perdita*, Camillo says, "All this did Leontes, in defiance of the plain answer of the oracle, by him consulted at Delphi; which now, after 16 years occurring to his more sober thoughts, he first thinks it probable, then finds it true" (1.1; p. 4). In

The Winter's Tale, Paulina believes in the oracle and waits until Perdita is found to return Leontes' lost wife to him.

Finally, it is in the restoration of Hermione that Paulina displays her (lawful) "magical powers" and orchestrates a miracle within the play. In both Shakespeare's and Garrick's plays the statue scene is full of magic. Thomas Davies in his *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick* referred to *Florizel and Perdita*'s statue scene as the "supposed disenchanting of Hermione" (278). The use of "disenchanting" reveals he saw Hermione as being under a spell or magical influence. However, some eighteenth-century audiences took issue with the fantasy implicit in the scene, as the review in *The London Chronicle* quoted above reveals. What is evident is that while audiences of Garrick's adaptation did perceive there to be magic in the statue scene, in Shakespeare's play the design of Paulina's character—as discussed above—foreshadows her ability to believably accomplish such a magical resurrection. Furthermore, the changes Garrick made to the statue scene, as well as his cuts to the first three acts, lessen the potency of Paulina's magical powers.

In *The Winter's Tale*, the statue scene is prepared for by the gentlemen in 5.2, who discuss the oracle's fulfillment and Paulina's keeping of the statue. Rogero says, "I thought she had some great matter there in hand, for she hath privately twice or thrice a day, ever since the death of Hermione, visited that removed house" (5.2.102–5). Though it helps to provide a rational explanation for Hermione's disappearance, this description also adds to the fantastical context. Paulina "privately" or secretly has visited a house that is distant or remote from the Sicilian court. *Florizel and Perdita* omits this description and thus the detail for the audience that Paulina has carefully and mysteriously prepared what is to come.

In both Garrick's adaptation and Shakespeare's play the final scene is set in Paulina's "poor house," her "gallery," the "chapel." Hermione's statue is revealed in a similar way in both plays, with Paulina drawing a curtain before her eager spectators. In Shakespeare's theatre, Hermione would have most likely been concealed behind the hangings in the discovery space, a place often used for revelations, at times magical. (For example, the audience would see Prospero's cell in the discovery space.) David Carnegie describes the use of the curtains in *The Winter's Tale*: "The curtain is here a central actor, almost a character in its own right. And it seems to me clear from the intensity of the dialogue, and from Paulina's protective proximity to Hermione, that she controls the curtain herself" (193). Paulina's authority over the curtains (and thus the appearance and possible disappearance of Hermione) again suggests

another power within her control. At Garrick's Drury Lane, Hermione's statue could have been staged in a variety of ways behind a curtain and not necessarily in the emblematic discovery space of Shakespeare's late plays. If the engraving of Hannah Pritchard as Hermione's statue is an indication of how Garrick staged the scene, it appears to be behind an archway, with other objects in the background (see Figure 3.5).

The statue scene is ritualistic in dialogue and dramaturgy, adding to the magical nature of Paulina's use of a charm to animate the statue. In *Florizel and Perdita*, as in *The Winter's Tale*, Paulina offers three times to draw the curtain to mask Hermione again from Leontes, and three times Leontes counters Paulina. As stated above, three is a significant number as it has many connections to both spiritual and supernatural matters. However, Garrick's version of the statue scene is heavily condensed, with Paulina speaking only three lines before the music begins and the statue descends.

Tellingly, Garrick cut many of the lines in the statue scene that offer various legitimate staging options and can function on literal and metaphorical levels depending on how one wants to interpret the scene. For example, he cut Paulina's line to Hermione during the "disenchanting": "I'll fill your grave up" (5.3.101). The removal of this line points to yet another way Garrick lessened the force of Paulina's perceived magical powers. Shakespeare leads the audience very strongly to believe Hermione is in fact dead. In Garrick's adaptation, Hermione is reported dead, the audience never having seen her alive up to this point. In Shakespeare's play, Hermione is on stage for the first three acts and they witness her swoon. Furthermore, Paulina reports her death and Leontes is taken by Paulina (off stage) to the dead body (see pp. 114, 134, above). The audience follows Leontes along these carefully constructed steps to the conviction that Hermione is in fact dead. Yang Yonglin applies his "strict role-governed rule" of the "use of thou to individual supernatural beings such as ghosts, witches, and spirits" to *The Winter's Tale*:

> Paulina's use of the pronoun [thou] to Hermione varies with the development of the play so subtly that it needs specifying: except in her soliloquy ... Paulina uses *you* forms to the living Hermione; in the presence of King Leontes and others who believe Hermione has been dead, Paulina uses *thou* forms to refer to Hermione (V,i,95–98); Paulina switches back to her *you* forms when Hermione revives and reunites with her husband, King Leontes (V,iii,100–103). (256–8)

This use of different pronouns may have aided in leading an early modern audience to conceive of Hermione as dead or as a spirit.

As discussed above, the audience is further led to believe Hermione is dead by the reported visitation of her ghost upon Antigonus. Leontes even recalls Hermione's death by saying, "I saw her, / As I thought, dead," another line that Garrick cut (5.3.139–40). Likewise, any Jacobean audience member recalling Greene's *Pandosto* would have been expecting the Hermione figure to be dead as she was in the novel.

Though Hermione's "death" and "resurrection" can be easily rationalized, Shakespeare takes pains to create ambiguity. When Hermione begins to question where Perdita has lived, triggering parallel questions about Hermione's own "lost" status, Paulina quickly stops the query with "There's time enough for that" (5.3.128–9). In *The Winter's Tale* Leontes asks Paulina directly "how" his queen was found, but receives no answer. Both he and the audience are left to question the nature and extent of Paulina's powers. Garrick deletes this question from his version. Leontes says, "Good Paulina, / Lead us from hence, where we may leisurely / Each one demand and answer his part / Performed in this wide gap of time" (*WT* 5.3.151–4; *FP* 3.4; p. 66). In both plays, the answers for Paulina's "part" are to be given after all the characters have exited and therefore will remain unknown to the audience.

Garrick did, however, retain Paulina's ritualistic command to Hermione that she "awake." The verb "awake" puts Hermione's "death" in the context of a sleep, which Paulina alludes to earlier: "prepare / To see the life as lively mocked as ever / Still sleep mocked death" (5.3.18–20; *FP* 3.4; p. 59). This depiction of Hermione as if in a deep sleep further adds to the suggestion in both plays that Paulina is enacting a magical spell which she is in full control of. Shakespeare's dramaturgical framing, however, exhibits the full potency of these powers. Sixteen years earlier in *The Winter's Tale*, Paulina had told Leontes' lords that she could "bring him sleep"—again another line with a possible double meaning—implying that she has the power to give restorative sleep (2.3.33). The plots of numerous folk and fairy tales (for example "Sleeping Beauty") involve a sleeping heroine under a spell, and of course in a play like *The Winter's Tale* such a device resonates. For another Shakespearean example, we need look no further than *The Tempest*, where the second incident of Prospero's magic (after the storm) that the audience witnesses is the magician sending Miranda to sleep. David Roberts discusses the biblical references (154 in total) to sleep and their impact upon Shakespeare: "In the Bible, sleep is significant as a narrative device to indicate either heightened spiritual awareness or, paradoxically, its opposite: either the prelude to epiphany, a meeting of man and the divine, or of man's tragic-comic failure to notice the imminence [sic] of the divine" (240).

In the context of *The Winter's Tale*, Hermione's sleep, conjured by Paulina, definitely has divine implications. Furthermore, Jesus describes death as a condition like sleep when he resurrects Jairus' daughter. Jesus tells Jairus, "the damsel is not dead, but sleepeth" and then commands the young girl to "arise" (*King James Bible*, Mark 5:39). In "Mariological Memory in *The Winter's Tale* and *Henry VIII*," Ruth Vanita comments:

> [Paulina's] call to Hermione to "awake" recalls Christ's words to Jairus's daughter. That a woman speaks them and plays the role of raising the dead recalls many stories of saints' miracles—the only stories where women undertake such action. The words also reverberate with double meaning—it is a sleeping or buried faith that would require awaking. For an audience from whom the dramatist carefully conceals the secret of Hermione's being alive, the last scene, protected by the veneer of its pagan setting, would resonate with the miracle plays, based on saints' lives, of a half-century earlier, many of which had been destroyed and thus lost to posterity. (322)

Whether Paulina's powers are saintly ("holy," "lawful") or secular ("wicked," which she protests against), the point is that Shakespeare's play portrays her as having extraordinary abilities, which Garrick's play diminishes. What I am suggesting here is that there is an ambiguity about Paulina's powers which makes them seem either holy or secular or both in the audience's eyes, thus further adding to her mystery.

While magic is implicitly at work in the scene, it is music that Paulina explicitly invokes to "awake" Hermione. Music and magic are often linked together in the late plays of Shakespeare. Pitcher, in his commentary, refers to *Pericles* (3.2.90–4) and says:

> the music on one level is "real" and therapeutic, perhaps performed in full sight of the audience by Paulina's musician-servants, playing from a gallery above the stage. But the text also suggests that it is heavenly or supernatural, poured down in "sacred vials" by the gods, so Hermione says (5.3.121–3), in which the musicians may have performed invisibly from beneath the stage. (384)

Though there is ambiguity, Paulina's music does appear to be magical, and Pitcher suggests that Hermione's "vials" is a pun on "viols" (stringed instruments), which the music would have been played on (384).[14] In the first three acts of *The Winter's Tale*, set in Sicilia, there is no music. The absence of music in Sicilia is emphasized through music's

contrasting prominence in the fourth act, which is set in Bohemia. Paulina's invocation of music in the statue scene works as a kind of healing restoration, a dialectical fulfillment of music as a positive social force (see Pitcher's edition 382–3).

In the Wellington production, we used a live band composed of a drummer and guitarist who were visible at all times. In the first half of the play, the band created only noise: discordant sounds and amplified distortion. Even the storm was composed to begin with noise and transition into music. Only when the play's action (after the storm) entered Bohemia did the band end this disc(h)ord and begin to play harmonious music. Therefore, when Paulina's music began in Sicilia it truly seemed to bring magical harmony back to that kingdom.

Like the command "awake" and other retentions by Garrick surrounding Paulina's character, her music loses the full potential of its magical power. Because Garrick sets his play solely in Bohemia, Autolycus and music appear in the third scene, thus making his condensed version musical throughout. Nor does Paulina's music seem an anomaly in Bohemia. Furthermore, in *Florizel and Perdita*, the music only plays for two of Paulina's lines before Leontes interjects with "Heav'nly pow'rs!" as opposed to Paulina's nine uninterrupted lines following the music during Hermione's reawakening in *The Winter's Tale*. Additionally, Bartholomeusz observes, "In the 'Music for animating the statue' [in *Florizel and Perdita*] we find a pause introduced during which 'something was spoke', but it was not 'originally designed'" (33). In other words, in Garrick's play, the actors felt entitled to stop or interrupt Paulina's music, which dramatically weakens the mystery of the scene.

Garrick ends his adaptation as Shakespeare does his play with Leontes asking Paulina to "lead" him one final time, from her house and off the stage (*FP* 3.4; p. 66; *WT* 5.3.152). In both plays presumably the audience witnesses Paulina take the company of actors off stage, but again such an action in *Florizel and Perdita* loses its dramaturgical function and power given what is missing from Paulina's character throughout. Moreover, Garrick's Leontes never attributes Hermione's return to Paulina as Shakespeare's king does. There is no explicit "Thou [Paulina] hast found mine [my mate, that is, Hermione]" nor even implicit gratitude expressed to Paulina (*WT* 5.3.138). In fact, Garrick adds lines to Leontes' final speech that thank rather the gods: "then thank the righteous gods, / Who, after tossing in a perilous sea, / Guide us to port, and a kind beam display" (*FP* 3.4; p. 66). In Shakespeare's play more focus is placed on Paulina's powers to bring about the reunion, and specifically "how" is never revealed. Vanita argues, "Even after the naturalistic explanation

for Hermione's survival is provided, the spectacle of miraculous female power, channelled through the triangular fictive kinship of Paulina, Hermione, and Perdita, remains the most compelling symbol" (322). It is spectacle and symbol, rooted in Paulina's female-gendered powers—both earthly and otherworldly—which Shakespeare's Paulina leaves the audience with.

In Chapter 1, I discussed how the Jailer's Daughter and Emilia share many thematic parallels, noting that the characters share only one scene, in which they never speak to one another. In Chapter 2, I investigated how Miranda is the sole female inhabitant on Prospero's island in *The Tempest*. This lack of female companionship becomes evident when one considers the addition of female characters as well as invention of female relationships in the adaptations of that play. In *The Winter's Tale*, Hermione and Paulina share only two scenes—the trial scene (3.2) and the statue scene (5.3)—and only speak directly to each other in one of those scenes (the statue scene). Nevertheless, unlike the women in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* and *The Tempest*, the bond of friendship that Shakespeare creates for Paulina and Hermione is so strongly conveyed through the text that there are multiple possibilities for exploring their relationship in performance. In the Wellington production, the actresses believed that much of the statue scene hinged upon powerful trust and love between Paulina and Hermione.

Both Hermione and Paulina are sexual women whose femininity is important for understanding the script. Shakespeare places emphasis upon both women as wives as well as mothers. Leontes punishes and "kills" Hermione at least in part due to his fear of her sexual agency. He fears Paulina, as a midwife, a woman, and a witch, seeing her as a co-conspirator with Hermione in her "crimes," only to then become almost completely reliant upon her, a woman, for his redemption. Leontes is correct that Hermione and Paulina are co-conspirators in one sense: they must work together to reunite Hermione and Leontes through a feat of "magic." Garrick's adaptation, especially the statue scene, suffers from his weakening of Hermione and Paulina and his removal of their sexuality. Shakespeare allows the ultimate "winter's tale," or piece of theatre, the statue scene, to be completely under the control of the women in the play.

4

Transformation, Transvestism, and Lost Text: Violante's Rape and Cross-Dressing in Lewis Theobald's *Double Falsehood* and Fletcher and Shakespeare's *Cardenio*

Introduction: a lost text

This book has been arguing for the exploration of heroines in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century adaptations of Shakespeare's late plays—including a collaboration with Fletcher—as a way to investigate the dramaturgy and inform an understanding of the female characters in the original plays.[1] I have used the texts of the original plays and those of the adaptations, as well as their relevant performance histories to develop the argument. In this chapter I make a divergent point, but also an extension of my argument. An early eighteenth-century play, *Double Falsehood*, is believed by many scholars to be an adaptation of a lost play by Fletcher and Shakespeare titled *Cardenio* or *The History of Cardenio*. Admittedly, this chapter enters the realm of speculation and conjecture, but the preceding chapters will be helpful in imagining what the heroine of this lost collaboration of Fletcher and Shakespeare might have been like. I will also employ the source for the *Cardenio* play, Thomas Shelton's 1612 translation of Miguel de Cervantes' novel *Don Quixote* and another adapted Fletcher and Shakespeare collaboration, *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (1613), as well as the conjectural date of 1612/13 for *Cardenio* to aid in the reconstruction of the early modern original play.

Since we are dealing with a lost play, a few notes on the texts used in this chapter are required. No manuscript or printed text of *Cardenio* exists and for years the play has been either omitted entirely from "Complete Works" collections (of Shakespeare) or has occupied the space of a single page, noting the rough date of the play (it was performed twice by the King's Men in 1612 and 1613) and information pointing to a manuscript that was in the possession of the London

publisher Humphrey Moseley and which had been entered in the Stationers' Register on 9 September 1653 as "*The History of Cardenio* by Mr. Fletcher and Shakespeare."[2] Although there are erroneous attributions in the Stationers' Register, the 1612/13 date for *Cardenio* supports a Fletcher and Shakespeare collaboration since they were also working together on *The Two Noble Kinsmen* and *Henry VIII* at this time.

No more information on the play from the seventeenth century survives. But in the eighteenth century, 1727 to be precise, a play that used the same source material from *Don Quixote* was adapted by the Shakespearean editor and playwright Lewis Theobald and performed at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, as *Double Falsehood; or, The Distrest Lovers*. Theobald claimed the play was "Written Originally by W. Shakespeare; And now Revised and Adapted to the Stage." Theobald never identified by title the original play he "revised," but many scholars consider the play to be *Cardenio*, a conclusion supported by the fact that Theobald's play is based around the Cardenio episode in *Don Quixote*. This claim, of course, has met with skepticism, especially since Theobald never managed to produce any manuscript.[3] One theory supposes that Theobald's Jacobean manuscript(s) burned in a fire at Covent Garden Library in 1808. Nevertheless, there is much evidence to suggest that Theobald did possess a manuscript connected to a play by Fletcher and Shakespeare called *Cardenio*, the most convincing of which is the very Fletcherian nature of large parts of *Double Falsehood*.[4] Since my prime focus is not authorship or textual studies—at least not authorship based on a study of style—I will not go into all the evidence and arguments for and against Theobald's *Double Falsehood* being an adaptation of *Cardenio*. This has been explored at length by Brean Hammond, editor of the Arden Shakespeare Series' edition of *Double Falsehood* (2010) as well as in the collection of essays in *The Quest for Cardenio*, ed. Carnegie and Taylor (2012) and *The Creation and Re-creation of Cardenio*, ed. Bourus and Taylor (2013). MacDonald P. Jackson summarizes the argument well in his review of Hammond's edition, "It seems far more likely that Theobald managed to acquire a manuscript in line of descent from *Cardenio* than that, learning of the existence of a Shakespeare–Fletcher script based on Cervantes's Cardenio episode, he should forge an 'adaptation' with the aid of Shelton's translation alone" (Jackson 22). For the sake of this chapter, I am reading *Double Falsehood* as an adaptation of the lost Jacobean play *Cardenio* by John Fletcher and William Shakespeare.

Viewed this way, *Cardenio* is in fragments, but most theatre practitioners know that all scripts are, in a sense, only fragments, with gaps

designed to be filled by live actors and audiences' lived experiences and imaginations. Theatre (especially Shakespeare's theatre) is an art form comfortable with ambiguity and transformation, two words that are almost always tied to studies of this lost play. After all, we are never truly reading or seeing Shakespeare's plays *exactly* as he authored them; we are always reading or seeing a *version* of Shakespeare: one that was created and re-created by printers, editors, adaptors, directors, actors, and designers, filtered through a particular time and place.

Until very recently, scholarship on *Double Falsehood* and *Cardenio* has focused on the literary: the external evidence tracing a history of the play and manuscript(s) and the internal evidence from verse tests and linguistic analysis that try to confirm or deny a Shakespearean and/or Fletcherian presence in the adaptation.[5] Of course, some critics have discussed the thematic issues inherent in Fletcher and Shakespeare's *Cardenio*.[6] Barbara Fuchs' "Beyond the Missing *Cardenio*: Anglo-Spanish Relations in Early Modern Drama"—as the title indicates—is concerned with "the widespread reliance by English dramatists of the early modern era on contemporary Spanish prose, and particularly on Cervantes" (146). Like Fuchs, my interest is in "other" *Cardenio* issues; my focus is on gender and the staging of one of its heroines. As in *Don Quixote*'s Cardenio episodes, there are two female protagonists in Theobald's *Double Falsehood*—functioning in a similar way to the two heroines in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (Emilia and the Jailer's Daughter)—just as I suppose there were two heroines in the original *Cardenio*. Leonora, who is named Luscinda in *Don Quixote*, is a noblewoman and the object of the rival affections of the two male protagonists, while the other heroine, Violante (Dorotea in Cervantes), is a villager of low class and spurned by her lover.[7] It was these captivating female roles that inspired Gary Taylor to construct his version of *Cardenio*, titled *The History of Cardenio*. I served as assistant director for the 2009 world premiere of this play at Victoria University of Wellington in New Zealand.[8] Taylor says, "I was from the first drawn to the play because of the two female leads ... the play will offer female narratives that differ in important ways from the stories that Shakespeare has already told. Violante's scene [1.3] echoes both *Romeo and Juliet* and *Cymbeline*: unlike Juliet, she rejects her suitor, but unlike *Cymbeline*, she is attracted to him, and lower-class than him" ("Re: Cardenio"). In "Beyond the Missing *Cardenio*," Fuchs raises the possibilities of other "lines of inquiry" one could pursue with *Cardenio*:

> [O]ne might mention the striking use of transvestism in the text. Whereas Cervantes returns the cross-dressed Dorotea to feminine

> dress long before she challenges her seducer, in *Double Falsehood* the equivalent character, Violante, is presented to Henriquez still dressed as a boy ... What I find most striking in the scene is the reliance on cross-dressing for spectacular anagnorisis, which suggests a connection to Elizabethan and Jacobean theatrical practice ... Does the early modern prohibition against actresses on the English commercial stage, and the gender trouble it enables, leave its traces on the much later redaction? (Fuchs 149–50)

Expanding on this brief mention by Fuchs, in this chapter I investigate the role of Violante in Fletcher and Shakespeare's *Cardenio* and Theobald's *Double Falsehood*. Rather than focusing solely on the cross-gender disguise of Violante or her confrontation with Henriquez—still in her male attire—I begin by considering the motivation for her disguise: rape and rejection. The rape of Violante and her subsequent cross-gender disguise are two elements that I argue below are possible remnants of *Cardenio*.

Violante: a lost woman

The rape of Violante

As previously mentioned, Violante is named Dorotea in Shelton's translation of Cervantes' *Don Quixote*. This name change—possibly by Shakespeare or Fletcher—is noteworthy for a number of reasons. First, "Violante" shares its roots with another cross-dressing Shakespearean heroine, Viola in *Twelfth Night*, as well as the ghost character Violenta in *All's Well That Ends Well*.[9] Second, the lovers in Fletcher and Massinger's 1622 play *The Spanish Curate* are named Violante and Henrique—a variant of Henriquez (Kahan 34–5).[10] Third, and perhaps most important here, "Violante" is clearly etymologically related to the word "violate," thus foreshadowing her rape and betrayal. It has been widely observed that in late Shakespeare female characters are often named with dramatic appropriateness. Compare the examples Roger Warren gives in his discussion of characters' names: "Marina, 'born at sea' in *Pericles*; Perdita, the 'lost' one in *The Winter's Tale*; Miranda, 'the top of admiration' in *The Tempest*" (265). Furthermore, Innogen in *Cymbeline* has overtones of innocence. Finally, "Violante" shares roots with "violet," a flower to which Violante specifically refers in her dismissal of Henriquez (quoted below). Flowers are symbols of virginity—to deflower a woman is to rob her of her virginity—and it is her lost virginity that becomes a driving force for Violante throughout the play.

The stage direction "*Violante appears above [at her window]*" (*DF* 1.3.27.1) marks her first entry, with Henriquez already present below on the main stage. Like Taylor, Hammond notes that the stagecraft here is reminiscent of the balcony scene of *Romeo and Juliet* when Juliet enters above (1.3.27.1n.; also Freehafer 507). I would add that it also echoes *The Two Noble Kinsmen* when Palamon and Arcite, above, see Emilia below and similarly when the Jailer's Daughter watches the kinsmen above from below (see Chapter 1, pp. 52–3, above). In every situation, the stage shows lovers who cannot reach the object of their love physically, thus reflecting the emotional and social barriers as well: feuding families, unrequited love, and class barriers, respectively. In *Double Falsehood*, Henriquez is the son of a duke, and Violante, who is a farmer's daughter well below his station in life, is an improper match for him. Possibly, in a scene that Theobald cut from the original play, Violante had already rejected Henriquez's amorous advances, and here she rejects her suitor once again (1.3.31). Violante tells the nobleman:

> Alas sir, there are reasons numberless
> To bar your aims. Be warn'd to hours more wholesome;
> For these you watch in vain. I have read stories
> (I fear too true ones), how young lords like you,
> Have thus besung mean windows, rhym'd their suff'rings
> E'en to th'abuse of things divine, set up
> Plain girls, like me, the idols of their worship,
> Then left them to bewail their easy faith
> And stand the world's contempt. (*DF* 1.3.38–46)

In her dismissal of Henriquez, Violante foreshadows exactly what will become her plight through most of the play. Yet in this scene, Violante is strong and Henriquez's wooing almost seems comical, annoying to her:

> Home, my Lord!
> What you can say is most unseasonable; what sing,
> Most absonant and harsh. Nay, your perfume,
> Which I smell hither, cheers not my sense
> Like our field-violet's breath. (*DF* 1.3.52–6)

The forthcoming violation of Violante is unanticipated, given the strong, independent character initially portrayed. These self-reliant characteristics

of the secure heroine find a foundation in *Don Quixote*, where the Violante character is her parents' only heir. She relates:

> I was lady of their minds, so was I also of their goods. By me were servants admitted or dismissed: the notice and account of what was sowed or reaped passed through my hands, of the oil-mills, the wine-presses, the number of great and little cattle, the beehives; in fine, of all that so rich a farmer as my father, was, had or could have; I kept the account, and was the steward thereof and mistress, with such care of my side, and pleasure of theirs, as I cannot possibly endear it enough. (*DF*, Appendix 6, 389–90)[11]

Violante, though only a farmer's daughter, is presented as capable, competent, powerful in *Don Quixote* and also at the beginning of *Double Falsehood*. Even though Henriquez is far above her in rank she is able to resist his advances, prizing her honor and chastity above his charms. She exits the stage to preserve her "maid's name," ignoring his pleading to "stay" and "come back" (1.3.59).

This ends the first act of Theobald's *Double Falsehood* and what begins the second act is very curious indeed. Overheard by two villagers, Henriquez raves like a madman about raping Violante. Because she would not submit to his wooing, Henriquez declares, "By force alone I snatch'd th'imperfect joy / Which now torments my memory. Not love, / But brutal violence prevail'd" (*DF* 2.1.26–8). Later he tries to reason away his guilt:

> Hold, let me be severe to myself, but not unjust. Was it a rape then?
> No. Her shrieks, her exclamations then had drove me from her. True,
> she did not consent: as true, she did resist; but still in silence all.
> 'Twas but the coyness of a modest bride,
> Not the resentment of a ravish'd maid. (2.1.35–41)[12]

I contend this rape—which is not in Cervantes—is not the invention of Lewis Theobald. In *Don Quixote*, Dorotea (Violante) describes the scene as Fernando (Henriquez) sneaking into her chamber one night, having bribed her servant, and persuading her to marry him *per verba de praesenti* ("by words spoken at the present").[13] At first she resists him, as she does in *Double Falsehood* ("With me, your violence shall not prevail") but he promises marriage and swears upon an image—ironically of the Virgin Mary—as a witness of the contract (*DF*, Appendix 6, 392–4). Before relenting, Dorotea (Violante) reasons, like the title character in

Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi*, that they "create no new world or custom" by this marriage across class boundaries.[14] But Dorotea also says, "if I should disdainfully give him the repulse, I see him now in such terms as, perhaps forgetting the duty of a nobleman, he may use violence, and then I shall remain for ever dishonoured" (395–6). After the earthly witness of Dorotea's (Violante's) maid is obtained, the marriage is consummated. This human witness is vital for authenticating the marriage. To this, Fernando (Henriquez) adds the symbol of a ring which he places on Dorotea's (Violante's) finger (397). Earlier, he gave her his hand "to be thine alone" (394). Therefore the marriage is sealed not only with the verbal act but also with the witness, ring, and handfast. In order to add a scene that showed what occurred in Violante's bedchamber, Taylor followed Cervantes' version of events for his reconstruction of *Cardenio* (see Figure 4.1).

In *Double Falsehood*, there is not even a marriage *per verba de futuri* or at least it is left very ambiguous. Henriquez claims that he not only promised marriage but made oaths to Violante. He says, however, "Yet I remember too, those oaths could not prevail" (*DF* 2.1.23). There is no mention of an image, a human witness, or a ring. From Henriquez's recollection, it would seem the two were alone, and Violante did not consent

Figure 4.1 Marriage of Violante (Elle Wootton) and Ferdinando (Jonny Potts), *History of Cardenio* by Gary Taylor (photograph by Shane Boulton)

to a marriage or at least did not agree to a consummated marriage. In both *Double Falsehood* and *Don Quixote*, once he is satisfied sexually, Henriquez promptly removes himself, betrays Violante and proposes marriage to another woman, Julio's (Cardenio's) fiancée, Leonora (Luscinda). What is interesting is that Henriquez's confession and expression of guilt in *Double Falsehood* has no parallel in *Don Quixote*. In the novel, it appears as though the gallant does not give a second thought to the crimes (though here a seduction and betrayal) he has committed against the farmer's daughter. Henriquez's ravings in *Double Falsehood* can be viewed as an initial preparation for his path to forgiveness and official marriage to Violante, despite the rape.

In Theobald's *Double Falsehood*, Henriquez's speeches in 2.1 clearly indicate that Violante has been raped. Later Violante will confirm she was "not willing" (2.2.4). This rape is important for an understanding of Violante and for an insight into authorship/adaptation. The popularity of rape-roles for actresses in the Restoration and early eighteenth century has been discussed at length by several scholars, including the addition of rapes or attempted rapes in adaptations of Shakespeare, such as Nahum Tate's version of *King Lear* (Howe 43–6; Marsden, *Fatal Desire* 38). Elizabeth Howe's *The First English Actresses* even includes a category of rape-roles when charting the roles of the popular Restoration actresses (appendix 1). Yet the epilogue in *Double Falsehood* belittles having such an incident in the play at all: "'Tis no such killing matter ... And Violante grieves or we're mistaken, / Not because ravish'd, but because—forsaken" (*DF*, Epilogue, 7, 10–11). The epilogue adds later, "Then, as for Rapes, those dangerous days are past" (*DF*, Epilogue, 30). Furthermore, the rape is not treated in a way similar to those presented in other plays of the Restoration and eighteenth century. While it is true that the act of rape is never actually shown on stage in plays of this period, (male) audiences and writers often found excitement in the naked female flesh on stage in scenes surrounding the rape. Both Howe and Jean Marsden tie the explosion of rape plots in Restoration plays to the advent of actresses onto the professional public English stage. Consequently, scenes before and after rapes were often staged showing women whose clothes were torn, breasts exposed, hair down and disheveled, bodies tied up and/or covered in wounds. In *Double Falsehood*, however, there are no scenes before or after the rape placing the victim's body on display and no instances of sexual titillation surrounding Violante's rape.

In "Rape on the Restoration Stage," Derek Hughes counters Howe and Marsden, contending that the introduction of actresses cannot be the

primary motivating force for the abundant inclusion of rape in plays of the Restoration, given that rape appeared in only three plays in the entire first decade of the Restoration and in each of these examples the rape is attempted rather than accomplished: Thomas Porter's *The Villain* (1662), the Earl of Orrery's *The Generall* (1664), and Edward Howard's *The Usurper* (1664) (226). While I question Hughes' downplaying of the titillation in some rape plots of the Restoration, he is on stronger ground when he says, "Yes, there is more rape in Restoration than in Renaissance drama, but it is not an isolated phenomenon with an isolated cause" (228).[15] He points to the range of political dimensions which prompt the use of rape such as "initially enlightened testing of received systems of sexual morality and sexual power," the Exclusion Crisis, and individual rights versus tyrannical control (228, 232, 234). It is difficult to find titillation or political allegory in Henriquez's rape of Violante.

Given this, it is worth examining how Theobald handled rape in his other dramatic writing. Rape occurs in three of his works for the stage other than *Double Falsehood*: *The Perfidious Brother* (1715), *The Rape of Proserpine* (1727), and *The Happy Captive* (1741). Aside from the mythological scenario in *The Rape of Proserpine*, a pantomime, the other two examples involve intended or attempted rape but where the rapist's goal is thwarted. This is also true for the second instance of sexual assault appearing in *Double Falsehood*: the attack on Violante by the Master of the Flocks (discussed below). Actual rape (intercourse with Henriquez) takes place only in *Double Falsehood*. A second major point of difference in Theobald's treatment of rape in *The Happy Captive* and *The Perfidious Brother* is that the attempted rape is told or shown from the female point of view and the would-be rapist is clearly a villain, never the hero/lover the heroine ends up with at the end of the play. Likewise, the Master of the Flocks in *Double Falsehood* is portrayed as a villain. In addition, all instances of sexual attacks in Theobald's dramatic writing incorporate some degree of titillation. In *Double Falsehood*, the "after" scene of the rape features Henriquez raving about the consequences of his actions and showing signs of remorse: framing the rape from the male rapist's point of view. Violante is not shown either immediately before or after the rape. She is only seen after the passage of some two months in the fictional chronology and one scene later in the dramaturgical structure. In addition, Henriquez is redeemed at the end of the play, and ends up betrothed to Violante. In contrast, Theobald's villains in *The Happy Captive* and *The Perfidious Brother* receive punishment rather than redemption. In its occurrence off stage and lacking framing scenes of titillation, the Henriquez/Violante rape is thus very different from the

attack by the Master of the Flocks and other instances of sexual violence in Theobald's dramatic writing.

Nor does Theobald apologize for the use of rape in his other dramatic writing. According to the anonymous author of Theobald's epilogue to *Double Falsehood*, the rape would not be in the play at all if it had been written in the eighteenth century. The epilogue makes no mention of the attempted rape by the Master of the Flocks. Furthermore, the anonymous author of the epilogue states the incident exists only as a remnant of the "ancient" play it was adapted from. Finally, Hester (Santlow) Booth, the actress playing Violante in the original 1727 production of *Double Falsehood*, had been known as an "actress-whore"; but by the time she was cast as Violante she had been married to the actor Barton Booth for almost a decade, and was nearly 40 years old (Hammond, in Theobald 174). Her husband was playing Julio (Cardenio); and again, it seems unlikely that Theobald would have gratuitously added a rape for the wife of his other male protagonist. Moreover, if Theobald wanted rape in his play, he already had it with Violante and the Master of the Flocks, a plot point provided for him by Cervantes. Since it is unlikely that Theobald himself would have included Violante's rape in *Double Falsehood*—and the scene is more of a seduction than rape in the source *Don Quixote*—then this event is likely to be the invention of another author or authors, most likely Fletcher and Shakespeare.[16]

The theme of rape was definitely on Shakespeare's mind during the later stages of his career, appearing in three of his last plays. *Pericles* (1608) and *Cymbeline* (1609) include intended rape, and *The Tempest* (1610–11) alludes to one: Caliban's intended violation of Miranda (see Chapter 2, pp. 72–3). While no sexual violation actually occurs in *Pericles*, Marina narrowly escapes it while she is "working" in the brothel, and at the end of the play she ends up marrying Lysimachus, one of her would-be clients.

Fletcher included the theme of rape in his plays and collaborations more often than Shakespeare. Contemporary with *Cardenio*, the plot of Fletcher's *Valentinian* revolves around a rape. Later, in *The Queen of Corinth* (1616), Fletcher, with Massinger and Field, includes a rape in which, as in *Double Falsehood*, the rapist (and rape) is absolved by marriage. Both Suzanne Gossett and Karen Bamford group *The Queen of Corinth* with Middleton, Ford, Dekker, and Rowley's *The Spanish Gypsy* (1623) as plays in which the rape concludes as comic or tragicomic rather than tragic. Gossett contends, "the plot [of these plays] focuses as much on finding him [the rapist] as on revenge" and some of these plays "have happy, or at least tragicomic, endings" ("Best Men" 309). Bamford says, "In both tragicomedies the disruptive consequences of the crime

and its punishment are contained by a marriage" (123). While Gossett argues that the rapes in these plays are "inconsequential" and have no precedent in previous plays of the era ("Best Men" 326; Bamford 124), Bamford asserts, "The departure of Fletcher and his collaborators from the conventional pattern of rape, suicide, and revenge was not as surprising as Gossett suggests" ("Best Men" 309; Bamford 124). Bamford astutely argues that it is actually Shakespeare who had already set the exemplar for how sexual violation could be ratified through forgiveness and matrimony in *Measure for Measure* (124–5). Additionally, Bamford contends that the rape is an act of providence:

> In both plays the rapist is a young man whose sexual sin represents a fall from grace. He is tricked into confessing and repenting the crime by another man, who exercises a providential care for the youth's regeneration ... The role of the heroine—like that of the Lucrece figures—is largely confined to passive suffering. Instead of a glorious death, however, she endures an ignominious half life after the rape; and instead of redeeming her community, she redeems her rapist. (124)

Violante's rape by Henriquez mirrors the chain of events Bamford describes. In this manner Violante takes on the role of "passive suffering" and chooses the "half life" of suffering, joining a "spiritual netherworld," as Bamford later calls it, rather than suicide (146). In fact, she rejects the notion of suicide at least twice. Bamford discusses how, in *The Queen of Corinth*, after her rape Merione takes on such a life: "Although not physically dead, she has lost her identity" (136). After her rape and rejection, Violante leaves her father and society at large, saying, "The way I go / As yet I know not—sorrow be my guide" (1.2.45–6). From this point, Violante cannot resume her true identity. When she can no longer play a maid, the only place left for her is to assume the role of a man; she does not have a place in the patriarchal order of virgin, wife, or widow.

It is the rape plot in *The Spanish Gypsy*, however, that displays the most striking similarities with *Double Falsehood*. This play, like *Double Falsehood*, has a Cervantian source (the novella *La Fuerza de la Sangre*). Its rapist, like Henriquez, is the son of a Spanish high official, the Corregidor of Madrid. Gossett argues that the rape in *The Spanish Gypsy*—which, as in *Double Falsehood*, has been accomplished rather than merely attempted or threatened—is less lascivious than it is in other plays. Clara, the heroine, is abducted and raped by the gallant Roderigo, who like Henriquez undergoes a transformation. By the third act, Roderigo is "experienc[ing] guilt and repentance" just as Henriquez

does at the beginning of the second act of *Double Falsehood*, speaking of his "shame" and calling the rape "dishonourable," despite his quick rationalization of the act (Gossett, Introduction to *The Spanish Gypsy* 1724; *DF* 2.1.30, 31). At the end of each play, through a highly orchestrated plot by a family member that includes deception and disguises, the rapist confesses to his crime and marries his victim. For Henriquez in *Double Falsehood*, it is his brother Roderick who becomes what Bamford calls the "spiritual director" or man who carries out the "providential care for the youth's regeneration" (124). Like Roderigo, Henriquez is the prodigal son. For both Clara in *The Spanish Gypsy* and Violante, rape is a central inciting incident for her character's arc of action. Gossett says, "By the time the moon rises on Clara in the third scene of *Gypsy*, the unseen act has been accomplished: *the remainder of the play concentrates on its consequences*" (Introduction to *The Spanish Gypsy* 1723; emphasis added). By the beginning of the second act of *Double Falsehood*, the "unseen act" has also been committed and much of the plot revolves around Violante "finding" her rapist.

Why would Fletcher and Shakespeare add this rape for the heroine to their play? My inclination is to suggest that if Violante is *seduced* rather than *forced* then she becomes somewhat complicit in the sexual crime. By structuring the event as a rape rather than a seduction, the playwrights cast Violante as the conventional virtuous victim of rape. Unlike other such victims who are revenged by a male relative, men are all but absent from Violante's life. She refers to a father, but he is never named or seen on stage. Therefore, there is no man to revenge her rape and no mention of her punishing her rapist. Furthermore, the *Biographical Dictionary* says that Hester Booth's line (the actress playing Violante) was "innocent young women" (*BD* 2: 224). By not consenting to a consummated marriage or a seduction, Violante is not complicit in the loss of her chastity; yet she blames herself for it. She even asks, "what will't avail me / To say I was not willing? / Nothing, but that I publish my dishonour / And wound my fame anew" (2.2.3–6). Whatever the state of marital affairs prior to the rape, it is also clear that after the rape she sees Henriquez as her *de facto* husband. Perhaps this is why Theobald (or Fletcher and Shakespeare) also prevents Leonora from consenting to a marriage with Henriquez. In *Don Quixote* (in which Dorotea is seduced rather than raped), Luscinda (Leonora) plainly says "I will" when asked to take Ferdinando (Henriquez) as her husband. Her acceptance spurs her fiancé Cardenio's madness. In *Double Falsehood*, Leonora faints before agreeing, thus saving both couples (Julio/Leonora and Henriquez/Violante) from polygamy. If Henriquez successfully

marries Leonora, then there is no chance of redemption for Violante. In *Don Quixote*, Ferdinando (Henriquez) commits polygamy by marrying Luscinda, though the marriage is never consummated (as it had been with Dorotea) and is therefore able to be undone.[17]

Not maid or mad, then man: Violante's transformation

After losing her virginity, Violante is transformed and for much of the rest of the play she is unable to resume her true identity on stage. Henriquez does not allow Violante to take up the position of his wife, thereby forcing her into deceptions. First, she plays the role of the maiden with her father and neighbors. When her guilt will no longer let her pretend to be a maid, the only place left for her is to assume the role of a man, that is, there is no other female role for her to assume.

In order to follow her lover and run away from her father (who is offering rewards, publicized by the town crier, for her safe return home), Violante, with the simple command, "Get me a shepherd's habit," determines to disguise herself as a boy (*DF* 3.3.147). In Elizabethan and Jacobean professional theatre, the role would certainly have been portrayed by a male performer. That is, the role of Violante in *Cardenio* would have been created for one of the boy actors in the King's Men. As noted by other scholars, the cross-dressed heroine in Elizabethan and Jacobean drama functioned as a tool in terms of the theatrics of disguise and also as a convenience for the boy actor who would have been playing the female role. As Theobald's eighteenth-century *Double Falsehood* did, modern productions of Shakespeare's plays place actresses in the female roles, offering women a chance to explore masculinity in terms of the disguise. What follows is an examination of the nature and the efficacy of the heroine's (in this case Violante's) disguise in both Fletcher and Shakespeare's play and Theobald's. I discuss efficacy with regard to successful deception, but also as a protective tool. Enveloping these questions is the broader issue of gender and its relation to power (shifts) and how these themes are explored dramaturgically on the stage.

Violante shares a number of characteristics with Innogen, as well as with Fletcher's cross-dressed female characters. In his notes on *Cymbeline*, Shapiro observes that Shakespeare contrasts the strong heroine, Innogen, with her frail male alias, Fidele (187). Fletcher's heroines in male disguise are more one-dimensional: sad and delicate youths in both the "real" woman and the boy disguise, as in *Cupid's Revenge* for instance (Shapiro 187). Violante, as a creation of both Fletcher and Shakespeare, follows both of these character patterns. It is significant that the strongest evidence of Fletcherian style in *Double Falsehood*

is found after 3.2, and it is earlier in the play that the majority of Shakespearean traces have been found (see Hammond, in Theobald 99–104). Violante does not begin the play a "sad and delicate youth." Clearly, in the loss of her virginity and the following unfaithfulness of Henriquez she moves from being the empowered farmer's daughter who helped her parents manage affairs to an "on-the-run" victim. In contrast to other cross-dressing Shakespearean heroines, Violante does not gain power in her male disguise but instead transforms into Fletcher's "sad and delicate youth" or the "frail" cross-dressed version of Innogen (as Fidele) by Shakespeare. As mentioned earlier, the boy disguise also becomes part of Violante's post-rape "half life."

Shapiro later notes that plays which seem to derive from *Cymbeline* (and also from Fletcher's *Philaster*) imagine "the heroine in male disguise as a victim rather than an agent, as a powerless and relatively flat figure confined not only to the subplot but to the ironic patterns generated by other characters or by Providence" (193). Violante's disguise offers her little in the way of protection. She is not offered any sort of freedom (at first) through her disguise, but rather experiences further entrapment. (As discussed below, she later uses the disguise to confront Henriquez.) From the first moment she is seen on stage in male disguise amongst the company of male shepherds, Violante is fearful that the disguise cannot truly hide her femininity. It is Julio, in a fit of madness, that first sees through Violante's disguise (see Figure 4.2). Gazing upon her "vermillion cheek," he is perplexed that the rough life of a shepherd has not made its mark upon the young boy (Violante). A few lines later, Julio says plainly, "I warrant, you're a very loving Woman," and he offers her protection with a "Steal close behind me, Lady" (*DF* 4.1.85; 105). All of Julio's comments are taken by the other characters on stage to be consequences of his madness rather than any unveiling of disguise, except for the Master of the Flocks, who confronts Violante about her gender later in the scene. For Violante, true escape from womanhood is impossible, and it is her very womanhood that has caused her so much grief.

Indeed, the theme of rape returns here. Violante is nearly raped by the Master of the Flocks when he discovers the "boy" is a woman.[18] Like Julio, the Master of the Flocks expounds upon the failure of Violante's male disguise: "This must not be a boy. / His voice, mien, gesture, ev'rything he does, / Savor of soft and female delicacy" (*DF* 4.1.137–9), and later when he has her in his grip, he says "This is a fine hand, / A delicate fine hand—never change color, / You understand me—and a woman's hand" (*DF* 4.1.169–71). It is notable that this portion of the play bears strong ties to the work of Fletcher, who like Theobald,

Figure 4.2 Cardenio [Julio] (Paul Waggott) and Violante (Elle Wootton), *History of Cardenio* by Gary Taylor (photograph by Shane Boulton)

included sometimes titillating attempted rapes in his plays (for example *The Coxcomb*, *The Maid in the Mill*, *Four Plays*).

This attempted rape also finds its source in Cervantes' *Don Quixote*. In the source, however, it is Violante's (Dorotea) male servant, who first had protected her, that betrays her in a planned rape. It is significant that Violante's male servant also appears in 3.3 of *Double Falsehood*. Without any prior introduction, he appears for a brief exchange with Violante for the purpose of her obtaining her shepherd's habit. Unlike other female characters in Restoration and eighteenth-century adaptations, Violante is not given a female confidante (cf. Chapter 1: Heraclia and Celania; Leucippe and Celania; Chapter 2: Miranda and Dorinda). Even though Emilia and the Jailer's Daughter are bound together by Palamon, in Fletcher and Shakespeare's play they never speak to one another; yet in Davenant's adaptation, *The Rivals*, they are friends and share a scene. Like the women in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, the two leading female characters in *Double Falsehood*, Violante and Leonora, never exchange any dialogue (see Chapter 1, p. 58). Violante is provided only with a male servant whom she can trust to aid in her escape. Most of the dialogue between the two, however, does not center on Violante's boy disguise. Rather, there is an odd sense of

foreboding about Violante's (dis)trust of men. Before he appears, she says, "My servant loiters. Sure, he means me well" (3.3.47). Hammond glosses this as Violante's "general distrust of the male sex" (3.3.47n.); it could be an echo of Violante's betrayal by her male servant that occurred in the source novel but is not included in the play. In the dialogue that follows, Violante continues to question her servant's honesty. Extracting just his lines from the scene, they read: "I hope you do not fear me," "I'll hang first," "By my life, mistress—," "If I fail your trust—," "D'ye fear me still?" (3.3.135, 137, 140, 144, 149). The servant doth protest too much, methinks. There is even an allusion to a meeting that will occur between Violante and her servant in the evening, which we never see in *Double Falsehood* (3.3.147). In fact, we never see the male servant on stage for the remainder of the play.[19] When we next see Violante, she has no servant companion and has banded with the group of shepherds.

Alone with the Master of the Flocks, her gender exposed and on the brink of another rape, Violante realizes the full extent of her entrapment and pleads, "—Kill me directly, sir. / As you have any goodness, take my life" (*DF* 4.1.184–5). Again, rape is presented as a "killing matter." Taylor's script retains these lines and in the 2009 Victoria University of Wellington production my direction to the actress playing Violante was to stop resisting the Master of the Flocks. At this point, he had Violante on the floor, and she had been violently struggling with him as he tried to pin her to floor. At the line "Kill me," she abruptly stopped fighting and lay back on the floor with her arms spread, reinforcing her repeated plea for death rather than rape. Everyone in the rehearsal room was shaken by the change, as were a number of audience members who commented after the performances (see Figure 4.3). "Kill me," echoes the response to an impending rape in both *Titus Andronicus* and *The Rape of Lucrece*. In *Titus Andronicus*, Lavinia begs for "present death" to protect her from her rapists' "worse than killing lust" (*TA* 2.3.173–5). Lucrece, too, "hath lost a dearer thing than life" when she is raped by Tarquin (*RL* 687). For Violante, the sin would be doubled as she belongs sexually to another man. Yet like the heroines in the aforementioned Jacobean plays *The Queen of Corinth* and *The Spanish Gypsy*, Violante is spared from both the second rape and from death because her rape by Henriquez has a different purpose. She is saved from the Master of the Flocks by the interruption of Henriquez's noble brother, Roderick. This is a striking plot difference given that in *Don Quixote* Violante saves *herself* from rape by pushing her would-be rapist over some rocks (*DF*, Appendix 6, 401).

Though Violante's male disguise does not free or empower her the way it does other heroines, such as Rosalind in *As You Like It* or Portia

Figure 4.3 Violante (Elle Wootton) is attacked by the Master of the Flocks (Thomas Pepperell), *History of Cardenio* by Gary Taylor (photograph by Shane Boulton)

in *The Merchant of Venice*, there are other ways that it functions. I have already discussed how it helps to create a "half life" for the character who cannot resume her true identity after the rape. One could also compare it to the use of madness with the Jailer's Daughter in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*; I argued in Chapter 1 that the Jailer's Daughter's madness *does* offer her a sense of freedom while at the same time isolating her from other characters and thus connecting her to the audience. Before taking her male disguise, Violante, like the Jailer's Daughter, is in a world of men. Though a maid is mentioned briefly in Act 2, the servant of Violante who receives the most focus and stage time is male. In the entire play, Violante never speaks of her mother, whereas the other heroine, Leonora, mentions her dead mother twice. In contrast, Violante's father is frequently discussed. Like the Jailer's Daughter, Violante has run away from her father and is exposed in the wilderness. Alone, the Jailer's Daughter descends into madness for her survival as Violante dons maleness for hers. Indeed, Violante's "male world" is epitomized by her masculine disguise and her joining of the shepherds. Her disguise does not bring her any connection to those around her, and she is only able to share her secrets with the audience. Therefore, while the male

disguise does not initially offer Violante empowerment, in fostering her isolation it endows her with a special status in relation to the audience; the audience functions as her confidante.

Once the Master of the Flocks discovers Violante's secret, she cannot return to the shepherds and is ultimately outcast and completely alone. Like many other heroines, she turns to nature for comfort and sings of her heartache to the trees and mountains in a song called "Fond Echo," which was very popular in the eighteenth century, as evidenced by its many reprints in songbooks (Hammond, in Theobald 14; 334–5). The words to "Fond Echo" were written by Theobald and set to music by the composer Gouge. In *The Rivals*, Davenant also capitalized on the heartbroken musical heroine and, as Theobald may have done, removed many of the Fletcher/Shakespeare songs and added his own. In fact, the most popular song of the Jailer's Daughter (Celania) from *The Rivals*, "My Lodging it is on the Cold Ground," does not appear at all in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (see Chapter 1, pp. 25–6, above). According to Hammond (in Theobald 105, also appendix 5), Michael Wood in an unpublished essay has identified two songs he believes were in *Cardenio* as they cannot be tied to other plays of the period and also contain verbal parallels to Shelton's translation of *Don Quixote*. The songs are "Woods, Rocks, and Mountains" and "Endless Tears," which were written by the king's lutenist, Robert Johnson, who often worked with Shakespeare, Fletcher, and the King's Men. At the time of our 2009 Wellington production of *The History of Cardenio*, Taylor had only included "Woods, Rocks, and Mountains" in his text but has since added "Endless Tears" to his recreation. He believes the song "Endless Tears" is referred to when earlier Violante, disguised as a shepherd, has sung a "love ditty" (4.2.22) and that Theobald's "Fond Echo" replaced "Woods, Rocks, and Mountains." Unlike the Jailer's Daughter, Violante is not mad—this device has been given to the hero, Julio.[20] She parallels the Jailer's Daughter, however, in that she is using song to express heartache and extreme grief—grief that has been spurred by rape, abandonment, and then the prospect of being raped once again.

The lyrics to "Woods, Rocks, and Mountains" are:

> Hear a poor maid's last words, killed with disgraces.
> Slide softly while I sing, you silver fountains,
> And let your hollow waters like sad bells
> Ring, ring to my woes, while miserable I
> Cursing my fortunes, drop, drop, drop a tear and die.
> (*DF*, Appendix 5, 330–1)

"Woods, Rocks, and Mountains" and "Fond Echo" express similar sentiments: Violante wants to die. The refrain of "Fond Echo" is "death will make pity too slow" (4.2.23). This is an interesting turn of events since earlier she rejected the idea of suicide, not once, but twice. In 2.2, after Violante has just read Henriquez's letter of betrayal, she dismisses the notion of suicide (2.2.40; discussed below). Again in 4.1, after the mad Julio commands Violante to kill herself, she responds, "By no means. What? / Commit self-murder!" (4.1.100–1). Yet "Woods, Rocks, and Mountains" and the lines that follow form a sort of self-eulogy as Violante plainly says to herself "go die" (4.2.78). Rape and rejection are matters of life and death, and at this point even her transformation into a man has failed to protect her. What is noteworthy about "Woods, Rocks, and Mountains" is that it places Violante near a fountain, expressed through the rich verbal imagery that Jacobean plays needed to set their scenes (as opposed to the painted shutters which would have been used in the Restoration and eighteenth century). Though no water is mentioned in *Double Falsehood*, it may be no coincidence that Julio says, shortly after spying Violante, "I could drop myself / Into a fountain for her" (4.2.72–3). The image of a woman singing of her grief by the waterside with the prospect of drowning has many precedents in early modern drama, especially in the plays of Fletcher, but also in Shakespeare (cf. Ophelia in *Hamlet*, Jailer's Daughter in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*). It has a very close parallel with Fletcher's *Philaster*, where the eponymous hero describes Bellario (Euphrasia) as grieving over a love complicated by class differences; she is heartbroken, singing by a fountain-side, and also dressed like a boy (1:1.1.111–40). In the 2009 production of *The History of Cardenio*, Violante entered with a pail of water, removed her boots, and bathed (see Figure 4.4). This formed an image of ritualistic cleansing before her possible death.[21]

At this point in the production, the actress playing Violante removed her cap and let her long locks fall to her shoulders. It is unclear from *Double Falsehood* at what point Violante removes her male disguise, which presumably would include her cap. When Julio and the gentlemen hear Violante sing, they adopt masculine or gender-neutral language for her. Julio refers to her "spirit" as belonging to a "man" and calls her "companion" and "it" (4.2.13–14, 35, 37), but by the time Violante appears it is clear they all know her gender to be female. Hammond adds to her entrance the stage direction "with her hair loose" (4.2.37.1), and Taylor makes more of a "scene" of Violante's gender revelation, constructing dialogue around it and the stage direction: "Violante takes off her cap, and lets down her hair" (Taylor, "History of Cardenio" 299). Fletcher used

Figure 4.4 Violante (Elle Wootton) bathes, *History of Cardenio* by Gary Taylor (photograph by Shane Boulton)

this convention in the final scene of *Philaster* when Bellario, who has been disguised as a man, "discovers her haire" (1:5.5.112.1). Shapiro cites lines from *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* that point to a similar revelation of gender, and notes this use of hair in episodes by Ariosto, Tasso, and Spenser (72). "As a way of (re)establishing femininity, the sudden outpouring of hair which flows down the [armored] body was evidently derived from classical sources and achieved wide currency in the Renaissance" (Shapiro 212). It is only fitting that a Renaissance play based on a chivalric romance would employ this motif.[22]

Violante's removal of her hat, allowing her long hair to fall, also forms an image of both grief and "women undergoing public penance or condemned to death," since at this point, while the heroine is not in public, she has certainly condemned herself to die (Dessen and Thomson 107; for grief see Folio *Richard III* 2.2.33; for condemnation to death see *2 Edward IV* 165, *Insatiate Countess* 5.1.66). Violante's return to her female state at this point is particularly important when one looks at the ending of the play, discussed in the next section. I discussed in Chapter 1 how when a woman in a state of madness loosens her hair, she symbolically removes a male-controlled female decorum, which is a kind of "disguise" (see pp. 34–5, above). It is interesting both in "Woods, Rocks, and Mountains" and "Fond Echo" that Violante calls herself

a "maid," a word normally associated with virgins. Earlier, Violante had said goodbye to maids, "whom [she'll] no longer shame" (2.2.44–5). Now, with her hair down, she is not only referring to herself with a term typically signifying virginity, but she is also forming the visual image of a virgin. She admits that she is "lost" and "killed" but is still identifying herself as if she were a maid. Is this because she will achieve atonement through death? Or is she now (after her experience with the Master of the Flocks and realization of the baseness of all men) questioning if she is truly stained? St Augustine argued that if a raped woman's will did not consent then she remained chaste despite a consummated rape. Violante's situation is further complicated, however, by the fact that, in a way, she is already married to Henriquez.

In addition to asserting herself a maid here, Violante associates herself with maids:

> I cannot get this false man's memory
> Out of my mind. You maidens that shall live
> To hear my mournful tale when I am ashes,
> Be wise; and to an oath no more give credit,
> To tears, to vows—false both—or anything
> A man shall promise, than to clouds that now
> Bear such a pleasing shape and now are nothing. (4.2.60–6)

This lament, again, has very strong ties to Fletcher in language and imagery. The idea of a forsaken heroine rejoining the company of women, often in a kind of utopia, expounding on the (dis)trust of men, and invoking maids to tell her story can be found in the Jailer's Daughter, Viola in *The Coxcomb*, and Aspatia in *The Maid's Tragedy*. Since Violante is likely still dressed as a boy—only with her hair down—this adds a significant layer to this scene. Indeed, when she appears to Roderick, Henriquez's brother, in the next act she is still dressed as a shepherd.

After Violante's suicide attempt is interrupted by Julio, she finds a companion. Their subsequent conversation about commonalities, their shared grief and pain caused by Henriquez's false actions, indicates another significant aspect to Violante's boy disguise. Julio, describing his madness to Violante says, "If the curst Henriquez / *Had pow'r to change you to a boy*, why, lady, / Should not that mischief make me anything, / That have an equal share in all the miseries / His crimes have flung upon us?" (*DF* 4.2.93–7; emphasis added). Not only did Violante's boy disguise render her powerless, it is as if the disguise itself was not in or of her own power. It is Henriquez who transformed her—not just from her maidenly

state but also into a man. Through her disguised quest for Henriquez, Violante is ultimately trying to reclaim some of this lost power.

From man to minion: "cross-dressing for spectacular anagnorisis"

With the denouement of the play—the return of the lost children to their fathers—comes the revisiting of Henriquez's offences to Violante and also to every other major character in the play. Roderick, well aware of his brother's debauched behavior, has provided Violante the means by which to make her appeal to the Duke. Hammond observes "in plays such as *Measure for Measure*, *All's Well* and *Cymbeline*, the wronged woman seeking restitution is not likely to conceive the plot by means of which she will gain justice entirely of her own initiative. It is not clear why Violante should continue her transvestite disguise and invent a name for herself," and later concludes, "such a question about Violante's disguise may be the wrong question to ask" (in Theobald 30). While it is true that in most Renaissance plays a wronged woman does typically gain a confession and justice with the help of a man other than her offender (in this case Roderick is functioning as Henriquez's "spiritual director"), questioning Violante's disguise at the denouement of this play is of utmost importance. It is significant that Violante is still in her boy's clothing and chooses to confront Henriquez with this device. We have no way of knowing whether the impetus for this type of confrontation originated from Roderick or Violante (Roderick knows Violante is female), but it is enough to know that Violante agreed to "perform" it and that it is fitting for Henriquez's crimes. Roderick calls her Henriquez's "page" and says "you stole him from his friends, / And promis'd him preferment" (*DF* 5.2.115, 117–18). Camillo, Julio's father, says of the boy/Violante, "Nature, sure, meant thou shouldst have been a wench—/ And then't had been no marvel he had bobb'd thee," and later calls him a "he-bawd" (*DF* 5.2.149–50). Though Hammond notes the primary meaning of "bobb'd" as "fooled, deceived, cheated" and states it may have carried sexual connotations, the sense is better if the reference does contain sexual innuendo (5.2.150n.). Why else should Violante be a wench? Later, Henriquez himself refers to Florio/Violante as a "minion," which clearly had homosexual connotations (*DF* 5.2.188, see also 188n.). Henriquez is accused of all the injuries he has inflicted upon Violante, with the added disgrace that the crime was purportedly committed against a male child rather than an adult woman.[23]

It is at this moment that, for the first time, Violante's male character is given a name. It is perhaps odd that Violante's boy persona should

only be given a name in the final scene of the play; it is probable that in the Jacobean play the name appeared earlier. All other heroines who don male disguise in Jacobean drama are given aliases. Taking the play at face value, we can view this naming as the beginning of Violante's re-emergence from an identity-less state. When the Duke asks the shepherd boy (Violante) his name, he replies "Florio." It is striking that this name, like Violante (violet), is also etymologically tied to flowers, since this scene contains a resurfacing of Violante's *de*flowering.

The episode that follows, with Violante as the boy Florio, is rich in double entendres. Every "false" accusation of Henriquez's actions toward Florio reveals the truth of his crimes against Violante. Florio/Violante boldly states, "That noble gentleman pleas'd once to like me / And, not to lie, so much to dote upon me, / That with his promises he won my youth, / And duty from my father: him I followed" (*DF* 5.2.136–9). It may be surprising that Violante uses "won" to describe Henriquez's actions toward her; earlier, Roderick uses "stole," perhaps a more suitable verb. The dramatists' focus here though is not on the rape but on the rapist's reformation; they must prepare the audience, in some way, for the startling conclusion. Henriquez, outraged, swears on his "life" and "soul" that he has never laid eyes upon the boy Florio before; it is all a "trick" (*DF* 5.2.141). Florio/Violante quickly replies, significantly directly to Henriquez, "O sir, / Call not your soul to witness in a wrong: / And 'tis not noble to despise / What *you have made thus*" (*DF* 5.2.142–5; emphasis added). Again, Violante's boy transformation is referred to as a product of Henriquez's power—he has "made" her "thus." It is as if his sins by some sorcery have metamorphosed woman into man. Therefore, Henriquez must take responsibility for any shame or vulnerability he feels at the accusations of stealing a boy from the boy's father, making the boy his lover, and afterward leaving the boy alone, to die. Florio is a man-ifestation of Henriquez's falsehoods. It is only fitting for the liar to experience the pain caused by lies himself. Violante has regained power now—as a woman/man. In her androgynous state she is able to use Henriquez's power, his boy creation, against him—to expose him. Through Violante's use of her disguise, this scene becomes a spectacular play within a play.

The Duke calls for a witness to Florio/Violante's allegations, which once produced will enable restitution (*DF* 5.2.161–5). When Florio exits the stage to bring such a witness (giving the actor of Florio/Violante time to change into a dress), Roderick, in order to provide evidence to further Florio's claim against Henriquez, produces and reads aloud Henriquez's own letter of unfaithfulness to Violante, which has obviously been

given by Violante to Roderick. At this climactic moment of Henriquez's scandal, confusion, helplessness, and guilt, Violante is again using the villain's own weapons, this time his letter, against him. Violante returns to the stage with her witness—herself—as a woman. Interestingly, there is no onstage sudden revelation of her true gender; Florio exits and then returns as a woman. Once Violante, as Florio, has confronted Henriquez and his crimes are completely exposed through Roderick's reading of the letter, Violante is able to leave her male identity completely off stage and return to the stage with her true identity, as fully woman. No more is directly said about the specific injuries Henriquez has inflicted upon Violante; her physical presence is testimony enough. Face to face he dare not deny it.

When Violante finally speaks she asks not for Henriquez's "pure affection" or love, but instead requests only that he marry her (presumably in a church this time) so that she can maintain her virtue. Before repenting, Henriquez asks Violante, "Dare you still love a man / So faithless as I am?" (5.2.212–13). She does not answer this. He answers it for her with "I know you love me. / Thus, thus and thus [*kissing her*] I print my vow'd repentance" (5.2.213–14). From his father, the Duke, Henriquez begs forgiveness and his blessing for their marriage. He says, "no other would I choose, / Were she a queen" (5.2.217–18). Henriquez's comparison of Violante to a queen, again, conjures up the class difference. When the Duke finally agrees to the formal marriage of Henriquez and Violante, he says, "I have a debt to pay. Your [Violante's] good old father / Once when I chas'd the boar preserv'd my life. / For that good deed, and for virtue's sake, / Though your descent be low, call me your father" (5.2.269–72).

Double Falsehood thus does contain a true tragicomic ending: though danger or death has been threatened, the play has a comedic closure (weddings and reunions). However, these concluding elements may not be as happy as they seem; things are compromised (cf. Mamillius missing from the end of *The Winter's Tale*, or the endings of many of Fletcher's tragicomedies). As Hammond notes, Henriquez's "vow'd repentance" appears only once prior to *Double Falsehood*, in *The Spanish Gypsy*; Theobald's play is unique however in having the rapist vow repentance to his victim. It may be significant that almost every instance of "print" used as a verb this way by Fletcher and his collaborators (Beaumont, Massinger, and Field) has negative connotations.[24] The only other association of the verb with kisses I could find is in Fletcher and Massinger's *The Spanish Curate*, when Violante says to Jamy, in a line that is very similar to Henriquez's, "By this kiss:—start not: thus

much, as a stranger / You may take from me; But, if you were pleas'd, / I should select you, as a bosom Friend, / I would print 'em, thus, and thus—" (5.1.95–8). Importantly, this is not a moment of love, but rather, a ruthless woman inducing her husband's younger brother to murder him. How then should we take Henriquez's printed kisses? This passage thus throws some doubt on the sincerity of Henriquez.

Of course, we may never know how Fletcher and Shakespeare's *Cardenio* ended. I find it significant that in *Double Falsehood* not only does Violante not answer Henriquez's question of love, she does not speak again for the rest of the play. One can read this silence a number of ways. When rehearsing Taylor's *The History of Cardenio*, we compared it to the use of silence in performance at the end of *Measure for Measure*, when the Duke asks Isabella to be his wife. Juliet Stevenson, the actress who played Isabella in the Royal Shakespeare Company's 1983 production, pointedly observed, "But you know, there isn't a fixed end to a play. The *script* ends. The words run out. But the *ending*—that's something that has to be renegotiated every performance" (qtd in Rutter 51–2; emphasis in original).

What sort of power is gained through silence?[25] Does Violante still love Henriquez? And if she does, is that love tempered by her knowledge of his character? Does she truly believe in his conversion? In her silence is she truly (re)considering her decision to marry this man, or at least if she is happy about it? Is it the silent acknowledgment that—in this world—she is a woman, without choice, bound to this man (through loss of her maidenhead)? Or is she voicing in her silence that she is not the same eager maid who at one time so easily put her faith and trust in this man (or men in general)? In *Double Falsehood*, there is arguably ambiguity as to Violante's feelings once she has Henriquez's repentance and his hand at the end of the play. This becomes evident when one compares the reunion of the other set of lovers, Julio and Leonora, which takes place only moments later. There is an embrace, a kiss, and Leonora is anything but silent about her vows to Julio. Leonora says to Julio, "The righteous pow'rs at length have crown'd our loves" (5.2.251). Violante's silence at the end of *Double Falsehood* becomes even more interesting when one considers that a major, if not *the* major, overriding change adaptors made to Shakespeare's plays was the removal of ambiguity (see above, pp. 18, 40, 55, 145, 146).

Ironically, Henriquez depicts Violante "as innocent, / As when I wrong'd her" (5.2.210–11). The audience—who knows of Violante's struggle through the mountains, her attempted rape by the Master of the Flocks, her suicidal singing, and of her own confession that any love she

had for Henriquez was foolish and "childish love" (*DF* 4.2.76–8)—realizes the emptiness and error in Henriquez's description of Violante. And as Henriquez himself knows, looks are often deceptive. Does he truly believe this woman, of whom he has sexual knowledge and who just before accused him of homosexual acts, is as innocent as she was before he wronged her? Henriquez, in his description of when he first wronged (raped) Violante, says, "True, she did not consent; as true, she did resist; but still in silence all." (2.1.37–9). Violante's innocent body physically told Henriquez "No." His recollection of the rape leads him to maintain "'Twas but the coyness of a modest bride, / Not the resentment of a ravish'd maid" (2.1.40–1). Having had to own up to his crimes and his falsehoods, Henriquez knows what Violante's silence means. Violante's new body—stolen and transformed by Henriquez and then somewhat reclaimed by herself again—in accordance with this patriarchal world needs to marry him, but she will do so giving herself (and the audience) silence.

My evidence here—using knowledge of adaptations—suggests that Violante's rape and cross-gender disguise has Jacobean rather than eighteenth-century roots. The idea is that the rape becomes the catalyst for the heroine's "half life," expressed through her abandonment of home and assumption of a male identity, which ultimately comes close to spurring another rape and her suicide (the true meaning of tragicomedy as threatening death but then avoiding it). Violante is spared, however, from both a second violation and death so that she can become the force which redeems the hero, the prodigal son Henriquez. Though the rape and cross-gender disguise disempower her at first, she is able to use her new identity to confront her rapist. And though Violante is embroiled in a patriarchal system where her function becomes part of the hero's salvation, she ambiguously accepts her role through a silence that, like the silences that will always remain in the lost *Cardenio*, is able to be negotiated within the context of performance.

Conclusion

In this book I have used a cross-comparative approach, deploying Restoration and eighteenth-century adaptations of both Shakespeare's unaided plays and his collaborations with Fletcher, to investigate the female characters in the plays. I have "read" the original play and its adaptation using a "directorial eye." The latter type of reading imagines the play on stage in performance, an "imagining" supported by the text itself, contemporary accounts of both the play in performance and the performers, and knowledge of the staging conventions of early modern drama.

I have gone beyond all readings, however, and actually staged the plays, either as complete productions or performances of selected scenes. Therefore, the directorial eye has been lifted from the page and brought into the multi-sensory space of the stage, with actors embodying the characters and audiences engaging with performance in order to experiment with staging possibilities. This important practical work encouraged me to view the women in these plays as embodied rather than mere archetypes, symbols, or agents for critical discourse and to experience the female characters on stage or "as active agent[s] of a life-world of intense personalization and immediacy," to reiterate Jean Elshtain's feminist plea (p. 5, above). The staging options were often inspired by my reading and research, and likewise my work in the rehearsal room frequently encouraged areas of further investigation in this book.

The written arguments presented here, as well as the Appendix and illustrations, demonstrate the value of the creative practical work that forms a vital part of this book. Gestures and movement, sound (music and the sound of speech), props, costumes, spectacle, stage directions, use of space and architecture, and the audience are all essential factors for comprehending how a play creates meaning and thus for

understanding the dramaturgy of female characters. Puzzling moments in the plays often became clear or at least solvable by working this way.

Each chapter has drawn its own set of conclusions about the female characters discussed therein, thus demonstrating how the adaptations offer valuable insight into possible interpretations of the female characters in the original plays. The alterations made to the plays by the adaptors are significant. They often exploited what was successful in the original play, but removed other aspects of the characters to fit Restoration tastes and sensibilities. In undertaking research on these adaptations of plays by Shakespeare or by Fletcher and Shakespeare, I have asked not only *what* changes were made and *why*, but also *how* such rewriting transformed the female characters. This book offers both new readings and also original evidence that calls into question some traditional interpretations of Shakespeare's female characters.

In Chapter 1, I investigated Fletcher and Shakespeare's *The Two Noble Kinsmen* in light of Davenant's early adaptation, *The Rivals*, a play that has not been extensively studied for over half a century. Davenant chose a play that had an abundance of female roles, and he made the Jailer's Daughter, a character who is mainly confined to the subplot in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, his protagonist. If Davenant had seen pre-Restoration performances of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* then he would have known the role would be popular with audiences. In the original play, the Jailer's Daughter has a special connection to the audience through her isolation; many scenes have her alone on stage, speaking in soliloquy. Davenant's Celania, however, is given female confidantes, and therefore she does not rely on the audience in the same way that Fletcher and Shakespeare's Jailer's Daughter does. In addition, the Jailer's Daughter shows how feminine madness on the early modern stage, with its set of gendered conventions, is highly theatrical, allowing the actress to explore not only vocal signifiers such as singing, but also increased physicality. The madness of the Jailer's Daughter gives her license to construct and play in a fantasy world free from male-controlled female decorum. Davenant's cuts to the character constrain this freedom—relegating her to the realm of decency and approved decorum—so that she can appropriately be Philander's (Palamon's) wife at the adaptation's conclusion.

Emilia, who shares many parallels with the Jailer's Daughter, likewise builds another world in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*—not through the fantasies of madness, but rather from her past. She memorializes a female friendship of her youth that becomes representative of her overall desire to remain in a female world. *The Rivals* echoes many contemporary

attitudes toward Emilia that tend to obscure her desire because of an uneasiness about viewing the play through anything other than a heteronormative lens. Davenant removed Emilia's Amazonian roots and many of the scenes and speeches in Fletcher and Shakespeare's play that demonstrate her ambivalence toward the kinsmen. When one looks at the ending of Davenant's *The Rivals*, it is clear that Davenant had to go to great pains in order to create a truly happy, comedic ending for his play. His ending includes marriages for both the women with the men they desire and involves no deaths. The original play creates much more complicated situations for the female characters than the adaptation. Emilia never freely chooses either kinsman, and Arcite, the initial winner of her hand, dies in a tragic accident. Emilia is then given to the Jailer's Daughter's beloved Palamon in marriage—the Daughter ending up with the Wooer pretending to be Palamon. The women are given license to express desires which are either not found or not so explicit in the Restoration version, only to have those desires frustrated. To exist, the desires of both the women must be situated in another world.

Davenant and Dryden's *The Enchanted Island*, unlike *The Rivals*, has long been considered a very influential adaptation of Shakespeare. Chapter 2 on *The Enchanted Island* and *The Tempest* has shown there is still much more work to be done in investigating these two plays, especially when one considers the critical history of Miranda. I have found it more instructive to see Miranda's character in *The Tempest* influenced by her never having seen a *woman* (that she can remember clearly) than by her never having seen a *man* (the impetus for Dryden and Davenant's Miranda as well as for their newly created female roles of Dorinda and Hippolito).

The inclusion of Miranda's younger sister Dorinda in *The Enchanted Island* takes away much of the independence and centrality that Miranda has in *The Tempest*. In addition, Dorinda helps to foster a depiction of Miranda as sexually unaware and naive. Close reading shows that Miranda is knowledgeable—tutored by Prospero and informed about sex, as evidenced by her scorning of Caliban for his attempted rape upon her. Furthermore, her character is complex, both loyal to and defiant toward her father. The "male" version of Miranda in the adaptation, Hippolito, like Miranda in the original, defies gender stereotypes: it is a male role played by a female actress. This demonstrates the importance of acknowledging that the popular breeches roles of the Restoration relate not only to male craving but also to female desire. In addition, I have shown that it is helpful to view the convention as deriving from the Renaissance boy actors who both played women's roles and employed cross-gender disguise in the fictional world of plays. I have

presented evidence that, contrary to what many modern critics argue, such roles *could* offer actresses a sense of empowerment. The actress playing Hippolito would have gained freedom in physicality by wearing light breeches, as opposed to a woman's heavy petticoat, and also by participating in activities such as sword fighting. An examination of Hippolito's strength can be paralleled with the stereotypically masculine traits of Miranda in *The Tempest*, such as her physical aptness for log-bearing.

In Chapter 3, I discussed a later adaptation: David Garrick's version of Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*, which he titled *Florizel and Perdita*. I focused in this chapter upon Hermione and Paulina, the two female roles that underwent the most alteration in the adaptation. Through my investigation of Hermione's sexuality in Shakespeare's play I have disproved arguments that Shakespeare's plays avoid explicit repeated references to female bodies. These textual references were cut by Garrick, despite having, or possibly because he had, available an actress's female body for his production. He removed Hermione's body and presence from the stage entirely until the statue scene in the final act. This absence points to what is so strikingly present in Shakespeare's Hermione: not only her body, but also her grace, intelligence, and strength. For the audience to experience the full magic of a resurrection in the statue scene, there must first exist a woman to bring back to life. Furthermore, Paulina must be set up dramaturgically as able to preside over such an event. Garrick's play strips Paulina of her ability to be a "perpetual remembrance" to Leontes of Hermione, as well as cutting the references to her mysterious and perhaps illicit healing abilities and midwife role. The statue scene in *Florizel and Perdita* loses the miraculous power of the original when the treatment of the women in his play undergoes such changes. These changes reveal what should be embraced in Shakespeare's play, and can be reinforced in performance.

My concluding chapter used the work in Chapters 1–3 as a foundation for exploring Violante in Theobald's *Double Falsehood*, a presumed adaptation of a lost play by Fletcher and Shakespeare called *Cardenio*. The epilogue of Theobald's play claims that the rape of Violante existed in *Double Falsehood*'s "ancient source" (that is, *Cardenio*). I have argued that the dramaturgical function of the rape is closer to that of the rapes found in Jacobean plays than in Restoration and eighteenth-century plays, and that the rape and attempted rape therefore act as a window on to the lost original. I have also explored the male disguise of Violante, arguing that her adoption of it fits with the motifs of the convention in Jacobean theatre. The cross-dressing and the rape of

Violante come together at the end of the play when she confronts her rapist, who is also her husband, in her boy disguise. I have shown how such an ending can be viewed both as a traditional early modern closure, with redemption for the rapist/prodigal son, and as restitution for the wronged and betrayed heroine. I have also explored the performative possibilities for a more subversive interpretation of the ambiguity of Violante's silent response to Henriquez's repentance and public acknowledgment of their marriage.

Just as Violante's cross-gender disguise and use of silence at the end of *Double Falsehood* can be viewed as means of empowerment, my conclusions are that the female characters in these late Shakespearean plays can have agency and are often afforded special means or positions to allow them to express desire. A common thread of all the plays I have examined is that this agency often arises from ambiguity. Critics frequently note that Shakespeare is the master of ambiguity and that the enduring influence of his plays stems from this quality. As noted in the Introduction, Jean Marsden has observed, "In contrast to the adaptations, with their painstaking linguistic simplicity, Renaissance literature abounds with puns and sometimes elaborate conceits, literary figures which by their very nature promote ambiguity by adding an additional layer of meaning" (*Re-imagined Text* 11; Introduction, p. 18, above). The adaptors were clearly uncomfortable with ambiguity and took steps to remove it from Shakespeare's plays, thus removing layers of meaning and disempowering the female roles. The adaptations often contain oversimplified constructions of gender and my investigations of the originals in light of the adaptations reveal the complexity and multiplicity of the ways the women in the original plays express their agency and desire.

In the era the original plays were written—the English Renaissance—and in the period when they underwent adaptation—the Restoration and eighteenth century—themes and motifs consistently clustered around the staging of female gender as discussed above: madness, cross-gender disguise and cross-gender casting, rape and sexual violence, to name just a few. My study has demonstrated the danger of accepting sweeping generalizations about such motifs in these periods. An adaptation such as *The Enchanted Island* reads clearly as a sexually charged version of Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, but *The Rivals* sanitizes the sexuality of the Jailer's Daughter in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. Similarly, it is hard to argue that Theobald gratuitously added Violante's rape to *Double Falsehood* when the evidence points to the incident having a Jacobean source. Finally, much has been written about the power of boy actors

in the English Renaissance to subvert gender roles, but little about the ability of actresses in cross-gender disguise or cross-gender roles to cross gender boundaries, as I argue is the case with Hippolito in *The Enchanted Island*. The motifs are open to multiple interpretations, but they also generate specific meanings in the original texts.

My hope is that this work opens pathways for further inquiries that are beyond the scope of this book. An investigation into four plays and their adaptations only begins to address the complex questions surrounding gender and Shakespearean adaptation, but certainly there would be value in the application of the methodology used in this research to other plays. Furthermore, attention could be devoted to the influence of the adaptations on subsequent character interpretation. The power of theatre resides in its ability to transform. From the vantage point of the audience, attributes such as long hair, breasts, hips, even a gravid womb—an entire female silhouette and physicality can be achieved through the "magic" of theatre. As discussed in the Introduction, it is very probable that Renaissance boy players were highly successful in representing women on stage, as evidenced by audience responses that show engagement primarily with the fictional character rather than with the disjunction between the gender of character and that of the player. One motivation for the rewriting and adapting of Shakespeare's plays in the Restoration and eighteenth century was the introduction of actresses to the English professional public stage. For the first time, Shakespeare's female roles were able to be embodied by women.

But what of an exploration of the significance of real-life experience that is gender-specific? How significant is the *emotional experience* a woman has connected to her female body parts (hair, breasts, vagina, womb) and the capacity to draw on that experience from outside the playhouse in order to mirror it on stage and represent what is happening in the fictional world of the play? Were the boy actors disadvantaged by their youth and inability to experience such things as pregnancy or marriage to a man? What I am suggesting here is that while much of this book concentrates on the way in which Shakespeare empowers women (and the diminishment of this empowerment by the adaptations), actresses' own emotional experiences may have aided in interpreting the roles in the later period; it is therefore a pity that the writers stripped so much of the inherent possibilities for such work. The broader implication of my study is that the value of using the adaptations to take back-bearings on the dramaturgy of Shakespeare's plays is evident, and the methodology used here can clearly be applied to a much

wider range of drama and many aspects of theatre studies, including the introduction of actresses upon the English stage.

One aim of this book has been to make the research valuable not only to scholars but also to practitioners interested in the staging of these plays. The objective has been to foster a deeper knowledge of the performance and interpretation of female roles and to offer a fresh approach to investigating Shakespeare's plays and characters using adaptations. As I stated in the Introduction, every new production of Shakespeare is, in a sense, an adaptation. Implicit throughout this book is my feminist point of view, and therefore I would like to think we can do better in our "adaptations" of Shakespeare than to continue letting audiences, theatre practitioners, and most importantly new generations (like Ann Thompson's students scorning Miranda; cf. Chapter 2, pp. 65–6, above) accept and reiterate weak or simplistic interpretations of female characters that come from centuries of mostly male-dominated criticism. The knowledge gained in this work has the power to transform aspects of how we make theatre in general and in particular how we create and stage Shakespeare's (and Fletcher's) women.

Appendix: The Plays in Performance

As stated in the Introduction, an integral component of my research has been practical work on the plays investigated in this book: *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, *The Tempest*, *The Winter's Tale*, *Cardenio* (*Double Falsehood*), and their respective Restoration and eighteenth-century adaptations. Such an approach begins from a belief that theatre is a live, or rather a living, art that requires active engagement in its processes. The website of the Shakespeare and Queen's Men Project, *Performing the Queen's Men*, states their rationale for producing plays for research as, "We believe producing plays gives a particular insight into theatrical process and dramatic text; one that cannot be achieved through the studying of documents and writing of papers alone much as we support, encourage and engage in these activities." While it is true that much of my research has been conducted using "production analysis," or imaginative reconstruction of the staging by reading the texts (see pp. 3–5 of the Introduction, above), I also made important discoveries from hours of work both in the rehearsal room and in performances, collaborating with and observing actors and audiences. Throughout this work numerous references—in the body of the chapters, the notes, and in the illustrations—have been made to my production experiences. Below is a chronology and brief description of my practical work on these plays as referenced in this book.

1. *The History of Cardenio*. Dir. David Carnegie and Lori Leigh. Written by Gary Taylor. Victoria University of Wellington. May 2009.

From January 2009 to May 2009, I worked alongside David Carnegie as assistant director of Gary Taylor's reconstruction of Shakespeare's "lost" play: *The History of Cardenio*. The play was cast and created using students from Carnegie's senior-level paper: THEA 302: Conventions of Drama. As much as possible, we attempted to use "original practice" in staging Taylor's play, envisioning a 1613 production of *Cardenio* in an indoor private playhouse such as the Blackfriars. Taylor's script is based upon Lewis Theobald's *Double Falsehood*. Taylor attempted to reconstruct a play that Fletcher and Shakespeare might have collaborated on around 1613.

2. *The Tempest* (selections from 1.2 and 2.2). Dir. Lori Leigh. Victoria University of Wellington. August 2009 and August 2011.

Culminating in performances in August of 2009 and August of 2011, I directed second-year university students in workshops of six to eight hours each week investigating scenes from *The Tempest*. Naturally, I chose scenes that were of interest to my study: 1.2 with Prospero, Miranda, Caliban, and Ferdinand; and 3.2 or the "log-bearing scene," with Ferdinand and Miranda's confession

of love and vows of marriage. Though not strictly using "original practice," the focus of the workshops was on staging the scenes with an eye to Elizabethan and Jacobean dramaturgical practices.

3. *The Winter's Tale*. Dir. Lori Leigh. Wellington Summer Shakespeare. Wellington Botanic Gardens. February 2011.

Over the summer of 2010–11 (November–February), I directed *The Winter's Tale* for Wellington Summer Shakespeare, a trust which puts on an annual outdoor Shakespeare production for the Wellington community. This production was performed in the Wellington Botanic Gardens for an audience of over 2000, using both student and young professional actors. The production mixed fantasy and reality, "once upon a time" with the "here and now" of 2011 New Zealand (especially in the rustic Bohemian Act 4 where much inspiration was taken from the rural New Zealand sheep-shearing culture). Though the costumes and setting were not "original practice," the actor/audience dynamic was very much dramaturgically consistent with Shakespearean conditions: mostly shared/natural lighting and a focus on direct address.

4. *Restoration Shakespeare* (selected scenes from *The Rivals*, *The Enchanted Island*, *Florizel and Perdita*, and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*). Victoria University of Wellington. June 2011.

In May 2011, I received funding from Victoria University to workshop scenes from the adaptations with professional actors. At the end of a week, we presented staged readings of the scenes to a small invited audience of students, academics, and community members. When selections from *The Rivals* were performed, the parallel passages from *The Two Noble Kinsmen* were also staged. Minimal props and costumes were used, but the actresses (with the exception of the actress portraying Hippolito) did wear rehearsal skirts to emphasize gender differences in the scenes from *The Enchanted Island*.

Notes

Introduction

1. This book is indebted to the Arden Shakespeare Series in general. I have employed their editions of Shakespeare's plays for each of the four plays I use as case studies.
2. There is debate regarding the official bookend dates of the Restoration. This book is interested in the early adaptations of Shakespeare occurring after the Caroline period and into the eighteenth century.
3. When working with actors on staged readings of selected scenes at Victoria University of Wellington, one actor commented that Dryden and Davenant's adaptation of *The Tempest* was nothing like Shakespeare's play at all—that the adaptors were just using his play as a format to tell their own original story.
4. Qtd in Sofer (4).
5. Slights lists a range of critics: Christy Desmet, Michael D. Bristol, Harry Berger Jr, and Alan Sinfield who recently have been reinforcing the importance of character criticism and returning such study to respectability.
6. The Queen's Men's play *King Leir* was the primary source for Shakespeare's *King Lear*.
7. Pepys calls Kynaston a boy, but he was at least 17 at the time. The *Biographical Dictionary of Actors* states, "A note in the Burney Collection at the British Library states that he was born on 20 April 1643" (*BD* 9:79). As the tradition of boys playing women was quickly disappearing from the English stage, however, Kynaston would only play women for another year of his acting career (until 1661).
8. As evidence of this, refer to the exhaustive studies of the Shakespearean stage by Andrew Gurr (*The Shakespearean Stage*, *The Shakespearean Playing Companies*) or E.K. Chambers (*The Elizabethan Stage*), all of which include sections on the actors who made up the King's Men.
9. This should be qualified by noting that information on actors pre-Restoration is scarce and sketchy compared to the sources for Restoration and eighteenth-century drama and theatre.
10. The pioneering study of Restoration actresses is John Harold Wilson's 1958 *All the King's Ladies*, but Wilson's study is out of date, as Howe explains.
11. Marsden's book focuses not on Shakespearean adaptations, but on other Restoration plays (works by Thomas Otway, William Wycherley, Thomas Southerne, Nicholas Rowe, Mary Pix, Catherine Trotter, and Delarivier Manley), utilizing film theory to explore pathos, female desire, female as spectacle, and the male gaze.
12. Aphra Behn's 1676 *Abdelazer, or The Moor's Revenge* is an adaptation of the Renaissance tragedy *Lust's Dominion*, probably written by Thomas Dekker in collaboration with others, but I have been unable to identify a Shakespearean adaptation by a female dramatist in the Restoration.

13. Payne Fisk fails to mention Kabuki in this argument which, like Noh, is a Japanese form of theatre and also like Noh employs female impersonation. There are scenes in Kabuki which clearly draw attention to the female body. Furthermore, Kabuki, like many other Asian forms, has clear, exaggerated vocal markers of gender and age. I am grateful to Dr Megan Evans for providing me with this information.
14. See Gurr's *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*.
15. See Gurr's summation of this debate in *Shakespearean Stage* (95–114).
16. For an excellent study of the substantial influence of the Shakespeare Ladies Club, see Ritchie.
17. "Penchant for Perdita" comes from an essay written by Irene Dash. See Chapter 3 for more details.

1 Other Worldly Desires: The Jailer's Daughter and Emilia in Fletcher and Shakespeare's *The Two Noble Kinsmen* and Davenant's *The Rivals*

1. *The Rivals* was published without listing the author, but this is not uncommon for Restoration plays. See Hume (55). *The Rivals* was later ascribed to William Davenant by John Downes in *Roscius Anglicanus, or, an historical review* (32), and this attribution has remained unquestioned. That Davenant was the author seems likely in light of external evidence and verbal parallels between *The Rivals* and Davenant's adaptation of *Macbeth*. See Spencer (225–9). *The Two Noble Kinsmen* first appeared in 1634 but is generally dated 1613–14. See Potter (34–5). As all of my chapters rely heavily on Arden Shakespeare editions of the plays, this chapter is indebted to Potter's Arden Third Series edition of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*.
2. As discussed in Chapter 2, in Davenant and Dryden's adaptation of *The Tempest*, sisters are given to both Miranda and Caliban.
3. Thomas Davies in his notes to *Roscius Anglicanus* remarks on these errors as well (*Roscius Anglicanus, or, an historical review* 31–3). Another note in the text claims that Downes is also incorrect in his anecdote about Moll Davis and King Charles II as Charles did not take Davis as a mistress until 1668. This is not reason, however, to doubt Downes' story. According to Pepys' *Diary*, at least two other actresses possibly played Celania/Jailer's Daughter before Moll Davis. After seeing the play on 10 September 1664, he mentions Winifred Gosnell who "sings and dances finely, but, for all that, fell out of the key," and on 2 December 1664, after seeing it a second time he remarked on the acting of Mary (Saunderson) Betterton, who would have also played Celania opposite her husband Thomas Betterton as Philander. Given that the play was first performed in 1664, I suspect Gosnell was replaced with Mary Betterton, possibly for being off-key, and sometime later Davis replaced Betterton. In the 1668 published version of *The Rivals*, Davis is credited with the role of Celania. Since plays were often printed to be companions to performance, I imagine there to have been a performance of *The Rivals* sometime in 1667–68, which would corroborate Downes' story.
4. The song is found in Christopher Bullock's 1716 farce *The Cobler of Preston*, where it is sung by the drunken cobbler Toby Guzzle. "My Lodging it is on

the Cold Ground" was not originally in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. Matthew Locke, who also composed songs for Davenant's operas, wrote the music for the baroque piece. Locke's composition appeared in John Playford's 1665 *The Dancing Master*. See Flood (464).

5. For *The Rivals*, *The Enchanted Island*, and *Florizel and Perdita*, this book uses the *Literature Online* versions of the texts from the *English Verse Drama Fulltext Database*, which reproduces the first authorized version of each work. The usual referencing of act, scene, and line has been problematic and therefore the in-text citations include act followed by scene (where available) and then page number. I have also not modernized the spelling when quoting from these texts. *Double Falsehood* is available in an Arden edition.
6. Both the 1986 Royal Shakespeare Company production at the Swan Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon and the 1994 Oregon Shakespeare Festival production in Ashland staged Palamon's release from prison. See Potter's *TNK* 2.6.23–6n.
7. Again, cf. Violante in *Double Falsehood*: "No, no, Henriquez; I will follow thee / Where there is day. Time may beget a wonder." (*DF* 3.3.127–8).
8. Interestingly, there is a long-time association of the ear with the vagina (Woodbridge 55).
9. All other Shakespearean citations are from the *Riverside Shakespeare*.
10. For example, see Charney and Charney (453) or Dessen and Thomson (36–7).
11. See my discussion of hair as it relates to cross-gender disguise in Chapter 4 on *Double Falsehood/Cardenio*.
12. Potter deletes this exit because no re-entrance is marked (*TNK* 283, 4.3.39n.).
13. Potter also notes this alteration (229, 3.5.25n.).
14. While Davenant completely removes Celania from the Morris dance in *The Rivals*, he preserves some of her references to the mare (see *The Rivals*, p. 48).
15. For an expanded discussion of this topic, see Boehrer, esp. 24–5 and 45. He cites Antigonus' defense of Hermione in *The Winter's Tale*: "If it prove / She [is unchaste], I'll keep my stables where / I lodge my wife" (2.1.133–5).
16. This might be compared to use of a potion to cure the mad inamorata as was the case in the plays of the commedia dell'arte. Several critics have argued Ophelia's origins are in the Italian improvised theatre. See Barasch (114–16). Indeed many similiarities can be drawn between the mad scenes of this period (Isabella Andreini, for instance) and the qualities of female madness on the Shakespearean stage.
17. The character of the Jailer's Daughter may not have appeared on stage again after 5.2 if the boy actor was used to double one of the kinsmen's six attending knights (three for Palamon, three for Arcite). If this was the case, it seems likely the boy actor playing the Jailer's Daughter would have been a knight for Palamon, given the feminine descriptions of his knights, that is, "warlike maid," "no beard has blessed him," "red lips" (*TNK* 4.2.106, 107, 111). This would make for a very interesting metatheatrical comparison: the Jailer's Daughter fighting for love with Palamon and likewise her head on the executioner's block along with his.
18. See also Bruster (281) and Charney and Charney (456).
19. It is possible that there may have been some sort of bush or bushes on stage in the Blackfriars to signify this woodland setting for a production of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. See Gurr, *Shakespearean Stage* 191–3.
20. Chaucer, as well as Fletcher and Shakespeare, use the names Emilia and Emily interchangeably, to fit the meter.

21. Bachinger certainly reads Emilia as representing Queen Elizabeth I, though her reading is based upon sexuality and sexual politics (between Elizabeth and James I) (29).
22. It is worth noting that Moll Davis, who enjoyed success as Celania (the Jailer's Daughter), was mistress of Charles II (Pepys called her a "slut") while the actress who played Emilia was the wife of the poet laureate. Shadwell wrote the operatic version of *The Tempest, or The Enchanted Island*, which is discussed in Chapter 2.
23. Recall Elizabeth I's reaction to the boy actor playing Emily (Emilia) in Edwards' version of the story (*Palamon and Arcite*) noted above. Again, I see many symbols to connect Emilia to the Virgin Queen: Amazon roots, connections to the moon and Diana, the emblem of the rose, and even the May Day celebrations. Emilia could be read as the Queen of the May in Act 3 (see *TNK* 3.1.4). Philip Sydney's play *The Lady of May* is laden with allegorical content relating to Elizabeth I.
24. Crane notes that Samuel Pepys has almost all of his "illicit encounters" in pleasure gardens (12). See also Knoppers.
25. Again, a reference to a green or grass-stained gown is used to signify sexual activity outdoors.
26. This is especially true in Emilia's case as she does not have a father in the play, but arguably Theseus assumes that role in terms of arranging her marriage.

2 No Woman Is an Island: Female Roles in Dryden and Davenant's *The Tempest, Or The Enchanted Island* and Shakespeare's *The Tempest*

1. For clarity's sake, henceforth I will refer to Shakespeare's play as *The Tempest* and Dryden and Davenant's play as *The Enchanted Island*.
2. There is considerable discussion over the unfixed nature of Ariel's gender. For the sake of clarity and concision, I do not deal with Ariel here as a potential female role. See Dymkowski's edition, esp. 34–48.
3. Iris, Ceres, and Juno are goddesses who appear in Prospero's masque, but they are spirits.
4. See Thompson (47).
5. This chapter does not examine Sycorax or Milcha. Milcha appears at the very end of *The Enchanted Island*, where she speaks one line ("Here!") and dances a saraband with Ariel, though her presence is important as she genders Ariel, who is arguably of indeterminate gender in Shakespeare's play, as clearly male. Sycorax is confined to the subplot, and my investigation here follows Miranda. There is evidence that Sycorax was played by a male actor in drag for comedic effect (see Dymkowski's edition 35, n. 70).
6. Lineation of verse in quotations from *The Enchanted Island* follows Literature Online (LION), which itself follows the erratic lineation of the original 1670 publication. Line numbers are therefore accurate to LION, but the lineation remains unsatisfactory and unmetrical.
7. Sanchez refers to Orgel (Introduction to *The Tempest* 17). It is interesting to note that Theobald, author of *Double Falsehood* (see Chapter 4), said that it

would be "an Indecency in her [Miranda] to reply to what Caliban was last speaking of" (attempted rape); see Vaughan and Vaughan's edition (135).
8. See Dymkowski's edition (35, n. 70). Additional evidence could be added to Dymkowski's argument. For example, as Dymkowski points out, Howe contends that Jane Long played the part of Hippolito, but John Downes says Shirley's *The Grateful Servant* was the first time Long appeared on stage in male attire (*Roscius Anglicanus, or, an historical review* 37). There is also a suggestion in Downes that Mrs Jennings and Mrs Davenport were part of the original cast.
9. See Rosenthal (208), Miner (102), and especially Schille (278).
10. Dryden and Davenant cut the masque here. There are possibly multiple explanations for its absence. One is that in the masque in Shakespeare's play, Prospero gives Miranda to Ferdinand, while in *The Enchanted Island*, he does not do so until the very end of the play. Another likely justification is that the masque focuses singularly on the union of Ferdinand and Miranda and would have thus overshadowed the importance of Hippolito and Dorinda.

3 Silence and Sorcery, Sexuality and Stone: Absent Parts to Understanding Hermione and Paulina in Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* and Garrick's *Florizel and Perdita*

1. Charles Marsh's version of *The Winter's Tale* includes Hermione and Paulina, but, as mentioned above, there is no evidence of its having been staged. Marsh's adaptation follows Shakespeare's play more closely than Garrick's, including the trial scene and the many "inappropriate" speeches of Paulina discussed below.
2. Vaught also says, "The authority of Hermione, Perdita, and Paulina so pronounced in Acts I–III of *The Winter's Tale* is largely missing in Garrick's play" (199–200). While what Vaught says is true for Hermione and Paulina, Perdita does not appear in the first three acts.
3. See Cunningham, Dash, Marsden, *Re-Imagined Text*, and Vaught.
4. "Faith" is used this way earlier in the play by the Shepherd when he is speaking with Perdita about her promised marriage to Florizel: "O cursed wretch, / That knewst this was the prince and wouldst adventure / To mingle faith with him" (4.4.463–5).
5. For a different use of silence, see Chapter 4 on Violante (pp. 173–4).
6. Dash also points out that Garrick reassigns Paulina's accusatory trial speech ("Do not repent these things") to Leontes (273; see also Vaught 199).
7. Garrick retains Shakespeare's line, but since the audience never sees Paulina counseling Leontes, it loses all power.
8. As discussed above, Paulina in the Wellington Summer Shakespeare 2011 production of *The Winter's Tale* was played by an actress in her twenties. I quickly became fascinated by the number of young female audience members who seemed to connect with her character. Several times I received the comment, "I never knew Shakespeare wrote such strong women." For more about this production, specifically Paulina's character, see Kamaralli, *Shakespeare and the Shrew* 199–200.
9. Though Paulina hardly seems shrewish in Garrick's play, one wonders if it is mere coincidence that *Florizel and Perdita* shared an evening (double

bill) and a prologue with *Catharine and Petruchio*, Garrick's adaptation of Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew*.

10. For the argument that this abrupt marriage of Camillo and Paulina is not an attempt to "convert shrew into silent woman," see Kamaralli, "Female Characters" esp. 1130–1.
11. See also Erickson (251), which Savage summarizes in her article.
12. For more information on midwives, Christianity and witchcraft, see Bicks, esp. chapter 4.
13. The "childbed privilege" was the usual time of rest and seclusion afforded a woman after childbirth. Churching is the process of a thanksgiving officiated by a priest for the safe return of the mother, part of the liturgy a few weeks after her delivery when she first attends church again.
14. Pitcher points to the same pun being made in *Pericles*, when Cerimon "revives" Thaisa (384).

4 Transformation, Transvestism, and Lost Text: Violante's Rape and Cross-Dressing in Lewis Theobald's *Double Falsehood* and Fletcher and Shakespeare's *Cardenio*

1. Portions of this chapter appear in Leigh, "Transvestism, Transformation, and Text."
2. For detailed information on *Double Falsehood* as an adaptation of a lost *Cardenio*, see Carnegie and Taylor, esp. Taylor's essay "A History of *The History of Cardenio*" 11–61. See also Bradford; Freehafer. For skepticism of Theobald's claims, see Stern, "Forgery" and "Whether one did Contrive."
3. Theobald actually claimed to possess three manuscripts, and he gives an origin to one of these manuscripts in the Preface of *Double Falsehood*. See Kukowski (81).
4. See Kukowski, who approaches the problem by looking at evidence of Fletcher in the play rather than Shakespeare. Kukowski states, "Although it is somewhat obscured by revision, the evidence we have is that the metre, the collocation of certain words, and the stylistic mannerisms of large parts of the play are distinctly Fletcherian. This does more than suggest Fletcher's presence in the play: it makes it clear that the play cannot be a forgery (unless, that is, Theobald had inadvertently forged the wrong writer); if the play is not a forgery, then the case for it being a relic of *Cardenio* is very strong" (89).
5. Although some attention is paid to stagecraft, Hammond's edition of *Double Falsehood* is heavily footnoted this way, citing examples of words or phrases that occur elsewhere in Shakespeare, Fletcher, or Theobald. I have also found that the edition explores Shakespearean usages at length, but at times neglects Fletcher. For example, Hammond notes that "'Coil' is not used by Fletcher" (264; 4.1.145n.) when "coil" is employed by Fletcher in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. The Jailer's Daughter says of Palamon, "Lord, what a coil he keeps!" (2.4.18). Both Carnegie and Taylor and Bourus and Taylor offer interesting essays on theatrical issues in *Double Falsehood* and versions of *Cardenio*/adaptations of *Double Falsehood*.
6. For example, see Wilson, who reads *Double Falsehood* in a Jacobean political and religious context.

7. All of the main characters in *Double Falsehood* have different names than they do in Cervantes' novel. Just as Dorotea is named Violante and Luscinda becomes Leonora in *Double Falsehood*, Fernando or Ferdinando is called Henriquez and Cardenio is named Julio.
8. See Hammond's "Introduction" to *Double Falsehood* for his description of this production (56–8) as well as Carnegie and Leigh. After the 2009 production in Wellington, Taylor revised the script extensively, and it was produced at Indiana University/Purdue University Indianapolis in 2012, directed by Terri Bourus. Taylor's revised script *The History of Cardenio* is published in Bourus and Taylor 241–316.
9. See 3.5.0.1 for the stage direction: "*Enter old Widow of Florence, her daughter, Violenta and Mariana, with other Citizens*." In Taylor's latest version of his reconstruction of *The History of Cardenio by Shakespeare and Fletcher*, he changes Violante to Violenta, "the spelling preferred by Shakespeare, but obsolete by Theobald's time" ("Re: Cardenio").
10. Jeffrey Kahan argues that *The Spanish Curate* may have been a sequel to *Cardenio*.
11. Appendix 6 in Hammond's edition of *Double Falsehood* is a facsimile of the relevant excerpts from Thomas Shelton's 1612 translation of Cervantes' *Don Quixote*.
12. This is a very strange scene and supports the hypothesis that the play is indeed an adaptation of some sort. It contains two characters, Fabian and Lopez, who never appear again, but their language (that is, "neighbour") is close to that of the shepherds who appear later in the play in the mountains with Julio (Cardenio). See Taylor, "Four Characters in Search of a Subplot," where his arguments support such a claim.
13. For marriage *per verba de praesenti* in *Don Quixote* and other Renaissance literature see Nelson; Chartier.
14. Grateful thanks to David Carnegie who made this observation regarding *The Duchess of Malfi* to me in private correspondence.
15. Though not in as much depth, Marsden also discusses a socioeconomic/political dimension to Restoration rapes: women as commodities, where "rape is equated with loss of property" and the metaphor becomes "the horror of rape is that of the loss of wealth" (*Fatal Desire* 193).
16. Though the Henriquez/Violante rape is very different from Theobald's usual handling of rape, there is another Restoration play—Charles Sedley's comedy *Bellamira* (1687)—where a young gentlewoman marries her rapist. This play is also an adaptation of a (much) older play, Terence's *The Eunuch*, and Sedley also makes a half-apology for and defense of the rape in his Preface, stating it was so essential that it could not be omitted. Again, Hughes downplays the titillation in this rape and disregards the hero/rapist Lionel's portrayal of the event. Lionel describes watching Isabella bathe and her being sent to bed, while he is charged (as her eunuch) to fan her naked body (35). The focus here is also less on the redemption of Lionel and more on the passionate love between Lionel and Isabella and his restitution of her honor. See Hughes (234).
17. Portions of this section appear in my "'Tis No Such Killing Matter," in which Violante's rape is discussed in more depth.

18. There are noteworthy lines in this scene that further tie *Double Falsehood* to a Jacobean source. Facing violation from her master, Violante says:

> 'Tis unusual to me
> To find such Kindness at a Master's Hand,
> That am a poor Boy, ev'ry way unable,
> Unless it be in Pray'rs, to merit it.
> Besides, I've often heard old People say,
> Too much Indulgence makes Boys rude and sawcy. (4.1.158–62)

    The final two lines seem oddly out of place in the context of this scene as well as in *Double Falsehood* as a whole. Indeed, they may be an indication of a typical Fletcherian (and Shakespearean) metatheatrical joke made by a boy actor about the "sawcy" behavior of boys.
19. Perhaps Theobald transferred the intended rape from the male servant to the Master of the Flocks.
20. It is interesting to note that Julio, whose madness is meant to be pitied, does not sing in *Double Falsehood* (see Chapter 1, pp. 29–30, above).
21. Interestingly, in the Royal Shakespeare Company's 2011 production of *Cardenio* (also based on *Double Falsehood*), Dorotea (Violante) does not sing on stage, but "within," and she sings "Fond Echo" rather than "Woods, Rocks, and Mountains" (Doran 81).
22. See Dessen (36–8), for a discussion of stage images related to hair.
23. Fletcher used the suggestion of sexual relations between boys and men elsewhere; it is a theme in *The Honest Man's Fortune* (1612–13), a collaboration by Fletcher, Field, and Massinger contemporary with *Cardenio*. Though no sexual act occurs in that play, the pageboy is propositioned.
24. In *The Maid's Tragedy*, Amintor says to Evadne, "I'll drag thee to my bed, and make thy tongue / Undo this wicked Oath, or on thy flesh / I'll *print a thousand wounds* to let out life" (2.2.226–78, vol. 2); in *Philaster*, Philaster upon hurting Bellario says, "Sword, *print my wounds* / Upon this sleeping boy" (4.4.23–4; vol. 1); in *The Knight of Malta*, Oriana says, "Do not study / To *print more wounds*, (for that were tyranny) / Upon a heart that is pierced through already" (3.2.167–8); in *The Double Marriage*, Pandulpho says, "Those rude hands, and that bloody will that did this, / That durst upon thy tender body *print / These characters of cruelty*; hear me heaven" (3.3.24–6; vol. 9). In all the above examples, "print" is associated with a wound or torture.
25. For a different use of silence in the theatre, see Chapter 3, on Hermione in *The Winter's Tale*.

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